

UZI LEIBNER

Settlement and History
in Hellenistic, Roman,
and Byzantine Galilee

Texts and Studies in

Ancient Judaism

127

Mohr Siebeck

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An Archaeological Survey
of the Eastern Galilee

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This study had its beginnings over a decade ago in Professor David Adan-Bayewitz's graduate seminar on Talmudic Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University. As a topic, I proposed to investigate the history of one Galilean rural site, utilizing advanced field survey techniques and recent pottery studies, combined with an inquiry of the relevant literary sources. Thus began a fascinating journey into that region's past, one that has continued to this day through surveys, excavations and historical research. The work, which began as a monograph about a single site, developed over the years into an extensive study covering a large portion of the Eastern Lower Galilee.

Exploring Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Galilee, one becomes involved in several fields of scholarship: archaeology, history, geography and religious studies and deals with a variety of classical, Talmudic, ecclesiastic and liturgical sources. The interaction with researchers in these disciplines not only enriched my perspectives, but often forced me to rethink conclusions and attempt to rise above the "dry archaeological data."

Some remarks concerning conventions in this volume are in order. Due to its scope, an attempt has been made to use as few footnotes as possible. Throughout the text, abbreviations and shortened references have been utilized where possible. A list of abbreviations appears at the beginning of the volume and a bibliography at its end. For the ancient sources, scientific editions noted in the bibliography are referred to, except where stated otherwise. Page numbers in references to rabbinic literature follow the scholarly editions found in the bibliography. The text of this volume was completed in the summer of 2006 and the bibliography has not been systematically updated from the end of that year to the present.

It is my pleasure to thank the many individuals who provided assistance during the years of research. First and foremost is Professor David Adan-Bayewitz – my dissertation director – who guided me through each phase, introduced me to the intricacies of pottery identification, and established high scientific standards which he helped me attain. Much of his wisdom and many of his comments are embedded in this work. Comments and information provided by fellow researchers and colleagues proved useful in many phases of this project. Among these scholars are Chaim Ben-David, Ze'ev Safrai, Yoram Tsafrir, Eric Meyers, Douglas Edwards, Ze'ev Weiss, Danny Syon, Mordechai Aviam, Elhanan Reiner; and past and present staff members of the Israel Antiquities Authority: Moshe Hartal, Yardenna Alexandre, Haya Ben Nahum, 'Abdullah Muqari, Yosef

Stepansky and Yitzhak Tor. Gerald Finkeilsztein deciphered the Rhodian jar handles, Gabriela Bijovsky identified the numismatic finds, Yulia Rodman illustrated the pottery and Donald T. Ariel provided access to the Israel Antiquities Authority's numismatic files. Thanks also go to Samuel Wolff, Nimrod Getzov and Dina Avshalom-Gorni who provided assistance in identifying sherds from several sites belonging to periods both earlier and later than those covered by the present study. The home of Ofrit and Shai Barkai at Kibbutz Beit Rimmon became my second home for the entire survey season. Professors Ze'ev Safrai, Shim'on Dar and Hanan Eshel, the heads of the Department of Land of Israel Studies at Bar-Ilan University, provided ongoing support and aid in obtaining the requisite funding.

My sincere thanks go to Alan Paris for translation of this work into English and to Arieh Marzel for the typesetting. My thanks also go to my friends Michael Osband and Yuri Yomtov for their help in proofing during the final stages of this book's preparation.

I am grateful to Professors Peter Schäfer, Annette Y. Reed, Seth Schwartz and Azzan Yadin for accepting this manuscript for publication in the TSAJ series, and to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki and Ms. Tanja Mix of the Mohr Siebeck Publishing House for their assistance in preparing the volume for publication.

This research would not have been possible without financial support provided by several institutions – the Bar-Ilan University President's Doctoral Fellowship and the Rotenstreich Scholarship of the Israel Council for Higher Education. The work was also assisted by research grants from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and from the Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University.

This book is a revised and expanded version of my Ph.D. dissertation in archaeology (Leibner 2004). Work on the final version was carried out during my stay as a Rothschild Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Michigan, at the invitation of Professors Sharon Herbert and John Cherry. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Kelsey Museum of Classical Archaeology and the University of Michigan Central Library. The support and encouragement of the staff at the Scholion Interdisciplinary Research Center in Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University and its director, Professor Israel Yuval, made the completion of this project possible. I extend my thanks to all of them.

Finally, I would like to thank the members of my family. My parents, Gladys Leibner-Blassberg – who carefully read and corrected the manuscript – and the late Yehuda Leibner both of whom gave me a love for Jewish history and for the exploration of the Land of Israel. My wife Efrat and my daughters: Kinneret, 'Einat, Re'ut and Aluma, provided encouragement and support throughout the years and have tolerated my frequent absence from home.

Institute of Archaeology
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September 2008

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Abbreviations

1. Periods

H	Hellenistic (3 rd c.-mid 1 st c. BCE)
ER	Early Roman (mid 1 st c. BCE-135 CE)
MR	Middle Roman (135–250 CE)
LR	Late Roman (250–350 CE)
E BYZ	Early Byzantine (350–450 CE)
M BYZ	Middle Byzantine (450–550 CE)
L BYZ	Late Byzantine (550–650 CE)

2. Sites, Pottery Groups and Other Abbreviations

ASL	Above Sea Level
AVST	Arab Villages Survey Team (records kept in the IAAA)
BSL	Below Sea Level
BSP	Black Slip Predecessor of Eastern Sigillata A
ESA	Eastern Sigillata A
GCW	Galilean Coarse Ware
H.	Hurva (= ruin, Heb.)
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IAAA	Israel Antiquities Authority's Archives
KH	Kefar Ḥananya
Kh.	Khirbet (= ruin, Arab.)
LRRW	Late Roman Red Ware
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund (see also below, <i>SWP</i>)
R.	Rabbi
SE	Spot Elevation
ST	Shovel Testing
TA	Tel Anafa
TA FW	Tel Anafa Fine Ware
TA PW	Tel Anafa Plain Ware

3. Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>B</i>	Bavli (Babylonian Talmud)
<i>B.A.R.</i>	British Archaeological Reports

- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- BSOS* *Bulletin of the Schools of Oriental and African Studies*
- CCSL* *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
- EI* *Eretz-Israel*
- EIDST* *Eretz-Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, ed. Z. Baras, S. Safrai, Y. Tsafrii, and M. Stern, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1982). Hebrew.
- EJ* *Encyclopedia Judaica*
- ELS* *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum: Documenta S. Evangelii Loca Respicientia*, ed. D. Baladi (Jerusalem, 1955).
- ESI* *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
- EZ* *Eretz Zafon: Studies in Galilean Archaeology*, ed. Z. Gal (Jerusalem, 2002). Hebrew.
- HA* *Hadashot Arkheologiyot*
- HUCA* *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- INJ* *Israel Numismatic Journal*
- JAS* *Journal of Archaeological Science*
- JJS* *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- JFA* *Journal of Field Archaeology*
- JQR* *Jewish Quarterly Review*
- JRA* *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- LA* *Liber Annuus*
- LCL* *Loeb Classical Library*
- M* *Mishnah*
- NEAEHL* *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (Jerusalem, 1993)
- OEANE* *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. M. Meyers, 4 vols. (New York, 1997)
- PEFQ* *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
- PEQ* *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- PPT* *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1887–1897; repr. New York, 1971)
- QDAP* *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
- SCI* *Scripta Classica Israelica*
- SH* *Studia Hierosolymitana*
- SWP* C. R. Conder, and R. E. Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine* (London, 1881–1883)
- T* *Tosefta*
- TIR* Y. Tsafrii, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea Palaestina* (Jerusalem, 1994).
- Y* *Yerushalmi* (Jerusalem, or Palestinian, Talmud)
- YEDIOT* *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*
- ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
- * Hebrew with English summary

Chapter 1

Introduction

The aim of this study is to provide the most accurate picture possible of the settlement history of the Lower Galilee during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods.

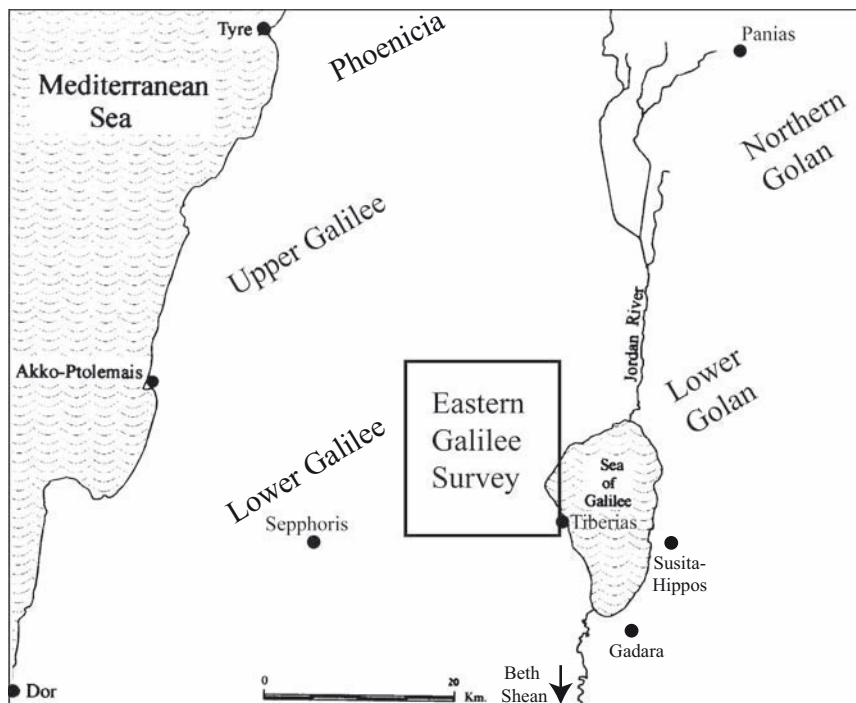
During these periods the region played an important role in the development of Judaism and Christianity. Current knowledge concerning the settlement history of ancient Galilee, however, is both limited and haphazard.

Any attempt to describe the historical and cultural framework of a human society must rely, first and foremost, upon primary data regarding the nature of settlements in which people lived and were active, as well as changes that occurred there over time. The relatively numerous archaeological excavations conducted in the Galilee during recent decades have focused primarily on exposing public buildings and urban spaces. Therefore, reconstruction of settlement history in the region, particularly in the rural areas inhabited by the majority of its population in antiquity, is still largely based upon literary sources rather than systematic archaeological data. In order to generate a comprehensive view of the settlement history of the study-area, two independent methods were used in this research: a study of literary sources and an archaeological survey.

The area selected for research is located in the northern part of the Eastern Lower Galilee, between longitude 185–200 and latitude 242–261, an area of some 285 square kilometers. It extends from the Tiberias–Sepphoris route in the south to the foothills of the Upper Galilee in the north, and from the Sea of Galilee basin in the east to the eastern margins of the large Central Galilee valleys in the west.¹

Selection of this region as the study area was due to its advantages in archaeological terms and the variety of relevant historical sources concerning its settlements, particularly ones dating to the Roman period. The area is sparsely settled today, including several villages no longer inhabited after Israel's War of Independence (1948). Its archaeological sites have remained well preserved in comparison to sites in other parts of the Lower Galilee, where rapid development has taken place in recent decades. This made it possible to thoroughly

¹ The exception to this is Sammu'iyā [site 1], which lies slightly north of this area. Part of the urban area of Tiberias is located in the southeastern corner of the survey grid and was not surveyed as part of this study.



Map 1: Orientation Map

survey every site in its entirety and to gather large samples of pottery. Another significant archaeological advantage was the extensive existing knowledge about the pottery of this area for the periods covered here, which facilitated an advanced analysis of the survey's findings (see Chapter 4).

Many of the settlements in the region, as well as some key events in the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, are mentioned in the works of Josephus Flavius. Palestinian rabbinic sources also frequently mention settlements in the region. The impression obtained from both Josephus and rabbinic literature is that, at least during the Roman period, this region was predominantly settled by Jews. Christian sources concentrated on the eastern boundary of the region, along the shores of the Sea of Galilee. This area constituted a focal point of Jesus' activity and was a center for Christian pilgrimage and interest during the Byzantine period.

In view of the current interest in historical study of Palestinian Jewry in Late Antiquity and in research on rabbinic literature produced in the Land of Israel, this region is of particular importance. The survey in the rural area between Tiberias and Sepphoris reflects both a significant Jewish demographic center during this period as well as an area in which figures who shaped rabbinic

literature of the Land of Israel lived and were active. Furthermore, it was an area in which both Jews and Christians were active during the Byzantine period.

The relevant historical sources are written mainly in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew. All the sources that provide us with information concerning the settlements and their history have been translated and examined and the different manuscripts of rabbinic sources have been compared and evaluated.

Nonetheless, for most of the periods dealt with here, the literary sources alone cannot provide a clear historical picture, and for some of these periods, not even a basic historical framework. For example, there is a lack of historical sources for most of the Hellenistic period in this region. For the Byzantine period after the mid-fourth century CE, they are few and sporadic. The abundance of sources from the Roman period, mostly from rabbinic literature, do not provide a clear picture, and complex methodological problems are inherent in their use.

On the other hand, through archaeological survey, which is the core of this study, a systematic historical-settlement picture for the region emerges for some fifty sites where evidence of settlement during the periods in question was encountered. The focus of the survey involved collecting large samples of pottery from every site. The great progress that has taken place in recent decades in the study of pottery that was common in the region during the periods under discussion has made it possible to divide the finds into sub-periods and to present a detailed picture of the settlement history at each site and in the area as a whole.

The settlement picture obtained through the archaeological survey enables the examination of ancient Galilee, beyond the information derived only from the historical sources. In addition, the reliability of a given historical source can be examined against the archaeological finds.

Previous Archaeological Surveys

The first systematic study of this region was the pioneering and thorough work of V. Guérin, who began his survey in the mid-nineteenth century. His monumental essay (1868–1880, 1985), the fruit of one man's dedicated labor, is surprising in its wide range, its accurate site descriptions and its geographical-historical proposals based on both fieldwork and the historical sources.

The surveyors of the Palestine Exploration Fund's Survey of Western Palestine (henceforth: SWP), began their work in the region during the 1870s. Their comprehensive activity included describing and mapping most of the archaeological sites known today in the study area. Monumental structures, burial caves, and various architectural elements were likewise documented in drawings and plans, the importance of which is great in view of the fact that some of

these were subsequently damaged or disappeared (Conder and Kitchener 1881: Vol. I).

The importance of the surveys of Guérin and of the SWP lies in their having been the only full field surveys ever undertaken in this region. The names of many sites appearing in their surveys do not appear in later publications and maps and many of the sites they recorded suffered subsequent damage. However, these 19th century surveyors, were unfamiliar with pottery typology and chronology and could not date the sites they explored.

An important archaeological study that was unfortunately never completed or published is the Western Sea of Galilee Survey conducted by B. Ravani, the regional inspector of antiquities during the 1950s for the Israel Department of Antiquities. This survey covered roughly the eastern half of our study area. Ravani's records, kept in the archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority (henceforth: IAAA), contain important information about a series of small sites that do not appear at all in previous studies and maps, as well as notations concerning the periods of settlement at the various sites based on the pottery that was collected.²

Since Ravani's day, some information concerning sites in the region has come to light through survey work focused on major sites or through surveys of a few sites in overlapping adjacent regions.

The Arab Villages Survey Team (henceforth: AVST) worked in the area during the 1960s and surveyed Arab villages that were abandoned during the War of Independence. The data collected included documentation of buildings, architectural features and agricultural installations (IAAA – unpublished).

In 1978, the Meiron excavation team published conclusions based on a survey conducted in a series of settlements in the Galilee and the Golan, including 'Akbara, Be'er Sheva of the Galilee, Ḥorvat 'Ammudim and Arbel, which are located within our study area. However, types and quantities of pottery

² The pottery collected by Ravani, which was processed by the late Y. Dayan, is stored (apparently only in part) in the warehouses of the Survey Department of the IAA in Jerusalem. Unfortunately, some of the material has been lost and some of it could not be relied upon (e.g., boxes bearing a map reference and name of one site, while the registration card within the box bore the map reference or name of another). Pottery which could be relied upon was examined, counted and compared to the sample that we collected. In most cases, it matched the periods represented in the present survey. Due to the relatively small quantities of indicative sherds from each site in the Ravani survey material, and because of the problem of securely identifying the source of the pottery for at least part of this collection, the data from the Ravani survey has not been incorporated into this report. Nonetheless, when material representing a period not represented in our sample was encountered, and the site appeared securely identified, this has been noted in parenthesis on the pottery table for that site. It is noteworthy that Ravani's sharp powers of observation often correctly identified the periods of settlement at the various sites, despite the absence in his day of refined pottery chronologies for numerous local wares. A summary of the history of settlement in the vicinity of Wadi 'Amud, based primarily on the archaeological data from Ravani's records, was recently published by Tepper *et al.* (2000).

collected were not published. (Meyers *et al.* 1978; for drawings see: Meyers *et al.* 1981, Pl. 8.23–8.29).

Zvi Gal's work on the settlement geography of the Lower Galilee during the biblical period (Gal 1982; 1992) incorporated 13 sites from the current study area, six of which were noted as yielding Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine period sherds, without indicating types or quantities.

The work of R. Frankel and his colleagues in the Upper Galilee (Frankel *et al.* 2001), in which typical pottery types (*fossils directeurs*) were described and illustrated for each period and quantities at each site were noted, represents an important innovation in spatial-archaeological research of the Galilee. After over forty years of archaeological surveys in the Galilee, this was the first survey to present a database – a prerequisite for any scientific research. Nine sites in the northern portion of the present study area were surveyed also by the Upper Galilee team.

Excavations and Additional Archaeological Data from the Survey Area

H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, the pioneers of archaeological research on ancient synagogues, excavated several probes at the synagogues of Arbel and Ḥorvat 'Ammudim at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A few topical studies included sites in the survey area. Z. Yeivin (1971) documented the settlement plans of Kefar Ḥananya, Arbel and Ḥorvat 'Ammudim. G. Foerster (1972) documents the remains of synagogues at Arbel and Ḥorvat 'Ammudim. A survey of synagogues by Z. Ilan (1987; 1991) included ten sites in our survey area in which synagogue remains were found.

The first extensive excavation in the region for which dating was based upon local and imported pottery and coins was conducted in the 1970s at Migdal in the southern Gennesar Valley by V. Corbo and S. Loffreda (Loffreda 1976; Corbo 1976; 1978).

In the early 1980s, L.I. Levine excavated at the synagogue of Ḥorvat 'Ammudim. The pottery from this excavation was published by D. Adan-Bayewitz (Levine 1982; Adan-Bayewitz 1982).

In the 1980s, D. Adan-Bayewitz excavated a workshop and other areas at Kefar Ḥananya as part of a comprehensive study of the typology and chronology of Kefar Ḥananya ware (Adan-Bayewitz 1989; 1993).

A cultic structure dated to the Persian and Hellenistic periods was exposed by R. Frankel at Har Mizpe Yamim in the northern part of the survey area (Frankel 1993; 1997; 1997).

In addition, several salvage excavations have been conducted at sites in the region (see the site descriptions in Chapter 5), though most are limited in scope and the finds for several have not yet been published.

The History of Research concerning Settlement-History in the Galilee during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods

Since the beginning of modern research and until the end of the twentieth century, all of the studies dealing with the settlement history in the Galilee during the periods in question have been largely based upon historical sources, sometimes in combination with available archaeological data. Summaries of this topic, though partial in nature, may be found in the works of E. Schürer, E.W.G. Masterman and G. Dalman from the beginning of the twentieth century (Schürer 1901–1909; Masterman 1909; Dalman 1935). The works of S. Klein (1909; 1923) and in particular his book, *The Galilee* (1967), are the first that survey the topic in chronological order and systematically discuss the historical and rabbinic sources relating to the Galilee, its sites and administrative divisions in antiquity. As part of a comprehensive historical-settlement survey of the Land of Israel during the periods in question, concern with the Galilee is found in a book by M. Avi-Yonah (1966) and in greater detail, in a volume dealing with the Land of Israel from the destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest (*EIDST*).

In the early 1980s, three monographs appeared dealing with settlement, ethnicity, economy and government in the Galilee. S. Freyne (1980) studied the period from the conquest of Alexander the Great to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. M. Goodman (1983) studied the period from the Bar-Kokhba Revolt to the beginning of the third century CE. Z. Safrai (1985) examined primarily the period from the end of the Second Temple to the end of the Byzantine period. The latter two, together with A. Oppenheimer's study (1991) of the Galilee during the time of the Mishnah, are largely based upon rabbinic sources.

Summarizing the survey they conducted in the Upper Galilee, Frankel and his associates (Frankel *et al.* 2001) presented a synthesis of the settlement history in that region from the Neolithic to the Ottoman period. This is the first study to present a summary of the settlement history of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods in the Galilee based upon systematic archaeological research.

Further recent studies largely based upon archaeological findings relating to this topic are those of H. Lapin (2001), dealing with economy and settlement geography in northern Palestine during the Late Roman period, and M.A. Chancey (2002), dealing with the ethnic identity of the inhabitants of the Galilee during the Early Roman period.

The extensive literature published in recent years concerning ancient synagogues and the Jews of the Galilee in antiquity in general, is directly related to our concerns. Due to the enormous quantity of material, it is not brought here (see Levine 2005; Schwartz 2001). These studies generally rely on architectural and epigraphic archaeological findings, such as synagogue remains and tomb inscriptions, focusing concern on periods during which such finds are widespread, i.e., the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. This sometimes led to a skewed view of settlement history, a problem that will be further addressed below.

The History of Research on Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Pottery of the Galilee

Pottery is the main tool upon which archaeological research aimed at reconstructing a spatial historical-settlement picture relies. The small number of historical sources concerning the region that are available for lengthy time periods and the paucity of archaeological excavations reflecting entire periods, particularly in rural areas, make pottery the only tool that allows us to systematically document settlement change in the region. In surveying studies of pottery from the Galilee, a distinction should be made between Roman pottery, which has been intensively studied in recent decades, and Hellenistic and Byzantine (fifth century CE onward) wares, about which our knowledge is relatively restricted.

Aside from a few assemblages published by S. Loffreda from Capernaum (1972; 1982), and a few vessels from Yodefāt (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997), Hellenistic pottery from the survey region or its immediate surroundings has not been published. A number of small assemblages have been published from Meiron, Gush Ḥalav and esh-Shuhara (Meyers *et al.* 1981; 1990; Aviam and Amitai 2002). These are all in the hilly Upper Galilee, and quite distant from the survey area. Rich assemblages and detailed typological and chronological discussions are found in the publication dealing with the local and imported pottery from Tel Anafa (hereafter; *TA*, Slane 1997; Berlin 1997) and Tel Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995). These are also relatively far from the survey area and belong to the Phoenician world and material culture, which is distinct from that of the survey area.³

The beginning of systematic research on Roman pottery of the Galilee is marked by the studies of Loffreda (1970; 1970²; 1974; 1982; 1984), which are based mainly on his excavations at Capernaum, Migdal and Tabgha, all sites on the eastern border of our survey area. Loffreda's publications provided, for the

³ Thus, for example, no definite examples of Phoenician semi-fine ware, found both along the coast and in the Hulah Valley (Berlin 1997³), were found in our survey area.

first time, a systematic typological-chronological study of local Roman period pottery.

The excavations at four sites in the Upper Galilee by the expedition of E. Meyers (Meyers *et al.* 1976; 1981; 1982; 1990), and in particular, the publication of extensive assemblages from domestic dwellings from these excavations, mark the next significant phase in the study of Galilean pottery.

An extensive typological study of local Roman period Galilean pottery was published by F. Díez Fernández, based on excavations carried out up to the early 1980s (Díez Fernández 1983).

The research of D. Adan-Bayewitz concerning local kitchenware found in the Galilee from the Roman period covered the topic from the aspects of literary evidence, typology, chronology, petrography and production centers, bringing this area of research to high levels of precision (Adan-Bayewitz 1985; 1993; 2003). Based on chemical and micromorphological analysis, Adan-Bayewitz showed that the vast majority of kitchenware common in the Galilee from about the mid-first century BCE to approximately the late fourth century CE were produced in workshops at Kefar Ḥananiya. Through systematic study of published pottery assemblages from stratigraphic excavations, Adan-Bayewitz established a chronology for this important group of vessels. Another important production center in Roman Galilee was Shiḥin near Sepphoris, where mainly jars, flasks and kraters were produced, though apparently, no cooking ware. The vessels from this production center (as well as several other competing production centers where mainly jars were made) are being studied by Adan-Bayewitz's team and the basic typology, chronology and distribution of the vessels belonging to this group are becoming clear (Adan-Bayewitz, in preparation. See Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990; Adan-Bayewitz and Wieder 1992; Adan-Bayewitz *et al.* 1995). Noteworthy among the other studies that have dealt with Galilean pottery is the work of D. Avshalom-Gorni (1999), which deals with the typology of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine period jars from the western Galilee, and the work of M. Baluka (1999), which deals with destruction-level assemblages from the earthquake of 363 CE at Sepphoris.

The state of research concerning local Galilean pottery of the Byzantine period is less advanced. Except for a few types, our current knowledge does not allow us to chronologically separate the various local types and our knowledge of production centers in the region during this period is quite limited. The knowledge regarding imported fine ware, which is quite common at Galilean sites of the Byzantine period, is much better. These vessels, prevalent throughout the Mediterranean basin, have been the topic of intensive research and their chronology is firmly grounded (Hayes 1972; 1980).

The excavation of the Byzantine church at Beth Yerah in the 1950s by P. Delougaz (Delougaz and Haines 1960) was the first excavation in the region that relied on pottery chronology and in which pottery of this period was published. Relatively few assemblages from Capernaum were published by

Loffreda (above), and by V. Tzaferis (Tzaferis 1989). Byzantine assemblages from Kursi on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee were also published (Tzaferis 1983). Relatively rich Byzantine assemblages from Yoqne'am, Beth She'arim and el-Shubeika in the western Upper Galilee were published by M. Avissar, F. Vitto and D. Avshalom-Gorni (Avissar 1996; Vitto 1996; Avshalom-Gorni 2002). These sites are relatively far from our survey area.

Chapter 2

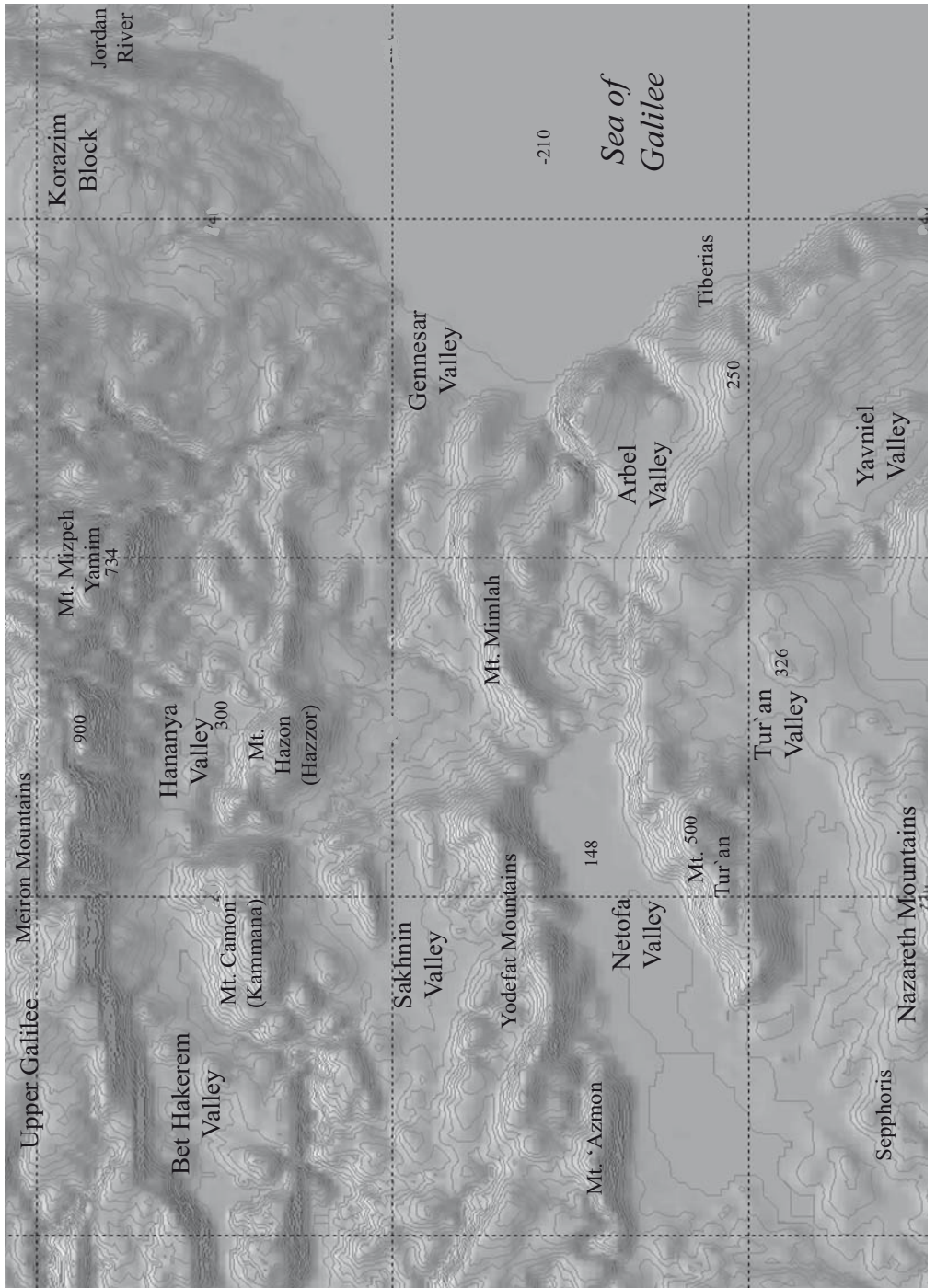
Geographical Background

Geographical Background and Agricultural Potential

Most of the study area is hilly and slopes steeply from the Galilee's main watershed in the west to the Sea of Galilee in the east, a 500 m. drop in elevation over a span of roughly 10 km. The area is divided by three main streams that may be defined as separate settlement basins and as natural routes; Wadi Arbel, Wadi Zalmon and Wadi 'Amud. Aside from this hilly region, which is relatively homogeneous in terms of its agricultural and settlement potential, two adjacent areas have been included within the study: to the west, the eastern edges of the fertile valleys of central Lower Galilee: Tur'an, Netofa, Sakhnin and Hananya, and to the east, most of the alluvial and well-watered Gennesar Valley. Inclusion of these test areas was intended to enable examination of the influence of varying geographic-agricultural conditions on settlement history.

The eastern part of the Lower Galilee consists of a series of basaltic plateaus. With the exception of the Huqoq hills in the northern part of the region, all take the form of sloping blocks that rise moderately from southwest to northeast, and descend in steep slopes toward the wadis or to the Sea of Galilee. Most of the region is ancient basalts, upon which deep basaltic soils, well suited to agriculture, developed. In the northern and western parts of the region lie areas of chalk and dolomite bedrock upon which mainly rendzina soils and patches of terra rossa developed. The clayey, basaltic soils in this region hamper the absorption of rainwater and the few springs here are mostly located in the wadis at the base of geological faults. Therefore, the hilly region that constitutes most of the survey area is suitable mainly for Mediterranean highland dry-farming, primarily cultivation of olives and grapes, combined with grain or flax in the patches of soil or in the valleys that form a part of this region.

The center of the Lower Galilee, the margins of which are a test area of the study, consists of a series of broad east-west valleys with steep ridges separating them. These ridges, with an average height of 500–600 m. above sea level (henceforth: a.s.l.), are mainly formed of chalk. Their erosion into the broad valleys below them (150–200 m. a.s.l.), generally resulted in the development of deep terra rossa soils. These valleys have the best agricultural potential in the entire Galilee, and despite the few permanent springs, the largest centers of settlement in the Lower Galilee were, and still are, located within them.



Map 2: Elevation Map

The Gennesar Valley in the east is characterized by deep alluvial soils that were washed down into the valley from surrounding hills. The valley is rich in water sources. In addition to the three primary streams in the region that drain into it (Arbel, Zalmon and 'Amud), it has several large perennial springs as well. This valley is the only region in the entire survey area in which irrigated agriculture on a significant scale is possible. Aside from the remains of irrigation channels constructed in recent generations, there is historical evidence of irrigated crops (alongside dry farming) in this valley in antiquity (see Chapter 5 site 26).

Climate and Precipitation

The eastern part of the survey area is warmer and drier than the western part. The entire region is characterized by a typical Mediterranean climate consisting of rainy winters and dry hot summers. Daytime temperatures range from an average of 26°–30° C. in the hottest month of the year (August) to an average of 10°–14° in the coldest (January).

The average annual rainfall increases significantly from 300–400 mm. in the Yavne'el Valley in the south – a borderline amount in terms of the ability to dry-farm grapes and olives (Karmon 1973: 199–201; Bitan 1982: 15–20) – to 600–700 mm in the area of the Hananya Valley in the northwest of the region (Karmon 1994: 44–45). The average number of rainy days (days with a minimum of 1 mm. rainfall) is approximately 50.

Water Resources

Thirty of the fifty sites included in this study are located within 500 m. of permanent water sources – springs, perennial streams, or wells. Generally, the settlements that are not next to permanent water sources are in chalky areas or on exposed chalk outcrops at the edges of basaltic regions. Quarried cisterns, often dozens in a single settlement, were found in all of these settlements.¹

Except for the large springs along the Rift Valley (the area of Tiberias and the Gennesar Valley), all of the springs in the survey area are of small or medium size (Kadmon 1956: V.3), and some even dry up at the end of the summer. Along the 'Amud and Zalmon Valleys, there are segments in which water flows year-round, and it may be assumed that before water was pumped from them, these streams were perennial for most of their length, as the now dry water

¹ Exceptions were: 'Oodaysa [Site 50], which is located upon basaltic rock and has a seasonal pool next to it, and Tel Ma'on [Site 45], which is also located upon basaltic rock, but all that remains of the site is a small sherd scatter, therefore, it is not possible to determine its nature or installations.

channels at the outlets of these streams indicate. However, despite these segments with perennial flow and despite most of the springs in the region being concentrated in the stream valleys, the possibilities for irrigation in the region are extremely limited because of the narrow stream beds bounded by steep slopes.

The Road Network

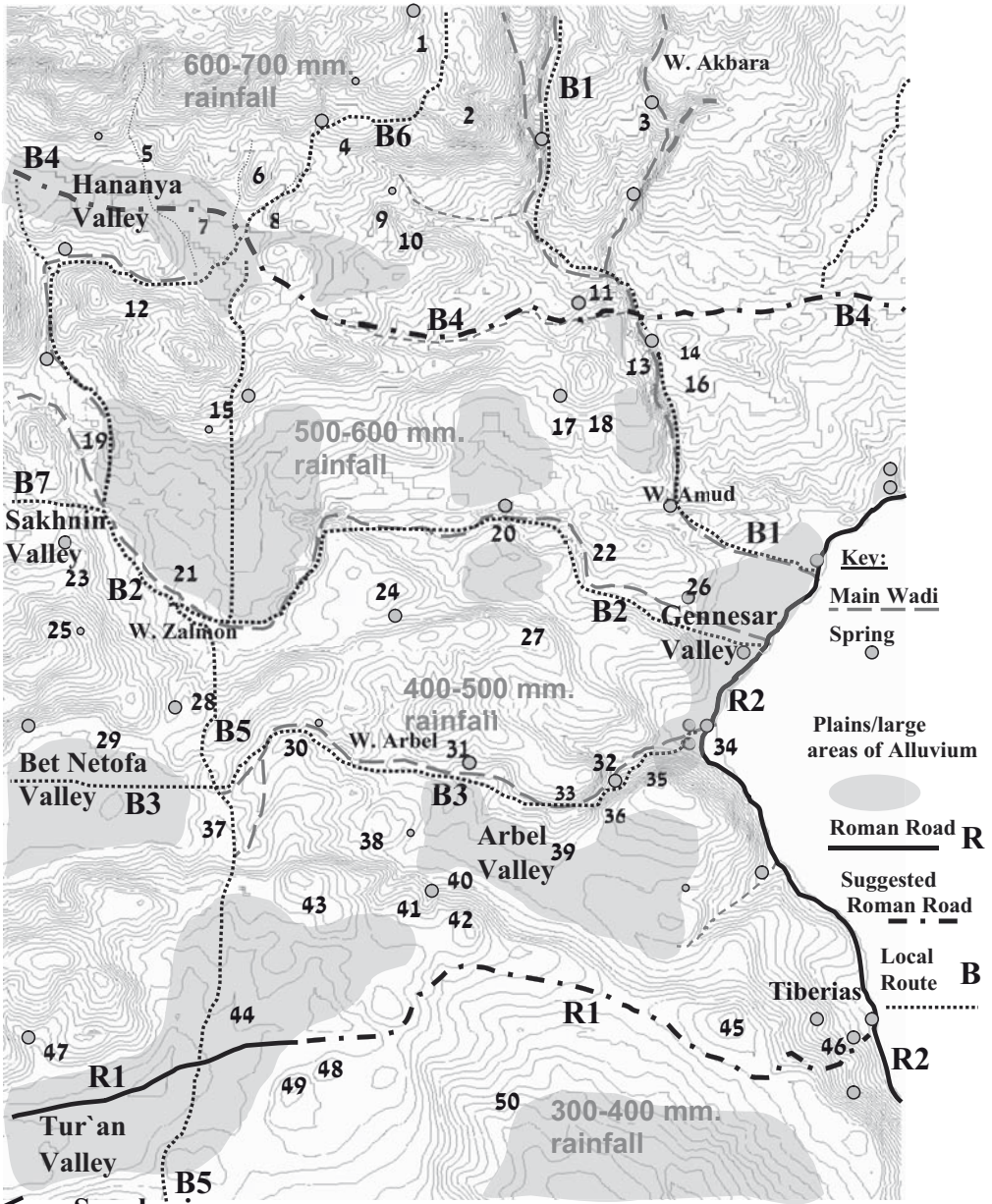
A network of roads undoubtedly existed in this region long prior to the paving of Roman roads.² In the absence of archaeological data concerning this network, the first part of our survey will be based upon the topography of the natural routes in the region, historical sources, and the routes that appear in the *SWP* map from the end of the 19th century. The region is crossed by the 'Amud, Zalmon and Arbel wadis, all three of which flow to the Sea of Galilee. It may be assumed that all three served as routes for local movement in antiquity.

B1. The Wadi 'Amud Route: This wadi descends sharply from the eastern heights of the Upper Galilee in the north, southward to the Sea of Galilee, via the area of the Huqoq hills. The wadi is passable for its entire length. However, large parts in which the stream flows in a narrow canyon and areas in which there is perennial flow leave only a narrow and rough path.

B2. The Wadi Zalmon Route: This wadi flows from north of the central Lower Galilee to the Sea of Galilee, and the streambed is wide and allows for comfortable passage. Its winding course considerably lengthens the route between the northern Lower Galilee to the Sea of Galilee basin and it seems that it was used primarily for movement on a regional level, between the settlements along it. A branch of this route connects to another route that crosses the Sakhnin Valley and leads to the 'Akko Coastal Plain (B7).

B3. The Wadi Arbel Route: The broad channel of this wadi, which crosses the southern part of the survey region from west to east, constitutes the shortest and most comfortable route between the area of the Netofa Valley and its settlements to the Sea of Galilee basin. This route was still in use at the beginning of the 20th century (*SWP* I: 379; Dalman 1935: 118), and there appears to be evidence in rabbinic literature for the use of this route in the Roman period (see below, Chapter 5, Site 29). A branch of this route descends to the Arbel Valley settlements.

² Isaac 2000: 109. Regarding roads in the biblical period, see, for example, Aharoni 1966: 40-41.



← **Sepphoris**

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 9. Ein Camonim | 17. Huqoq | 25. Hararit | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 26. Abu Shushah | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin |
| 3. Akbara | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 19. H. Zalmun | 27. H. Sabbān | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah |
| 4. Parod | 12. Hazon | 20. H. Ravid | 28. Ailbun | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on |
| 5. H. Kefir | 13. W. Amud Site | 21. Kh. Luziah | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 22. Livnim | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 15. Maghar | 23. Ein Najmiah | 31. H. Mizga | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 16. Kahal | 24. H. Mimlah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| | | | | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |

Map 3: Geography and Routes in the Region

In addition to wadis, there are several other natural routes in the region (concerning two of these, which were eventually paved, see the section “Roman Roads”):

B4. The Beth-HaKerem-Ramat Korazim Route: This is a broad, comfortable east–west route that connects the ‘Akko Coastal Plain via the Beth-HaKerem Valley, the Ḥananya Valley and Wadi Livnim with the eastern Galilee, the northern Sea of Galilee and the Golan. The route crosses the canyon of the Wadi ‘Amud at the foot of Kula‘t Shuneh [Site 11] and continues via the Korazim basalt plains. At this point the route splits, with one arm descending to the northern Sea of Galilee and continuing to the western Golan and the other ascends to the northeast toward the Benot Ya‘aqov pass. Fragmentary remains of a paved road have been uncovered only in a limited area in the ascent from the Sea of Galilee basin to the area of the Korazim basalt plains. A water conduit that apparently belonged to the same road was excavated here as well. The dating of both remains unclear (Ilan 1989-90: 15; Stepansky 1997: 30).

I. Roll identified this road on his map as a Roman road (*TIR*: Map 4). This was based on the few fragmentary remains of paving whose attribution to the Roman period is unclear. The fact that not a single milestone was found along this route casts further doubt upon its identification as a Roman road.

B5. The Watershed Route: The hilly nature of this region permits comfortable north–south movement only at its periphery. A north–south route stretches along the western edge of the region, while taking advantage of the Galilee’s main watershed line, which passes upon the ridges between the great valleys in the west and the wadis flowing in the east. This is the most comfortable route connecting the Jezreel Valley and the southern Lower Galilee to its center, since it does not involve crossing ridges or deep channels. Continuing to the northern Lower Galilee and to the Upper Galilee, one must climb toward Maghar or the Wadi Z̄almon ascent toward the region of the Ḥananya Valley.

B6. The Ḥananya Valley–Meiron Route: This route is the most comfortable for traveling between the Lower Galilee and the eastern Upper Galilee and the settlements in the vicinity of Meiron and Gush Ḥalav because it bypasses the Mt. Meiron ridge to the east at the lowest possible spot. The route climbs the upper part of Wadi Z̄almon to the foot of the sites of Kefar Ḥananya and Parod, crosses the ridge of Mt. Shamai near the site of Sammu‘iya [Site 1] and continues northward toward Meiron and Gush Ḥalav.

B7. The Sakhnin Valley Route: This route extends from the ‘Akko Coastal Plain in the west, via the settlements of the Sakhnin Valley, extending to the Wadi Z̄almon basin (Route B2).

Roman Roads

Data concerning Roman roads has been assembled by I. Roll (*TIR*: Map 4), who refers to three roads passing through this area. The first two roads may clearly be identified as Roman roads on the basis of milestones and paving techniques, while the identification of the third as a Roman road is doubtful (see above, Route B4).

R1. The Sepphoris–Tiberias Road: A road running from west to east between ‘Akko and Sepphoris, and from there, via the Tur‘an Valley and along the watershed between the Yavne‘el and Arbel Valleys to Tiberias. The easternmost known remains of this route are located at Mashkanah [Site 44] near the Golani Junction, and include a milestone bearing an inscription apparently mentioning the Emperor Caracalla (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus) (Shenhav 1984: 107), active in the early third century CE. It is not clear if the road was constructed during his reign or was only refurbished then, but it is noteworthy that milestones found along the road to Sepphoris, both from ‘Akko and from Legio, mention the Emperor Hadrian as builder or restorer (Hecker 1961: 176; Roll 1995: 39) and the portion from Sepphoris to Tiberias probably also dates to that time. The route from Mashkanah eastward is not clearly known. A small segment of a paved road that was identified near Kh. Nasr ed-Din (=Beth Ma‘on, see Chapter 5, Site 46) west of Roman Tiberias suggests that the road from Mashkanah followed a bow-shaped course in a southeasterly direction, descending abruptly to Roman Tiberias from the west.

Reference to the use of this route prior to its being paved as a Roman road apparently appears in the description of the arrival of Josephus to Galilee. During his journey from Sepphoris to Tiberias he decided to make camp at Beth Ma‘on, which lies on this route at a distance of “four stadia from Tiberias”.³ In the 19th century, the eastern part of this road was still in use (see: Guérin 1868–80, Vol. 1: 265; *SWP* Vol. 1: 379 and the attached map).

R2. The Western Sea of Galilee Road: Milestones from this road were discovered both south of Tiberias and north of Tiberias, near Capernaum (*TIR*: Map 4). A portion of this route, between Tiberias and Migdal, is mentioned twice by Josephus in his description of the events of the year 66/7 CE (*War* 3, 539; *Life* 276). Josephus probably refers to an unpaved route, since the earliest archaeological evidence for a paved Roman road in Judaea dates from the year 69 CE (Isaac and Roll 1982; 9; Isaac 2000: 110).

³ *Life* 64. One stadion = approximately 180–200 m.

Chapter 3

The Pottery

This chapter presents the repertory of pottery vessels that form the basis of this study. The discussions in the following chapters all require a basic familiarity with the pottery types found in the survey area.

The Presentation of the Pottery

Upon completion of the fieldwork, analysis and computerization of the findings, seventy-five pottery types (some of these further divided into subtypes) from the periods under discussion were selected to serve as the basis for this study. The tables in Chapter 5 present the quantities of each of these seventy-five types at every site and the percentage that each type constitutes of the sample at the site. The summaries for each site present the total number of rims collected, the number of identified rims and their percentage within the sample, and the number of unidentified rims and their percentage within the sample. The types selected are ones whose chronological range is well known in Galilean pottery research and of which at least three examples were found during the survey. The vast majority of these types are found in large quantities over the survey area and are also noteworthy for a high level of uniformity, primarily those dated to the Roman and Byzantine periods. Rare types, of which fewer than three examples were found, but which are known from pottery research, are indicated by a star in this chapter and appear under the heading “miscellaneous” in the tables.

This detailed presentation of the pottery repertory from each site is important for several reasons:

- A. The pottery finds constitute the basis for describing the settlement history of each site. Presentation of the repertory makes it possible to examine the archaeological data upon which the conclusions are based and to update these conclusions in accordance with future innovations in pottery research (see Joffe 1993: 8–11). The quantities of identified and unidentified pottery make it possible to evaluate the size of the body of data on which the conclusions depend, as well as the possibility that periods of habitation were not noted as a result of unidentified sherds.

- B. The detailed presentation facilitates comparison of the quantitative and geographical distribution of the various types and enables comparison with inventories of vessels from other regions. These data assist in locating production centers, trade contacts and material-cultural boundaries (Adan-Bayewitz 1993; Frankel *et al.* 2001: 5).
- C. Detailed presentation of large samples from sites that were settled only during certain periods can serve as an independent archaeological testimony to the presence or absence of various types during those periods, and can aid in dating them (Ben David 1999: 148–169; Adan-Bayewitz 2005: 11–14).

In its detailed presentation of the pottery, the present study joins a number of recently published surveys carried out in Israel that have followed this methodology.¹ Unlike most of the surveys conducted in Israel published to date that do not include an itemization of the types of vessels and their quantities, such detailed presentation makes possible the evaluation of the size and quality of the database as well as evaluation of the historical conclusions resting upon that data.

An important advantage of the study area is the advanced state of local pottery research since the vast majority of the finds from the survey are pottery. Due to their limited familiarity with local pottery, many surveyors working in the Mediterranean region based their historical reconstructions largely on imported wares. This carries the risk of entirely missing periods during which the pottery was almost exclusively local (Hayes 2000: 107).²

In this chapter, vessels are presented in chronological groups. Each type is briefly described, with references and an illustration. Common vessels or ones with several variants are provided with more than one illustration. Vessels common to adjacent periods and ones that, due to similarity in rim profile, cannot be distinguished from types belonging to adjacent periods, have been classified into groups of “intermediate types” (see discussion of these types in chapter 4).

For the pottery plates for each period, a representative site with the richest assemblage for that period was selected. For every period, a supplementary plate is presented that includes types not found at the representative site.

A special plate is devoted to the transition between the Late Roman and the Early Byzantine periods, because of the changes in the Galilean pottery repertory and the dramatic settlement changes that occurred around this period.

¹ See Southern Samaria Survey (Finkelstein and Lederman 1997), Upper Galilee (Frankel *et al.* 2001) and Lower Golan (Ben-David 2005).

² Hayes and Martini, for example, present the possibility that settlements of the 3rd century went virtually unidentified in the Liri Valley survey in central Italy, due to the absence of fine ware or other “Classical” types of that period (Hayes and Martini 1994: 34). This difficulty noted in a study by Hayes, one of the foremost researchers of Roman pottery, emphasizes how crucial familiarity with the local common wares is in shaping an accurate historical picture.

This presentation is, in effect, the only repertory to date encompassing the common pottery in this region during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods.

Hellenistic Period Pottery (Pl. 1–2)

Except for a few Hellenistic assemblages from Capernaum, there are, at the present time, no publications of Hellenistic assemblages from the survey area and its immediate surroundings. Therefore, many references below are to the rather distant sites of Tel Dor and Tel Anafa (hereafter = *TA*) at which systematic stratigraphic excavations were conducted and rich Hellenistic assemblages were found and analyzed (Stern 1995; Herbert 1997). The plain ware (hereafter = *PW*) from *TA* has been published by A. Berlin (1997) and the fine ware (hereafter = *FW*), by K.W. Slane (1997). The comparisons to types from *TA* follow their classifications. The recent publication of the pottery from Gamla (Berlin 2006) provided important information on types and quantities from rich assemblages at a nearby site, with strong connections with the survey area. The Hellenistic published assemblages from Gamla, however, are from the first century BCE, though they seem to include a fair amount of earlier, residual pottery (*ibid*: 7, 133).

The knowledge of the local Hellenistic types does not enable their classification into sub-periods with a high level of certainty. The only group found in the area that has been precisely dated is the red-slipped tableware found in numerous excavations throughout the eastern Mediterranean region and referred to by K. Kenyon as Eastern Sigillata A (hereafter = *ESA*). This group constitutes a significant chronological anchor for the Late Hellenistic period and the Early Roman period. The absence of types belonging to this group in assemblages dated to 145 BCE at Kedesh (Herbert and Berlin 2003: 21, 30) and their high frequency in slightly later assemblages from Tel Anafa, enables us to precisely date the appearance of this group to the third quarter of the second century BCE (Slane 1997: 257–260).

Khirbet ‘Eika [site 42], which according to the survey findings was not settled after the Hellenistic period, was selected as the representative site for this period (Pl. 1). The types presented in the supplementary plate (Pl. 2) are taken from Nasr ed-Din [site 46 (nos. 1, 3)], Nimrin [site 43 (nos. 2, 4, 10)], Beer Sheva‘ [site 6 (nos. 5, 6, 8)], Ein Camonim [site 9 (no. 7)], and Zalmon [site 19 (no. 9)].

1. Persian/Hellenistic Mortaria = P/H Mor (Pl. 1: 1, 2). Large, shallow bowl with thick walls and thickened rim. Similar bowls first appear at the end of the Iron Age and are very typical of the Persian period (Stern 1982: 95–98, type 5; Stern 1995: 53–54, Fig. 2.2; Stern and Magen 1984: 14–16, Fig. 5, no. 9–15). It is accepted that they ceased to be used during the course of the fourth or first half of the third century BCE (Blakely and Bennet 1989: 61). At Capernaum

and Yodefāt, such vessels were found in rich assemblages dated to the Hellenistic period, without any finds from earlier periods (Loffreda 1982: 284, Fig. 1, no. 1; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: Fig. 12.1). Also at Tel Keisan and Dor, bowls of this type were found in strata securely dated to the Hellenistic period and it appears that at least in northern Israel they remained in use until the beginning of the second century BCE. They have therefore been defined in this study as intermediate Persian–Hellenistic types (Briend and Humbert 1980: 108; Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 295, Fig. 6.9, no. 1–7).

2. *Persian/Hellenistic Thickened-Rim Storage Jar = P/H TNSJ* (Pl. 1: 14). Jar with a relatively short neck; rounded, considerably thickened rim, sometimes slightly everted. The fabric is light colored, generally yellowish to light brown with numerous dark grits. These jars are typical of the Early Hellenistic period though in Galilean assemblages they also appear during the Late Persian period (N. Getzov, oral communication) and it has therefore been decided to relate to them as an “intermediate” Persian–Hellenistic type.

3. *Galilean Coarse Ware = GCW* (Pl. 2: 5–8). A diverse group of vessels, roughly made, of pinkish-orange fabric with large white grits; generally hand made. Most of the vessels belonging to this group found in the survey are large storage vessels (jars and pithoi) and their number increased in areas near the Upper Galilee, though they are also found in the southern part of the survey area. Based on the Upper Galilee Survey and unpublished excavations (primarily Mizpeh ha-Yamim, Sasa and Yodefāt), it has been proposed to date these vessels to the Persian and mainly to the Hellenistic period (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 61–62; 110). Very few vessels of these types, however, have been published as parts of dated assemblages. This pottery is found at a number of sites identified as pagan, which include finds pointing to influence from the Phoenician coast. It is absent at Phoenician coastal sites. The abandonment of many sites with this pottery during the period when the Hasmoneans took control of the area led researchers to conclude that it should be identified with pagan population with ties to the Phoenician coast, but apparently of a distinct ethnic origin (Aviam and Amitai 2002; Frankel *et al.* 2001: 109–110).

Vessels with similar characteristics (though perhaps of slightly different color) were found recently in the Kedesh excavations in a stratum clearly dated to the mid-second century BCE, and petrographic examination revealed that the source of the material is somewhere in the central or eastern Upper Galilee (Herbert and Berlin 2003: 28). It is noteworthy that the finds from Kedesh generally indicate close connections with Tyre and the Phoenician coast. Some of our survey sites also yielded GCW pottery together with ESA pottery, indicating connections to the Phoenician coast.

4. *Hellenistic Bowls = Hell. Bowl*. Due to their limited number, it was decided to unify all of the bowls into one group. Bowls with everted rims of local orange-pink fabric (Pl. 1: 3; Pl. 2: 1) and bowls with inverted rims (Pl. 1:4) are the most typical. Compare: Capernaum (Corbo and Loffreda 1985: Fig. 6.21–22; 25–30).

5. *Black Slip Predecessor of Eastern Sigillata A = BSP*. Examples: Pl. 1: 5; Pl. 2: 2 (compare TA FW 1, 4). A group of black-slipped imported vessels that, according to the recent excavations in Kedesh, had begun to appear around the mid-2nd century BCE (Herbert and Berlin 2003: 30). BSP vessels were apparently from the same production center as the ESA group, and it seems that this group ceased to be produced around the end of the 2nd century BCE (Slane 1997: 257–272; Berlin 2006: 14).

6. *Hellenistic ESA = Hell. ESA*. Examples: Pl. 1: 6, 7 (compare: TA FW 11, 12). A group of imported red-slipped tableware that K. Kenyon referred to as Eastern Sigillata A at Samaria (Crowfoot *et al.* 1957: 282–284). The well-dated strata at Tel Anafa and Kedesh indicate the

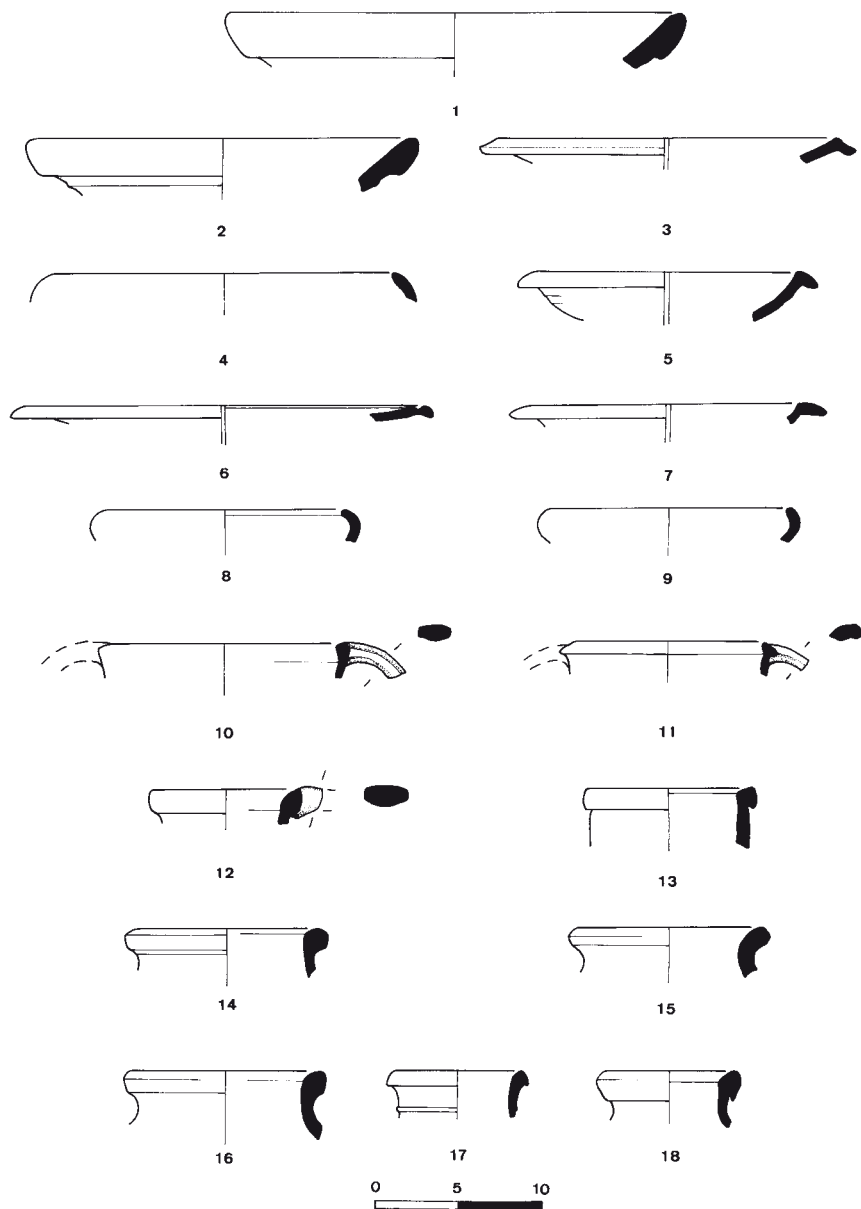


Plate 1: Hellenistic. Kh. 'Eika

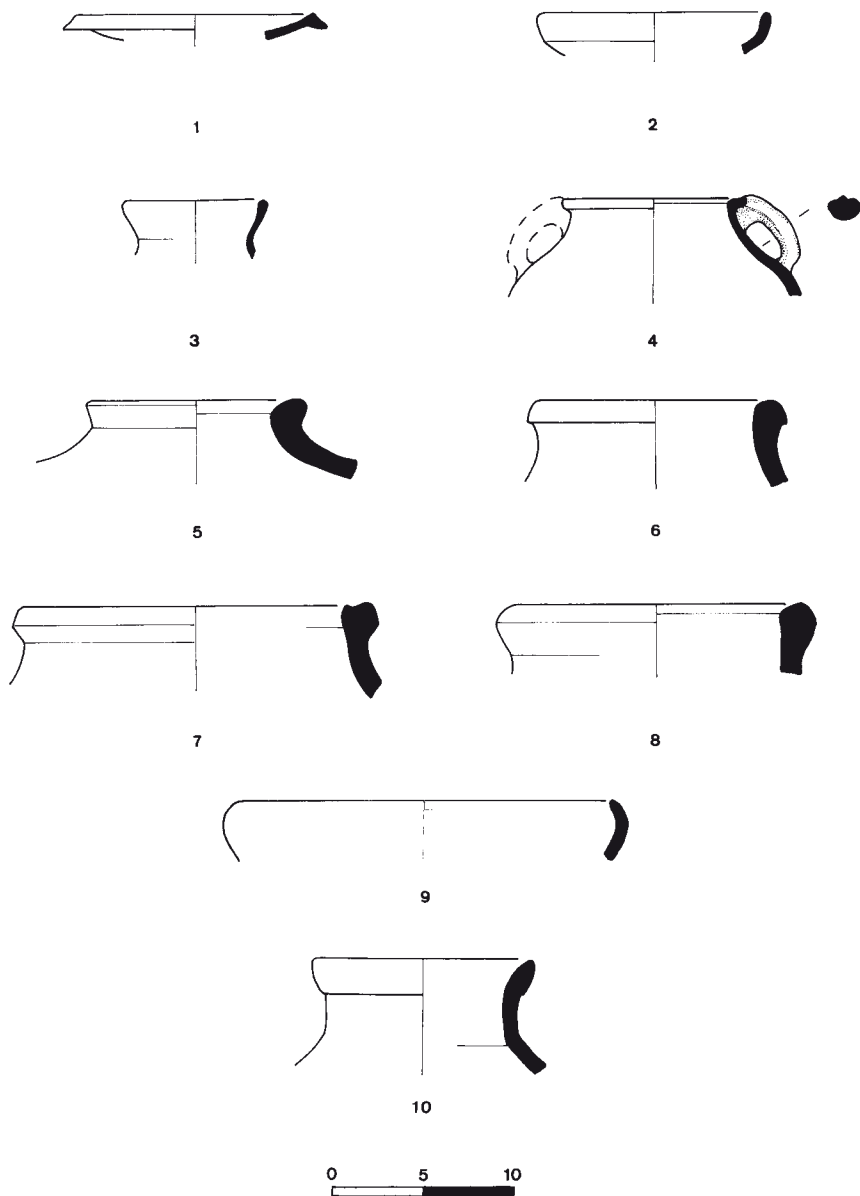


Plate 2: Hellenistic. Supplementary Plate

third quarter of the second century BCE as the beginning of the appearance of these vessels. Included under the Hellenistic ESA category are only rims of vessels that belong to the period up to the mid-first century BCE, as in the studies by Slane for Tel Anafa (Slane 1997: 283–300, 309–322).

Hellenistic Cooking Pots

7. *Concave-Necked Cooking Pot = CNCP* (Pl. 1: 10; Pl. 2: 3). Thin-walled cooking pot, plain rim and concave neck. Reddish to dark-brown fabric, core generally grey, specked with small white grits. This is the most typical type of Hellenistic cooking pot in the region and at Dor is found as an innovation in assemblages from the third century to approximately the mid-first century BCE. Compare: Yodefāt and Dor (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: 142, Fig. 12.3; Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 299, Fig. 6.19; Berlin 2006 32, Fig. 2.10.4–14, 2.11.1–6).

8. *Additional Cooking Pots = Hell. CP*. Cooking pot with triangular rim (Pl. 1:11). At Tel Anafa and Dor, this pot belongs mainly to the Hellenistic period, though it apparently begins to appear at the end of the Persian period. In Gamla this type is well represented in first century BCE assemblages (Berlin 1997: 87, PW 178–180; id. 2006: 32, Fig. 2.12.4–6; Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 299; Fig. 6.18).

A globular cooking pot with a plain rim (not illustrated). Generally brown, sandy, grayish with gray core and small black grits. Compare: Anafa (Berlin 1997: 88, PW 184–186).

Cooking pot with small ledged rim (Pl. 2: 4). Dark brown fabric specked with small white grits. Compare: Tel Anafa (Berlin 1997: 90; PW 205).

9. *Hellenistic Jug = Hell. Jug* (Pl. 1: 12, 13). Jug with thickened, generally everted rim, usually of yellowish or light orange fabric with large grits, recalling the rims of jars from this period. On rims that don't include handles, it is difficult to distinguish between jug rims and the small jar rims. Lapp (1961: 15) noted that the earlier jugs are characterized by thicker walls and rims than the later examples. Compare: Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 308, Fig. 6.30, no. 1–6).

Hellenistic Storage Jars

Lapp (1961: 14–15) and Berlin (1997²: 44–47) distinguish typologically and chronologically between storage jars typical of the Early Hellenistic period (until approximately the mid-second century BCE), which are characterized by a rounded, highly thickened rim and relatively short neck, and jars typical of the Late Hellenistic period (approximately 150–50 BCE), which are characterized by a thickened and elongated rim and a longer neck than the earlier type. Jar rims are the most widespread find from the Hellenistic period in the survey collection and they have been divided into four categories, distinguished by rim shape and fabric:

– *Persian/Hellenistic jar with thickened rim* – above, type no. 2 (P/H TNSJ).

10. *Hellenistic Storage Jar = Hell. SJ*. Jar with relatively short neck, rounded rim, considerably thickened and sometimes slightly everted. This jar is morphologically similar to the early type (see Pl. 1: 14) but is of a different fabric, generally pink-orange with light-colored grits.

Compare: Beth Zur (Lapp 1961: 148, Fig. 11.3A); Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: Fig. 6.35.8); esh-Shuhara (Aviam and Amitai 2002: Pl. 14.8). Jars of this type are attributed to the Early Hellenistic period. The absence of parallels from well-dated strata at sites in this area, however, does not allow for precision regarding finds from the survey and the type has been classified as General Hellenistic. Jars that do not belong to one of the other clear types have been included in this group (eg.: Pl. 1: 15, 17).

11. Ivory Storage Jar = ISJ (Pl. 1: 16). Jar with thickened rim, globular interior and generally, light carination or square profile on exterior of the rim. The rim is everted and the neck is higher than in the previous example. The fabric is white-ivory colored with few small light colored grits. Unlike other types of storage jars made of various fabrics, this type is of uniform fabric – and appears to have been made at a single production center, making it of special value here. At Beth Zur and Dor, storage jars with carinated or square rims are placed together with Late Hellenistic period vessels. The distinct material, however, and the absence of parallels from well-dated strata from sites in the area do not allow such precision regarding finds from the survey and the type has been classified as General Hellenistic (Lapp 1968: 71–72, Fig. 22, no. 1, 2, 4; Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 311, Fig. 6.37.5, 6; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: 142, Fig. 12.9).

12. Long Rim Storage Jar = L. Rim SJ (Pl. 1: 18; Pl. 2: 10). Jar with elongated, everted elliptical rim and a higher neck than the previous type. Generally, the rim is entirely folded outward, creating a uniformly thickened rim. Generally made of light colored material, orange-yellow or orange-pink, combined with large light-colored grits. Berlin (2005: 425–428; 2006: 48) refers to this type as “squared rim jar” and notes that it is found in Jewish settlement areas of Judea, Samaria, the Galilee and the Golan from roughly the beginning of the first century BCE. At Gamla, these jars also appear in area R, which was occupied only from the late first century B.C.E. onward (Berlin 2006: 48). At Dor, similar jars appear beginning in the final quarter of the second century BCE (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 311). Compare: Capernaum, Yodefat and Gamla (Loffreda 1985: Fig. 1.26; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: Fig. 12.7, 8; Berlin 2006: 48, Fig. 2.22, 2.23).

Hellenistic/Roman Intermediate Types

13. Hellenistic/Roman ESA = H/R ESA. Eastern Sigillata A vessels that cannot be defined as belonging to the Hellenistic period or to the Early Roman period.

14. TA FW 24 ESA = TA FW 24 (Pl. 1: 8, 9). Small bowls with ring bases and inverted rims, the most common among the ESA ware in the survey findings. This bowl is classified as Type 24 at Tel Anafa and appears there in second century BCE assemblages up to the end of that century (Slane 1997: 278–280; 309). However, the small number of bowls of this type with red slip from Tel Anafa (three examples only; all the other examples are black slipped) as well as their occurrence in assemblages of the first century BCE and the first century CE at Capernaum (Loffreda 1982: 281–282; 288–290, Fig. 2: 2 and Fig. 3: 20–21; Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 114) led to their classification here as Hellenistic/Roman types.

15. TA FW 13 ESA = TA FW 13 (Pl. 2: 9). Shallow, wide bowl with ring base, low sides and sometimes, slightly inverted rim. This bowl is the most common one at Tel Anafa and appears there in both Hellenistic and Roman assemblages (Slane 1997: 285–297). Since it is not possible to distinguish between the different variants based on the rim only, this type has been defined in the present study as Hellenistic/Roman.

Roman Period Pottery (Pl. 3A, 3B, 3C, 4)

The main basis for dating the Roman and the Early Byzantine periods and their division into sub-periods is the kitchenware of Kefar Ḥananya (hereafter KH) as defined and dated by Adan-Bayewitz (Adan-Bayewitz 1993; 2003). All of the typological and chronological definitions of these types in the present study are based on those of Adan-Bayewitz. These types are the most common in the Galilee during the Roman period. As an example, archaeometric study of assemblages from Sepphoris, located some 25 km. from Kefar Ḥananya, showed that approximately 75% of the cooking vessels from the Roman period strata originated in the Kefar Ḥananya workshops (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990).³ A similar picture emerges from the findings of the present survey, in which vessels of the Kefar Ḥananya forms constitute 73% of the dated vessels for the period between the mid-first century BCE to approximately the end of the fourth century CE (and 58% of the finds from the entire survey). The earliest evidence for the presence of the Kefar Ḥananya forms in various excavations is from strata of the second half of the first century BCE, and the latest belong to the beginning of the fifth century CE. It seems that the production at Kefar Ḥananya totally ceased around 430 CE. However, the penetration of vessels from other production centers (different also typologically from the Kefar Ḥananya types – see below), which take the place of the Kefar Ḥananya vessels, is documented as early as the mid-fourth century assemblages at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999). At Meiron and Kh. Shema' the hegemony of vessels from neighboring Kefar Ḥananya in the layers of this period is still apparent. Another important production center in the Roman Galilee was at Shiḥin near Sepphoris, where mainly storage and serving vessels were produced but apparently, no cooking vessels. The vessels from this center and from several other production centers that produced mainly jars, are being studied by Adan-Bayewitz's team and the basic typology, chronology and distribution of the vessels of this group are becoming clearer (Adan-Bayewitz, in preparation).⁴ Migdal has been selected as the key site for the Roman period pottery types due to the outstanding wealth of pottery from this period (Pl. 3A, 3B, 3C). According to the findings of the survey and the extensive excavations, this settlement was founded around the end of the second/beginning of the first century BCE. The types presented in the supplementary plate (Pl. 4) are taken from Ḥazon [site 12 (no. 1, 2)], Beth Netofa [site 29 (no. 3, 4)], el-Khirbeh [site 49 (no. 5, 12)], 'Ammudim [site 37 (no. 6)], Mashkanah [site 44 (no. 7)], el-Ma'aser [site 38 (no. 8)], Wadi 'Amud caves [site 14 (no. 9)], Bellaneh [site 10 (no. 10)], and 'Akbara [site 3 (no. 11)].

³ An additional production center for similar vessels, though for a relatively limited period of time, was active at Yodefāt. See Aviam 2004²: 17–18.

⁴ I wish to thank David Adan-Bayewitz for the chronological data concerning the vessels from this group.

Early Roman Pottery

The rich assemblages from Gamla and Yodefat (sites destroyed in 67 CE) and from Tel Anafa (abandoned at around the mid-first century CE), three settlements that were never restored, provide an accurate picture of the local vessel repertory during the Early Roman period. The stratigraphic and systematic excavations conducted at these sites have yielded extensive chronological evidence concerning the local pottery in the region during this period (for Gamla pottery, see: Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 118, 126–127, 165–181, 205–206, 221–223; Berlin 2006; for Yodefat pottery, see Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997; Aviam 2005; regarding the local pottery from Tel Anafa, see Berlin 1997).

16. *Early Roman Krater = ER Krater* (Pl. 3B: 10). A large krater with a broad, everted grooved rim. The walls are thinner than the kraters of the Middle Roman period (Adan-Bayewitz, oral communication).

17. *Kefar Ḥananya Cooking Pot Type 3a = KH3a* (Pl. 3B: 11–13). Globular open cooking pot with thin walls, characterized by broad ledged rim, usually slightly concave. Like the following type (KH4a), it is found in assemblages dated from the mid-first century BCE to the mid-second century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 111–119).

18. *Kefar Ḥananya Cooking Pot Type 4a = KH4a* (Pl. 3C: 3–5). Globular, closed cooking pot with thin walls, characterized by a small groove in the inner edge of the rim (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 124–125).

19. *Kefar Ḥananya Cooking Pot Type 4b = Kh4b* (Pl. 3C: 6–9). Globular, closed cooking pot with thin walls, characterized by a broad rim with two grooves. Dated from the mid-first century CE to the mid-second century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 126–128).

20. *Shelf-Rim Casserole = SR Casserole* (Pl. 3B: 8, 9). A casserole characterized by a very broad ledged rim with two grooves and upper basket handles attached to the rim. Dating follows Adan-Bayewitz (oral communication).

21. *Early Roman Cooking Pot = ERCP*. Two rare types were included in this category, examples of which have not been published as types in the Kefar Ḥananya repertory. The former is an open cooking casserole with a broad ledged rim sharply twisted upward at the edge. The reddish-brown fabric has small, light- and dark-colored grits and the core is gray. At Tel Anafa, this type is called the Galilean Curled Lip Casserole and it is described there as made of fabric similar to that of Kefar Ḥananya ware (Galilean cooking ware). It is dated from the end of the first century BCE to the early first century CE (Berlin 1997: 102). The latter, a cooking pot characterized by a single groove on the rim, parallels type 10.4 in Díez Fernández's typology (Díez Fernández 1983: 119, no. 265–269; Loffreda 1974: Fig. 30.5). The dating follows Adan-Bayewitz (oral communication).

22. *Storage Jar with Straight Rim = T1.3 SJ* (Pl. 3C: 12–14). Jar with a straight, high, usually sharpened rim, and generally, ribbed exterior. Often has a narrow groove or ridge at the base of the rim. Parallel: type T 1.3 and T 1.4 in Díez Fernández's classification (Díez Fernández 1983: 107, no. 23–34). This jar is very common in Early Roman period assemblages and is dated from the mid-first century BCE to the mid-first century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1990: 92, no. 9–10). Jars of this type were produced at Yodefat and are therefore referred to as Yodefat

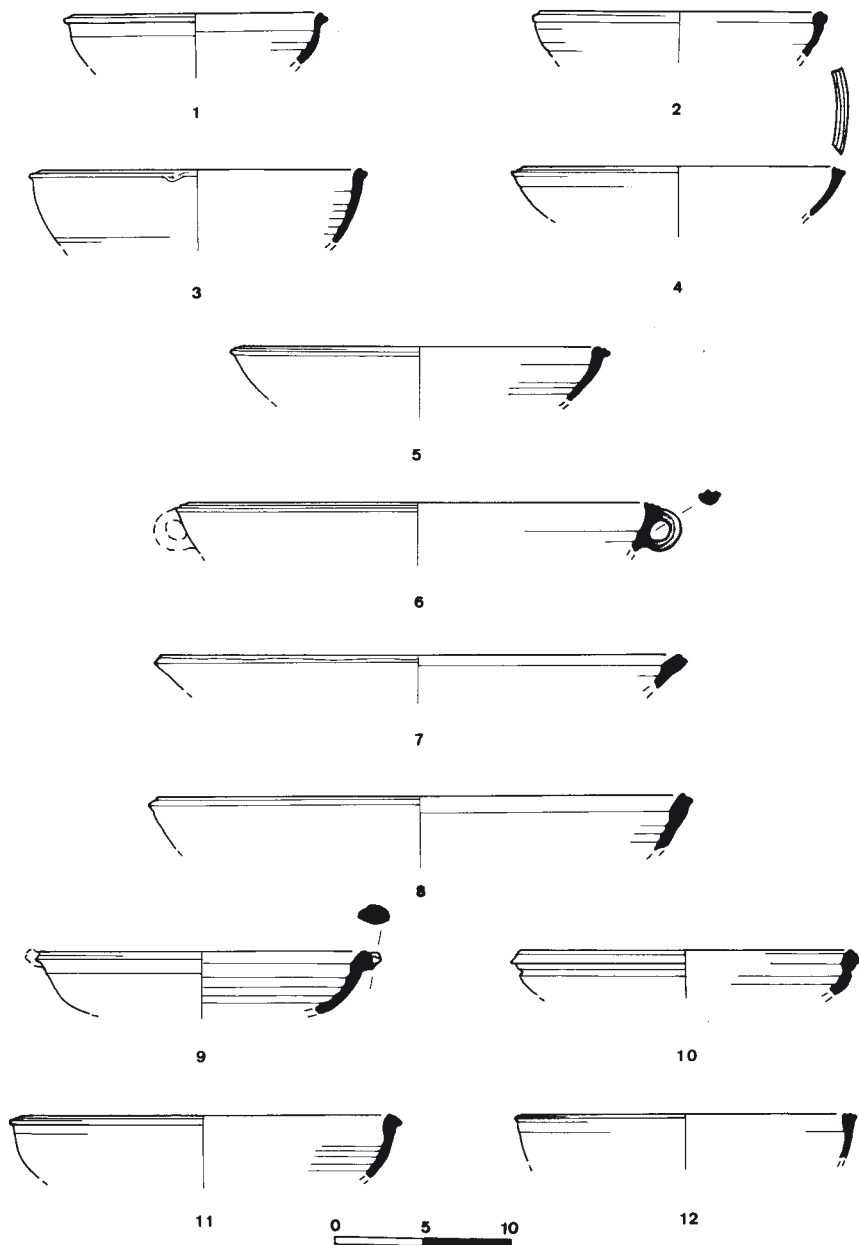


Plate 3A: Roman. Migdal (Magdala)

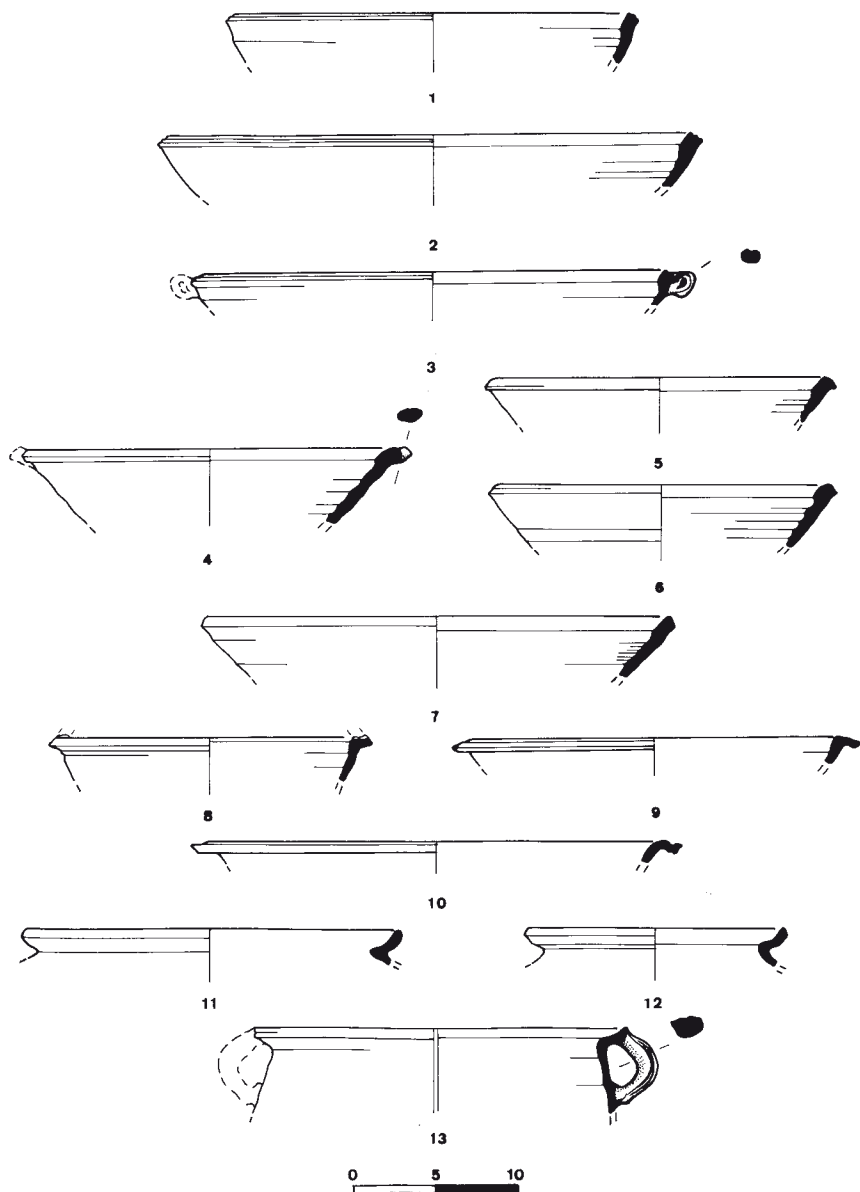


Plate 3B: Roman. Migdal (Magdala)

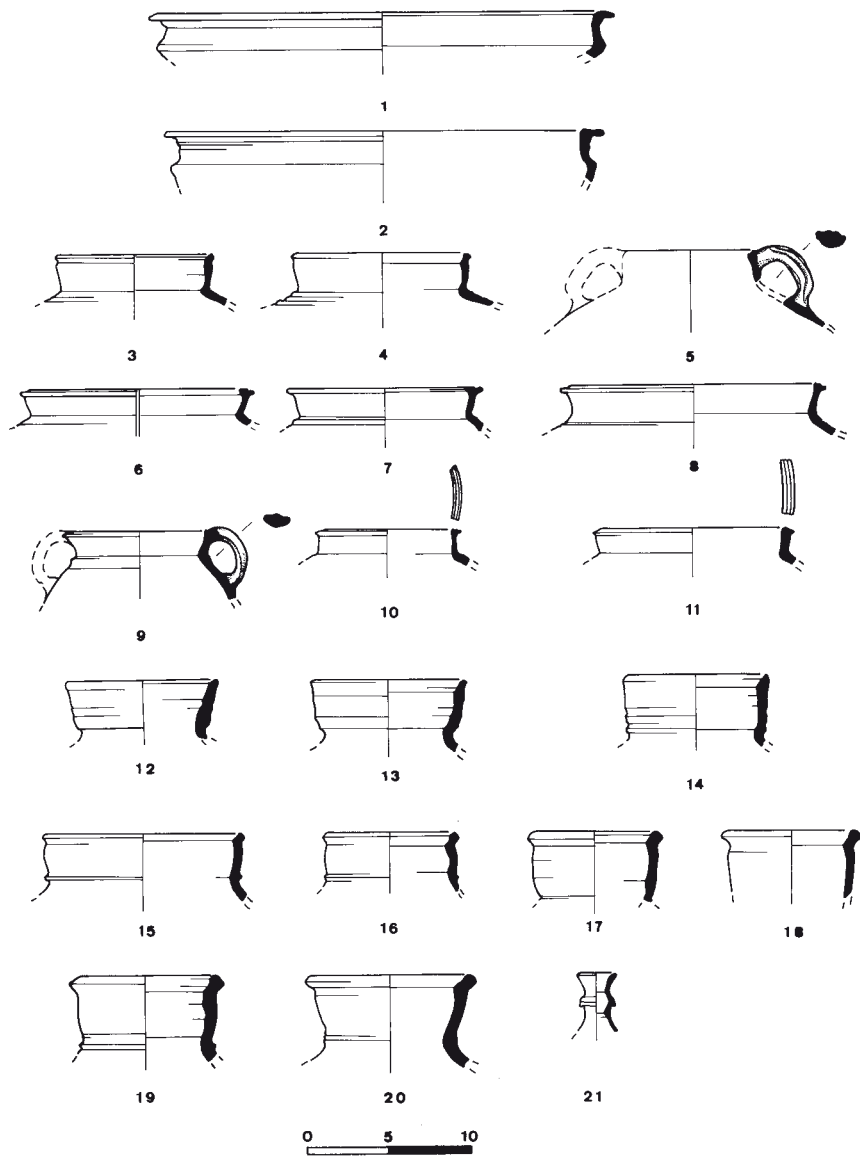


Plate 3C: Roman. Migdal (Magdala)

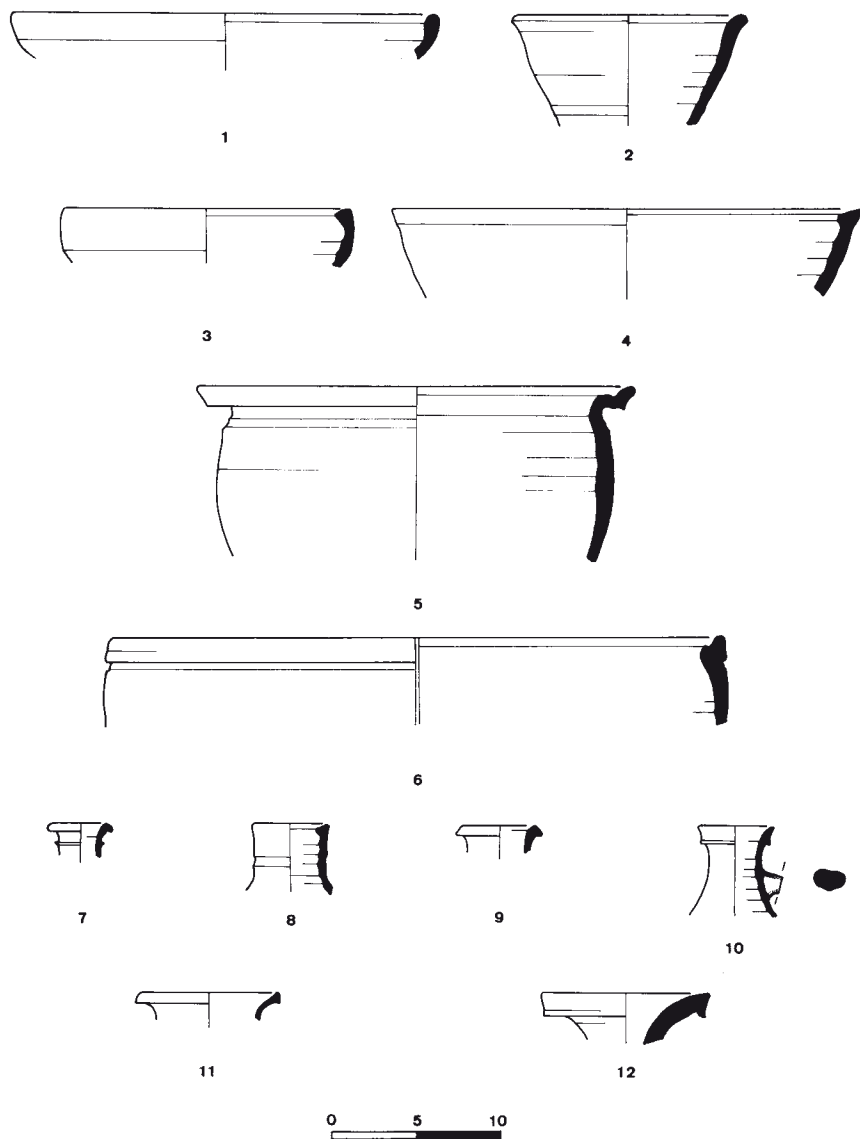


Plate 4: Roman. Supplementary Plate

Jars (Avshalom-Gorni and Getzov 2002: 78). Compare: Capernaum, Yodefat and Gamla (Loffreda 1982: Fig. 2.5 [group C]; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: Fig. 12.14; Berlin 2006: 48, Fig. 2.26, 2.27).

23. *Early Roman Grooved Storage Jar = ER GrSJ* (Pl. 3C: 15, 16). Jar characterized by rounded, everted rim, with inner groove at the top and a ridge at the base of the neck. Parallel to type T 1.5 in Díez Fernández classification (Díez Fernández 1983: 107, no. 44–58). Very common in Early Roman period assemblages (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 114). At Gamla was found mainly in first century CE assemblages (Berlin 2006: 48). Compare: Capernaum, Yodefat and Gamla (Loffreda 1982: Fig. 1.30 [group B]; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: Fig. 12.13; Avshalom-Gorni and Getzov 2002: Fig. 5.1.8–12; Berlin 2006: 48, Fig. 2.28.4).

24. *Early Roman Jug = ER Jug* (Pl. 4: 7). Jug with thin walls, rounded, slightly everted rim and ridge slightly below rim. Parallel to Díez Fernández type T 9.2 (Díez Fernández 1983: 116, no. 210–226). Compare: Capernaum and Yodefat (Loffreda 1982: Fig. 3.23 [group E]; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: Fig. 12.18).

25. *Early Roman Juglet = ER Juglet* (Pl. 3C: 21). Juglet with very thin walls, simple, everted rim and prominent ridge at the middle of the neck. Parallel to type T 8.2 and T 8.3 in Díez Fernández's classification (Díez Fernández 1983: 115, no. 189–193; 195–198). At Gamla was found mainly in first century CE assemblages (Berlin 2006: 57). Compare: Yodefat and Gamla (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: Fig. 12.19; Berlin 2006: 57, Fig. 2.30.11–16).

Intermediate Early Roman/Middle Roman Types

26. *Kefar Hananya Cooking Pot 3a/b = KH3a/b*. Rims that could not be established as belonging to Early Roman period type KH3a or to Middle Roman period type KH3b (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: n. 36).

27. *Kefar Hananya Cooking Pot 4b/c = KH4b/c*. Rims that could not be established as belonging to Early Roman period type KH4a or Middle Roman period type KH4c.

28. *Early/Middle Roman Storage Jar = ER/MR SJ*. Jar with slightly everted rim with an inner groove that could not be established as belonging to the Early Roman (no. 23) or the Middle Roman (no. 36) types.

29. *Kefar Hananya Bowl 1a = KH1a* (Pl. 3A: 1–3). Cooking bowl with nearly vertical, slightly everted sides, characterized by a single groove on the rim. Based on its appearance in small quantities at Gamla, Yodefat and in well dated assemblages at Capernaum, its earliest appearance is dated by Adan-Bayewitz to the beginning of the last third of the first century CE. Very common in second–third century CE assemblages (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 88–91).

Middle Roman Pottery

A detailed picture of the Galilean vessel repertory of the Middle Roman period was obtained from the relatively extensive (30 excavation squares) excavation at Nasr ed-Din west of Tiberias. The assemblages from the excavation together with the numismatic evidence indicate that the site was abandoned during the

third century CE (see Ben Nahum 1999; Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 17 and the details below in chapter 5 site 46).

Further evidence for the vessel repertory of this period was obtained from rich assemblages from cisterns on the western hill at Sepphoris, which are also dated to the second–third centuries CE. As a result of her work on the destruction layer of the 363 CE earthquake at Sepphoris, Balouka indicated the types present in the destruction layer and missing from the cistern assemblages (see, for example, Balouka 1999: 54, 59, 63, 65).

30. *Kefar Ḥananya Bowl 1b = KH1b* (Pl. 3A: 4–6). Cooking bowl with slightly slanted sides and two small loop handles, characterized by two grooves on the rim. Earliest appearance is dated to the late first/early second century CE and it occurs until the early or mid-fourth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 91–92). At Sepphoris, this is the most common bowl type in assemblages from the mid-second to the end of the third centuries CE. Only a few examples were found in assemblages of the destruction layer (Balouka 1999: 63).

31. *Kefar Ḥananya Cooking Pot 3b = KH3b* (Pl. 3C: 1, 2). Open cooking pot with thin walls and sharp carination at the shoulder, characterized by a flat, narrow horizontal ledged rim. Found in assemblages of the second–third centuries CE. Its appearance is dated by Adan-Bayewitz to the beginning of the second century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 119–124). A few fragments of this type were found in assemblages dated to the mid-fourth century CE at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 59) and indicate that its production ceased around that period. Its main period of use was during the second and third centuries (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 18).

32. *Middle Roman Krater = MR Krater* (Pl. 4: 5). Large krater with broad rim that terminates in an upward-pointing hatchet shape. A groove between the vessel wall and underside of the rim facilitates carrying of the vessel. This krater is characterized by much thicker walls than that of the Early Roman type, and is distinguished from the Late Roman krater by the rim design (Balouka 1999: 79). Vessels of this type were produced at Shiḥin (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990: 165).

33. *Kefar Ḥananya Kettle(?)5a = KH5a* (Pl. 4:8). A cooking vessel with thin walls, narrow, high neck and two loop handles on the shoulder. Characterized by a flat rim. Dated from the early second to the third or early fourth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 135–139).

34. *Kefar Ḥananya Jug 6a = KH6a* (Pl. 4:10). Jug with narrow mouth, thin walls and handle extending from neck to shoulder. Characterized by a downward-pointing hatchet-shaped rim. Dated to the early second century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 142–143).

35. *Kefar Ḥananya Jug 6b = KH6b* (Pl. 4: 11). Jug with neck opening to a broad, everted mouth. Generally characterized by a downward-pointing hatchet-shaped rim. Dated from the second century to the late third/early fourth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 143–144). Absent from destruction layer assemblages at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 68).

36. *Middle Roman Grooved Rim Storage Jar = MR GrSJ* (Pl. 3C: 17–18). Jar characterized by rounded, everted rim with inner groove and a ridge at the base of the neck. Dated to the Middle Roman period. Several features distinguish it from similar jars belonging to the Early Roman period (above, no. 23. See Loffreda 1974: 26–27, 143–144). Jars of this type were produced at Shiḥin (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990).

37. *Middle Roman Storage Jar = MR SJ*. Additional jars defined on the basis of Adan-Bayewitz's study of jars (in preparation).

38. *Storage Jar, Probably Middle Roman = SJ Prob Mr.* Additional jars defined on the basis of Adan-Bayewitz's study of storage jars (in preparation).

39. *Kefar Hananya Cooking Pot 4c = KH4C* (Pl. 3C: 10–11). Closed cooking pot with thin walls, characterized by two shallow grooves on the rim and distinguished from the earlier type (KH4b) by several features (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 126). Its appearance is dated to the early second century and is common in second–third century assemblages. Its absence from the 363 CE destruction layer at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 53) and its inclusion in assemblages dated to the beginning of the fourth century indicate that it was in use until the beginning of that century (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 128–130).

Intermediate Middle Roman/Late Roman Types

40. *Kefar Hananya Bowl 1b/d = KH1b/d* (Pl. 3A: 10–12). Cooking bowls with two grooves on the rim which could not be established as belonging to type KH1b or type KH1d, as well as bowls that constitute a kind of intermediate type between these two types. These have a thickened rim like KH1d, but without the pronounced step where the rim meets the body that is typical of KH1d (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: n. 36).

41. *Middle Roman/Late Roman Bowl = MR/LR Bowl* (Pl. 4: 3, 4). Bowl with relatively thick walls, sometimes ribbed with cut slanted rim (but sometimes the rim is straight). The material is generally light brown/orange. Parallel to type T. 19 in Díez Fernández's classification (1983: 130, no. 535–544). Balouka believes that these bowls were jar lids and notes that they are common in second–fourth century assemblages, including the destruction layer of 363 CE at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 77, Pl. 6: 1–4). Vessels of this type were produced at Shiḥin (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990).

42. *Middle Roman/Late Roman Storage Jar = Mr/Lr SJ* (Pl. 3C: 19–20; Pl. 5B: 1–3). Under this definition are included jar rims that could not be established as belonging to Middle Roman or Late Roman types, or ones whose time-span apparently overlaps both periods (based upon the storage jar study by Adan-Bayewitz, in preparation). Common in this group are jars with folded rim and a ridge at the base of the neck (Pl. 5b: 1–2). These occur in assemblages from Sepphoris. Balouka notes that in the Middle Roman types, the rim is sharpened and carefully profiled and in the Late Roman types, which disappear after the mid-fourth century CE, the rim is more rounded (Balouka 1999: 73, Pl. 4: 5–8).

Late Roman Pottery

43. *Kefar Hananya Bowl 1c = KH1c* (Pl. 3A: 7–9; Pl. 5A: 1–3). Cooking bowl with slanting walls, ribbed on the interior, and a thickened rim with a single, accentuated groove. Dated from the mid-third to the end of the fourth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 98–100).

44. *Kefar Hananya Bowl 1d = KH1d* (Pl. 3B: 1–3; Pl. 5A: 4–6). Cooking bowl with slanting walls, ribbed on the interior and a thickened rim with two accentuated grooves. Dated from the mid-third to the end of the fourth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 100–103) but found only in small quantities in the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 65).

45. *Late Roman Krater = LR Krater* (Pl. 4: 6). Large krater with thick, rough walls and twisted, hatchet-shaped rim. Unlike the Middle Roman krater, in this type the flat, broad rim and the groove beneath the rim, intended to facilitate transport of the vessel, disappear. The rim is generally firmly folded outward and nearly fixed to the outer vessel wall (Balouka 1999: 79). The vessel is found in the destruction layer at Sepphoris, and Balouka (*ibid.*, 80) proposes dating it to the second third of the fourth century CE. Vessels of this type were manufactured at Shihin (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990: 165).

46. *Storage Jar, probably Late Roman = SJ Prob LR*. Defined on the basis of Adan-Bayewitz's study of storage jars (in preparation).

47. *Diamond Rim Storage Jar = Diamond Rim SJ (Plate 5B: 4, 5)*. Jar with thickened rim with diamond-shaped cross-section and a ridge at the base of the neck. Most common among the jar types in the 363 CE destruction layer at Sepphoris, and rarer in earlier assemblages. In strata later than the destruction layer, it is found only in small quantities (Balouka 1999: 75, Pl. 4: 9–14). At Meiron, this jar is found in a destruction layer dated to 365 CE (Meyers *et al.* 1981: 60–69, Fig. 3.22, 3.25, 3.26). Its production appears to have been limited to the fourth century.

Intermediate Late Roman/Byzantine Types (Pl. 5A, 5B)

During the period around the mid-fourth century CE, there were far-reaching changes in the region's material culture. In the stratigraphic excavations in the upper city (acropolis) at Sepphoris, an extensive destruction layer resulting from the earthquake of 363 CE has been documented. The rich assemblages that lay buried beneath this destruction layer constitute a window to the mid-fourth century and provide an extensive picture of the vessels common in the Galilee during that period. These assemblages, studied by Balouka (1999), indicate a decline in the presence of the Kefar Ḥananya types and an increasing predominance of vessels produced in competing production centers, which are typologically different from the Kefar Ḥananya vessels. The beginning of the significant presence of Byzantine imported ware (LRRW) is also documented in these assemblages and a similar picture of significant penetration of LRRW vessels around the mid-fourth century likewise emerges from the survey findings (see below). Khirbet Ḥamam, which according to the results of the survey and the shovel testing was abandoned around that time, has been selected as the key site for the presentation of the transitional phase between the Late Roman period and the Early Byzantine period. Additional vessels belonging to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods are presented in the Roman and Byzantine pottery plates.

48. *Kefar Ḥananya Bowl 1e = KH1e* (Pl. 3B: 4–7; 5A: 7–9). Cooking bowl with slanted walls, ribbed on the interior, and a thickened rounded or square rim. Sometimes there is a groove under the rim on the outside. This is the latest type of bowl among the Galilean Bowls produced at Kefar Ḥananya and it is dated from the mid-third century to the end of production at Kefar Ḥananya around 430 CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 103–109; 148–150; 2003: 20–30).

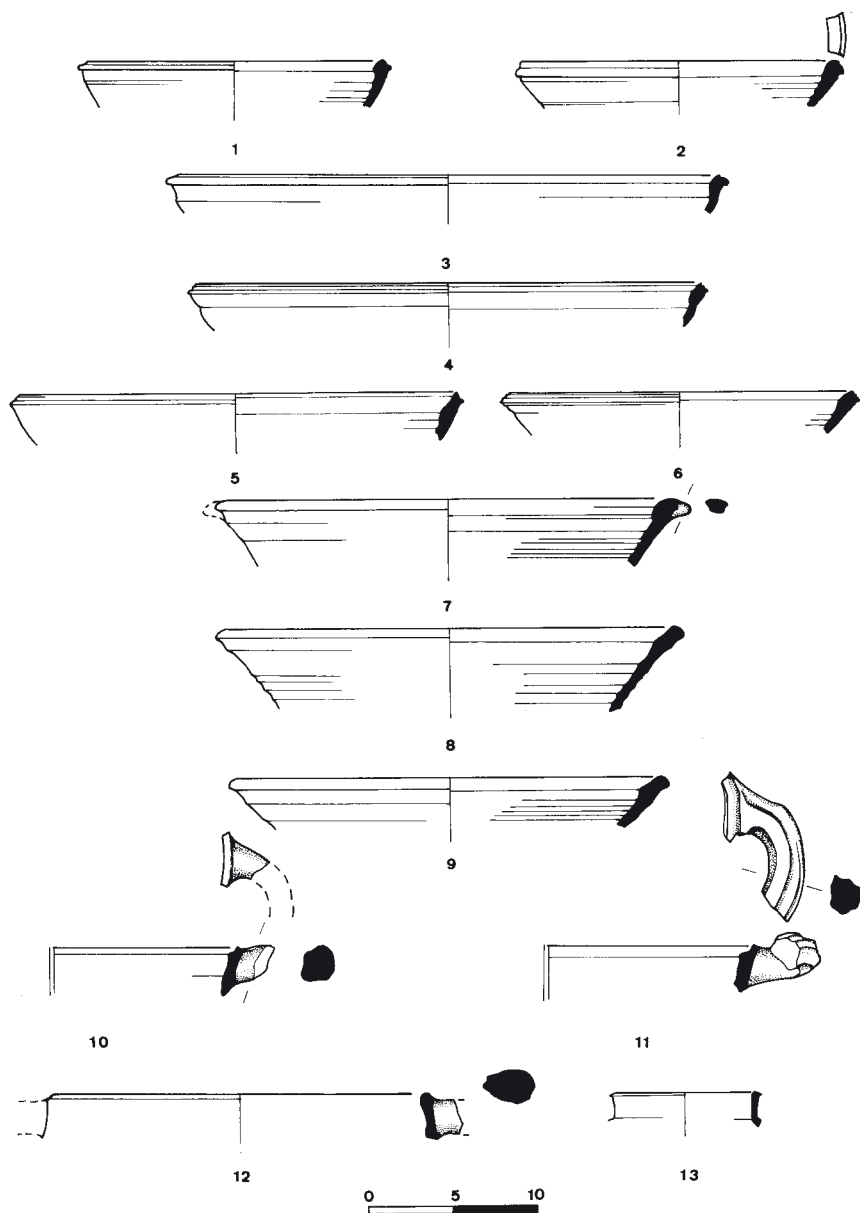


Plate 5A: Late Roman-Early Byzantine Transition. Kh. Hamam

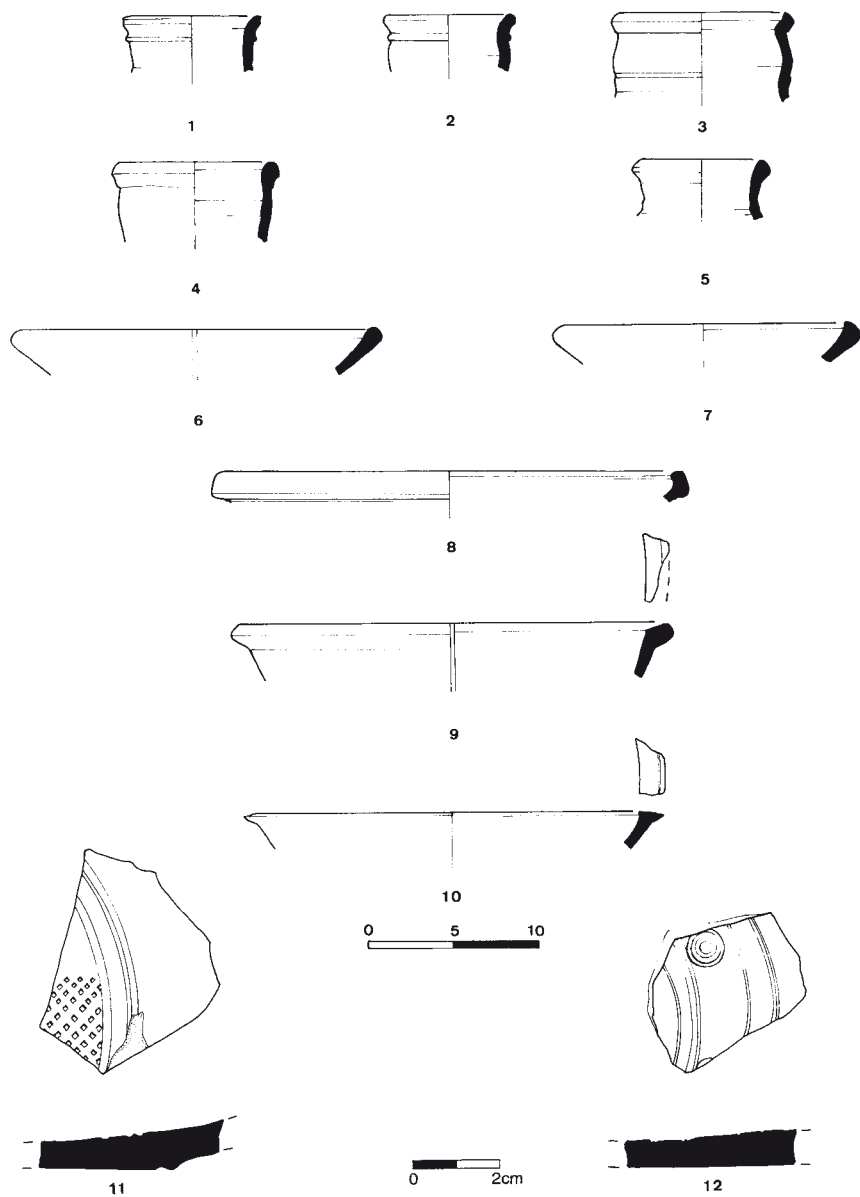


Plate 5B: Late Roman-Early Byzantine Transition. Kh. Ḥamam

According to Balouka (1999: 66), this type is nearly exclusive among the Galilean Bowls appearing in the 363 destruction assemblages at Sepphoris.

49. *Deep Bowl = Deep Bowl* (Pl. 4: 2). Large, deep bowl with nearly vertical sides, apparently a variant of KH1e. Dated according to Adan-Bayewitz (oral communication). Compare: Meiron (Meyers et al. 1981: Pl. 8.1.14–15, 22, 37).

50. *Kefar Ḥananya Bowl 2 = KH2* (Pl. 4:1). V-shaped bowl characterized by a vertical or occasionally slightly inverted rim, and a sharp carination beneath the rim and the thick, ribbed walls. Rare. Dated from the beginning of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 109–111).

51. *Kefar Ḥananya Cooking Pot 4d = KH4d* (Pl. 5A: 13; Pl. 6A: 5–7). Closed cooking pot characterized by plain rim, short neck and relatively thick walls, in comparison to the earlier cooking pots from Kefar Ḥananya. Dated by Adan-Bayewitz from the late third/early fourth to the early fifth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 130–132). Balouka (1999: 54 Pl. 1: 1–7) notes that at Sepphoris, this type is missing from the second–third century assemblages and is found in the 363 destruction layer.

52. *Kefar Ḥananya Kettle (?)5b = KH5b* (Pl. 4:9). Cooking vessel with high neck and two loop handles on the shoulder. Characterized by a thickened, everted rim. Dated from the beginning of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century CE and found in small quantities in the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 139–141; Balouka 1999: 67).

53. *Kefar Ḥananya Jug 6c = KH6c* (Pl. 4: 12). Jug with narrow neck, wide mouth, handle extending from neck to shoulder and relatively thick wall. Some of the types have a downward-pointing hatchet-shaped rim (similar to types KH6a–b) and some have a rounded everted rim (similar to KH5b). From small rim sherds it is not always possible to distinguish between the various types. Dated from the beginning of the fourth century to the beginning of the fifth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 144–146) and found in the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 69).

Byzantine Period Pottery (Pl. 6A, 6B, 6C, 7A and 7B)

The knowledge of local Byzantine pottery is limited in relation to that of Roman pottery and many types can only be dated generally as “Byzantine” without further subdivision. Workshops that were active during this period have been identified up to now mainly in the western Galilee. However, except for storage jars and a few types of early Byzantine cooking pots, about which our knowledge is somewhat greater, we know virtually nothing about the chronology, origins and distribution of the other local types.⁵ Despite this, as opposed to the Roman period, during which imported wares are virtually absent, imported

⁵ At the present time, workshops have been identified at Yavor, Bata and Kav in the western Galilee and at Naḥaf in the central Galilee. It is worth mentioning that up to now, no production site in the eastern Galilee that was active beyond the beginning of the fifth century has been identified. Concerning storage jars, see: Avshalom-Gorni 1999; concerning the workshop at Uza: Ben-Tor 1966; concerning the workshop at Naḥaf: Vitto 1980.

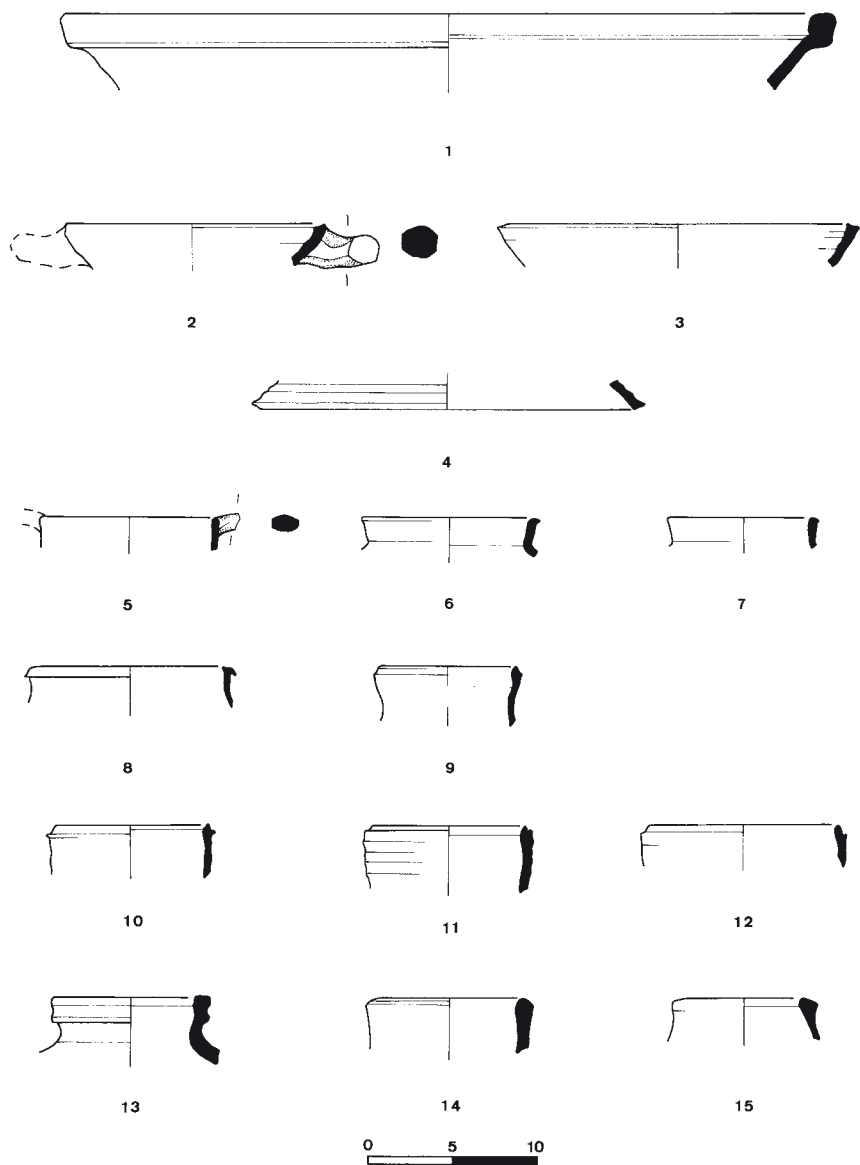


Plate 6A: Byzantine. Arbel

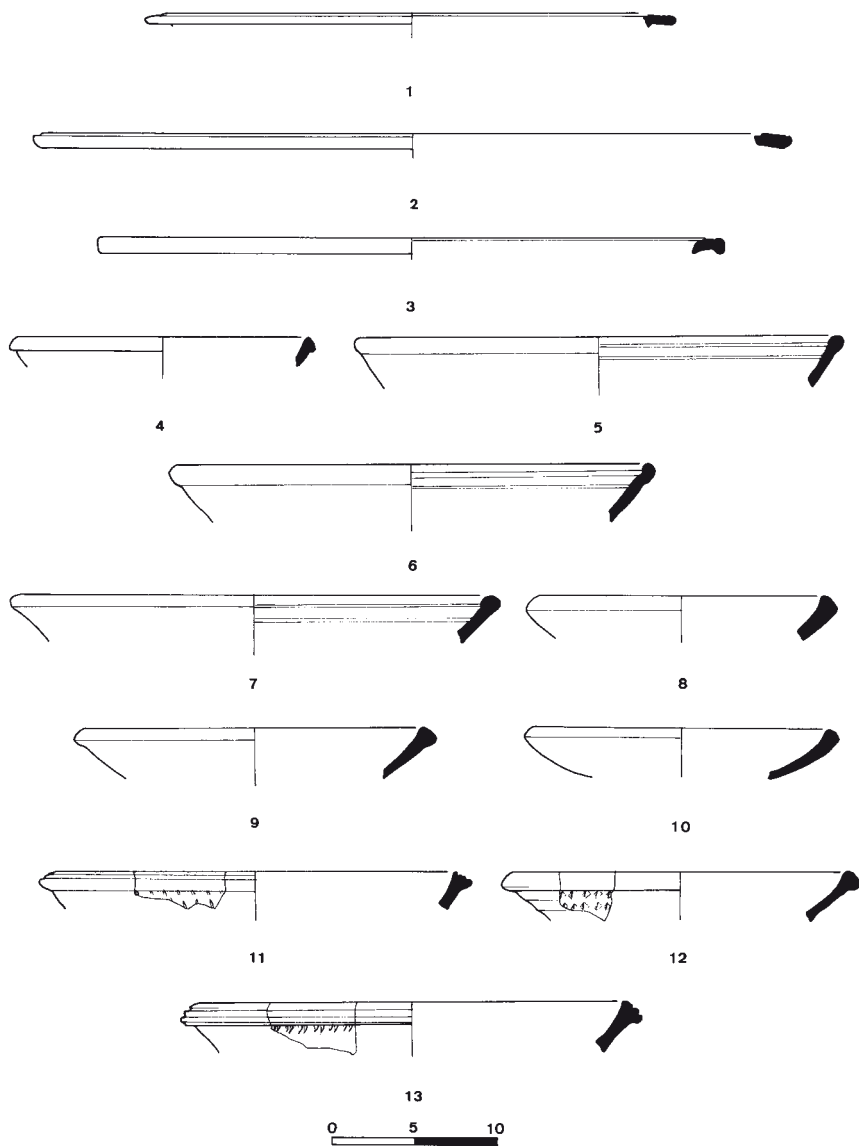


Plate 6B: Byzantine. Arbel

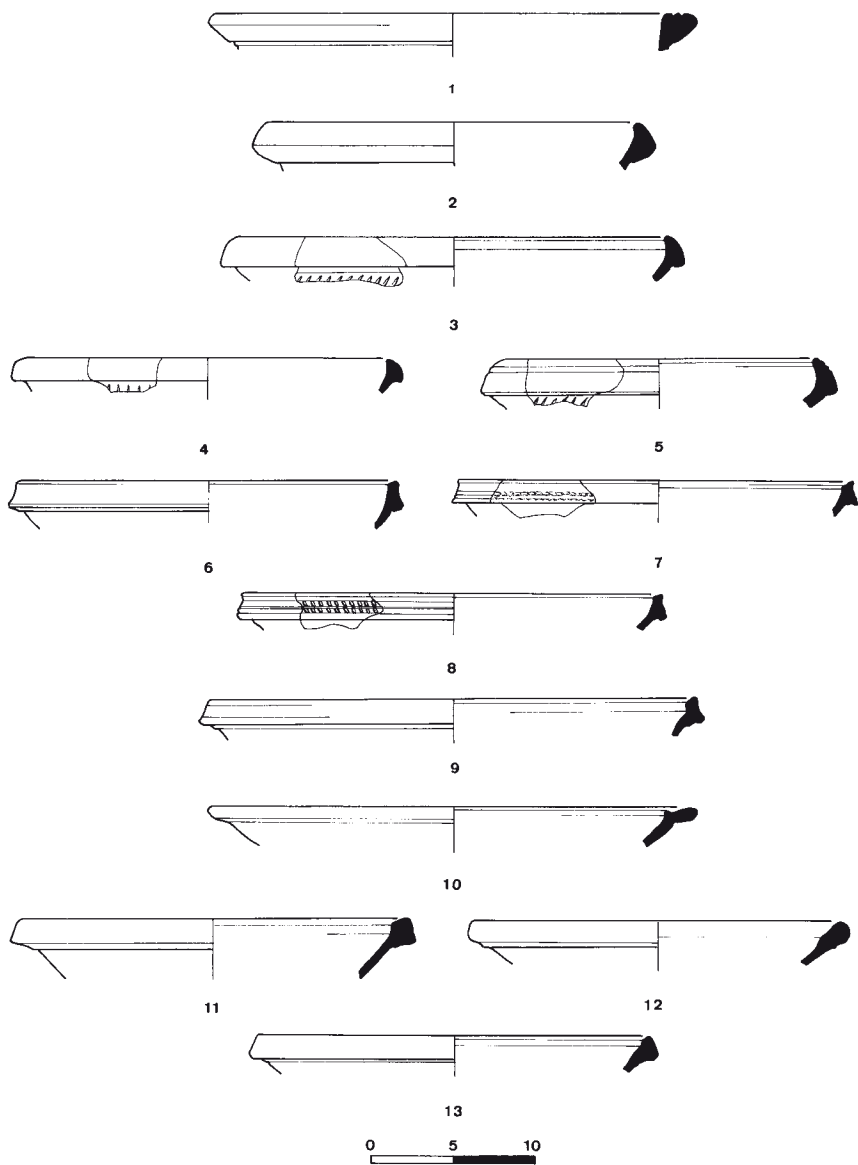


Plate 6C: Byzantine. Arbel

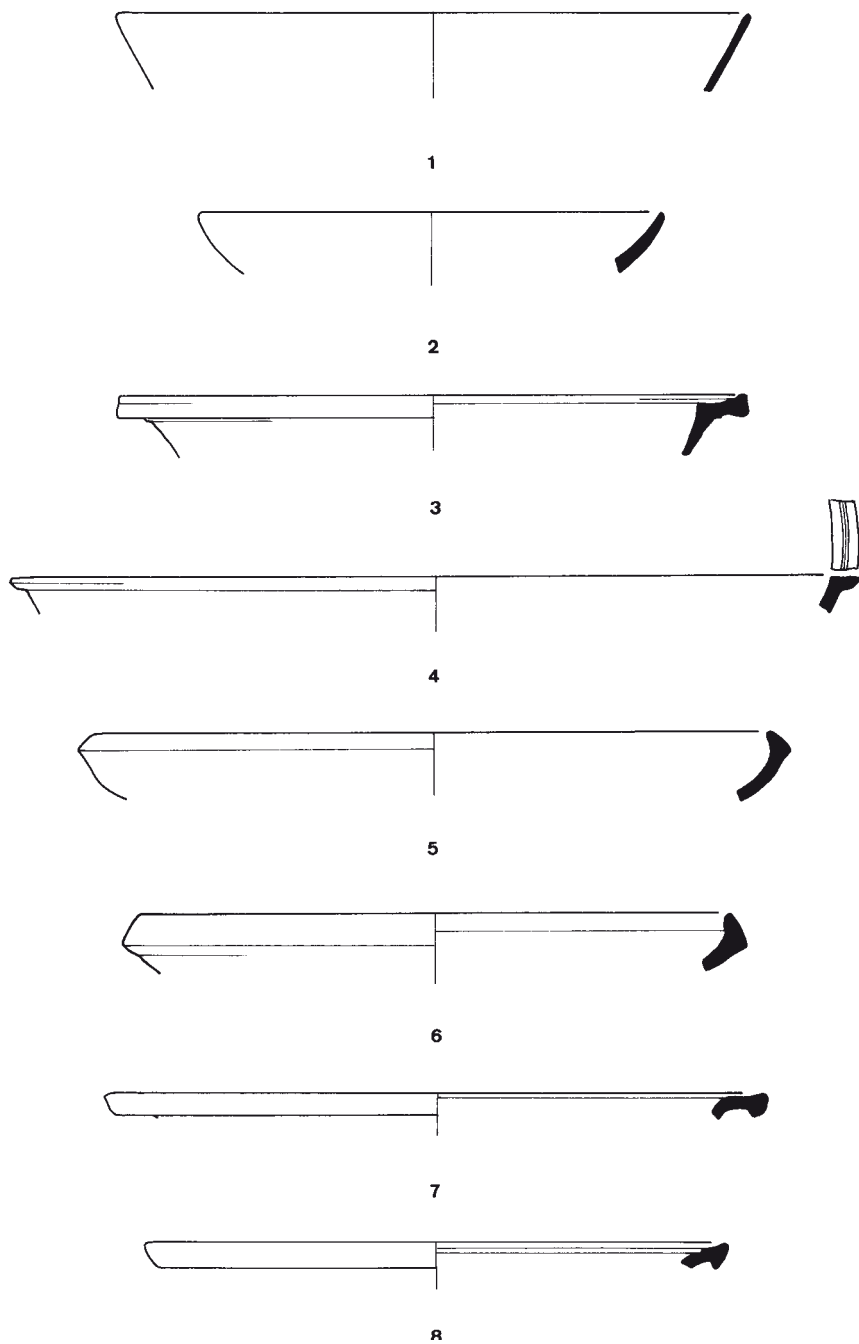


Plate 7A: Byzantine. Supplementary Plate

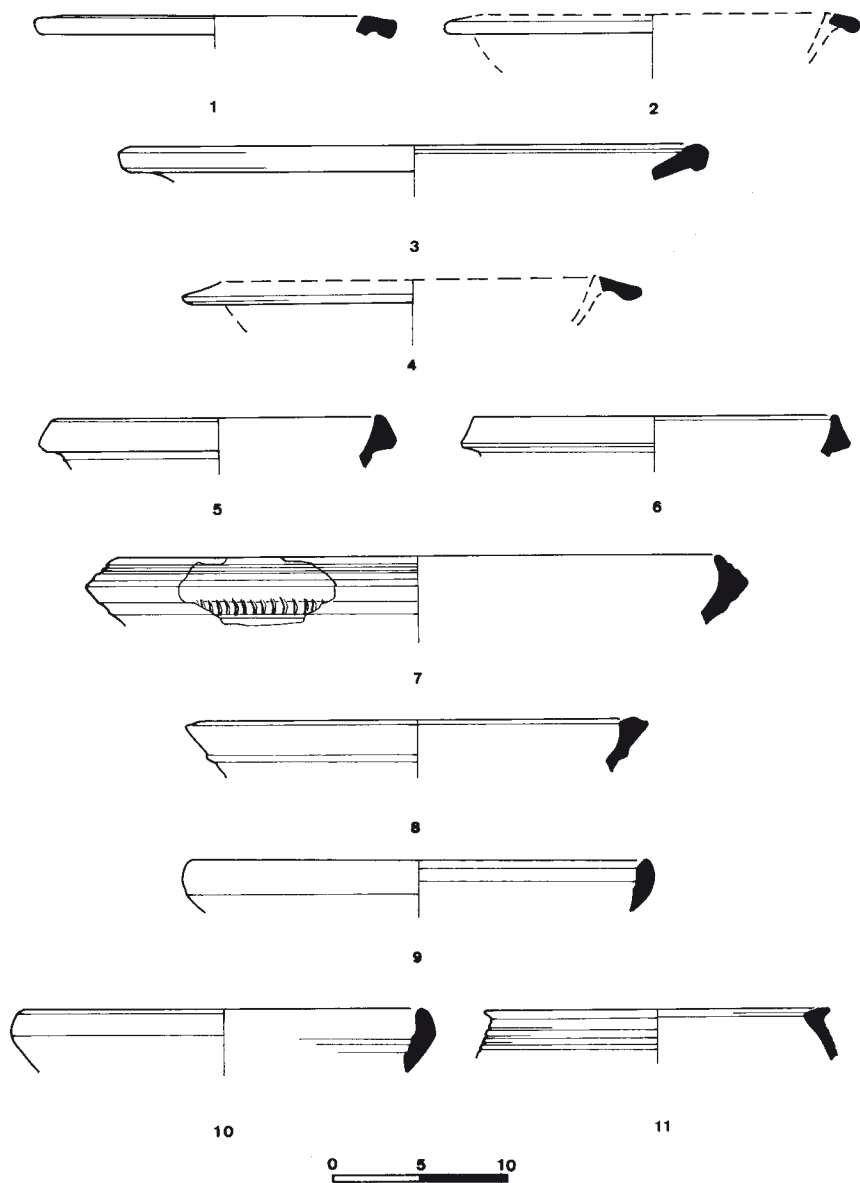


Plate 7B: Byzantine. Supplementary Plate

Byzantine wares (LRRW) of types dated to the mid-fourth century and onward, become very common in the survey area. The relatively precise dating of these imported types enables to divide them into sub-periods.

Arbel [site 39] has been selected as the key site for the presentation of Byzantine pottery. This site is outstanding for its wealth of Byzantine pottery, both local and imported. All of the Byzantine sites that were surveyed were already settled during the Roman period. Therefore, it was not possible to present a site at which only Byzantine pottery is found. The types presented in the supplementary plate are from Beth Netofa [site 29 (7A: 1; 4; 7B: 11)], Mimlah [site 24 (7A: 3, 7, 8, 7B: 7)], Abu-Shusheh [site 26 (7A: 2)], Kh. Bellaneh [site 10 (7A: 5)], 'Ammudim [site 37 (7A: 6, 7B: 2, 9, 10)], Nasr ed-Din [site 46 (7B: 1)], Har Nitai Caves [site 33 (7B: 3)], Nimrin [site 43 (7B: 4)], Zalmon [site 19 (7B: 5)], el-Khirbeh [site 49 (7B: 6)] and Hūqoq [site 17 (7B: 8)].

Local Pottery

54. *Byzantine Krater = Byz Krater* (Pl. 6A: 1). Broad krater with thickened square rim and thick walls. Dark brown-red fabric with numerous small black and light colored grits. Rare. Compare: Capernaum (Type C12a) and Beth She'arim (Loffreda 1974: Fig. 12: 1-6; Vitto 1996: Fig. 24.1).

55. *Byzantine Cooking Bowl = C3a* (Pl. 6A: 2, 3; Pl. 5A: 10, 11). Based upon classification by Adan-Bayewitz (1993: 156-159). Cooking bowl with two heavy, horizontal handles and a cut, slanted rim. The walls are often ribbed. Reddish-brown fabric with sandy texture. Dated by Adan-Bayewitz from the mid-fourth century onward (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 156-159). At Sepphoris this bowl appears only in assemblages belonging to the 363 CE destruction layer and later (Balouka 1999: 61, Pl. 3: 1-4). The bowl is extremely common during the Byzantine period and continues into the Early Islamic period (Avisar 1996: 139). Compare: Capernaum (Type C5) and Beth She'arim (Loffreda 1974: Fig. 11: 1-12; Vitto 1996: Fig. 24.5, 6).

56. *Byzantine Cooking Bowl Cover = Cover C3a* (Pl. 6A: 4). Cover of the above cooking bowl. Characterized by rim, usually cut at a slant, and sometimes by ribbed walls. Compare: Capernaum and Beth She'arim (Loffreda 1974: Fig. 11: 13, 14; Vitto 1996: Fig. 24.7, 8).

57. *Byzantine Cooking Pot = C4a* (Pl. 6A: 8; Pl. 7B: 11). Based upon classification by Adan-Bayewitz (1993: 159-162). A closed, neckless cooking pot, with ribbed walls. There are several variants of this vessel and the difference between them is the modeling of the rim, which varies from a broad, furrowed ledged rim to an everted rim that generally points upward. Reddish-brown material with sandy texture. Dated by Adan-Bayewitz (1993: 159-162) from the mid-fourth to the beginning of the fifth century. At Sepphoris, this vessel occurs only in assemblages belonging to the 363 CE destruction layer and later; it is common in Byzantine period assemblages (Balouka 1999: 56, Pl. 2: 1-7).

58. *Kefar Hananya Cooking Pot 4e = KH4e* (Pl. 6A: 9). Closed globular cooking pot with relatively tall neck and ribbed walls. Characterized by rim with an exterior ridge below the lip or slanted outwards. This pot is identical in form to C4b (below), but of distinct fabric. Balouka (Balouka 1999: 55) notes that at Sepphoris this type appears only from the mid-fourth century.

It is dated from the mid-fourth century to the end of production at Kefar Ḥananya around 430 CE (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 19).

59. *Closed Byzantine Cooking Pot = C4b* (Pl. 6A: 10–12; Pl. 5A: 12). Based upon classification by Adan-Bayewitz (1993: 162–164). Closed globular cooking pot with tall neck and ribbed walls. Characterized by slightly inverted rim with an exterior ridge below the lip or slanted outwards. This vessel is identical in form to KH4e, but of distinct fabric. The earliest assemblages in which this type appears are from the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris. It is common during the course of the Byzantine period. Compare: Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 19; Balouka 1999: 55 Pl. 1: 8–13; see also Vitto 1996: Fig. 24.10.

60. *Plain Byzantine Cooking Pot = Sim Byz CP* (no illustration). Globular cooking pot with plain rim and ribbed neck and walls. The fabric is rough and sandy. Compare: Capernaum (Loffreda 1974: Fig. 10: 5, 6).

Byzantine Storage Jars

Included in this category are two types that apparently first appear not prior to the mid-fourth century CE.

61. *Black Storage Jar = Black SJ* (Pl. 6A: 14, 15). Jar with slightly thickened, sometimes slightly inverted rim. Characterized by black or gray walls, ribbed, with red core, usually decorated with white brush lines. This type is found in small quantities in the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris and particularly, in the overlying layers (Balouka 1999: 76, Pl. 5: 5–13).

62. *Flat Rimmed Storage Jar = FR SJ* (Pl. 6A: 13). Jar with flat, thickened, square-shaped rim, with short, twisted and usually slightly inverted neck. Jars with this type of rim were produced at several sites in the western Galilee, including Uza, where they are attributed to Stratum 7, dated to the first half of the fifth century CE, and Ḥorvat Bata and Ḥorvat Kav, where they are dated to the end of the fifth century and the sixth century CE (see Avshalom-Gorni 1999: 59–64, Pl. 4, 1–12 = ‘Uza stratum 7; Pl. 4: 13–17 = Bata; Pl. 5: 1–6 = Kav). Its absence from the 363 destruction layer assemblages at Sepphoris, published by Balouka, indicates that the beginning of its production is indeed later than the mid-fourth century. Compare: Capernaum (Loffreda 1974: Fig. 9: 6–9).

Late Roman Red Ware (LRRW)

The red slipped tableware that was common in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Roman and Byzantine period has been studied by Hayes (1972; 1980). According to the repertory of LRRW vessels from the excavations at Sepphoris, as well as the collection of finds from the survey, the penetration of these vessels to the easternmost parts of the Galilee appears to have begun only in the fourth century CE, primarily toward the middle of the century. Due to the relatively precise dating based on extensive excavations conducted throughout the Mediterranean region, this group serves as a powerful dating tool. Therefore, it was decided to include illustrations even of types represented in small

quantities in the survey material. As LRRW types are defined on the basis of Hayes' study (1972), all of the references in parentheses are to this work, unless otherwise indicated. All of the types represented in the survey repertory are bowls, except for a few examples, which are explicitly noted. The finds from the survey area include types from three groups:

- A. African Red Slip (ARS) = vessels originating in North African workshops (296–299).
- B. Cypriot Red Slip (CRS) = vessels apparently originating in Cypriot workshops (385–386).
- C. Phocaean Red Slip (PRS) = vessels originating from the area of Phocaea in western Anatolia (Hayes 1980: 525).

63. *ARS 50* (Pl. 7A: 1, 2). Beginning of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century (the two latest variants of this type) (69–73).

64. *ARS 58* (Pl. 5B: 10; Pl. 7A: 4). End of the third/beginning of the fourth century to the third quarter of the fourth century (93–96).

* *ARS 59* (Pl. 6B: 1, 2; Pl. 7A: 3). First quarter of the fourth to the first quarter of the fifth century (96–100).

65. *ARS 61* (Pl. 7A: 5, 6). First quarter of the fourth to the mid-fifth century (100–107).

66. *ARS 67* (Pl. 6B: 3; Pl. 7A: 8). Mid-fourth to the mid-/end of fifth century (112–116).

67. *ARS 93* (Pl. 7B: 1, 2). Last quarter of fifth to the mid-sixth century (145–148).

* *ARS 103* (Pl. 6B: 4). Beginning of to the last quarter of the sixth century (157–160).

68. *ARS 104* (Pl. 6B: 5–7). First quarter of the sixth to the first quarter of the seventh century (160–166).

* *ARS 105* (Pl. 7B: 3). Last quarter of sixth to the mid-seventh century (166–169).

* *ARS 107* (Pl. 7A: 7; 7B: 4). Beginning of to the mid-seventh century (171).

69. *CRS 1* (Pl. 5B: 6, 7; Pl. 6B: 8–10). Hayes dated its initial appearance around 370–380 CE (Hayes 1980: 528). However, the large quantities found in the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris attest to an earlier appearance, around the mid-fourth century (Balouka 1999: 86). It appears until the third quarter of the fifth century.

70. *CRS 1/2* (Pl. 5B: 8 [?]; 7B: 5, 6). A type not classified by Hayes, characterized by slanting walls and a thickened rim with a triangular cross-section. Very common in the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999: 87, Pl. 9: 8–10) and appears to first occur around the mid-fourth century (Adan-Bayewitz 2003 n. 89).

71. *CRS 2* (Pl. 6B: 11–13). Mid-fifth to the beginning of the sixth century (373–376).

* *CRS 7* (Pl. 6C: 1). Deep basin with thickened rim, mid-sixth to beginning of seventh century (378–379).

72. *CRS 9* (Pl. 6C: 2–4). Type A (common in the region): mid-sixth to the beginning of the seventh century. Type B (rare): end of the sixth to the end of the seventh century (379–382).

73. *CRS 10* (Pl. 6C: 5; Pl. 7B; 7). Late sixth to late seventh century (382).

* *CRS 11* (Pl. 7B: 8). Basin with horizontal handles; mid-sixth to mid-seventh century (383). In the Upper Galilee Survey, large quantities of this type were reported at sites in the western part of the area while it was entirely absent in the eastern part (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 116 Pl. 37). In the survey area, only one example of this vessel was found.

* *PRS 1* (Pl. 7B: 9, 10). End of fourth to the third quarter of the fifth century (325–327).

**PRS 2* (Pl. 5B: 9). Final third of the fourth to the mid-fifth century (327–329).

74. *PRS 3* (Pl. 6C: 6–9). From the second third of the fifth to the mid-sixth century. Sixth century types are characterized by a small offset marking beneath the rim on the exterior (see Pl. 6C: 7–9) (329–338); Adan-Bayewitz 2003: n. 84).

* *PRS 5* (Pl. 6C: 10). Mid-fifth to sixth century (339).

75. *PRS 10* (Pl. 6C: 11–13). Types A and B: end of sixth to beginning of seventh century; type C (more common): beginning of to mid-seventh century (343–346).

Division of Vessel Types from the Survey Findings into Periods

The periods of settlement at the various sites were dated on the basis of the pottery repertory presented above. The division of the types into periods was carried out as follows:

Hellenistic Period (300 BCE–50 BCE): The small number of the excavations and publications of Hellenistic assemblages from the Galilee do not permit division of the finds from that period into sub-periods. The 12 types (some with sub-types) that make up the group of Hellenistic finds (nos. 1–12 above) will therefore be presented as a single group with a long chronological range of ca. 250 years. Nonetheless, a few vessels do provide, to some extent, chronological anchors. These include the Hellenistic BSP and ESA types, which date from the late second century BCE onward, and with considerably less certainty, the local storage jars with elongated rims, which apparently belong to the Late Hellenistic period. The mortarium, the thickened-rim storage jar and apparently also the GCW appear in both the Persian and Early Hellenistic periods. Since this study does not deal with the Persian period, these groups were not divided between these two periods. However, at sites where obvious Persian sherds were found, it is noted that some of these types perhaps belong to the Persian period.

Early Roman Period (50 BCE–135 CE): The Hellenistic/Roman ESA vessels, including types TA24 and TA13 (nos. 13, 14, 15 above) were divided between the Hellenistic and Early Roman period on the basis of our policy regarding intermediate types (see below).

The main representation of Early Roman groups are types KH3a, KH4a, KH4b and storage jar T1.3, to which have been added an additional storage jar, jug and juglet represented in more modest quantities, and a krater, casserole and two cooking pots found in very small numbers (nos. 16–25 above).

Middle Roman Period (135 CE–250 CE): Types KH3a/b, KH4b/c and storage jar ER/MR were divided between the Early and Middle Roman periods on the basis of the policy adopted for the division of intermediate types (see below). Type KH1a, the initial appearance of which is dated to the last third of the first century CE, and which is found mainly in the second and third centuries (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 16–17), was divided between the Early and Middle Roman periods according to a ratio of 1:2 respectively.

Type KH4c is also common in second–third century assemblages. However, it is still found in assemblages from the beginning of the fourth century, and therefore has been divided between the Middle and Late Roman periods at a ratio of 2:1 respectively.

Aside from types KH1a and KH4c, the group of Middle Roman types is primarily represented by types KH1b, KH3b and by storage jars MR SJ, MR GrSJ and in significantly smaller quantities by MR Krater and types KA5a, KH6a and KH6b (above, nos. 30–38).

Late Roman Period (250–350 CE): Types KH1b/d, MR/LR Bowl and MR/LR SJ (above, nos. 40–42), have been divided between the Middle and Late Roman periods according to intermediate types.

The group of Late Roman types is mainly represented by types KH1c, KH1d, and DR SJ, and in considerably smaller quantities by storage jars SJ Prob LR and LR Krater (above, nos. 43–47).

Transitional Late Roman/Early Byzantine Period: The assemblages that are well dated on the basis of the 363 CE earthquake at Sepphoris constitute a unique tool for delineating the Galilean vessel repertory of this period. The comparison of pottery assemblages from the destruction layer with earlier and later assemblages from Sepphoris indicate the mid-fourth century as a period of considerable change in material culture. These changes include the penetration of new types from new local production centers and the beginning of considerable penetration of LRRW vessels into the region. At the same time, there was a significant decline in the presence of Kefar Ḥananya and Shiḥin types (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 124, 148–150, 155–164; 2003: 17–23; Balouka 1999: 90).

Findings of the survey indicate that during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, dramatic changes occurred in settlement in the region. Precisely identifying the time of the crisis at various sites may be problematic, because the lifespan of several types, and in particular, type KH1e, (which

constitutes up to 30%–50% of the finds at many sites), overlaps both the Late Roman and the Early Byzantine periods.

In dividing this dominant type and the other intermediate types of the LR/E BYZ (KH2, KH4d, KH6c and Deep Bowl, above nos. 48–53), this study followed Ben David (2005: 42), with some refinements based upon the pottery of the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris:

- A. All of the intermediate types were attributed to the Late Roman period at sites that did not have any local or imported Byzantine sherds.
- B. All of the intermediate types were attributed to the Late Roman period also at sites where the number of sherds of the types appearing only from the mid-fourth century on was less than 5%, and the LRRW vessels are only of the types found in the 363 CE destruction layer at Sepphoris.
- C. The intermediate types were divided equally between the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period at sites where Byzantine vessels (from all of the sub-periods together) were found in considerable amounts of 5% or more of the finds.

Establishing the criterion for a period of habitation at a site based upon 5% and more of the finds, relies on statistical studies showing that a threshold of 5% generally serves as the definition of a significant occurrence; one that cannot be a matter of chance alone. This is especially true concerning the Byzantine period, which is closer to the surface. Also, at many sites, it constitutes the last occupational stratum and should be the one best represented on the surface.

Throughout the entire region, and not only in settlements, sherds are continuously encountered scattered on the ground surface, evidence of passers-by, shepherds, fertilization of fields, etc. Hence, a find of a few sherds from a specific period at a site does not attest to settlement at the site during that period. This point will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

At many sites, there were considerable finds of late Kefar Ḥananya types, without any of the types that first appear in the Galilee in assemblages around the mid-fourth century and later. The conclusion was that these settlements were abandoned prior to the mid-fourth century CE. Even if we assume that the inhabitants continued to reside there after the mid-fourth century and that an absolute dominance of Kefar Ḥananya tableware was maintained there, the date of abandonment cannot be postponed by more than a few decades, in view of the cessation of production of the Kefar Ḥananya types around 430 CE and their total absence from assemblages belonging to the mid-fifth century (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 21). The total absence of Byzantine vessels at these sites, compared to their presence at other sites, sometimes quite nearby, leads to the conclusion that the end of settlement at these sites cannot be pushed beyond approximately the third quarter of the fourth century.

Byzantine Period: The Byzantine period types are divided into two groups: LRRW vessels (13 sub-types), which are well dated on the basis of numerous excavations in the eastern Mediterranean; and local wares (9 types), which are dated to the Byzantine period in general. The division of the Byzantine period into three sub-periods: Early, Middle and Late, is based upon the imported wares that are widespread at all of the sites at which there was settlement during these periods. The local pottery has been divided arbitrarily among the different sub-periods of habitation (see in detail below).

Early Byzantine Period (350–450 CE): This period is represented by the LRRW types: ARS 50, ARS 58, ARS 61, ARS 67, CRS 1, CRS 1/2, KH4e, a third of the local Byzantine types (with the exception of the flat rimmed storage jar – see below), and in addition, 50% of the LR/E BYZ Kefar Hananya types (above).

All of the local Byzantine types were placed in this sub-period at sites in which the LRRW vessels that were found belong only to the Early Byzantine period, without later types.

Middle Byzantine Period (450–550 CE): This period is represented by the LRRW types: PRS 3, CRS 2, ARS 93, half of the flat-rimmed storage jars (which apparently begin to appear not earlier than the fifth century), and a third of the other local Byzantine types.

Late Byzantine Period (550–650 CE): This period is represented by LRRW types: ARS 104, CRS 9, CRS 10, PRS 10, half of the flat-rimmed storage jars, and a third of the other local Byzantine types.

At sites in which LRRW vessels are entirely absent from one of the sub-periods, the local Byzantine pottery was divided equally between the two remaining periods.

Contribution of the Survey to Pottery Studies

9,419 rims belonging to 75 types spanning from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine periods, were collected during the course of the survey. This large database assists in gaining a familiarity with the distribution of the different types and in certain cases, also assists in their dating. The total quantities of sherds from each type may be found in Table 2.

Below, we will examine a number of types and groups of particular interest for which the survey findings contribute to our knowledge.

Hellenistic Period

No. 3 GCW Group: More of these vessels were collected as we got closer to the Upper Galilee, however they are also found in the Lower Galilee, as had already been indicated by excavations at Yodefat. The two sites with the richest finds belonging to this group are from the southern part of the region: 'Eika [site 42 (9 rims)] and Kh. el-'Aiteh [site 41 (6 rims)]. This group is entirely absent at sites established at the end of the second century BCE and in the first century BCE, which lends support to the view that they were no longer produced during this period (though this fact may have an ethnic reason. See discussion in Chapter 6).

No. 12 Long Rim SJ: This type is found in small quantities at many sites at which the rest of the corpus is not earlier than the mid-first century BCE, and lacks any other Hellenistic finds. This supports the view that this is a Late Hellenistic type and that it continued into the early Roman period, even to the early first century C.E as attested lately at Gamla (Berlin 2006: 48).

Nos. 6, 13-15 ESA Group: A total of 57 rims belonging to this group were found, 18 of which are of types belonging to the Hellenistic period. The rest (including the most common type – TA FW 24) were types that we could not establish as Hellenistic or Early Roman. The fact that the vast majority of the sherds from this group were collected at sites that had been settled during the Hellenistic period, and their clear absence from most of the sites established during the Early Roman period, suggests that during the Early Roman period, these vessels had virtually ceased to be used at sites in the survey area.

Roman Period

First and foremost, the dominance of the Kefar Ḥananya types among the thousands of cooking vessels from the Roman period that were collected should be noted. Aside from a few exceptions, there are no cooking vessels that do not belong to the Kefar Ḥananya types. These types have been examined in detail by Adan-Bayewitz (1993; 2003) and only a few comments regarding their relative numbers will be made here.

Nos. 17-19, 29 Early Roman Repertoire: At Kul'at esh-Shuneh [site 11] and the Wadi 'Amud site [site 13], two sites that were abandoned probably as a result of the First Jewish Revolt, a total of 65 examples of cooking pot KH3a and 99 examples of cooking pot KH4a were collected. Only four examples of bowl KH1a and not even a single example of cooking pot KH4b were collected at these sites. These data corroborate the conclusion of Adan-Bayewitz that despite the appearance of KH1a and KH4b at Gamla, which was destroyed in 67

CE, their production began only a short time prior to the Revolt (*ibid.* 1993: 88–91, 126–128; 2003: 16).

Nos. 43-44, 48 Late Roman Galilean Bowls: Among the Galilean Bowls of the Late Roman period, dated from the mid-third century to the late fourth/early fifth century (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 100, 103, 109), the enormous number of examples of type KH1e (2,381 examples constituting 25% of all survey finds) vs. 356 examples of type Kh1d and only 124 examples of type KH1c, should be noted.

Nos. 51, 58 KH Late Roman/Early Byzantine Cooking Pots: The relatively small number of closed cooking pots of the fourth and early fifth century from KH is noteworthy. A total of only 55 examples of KH4d and 25 examples of KH4e were found (compare: Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 22).

No. 22 T1.3 Storage Jar: This jar is very common at many sites settled in the early phases of the Early Roman period, such as Migdal [Site 34: 26 examples], 'Ammudim [Site 37: 21 examples], Ḥamam [Site 32: 18 examples], 'Oodaysa [Site 50: 13 examples]. In contrast, it is entirely absent at Kh. el-'Aiteh [site 41], which was abandoned between the end of the second century and the mid-first century BCE. At Kh. 'Eika [site 42], which was abandoned during the same period, a single rim of this type was found. This single rim may have come from the nearby site of Ḥittin which was occupied during the Roman period. These data support Adan-Bayewitz's view that the production of this type began around the mid-first century BCE (Adan-Bayewitz 1990: 92–95, no. 9–10). A total of 211 storage jars of this type were collected, 160 of these (76%) in the southern part of the survey area, from the line of the Netofa and Arbel valleys southward. At Yodefat there was a workshop in which jars of this type were produced. Similar types were probably also produced at Shiḥin. It appears, however, that their distribution was relatively limited.

Nos. 32, 45 MR Krater and LR Krater: Shiḥin, near Sepphoris, has been identified as the center of production of such types. The small numbers of these types collected during the survey (total: 24), despite their large sherds, in contrast to the reports from Sepphoris of a large number of these vessels, indicates a limited area of distribution. Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman (1990: 165) have noted that these types are relatively rare beyond the hilly region of the central Lower Galilee. Support for this view is found in the distribution of the finds, since 21 of the 24 examples were found in the southern part of the survey area, south of the Arbel–Netofa valley line.

No 47 Diamond Rim SJ: This type is entirely absent at sites abandoned during the third century as well as from sites abandoned during the early part of the fourth century. On the other hand, this type is found, sometimes in significant

quantities, at sites abandoned during the second half of the fourth century. These dates correspond to the findings of Balouka at Sepphoris, where this type is mainly found in assemblages of the 363 CE destruction layer, and infrequently, in earlier and later assemblages (Balouka 1999: 75).

Byzantine Period

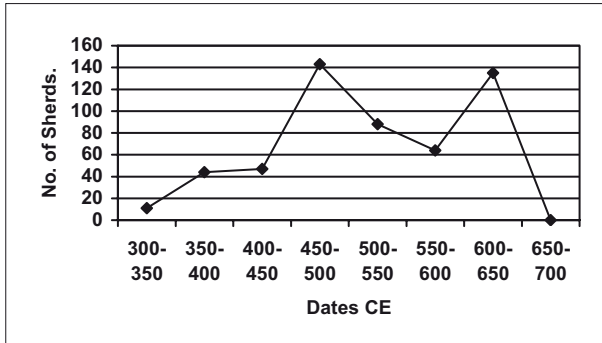
No. 62 Flat-Rimmed SJ: The clear absence of this type from the sites abandoned up to the second half of the fourth century, as well as its absence from the 363 destruction layer at Sepphoris, indicate that its initial appearance was not earlier than the end of the fourth century.

Nos. 63-75 Late Roman Red Ware: The survey findings show that the significant penetration of these vessels into interior regions of the Galilee began around the mid-fourth century CE and the phenomenon reached its peak during the second half of the fifth century. A decline in the presence of these vessels, though they still appear in considerable quantities, is noteworthy in the sixth century, followed by a strengthening at the end of that century and in the first half of the seventh century. Relatively numerous vessels are found up to the final stages of the production of this group (around the mid-seventh century). However, this later period is represented in the area by two types only: CRS10 and PRS10.

A similar picture regarding the beginning of the significant penetration of LRRW and the common types was noted in the survey of the adjacent Lower Golan (Ben David 2005: 26). A different picture emerged from sites in the Coastal Plain where there was a significant presence of the third and early fourth century types (Tsuf 2003). The question is why at a particular time large quantities of imports began to penetrate into a region where, for hundreds of years, demand had been satisfied by local production. The question becomes more acute in view of the fact that such imports were being used in adjacent regions for a long time before they appeared here. The main reason for the penetration of these imports into the interior of the Galilee and the Golan appears to be connected with mechanisms involving the development of marketing routes for the region's olive oil. Extensive olive oil production in the eastern Galilee and western Golan began only in the fourth century and increased during the fifth–sixth centuries (see below, chapter 6). These pottery imports appear to have arrived as returning cargo along the routes that exported olive oil from the region.⁶

⁶ The connection between the routes for the export of agricultural products and imports (or exports) of fine ware during the Byzantine period, was examined in a study dealing with the ARS ware in North Africa and Sicily (see Fentress *et al.* 2004).

532 rims belonging to 26 types of this group were found at sites in the survey area. The presence of these vessels throughout the survey area, including small sites distant from main access roads, is noteworthy. The graph and table below present the amounts of 13 types of common LRRW, based on a division into the Byzantine sub-periods.



Graph 1: LRRW by year.

Table 1: Common Late Roman Red Ware by sub-period.

Period	Type	No.
Early Byzantine 350-450 CE Total=88 Sherds	ARS 50	4
	ARS 58	13
	ARS 61	7
	ARS 67	5
	CRS 1	47
	CRS 1/2	12
Middle Byzantine 430/450-550 CE Total=235 Sherds	ARS 93	4
	CRS 2	54
	PRS 3	177
Late Byzantine 550-650 CE Total=192 Sherds	ARS 104	14
	CRS 9	36
	CRS 10	21
	PRS 10	121

The ARS ware appears in modest quantities only (approximately 9% of the LRRW vessels). Tsuf’s study (2003: 96) indicates that this group was marketed primarily at coastal sites and is rarer in the interior. The marketing of this group in the region seems to diminish around the beginning of the fifth century. Though the sample here is too small to establish this with certainty, it appears to revive during the sixth century. This is indicated by comparison of the numbers

of type ARS 93, which belongs to the Middle Byzantine period, with ARS 104, which is mainly sixth century. This picture lends support to the study by Hayes, which pointed to a decline followed by an increase similar to this throughout the eastern Mediterranean region (Hayes 1972: 368). It is noteworthy that type ARS 104 is the latest representative of the African group in the region, while the types from the first half of the seventh century, ARS 105/106, which are found at other sites in the eastern Mediterranean (*ibid.* 169), are nearly absent in the survey area.

Of types PRS 1 and PRS 2, which belong to the period up to the mid-fifth century, only a single vessel of each was found (total of 0.4% of all LRRW vessels). In Tsuf's catalogue these early types constitute 4.6% of all of the finds (based upon 1,034 vessels from sites in Israel, *ibid.*: VI; 80). Examination of the sites at which they were documented (*ibid.*, 243–249) clearly indicates their marketing mainly in the coastal plain and its vicinity (the majority are from Caesarea, Ramat Hanadiv, Castra, 'Ovesh and Jalameh). Marketing of PRS vessels to the interior of the Galilee, on the other hand, began only from the second third of the fifth century, with the massive penetration of type PRS 3 (which constitutes 34% of all of the LRRW vessels in the survey). The significant presence of PRS vessels continued in the Late Byzantine period with PRS 10, which is the main representative of the seventh century (23% of all of the LRRW vessels).

The CRS vessels maintain a stable presence during all of the sub-phases of the Byzantine period. Of interest is the clear absence from the survey area of types CRS 7 and CRS 11 – large basins from the Late Byzantine period (a total of three vessels were found constituting 0.6% of all LRRW vessels). In Tsuf's catalogue, these vessels constitute 7.6% of all of the finds and they were mainly recorded at sites in the Coastal Plain (*ibid.* 295–302; 313–316). Also, in the Upper Galilee survey, CRS 11 was reportedly found only at the western sites and was absent from the eastern ones. (Frankel *et al.*, Pl. 37).

It should be noted that among the many thousands of body sherds of LRRW pottery collected and examined in the course of the survey, only one (from Ḥuqoq) was found with a cross decoration. The frequency of the cross decorations on LRRW vessels at nearby settlements with Christian populations (such as Kh. Kerak or Beth Shean, see for example, Hayes 1972: 348, 363–268) show that their absence from the survey area is apparently the result of intentional avoidance by the Jewish population. Based upon considerable finds of LRRW with cross decoration from assemblages found in dwellings around the synagogue at Capernaum, Loffreda maintained that during the Byzantine period, the site was largely settled by Christians (Loffreda 1984; see also Ma'oz 1999: 144). The apparent avoidance of these vessels by Jews in the survey area strengthens this view.

Table 2: Total quantities of pottery types from the survey

	Type	Counting	Percentage		Type	Counting	Percentage
Hellenistic	P/H Mor	35	0.3%	Byzantine	Diamond Rim SJ	217	2.2%
	P/H TNSJ	124	1.3%		KH1e	2381	25.2%
	GCW	52	0.5%		Deep Bowl	31	0.3%
	H Bowl	55	0.5%		KH2	7	0.07%
	BSP	6	0.06%		KH4d	55	0.5%
	Hellenistic ESA	19	0.2%		KH5b	8	0.08%
	CNCP	95	1%		KH6c	8	0.08%
	H CP	90	1%		Byz Krater	3	0.03%
	H Jug	92	1%		C3a	68	0.7%
	H SJ	91	1%		Cover C3a	24	0.2%
	ISJ	18	0.2%		C4a	23	0.2%
	Long Rim SJ	227	2.4%		KH4e	25	0.2%
	H/R ESA	15	0.1%		C4b	119	1.2%
	TA FW 24	14	0.1%		Simple Byz CP	15	0.1%
TA FW 13	9	0.09%	Black SJ	105	1.1%		
Roman	ER Krater	11	0.1%	FR SJ	24	0.2%	
	KH3a	390	4.1%	ARS 50	4	0.04%	
	KH4a	559	5.9%	ARS 58	13	0.1%	
	KH4b	113	1.2%	ARS 61	7	0.07%	
	SR Casserole	5	0.05%	ARS 67	5	0.05%	
	ERCP	13	0.1%	ARS 93	4	0.04%	
	T1.3 SJ	211	2.2%	ARS 104	14	0.1%	
	ER GrSJ	16	0.1%	CRS 1	47	0.5%	
	ER Jug	9	0.09%	CRS 1/2	12	0.1%	
	ER Juglet	20	0.2%	CRS 2	54	0.5%	
	KH3a/b	127	1.3%	CRS 9	36	0.3%	
	KH4b/c	116	1.2%	CRS 10	21	0.2%	
	ER/MR SJ	381	4%	PRS 3	177	1.8%	
	KH1a	227	2.4%	PRS 10	121	1.2%	
	KH1b	357	3.7%				
	KH3b	199	2.1%				
	MR Krater	13	0.1%	Total	9419		
	KH5a	4	0.04%				
	KH6a	2	0.02%				
	KH6b	9	0.09%				
	MR GrSJ	79	0.8%				
	MR SJ	82	0.8%				
	SJ Prob MR	328	3.4%				
	KH4c	284	3%				
	KH1b/d	129	1.3%				
	MR/LR Bowl	81	0.8%				
	MR/LR SJ	508	5.4%				
	KH1c	124	1.3%				
KH1d	356	3.8%					
LR Krater	11	0.1%					
SJ Prob LR	85	0.8%					

Chapter 4

Survey Methodology

The importance and limitations of the archaeological survey have been dealt with in numerous studies, mainly in recent decades, due to the increasing role played by surveys as a tool for reconstructing spatial settlement history. A number of reasons exist for the recent development of this branch of archaeological research:

1. The understanding that an attempt to create as complete a picture as possible of the past cannot be based solely upon excavations. The latter deal with the exposure of individual sites, mainly urban ones, while most of the population, certainly in the Classical world, lived in the countryside (Cherry 2005). The fact that the excavation of a single site is expensive, lengthy and can teach only about the settlement history of that particular site or a part thereof, has resulted in the development of studies covering numerous sites and attempts to create a historical picture of an entire region.
2. The understanding that there is a connection between environmental variables (including climate, water, soil, and agricultural potential) and the settlement history of a given region (Cherry 1991: 4), encouraged spatial studies that utilize geographical-ecological tools in order to clarify long-term questions such as waves of settlement and abandonment, prosperity and decline, population movements, etc.
3. The transition from an archaeology of “rulers, monuments and historical events” that characterized research up to around the mid-20th century, to more general research concerning the forms of settlement, material culture and economic life of human societies.

Furthermore, improvements in pottery research have made it possible to conduct archaeological surveys of this type, that are mainly based upon pottery data.

Although the majority of archaeological surveys in Israel and elsewhere rely on the same operative assumptions, the main methods of fieldwork, collection and presentation of data, *and* analysis are rarely the same from one survey to another.

Limitations of Archaeological Survey

An examination of some of the studies dealing with the reconstruction of settlement history on the basis of archaeological survey shows that the advantage in this method – gathering archaeological data for an entire region with considerable savings in time and costs – has often turned into a stumbling block. Many of the studies conducted in Israel and elsewhere in the Middle East present conclusions based upon partial or extremely limited data or, worse still, do not present the data at all (pottery types and quantities), something that would be unthinkable in other scientific disciplines. In many publications it is clear that the researcher is unaware of or ignores the limitations of the data and the conclusions that may be drawn from them. Survey maps of the Archaeological Survey of Israel, for example, were intended for the purpose of documentation and registration of archaeological sites. Most of those published to date include information provided by the surveyor concerning the periods of settlement at the sites, without presenting a database of any sort. Sometimes, the summary presented relies upon finds of only a few sherds. This is apparent from sites where quantitative data is presented. On the basis of this preliminary information, numerous works have been written comparing “settlement intensities” of different periods and even reconstructing demographic and economic processes or specific historical episodes.¹

Aside from these problems, there are inherent methodological questions and problems regarding archaeological surveys, foremost among which are:

- A. To what extent do the pottery finds on the surface reflect periods of settlement at a given site, and to what extent do the quantitative differences among the pottery finds from different periods indicate the size of the population in each period?
- B. Do changes in the quantities of pottery (in archaeological excavations as well) necessarily reflect demographic change, or are there perhaps other factors that influence the quantities, such as periods during which pottery was used less, proximity of the site to production centers, etc. ? (see Millett 1991).
- C. The difference in the quality and extent of pottery studies concerning different periods and regions can lead to an over-representation of certain periods better known to researchers and an under-representation of periods whose pottery is not known. A good example of this may be seen in studies of the

¹ As an example, the work of Lapin (2001), seeks to describe the economic and geographical-settlement structure of the Galilee during the fourth century, a period in which, based upon the Archaeological Survey of Israel maps, constitutes in his opinion the apogee of settlement in the region (*ibid.*, 8-9). This point of departure, upon which Lapin relies on as the basis for his geographical-economic-spatial analyses, is totally unfounded. As will be seen below, the fourth century was a time of severe settlement crisis in the Jewish Galilee to which Lapin relates.

Early Islamic period in the Land of Israel (and simultaneously, at the beginning of the Middle Ages in Europe, see Barker 1991), when it appears that at least part of the reported dramatic decline in the intensity of settlement stems from the limited familiarity of researchers with the pottery of these periods.

- D. There are specific problems that vary from one region to another, such as the ability to chronologically subdivide the local pottery, or sherds from certain periods that are gathered more frequently due to their size or outstanding color (cf. Orton *et al.* 1993: 33; 169).

Archaeological Methodology in this Study

The idea that underlies this study is an attempt to obtain a historical-settlement picture of a defined geographical region during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods, based on the collection and analysis of archaeological data and an analysis of the array of geographical and historical conditions that influenced settlement in that region. The core of this study is the survey work, which involved the collection of large samples of pottery belonging to the periods with which we are dealing from settlements in the region. The impressive advance in the research of local Galilean pottery in recent decades enables analysis of the findings at a high resolution i.e., identifying a high proportion of the findings and dividing them into relatively short sub-periods.

Several methodological tests that were conducted and close familiarity with local pottery, constitute the basis for the method of the survey and the analysis of the findings. Next, the size range of every site during each period is evaluated. This in turn, enabled us to produce a dynamic historical-settlement picture at individual sites and for the entire region.

Definition and Location of Sites

This study deals with the history of settlement in a particular region and accordingly, the sites surveyed and discussed are settlement sites only. Not every kind of evidence for human activity in the region, such as installations in open fields, rock-cuttings, agricultural terraces or field scatters, are considered. Despite the importance of such off-site features for the reconstruction of human activity in an area in the past, as emerges from the extensive literature on this topic published in recent years (e.g., Stoddart and Whitehead 1991; Cherry *et al.* 1991: 37–54), research questions, funding and manpower limitations led this research to focus on settlement sites only.

The survey methodology was designed with a focus on the history of settlement. Therefore, it was decided to conduct an intensive survey of known archaeological sites (cf.: Ofer 1993; Maeir 1997) using advanced techniques, rather than what is known as “fieldwalking.” Nonetheless, a systematic

fieldwalking survey covering approximately the eastern half of the survey region was carried out at the end of the 1950s by B. Ravani (IAAA – unpublished) and all of the sites noted by Ravani were re-examined. Hence, this research combines a survey of known archaeological sites with a fieldwalking survey (cf. Finkelstein and Lederman 1997; Frankel *et al.* 2001).

Identification of the archaeological sites in the survey area is based upon the following sources of information:

- A. The Official Gazette (*Yalkut ha-pirsumim*) in which all of the sites that have been officially declared by the IAA appear.
- B. Palestine Exploration Fund maps of the late 19th century (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883), which include sites and names that do not appear in later maps.
- C. Maps of the British Mandate. The importance of these maps (particularly the 1941 edition) is in their delineation of the division of agricultural lands among villages and in the detailed naming of agricultural plots, which frequently preserve names of sites – information that does not appear on later maps.
- D. Maps of the Israel Map Center.
- E. Recent aerial photographs as well as aerial photographs by the RAF from 1945 for some of the area. Their importance lies in their documentation of sites subsequently destroyed by development in the region.
- F. Reports by researchers and surveyors who worked in the region or in parts of it, including V. Guérin (1868-80), the PEF (Conder and Kitchener 1881–1883), Y. Aharoni (1957), Z. Gal (1992) and the Survey of the Upper Galilee (Frankel *et al.* 2001).
- G. The thorough survey by B. Ravani, which is in the IAAA, helped in locating sites that were not officially declared. In addition, the reports of AVST assisted in completing the picture at several sites.
- H. Oral communications, particularly from IAA personnel: Mr. Y. Stepansky, inspector for the eastern Galilee–Golan region, and Mr. Y. Tor who began work on the Arbel Survey Map in the framework of the Archaeological Survey of Israel.

It should be noted that most of the area is very accessible, frequented by hikers, and well known to archaeological inspectors. Even if there are small sites that have not been identified (as might be reasonably supposed), these do not significantly alter the overall historical-settlement picture (Cf., Ofer 1993: 144 and see below in detail). The extensive information on the location of sites in the region led us to prefer a methodology of site survey over other methodologies used when limitations of manpower exist, such as survey of random sampling areas (see Barker 1991: 3–4).

The basic definition of a settlement site in this study is: a concentration of sherds and/or architectural remains over an area of at least half a dunam (0.05

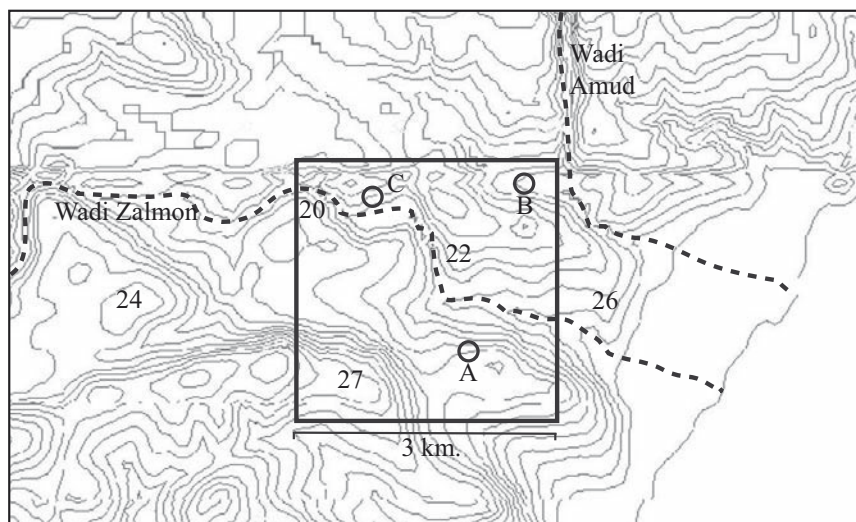
hectare).² Sites smaller than half a dunam, or sites that, despite repeated visits, did not yield at least twenty indicative sherds from the periods with which this study deals, were not placed on the list of settlement sites and are treated separately as “archaeological features.” Most of these sites were so small or had such meager pottery finds that it was not clear at all whether they were settlement sites or chance sherd scatters, agricultural installations and the like. The weight of these features in the reconstruction of settlement history of the region is insignificant. The inability to gather a sufficient sample of pottery from them upon which to base secure conclusions, forced us to separate these from the list of settlements whose dating is based on broad statistical samples, for fear of creating a distorted settlement map for some periods.

At all of the sites documented in the above sources, a preliminary survey was conducted. If pottery belonging to the periods under study was identified, a systematic survey with a group of students was carried out (see below).

Testing the Survey Methodology

Examination of the idea that a survey of sites in an area that has already been extensively studied, can provide sufficient data upon which to base a reliable historical-settlement reconstruction (Banning 1986: 26–28) was done by conducting a fieldwalking survey of a test region. The intention was to examine how many sites would not have been reached without such a comprehensive survey and what their significance was in reconstructing the settlement history of the region. The size of the test region was nine square km. between latitude 194–197 and longitude 250–253 (see map 4). The region, extending along both sides of Wadi Z̄almon, is hilly and constitutes a typical geographical unit of the study area. Prior to the walking survey, three sites (Ravid [20], Livnim [22] and Saban [27]) were known, as were two terrace sites in which Ravani noted pottery scatters, and a mill and several isolated structures along Wadi Z̄almon. The systematic survey was conducted by a group of 15–20 students with 15 m. spacing between fieldwalkers. This test documented archaeological features including quarrying and winepresses in open areas, terraces, remains of aqueducts, a few mills, and remains of isolated structures along the course of Wadi Z̄almon, which, based upon their style of construction and state of preservation, appear to date to recent centuries.

² Much has been written in recent decades about the definition of “sites” in areas in which the surface is continuously covered by finds (cf., Doelle 1977: 202; Cherry 1983: 394–397). In a survey in central Cyprus, for example, sites were defined as any concentration of artifacts that allows examination of the connections between them, while settlements were defined as concentrations of finds and architectural remains covering a minimum area of 10 dunams (1 hectare). See Given and Knapp 2003: 28.



Map 4: Full Coverage Survey Area

During the course of this “full coverage” survey, a scatter of sherds of approx. half a dunam, in an area currently cultivated (map reference 1964/2506) was identified. This includes sherds from the Iron Age II, the Ottoman period and three from the Middle/Late Roman period (Site A on map 4). An additional site, which includes indistinct remains of the wall of a building and a small sherd scatter extending over approx. 1/4–1/2 dunam, was found at map reference 1968/2527; eleven indicative sherds that were gathered there belong to the Middle and Late Roman periods (Site B on the map). An additional site, noted by Ravani (his Site 71), was found as a small terrace on the slope of Wadi Zalmon (map reference 1948/2527), with no building remains. Only four sherds were collected here, all Middle Roman (Site C on the map).

The small number of the sherds and building remains at these sites makes it difficult to determine if these small sites were settlements, agricultural terraces or installations. The test showed, however, that the vast majority of significant settlement sites (of several dunams) in the area were already known. Apparently the premise that underlies the method of site survey in a well known area withstands critical examination and this method can create a portrait of the greater part of the settled area in antiquity. Even if small sites of 1/4–1/2 dunam were widespread in a given period, these do not change the overall picture of the settlement history of the survey area, which includes hundreds of dunams of built areas. At the same time, if these sites are indeed settlements, then consistently missing them creates a danger that the selective survey will miss specific settlement patterns, such as individual houses in the open that, at least according

to the results of the fieldwalking survey, may have been more widespread during the Middle Roman period.³

The conclusion that the vast majority of settlement sites from the periods in question in the region are known and documented is further supported by an examination of the results of an extensive survey conducted in the Upper Galilee (Frankel *et al.* 2001). This survey covered over 800 square km., 310 of which were given full coverage, while the remainder surveyed only known sites. Comparison of the methods used reveals that in the full coverage survey, almost no new classical period sites (Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine) that were previously unknown were discovered. For example, of 81 Hellenistic period and later sites on the Ḥanita and 'Amka maps, which were intensively surveyed, only five did not appear on earlier maps or in previous studies, and of these, three are caves, one a sherd scatter over one dunam and the last, a three dunam site. It should be noted that a distinct picture emerges at pre-Hellenistic sites, where 16 previously unknown sites were located, though most were very small.⁴

Field Scatters

A noteworthy phenomenon that emerged from the full coverage survey of the test area is the large number of isolated sherds collected in fields, unrelated to sherd scatters or any other finds that might point to settlement. Particularly obvious were finds of Galilean Bowls of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period.⁵

In recent years, research has dealt extensively with the occurrence of field scatters, and it seems that they are mostly a result of field fertilization

³ Therefore, even if these minor “features” do not change the overall historical-settlement picture, they contain important information for understanding security, economy and agriculture during their periods of habitation.

⁴ A few reasons can be pointed out for differences in the preservation of and ability to identify classical and pre-classical sites. First, the artifacts from classical periods are generally much more obvious on the surface and often better preserved in comparison to those from the Bronze and Iron Ages, which influences visibility (see Bintliff *et al.* 1999). It also may be connected to the rate of geomorphological processes producing layers of soil covering, which is more pronounced at older sites. The sequence of settlement or a gap in the sequence in the region influences both the familiarity of the local population with the sites that were settled in the past and the preservation of their names, factors that directly influence sites being noted on modern maps.

⁵ For example, on a 1,500 by 300 m. strip, between Moshav Livnim and the Migdal-Zalmon road (an area of approximately 1/2 square km.), which was surveyed by 20 surveyors, 21 rim sherds unrelated to any site or sherd scatter were collected in a 2 hour period. Of the finds, 17 rims are of Galilean Bowls of the Kefar Ḥananya type (two KH1b, three KH1d and twelve KH1e) and the four remaining ones are of various types.

(Wilkinson 1988; 1989)⁶ and partly of passers-by, shepherds, etc. Familiarity with this feature is important in the study of the history of settlement sites, since it appears that not all sherds accumulated on the surface at sites are evidence for settlement phases. Some apparently are the result of field scatters. Determining which sherds are evidence for a period of settlement and which are field scatters is a methodological problem. At the same time, the large samples that were gathered from every site (see below), usually enabled us to distinguish isolated, unusual sherds that apparently do not represent a period of settlement.

Size and Definition of Pottery Samples

Large samples of pottery were needed in order to sketch an accurate historical picture. This is because an evaluation of changes in site sizes over time was based partially upon statistical analysis of the quantity of pottery from the different periods. A sample of at least 100 indicative sherds from each site *from the periods under discussion* was established as a research requirement. The term “indicative sherds” throughout this work, refers to *vessel rims exclusively* and the count, data on the tables and analysis relate only to vessel rims. There are types or groups that can be identified by bases or body sherds (such as the ESA group or the LRRW group). With most of the types, however, this is not possible. In order to establish a uniform and measurable parameter for all of the types and so that it will be possible to conduct statistical comparisons, only vessel rims have been counted.

Identifiable body sherds of vessels from periods not represented in the rim sherds have been noted in the tables with a star, but were not included in the counts or in the evaluation of site size of the various periods.

Over 100 indicative sherds from the periods covered by the study were collected at 39 of the 46 sites at which a pottery survey was conducted. Four sites yielded over 60 indicative sherds and the three remaining sites, from 20 to 40 sherds. A total of 9,419 sherds belonging to periods covered by this study were collected and the average number of identified sherds per site is 204. The

⁶ Wilkinson’s studies of this topic show a correlation between a period of population growth and the intensification of agriculture indicated by fertilization, and as a result, spread of contemporary pottery over the fields (Wilkinson 1989). The prominent color and size of sherds of the Galilean Bowls, however, is probably the main reason for their being the most common type collected in fields, as the period of their production is one of a decline in regional settlement. Historical evidence for fertilization of fields in antiquity coming from the survey area, is found in the Y Ta’anit 4, 6 (69b): “Why does it (the land of Israel) produce fruit? Two *amora'im*: one said: Because they manure it, and the other said: Because they turn over its soil. There was an event with a man who was sowing in the valley of Arbel and he plunged his hand (into the soil) and came up with scorched earth and set aflame his seeds”. This appears to refer to a concentration of undecayed fertilizer that can burn seeds (see also White 1970: 129).

tables in Chapter 5 present the quantitative data for each type from every site and the percentage it constitutes of the sample from the site.

The large sample of vessels from every site allowed us to determine with relative certainty the periods not represented at all in the finds as periods during which there was no settlement at a given site. In addition, the large sample enabled us to discern chance finds that in a small sample would likely lead to erroneous interpretations. For example, in a sample of 20 sherds, 2–3 Byzantine sherds at a site with rich Hellenistic remains might be interpreted as a period of settlement (10–15%), while such a small number in a sample of 100 sherds (2–3%) would not be considered significant. In the latter case, it appears that 2–3 sherds represent seasonal agricultural activity or finds left by passers-by.⁷

Collection Method

The survey was conducted over a period of five consecutive seasons. At every site, a preliminary survey was conducted for several hours, to verify if the site had pottery from the relevant periods, to determine the extent of the site, and to divide the site into sub-areas prior to the main survey. Determining the division into secondary units changed from site to site. At some of the sites, it was based upon topographical features, such as a gorge crossing the site or terraces at different levels. At sites where there were no outstanding topographical features, such as sites at tops of hills or along slopes, the site was arbitrarily divided according to compass directions and objects on the surface. Small sites of up to a few dunams were not divided into sub-areas.

The survey was conducted by a group of 15–20 students who were divided into teams and collected sherds from all parts of the site, including slopes and peripheral areas. The sherds from the various areas were collected and stored separately in order to allow examination of chronological differences between the areas (see Wilkinson 1999: 46), data presented in Chapter 5. At sites where no differences were discerned among the finds from different parts of the site, the sherds were eventually combined into a single sample.

Sites were visited twice and even three times in different seasons and on the average, each site was surveyed between 4 to 5 hours with a team of this size.

⁷ The processes that settlements undergo during the course of and following their abandonment have been extensively discussed in the theoretical archaeological literature in recent years. These include individuals who come to harvest or to take building stone, and nomads who encamp at a site or use enclosures such as sheep pens. All of these leave scattered remains from later periods (see Cameron and Tomka 1993). A good nearby example is Meiron in the Upper Galilee where extensive excavations indicated that structures were gradually emptied and the village totally abandoned during the course of the late fourth/beginning of the fifth century CE. A number of sherd and coin scatters of the fifth–seventh centuries (not in stratigraphic layers and unrelated to the remains in the early village) were interpreted by the excavators as evidence for visitors or temporary inhabitants (see Meyers *et al.* 1981, 161).

Among the students participating in the survey, approximately a third were regular participants and had previous surveying experience.

Visibility

Visibility, which directly affects the ability to gather artifacts from the surface, is determined by the density and height of vegetation; the type, color and texture of the soil; the season of the year; and the quality of light. The impact of these factors has been examined in several studies, (e.g., Cherry *et al.* 1991: 38–45; Terrenato and Ammerman 1996; Given and Knapp 2003: 54–56).

The vegetation in the survey area is composed mainly of annual and low species (batha), which dry out during the summer and enable good visibility of the surface during the survey season, *i.e.* the end of the summer and the fall. In addition, establishing minimum criteria for the required sample size (see above) in large measure remedied the main problem arising from difficulty of visibility, which is the question of the reliability and representative character of the finds. At sites where there were such difficulties, we returned repeatedly at different times of the year during which visibility changes, or following underbrush fires that sometimes occur during the summer, exposing the surface entirely. Long hours of manpower were devoted in order to obtain an adequate sample.

The vast majority of the survey sites are ruins, not used for agriculture today. Those in cultivated areas are mainly located in olive orchards, in which the ground is exposed throughout the entire year. This has advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the exposed ground and sherds brought to the surface by plowing greatly facilitate collection. On the other hand, it appears that certain types of pottery disintegrate and disappear from the upper layer of fields that have been plowed over extended periods (Bintliff *et al.* 1999).

Methodological Test of Surface Survey: Shovel Testing

In order to examine the reliability of historical settlement reconstruction based upon surface pottery collection, a series of shallow excavations were conducted at three sites. This technique, known as shovel testing, is based on a method developed by Y. Portugali, mainly in order to examine changes in the size of sites and to aid in selecting locations for stratigraphic excavation (Portugali 1982: 170–188).

The aims of this technique in the present research were:

- A. Comparison of periods represented among surface finds to those represented among sub-surface finds.
- B. Comparison of relative amounts of vessels from the various periods represented among the surface finds with those lying below the surface.

- C. Examining extent of settlement during different periods at specific places in the site, as opposed to the broad areas into which sites were divided for the surface survey (see Shenkman 1999; Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 10, 17).
- D. Comparing specific types of wares from surface finds with ones from sieved earth and attempting to note patterns or types that are more frequently represented among the surface finds due to the large size or outstanding color of the sherds.

The test pits, 1.5 m. wide and 20 cm. deep, were scattered equally over the surface of the site with at least one test pit located in each distinct sub-area. All excavated soil was carefully sieved and all pottery fragments of 1 cm. and larger were collected.

Similar to the majority of the survey sites, the three sites that were selected as test cases are ruins (as opposed to tells) that include sloping areas. Hence, the chances are small that these sites have “sealed” underground layers that are not partially exposed in certain areas on the slope (see Portugali 1982: 187). It is likely that pottery of the relatively early periods will be represented in soil carried down slopes by erosion. These sites were selected following the conclusion and analysis of the surface survey, and except for the above four aims, each of the three sites represented a different question that arose from analysis of surface finds.

A. Kh. Ḥamam [Site 32]: The surface survey noted an abrupt cessation of settlement that took place at the site around the mid/late-fourth century CE, and no later pottery was found here. The aim of the shovel test was to determine if the absence of the Middle and Late Byzantine period would be confirmed by excavation or was merely a result of having missed areas in the surface survey, that were settled during these periods.

B. Kul’at esh-Shuneh [Site 11]: At this site, considerable quantities of Early Roman and Middle and Late Byzantine pottery were collected, but no pottery from the periods in between, a phenomenon not encountered at any other site in the survey area. The aim of the shovel testing was to clarify the reliability of the surface survey results and to clarify if the strange gap would indeed be borne out by excavation or was merely the result of ineffective survey or of remains of later periods covering the areas settled in the intermediate periods.

C. Nasr ed-Din [Site 46]: In the northeastern part of this site, extensive archaeological excavations were conducted by H. Ben Nahum of the IAA (Ben Nahum 1999; Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 17), and the aim of the shovel testing was to compare results of extensive excavation with those of shovel testing and surface survey. In the surface survey, sherds from three main periods were collected (Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine). However, the small amount of Late

Roman and Early Byzantine pottery raised the possibility that settlement at the site had not been continuous. The aim of the shovel testing was to attempt to clarify this.

Table 3: A comparison of findings from shovel testing with those from surface survey, by period

Period	Kh. Ḥamam		Kul'at esh-Shuneh		Nasr ed-Din	
	Surface	Shovel Test (14 Pits)	Surface	Shovel Test (14 Pits)	Surface	Shovel Test (24 Pits)
H	4 (1.2%)	5 (2.1%)	24 (13.5%)	9 (20.4%)	53 (41%)	15 (15%)
ER	48 (14.5%)	63 (26.6%)	101 (57%)	30 (68%)	32 (24.8%)	43 (43%)
MR	81 (24.5%)	96 (40.5%)	0	0	22 (17%)	20 (20%)
LR	170 (51.3%)	58 (24.4%)	5 (2.8%)	0	12 (9.3%)	11 (11%)
E BYZ	28** (8.4%)	12** (5%)	0	0	0*	0*
M BYZ	0	1 (0.4%)	10 (5.6%)	1 (2.2%)	6 (4.6%)	7 (7%)
L BYZ	0	0	37*** (21%)	4*** (9%)	4 (3%)	4 (4%)
Total Identified	331	237	177	44	129	100

* The total absence of clear Early Byzantine types led us to attribute the few intermediate types of LR/E BYZ to the Late Roman period.

** At Kh. Ḥamam, where a sharp break in settlement in the mid-fourth century was noted, the surface survey encountered 7 sherds of types that began to appear from the middle of the fourth century onward, while 43 sherds of the Late Roman period were found (not including type KH1e). Similar ratios between the vessels of these two periods were encountered in the shovel testing results. Therefore, Bowl KH1e, which has a range overlapping both the Late Roman and the Early Byzantine periods was divided in the table between them at a ratio of 1:6.

*** The Byzantine period finds from shovel testing at Kul'at esh-Shuneh include only 1 rim of LRRW of type PRS 10C, which is dated to the Late Byzantine period. In the surface survey, 21 rims of LRRW were collected, 17 of them dated to the Late Byzantine period (12 of PRS 10; 2 of CRS 9 and 3 of CRS 10) and 4 others of the Middle Byzantine period (3 of PRS 3 and a single vessel of CRS 2), however of variants appearing only from the beginning of the sixth century on. The renewal of settlement at the site thus began after the beginning of the sixth century. Vessels dated in pottery studies to the entire Byzantine period were divided in the table among the secondary periods on the basis of the ratio of LRRW finds.

Conclusions

Kh. Hamam

A. Chronology: All periods represented in the shovel testing are also represented in the surface survey aside from a single Middle Byzantine sherd (0.4%) found in the shovel testing, which does not seem to represent a settlement phase. The very small number of finds that begin to appear in mid-fourth century assemblages in the Galilee (strata of the 363 earthquake at Sepphoris) and the absence of later finds strengthen the conclusion that the settlement was abandoned around the second half of the fourth century CE.

B. Relative Quantitative Comparison of Sherds representing each Period: A considerable difference between the two methods emerges regarding the relative quantities of pottery vessels of the different periods. In the surface survey, the later periods are significantly better represented at the expense of earlier periods.

A central factor influencing the difference in finds obtained by the two methods is type KH1e, which constituted 44% of the finds (146 rims) in the surface survey, while in the shovel testing it constituted only 11.8%. In comparison to other vessels, this vessel is particularly large, with a thickened rim and breaks into large sherds that are prominent on the surface. Apparently, for that reason, it was collected in relatively large amounts in the surface survey. At other survey sites, the dominance of this type stands out, and at certain sites it constitutes 40% and even 50% of the finds.

The conclusion is that at many sites at which type KH1e occurs in large quantities, its high percentage in the assemblage should not be taken at face value and does not indicate increased activity during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods during which this vessel is common. As we shall see below, shovel testing at Kul'at esh-Shuneh and Nasr ed-Din clearly showed that LRRW is also overrepresented in the surface finds, apparently because of its outstanding color and large sherds. However, the quantities of this ware are much more modest and do not produce significant changes in relative frequencies.

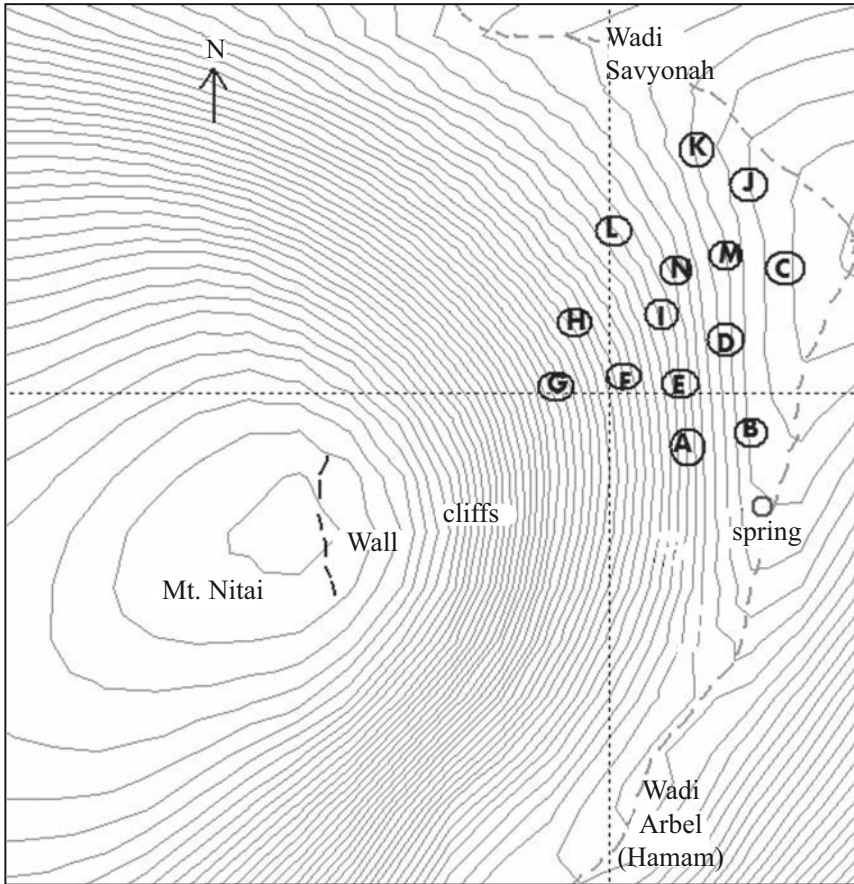
C. Settlement Extent: Fourteen pits were spread over the entire site. In the south and east, the site is bounded by high terraces above the gorges of Wadi Arbel and Wadi Saviona. In the west it is bounded by a steep rise and the cliffs of Mt. Nitai. Our shovel tests revealed that the settlement extended to these topographical limits. On its northern side, the site has no topographical boundary and the survey and shovel tests indicate that Pit K lies at the site's northern limit.

The following table presents pottery finds from the various shovel tests divided into sub-periods.

Table 4: Finds from Shovel Testing at Kh. Ḥamam according to sub-period

	Type / Pit	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Hellenistic	CNCP					1									
	Long Rim SJ								1	1	1		1		
Hell/ER	Hell/Rom ESA									*					
Early Roman	KH3a					2	1		4		3				
	KH4a	2		1		1	1		2	4	1		2		1
	KH4b								1		1	1			1
	ERCP								1						
	T1.3 SJ			2		1						1		1	
	ER Juglet								1						
ER/MR	KH3a/b		3	2	1	3	1		2	2	2	1			
	KH4b/c			1		1		1		1				3	
	ER/MR SJ	3	1	3		1	1		3	4	3		7		2
Middle Roman	KH1a	1	1	1		2			1	2	1				1
	KH1b		2	2			1			3					1
	KH3b		1	1		2				1			3	1	
	MR Krater			1						1					
	KH6b		1												
	MR GrSJ							1						1	1
	MR SJ									1	1				
	SJ Prob MR		1				1		2	1					2
KH4c		2	9		5		1	2	4	4				5	
MR/LR	KH1b/d			1						1				2	
	MR/LR SJ			1											
Late Roman	KH1c			2			1								1
	KH1d			1						1					
	Diam. Rim SJ		2		1	5	1			3	1				
LR/E.Byz	KH1e		7	5		5	1			3	1			3	3
	KH4d		1			2	2								
	Deep Bowl			1											
Early Byzantine	C3a				1										
	Cover C3a			1		1									
	KH4e					1			1						
	C4b									1					
	Sim. Byz CP			1											
	CRS 1			1											
	CRS 2			1											
miscellaneous		(D) 32	MT			(E) 1	ϕ	2nd c.					(M) 1	ϕ	3rd c.

MT = Mosaic Tessera; ϕ = coin (see coin appendix)



Map 5: Shovel Testing at Khirbet Hamam

The Hellenistic period is represented by small quantities in five of the probes, four of them in the high upper part of the site.

The Early Roman period is represented in all probes, except for one at the very center of the site. It appears that this absence is a matter of chance and that the entire site was inhabited during this period.

The Middle Roman period is also represented in all probes except for one, and it appears that the entire site was inhabited during this period, except, perhaps, for the area of Probe K at the northern boundary of the site.

Sherds from the Late Roman period (including intermediate LR/E BYZ sherds) were found in nine of the fourteen probes. The probes from which types of this period were absent (A, G, K, and L) are noticeably located at the periphery of the site. To these should be added probes H and J, also located at the

edges of the site, in which one or two sherds from these periods were found, as opposed to numerous sherds from earlier periods.

Only nine sherds belong to types that begin to appear in Galilee assemblages roughly from the mid-fourth century on. These were found in five probes, which with the exception of H (yielded a single sherd), are all located in close proximity around the center of the site. The restricted distribution of Late Roman and Early Byzantine pottery at the site thus enables us to note the contraction of the settlement toward its center during this period. The abandonment of the settlement was preceded by phases of decline. It is noteworthy that in the surface survey the Late Roman period finds were the most dominant and if solely based on that method, the settlement's stages of decline would not have been determined.

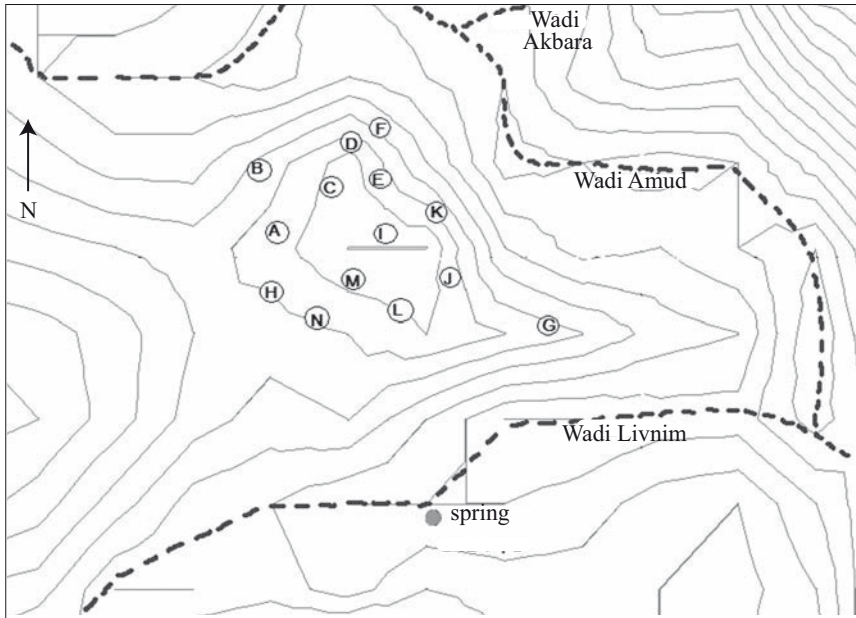
Analysis of the shovel testing leaves considerable doubt concerning the different formulas proposed for calculating the size of a site during different periods, based upon the quantity of surface finds from each period.

Early Roman sherds from the probes constitute only two thirds of the number of sherds from the peak period (the Middle Roman period). According to the above formulas, the obvious conclusion would be that during the former period only two thirds of the site was inhabited. Nonetheless, the Early Roman period is represented in all of the probes including ones at its fringes where this period is dominant. In addition, the quantity of Late Roman pottery in the probes is similar to that of the Early Roman period, whereas the probes indicate that the settlement during this period was considerably smaller than during the Early Roman period.

Kul'at esh-Shuneh

A. Chronology: All periods represented in the shovel testing are present in the surface survey. The surface survey collected five rims of type KH1e, which belongs to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, with no other finds from these periods. The probes did not find even a single sherd belonging to the Late Roman period and not a single sherd that must date to the Early Byzantine period. It therefore appears that these KH1e sherds do not represent a settlement phase at the site, but belong apparently to the phenomenon of "field scatters" (see above).

B. Relative Quantitative Comparison of Sherds representing each Period: The Hellenistic period constitutes 13.5% of the finds from the surface survey and 20.4% in the probes, though the small number of finds from this period makes it difficult to show a clear trend. The Byzantine period, which in the surface survey was 31% of the finds, weakens to 11.2% in the probes.



Map 6: Shovel Testing at Kul'at esh-Shuneh

Table 5: Finds from shovel testing at Kul'at esh-Shuneh according to sub-period

	Type / Pit	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Hellenistic	Hellenistic ESA					1									
	Hell. CP				1		1								
	Long Rim SJ	2									1		1	1	
Hell/ER	Hell/Rom ESA														*
	TA FW 24												1		
Early Roman	KH3a		1			1	1	1			3				
	KH4a	1	4		1	2		3			3		1	1	2
	ER Juglet					1									
ER/MR	KH3a/b		2							1					
	ER/MR SJ		1												
Byzantine	Cover C3a													1	
	C4b													2	
	Black SJ														1
	PRS 10													1	
	Miscellaneous				(G) 1 Scarab 11th–10th c. BC									(L) 1 ♂ 4 th c.	

The LRRW vessels, which are so prominent because of their size and red slip, constituted some 12% of all finds in the surface survey, while in the probes, these vessels were only 2% of all finds.

The shovel testing results strengthen the conclusion (based upon the surface survey), that the site was abandoned in the Early Roman period, after the mid-first century CE.

C. Settlement Extent: On the northern slope near the summit are several narrow terraces suitable for construction and beneath them is a sharp slope that is unsuitable for building. The southern slope descends gradually to the branch of Wadi Livnim. In its upper portion there are extensive terraces where, according to the probes conducted in them and on the summit of the site, settlement was concentrated in later periods.

The Hellenistic period is represented by small quantities of sherds from seven probes conducted in all parts of the site except for the summit. The Early Roman period is represented in 11 out of 14 probes throughout the site. It is absent from probes C, I and K which are located at the center of the site, next to the remains of an Ottoman fortress. This absence may be due to medieval layers covering this area, or due to erosion sweeping material down the steep slopes.

The Middle/Late Byzantine period is represented by a small amount of material found in two probes at the southern side of the site.

Nasr ed-Din

A. Chronology: Imported wares (LRRW) from both the Middle Byzantine and the Late Byzantine periods were collected in the surface survey, while there were no imported wares from the Early Byzantine period. In the shovel testing, only Middle Byzantine LRRW were found, while there were no Late Byzantine examples and again, none from the Early Byzantine period.

The presence of the Late Byzantine period in Table 3 is the result of the division of the local pottery types, dated generally as “Byzantine” between the Middle and the Late Byzantine period. It is based upon the finds from the surface survey, which indicate the presence of these two periods here.

In contrast to the relatively rich finds from the Middle Roman period (20%), there is weak showing for the Late Roman period (11% of the finds), despite this period having supposedly been better represented in the layer near the surface.⁸ The clear absence of vessels that must be dated to the fourth century and of vessels that must be dated to the Early Byzantine period indicates that

⁸ KH1e, for example, generally constitutes 30–50% of the finds at sites that were settled during the Late Roman period, while here it is only 7% of the finds from the surface and 5% of the finds from the probes.

from the second half of the third to the second half of the fifth century, the site was abandoned or had only very limited settlement. In the IAA excavation in the northeastern portion of the site, the picture is even clearer. No finds later than the mid-third century were encountered (see below). Renewal of the settlement during the Middle Byzantine period was very limited in scope, as indicated by the pottery found in the probes.

B. Relative Quantitative Comparison of Sherds representing each Period: It is surprising that in the surface survey the strongest representation was the earliest, dating to the Hellenistic period, while in the shovel testing, the Early Roman period gained strength to emerge as the dominant one. Perhaps the Hellenistic vessels, in particular the storage jars, left large and particularly obvious sherds on the surface in comparison to the small, delicate ones of the Early Roman period. This explanation, however, is not entirely satisfying since at two other sites where shovel testing was conducted, no similar phenomenon was noted.

The picture that emerges from the probes points to a significant weakening of the settlement by the Middle Roman period, which is represented in 12 probes only and constitutes 20% of the finds, while the Early Roman period is represented in 18 probes and constitutes 43% of the finds. In the results of the surface survey the Early and Middle Roman period finds were rather similar (24% and 17% respectively). Findings from the shovel testing that relate to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods match those of the surface survey and the settlement appears to have been abandoned at the end of the third century. It remained uninhabited at least until approximately the mid-fifth century, when settlement at the site was renewed on a more limited scale.⁹ Similar to the results at Kul‘at esh-Shuneh, here too, finds of LRRW from the surface survey are greater than those from the probes (11.5% vs. 3%). Apparently the size of the sherds and their red slip make them particularly visible on the surface.

C. Settlement Extent: The Hellenistic period is represented in 6 of the 24 probes, all along a strip in the lower half of the site. The Early Roman period is represented in 18 probes and this is the floruit in terms of sherd quantity in the various probes. A concentration of probes from which finds from this period were absent lies in the northwestern corner of the settlement. The Middle Roman period is represented in 12 probes throughout the site, once more, with a weakening in its northwestern part. The Late Roman period is represented in five

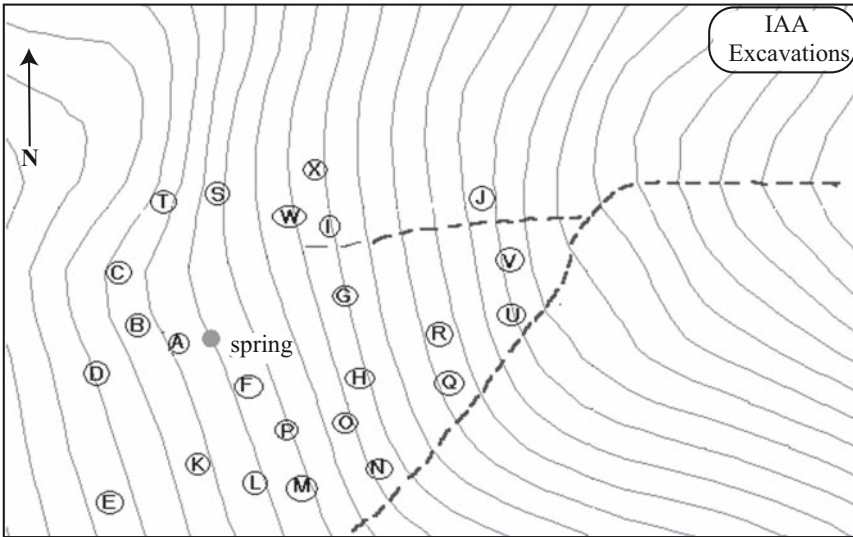
⁹ The Late Roman period is represented by only a small number of Galilee Bowls (KH1d, KH1e), which are found in Galilean assemblages from approximately the mid-third century. The small amounts of this type (which is the most common type at the majority of the survey sites), and the total absence of the fourth century types indicates abandonment around the second half of the third century.

probes in different parts of the site. The very sparse settlement of the Byzantine period is concentrated mainly at the center of the site, at the foot of the spring, and slightly to the south and east.

Table 6: Finds from shovel testing at Nasr ed-Din according to sub-period

	Type / Pit	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X
Hellenistic	CNCP																		2						1
	Hell. CP																1	1							
	Hell. Jug										1						1								
	Hell. SJ																1								
	Long Rim SJ																3		3						1
Hell/ER	Hell/Rom ESA																		*						
Early Roman	KH3a		1					1	1		1							1	2						1
	KH4a		1	2	1			1	1			1	1				2	1	1						1
	KH4b		2	1											1	1			1						
	T1.3 SJ		1	1	1			1																	1
	ER Jug											1													
	ER Juglet														1										
ER/MR	KH3a/b		1																				1		
	KH4b/c		1		1											1								1	
	ER/MR SJ		1	2							1					2		1	1	2				1	
Middle Roman	KH1a													2											
	KH1b					1																			
	KH3b														1										
	MR GrSJ																			1					
	SJ Prob MR																1								1
	KH4c		1													2									1
MR/LR	KH1b/d											1											1		
	MR/LR SJ																				1				1
Late Roman	KH1d								2																
	SJ Prob LR																					1			
LR/E.Byz	KH1e			2				1	1																1
Byzantine	C3a											4													
	Cover C3a											1													
	C4b											1									1				
	Black SJ		1																						
	ARS 93																							1	
	PRS 3												2												
Mid. Ages		4	1	2			4	10		9		1		2						10				7	
	Miscellaneous						(G) 1 LR/BYZ lamp 12 Mosaic stones				(M) 1¢ 2nd c. B.C.						(N) 2 ¢ 6 th c.								

¢ = coin (see Appendix on coins at end of report)



Map 7: Shovel Testing at Nasr ed-Din

Comparison between Findings from Surface Survey, Shovel Testing and Excavations

Extensive salvage excavation in the northeastern part of the site was conducted by Haya Ben Nachum of the IAA, who generously allowed us to examine the pottery corpus from that excavation.¹⁰ It should be noted that the excavation area has undergone intensive construction in recent years and it was not possible to collect pottery in this area during the course of the survey.

The finds from loci on floors of buildings (some of which stood to their full height, according to the excavator), including complete vessels and numerous ones taken for restoration, clearly belonged to the Middle Roman period (Ben Nahum 1999). Finds from other loci that the excavator believes to represent material that was washed in following the destruction of the structures, also include a large amount of Hellenistic and Early Roman finds and it is clear that during these periods there was significant settlement in this part of the site. Among the hundreds of vessels and rims that were examined, only four rims belong to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods and three others to the Middle Ages.¹¹ Thus, it may be concluded that this area of the settlement was abandoned around the third century CE and was not re-inhabited. This picture of interruption in settlement or its extreme dwindling after the third century also

¹⁰ The rich pottery corpus, which includes many hundreds of rims, entire vessels and restored vessels, was examined over the course of five hours by my dissertation advisor, Prof. Adan-Bayewitz, and me in the warehouses of the IAA at Nahalal.

emerges from the surface survey and the shovel testing, though in both cases, sherds from the mid fifth century on attest to sparse settlement in the vicinity of the village spring.

Kefar Hananya

Extensive shovel testing, including 68 shallow test probes, was conducted by D. Adan-Bayewitz in 1989 at the site of Kefar Hananya, which is included in the area of the present survey. The results, including comparison to the findings of the current surface survey, were published in Y. Shenkman's M.A. thesis (1999: 54–61) and are presented here courtesy of Y. Shenkman.

The comparison is based upon 2,570 rims collected in the shovel testing, in contrast to 543 collected from the surface.

Before presenting the comparison, it is important to note that because Kefar Hananya was a major production center, it is difficult to create a historical-settlement reconstruction based upon quantitative comparison of pottery vessels from the different periods. The fact that during a single visit to the site lasting several hours, 543 vessel rims were collected (401 of these of local manufacture), several times the average quantity collected at sites of similar size, indicates the considerable influence of pottery production on the finds here.

Table 7: Comparison of finds from shovel testing and surface survey at Kefar Hananya; divided into main periods (adapted from: Shenkman 1999: 36, 54)

Period	Shovel Test	Survey
Roman	2241 (87%)	416 (76%)
Byzantine	49 (2%)	25 (5%)
Middle Ages	181 (7%)	65 (12%)
Modern	7 (0%)	0 (0%)
Unknown	91 (4%)	37 (7%)
Total	2570	543

A comparison of finds resulting from the two survey methods shows that all of the main periods represented in the shovel testing are also represented in the

¹¹ One KH1e, one C3a Cover and two LRRW. The nearly total absence of type KH1e from this rich pottery corpus as well as the absence of other outstanding fourth century types indicates abandonment prior to the penetration of type KH1e around the second half of the third century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 105. On finds from the excavations at Nasr ed-Din, see also Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 17).

surface survey and that the quantities of finds from different periods are quite similar. On the other hand, there is an increase in the presence of Byzantine and Middle Age sherds in the surface survey findings in comparison to the ones from the Roman period. This may be due to the proximity of the former to the surface as well as the fact that the sherds of these periods are more obvious and are therefore more likely to be collected by surveyors.

The comparison showed considerable differences in the representation of types produced at the site during the sub-periods of the Roman period. The main difference was a significant dominance of Late Roman and Early Byzantine period vessels over ones from the earlier periods in the surface survey (Shenkman, *ibid.*).

Summary

Comparison of the findings from surface survey and shovel testing at four different sites leads to four main conclusions:

A. Chronology: At all of the sites, the periods represented in the probes are also represented in the surface survey. Therefore, surface survey based upon a large sample of indicative sherds collected from all areas of a given site may be used to determine the periods of settlement. Moreover, at two of the four sites, the finds from the surface survey include sherds from sub-periods that are not represented in the shovel testing.

B. Quantitative Comparison of Vessels from different Periods and the Relation between the Size of the Sample and the Size of the Settlement: In general, it is possible to affirm that later periods make a stronger showing in surface survey than earlier ones, though there are variations in degree from site to site. Thus, it is clear that there is no direct correlation between the quantity of pottery finds from the different periods and the size of the site during those periods. The quantity of sherds of the Early Roman period, for example, both at Kh. Ḥamam and at Nasr ed-Din, was nearly double in the shovel testing to the amount found in the surface survey.¹²

C. Settlement Extent: Concerning the later periods of settlement at the site, it may be categorically stated that a paucity of pottery indicates contraction of the settled area. For example, at all four sites a significant decline in the number of

¹² The relative paucity of Early Roman finds from the surface compared to the later periods at different sites is apparently not only a result of the layers of covering, but also of the style of vessels during that period, which are characterized by thin, fragile walls that break into small fragments that are difficult to locate during survey.

sherds from the Byzantine period is noted and the finds from that period were concentrated in a particular area and in a relatively limited number of probes (for the finds from Kfar Ḥananya, see Shenkman 1999: 44). Concerning the early periods of settlement at the site, no correlation was found in the shovel testing between the percentage of sherds from a particular period and the extent of settlement at the site in that period. At Kh. Ḥamam, for example, while sherds of the Early Roman period constitute only two thirds the number of sherds from the peak period (the Middle Roman period), it was represented in all of the probes carried out in all parts of the site.

D. Overrepresented Types: When comparing finds from shovel testing to finds from surface surveys, several types of pottery are over-represented on the surface because of their size or outstanding color. This should be taken into account in evaluating the intensity of settlement based upon ceramic finds. The most outstanding example of this phenomenon is KH1e, which is the most outstanding type in most of the survey sites. At Kh. Ḥamam, for example, this type constitutes nearly half of the surface finds, while in the shovel testing it was only about a tenth. Other types with much smaller representation in the shovel testing than in the surface survey are LRRW vessels, which are prominent due to their size and red slip. Nonetheless, due to changing conditions from site to site (particularly the scale of coverage of later periods), we cannot propose a fixed correction factor for the deviation caused by these prominent types.

Comparison of Survey and Excavated Finds

At some of the survey sites, excavations (mainly salvage) had been conducted in the past. Their publication enabled us to compare finds from prior excavations with finds from the current survey. The excavations of each site will be dealt with in Chapter 5. Here we shall present only a comparison of the historical-settlement portrait that emerges from the two methodologies.

Table 8 (below) indicates that at most of the sites, periods not represented at all in the excavation findings do occur in the surface survey. The main reason for the advantage of the survey appears to be the limited extent of excavation, which in most cases was a salvage excavation that focused upon a limited part of the site, while the survey findings come from the entire site. It does not seem possible, therefore, to create a historical-settlement portrait of a site based on excavations of a limited scope since it is unlikely that excavation of a few squares will expose all of the periods of habitation. In such cases, the picture obtained from a survey based upon a large sample and collection from all parts of the site is considerably more accurate.

Table 8: Comparison of survey findings and salvage excavation findings

Site	Exc.	Sur.	Exc.	Sur.	Exc.	Sur.	Exc.	Sur.	Exc.	Sur.	Exc.	Sur.	Exc.	Sur.
	Hell.	Hell.	ER	ER	MR	MR	LR	LR	E	E	M	M	L	L
									BYZ	BYZ	BYZ	BYZ	BYZ	BYZ
Parod	-	-	÷	+	+	+	+	+	÷	+	-	÷	-	÷
Hazon	-	÷	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	÷
Huquq	-	÷	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
Migdal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	÷	+	÷
Ammudim	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Nasr ed-Din	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
El-Khirbeh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	÷	+	-	-

Exc. = excavation, Sur. = survey

+ = period represented in finds, ÷ = poor representation in findings, - = not represented in findings

Practical Conclusions: Evaluation of Site Size in each Period

A basic premise of every regional archaeological survey is that the pottery finds provide an indication of the settlement history of the region. However, there are significant differences of opinion over the question of the extent to which the quantity of finds from the various periods reflect changing settlement intensity. Some scholars assumed that there is a direct connection between the variable amounts of pottery finds from different periods and demographic change. According to these researches, comparison of the percentage of finds from the different periods (while giving weight to variables such as the different lengths of periods) can provide a reasonable indication of population density in each of the given periods of habitation.¹³ Other scholars believed that the differences in the amount of finds do not necessarily reflect demographic changes. Frankel *et al.*, for example, presented a series of constraints that influence fieldwork and the amount of finds from different periods. They believed that these factors are too numerous and complex to allow calibration that will make it possible to faithfully represent the size of a site in different periods. As a result, these researchers decided to note only the maximum size of every site without attempting to evaluate its size in different periods (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 5–6).

The present survey methodology, based upon in-depth familiarity with the pottery of the periods being studied, collection of large samples of pottery, division of the sites into sub-zones during collection, shovel testing which indicated overrepresentation of certain types, and comparison of survey and excavation

¹³ E.g., Ofer 1993: 162; Finkelstein and Lederman 1997 vol. I: 20–22; Ben David 2005: 22.

results, seems to allow a cautious estimation of the size of sites during different periods.

In effect, evaluation of the size of sites in different periods is the *raison d'être* for every advanced analysis of survey results that attempts to express something beyond a collection of dots on a map. Clearly, creating a portrait of the settlement or demographic changes in a given area on the basis of the number of sites from each period, or on the basis of the implicit assumption that the size of every site in every period was equal to the maximum size of the site, lacks credibility since it ignores the main parameter of different sizes of sites and changing sizes through the ages. Undoubtedly, an estimate, even approximate, of the size of sites during different periods, will be a closer approximation of reality than the erroneous assumption that all sites are equal in size or that every site in every period equals that site's maximum size (Ben David 2005: 19).

Estimation Methodology: On the site sheet in Chapter 5, the maximum size of the site is presented based on the extent of the ruins and the dispersion of sherds, combined with an examination of aerial photographs. In comparing the size of the site as it emerged from the shovel testing and from the surface survey, according to formulas based on calculations of percentages of finds from each period, considerable differences were obtained. Estimation of the size of the site, therefore, will not be a direct correlation between the amount of finds from a particular period and the size of the site during that period. The estimation will rather be based upon the conclusion that in general, the early periods suffer from under-representation while the later periods, primarily the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, enjoy overrepresentation. A central element that does not allow the establishment of a fixed formula for this calculation is the extent of coverage of the period in question in later strata, something that changes from one site to another and even from area to area within a given site. This and a series of other variables that influence the survey work and the pottery finds and are incalculable (such as: type of soil, topography, degree of erosion, etc.) lead to the view that no precise numerical result for each period, obtained from a mathematical formula, can ever be accurate. Instead, a method of classification into different categories comprising a range is presented.¹⁴ It is important to note that the range of size proposed is based upon estimation, taking into consideration various parameters, not all of which may be quantified, with an aim of presenting generalized concepts of size rather than precise size. Such generalized concepts of size enable us to compare different sites and different periods. Despite all of the problems involved in this manner of presentation,

¹⁴ For other surveys in which settlements were classified by range (though not following a methodical study such as that conducted here utilizing shovel testing), see Broshi and Gofna 1984; Finkelstein and Lederman 1997 vol. I: 20–21.

there is no doubt that estimation, even if approximate, is far preferable to the alternatives: not presenting data concerning settlement size at all, or assuming uniform size for all periods.

Examination of size of the settlements in the survey area points to common patterns upon which six settlement size categories have been defined:

Category A: 0.5–3 dunam/very small

Category B: 4–10 dunam/small

Category C: 11–20 dunam/medium

Category D: 21–40 dunam/medium-large

Category E: 41–60 dunam/large

Category F: 61–90 dunam/very large

At single period sites, the size of the site has been established as the area covered by building remains and a spread of pottery (with the exception of steep slopes).

At a site whose maximum size is smaller than the top of the range of the proposed category, the size range has been limited accordingly. For example, in the case of a site whose maximum size is 30 dunam and during a given period belonged to Category D, a size range of 21–30 dunam has been established.

In evaluating the category of settlement of each period at multi-period sites, aside from the quantity of pottery, the following variables have also been taken into consideration:¹⁵

A. Division of the site into sub-areas: Most of the sites were divided during the fieldwork into several collection zones and pottery from each zone was collected and analyzed separately. At some of the sites it was possible, thanks to this procedure, to note clear changes in the extent of the settlement in different areas during different periods, which aided in evaluating the size of settlements in different periods.

B. The Period in Question and the degree of later Coverage: For example, a few Hellenistic sherds and a few Byzantine sherds found at a large and rich Roman site. It is probable that the site was settled during the Hellenistic period and that the few finds are the result of extensive coverage of the Roman period remains. On the other hand, it seems that the Byzantine sherds do not represent a settlement phase at the site, since the latest period should be the best represented on the surface.

C. The Lengths of the different Archaeological Periods: For example, the length of the Early Roman period in our study is 185 years. One would clearly expect

¹⁵ Cf.: Finkelstein and Lederman 1997 vol. I: 20–21.

that this period be better represented than the Middle Roman period (115 years) or the Late Roman period (100 years).

D. Quantities of certain Types: The quantities of certain types representing particular periods which, according to the shovel testing conclusions, are overrepresented among the surface finds due to their size or color (e.g., KH1e or LRRW vessels).

E. Coverage and Erosion: The degree of coverage and erosion at a site and the position of a site or part thereof in a ploughed area (this results in a decline in finds from later periods).

In addition, estimation of changing size of sites is also based on intimate familiarity that is the result of repeated visits and extended work at these sites.

Intermediate Sherds

Vessels whose period of existence extends across overlapping periods (such as KH1e) as well as different vessels with similar rims from contiguous periods for which dating could not be established on the base of the rim alone (such as KH4b/c) have been defined as intermediate types. The policy regarding these intermediate types was as follows:

- A. When only one of the two periods was represented among the securely dated finds from the site, all of the intermediate types were attributed to that period.
- B. When two periods were represented, the intermediate sherds were divided between them at a ratio similar to that of the securely dated finds they contained.¹⁶
- C. Types whose main existence is in one period, but which are also found in part of the adjacent period, were proportionately divided between the two periods in accordance with the main and secondary period of occurrence (see details concerning each type at the end of Chapter 3).

¹⁶ Exceptions to this rule were the Persian/Hellenistic intermediate types (see Chapter 3). Since this work does not deal with the Persian period, this group was not divided between the two periods. Nonetheless, at every site where there were undisputed Persian finds, it is noted in the analysis that some of the intermediate types may belong to the Persian period.

Chapter 5

Survey Sites

Data Presentation

This chapter includes the presentation of the data collected in the field research, a discussion of the historical sources relating to each settlement (when such exist), and an analysis presenting a historical portrait of each settlement.

At the beginning of this chapter we present tables detailing the quantities of pottery from every site, based upon a division into the 75 common types found in the region during the periods covered, as presented in Chapter 3. The number of sherds recorded refers to vessel rims only and each type is represented by an absolute number and by the percentage that it represents in the sample from the site (or in the sample from the sub-area for sites at which such subdivisions are indicated). Coins and identified vessels that do not belong to the 75 common types are presented under the heading “miscellaneous.”¹ Types that are not represented among the rims but that occur as identifiable body sherds have been indicated by a star, but have not been counted. The summary line for each site presents the number of identified sherds (from the periods being studied) and their percentage of the sample, the number of unidentified sherds and their percentage of the sample and the total number of sherds collected.

In this chapter, every site is presented in three parts:

- A. Site sheet: contains the geographical, topographical, toponymic and archaeological data as well as a bibliography of previous studies.
- B. Historical sources: a presentation and analysis of historical sources dealing with the settlement, if such exist.
- C. Historical analysis: presentation of the periods of settlement at the site, estimate of size during those periods and a discussion of periods of particular interest.

¹ All of the coins found in the survey are presented in Appendix 1; Rhodian jar handles from the survey area collected by B. Ravani appear in Appendix 2. Sherds collected by Ravani belonging to periods not represented in our sample are presented in parenthesis.

Structure of the Site Sheet

The site sheet has a uniform structure and contains the following data:

Site number: The sites in this survey have been numbered in accordance with their location: from north to south and from east to west.

Site code number: The code number of the site follows the system used in the Israel Survey (eg., Frankel and Getzov 1986: 6) and consists of the first two digits of the longitude, the first two digits of the latitude, the third digit of the longitude and the third digit of the latitude, and finally, the serial number of the site in this survey.

Site name: The name of the site as it appears in the maps of the Israel Mapping Center and, if there is a difference, also the name as it appears in the SWP map. Some of the sites names are preceded by the Hebrew abbreviation ח. (=Ḥorvat) or the Arabic Kh. (=Khirbet) meaning “ruin.” For sites not appearing on these maps, names appearing in other publications have been used; those without a name have been named after a nearby geographical or topographical feature.

Map reference: The center of the site according to the Old Israel Grid.

Elevation: Elevation of the site above sea level.

Origin of the name: Ancient name, Arab name, modern name, etc. In the event that the name is mentioned in Ottoman tax censuses, this is presented according to the transliteration in Rhode’s work (1979).

Type of site: This refers to the present condition of the site (and not to its former settlement ranking). The categories are: tell, ruin without recent building (dating to the past few hundred years), Arab village (of the last centuries) overlying an ancient ruin, cave complex and a scatter of sherds.

Site size: The maximum size of the site based upon the extent of the scatter of ancient remains and pottery (except for steep slopes) and a measurement of this area on aerial photographs. Ordinary ground measurement was carried out at a small number of sites to verify these data.

Topography: The topographical setting of the site and the relationship between it and major topographical features in its vicinity.

Arable land: Type of soil within a 1–2 km. radius of the site. These data are from a map of soil types of the Israel Ministry of Agriculture Department of Land and Water, at a scale of 1:50,000 (unpublished). This map notes only general soil types and is based in many cases upon analysis of aerial photographs and the type of rock formation and topography rather than on sampling (my thanks to Mr. M. Krakovski of the Ministry of Agriculture for his explanations and for permission to utilize this map). The radius of the agricultural plot was increased in cases of particularly ample plains clearly adjacent or related to a particular settlement.

Legend for Soil Types (after Kadmon 1965 III: 1): Terra rossa: Red soil formed from the decomposition of hard limestone and dolomite.

Rendzina: Light gray or light brown soil formed from the erosion of chalk, marlstone or caliche (*nari*).

Grumusol: Dark brown or black soil with a high percentage of clay.

Colluvial soils: Soils containing a high percentage of coarse material and stones that were transported by gravity. These are generally found in the alluvial fans of streambeds or at the foot of bare slopes.

Alluvial soils: Soils that developed upon hilltops and heights and have been washed into the valleys, creating areas of deep soil, generally clean of coarse material and stones.

Nearest water source: Natural water source: spring, well or perennial stream in the vicinity of the site.

Water installations: Man-made water installations at the site and its immediate vicinity.

Agricultural installations: Agricultural installations at the site or in the immediate vicinity.

Finds: Construction remains, architectural elements, caves, burials and small finds from the current survey and previous research.

Natural fortification: A description of the extent of natural fortification at the site and the level of accessibility.

Proximity to roads: Proximity to Roman roads and to natural routes in the area described in Chapter 2.

References to the site in previous studies and surveys: Bibliography, main findings, and pottery data noted in prior studies.²

Identification: Proposals for the identification of the site in previous studies.

² In the data presented from the Upper Galilee Survey (Frankel *et al.* 2001) I have attributed types KH1c, KH1d and KH1e, which are found from the mid-third to the late fourth/early fifth century, to the Roman period. In the Upper Galilee Survey, these three vessels are combined into a single type (Type 48) and classified as Byzantine (*ibid.*, p. 68).

Historical Sources and their Treatment

The historical sources examined in this chapter are those that clarify matters related to the settlements themselves, such as proposals for identification, evidence for periods of settlement, settlement economy, and historical events related to the settlement. The advantage of a study of literary sources in this work is the ability to evaluate their reliability or at least the historical framework in which they appear in light of the archaeological findings. For example, Josephus reports the fortification of a site called Selame (Zalmon) in preparation for the Jewish Revolt against Rome. Whether or not there was a settlement at Zalmon in the first century CE, its character and size or its place in the array of surrounding settlements during that period are the type of questions that we have been able to clarify in the framework of combined historical and archaeological research.

In the Greek literary sources, which constitute the bulk of the written sources belonging to the Second Temple period, the Greek version was examined insofar as possible and an attempt was made not to rely upon the accepted English or Hebrew translation. The Greek version appearing in the Loeb Classical Library series was used, without evaluating or comparing the Greek manuscripts, a task beyond the scope of this research. Nonetheless, in the re-translation of the Greek texts there were occasionally significant differences from the existing translations.

It is important to note that from the latest references in biblical literature until I Maccabees, written in the second half of the second century BCE – a period of over 500 years – there is almost a total absence of historical sources about the Galilee (Rappaport 1993: 20) and no source mentioning sites in the area covered by our research. Even in the works of Josephus Flavius, which are almost the exclusive source for the events in the region from the end of the second century BCE, there are relatively few references to events in this region during the entire period up to the Jewish Revolt, for which there is considerable detail thanks to the active role Josephus played in those events. It is noteworthy that Josephus' descriptions of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods are based mainly upon Hellenistic historians, whose sympathy was for the Hellenistic cities and whose reports must therefore be treated with caution (Stern 1993).

Rabbinic literature, mainly from the second to the fourth century, constitutes the bulk of the relevant sources concerning the Middle and Late Roman-period sites. As is known, there is disagreement concerning the use of rabbinic literature as a historical source. Scholars who believe that it is possible to isolate "historical kernels" from rabbinic sources face considerable methodological obstacles (e.g., Fraenkel 1978).

An analysis of the sources from rabbinic literature has been undertaken according to the following set of guidelines:

- A. Comparison of the main manuscripts of the texts in question. If significant changes were encountered, an attempt was made to evaluate which of the versions is to be preferred.
- B. As a rule, preference was given to traditions from Palestinian literature over those from the Babylonian Talmud (hereafter, B). This is because all of the comparisons between parallel versions from the two corpora have clearly demonstrated that the Palestinian traditions are preferable, both in textual terms and in terms of historical accuracy. For traditions appearing only in the B, an attempt was made to evaluate whether it is possible that the tradition reached Babylon from Palestine and only by chance no parallel was found in the Palestinian literature, or whether it was an independent Babylonian literary creation.
- C. A similar preference was given to compositions edited during the Roman period – the Mishnah (hereafter, M) and the Tosefta (hereafter, T) – or shortly afterward – first and foremost, the Talmud Yerushalmi (hereafter, Y), which was completed around the third quarter of the fourth century CE (Sussmann 1990: n. 35, 187). Preference was given also to the early layers of *midrashic* literature, which, though edited during the fifth or sixth century, reflect mainly traditions of the Roman period.

Traditions in rabbinic literature are sometimes attributed to a particular sage not because they originated from him but for different reasons such as editors' desire to give validity to a tradition. Hence, it is important to rely upon literary works that were edited in earlier periods and that set the limits of the latest possible period in which a tradition could have originated. In a few cases, however, this study also presents traditions that first appear in *midrashic* literature edited only in the Middle Ages. In most of these cases, it was not possible to evaluate their historicity.

- D. Halakhic traditions in which settlements are mentioned, particularly those concerning concrete halakhic matters, were preferred in terms of their historical reliability over references in aggadic traditions. In the latter it is sometimes difficult to separate between the “aggadic shell” and the “historical kernel.”
- E. An attempt was made to evaluate the inception of various traditions, particularly based upon the names of sages who report them. Needless to say, the time of the creation of a given tradition is usually not identical to the time of its editing and incorporation into the literary framework, which was sometimes many generations later.

After the abundance of rabbinic traditions that date mainly up to the fourth century, the region falls into oblivion in terms of historical sources for most of the Byzantine period. Scattered and random reports are found in Christian

compositions, such as the writings of Church Fathers and of pilgrims. However, they generally do not help clarify questions related to settlement history in the region.

Numerous references to settlements in the region are found in the Palestinian *piyyutim* (liturgical poetry) dating to the Byzantine period, mainly in those dealing with the Priestly Courses. Such references are found from the classical period of *piyyut* – such as the *Kedushtaot* of Hadutahu of the sixth or seventh century (Fleischer 1983: 91); or *piyyutim* for the Ninth of Ab by *El'azar ha-Qallir* around the early seventh century (Fleischer 1984/5: 406); and up to the late generations of Palestinian *piyyutim* such as those of R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen of Kafra from the eighth century (S. Elizur 2004: 639; Yahalom 1999: 112). The poetic and symbolic style of the *piyyutim*, however, as well as their obscure nature makes it difficult to draw historical conclusions concerning settlements or incidents that are mentioned in them. The inscriptions containing the list of the Priestly Courses and their settlements in the Galilee, that were placed in synagogues during the Byzantine period (Avi-Yonah 1962: 137) probably belong to this symbolic world and should be treated similar to the *piyyutim* in terms of drawing historical conclusions. On the settlements of the Priestly Courses see in detail, below Chapter 7.

Presentation of the Historical Analysis

A pottery survey was conducted and a historical-settlement portrait is presented for 46 of the 50 sites included in this study. The picture presents the periods during which the site was settled or abandoned as well as the evaluation of the size-range of the site during the different periods based upon the methodology described in Chapter 4. The beginning of each analysis notes the quantity of pottery upon which the historical portrait is based. As already noted, the sample includes only indicative vessels, that is, rims of vessels that are well dated in the archaeological literature and that belong to the periods dealt with in this study.

Of the sites where a pottery survey was conducted, four are cave assemblages with remains of construction, rooms and quarried cisterns and rich pottery finds attesting to permanent dwellings during specific periods. In view of the extent of cave assemblages and their rich finds, there is no doubt that in the caves of Kul'at Ibn Man [Site 35], for example, there were more inhabitants than at the farm at Kaḥal [Site 16] or at Tel Ma'on [Site 45] during the Roman period. This view and the need to give a certain amount of expression to the settlement in these caves led to the attempt to evaluate the size of the population, though these cave assemblages certainly are not ordinary settlement sites and their precise significance is not always clear.

Aside from these 46 settlements, several other sites were studied that were so small or had such insignificant pottery finds that it was not at all clear if they were tiny settlement sites, mere sherd scatters, agricultural installations, etc. So as not to distort the settlement map during different periods, these small sites were separated from the list of settlement sites of the survey and have been dealt with as “archaeological features” in relation to the adjacent settlement.

Sites in the Survey Area where Pottery was not Collected

Located in the survey area are the villages of Maghar, ‘Ailbun and Tur‘an [Sites 15, 28 and 47], where there is archaeological evidence for settlement during the periods covered by the survey. These villages have undergone intense development and construction in recent decades. Despite repeated visits, we were not able to obtain a reasonable portrait of the extent of ancient settlement and did not succeed in collecting pottery over sufficient areas and in sufficient quantity to allow a reliable presentation of the history of the settlement. Therefore, the discussion regarding these settlements will relate only to the literary sources and to the random existing archaeological data. At Mizpe Yamim [Site 2] as well, where a Persian/Hellenistic period Temple was excavated in its entirety, we did not collect pottery and the discussion will be based upon the preliminary excavation reports.

* * *

The following table (table 9) presents the quantities of pottery from every site, based upon a division into the 75 common types found in the region during the periods covered, as presented in Chapter 3. The last page of this table (p. 101) presents the number of sherds representing each period at a site and the percentage they constitute of the sample at that site.

Type	Roman												
	ER Juglet	KH 3a/b	KH 4b/c	ER/MR SJ	KH1a	KH1b	KH3b	MR Krater	KH5a	KH6a	KH6b	MR GrSJ	
No. Site	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	
1. Sammu'uya		2 1.7	1 0.9		2 1.7	1 0.9							
3. 'Akbara W. 'Akbara E.		2 1.6 1 1.3	1 0.8	2 1.6 4 5.1	1 0.8 1 1.3	3 2.4 4 5.1	4 3.2 3 3.8				1 0.8	1 0.8	
4. Parod		2 1.7	1 0.8		5 4.1	6 5 1	0.8						
5. H. Kefir			2 1.5	4 2.9		2 1.5	2 1.5					4 2.9	
6. Be'er Sheva'		3 2.2	6 4.4	4 2.9	20 14.6	22 16.1	4 2.9				1 0.7	1 0.7	
7. Zeitun er-Rama					2 8.3	2 8.3	1 4.2						
8. Kefar Hananya Kefar Hananya E.		1 0.4	2 0.8	1 0.2	8 3.2	14 5.6	3 1.2		1 0.2			1 0.4	
9. 'Ein Camonim		7 2.3	5 1.6	6 2	17 5.5	19 6.2	11 3.6	1 0.3			1 0.3		
10. Bellaneh	1 0.5	2 1	9 4.4	5 2.5	6 2.9	10 4.9	3 1.5				1 0.5		
11. Kul'at Shuneh Kul'at Shuneh S.T	1 0.6 1 2.3	4 2.3 3 6.8		1 0.6 1 2.3									
12. Hazon			2 1.8		6 5.4	10 9	7 6.3						
13. W. 'Amud site		1 0.9			3 2.6					1 0.9			
14. W.'Amud Cav.W. W.'Amud Cav. E.		1 2 1 1.4	1 2 3 4.1	9 18.4 10 13.7	2 4.1 3 4.1	1 2 1 1.4	2 4.1 2 2.7			1 1.4		1 2 3 4.1	
16. Kaḥal	1 1.5	1 1.5	3 4.7	6 9.5	1 1.5								
17. Ḥuqoq area A Ḥuqoq area B		3 1.8	1 0.6	4 2.4 2 3.7	3 1.8 1 1.9	2 1.2 1 1.9	2 1.2 1 1.9						
18. Sheikh Nashi		2 1.1			5 2.7	5 2.7	1 0.5					1 0.5	
19. H. Zalmun	1 0.4	5 2		19 7.5	5 2	4 1.6	3 1.2					4 1.6	
20. H. Ravid		4 4.4	1 1.1	8 8.8	2 2.2	8 8.8	5 5.5						
21. Kh. Luziah				5 2.4	2 1	3 1.4	3 1.4						
22. Livnim					1 0.3	6 1.9	3 0.9						
23. 'Ein Najmiah			3 3.8	7 8.8		6 7.5	2 2.5					2 2.5	
24. H. Mimlah				2 1		7 3.4	4 2						
25. Hararit		2 7.7		3 11.5	1 3.8	4 15.4	3 11.5						
26. Abu-Shusha	1 0.5	5 2.7	2 1.1	2 1.1	7 3.8	9 4.9	2 1.1					1 0.5	
27. H. Sabban	2 1.4			6 4.2	6 4.2	7 4.9					1 0.7	4 2.8	
29. H. Beth Netofa		1 0.3	4 1.2	10 2.9	2 0.6	5 1.5	9 2.6	1 0.3				1 0.3	
30. Kh. Es'ad		5 2.9	4 2.3	15 8.6	10 5.7	8 4.6	8 4.6	1 0.6			2 1.1	5 2.9	
31. H. Mizga	1 0.6	8 4.9	10 6.1	23 14	10 6.1	19 11.6	4 2.4					2 1.2	
32. Kh. Ḥamam Kh. Ḥamam S.T.	1 0.3 1 0.4	4 1.2 17 7.4	2 0.6 7 3.1	15 4.5 28 10.9	5 1.5 10 3.9	17 5.1 9 3.9	13 3.9 9 3.9	2 0.9	1 0.3		1 0.4	10 3 3 1.3	
33. Har Nitai Caves		2 1.8		13 11.8	3 2.7	3 2.7	10 9.1					4 3.6	
34. Migdal area A Migdal area B Migdal area C	2 0.7	1 0.3 3 3.1 1 2.3	3 1	11 3.6 6 6.1 4 9.1	11 3.6 5 5.1 1 2.3	27 8.8 7 7.1 6 13.1	10 3.3 8 8.2 1 2.3					4 1.3	
35. Kul'at Ibn Man		1 0.8	4 3.3	15 12.3		2 1.6	5 4.1						
36. Arbel Caves W.			2 1.6	7 5.5		6 4.7	2 1.6						
37. H. 'Ammudim N. H. 'Ammudim S. H. 'Ammudim E.	1 0.3	5 1.4 1 0.4	2 0.6	7 2 5 2.1	2 0.6	3 0.9 1 0.4	2 0.6 2 0.9	2 0.9	1 0.4		1 0.3	1 0.3 3 1.3 1 3.2	
38. el-Ma'aser		2 1.5	4 3.1	4 3.1	2 1.5	2 1.5	1 0.8	2 1.5					
39. H. Arbel	1 0.2	4 1	16 3.9	8 2	11 2.7	6 1.5						5 1.2	
40. Hittin		2 1.4	1 0.7	5 3.4	3 2	5 3.4	7 4.7					3 2	
41. Kh. el-'Aiteh				2 1.6		1 0.8							
42. Kh. 'Eika					1 0.8							1 0.8	
43. Nimrin	1 0.6	1 0.6	2 1.3	6 3.8	1 0.6	3 1.9	2 1.3					1 0.6	
44. Mashkanah		2 0.8	1 0.4	9 3.7	3 1.2	5 2.1	1 0.4	2 0.8	1 0.4			1 0.4	
45. Tel Ma'on		5 6.6	6 7.9	16 21.1	4 5.3	3 3.9	1 1.3						
46. Nasr ed-Din Nasr ed-Din S.T.	1 1	2 1.6 2 2	2 1.6 4 4	6 4.7 11 11	6 4.7 2 2	1 0.8 1 1	1 0.8 1 1					2 1.6 1 1	
48. Lubieh				1 3.2									
49. El-Khirbeh	2 0.8	2 0.8	2 0.8	8 3.3	4 1.7	11 4.6	4 1.7	2 0.8				3 1.2	
50. 'Oodaysa		6 5.7	5 4.8	22 21	3 2.9	3 2.9	2 1.9					4 3.8	

Type	Byzantine			Miscel.	Miscel.	Miscel.	Miscel.	Miscel.	Miscel.	Unidentif-ied	Identif-ied	Total					
	CRS 10	PRS 3	PRS 10														
No. Site	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.						
1. Sammu'iyā			5	4.3	4	3.4					34	22	117	78	151		
3. 'Akbara W.			3	2.4					stone vessel			23	16	124	84	230	
'Akbara E.												5	6	78	94		
4. Parod			3	2.5	1	0.8			tile			22	15	121	85	143	
5. H. Kefir			2	1.5								12	8	136	92	148	
6. Be'er Sheva'												19	12	137	88	156	
7. Zeitun er-Rama									Hasmonean ç			4	14	24	86	28	
8. Kefar Hananya	4	0.9	12	2.7					KH7 PRS 1 tile			15	3	449	97	464	
Kefar Hananya E.			3	1.2					TAPW 304			15	6	248	94	263	
9. 'Ein Camonim												12	4	307	96	319	
10. Bellaneh	1	0.5										12	5	204	95	216	
11. Kul'at Shuneh	3	1.7	3	1.7	12	6.8						47	26	177	74	224	
Kul'at Shuneh S.T	1	2.3							4THC. ç			16	27	44	73	60	
12. Hazon	1	0.9										7	6	111	94	118	
13. W. 'Amud site												28	20	113	80	141	
14. W. 'Amud Cav. W.									TAPW 162			14	22	49	78	63	
W. 'Amud Cav. E.												12	14	73	86	85	
16. Kaḥal												8	11	63	89	71	
17. Ḥuqoq area A		4	2.4						ARS 59	CRS 11		21	11	168	89	247	
Ḥuqoq area B		2	3.7									4	7	54	93		
18. Sheikh Nashi												17	8	182	92	199	
19. H. Zālmon		11	4.3	15	5.9				2tile			29	10	254	90	283	
20. H. Ravid												25	21	92	79	117	
21. Kh. Luziah												11	5	209	95	220	
22. Livnim														313	100	313	
23. 'Ein Najmiah		1	1.3						stone vessel			38	32	80	68	118	
24. H. Mimlaḥ	1	0.5	12	5.9	5	2.5	ARS 107	ARS 59	PRS 5	Byz. Jug	tile	ç Sidon	34	14	203	86	237
25. Hararit												5	16	26	84	31	
26. Abu-Shusha	1	0.5										46	20	183	80	229	
27. H. Sabban		8	5.6	9	6.3				ARS 107	CRS 7		15	8	145	92	158	
29. H. Beth Netofa									tile			20	6	341	94	361	
30. Kh. Es'ad												3	2	175	98	178	
31. H. Mizga												21	11	164	89	185	
32. Kh. Ḥamam									PRS 2? 2tile	2NDC. ç	3RDC. ç	12	3	331	97	596	
Kh. Ḥamam S.T.									22NDC ç	3RDC ç	32 mosaic stones	16	7	237	93		
33. Har Nitai Caves	1	0.9							ARS 105	ARS 107		4	4	110	96	114	
34. Migdal area A	1	0.3	1	0.3					ARS 91			23	7	306	93	480	
Migdal area B												4	4	98	96		
Migdal area C												5	10	44	90		
35. Kul'at Ibn Man	3	2.5	1	0.8	5	4.1			Hasmonean ç	Arrowhead		21	15	122	85	143	
36. Arbel Caves W.					3	2.3	3 Hasmonean ç	1st c. ç	Byz bulla	Arrowheads	Crusader ç	19	13	128	87	147	
37. H. 'Ammudim N.					1	0.3						21	6	346	94	681	
H. 'Ammudim S.	1	0.4	27	11.5	7	3			PRS 1			44	16	234	84		
H. 'Ammudim E.												5	14	31	86		
38. el-Ma'aser		1	0.8									10	7	129	93	139	
39. H. Arbel		45	11.1	20	4.9	TAPW 304	ARS 62	ARS 103	CRS 7	PRS 6	3 tile	43	10	407	90	450	
40. Hittin	1	0.7	10	6.8	6	4.1			L.R. Oil Lamp			36	20	148	80	184	
41. Kh. el-'Aiteh									E.R Casserole			23	15	127	85	150	
42. Kh. 'Eika												33	22	118	78	151	
43. Nimrin	2	1.3	2	1.3	5	3.2			CRS 3?			28	15	156	85	184	
44. Mashkanah	3	1.2	15	6.2	22	9.1			2nd C. BCE ç	2tile		28	10	243	90	271	
45. Tel Ma'on												6	7	76	93	82	
46. Nasr ed-Din	1	0.8	2	1.6	1	0.8			CRS 9 imitation			27	17	128	83	287	
Nasr ed-Din S.T.			2	2					L.R/Byz Oil Lamp	12 mosaic stones	2nd CBCE ç	26th C ç	31	24	100	76	
48. Lubieh												4	11	31	89	35	
49. El-Khirbeh		2	0.8									9	4	241	96	250	
50. 'Oodaysa												7	6	105	94	112	

Total Ident.	H		ER		MR		LR		E.BYZ		M.BYZ		L.BYZ		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1. Sammu'iya	117	15	13%	1	1%	12	10%	41	35%	33	28%	8	7%	7	6%
3. 'Akbara W.	124	7	5.6%	11	9%	17	14%	48	38.7%	32	25.8%	7	6%	-	-
'Akbara E.	78	5	6.4%	7	9%	13	16.6%	50	64%	-	-	1	1.3%	-	-
4. Parod	121	-	-	16	13.2%	19	15.7%	80	66%	-	-	4	3.3%	2	1.6%
5. H. Kefir	136	7	5%	7	5%	22	16.1%	63	46.3%	30	22%	7	5%	-	-
6. Be'er Sheva'	137	20	14.5%	57	41.5%	52	38%	8	6%	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. Zeitun er-Rama	24	15	62.5%	-	-	6	25%	3	12.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Kf. Hanany	449	-	-	33	7.3%	90	20%	191	42.5%	112	25%	16	3.3%	7	1.5%
Kf. Hananya E.	248	-	-	3	1.2%	33	13.3%	111	44.7%	98	39.5%	3	1.2%	-	-
9. 'Ein Camonim	307	10	3.2%	50	16.2%	66	21.5%	181	59%	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Bellaneh	204	2	1%	38	18.6%	44	21.5%	69	33.8%	48	23.5%	2	1%	1	0.5%
11. Kul'at Shuneh	177	24	13.5%	101	57%	-	-	5	2.8%	-	-	10	5.6%	37	21%
Kul'at Shuneh S.T.	44	8	18%	31	70%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4.5%	3	6.8%
12. Hazon	111	1	0.9%	13	11.7%	31	28%	43	39%	22	20%	-	-	1	0.9%
13. W. 'Amud site	113	36	32%	73	64.6%	1	0.8%	2	1.6%	1	0.8%	-	-	-	-
14. W.'Amud Cav.W	49	11	22.4%	26	53%	11	22.4%	1	2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
W.'Amud Cav. E.	73	2	2.7%	44	60.2%	19	26%	4	5.4%	2	2.7%	-	-	2	2.7%
16. Kaḥal	63	-	-	43	68.2%	7	11.1%	13	20.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. Ḥuqoq	222	2	0.9%	23	10.3%	42	19%	95	43%	41	18.4%	13	5.8%	6	2.7%
18. Sheikh Nashi	182	43	23.6%	38	20.8%	22	12%	42	23%	37	20%	-	-	-	-
19. Ḥ. Zalmun	254	26	10.2%	60	23.6%	37	14.5%	54	21.2%	34	13.3%	22	8.6%	21	8.2%
20. H. Ravid	91	3	3.3%	23	25.2%	43	47%	22	24%	-	-	-	-	-	-
21. Kh. Luziah	209	-	-	5	2.4%	30	14.3%	108	52%	66	31.5%	-	-	-	-
22. Livnim	313	-	-	2	0.3%	157	50%	129	41.2%	25	8%	-	-	-	-
23. 'Ein Najmiah	80	23	28.7%	25	31.2%	21	26.2%	10	12.5%	-	-	1	1.2%	-	-
24. Ḥ. Mimlah	203	28	13.8%	14	7%	32	15.7%	46	22.6%	42	20.6%	27	13.3%	14	7%
25. Hararit	26	7	27%	9	35%	10	38%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26. Abu-Shushesh	183	26	14.2%	26	14.2%	52	28.4%	51	27.8%	26	14.2%	1	0.5%	1	0.5%
27. Ḥ. Sabban	145	2	1.3%	24	16.5%	29	20%	43	29.6%	25	17.2%	9	6.2%	13	9%
29. Ḥ. Beth Netofa	341	25	7.3%	29	8.5%	77	22.5%	166	48.6%	44	13%	-	-	-	-
30. Kh. Es'ad	175	3	1.7%	65	37%	61	34.8%	44	25.1%	-	-	2	1.1%	-	-
31. Ḥ. Mizga	164	20	12.1%	63	38.4%	65	39.6%	15	9.1%	-	-	1	0.6%	-	-
32. Kh. Ḥamam	331	4	1.2%	48	14.5%	81	24.5%	170	51.3%	28	8.4%	-	-	-	-
Kh. Ḥamam S.T.	237	5	2.1%	67	28.2%	90	38%	62	26%	12	5%	1	0.4%	-	-
33. Har Nitai Caves	110	7	6.3%	36	32.7%	36	32.7%	18	16.3%	9	8%	-	-	4	3.6%
34. Migdal	448	22	5%	132	29.5%	146	32.5%	135	30%	4	0.9%	4	0.9%	5	1%
35. Kul'at Ibn Man	122	38	31%	32	26%	24	19.6%	7	5.7%	-	-	7	5.7%	14	11.5%
36. Arbel Caves W.	128	61	47.6%	25	19.5%	14	10.9%	4	3%	-	-	-	-	24	18.7%
37. H.'Ammudim N	346	6	1.7%	61	17.6%	51	14.7%	213	61.5%	9	2.6%	-	-	6	1.7%
H.'Ammudim S.	234	5	2.1%	28	12%	24	10.2%	60	25.6%	52	22.2%	45	19.2%	20	8.5%
H.'Ammudim E.	31	-	-	6	19%	4	13%	16	52%	5	16%	-	-	-	-
38. el-Ma'aser	129	3	2.3%	16	12.4%	30	23.2%	46	35.6%	30	23.2%	4	3%	-	-
39. Ḥ. Arbel	407	20	5%	61	15%	62	15.2%	78	19%	61	15%	74	18.2%	51	12.4%
40. Ḥittin	148	24	16.3%	16	11%	39	26%	21	14%	12	8%	21	14%	15	10%
41. Kh. el-'Aiteh	127	117	92%	3	2.3%	3	2.3%	2	1.5%	2	1.5%	-	-	-	-
42. Kh. 'Eika	118	110	93%	1	0.8%	4	3.4%	2	1.7%	1	0.8%	-	-	-	-
43. Nimrin	156	31	20%	18	11.6%	15	9.6%	30	19.3%	29	18.7%	14	8.9%	19	12.2%
44. Mashkanah	243	-	-	27	11%	41	16%	61	26%	47	19%	24	10%	43	17%
45. Tel Ma'on	76	-	-	30	39.4%	23	30.2%	23	30.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-
46. Nasr ed-Din	129	53	41.4%	32	24.5%	22	17%	12	9.3%	-	-	6	4.7%	4	3%
Nasr ed-Din S.T.	100	15	15%	43	43%	20	20%	11	11%	-	-	7	7%	4	4%
48. Lubieh	31	1	3%	3	9.6%	5	16%	13	42%	9	29%	-	-	-	-
49. el-Khirbeh	233	20	8.5%	48	20.6%	63	27%	58	25%	32	13.7%	12	5%	-	-
50. 'Oodaysa	105	2	2%	59	56.2%	44	42%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 9: Chronological summary

Site No. 1

19-26/22/1

Sammu'iyā/es-Semuaieḥ/es-Sammau'i סמועיה/סמאוי

Map ref.: 1927/2626; *Elevation:* 690 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of Name:* a small Arab village until 1948; Ottoman census: Samu'iyā; *Type of site:* Arab village built on ancient ruins; The AVST reported that the Arab village covered only the southern part of the ancient settlement. *Site area:* 22 dunams; *Topography:* a shoulder on a spur that descends northward from Mt. Shamai. *Arable land:* terra rossa with a bit of rendzina on the steep slopes; a very limited flat area in a tributary of Wadi Shamai. *Nearest water source:* 'En Shamai in a tributary of wadi Shamai, 450 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* a large cistern in the southern part of the site; *Agricultural installations:* two threshing wheels and a threshing basin from the oil press of the modern village. Fragments of an ancient threshing basin and an oil-press weight (AVST); small domestic olive-oil installation (*bodidah*); *Finds:* pedestal; column, apparently in situ, and remains of a mosaic floor (AVST); impressively large ashlar, 2.1×0.6×1 m., apparently part of a lintel; 11-m.-long ashlar wall, a single course of which protrudes above the surface; limestone column drum, 40 cm. high;

A number of well preserved burial caves, most with arched entrances, dot the western slope of the spur. Some of the burial niches are vaulted while others are square in shape. A kind of trough measuring 60×30 cm., perhaps a niche for an infant burial was found in one of the caves near the entrance. A similar find at Ḥuqoq was interpreted by Ravani (1961: 121-127) as a place for secondary burial.

A staircase cut into the bedrock descends from the site to the southwest, passing a cliff that bounds the site to the west. This appears to be an ancient path leading to the spring and to the agricultural tract in the tributary of Wadi Shamai.

Natural fortification: Only on the western side; comfortable access from all other directions;

Proximity to roads: On the Ḥananiya Valley-Meiron route (B6); some 5 km. north of the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4).

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868-80 vol. 2: 455) noted the burial caves, remains of the public building, column drums and Doric capitals as well as two springs upon which spring houses were constructed. The PEF surveyors further noted cisterns, a sheikh's tomb and ancient architectural elements incorporated in numerous houses in secondary use (*SWP* Vol. 1: 200, 209, 256). Aviam (1984: 31) found a coin of Alexander Jannaeus and parts of an oil press. Ilan (1987: 20-21; 1991: 34) noted elements of an ancient synagogue and based upon the remains of an ashlar wall, established its location in the southern part of the site. Recently, the site was surveyed in the Upper Galilee Survey and the

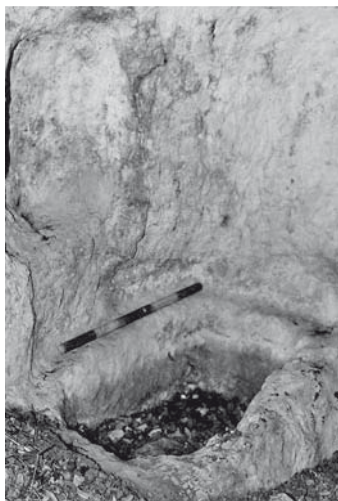


Fig. 1: Sammu'iya: niche for an infant or for secondary burial



Fig. 4: Sammu'iya: entrance to a rock-hewn burial cave



Fig. 2: Sammu'iya: entrance to a rock-hewn burial cave



Fig. 5: Sammu'iya: square burial niches in a rock-hewn burial cave



Fig. 3: Sammu'iya: small domestic olive-oil installation (*bodidah*)



Fig. 6: Sammu'iya: large ashlar, apparently part of a lintel



Fig. 7: Sammu'iya: rock-hewn staircase leading to the tributary of N. Shamai

following pottery finds were reported: Persian/Hellenistic – 1, Roman – 13, Byzantine – 2, Crusader/Mamluk – 13, Ottoman – 9 (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 81; 88; 93).

Identification: Ilan (1991: 34) proposed the possibility that this is Kefar Sama' of the Y.

* * *

Historical Sources

In Y Shabbat 14, 4, 14d a follower of Jesus named Ya'akov of Kefar Sama'³ is mentioned in a story whose characters date to the beginning of the second century CE. Ilan (1991: 34) proposed that this Kefar Sama' is perhaps identical to Sammu'iyā. A similar name – Simai – appears in Y Gittin 1, 2, 43c.⁴ From the discussion, however, it seems that this settlement was near Sepphoris and in the administrative jurisdiction of 'Akko, and does not fit Sammu'iyā.⁵ These were probably two sites with similar names. It is also possible that the name of the site is not ancient and migrated for some reason from nearby Kh. Shema'.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 117 identified sherds)

The beginning of settlement at the site is in the Hellenistic period, with a significant 13% of the finds, partly apparently from the Early Hellenistic or even Late Persian period. Only one sherd unequivocally belongs to the Early Roman period (KH4a) and it appears not to represent a settlement phase. 10% of the finds are from the Middle Roman period, however the low number of distinctive types from this period (KH1a, KH1b, KH3b, KH4c) apparently indicates a renewal of settlement only at roughly the beginning of the third century CE, or perhaps only a small settlement during the second century CE. This gap in settlement between the Hellenistic and the Middle Roman period and the coin of Alexander Jannaeus found at the site may indicate its abandonment following the Hasmonean conquest and renewal during the floruit in the second-third centuries.

A significant presence at the site during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period (35% and 30% of the finds respectively) is also apparent even if we ignore type KH1e, which constitutes 40% of the finds at the site. Settlement

³ Thus in the Leiden Ms. and in the printed versions, while the parallel version (Qohelet Rabbah 1, 8 [p. 79]) has Ya'akov of Kefar Sekhnaiah.

⁴ A parallel version in T Gittin 1, 3 reads Sasi or Sasai and B Gittin 6b reads Kefar Samai.

⁵ R. Eshtori ha-Parhi (*Kaftor va-Perah* p. 44a) and Klein (1967: 61) propose identifying this Simai with Kefar Sami'a near Peki'in while Ilan (1987: 20) proposes identifying it with H. Sasi near Usha.

continued at the site in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods (6.4% and 5.5% of the finds respectively). At the site are remains of a monumental building that was identified by Ilan as a synagogue.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11-22	--	11-22	11-22	11-22	4-10	4-10

Site No. 2

19-26/30/2

Har Mizpeh Yamim/Jebel Tubaket el-Arba'in

הר מצפה ימים/ג'בל טובקת אל ארבעין

Map ref.: 1935/2604; *Elevation:* 734 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* modern; *Type of site:* Persian and Hellenistic period temple; *Site area:* 2.7 dunams; *Topography:* hilltop; *Arable land:* patches of terra rossa on steep and rocky slopes; *Nearest water source:* --; *Water installations:* cistern in eastern part of site; *Agricultural installations:* --

Finds: A temenos and a temple dating to the Persian and Hellenistic periods were excavated by R. Frankel (Frankel 1993; 1997). Several bronze figurines displaying Egyptian motifs were found (Frankel and Ventura 1998). Also found were Tyrian coins, a Byzantine coin and Persian and Hellenistic pottery, with a considerable quantity of GCW.

Natural fortification: Located on a steep hilltop overlooking the entire area;

Proximity to roads: --; *Prior surveys and studies:* Frankel 1993; 1997; Frankel and Ventura 1998; *Identification:* --

* * *

Historical Analysis

From the preliminary publication of the excavation, the entire site appears to have served as a temple temenos during the Persian and Hellenistic periods, and there does not seem to have been a settlement here (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 110). The importance of the site is in the indication that it provides concerning the religion of the inhabitants of the surrounding area during the Persian and Hellenistic period. Frankel proposed that the site was established as a border temple during the Persian period, when the region was under the hegemony of the Phoenician coastal cities. In addition, Frankel points to the end of the Persian or

beginning of the Hellenistic period as a time during which changes were under-way in cultic practice at the site. He believes that this shows the weakness of the influence of the coastal towns and the strengthening of the local pagan population and tension between these two groups. Hellenistic pottery and a Seleucid coin of Antiochus IV or V indicate, in Frankel's opinion, abandonment after the middle of the second century BCE, apparently following the Hasmonean conquest (Frankel 1993: 1061–1063; 1997).

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
2.7	--	--	--	--	--	--

Site No. 3

19–26/70/3

‘Akbara עכברה

Map ref.: 1970/2605; *Elevation:* 400 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* ancient; preserved through the Middle Ages to the time of the Arab village located here today; A Cairo Geniza document dated to the eleventh century mentions Abu Sa‘ad al-‘Akbari (Mann 1920–22 II: 246, 357). This is probably Athbara/Achara which appears in Crusader documents. It is mentioned by a 14th century traveler as ‘Akbara (Yaari 1976: 91) and in the Ottoman tax census as ‘Akbara al-Hiqab; *Type of site:* Arab village upon ancient remains; lately, inhabitants have moved to a new neighborhood and the vicinity of the ruins is very sparsely inhabited. *Site area:* The deep channel of Wadi ‘Akbara creates a clear division between the western part of the site – 10 dunams, and the eastern part – 30 dunams; *Topography:* ‘Akbara West (S.E. 400) – a hill rising sharply west of Wadi ‘Akbara and connected in the north by a long spur to Ramat Pashhur. ‘Akbara East – the lower portion of the steep slope that descends from Mt. ‘Akbara to Wadi ‘Akbara; *Arable land:* terra rossa and light-colored rendzina on steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* ‘Ein ‘Akbara in the wadi, 350 m. from ‘Akbara West and at the foot of ‘Akbara East; *Water installations:* a wall from which ‘Ein ‘Akbara gushes, part of which is of ashlar construction is perhaps a remain of a spring house; *Agricultural installations:* ‘Akbara East – a threshing wheel from an oil press was observed (oral communication by Y. Stepansky).

Finds: A wall of large ashlar approximately 20 m. long in the eastern part of the site was uncovered by Damati (1989–1990) and identified by Ilan (1987: 32; 1991: 51) as part of a synagogue structure. Architectural elements and ashlar



Fig. 8: ‘Akbara: architectural element from a monumental building (photograph: Z. Ilan, courtesy of A. Ilan)



Fig. 9: ‘Akbara: wall of large ashlars, probably a synagogue (photograph: Z. Ilan, courtesy of A. Ilan)



Fig. 10: ‘Akbara: architectural element in secondary use (courtesy of M. Aviam)

are scattered near the wall and are incorporated in secondary use in the houses of the village.

Natural fortification: ‘Akbara West: The hill rises steeply above Wadi ‘Akbara and is naturally protected on the east, south and west. In the north, the hill is connected by a saddle to the rest of the spur. ‘Akbara East: – –

Proximity to roads: On the Wadi ‘Amud route (B1) and approximately 3.5 km. north of the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4).

Prior surveys and studies: The traveler Moshe Basola who visited in 1522 noted that there is a “destroyed synagogue, 3 cubits high walls remaining on two sides...” (Yaari 1976: 143). Guérin visited in 1870 and reported remains of buildings on the western hill of ‘Akbara, which is today entirely exposed, as well as remains of a public building known by the locals as al-Kanise (the church) at ‘Akbara East. Guérin identified the site with the Akbara that was fortified by Josephus (Guérin 1868–80 vol. 1: 351–352).

In a small segment of the Madaba Map that is separate from the rest of the mosaic the letters Αγβαρ appear. Avi-Yonah (1954: 76) proposed that this segment reflects northern Palestine and that the inscription should be completed as Αγβαρ[α] which is ‘Akbara. It should be noted that the name of ‘Akbara in Greek appears only in the writings of Josephus where it is written Ἀκχαβάρων and Ἀχαράβη.

In the IAAA, there is a letter dated to 1965 in which antiquities inspector N. Tfilinski reports a Hebrew inscription on a building stone he found at the site.

The present location of this stone is unknown and no transcription of the inscription remains. In 1968 Foerster (1983: 253) identified the location of the synagogue next to the spring. In 1976, the Meiron excavation team surveyed the plateau east of the village of 'Akbara and reported finding no sherds or evidence of settlement dating earlier than the Middle Ages. This, together with the non-strategic geographical location of the Arab village ('Akbara East), led this team (Meyers *et al.* 1978: 3) and later Aviam (2004: 100) to propose that ancient 'Akbara fortified by Josephus should be sought elsewhere.

Y. Stepansky reported on building remains and Iron, Roman-Byzantine, and Medieval pottery on the western hill (IAAA).

The site was recently surveyed by the Upper Galilee Survey and the count of pottery published was:

'Akbara West: Iron – 2, Persian/Hellenistic – 2, Roman – 20, Byzantine – 2

'Akbara East: Persian/Hellenistic – 1, Hellenistic – 1, Roman – 14, Byzantine – 4, Crusader/Mamluk – 8, Ottoman – 6 (Frankel 2001: 77; 82; 88).

Identification: Most researchers identified this site with Acchabaron mentioned in Josephus and 'Akbara in rabbinic literature (Klein 1967: 40; *TIR*: 56). Rosenfeld (1993) believed that most of the rabbinic literary sources in which 'Akbara is mentioned, relate to another settlement by this name, which should be sought in the vicinity of Sepphoris.

* * *

Historical Sources

Second Temple period: Josephus noted that among the places he fortified during the preparations for the Jewish Revolt "... in the Upper Galilee he built the place called Ἀκχαβάρων πέτρων ["the rock of Acchabaron" or "the high place of Acchabaron]... (*War* 2, 573). In a parallel source, (*Life* 188) Josephus states: "I... provided similar protection for certain villages in Upper Galilee, also in very rugged surroundings, named Jamnia, Ameroth and Αχαράβη [Acharabe]."6

M. Aviam proposed identifying Josephus' Acchabaron with Ḥorbat Sela', some 2 km. south of present day 'Akbara (Aviam 2004: 101; Aviam and Richardson 2001: 181). This small ruin is located upon a steep slope at the foot of a cliff containing caves, a location regarded by Aviam as fitting the name "rock of Acchabaron" in Josephus. Aviam believed this name was intended to differentiate between the fortification in the cliff and the settlement itself.

No significant evidence for settlement during the Early Roman period was found in our survey at Ḥorvat Sela' (see below). The Early Roman finds from 'Akbara itself, as well as the strategic character of the western hill, affirm that

6 The switching of the letters ρ and β in *Life* appears to be a copyist's error.

this is the Acchabaron fortified by Josephus. The term “rock of Acchabaron” in *War* probably originated in the cliffs that overlook the settlement of ‘Akbara. This is probably an expression merely reflecting this lofty and naturally fortified location, like the parallel expression appearing in Josephus’ *Life*, “villages... in very rugged surroundings” or the elevated portion of the settlement.⁷

Rabbinic Literature: The name ‘Akbara/‘Akbari/‘Akborā/‘Akbarin occurs several times in rabbinic traditions. The earliest is connected with individuals who lived during the second half of the third century CE.⁸ Some of the traditions mention R. Yannai’s disciples in ‘Akbara who engaged in agriculture and lived communally to some degree. Scholars have claimed that R. Yannai himself (first half of the third century CE) had founded the *bet midrash* and was its head. Aside from a single vague Babylonian tradition, however, there is no source linking R. Yannai himself with ‘Akbara.⁹ The earliest traditions mentioning this *bet midrash* note halakhot presented by R. Yoḥanan to the sages of ‘Akbara,

⁷ πέτρα is translated as rock or cliff as well as ridge, mountaintop or rocky area, similar to the description in Josephus’ *Life* (Rengstorf 1979 vol. 3: 405). The word Ἀκχαβάρων is in the genitive case, which expresses belonging, thus the expression may be translated: “the rock/cliff of ‘Akbara” or “the peak/ridge of ‘Akbara” which means “the heights of the city.” Indeed, both Jamnia, which is identified with Ḥorbat Yavnit, northeast of Safed, and Meroth, identified with Ḥorbat Marus west of Ayelet ha-Shaḥar, which are mentioned together with Acchabaron among the “villages in Upper Galilee, also in very rugged surroundings,” are not located on or in immediate relation to cliffs. It thus appears that Josephus’ intent was that these villages are located in a hilly, rocky area.

⁸ See Y ‘Eruvin 8, 4, 25a; Ma’aserot 2, 1, 49c; Shevi’it 8, 6, 38b; Klein 1939: 117–118; 1967: 124. Although in the B (Bava Metzia 84b) R. El’azar ben Shim’on (late second century CE) is mentioned at ‘Akbara, this entire series of legends in the B is borrowed from the Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana 23 (p. 198–199), and there, in the original traditions, Gush Ḥalav rather than ‘Akbara is mentioned as the place where the story takes place. It appears that the editors of the B combined this tradition with errors or even tendentious changes (see Friedman 1993: 122, 132).

⁹ On the nature of the *bet midrash* and the proposal that R. Yannai founded it, see Halevy 1901: 273–276; Albeck 1969: 161; Oppenheimer 1978. The tradition in the B (‘Avodah Zarah 30a) tells a story about “R. Yannai bar ‘Akbori, and some say (it was) bar Hadya bar ‘Akbori, had some wine remaining in his jug...”, thus in the Munich Ms (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek-95). The legend goes on to say that a snake that wanted the wine that remained in the jug filled it with water and drank the wine that floated to the surface. From this source it appears that the man in question is one whose father’s name is ‘Akbori rather than that being the name of the place where the event occurred. In the printed versions, in which there were apparently copyists errors, the text states: “Why, R. Yannai was in Bet ‘Akbori and some say (it was) bar Hadya was in Bet ‘Akbori, and they were sitting and drinking wine....” It is difficult to accept this corrupted aggadic tradition in the B as evidence for R. Yannai living at ‘Akbara, and it should also be noted that in Babylonia itself there was a town called Akbara, and it is possible that this is the place mentioned (see B Kidushin 71b according to the Vatican MS., [Bibliotheca Apostolica, Ebr. 110–111]; see also Eshel 1979: 206).

apparently in the second half of the third century CE (Y Shevi'it 8, 6, 38b; 'Eruvin 8, 4, 25a). R. Yoḥanan, who died in 279 CE, was himself a student of R. Yannai (Albeck 1969: 184), and there indeed appears to be a connection between him and the *bet midrash* at 'Akbara. A visit by R. Ami and R. Asi (Y 'Eruvin 8, 4, 25a), the heads of the Tiberias academy around the end of the third century CE, attest to the importance of the settlement at least in rabbinic circles.

Since R. Yannai is mentioned frequently at Sepphoris, though his place of residence is accepted as having been at 'Akbara in the Upper Galilee, Rosenfeld (1993) believed that most of the sources in rabbinic literature in which 'Akbara is mentioned refer to another settlement with this name that was close to Sepphoris. A critical reading of the sources presented by Rosenfeld, however, does not support this proposal, and furthermore, clearly indicates that R. Yannai's home was indeed in Sepphoris and not at 'Akbara.

Rosenfeld relied mainly upon the following two sources:

A. Y Shabbat 2, 1, 4d and in parallel, Y Terumot 11, 7, 48b:

ר' חנניא בר עכברי הוה אזל ומיעבד עיבדתיא גבי רבי חייא ציפורי. מי אזיל מזיל ליה הוה מלי
בוצינא שמן שרפה...

R. Ḥananya bar 'Akbari used to go to work for R. Ḥiya Zipporiya (the Sepphorean)...
When he was (about) to leave, he (R. Ḥiya) would fill his (R. Ḥananya's) lamp with oil
of burning...

R. Ḥananya would receive oil for his lamp to light his way home from his employer, R. Ḥiya. Since it is impossible that he walked every evening to 'Akbara, a distance of 30 km. from Sepphoris, Rosenfeld believed that another 'Akbara should be sought in proximity to Sepphoris (the identifications proposed by Rosenfeld are also unreasonable in this regard since they are 4–6 km. from Sepphoris, again, a distance that it would be difficult to imagine someone walking with a lit oil lamp). However, Rosenfeld's interpretation of the name Ḥanina bar 'Akbari as denoting a place of residence, that is, Ḥanina of 'Akbara, does not seem plausible. The word *bar* in Palestinian rabbinic literature is generally used to denote "son of" together with the name of the father, meaning that the name of the father of R. Ḥanina was 'Akbari (Kosovsky 1979–2004 vol. 7: 572). Reference to the dwelling place of a person is generally indicated in the Y by adding the name of the place to the person's name with the addition of the suffix *yod aleph* (and in some editions occasionally, under the influence of Babylonian Aramaic, by the suffix *aleph he*), just as in the tradition with which we are dealing – R. Ḥiya Zipporiya. Other examples: Yosi Me'onah, R. Yosi Mamlahya, etc. Sometimes, the place name is preceded by *dmn* (from), such as R. Avdomi *dmn* Haifa, and in the case of settlements with compound names of two words, the prefix *dalet* is usually added to the name of the settlement – R. Ya'akov *di*-Kefar Ḥanin.

B. Leviticus Rabbah 16, 2 (p. 349):

'מי האיש החפץ חיים' מעשה ברוכל אחד שהיה מחזר בעיירות הסמוכות לציפורי והיה מכרז וואו' מן
דבעי למזבן סם חיים יתיי ויסב. עאל להדה עכברא קרב לביתה דר' יניי, הוה יתיב ופשט בטרקליניה...

“Who is the the man that desireth life” (Ps. 34:13): there was a case of a peddler who used to go round the towns in the vicinity of Sepphoris, crying out: ‘Whoever wishes to buy the elixir of life, should approach and take.’ He came to this 'Akbara and came near the house of R. Yannai who was sitting and learning in his *triclinium*...”

While according to this version, 'Akbara is one of "the villages in the vicinity of Sepphoris," in the better Mss., the sentence "He came to this 'Akbara" does not appear (see introduction to Leviticus Rabbah, p. XXXV). It seems that the error was caused by a copyist familiar with the sources about the students of R. Yannai at 'Akbara and since the tradition recalls the house of R. Yannai, he added 'Akbara (Adan-Bayewitz 1985²: 97 n. 41). According to the original version, it is thus clear that the home of R. Yannai was in Sepphoris or nearby.

These sources join numerous other sources which mention that R. Yannai was active at Sepphoris.¹⁰ The fact that R. Yannai is mentioned in the Scroll of Genealogy (מגילת ירוסין) of the sages of Sepphoris (Y Ta'anit 4, 2, 68a), the fact he was a student of R. Yehuda ha-Nasi who was active at Sepphoris, and the fact that he was the teacher of R. Yohanan who studied at Sepphoris, confirm the assumption that Sepphoris was the home and center of R. Yannai's activities.

Summary

- A. The earliest literary evidence concerning the *bet midrash* of R. Yannai at 'Akbara dates to the last third of the third century CE, apparently following the death of R. Yannai, who was active in the first generation of Palestinian *amoraim* (ca. 220–250 CE).
- B. No source indicates the dwelling place or center of activity of R. Yannai as 'Akbara. The tradition in Leviticus Rabbah from which it emerges that R. Yannai lived at Sepphoris or in its vicinity and the numerous traditions mentioning him in relation to Sepphoris indicate that R. Yannai lived in and was active at Sepphoris.
- C. There is no real foundation for Rosenfeld's assumption that there was another settlement called 'Akbara near Sepphoris.¹¹ Frequent references to R. Yannai relating to Sepphoris cannot serve as evidence since, as we have seen, R. Yannai indeed lived and was active at Sepphoris and not at 'Akbara.

It may be stated that despite the prevailing scholarly view,¹² there is no source indicating that R. Yannai lived at 'Akbara, nor any source showing that he established his *bet midrash* there. It appears that he lived and was active at Sepphoris

¹⁰ For example: Y Berakhot 4, 7, 8c: "R. Yohanan said, I saw R. Yannai standing and praying in the irrigated fields of Sepphoris"; Y Berakhot 3,1, 6a tells that at the time of the death of R. Yehuda ha-Nasi at Sepphoris, R. Yannai allowed the priests to take part in the funeral; Y Sanhedrin 7, 11, 25d: "R. Yannai said, I was walking on that road of Sepphoris"; in Y Ketubot 1, 10, 25d, R. Yannai attests to an episode that occurred at Sepphoris.

¹¹ The evidence presented by Rosenfeld from the Assyrian Annals of the eighth century BCE must also be rejected. The identification of 'Akbara among the settlements in the Lower Galilee in the Annals was based upon the letters *b.a.r.a* (Mazar 1933: 3). The renewed publication and analysis of what appears there have raised more reasonable proposals such as Gabara in the Lower Galilee or Beth Barah (Judges 7:24) in the Jordan Valley (Tadmor 1968: 63; 1994: 82–83).

¹² Halevy 1901: 275; Albeck 1969: 161; Oppenheimer 1978: 139; Margalioth 1995: 225.

as Frankel (1967: 150) noted with some hesitation. It seems that the *bet midrash* at 'Akbara was established by students of R. Yannai and they or others called it "the school of R. Yannai" after their teacher.

Agricultural activities: Honey: Concerning a discussion on the measure of the *log* mentioned in the Pentateuch, R. Yonah noted that the students of R. Yannai at 'Akbara still use a measuring vessel of this capacity for measuring honey; this may indicate honey production here (Y Shabbat 8, 1, 11a).

Oil and wine: In a halakhah concerning the change necessary in crafts involving processing of agricultural products during the sabbatical year, the M (Shevi'it 8, 6) notes:

אין דורכים ענבים בגת אבל דורך הוא בערבה. ואין עושים זיתים בחד ובקוטבי אבל כותש ומכניס לבודידא. ר' שמעון אומר אף טוחן הוא בבית החד ומכניס לבודידא.

Grapes may not be trodden in the winepress, but they are trodden in the kneading-trough. Olives may not be processed in the threshing installation and in the oil-press but they may be crushed and brought into a *bodedah* (a small domestic press). R. Shim'on says: he may even crush (the olives) in the threshing installation and then put in the *bodedah*.

This halakhah is treated in Y Shevi'it 8, 6, 38b:

'ואין עושין זיתים בחד ובקוטבי' – ורבותינו התירו לעשות בקוטבי. ר' יוחנן הורי לאילין דרבי ינאי לטחון ברחיים כר' שמעון ולעשות בקוטבי כרבנן. ר' יוחנן הורי לאילין דבית ר' ינאי שלא יהו נוטלין שכר בדיהן יין [שמון] אלא מעות.

Olives may not be processed in the threshing installation and in the oil-press – and the sages allowed processing (the olives) in the oil-press. R. Yohanan instructed those of R. Yannai (lit. disciples) to crush in the threshing installation as (allowed by) R. Shim'on and to use the oil-press as (allowed by) the sages. R. Yohanan instructed those of the house of R. Yannai (lit. disciples), not to take wine¹³ [oil] in exchange for the use of their pressing installations (during the sabbatical year), but rather money.

From the above source, one may draw several conclusions concerning the agricultural activities of the students of the *bet midrash* of R. Yannai at 'Akbara in the days of R. Yohanan (around the third quarter of the third century):

A. The permission to crush with a threshing installation relates to crushing olives, thus providing evidence for the cultivation of olives there.

¹³ Thus in the Leiden Ms., in the Venice printed edition and in the parallel (Y 'Avodah Zarah 5, 1, 44c). In the discussion that follows, however, all of the Mss. present the tradition "they should not take *oil* in exchange for the use of their presses" and it appears that this is how it should be revised; see Feliks 1986 vol. 2: 193. Frankel regarded the development of this halakhah from the M to the Y as evidence for an increasing laxity in laws governing the sabbatical year; see Frankel 1994: 80.

- B. The prohibition of taking a percentage of the oil (or wine) from the farmer during the sabbatical year in exchange for their production indicates that the students of R. Yannai at ‘Akbara owned an installation of some sort. While in ordinary years farmers paid a percentage of their agricultural produce for the use of this facility, in sabbatical years they paid money.
- C. If the tradition “they should not take *wine* in exchange for the use of their press” is authentic, then it offers literary evidence for pressing installations for wine production at ‘Akbara, installations of a type documented at other sites through archaeological research and may have been mentioned in another rabbinic source (see Frankel 1997²).

Summary of Rabbinic Sources: The reliable traditions in rabbinic literature in which ‘Akbara is mentioned are relatively limited chronologically, and extend from the second to the fifth generation of Palestinian *amoraim* (ca. third quarter of the third to the mid-fourth century).¹⁴ It should be noted that most of the traditions relate to R. Yohanan, the student of R. Yannai, and students of the former.¹⁵

Historical Analysis (sample size: 202 identified sherds)

While conducting the survey, this site was divided into three collection areas: the eastern plateau; the western hill; and the deep channel of Wadi ‘Akbara, which separates the two (the two latter samples were finally unified into a single collection). The difficulty in collecting sherds among houses of the village at ‘Akbara East led to a large portion of the pottery from this area having been collected to the east of and above the village houses and it is probable that due to this, the picture of settlement in this region (particularly during the Byzantine period) remains unclear. It should likewise be noted that in this area to the east of and above the village, only Roman pottery was gathered and there does not appear to have been settlement in this area during the Hellenistic period.

In both areas, the ceramic record of the Hellenistic to Late Roman period is similar. First, there was settlement during the Hellenistic period (total of 6% of the dated finds) and on the western hill, perhaps already during the Persian period. It should be noted that a significant quantity of Iron Age pottery was found on this high hill and it appears that the earliest settlement was here. In both areas, settlement continued during the Early Roman period (total of 9%) and the Middle Roman period (total of 15%) and in both, the largest percentage

¹⁴ R. Yosi son of R. Bon, one of the latest figures mentioned in the Y (around the mid-fourth century CE, see Sussmann 1990, n. 35), is mentioned at ‘Akbara (Y Terumat 10, 5, 47b).

¹⁵ For example, R. Zeira – Y Berakhot 6, 1, 10b; R. Ami and R. Asi – Y ‘Eruvin 8, 4, 25a. Also mentioned are students of the students of R. Yoḥanan such as R. Yonah, the student of R. Zeira – Y Shabbat 8, 1, 11a.

of pottery belonged to the Late Roman period (48.5%), especially Type KH1e, which constitutes some 50% of all finds at the site. Aside from a single sherd, no Byzantine pottery was found in the eastern area. Types of LRRW of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods were found in the western area. Together with the local Byzantine pottery that must be later than the mid-fourth century CE, the Byzantine period pottery constitutes 9% of the finds on this hill. The LRRW vessels of Late Byzantine period are entirely absent, attesting, probably to the disappearance or thinning of the settlement during the first half of the sixth century CE.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11-20	20-40	20-40	20-40	4-10	4-10	--

Discussion: The Second Temple period: Aviam proposed identifying Josephus' Acchabaron with Ḥ. Sela', some 2 km. south of 'Akbara (Aviam 2004: 101; Aviam and Richardson 2001: 181). The findings of the survey that we conducted at Ḥ. Sela' and in the caves above it do not support this identification.¹⁶ Despite this site's small area and the difficulties of collecting pottery due to erosion of ground cover, we gathered 63 indicative rims of pottery vessels from the ruin and from the cave area. Analysis of the finds indicated that there was a presence at the site during numerous periods, however only two indicative rims belonged to the Early Roman period. Similarly, in the Upper Galilee Survey, only a single sherd belonging with certainty to the Early Roman period was found (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 88). It is worth noting that in other cave assemblages that we surveyed, large quantities of Early Roman pottery were found. According to the minimal number of Early Roman sherds at this site, it is therefore difficult to propose that there was significant activity here during the Early Roman period. An examination of the sites selected by Josephus for

¹⁶ The pottery finds from Ḥ. Sela' include: 1 P/H Mor; 1 P/H TNSJ; 2 Hell. Bowl; 6 CNCP; 2 Long Rim SJ; 1 KH3a; 1 ER Juglet; 1 ER/MR SJ; 1 KH4c; 1 CRS1; 1 CRS9 – a total of 18 indicative rims from the periods under investigation. It should be noted that body sherds of Roman pottery are very few at the site, in contrast to the numerous body sherds of pottery from periods earlier than the Roman period and Medieval sherds. In addition to Aviam's report, one of the caves in the northern part of the cliff apparently contains a *miqveh*. In the cave, which measures 2×2×2, are remains of plaster covering most of the walls. The floor level of the cave lies below the level of the path leading to it and three steps descend to the interior from the opening on the western side. A channel fed the *miqveh* from an opening near the stairs. In the plaster surrounding the opening there are repairs that differ in appearance from the original plaster. At a higher level on the cliff are construction remains and the scattered sherds attest to activity during the Ottoman period.



Fig. 11: 'Akbara: aerial photo (photograph: *see Mapping*)

fortification shows that these were generally central Jewish settlements that could be easily strengthened (see also Aviam 2004: 94). Since it is extremely doubtful that Ḥ. Sela' was settled during the Early Roman period, it is difficult to suppose that it was the 'Akbara fortified by Josephus.¹⁷ Since no remains are visible on the western hill today, the researchers focused upon 'Akbara East, where early finds were discovered upon the surface. Indeed, this area lacks strategic importance. However, the hill of 'Akbara West is high and naturally fortified on three sides. Man-made fortification would be necessary only on its northern side, where it is connected to the saddle of the spur above it. The significant quantity of Early Roman pottery found on the western hill and on the eastern plateau show that the site as a whole was one of the largest sites of the Early Roman period. The size of the settlement, the preservation of its name, the Early Roman pottery and the natural fortification of the western hill show that the accepted identification of 'Akbara here remains valid. The 'Akbara fortified by Josephus is, apparently, the westernmost hill of the two parts of the site that

¹⁷ The fortified sites that have been identified with certainty are all large settlements, apparently the largest and most central in their regions (Safrai 1985: 190). It is not possible to establish the size of each site during the first century CE, however, as a rule, these are settlements that extend over tens of dunams. Thus, Gamla, which covers approximately 100 dunams, Yodefah which covers approximately 47 dunams, Be'er Sheva', which covers approximately 50 dunams and Meroth, Migdal and Sakhnin, each of which covers tens of dunams. Ḥ. Sela' extends over a few dunams of a steep hill and certainly does not meet the above criteria, as opposed to 'Akbara, which undoubtedly was the largest and most central settlement in the region during that period.

were settled during the Early Roman period. As we shall see below, the sites that Josephus chose to fortify were settled in the Hellenistic period and we can establish with certainty that some of them were already fortified during that time. In view of the significant settlement at 'Akbara during the Hellenistic period and the elevated topography of the peak of 'Akbara West, it may be proposed that the site was fortified in the Hellenistic period. Josephus' activity would appear to have consisted of restoration or reuse of the existing fortifications, which also appears likely given the short time at his disposal to prepare for the Revolt. Accordingly, he selected sites at which there were already fortifications. The survey results also reveal that, unlike Hellenistic settlements generally characterized by strategic location and fortification, the settlements first constructed during the Early Roman period were not fortified. Thus, it is understood why Josephus' fortifications are located at previous Hellenistic settlements.

Byzantine Period: The absence of Byzantine pottery in the eastern region leads to the conclusion that at the beginning of the Byzantine period, settlement was mainly limited to the western hill. At the same time, some questions remain unanswered at this stage: remains of a public building identified as a synagogue were found in the eastern part of the site. If this area was indeed abandoned during the Byzantine period, then apparently this is a building of the late Roman period, placing this structure among the early synagogues in the region. In addition, if our conclusions are correct, the question arises whether the synagogue continued to function during the Byzantine period when the settlement was concentrated on the peak on the other side of the wadi.

Site No. 4

19-25/09/4

Parod/Ferradiieh פֶּרֹוד/פֶּאֶרְדִּייה

Map ref.: 1904/2597; *Elevation:* 428 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arab village until 1948; appears to preserve the name of the ancient settlement Parod; perhaps this is the al-Farradiyah mentioned among the settlements of Jund Urdun by Muqaddasi in the tenth century (Le Strange 1965: 39, 439). In Crusader documents: Ferradija; Ottoman census: Farradiyyah; perhaps af-Friyawa (af-Frida'a?) mentioned by a traveler in the fourteenth century (Yaari 1976: 90); *Type of site:* Arab village on ancient ruins; *Site area:* 25 dunams; *Topography:* high hill above a tributary of Wadi Zalmon; *Arable land:* terra rossa on moderate slopes; a limited plain around the adjacent tributary of Wadi Zalmon; *Near-est water source:* 'En Parod, 750 m. north of the center of the site; *Water installations:* remains of a modern aqueduct (of concrete) upon remains of an earlier aqueduct from 'En Parod to the site; *Agricultural installations:* large

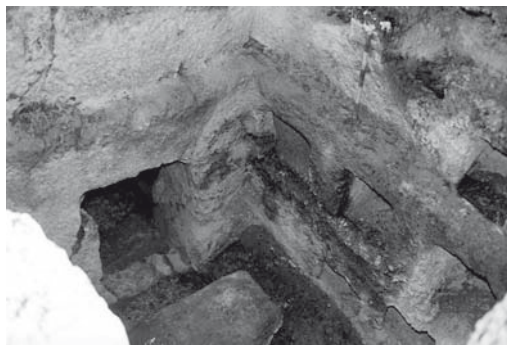


Fig. 12:
Parod:
colum-
barium



Fig. 13: Parod: columbarium



Fig. 14: Parod: winepress

winepress north of the site; A complex of two columbaria was excavated by O. Tal and associates, who proposed that the northern columbarium ceased to be used during the Early Roman period, when the installation was incorporated into a burial cave that remained in use until the fourth or fifth century CE. Stone ossuaries were found in the cave. The columbaria installation is dated to the Late Second Temple period. The southern burial cave was apparently quarried during the Byzantine period and damaged the southern columbarium (Tal *et al.* 1999; Tal *et al.* 2002). It should be noted that none of the pottery vessels published from this excavation are necessarily later than the fourth century CE. Other burial caves are located west of the tributary of Wadi Z̄almon.

Finds from other periods: Medieval pottery; *Natural fortification:* relatively steep slopes in the west, north and south; comfortable access from the spur to the east;

Proximity to roads: on the Ḥananya Valley-Meirion route (B6) and approximately 1.5 km. north of the Beth ha-Kerem-Korazim route (B4);

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80, vol. 2: 456) and the *SWP* (vol. 1: 203) noted that water-powered mills were destroyed. Ben-Zvi visited the site in 1933 and identified the sheikh's tomb north of the site with the tomb of R. Tanḥum of Parod that is mentioned in descriptions of Medieval pilgrims (Ben-Zvi 1933: 16–20). Ilan (2002) surveyed the aqueduct and the flour mills along it and noted Byzantine sherds embedded in the plaster. However, an excavation conducted by Adan-Bayewitz in a section of the aqueduct near Kefar Ḥananya, indicated that its construction was not earlier than the Middle Ages (Adan-Bayewitz 1997: 277). The site was recently surveyed by the Upper Galilee Survey and the following pottery finds were reported: Iron – 2, Roman – 41 (29 of them KH1e), Byzantine – 2, Crusader/Mamluk – 6 (Frankel 2001: 77; 88; 93).

Identification: Most scholars identify this site with Parod, mentioned once in the B (Ben-Zvi 1933: 16; Klein 1967: 83; Reeg 1989: 542; *TIR*: 200).

* * *

Historical Sources

The only tradition in rabbinic literature that mentions Parod is in the B ('Avodah Zarah 31a):

ה'מפקיד יינו אצל גוי אסור בשתיה ומותר בהנאה'... אי הכי בשתיה נמי לישתרי דהא ר' יוחנן איקלע לפרוד. אמר כלום יש כאן אדם ששונה משנת בר קפרא? תנא ליה ר' תנחום דמן פרוד: 'המפקיד יינו אצל גוי מותר בשתיה'. קרי עליה: מקום שיפול העץ שם יהו. שם יהו סלקא דעתך? אלא שם יהו פירותיו.

'Wine (of an Israelite) that had been deposited with an idolater must not be drunk, but the benefit of it is permitted'... In that case (if he assigned a separate corner for the wine) it should be permissible for drinking also. For when R. Yohanan happened to be in Parod¹⁸ he inquired if there was anyone who could recite the Mishnah of Bar Kappara, and R. Tanḥum of Parod quoted to him (the following): 'Wine which had been

¹⁸ Thus in the Ms. of the Jewish Theological Seminary and in the Venice imprint. The Munich Ms. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek-95), however, reads פארור. In B 'Avodah Zarah 38b, R. Ḥiya Parwa'a (פרוואה) is also mentioned (thus in the Munich Ms., and in the Jewish Theological Seminary Ms. פרוואה), as citing teachings of Bar Kappara, in a story that takes place in the home of the exilarch (ריש גלותא) in Babylonia. Rosenfeld (1998: 83) proposed reading פרוואה and believed that this was a sage from the village of Parod. However, the versions in the Mss. make it difficult to establish this view.

deposited with an idolater is permissible for drinking.’ Applying the verse, (Eccl. 11:3) ‘In the place where the tree falleth, there shall it be’ (R. Yohanan commented): How can it be assumed that there it shall be? But it means that there shall its fruit be!

Concerning a discussion of the source that establishes that wine that has been in the care of a gentile is forbidden, it is told that R. Yohanan arrived at Parod and asked if there was anyone who can recite the Mishnah of Bar Kappara on this matter. R. Tanḥum, a native of Parod, quotes from the Mishnah of Bar Kappara a tradition permitting the drinking of wine that has been in the care of a gentile. R. Yoḥanan quotes the verse from Eccl. and explains that in the place where a tree falls, there shall be its fruits. It appears that what R. Yoḥanan meant is that the death of Bar Kappara and perhaps also his activities were at Parod and that it is symbolic that his fruit, i.e., his teachings, should remain there.¹⁹

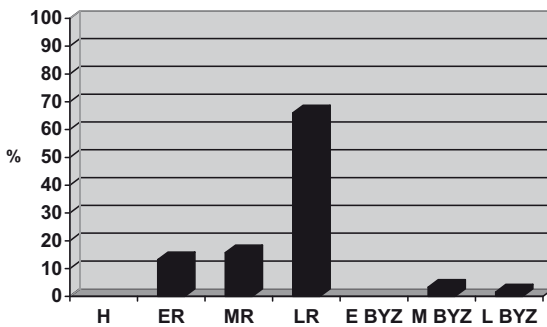
Summary: This source in the B ‘Avodah Zarah mentions a visit by R. Yoḥanan (mid-third century) at Parod and hints at Parod being the burial place and perhaps the place where Bar Kappara was active (Albeck 1969: 149).²⁰

¹⁹ Thus the traditional commentators interpretation. Rashi, for example notes: “Parod – residence place of Bar Kappara, who was already dead... ‘there shall be its fruits’: whoever needs the teachings of a sage should ask the people of his town who learn from him...” Concerning the historical accuracy of this tradition, it should be noted that it appears that this issue in the B and the parallel in the Y (‘Avodah Zarah 2, 3, 41b) are based upon one source. The *baraita* presented in the B in the name of the *tanna* R. Yehuda ben Betheira prohibiting drinking wine that has been in the care of a gentile is presented in the Y (not as a *baraita* at all) in the name of the *amora* R. Yoḥanan. As stated, according to the B, R. Yoḥanan is the person who arrived at Parod and his discussion revealed that wine that has been in the care of a gentile may be drunk. In the Y, however, not only does this story not appear, but R. Yoḥanan himself forbids drinking wine that has been in the care of a gentile. In addition, it should be noted that aside from this source in the B, R. Tanḥum of Parod is not mentioned elsewhere in rabbinic literature. Furthermore, Bar Kappara, who is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature in reference to several places (see following note), is never mentioned in reference to Parod. This one tradition referring to Parod is thus part of a discussion that apparently underwent numerous changes by the editors of the B and is not mentioned at all in the parallel discussion in the Y, a fact which raises doubts concerning its historical accuracy (see in general, Freidman 1993: 122). On the other hand, reference to Parod, which does not occur at all in the Palestinian literature, may be indicative of a core of authentic tradition that reached and was only preserved in Babylonia.

²⁰ There are numerous views concerning the location of the *bet midrash* of Bar Kappara. The proposals include Caesarea, Sepphoris, Lod and the south (דרום). Following the discovery of the inscription “This is the *bet midrash* of Rabbi Eliezar ha-Kappar,” Urman (1983), who summarized the various views, proposed that the *bet midrash* should be located at Dabbura in the Golan, where the inscription was found. The evidence from the archaeological survey pointing to the beginning of settlement at Dabbura only after the time of Bar Kappara led Ben David (1999: 178) to propose that the *bet midrash* at Dabbura was not established by Bar Kappara but was named after him, similar to the conclusion proposed here concerning the *bet midrash* of R. Yannai at ‘Akbara.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 121 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of the settlement is during the Early Roman period, represented by a significant 13% of the finds. A similar quantity from the Middle Roman period (16%) indicates stability in settlement size. The almost complete absence of types that begin to penetrate the region from the mid-fourth century onward leads to the conclusion that the intermediate LR/E BYZ types belong to the Late Roman period, and this period is represented by 66% (with 61 rims out of 80 vessels representing this period of type KH1e). Even if the considerable weight of this type is ignored, this period still remains the most significant. Of 121 vessels identified at the site, only 6 (4.9%) must be later than the mid fourth century CE, including three LRRW vessels of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods and two local Byzantine types that we cannot date more precisely.



Graph 2: Diagnostic sherds from Parod. Total = 121

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	11-25	11-25	11-25	--	0.5-3?	0.5-3?

Discussion: The problematic nature of type KH1e, which is dated to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, strongly emerges here. 50% of the dated finds are KH1e, making it difficult to determine when the settlement decline at the site occurred. In any case, the total absence of LRRW types dated to the second half of the fourth century and the paucity of local Byzantine pottery demonstrate a sharp decline or abandonment of the site not later than approximately the mid-fourth century. It is important to note that of six clearly Byzantine vessels at the site, four may be precisely dated and they are ones whose appearance is not earlier than the beginning of the sixth century CE (PRS 3E, PRS 3F, PRS 3H, PRS 10; see Hayes 1972: 337; 343). A small settlement was probably renewed around the first half of the sixth century. We have identified renewed settlements such as Kul‘at esh-Shune [Site 11] and Nasr ed-Din

[Site 46] at abandoned sites around the first half of the sixth century. It is possible that a similar scenario occurred at Parod. Based upon the quantity of pottery it seems that Parod reached its maximal size (up to 25 dunams) during the Late Roman period. No indication of a monumental public building was found at the site.

Site No. 5

18-26/60/5

חורבת כפיר/ח'רבת א-טאחונה H. Kefir/Kh. et-Tahuneh

Map ref.: 1868/2601; *Elevation:* 370 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* et-Tahuneh – Arabic, after the remains of a nearby flour mill; *Type of site:* pottery scatter in a terraced olive grove; *Site area:* 6 dunams;²¹ *Topography:* base of a moderate slope near the valley; *Arable land:* extensive alluvial plains, mainly of terra rossa and brown grumusol, in nearby Ḥananya Valley; *Nearest water source:* 'En ha-Ari, some 450 m. from the center of the site; another seasonal spring in the nearby wadi 200 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* remains of an aqueduct and the chimney of a flour mill, apparently Medieval, on the other side of the wadi, some 400 m. from the site; *Agricultural installations:* – – ; *Find:* – – ; *Natural fortification:* – –

Proximity to roads: approximately 1 km. north of the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) and approximately 2 km. west of the Ḥananya Valley-Meirone route (B6);

Prior surveys and studies: The SWP (vol. 1: 247) noted a destroyed modern flour mill and remains of an aqueduct. The site was recently surveyed in the Upper Galilee Survey and the pottery finds published are as follow: Persian/Hellenistic – 1, Roman – 17, Byzantine – 3 (Frankel 2001: 81, 87).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 136 identifiable sherds)

The location of the site in a ploughed olive grove made it easier to collect pottery and to determine the boundary of the area in which the sherds are

²¹ In the Upper Galilee Survey, the size of the site was noted as 25 dunams, however it appears that they included the mill site (et-Tahuneh) and the area between it and the ruin as a single large site (Frankel 2001: 34). Based upon the current survey, the site appeared as a scatter of sherds (that is located in a ploughed orchard) some 400 m. distant from the remains of the mill located on the other side of a wadi. There is no continuity of the sherd scatter between the two foci. It thus appears that the early site and the mill (apparently Medieval or Ottoman) are not a single site.

concentrated. Of the seven sherds that represent the Hellenistic period (5% of the finds), six are GCW that apparently appear as early as the end of the Persian period and seem to disappear around the end of the second century BCE. It is therefore probable that there was a settlement gap at this site between the Persian/Hellenistic phase and that of the Early Roman period, which is not earlier than the mid-first century BCE. The settlement continued to exist through the entire Roman period and reached its floruit during the Late Roman period (46.3%). The large number of Diamond Rim SJ (18) and the presence of KH4e, vessels characteristic of the mid-fourth century, prevalent in the 363 CE destruction layer at Sepphoris, is worth noting. Despite this, the absence of LRRW vessels of the Early Byzantine period is significant. Of 12 vessels that must be later than the mid-fourth century (9.5%), only two are imported and belong to the early PRS 3 type (apparently Type C) that begin to appear around the second third of the fifth century. The rest of the Byzantine pottery is local and cannot be more precisely dated. However, in view of the relatively low quantity of this pottery and the absence of later imported vessels, it appears that settlement here came to an end during the Middle Byzantine period.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
0.5-3	0.5-3	4-6	4-6	4-6	0.5-3	--

Site No. 6

18-25/99/6

באר שבע הגלילית/ח'רבת אבו שבע H. Be'er Sheva'/Kh. esh-Sheba

Map ref.: 1894/2596; *Elevation:* 472 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* esh-Sheba – Arabic; apparently preserves the ancient name Be'er Sheva'; *Ottoman census:* Siba; *Type of site:* ancient ruin without recent construction; *Site area:* 50 dunams; *Topography:* steep hill that rises above Wadi Zalmon and is a spur of Mt. Hillel to the north; *Arable land:* terra rossa on steep slopes; in the adjacent Hananya Valley, there are extensive alluvial plains of mainly terra rossa and brown grumusol; *Nearest water source:* 'En Parod, 1.2 km. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* three large cisterns in the upper part of the site; two of them with capstones with niches of unknown function; *Agricultural installations:* columbaria south of the site (Tal *et al.* 2002);

Finds: massive walls, fortifications (Meyers *et al.* 1978: 4; Tal *et al.* 2000), burial caves, coins and bronze figurines (Aviam 2004: 28; 257; 2005²);

Finds from other periods: Iron Age pottery;

Natural fortification: the hill is well protected on four sides. Access from the saddle to the north is also quite steep;

Proximity to roads: on the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) and on the H̄ananya Valley-Meiron route (B6);

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80, vol. 2: 456) noted caves on the southeastern slope. The team headed by E. Meyers noted that the site was settled from the Late Hellenistic period to the Late Roman period (Meyers *et al.* 1978: 4). Gal (1992: 31) noted pottery from the Early Bronze I, Iron II, Persian-Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. Aviam (2004: 95; 1992: 329) reported Iron, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic pottery and from a yet unpublished survey, there appears to have been a walled Hellenistic period city of approximately 60 dunams that existed until the second century CE. Adan-Bayewitz examined the pottery finds from Aviam's survey and noted that the site was apparently settled from the Early Hellenistic period and ceased to exist in the second half of the third century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 77). Tal and his associates surveyed the fortification at the site (Tal *et al.* 2000). The site was most recently surveyed by the Upper Galilee Survey and pottery finds reported are: Iron – 4, Persian – 9, Persian/Hellenistic – 11, Hellenistic – 2, Roman – 22 (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 77; 80; 87).

Identification: Be'er Sheva' – one of Josephus' fortifications (*War* 2, 573; *Life* 37, 188).²²

* * *

Historical Sources

The only historical sources that mention Be'er Sheva' are the writings of Josephus. In two parallel texts dealing with the places he fortified in preparation for the Revolt, Bersabe (Βηρσαβέ) is noted among the settlements of the Lower Galilee. As known, there are a number of differences between the two lists. In *War* (2, 573) Bersabe is mentioned at the beginning of the list, between Jotapata (Yodefāt) and Selame (Zalmon), while in *Life* (188), it is mentioned at the end of the list, between the Arbel Caves and Selame. As stated, it appears that the sites selected for fortification by Josephus appear to be large, centrally located settlements. Be'er Sheva', which satisfied this criteria, covered an area of tens of dunams in the first century CE and also enjoys natural fortification. In the chapter dealing with geographical description of Palestine, Josephus noted (*War* 3, 39) that the breadth of the Lower Galilee extends "from a village in the Great Plain called Xaloth to Bersabe (Βηρσαβης). At this point begins Upper Galilee, which extends in breadth to the village of Baca, the frontier of Tyrian

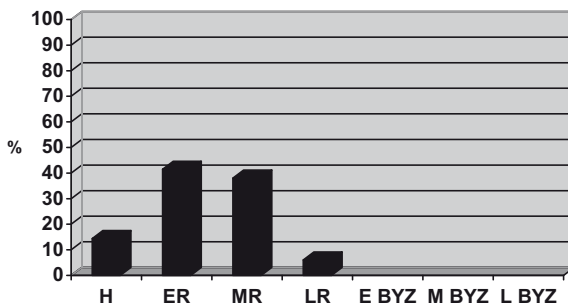
²² Klein 1967: 40; Bar Kochva 1974: 110; Meyers 1978: 4; Safrai 1985: 64.

territory.” According to this description, Be’er Sheva’ is located on the geographical boundary between the Lower and Upper Galilee. Despite this, in the description of the M (Shevi’it 9, 2), nearby Kefar Ḥananya is mentioned as the border-mark between the Lower and Upper Galilee. Z. Safrai (1985: 64) believed that the movement of the boundary demarcation from Be’er Sheva’ to Kefar Ḥananya stemmed from the fact that Kefar Ḥananya took the place of Be’er Sheva’ as the central settlement in the region. The fact that this important site is not mentioned in rabbinic literature seems to suggest that during the editing of the earlier corpuses of rabbinic literature in the third-fourth centuries, the importance of this settlement had already declined.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 137 identifiable sherds)

Settlement at the site began in the Iron Age and continued during the Persian period. This is supported by the Upper Galilee Survey (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 32) and by numismatic finds (see below).

Of the 20 sherds representing the Hellenistic period (14.5% of the finds), six were intermediate Persian/Hellenistic types and could belong to the end of the Persian period. The most outstanding pottery finds were of the Early Roman period (41.5%). A slight decline is seen in the Middle Roman period (38%). Considering the fact that during this period settlement ended at the site and that it should, therefore, be optimally represented on the surface, it appears that the size of the settlement contracted. The few Late Roman sherds (6% of the finds) show that the settlement ceased to exist around the second half of the third century CE, shortly after these vessel types begin to appear.



Graph 3: Diagnostic sherds from Be’er Sheva’.
Total=137

Data about the 60 coins from this site collected by Y. Yannai and M. Aviam were analyzed and kindly made available by D. Syon and D.T. Ariel. There are significant differences in the relative weight of different periods between the two collections. The abundant finds, however, which in themselves are of statistical significance, must be addressed. The coins are presented in the following table by century, with the coins that circulated in two centuries classified in



Fig. 15: Be'er Sheva': fortification remains



Fig. 16: Be'er Sheva': fortification remains

accordance with their main period. For example, coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) have been assigned to the first century BCE.

5 th BCE	4 th BCE	3 rd BCE	2 nd BCE	1 st BCE	1 st CE	2 nd CE	Medieval	Ottoman
1	20	14	1	9	7	5	2	1

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
41–50	41–50	20–40	--	--	--	--

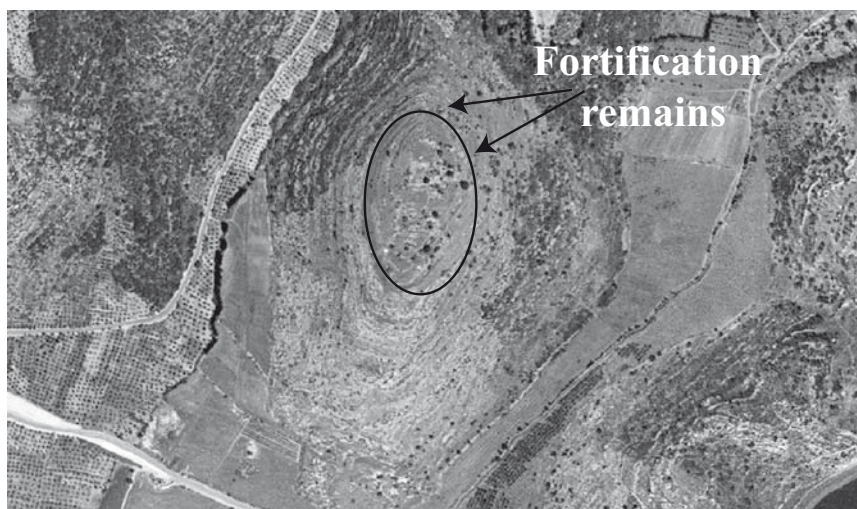


Fig. 17: Be'er Sheva': aerial photo (photograph: see Mapping)

Discussion: Due to the absence of data concerning the area from which the coins were collected, the extent to which they reflect changes in settlement at the site can not be determined. The main difference, however, between the collection of coins and the pottery finds is that in the former the Early Hellenistic period is the dominant one, while in the latter, the Early Roman period predominates. In any event, the numismatic finds strengthen the conclusion that the site was abandoned following the Middle Roman period.

The finds of smashed figurines at the site and GCW pottery led the Upper Galilee Survey team to propose that during the Hellenistic period the site was settled by a pagan population. Aviam (2004²: 10) even proposed the existence of a temple in the settlement during that period. In addition, Aviam (2004: 28; 95) propounded that remains of Hellenistic fortifications that he exposed at the site are related to a network intended to protect the 'Akko-Ptolemais hinterland. As we shall see below, sites with man-made fortifications located at strategic points on hilltops surrounded by steep slopes characterize the Hellenistic period settlements. It thus appears that this phenomenon of fortified sites should be related to 'Akko Ptolemais and to its control over its *chora*. This array of data together with the rich numismatic finds dated to the Ptolemaic and Seleucid period attest to a clear affinity for the Phoenician coast and strengthen the assumption that Be'er Sheva' was settled by a pagan population during the Hellenistic period and was settled by Jews only following the Hasmonean conquest of the area.

It is significant that the pottery finds point to continuous settlement during the course of the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Were it not for the small finds, we could not assume ethnic change at the site at a certain phase during those periods. A similar picture emerged from the excavations at Yodefath (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997), which was also continuously settled during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. There too, were it not for the small finds, it would not be possible to identify changes in population at the site around the end of the second century BCE.²³ Beyond its specific importance, this conclusion is also important from the spatial-historical perspective and methodologically for the following reasons:

- A. Yodefath and Be'er Sheva' apparently were originally pagan and following the Hasmonean domination of the area, were settled by Jews (concerning Yodefath, see *ibid.* and Adan-Bayewitz 1996–1997). It may be assumed that at additional sites at which there is a continuous pottery sequence during the Hellenistic–Early Roman period, there were also ethnic changes and Jewish settlement following the Hasmonean domination of the region. Aside from archaeological evidence from the above sites, this assumption is alluded to in

²³ But see Syon (2004: 219–222), who proposed that Yodefath was settled by Jews even before the Hasmonean conquest of the Galilee.

rabbinic literature (see the discussion on the Hellenistic period, below, chapter 6).

- B. Dramatic events, such as ethnic changes in the site's population over a short period of time, cannot be established on the basis of the pottery alone.

Josephus' Fortifications

As we shall see below, also other sites that Josephus chose to fortify are ones that were already settled during the Hellenistic period. At some of these, such as Be'er Sheva', the archaeological finds show that they had already been fortified prior to the time of Josephus. The importance of Be'er Sheva' during the Early Roman period, as indicated in historical sources is also confirmed by the archaeological finds, attesting to a large settlement of tens of dunams during that period. On the other hand, circumstances leading to the abandonment of this large site during the third century, after centuries of continuous settlement, remain unclear. The decline during the Middle Roman period corresponds to the movement of the boundary demarcation between the Lower and Upper Galilee from Be'er Sheva' to nearby Kefar Ḥananya indicated in the M. Also remarkable is that the site, which was of a considerable size during the Middle Roman period, presented no sign of a monumental synagogue.

Site No. 7

18-25/79/7

ח'רבת ג'ול/זייטון א-רמה Kh. Jul/Zeitun er-Rama

Map ref.: 1878/2591; *Elevation:* 210 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Kh. Jul – Arabic; The source of the name Zeitun er-Rama is due to the location of the tell in olive groves of the village of Rama; *Type of site:* ancient tell; *Site area:* 15 dunams; *Topography:* small, terraced tell at the center of a flat valley; *Arable land:* extensive alluvial plains in the Ḥananya Valley consisting mainly of terra rossa and brown grumusol; *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* – – ; *Agricultural installations:* small columbarium cave on the plain some 100 m. north of the tell;

Finds: – – ;

Natural fortification: The tell is 15–20 m. above the surrounding plain and dominates it.

Proximity to roads: on the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) and on the Ḥananya Valley-Meirone route (B6);

Prior surveys and studies: Aharoni (1957: 81) surveyed the site in the 1950s and noted that the pottery finds included mainly Iron I and II pottery and a few

sherds from the Persian period. Aharoni believed that during the Hellenistic period the settlement moved westward, toward the area of the spring of the village of Rama where there is pottery from the Hellenistic and Roman periods and no earlier pottery.

Gal (1992: 29) surveyed the site and noted the following distribution of pottery finds by period: Early Bronze – 5%; Iron – 8%; Persian – 27%; Hellenistic – 17%; Roman – 19%; Ottoman – 24% (no absolute numbers). Aviam and Stepansky (1990: 46–47) surveyed the columbarium cave and noted that the tell was settled at the end of the Iron Age and during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. Adan-Bayewitz surveyed the site and noted that it was not settled during the Roman or Byzantine period (1993: 76).

Identification: Aharoni identified the site with biblical Ramah (Joshua 19:36).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 24 identifiable sherds)

Only 24 vessels belonging to the periods under investigation were collected at this site, as opposed to 198 indicative sherds from earlier periods, the vast majority from the Iron and the Persian periods. This large collection shows that the small sample belonging to the study periods is not a result of poor survey technique, but is rather due to the limited presence at the site during those periods. Among the sherds belonging to the study periods, 62.5% belong to the Hellenistic period and the vast majority to the group defined as Persian/Hellenistic. The few Roman sherds – six of them from the Middle Roman period and three from the Late Roman period – were found in the orchard surrounding the site and not on the tell itself and do not indicate a settlement phase at the site but rather a field scatter. The sample includes mainly Persian/Hellenistic vessels while most of the widespread types known from other Hellenistic sites are absent. It appears, therefore, that the abandonment of the site took place at the beginning of the Hellenistic or perhaps even at the end of the Persian period, around the second half of the fourth or the first half of the third century BCE. Likewise, it seems that the settlement reached its greatest size during the Iron Age and decreased in the subsequent periods.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-10	--	--	--	--	--	--

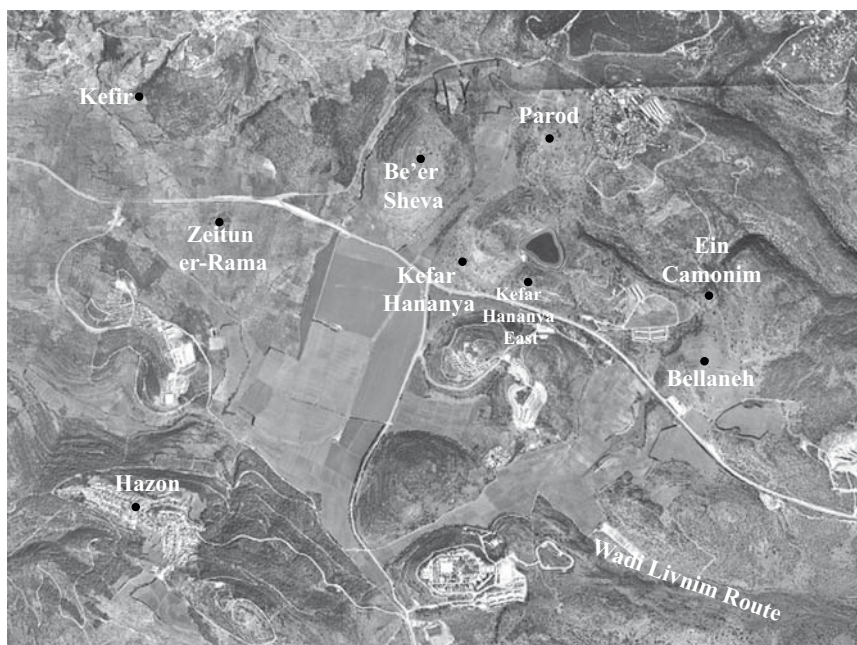


Fig. 18: Aerial photo: Ḥananya valley and surroundings (photograph: see Mapping)

Site No. 8

18-25/98/8

Ḥ. Kefar Ḥananya/Kafr 'Anan כפר חנניה/כפר ענאן

Map ref.: 1897/2587; *Elevation:* 360 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Kafr 'Anan – an Arab village until 1948. The “widow of Ben al-'Anani” mentioned in a twelfth century Geniza document (Braslavsky 1954: 78) and Kafr Ḥanan mentioned in a thirteenth century document (Goitein 1962: 146), may refer to this site. Ya'akov ben Netan'el, a traveler who visited the region prior to 1187, noted a synagogue quarried into the hill of which one built wall remained (Adan-Bayewitz 1997²: 276–277). At the beginning of the fourteenth century a traveler calls the place Kefar Ḥanin (Yaari 1976: 89), while in the sixteenth century Ottoman census and in travel and rabbinic literature of that period, the form Kafr 'Inan appears (see Braslavsky 1954: 216–222.); *Type of site:* Arab village upon ancient ruins; A considerable quantity of sherds, installations and quarrying were found upon a hill east of the village (SE 358), attesting to expansion of the settlement to this hill during some periods. Two burial caves are at the northern base of the eastern hill.; *Site area:* 50 dunams; eastern hill: 12 dunams; *Topography:* slope facing southwest above the Ḥananya Valley; *Arable land:*

extensive alluvial plains of terra rossa and brown grumusol in the Ḥananya Valley; *Nearest water source*: – – ; *Water installations*: numerous cisterns scattered around the site; remains of an aqueduct from ‘En Parod to the site, a distance of 2 km., dated by Adan-Bayewitz to the Middle Ages (1997: 277);

Finds and agricultural installations: The AVST documented numerous cisterns, olive press weights and a number of architectural elements including a pedestal, a capital decorated with an *acanthus* motif, numerous ashlar and an ashlar wall standing to a height of two courses for a length of 12 m. Frankel (1984: 371) reported elements belonging to four different installations for oil and wine production. Z. Ilan identified remains of two public buildings at the site, which he identified as synagogues, one quarried in the rock in the eastern part of the site and the second constructed of ashlar in the western part of the site. An ossuary measuring 70×70×50 cm. was found during road widening work (IAAA). A pottery kiln was excavated by Adan-Bayewitz (2003: 9) and three columbaria near the site were surveyed by Tal and his team (Tal *et al.* 2002).

Finds from other periods: Medieval, Ottoman and modern pottery (Shenkman 1999: 44–45).

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: On the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) and on the Ḥananya Valley-Meirone route (B6).

Prior surveys and studies: Braslavsky (1933: 18–23) was the first (after the twelfth century) to identify the quarried synagogue. The AVST documented structures and architectural elements and Z. Ilan (1989: 97–100) surveyed remains of two public structures. Adan-Bayewitz’s comprehensive work (1993) included an archaeometric study, a literary study and archaeological excavation of a pottery kiln and 68 probes throughout the site (for results of the latter, see Shenkman 1999).

Adan-Bayewitz’s archaeometric study and the micromorphological study conducted with Wieder (Wieder and Adan-Bayewitz 2002) showed that most of the cooking ware at Roman period sites in the Galilee was produced at this site. Adan-Bayewitz’s archaeological study showed that the activities of the workshops at the site lasted from the first century BCE to the beginning of the fifth century CE. The study also showed that the settlement was founded during the Early Roman period and continued until the Byzantine period and existed again during the Middle Ages and in modern times.

Identification: Kefar Ḥananya, which is mentioned in rabbinic literature as a production center for pottery vessels and as a settlement on the boundary between the Lower and Upper Galilee (Adan-Bayewitz 1997: 276–277).



Fig. 19: Kefar Ḥananya: aerial photo (photograph: *see Mapping*)

Historical Sources

Location and importance: M Shevi'it 9, 2:

מכפר חננייה ולמעלה כל שאינו מגדל שיקמים גליל העליון. מכפר חננייה ולמטה כל שהוא מגדל שיקמים גליל התחתון.

From Kefar Hanaya and above, wherever sycamores are not grown (is) Upper Galilee. And from Kefar Ḥananya and below, wherever sycamores are grown (is) Lower Galilee.

The reference to Kefar Ḥananya in the M as marking the boundary between the Lower and Upper Galilee appears to show that, at least around the early third century CE, this site was a central settlement in the northern Lower Galilee and therefore, it was worthy to serve as a boundary marker. Based upon Josephus' citing nearby Be'er Sheva' as a boundary marker, while the M mentions Kefar Ḥananya as such, Safrai (1985: 63) deduced that during the period of the M, the importance of the latter rose and became the main settlement of the region. Further support for this is found in an additional tannaitic source regarding the tithing of cattle that also describes Kefar Ḥananya as a landmark.

T Bekhorot 7, 3:

מעשר בהמה מצטרף מלא רגל רועה ולא מלא רגל בהמה מהלכת. כמה רגל בהמה? שניים ושלושים מיל. כיצד? היו לו חמש בכפר חננייה וחמש בצפורי הרי אלו מצטרפות....

(For the purpose of) tithes of animals are included together (as one herd those animals which are found) the full distance traveled by a grazing animal and not the full distance traveled by a walking animal. What is the distance traveled by a (grazing) animal?

Thirty-two miles. How so? If he had five in Kefar Ḥanaya and five in Kefar ‘Otnai and five in Sepphoris, why, these are included together...

Apparently, Kefar Ḥananya was selected as an example as it is at the appropriate distance of 16 miles from Sepphoris or 32 miles from Kefar Otnai. However, as Adan-Bayewitz (1993: 30–31) noted, other settlements in the region during the Roman period also conform to this radius, including Be’er Sheva’, Shazor, Ramah, Parod and Bellaneh (survey site nos. 10–14). Thus, it may be reasonably assumed that Kefar Ḥananya was selected as an example due to its being the most important and best-known settlement in the region.

Craft Specializations

Pottery: Evidence for Kefar Ḥananya as a pottery production center appears in tannaitic and amoraic literature, and has been extensively discussed by Adan-Bayewitz (*ibid.* 23–41).

T Bava Metzia 6, 3:

ופוסק עמו על הזבל באישפות כל ימות השנה שאף על פי שאין לזה יש לזה. אין פוסקין על הביצין של יוצר אלא עד שיעשו. אמר ר' יוסי במה דברים אמורים? באילו העושים בעפר לבן, אבל באלו בעפר שחור כגון כפר חנניה וחברותיה, כפר שיחין וחברותיה מותר לקוץ שאף על פי שאין לזה יש לזה.

And one sets a price (lit. with him) for the manure in the dung heap every day of the year, for even if this one has none, the other one will have (some). The price for (a) potter’s ball of clay (lit. potter’s egg) may not be set until they are made. Said R. Yosi: Under what conditions? With those who make (pottery) with white clay. But with those who make with black clay, such as Kefar Ḥananya and its neighbors or Kefar Shiḥin and its neighbors, it is permitted to fix (a price), for even though this one has none, the other one will have (some).

This halakhah, which mentions R. Yosi (mid-second century CE), is the earliest literary source referring to Kefar Ḥananya as a pottery production center.²⁴ This halakhah deals with determining the price of nonexistent merchandise, which creates a problem related to the prohibition on interest if the value of the finished merchandise is different from the price established in advance. Adan-Bayewitz deals with this source, and from the proximity to a discussion about fertilizer found through the entire year, deduced that the Kefar Ḥananya and Kefar Shiḥin pottery vessels were produced throughout the year. Adan-Bayewitz proposed that the production of pottery vessels at the site fit the seasonality of the production of olive oil, for which evidence was encountered

²⁴ Lamentations Zuta 1, 5 indeed mentions a “cooking pot of Kefar Ḥananya” in a story about two youths from Palestine who were captured and sent to Rome, a story apparently connected to the First or Second Jewish Revolt. However, Lamentations Zuta was edited much later (Herr 1971²: 1,515) and the story has no parallel in early sources (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 35).

at the site (*ibid.* 24–26; 235–236). Another tradition mentioning Kefar Ḥananya as a pottery production center appears in Genesis Rabbah 86, 4 (p. 1058):

‘וירא אדוניו כי ה’ איתו’ ר’ הונא בשם ר’ אחא: מלחש ונכנס מלחש ויוצא... אמר ליה מה יוסף תבן בעפרו, קרוזין בכפר חנניה, גוזין בדמשק חרשין במצרים באתר דחרשין חרשין?

‘And his master saw that the Lord was with him’ (Gen. 39:3): R. Huna in the name of R. Aḥa: (he saw him) whispering on his way in and whispering on his way out ... he said to him: What Joseph, straw in ‘Afaro, *krozin* in Kefar Ḥananya, fleeces in Damascus, sorcery in Egypt, in a place of sorcerers sorcery?

Potiphar wonders if Joseph has chosen to bring magic to Egypt, which is full of magicians. That would be like bringing straw to ‘Afaro, which has plenty of straw, wool to Damascus, which is well-known for its wool, or pottery vessels called *krozin* to Kefar Ḥananya, which is a pottery production center.²⁵ The comentator is R. Aḥa who lived in the first half of the fourth century CE and the tradition is presented by his student, R. Huna. It thus appears that the facts in this story in which Kefar Ḥananya is a production center, were also known in the days of R. Huna, that is, in the mid-fourth century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 36).

Commerce

Y (Ma‘aserot 2, 3, 49d):

“רוכלין המחזרין בעיירות אוכלין עד שהן מגיעין למקום הלינה.” מהו מקום הלינה? ביתו. רבי שמעון בן לקיש בשם ר’ הושעיה: “כגון אילין דכפר חנניה דנפקין וטרסין²⁶ ארבע וחמש קורין ועיילין דמכין בבתייהון.”

“...Peddlers who circulate among towns eat (their untithed produce as a random snack) until they reach their night’s lodging.” What is meant by “night’s lodging”? His own home. R. Shim‘on b. Lakish in the name of R. Hosh‘ayah: “Like those (peddlers) of Kefar Ḥananya who go out and go round to four or five settlements and come to sleep in their homes.”

Adan-Bayewitz (1985²) showed that the peddlers in Roman Palestine dealt in light-weight products of high value such as perfumes and clothing. According to Resh Lakhish, who noted “those of Kefar Ḥananya” as typical merchants, the involvement of people from Kefar Ḥananya in commerce was significant and known among the inhabitants of the Galilee during that period.

Cattle: From the above source mentioning Kefar Ḥananya regarding the tithing of cattle (T Bekhorot 7, 3), Z. Safrai (1985: 65) deduced that there was cattle

²⁵ Concerning the identification of the vessel, see Adan-Bayewitz, 1989².

²⁶ Thus in the Vatican Ms.. The source of the word *ṭrsyn* (טרסין) is Greek and means “go round.” In the Leiden Ms. the word has been changed to סחרין (trade). See Adan-Bayewitz 1985²: 79.

breeding activity at Kefar Ḥananya. However, Kefar Ḥananya is presented in the T as an example of a geographical range and it may not be unequivocally deduced that the example reflects actual cattle breeding there.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 697 identifiable sherds)

Sherd collection at this site was divided into two main areas – remains of Kefar 'Anan, which is the familiar site of Kefar Ḥananya and the nearby hill to the east (SE 358) to which the settlement expanded during the Middle Roman period.

The beginning of the settlement at the main site dates back to the Early Roman period (7.3% of the finds) with no sherds earlier than that period. Sherds of the Middle Roman period constitute 20% of the finds and the Late Roman period represents 42.5% of the finds (the vast majority belonging to type KH1e, which constitutes 47% of all the finds at the site). The relatively strong representation of the Early Byzantine period (25%) is also mainly due to this type and here too, it is probable that the sharp decline in settlement actually preceded this period. This type, however, makes it difficult to clarify the picture. The settlement remained very sparse during the Middle (3.3%) and Late Byzantine period (1.5%).

On the eastern hill only two Early Roman sherds were found and these do not seem to attest to a settlement here during this period. It appears that the expansion of the settlement to this hill took place only at the beginning of the Middle Roman period (13.3% of the finds) around the first half of the second century CE, as attested by 8 KH1a vessels that belong to the earlier phase of this period. The Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods yielded the most pottery (44.7% and 39.5% respectively) thanks to type KH1e, which constitutes 76% (!) of the finds. This extremely large percentage is unparalleled at other sites and may possibly be related to production of this type, which may have occurred on this hill. In any event, the presence of Diamond Rim SJ and of Kh4e type vessels indicate a settlement here around the mid-fourth century. Only three vessels, all imports of type PRS3, belong to types dating later than the mid-fourth century. It thus appears that the settlement on this hill ended near the time of the penetration of these vessels to the region, around the first half of the fifth century CE.

The fact that Kefar Ḥananya functioned as a production site does not allow us to compare the quantities of pottery vessels from the various periods in order to establish the dominance of a given period. It is probable that some of the pottery collected in the survey originated from wastes of the workshops. For example, type KH1e constituted the majority of vessels discovered in connection with the kiln excavated at the site and which belonged to the final period of production there (Adan-Bayewitz 1989: 99). That may explain why the percentage of KH1e finds here is high in comparison with its percentage at other sites. In any case, in the shovel testing at the site conducted by Adan-Bayewitz, the small quantity of Byzantine pottery found (approximately 2% of the finds –

without local types) was entirely concentrated in the limited area at the center of the slope, clearly pointing to a contraction of settlement during the Byzantine period (Shenkman 1999: 36; Adan-Byaewitz 2003: 22).

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	21-40	41-60	41-60	41-60	11-20	4-10

Site No. 9

19-25/18/9

עין כמונימים 'Ein Camonim

Map ref.: 1914/2583; *Elevation:* 280 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* modern; *Type of site:* ancient ruins with no recent settlement; the western part of the site was damaged by heavy agricultural machinery; *Site area:* 6 dunams; *Topography:* edge of a spur located between two deep wadis; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate to steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* 'En Shit, 400 m. north of the center of the site; springhouse; *Water installations:* -- ; *Agricultural installations:* --

Finds: remains of massive fieldstone walls;

Natural fortification: The site is bounded by wadis on the south, east and north. To the east, the site is connected to the spur above it;

Proximity to roads: approximately 1.5 km. from the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) and 1.5 km. from the Ḥananya Valley-Meirion route (B6);

Prior surveys and studies: the site is adjacent to the Kh. Bellaneh (approximately 400 m. to the southeast), however, there is no continuity of building remains and sherd scatter and they are separated by the streambed of Wadi Ḥananya. It is not clear if previous surveys at Bellaneh (see next site) related to both of these as a single site, or did not identify this site at all.

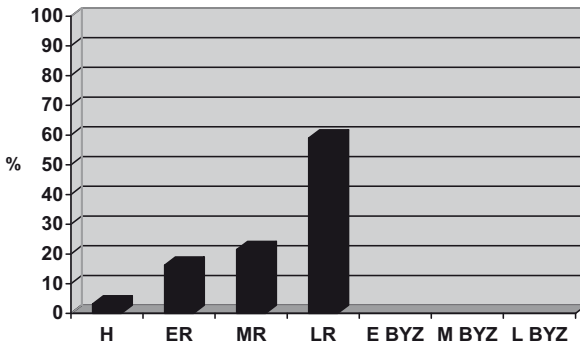
Identification: --

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 307 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of settlement at the site is in the Hellenistic period (3.2%) and it was continuously settled during all the Roman sub-periods. The largest amount of pottery belongs to the Late Roman period (59% of the finds). This period is dominant also if the weight of type KH1e, which constitutes 44% of all finds at

the site, is reduced. The absence of types typical of the mid-fourth century (Diamond Rim SJ, KH4e), the paucity of other late Kefar Ḥananya vessels and the fact that not even a single sherd belonging to the groups that penetrated the region from the mid-fourth century onward has been found, all suggest the abandonment of the site around the first half of the fourth century CE. There is no indication of a monumental public building at the site.



Graph 4: Diagnostic sherds from 'Ein Camonim. Total=307

Estimate of site size in dunams:

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-6	4-6	4-6	4-6	--	--	--

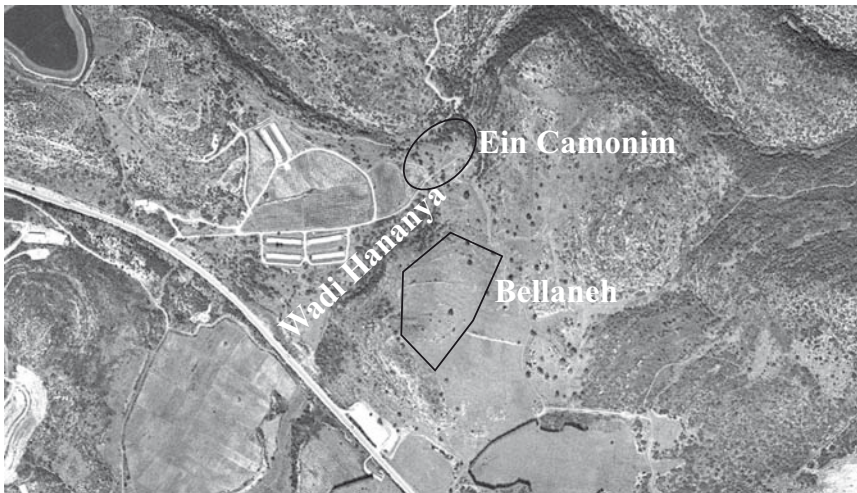


Fig. 20: Aerial photo: 'Ein Camonim and Kh. el-Bellaneh (photograph: see Mapping)

Site No. 10

19-25/17/10

Kh. el-Bellaneh ח'רבת אל-בלאנה

Map ref.: 1914/2579; *Elevation:* 322 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; Ottoman census: Mazra'at Ballanah; *Type of site:* ancient ruin without recent settlement; The entire area of the site has been cultivated with heavy machinery. All of the building stones and remains of the ruins have been gathered into piles; *Site area:* 20 dunams; *Topography:* slope facing northward to Wadi Ḥananya; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol upon moderate to steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* 'En Shit located 900 m north of the center of the site; springhouse; *Water installations:* three large cisterns in the southern part of the site; *Agricultural installations:* two oil presses, a winepress (turned into a stone quarry), cup-marks (perhaps installation for domestic oil production) and a number of unidentified items;

Finds: – – ; *Natural fortification:* – –

Proximity to roads: approximately 1 km. from the Beth ha-Kerem -Ramat Korazim route (B4) and 1.5 km. from the Ḥananya Valley-Meirion route (B6);

Prior surveys and studies: cisterns and piles of stone (*SWP* vol. 1: 236); weights of an oil press (IAAA); The site was surveyed in the Upper Galilee Survey and pottery finds published are as follow: Roman – 28; Byzantine – 4 (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 88).

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 204 identifiable sherds)

The two Hellenistic sherds may be evidence for a settlement toward the end of the Hellenistic period, around the mid-first century BCE, or slightly earlier, however, we were unable to draw unequivocal conclusions in this regard. The site was clearly settled during the Early Roman Period (18.6% of the finds). The moderate increase in the number of finds during the Middle (21.5%) and Late Roman period (33.8%) does not seem to attest to growth in the size of the settlement, as it originates in the stronger representation of the later periods in the surface finds. A decline in settlement at the site is perceptible during the Early Byzantine period (23.5% – a period that is mainly represented by the intermediate LR/E BYZ KH1e type, which constitutes 43% of the total finds at the site). Only seven sherds (3.4%) are of types later than the mid-fourth century CE, three of which belong to the “Sepphoris group” (1 ARS61 and 2 KH4e) and two of which belong to local Byzantine types that cannot be more precisely dated.



Fig. 21: Kh. el-Bellaneh: water cistern



Fig. 23: Kh. el-Bellaneh: water cistern



Fig. 25: Kh. el-Bellaneh: crushing basin of an olive oil press



Fig. 22: Kh. el-Bellaneh: base of a direct-pressure screw oil press



Fig. 24: Kh. el-Bellaneh: small domestic olive-oil installation (*bodidah*)



Fig. 26: Kh. el-Bellaneh: small crushing basin

An isolated vessel of the Late Byzantine period (PRS10) does not seem to represent a settlement phase. The site appears to have been abandoned around the second half of the fourth century. There is no indication of a monumental public building at the site.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	11–20	11–20	11–20	--	--	--

Site No. 11

19–25/57/11

ח'רבת שונה/קלעת א-שונה Kh. Shuneh/Kul‘at esh-Shuneh

Map ref.: 1959/2571; *Elevation:* 80 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic name of the ruins; *Type of site:* ancient ruins; *Site area:* 15 dunams; *Topography:* basaltic mound overlying chalky hill above the confluence of Wadi ‘Akbara and Wadi ‘Amud; *Arable land:* terra rossa on steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* ‘En Livnim, 450 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* near the summit, an apparent cistern; *Agricultural installations:* – – ; *Finds:* – –

Natural fortification: The site rests upon a steep peak, difficult to access from all directions.

Proximity to roads: The site overlooks the Wadi ‘Amud route (B1), another local route in Wadi Akbara and the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) which crosses Wadi ‘Amud just below the site. Remains of an ancient road of unknown date are located west of the site, north of Kibbutz Livnim (Y. Stepansky, oral communication).

Finds from other periods: Iron, Early Islamic and Medieval pottery;

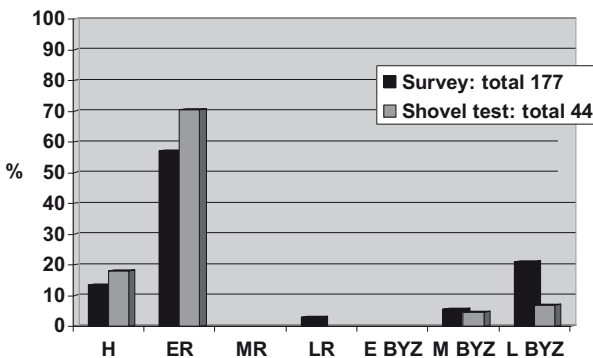
Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 353) noted the remains of a small fortress at the top of the hill built of limestone and basalt (*ablaq*). These remains are clearly visible in a British aerial photograph from 1945. Ravani surveyed the ruin in the 1950s and reported Middle Bronze, Roman and Byzantine pottery and pottery from the twelfth-thirteenth century CE. Tepper and his team surveyed a constructed and rock-cut pathway from ‘En Livnim to Kh. Nawariya on the opposite side of Wadi ‘Amud (Tepper *et al.* 2000: 23, 103).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 221 identifiable sherds)

Shovel testing at this site and comparison of these finds with those of the surface survey were discussed in Chapter 4. The site was settled during the Iron Age and the clear absence of Persian period pottery indicates that the site was not settled during that period. Renewal of settlement at the site occurred in the Hellenistic period (13.5% of the surface finds and 18% of the finds from the excavation). The climax was reached in the Early Roman period (57% of the surface finds and 70% of the finds from the excavation). There is not even a single sherd belonging to the Middle Roman period a fact that points to the desertion of the site in the Early Roman period. This abandonment appears to have occurred after the beginning of production of type KH1a in the last third of the first century CE (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 16–17), as emerges from vessel finds of this type.

A similar ceramic record of a sharp depopulation in the very same period emerges from the nearby site of Wadi 'Amud [Site 13], located further down Wadi 'Amud and apparently also at Kaḥal [Site 16] on the opposite side of the Wadi. The First Jewish Revolt is the most probable historical framework to explain this abandonment (see discussion in Chapter 6). Five Kh1e vessels and a single coin found in the surface survey (2.8%) are the only items representing the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods and do not seem to attest to a settlement phase. In the shovel testing, not even a single sherd belonging to these periods was encountered. Renewal of settlement at the site occurred around the first half of the sixth century, as attested by imported Byzantine wares, the earliest of which belong to the late variants of PRS3. Most of the Byzantine material belongs to the Late Byzantine period (21% of the surface finds). All of the Byzantine pottery from the shovel testing (with the exception of a single Late Byzantine LRRW vessel) is of local types that can not be more specifically dated. Finds from the surface survey, on the other hand, included 21 LRRW vessels (12% of all finds), both Middle and Late Byzantine. This difference in the percentage of imported finds between the survey and the shovel



Graph 5: Diagnostic sherds from Kul'at esh-Shuneh. Total=221

testing clearly shows the “over-representation” that imported vessels enjoy in surface collection as a result of the sherds’ color and size.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-10	11-15	--	--	--	4-10	4-10

Site No. 12

18-25/76/12

Ḥazon/Kh. Hazzur חזון/ח'רבת חזור

Map ref.: 1874/2569; *Elevation:* 460 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Hazzur – Arabic; Ottoman census: Hazzur; *Type of site:* ancient ruin; the edges of the site are covered on all sides by the modern Moshav Hazon that encircles the site; *Site area:* 10 dunams (part of which has been built upon); in a report prior to the establishment of the moshav, the size of the site appears as 18 dunams (IAAA); *Topography:* a mound upon a spur that splits from Mt. Ḥazon; *Arable land:* terra rossa and rendzina on steep slopes; extensive alluvial plains consisting mainly of terra rossa in the adjacent Ḥananya Valley (1 km.); *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* three large cisterns; documentation in IAAA of additional cisterns with capstones; *Agricultural installations:* Threshing installation of an oil press and winepresses (IAAA);

Finds: ceramic roof tile bearing impression of the Sixth Roman Legion, caves, architectural remains and cisterns connected to a tunnel that Tepper and Shahar identified as a hiding complex (Bahat 1974; Tepper and Shahar 1987: 287);

Natural fortification: the site is protected on three sides by steep slopes. To the south, it is connected to the saddle of Har Ḥazon.

Proximity to roads: Some 2 km. south of the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4) (difficult access);

Finds from other periods: Medieval and Ottoman pottery;

Prior surveys and studies: in the survey conducted here prior to the founding of the moshav (IAAA), Hellenistic/Roman (base of a terra sigillata bowl), Roman-Byzantine, Early Islamic, Mamluk, and Ottoman (scant) pottery was reported as well as a coin of Constantine I (317–320 CE) and a coin of Constantine II (346–361 CE). D. Bahat conducted a salvage excavation in cisterns at the site and found pottery vessels dating back from the first to the third centuries CE, a roof tile of the Sixth Roman Legion and Iron and Persian periods pottery. The buildings he uncovered were dated to the Medieval period and no stratified

remains from the Roman period were reported (Bahat 1974: 160–169). Examination of the finds from Bahat's excavation was carried out by Adan-Bayewitz, revealing that the pottery assemblage from cistern I belongs to the early second-early third centuries CE and that all of the Roman period cooking vessels excavated at this site were produced in nearby Kefar Ḥananya (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 136–137, 213).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 111 identifiable sherds)

Settlement began here in the Early Roman period (12% of the dated finds). A single rim of Long Rim SJ characteristic of the Late Hellenistic period may indicate the beginning of settlement in an early phase of the Early Roman period—around the mid-first century BCE. The dominant pottery finds belong to the Middle and Late Roman periods (28% and 39% respectively). Four local Byzantine sherds (3.6%) of types that were first produced around the mid-fourth century indicate that the settlement continued to exist until that time. Most of the finds belonging to the Early Byzantine period (20%) belong to the LR/E BYZ group with a lengthy chronological range, making it difficult to date the abandonment of the settlement precisely. The small quantity of unequivocally Byzantine pottery seems to indicate abandonment close to the beginning of the penetration of Byzantine types to the region around the mid-fourth century. A single Late Byzantine sherd (PRS10) does not seem to attest to permanent settlement at the site.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	4-10	11-20	11-20	--	--	--

Site No. 13

19-25/65/13

אתר נחל עמוד (ג.נ.29) (S.E-29) Wadi 'Amud Site

Map ref.: 1969/2556; *Elevation:* 29 m. b.s.l.; *Origin of name:* the nearby wadi; *Site area:* 7 dunams; *Topography:* a broad terrace above the western cliff of Wadi 'Amud; at the eastern foot of Har Ḥabakuk; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate slopes; limited alluvial plain on a nearby terrace above the streambed of Wadi 'Amud; *Nearest water source:* 'En Shavshevet in the streambed of Wadi 'Amud, some 250 m. east of the site (difficult access);

Water installations: large cistern in the western part of the site; *Agricultural installations:* winepress; leveled, cleared areas and remains of ancient terraces; *Finds:* two blocked burial caves, tops of walls and remains of a massive structure at the center of the site; *Natural fortification:* the site is protected only on the side of Wadi ‘Amud in the east, but is located in an isolated and hidden locale.

Proximity to roads: On the Wadi ‘Amud route (B1) and approximately 1 km. from the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4).

Prior surveys and studies: B. Ravani surveyed the site and reported Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Early/Middle/Late Bronze, Hellenistic and first and second centuries CE pottery (no quantification indicated). Tepper et al. who published Ravani’s report also noted that Hasmonean and coastal city coins were collected at the site, though no further details were provided (Tepper *et al.*: 25, 45). Gal (1992: 35) reported Iron II pottery.

Identification: – –

* * *



Fig. 27: Wadi ‘Amud Site: entrance to a rock-hewn burial cave



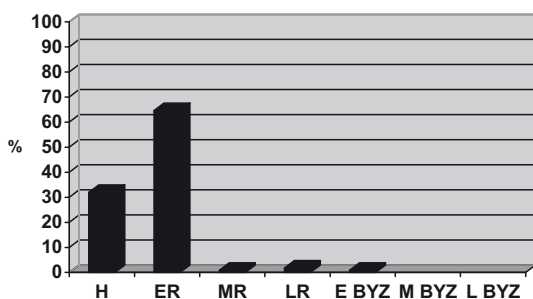
Fig. 28: Wadi ‘Amud Site: water cistern



Fig. 29: Wadi ‘Amud Site: winepress

Historical Analysis (sample size: 113 identifiable sherds)

The site had been settled in Bronze and Iron periods, but no decisively Persian pottery was collected. Renewal of settlement was in the Hellenistic period (32% of the finds) and the floruit was in the Early Roman period (64.6%). The imported vessels of the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods (ESA) make a strong showing, constituting 12.4% of the finds. An isolated Middle Roman vessel (KH6b), two fourth century vessels (KH6c and Diamond Rim SJ) and a single Byzantine vessel (Black SJ) are anomalies and do not seem to attest to a settlement phase during these periods. The presence of three KH1a vessels indicate abandonment of the site after the beginning of production of this type in the third quarter of the first century CE. As in the case of Site 11, we propose that the abandonment of this site is connected to the First Jewish Revolt (see discussion in Chapter 6). The high percentage of imported vessels is exceptional and may be related to Roman military presence connected with the abandonment of the site.



Graph 6: Diagnostic sherds from Wadi 'Amud Site. Total=113

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-7	4-7	--	--	--	--	--

Site No. 14

19-25/75/14

מערות נחל עמוד Wadi 'Amud Caves

Map ref.: 1972/2553-7; *Elevation:* 10-90 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* the nearby wadi; *Type of site:* two groups of caves approximately 500 m. apart, on the eastern cliff of Wadi 'Amud; *Site area:* -- ; *Topography:* at the top of a very steep slope at the base of the cliff; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol; moderate slopes suitable for agriculture east of and above the cliff (in the

vicinity of Moshav Kaḥal) – very difficult access; limited alluvial plain on the other side of Wadi ‘Amud (around Site 13); *Nearest water source*: ‘En Shavshevet in the streambed of Wadi ‘Amud, some 250 m. from the western group of caves and some 700 m. from the eastern group (difficult access); *Water installations*: two quarried, plastered cisterns in the eastern group of caves;

Finds: building remains at the entrance of the western caves; rooms and man-made quarried niches in the two groups of caves.

Natural fortification: Access is only from below and is difficult (access to the eastern caves is extremely difficult) making the cave complexes easily defensible;

Proximity to roads: above the Wadi ‘Amud route (B1) and approximately 1.5 km. from the Beth ha-Kerem Valley-Korazim route (B4).

Prior surveys and studies: B. Ravani surveyed the cave complexes and reported the western group contained Early Bronze, Iron II, Roman and twelfth-thirteenth century CE pottery and that the eastern group of caves contained Roman and twelfth-thirteenth century CE pottery (no quantities given). Aviam and Moshe (1988: 7) reported a wall at the entrance to the western cave, Hellenistic and Roman pottery and a Hasmonean coin.

Tepper and his team surveyed the cave complexes and reported remains of built fortifications, arrowheads and coins (no details provided) in the western assemblage, and proposed that these were refuge caves related to the Jewish struggle against Herod during the first century BCE and the events of the First Jewish Revolt (Tepper *et al.* 2000: 87–96).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 122 identifiable sherds)

The quarried rooms, built remains in the western complex, plastered cisterns in the eastern complex and metal nails found at the entrance of the caves attest to permanent settlement during certain periods. At the same time, there are differences in the pottery assemblages between the western and eastern cave complexes. The more accessible western complex and the Wadi ‘Amud site [Site 13] located opposite it on the other side of the wadi, existed simultaneously during the Hellenistic period, as supported by the significant finds from this period in this complex (22.4% of the finds). There was probably a connection between the settlement and the opposite cave complex. In the eastern caves only two Hellenistic sherds (2.7%) were found. In both complexes, the Early Roman period is the most dominant in terms of pottery finds (53% of the western assemblage and 60% of the eastern). Tepper and his team suggested these complexes were caves of refuge during the uprisings against Herod and the First Jewish Revolt (Tepper *et al.* 2000: 87–96). This idea is strengthened by findings

of the current survey. In view of the data from nearby Sites 11 and 13, it seems reasonable to connect the activity in these caves to the First Jewish Revolt. As opposed to the abrupt break in the Early Roman period documented at the nearby sites [11 and 13], there were significant pottery finds from the Middle Roman period in both cave complexes (22% of the western assemblage and 26% of the eastern). In view of the difficult living conditions in the caves and the extremely difficult access, it is hard to assume that the settlement in the caves during this period pertained to a civilian population from the nearby abandoned villages that remained to work their lands. There is no unequivocal proof regarding who inhabited these caves at that time.

In functional terms these caves are not similar to an ordinary civilian settlement and it is difficult to compare them to other sites in terms of their settlement ranking. Nonetheless, due to the archaeological evidence concerning continuous habitation over several periods, apparently not only as places of refuge, it was decided to evaluate their possible size.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
0.5-3	0.5-3	0.5-3	--	--	--	--

Site No. 15

18-25/85/15

Maghar/el-Mughar מע'ר מ'ג'ר

(No pottery was collected at this site)

Map ref.: 1882/2550; *Elevation*: 300 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name*: Arab village; in the Ottoman tax census, Magar Hazzur; may preserve an earlier name; *Type of site*: Arab village upon an ancient ruin; *Site area (of ancient site)*: unknown; *Topography*: moderate to steep slope on the southern slope of Mt. Ḥazon; *Arable land*: terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate slopes and extensive alluvial areas south of the site, near Wadi Ḥalmon; *Nearest water source*: the village spring, approximately 300 m. and 'Ein el-Manṣūra approximately 800 m. from the center of the ancient village; *Water installations*: --; *Agricultural installations*: four threshing installations of olive presses in different parts of the site (Y. Stepansky, IAAA).

Finds: Ilan (1991: 163) documented a limestone object bearing a relief of an eagle and reported architectural elements belonging to a monumental structure that was visible in the past in the center of the village. In the IAA numismatic catalogue, a coin of Alexander Jannaeus from the site is listed.

An early fourth century CE Greek inscription recently found at the site mentions Constantine the Great. In view of the high likelihood that the local population was Jewish as well as the simple style of the inscription, researchers believe it to be local, apparently the work of Jews, and part of a public building lintel (Stepansky 2000; Damati 2004):

Ἵπερ σωτηρίας και νίκης και (αί)ων ίου διαμονής των δεσπότην του κόσμου
Κωνσταντίνου Αύγούστου και των α νδριωτάτων Καισάρων

Translation: For the salvation, victory and eternal life of the lords of the earth
Constantine Augustus and the heroic emperors (Damati 2004: 52).



Fig. 30: Maghar: dedication inscription mentioning Constantine the Great (courtesy of the IAA)

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: on a branch of the watershed route (B5); approximately 2 km. from the Wadi Zalmon route (B2) and 2.5 km. from the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4).

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 457) noted that, except for a damaged capital, he did not observe any signs of antiquities at the site. He believed, however, that the village sits upon an ancient site and seems to preserve a Hebrew name, apparently Ma'ara. Ilan (1991: 163) suggested that, based upon architectural elements observed in the past in the village, there was a synagogue at the site.

Y. Stepansky reported Roman-Byzantine pottery, ashlars and a frieze fragment uncovered during the course of construction work in the village (IAAA);

Identification: Ma'ariya, which is mentioned in *piyyutim* of the Priestly Courses (Klein 1939: 106; Safrai 1985: 198; *TIR*: 182).

* * *

Historical Sources

Klein (1939: 106) was the first to propose identifying Maghar with Ma'ariya of the *piyyutim* of the Priestly Courses (a settlement attributed to the Priestly Course of Bilgah).²⁷ The settlement is not mentioned in rabbinic literature. The only *piyyut* that may reflect familiarity with the *realia* of the settlement in which numerous caves were quarried, is a lengthy *kerovah* by Haduta (Palestinian, ca. late sixth-early seventh century [see Fleischer 1983: 91]) in which the *paytan* rhymes several times playing on the words *m'rh* (cave) – Ma'ariya (מערה-מעריה).

A list of holy places dating from the Early Islamic period mentions במערה בלגה כנסת *knst* (synagogue of) *blgh* at Ma'ariya" (Reiner 1988: 239). It should be noted that the prefix *mġr* (caves), in the Ottoman tax censuses is not unique to this site and also appears at additional sites in the Galilee such as Mazr'at Maghar al-Ḥamam and Magharat Masmur. Z. Ilan, for example, proposes identifying Ma'ariya with Maghar al-Ḥayyat near Ḥazor ha-Glilit (Ilan 1991: 50).

"Casalien Mogar" is mentioned in a Crusader document and perhaps this is also the Maghar, which is mentioned in the 13th century by the Muslim geographer Yakut "as a village in the region of Filastin" (Le Strange 1965: 498). In the 16th century, the village is mentioned in the Ottoman tax censuses in the form Magar Hazzur (i.e., Caves of Hazor), a form that was preserved until early modern times.

Summary: The only literary evidence mentioning the village Ma'ariya are *piyyutim* from the end of the Byzantine and the Early Islamic periods. It is neither clear if Maghar is identical with Ma'ariya nor if the settlement existed at the time these *piyyutim* were composed.

Historical Analysis

Since the village is presently inhabited, it was not possible to gather pottery in sufficient quantity and over a satisfactory portion of the site. The following analysis is based upon literary sources and chance archaeological finds. If the identification of the site with Ma'ariya of the *piyyutim* is indeed correct, this could serve as some indication concerning the period of the site. As will be explained in detail in Chapter 7, based upon the survey findings we are unable to establish if indeed there was migration to Galilee of the Priestly Courses following the First or Second Jewish Revolt, a suggestion that has been proposed in various studies. We can establish, however, that in the sixth century,

²⁷ See: Haduta – Kahle 1967, 11–14; ha-Qallir – Goldschmidt 1968: 50; R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen – Elizur 2004: 636.

during which *piyyutim* of the Priestly Courses were first composed, at least some of these sites were abandoned, some for quite some time. This leads to the conclusion that the list of sites of the Courses that forms the basis for the *piyyutim* (and the stone slabs that were placed in synagogues) was composed during an earlier period. The date of the list cannot be established precisely. However, a brief quote in the Y shows that the list, or at least a portion thereof, was known at the beginning of the fourth century.²⁸

In the IAAA there is a report on Roman-Byzantine pottery found in the village and architectural elements found in the village indicate the presence of a monumental public structure at the site, apparently a synagogue. In addition, the inscription published by Stepansky and Damati that also belongs to a monumental building (perhaps the same one), is dated to the fourth century, probably around 324–337 CE. As we shall see in detail below (Chapter 7), monumental synagogues are all found in medium-and large-sized settlements – the smallest belonging to Category C (11–20 dunams) and most in Categories D-E (21–60 dunams). We shall further maintain that the phenomenon of monumental synagogues belongs mainly to the third/early fourth century onward.

This “circumstantial evidence” strengthens the suggestion that Maghar was at least a Category C settlement and existed during the Roman period as well as the Byzantine period (at least during part of the latter). The remains of four olive oil presses found in the village strengthen the assumption that this was a large settlement and that it continued to exist during the Byzantine period when the oil production industry increased (see discussion on the economy of the

²⁸ The earliest evidence relating to a small portion of the list of the Priestly Courses is found in Y Ta’anit 4, 6, 68d in the words of R. Levi who was active in the late third-early fourth century CE, and in the words of R. Berekhiya, who was active about a generation later (Albeck 1969: 256; 321). More extensive evidence for this list are fragments of inscriptions, apparently from synagogues, bearing passages from this list, but none of these was found in a clear stratigraphic and thus datable context. The dating of the inscription remains from Caesarea to the third-fourth century (Avi-Yonah 1962: 139) and of the inscription from Bait al-Ḥader in Yemen to the fifth-sixth centuries (Degan 1972–73: 303) are on the basis of purely paleographic considerations and, as noted by Naveh (1978: 5): “It is quite doubtful if it is possible to attribute any chronological significance at all to the differences in the forms of letters in the inscriptions... and they probably only reflect the level of skill of the craftsman who executed the inscription...” One might assume that the Caesarea inscription is earlier than the Priestly Courses *piyyutim*, since the second and later phase of the synagogue in which the inscription stood dates to ca. the mid-fifth century CE (Avi-Yonah 1993: 279), while the *piyyutim* of the Priestly courses known to us are not earlier than the late sixth or early seventh century CE (Trifon 1989: 79 n. 14). However, it is also possible that the inscription was incorporated in the synagogue (which apparently remained in use until the seventh or eighth century CE) several generations following its rebuilding. This assumption should not be dismissed particularly in view of the inscription being on a portable stone rather than as a structural element, such as a mosaic floor. Avi-Yonah (1962: 139) proposed that these memorial inscriptions were earlier than the *piyyutim* and served as an inspiration to *paytanim*. Reiner (1996: 297), on the other hand, believed that the *piyyutim* are earlier than the synagogue inscriptions.

Byzantine period, below, chapter 6). The circumstantial nature of the evidence enables us to present a partial historical-settlement record only, and therefore, the data from this site shall not be incorporated in the summary tables and in the analysis of settlement dynamics.

Site No. 16

19-25/74/16

Каһал כחל

Map ref.: 1978/2548; *Elevation:* 80 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* modern, after the name of the nearby settlement; *Site area:* 1-2 dunams; *Topography:* atop a moderate spur some 200 m. east of the cliffs of Wadi 'Amud; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate slopes; *Nearest water source:* - - ; *Water installations:* large cistern at the center of the site; *Agricultural installations:* large winepress (4.5×4.5 m. pressing floor and 2×2×1 m. collecting vat), on the western declivity of the spur and another smaller winepress on the hill east of the site; *Finds:* massive remains of fieldstone construction; remains of a massive outer wall, perhaps a fortification; *Natural fortification:* - - ; *Proximity to roads:* ca. 2 km. from the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4); *Prior surveys and studies:* B. Ravani surveyed the site and reported Middle Bronze I, Hellenistic and Roman pottery (no quantities given).

Identification: - -

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 63 identifiable sherds)

The survey at this small site yielded only 63 identifiable sherds from the periods covered by this study. The site was first settled in the Early Roman period and the finds from this period are the most dominant (68.2%). A sharp decline is noted in the finds from the Middle Roman period (11.1%). It is likely that settlement ceased after the Early Roman period for several generations. The finds from the Middle Roman period consist of only a few intermediate ER/MR types and of three sherds of KH4c, which is common from the beginning of the second to the beginning of the fourth century CE. The total absence of the common Middle Roman types (KH1b, KH3b and the jars of the period) is significant—apparently indicating the end of settlement. After a hiatus, settlement was renewed at the site, apparently around the early/mid-third century CE. The total absence of vessels later than the mid-fourth century shows that the site was abandoned again, probably in the first half of that century. As shown above, the abandonment of Sites 11 and 13, located on the other side of Wadi 'Amud,

was apparently related to the events of the First Jewish Revolt. The settlement picture at Site 16 is less clear since pottery belonging to the Middle/Late Roman period was also found there. Based upon the absence of clear second century types, it may be proposed that the site was abandoned for a certain time during the Early and Middle Roman periods.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	0.5-2	--	0.5-2	--	--	--

Site No. 17

19-25/54/17

Ḥuqoq/Yakuk יאקוק/יאקוק

Map ref.: 1952/2546; *Elevation:* 30 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Yukuk-Arab village until 1948; preserves the name of the ancient settlement Ḥuqoq; according to fourteenth-fifteenth century travelers, Ya‘aquq/Yaquq (Yaari 1976: 91; 110); Ottoman census: Yaquq; *Type of site:* Arab village over ancient ruins; *Site area:* 25 dunams; *Topography:* moderate hill; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate slopes and extensive alluvial plains west of the site; *Nearest water source:* ‘En Ḥuqoq, 200 m. from the center of the site; modern spring house; *Water installations:* three large cisterns; *Agricultural installations:* five winepresses around the site; weights of an oil press; *Finds:* numerous ashlar; architectural elements, including column drums; caves, a hiding complex, burial caves and a group of quarried cist tombs; *Natural fortification:* steep slope only at the eastern side; *Proximity to roads:* ca. 2 km. north of the Wadi Zalmon route (B2) and 3 km. south of the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4).

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 354–359) noted ashlar, columns, cist tombs and caves. North of the site B. Ravani excavated burial caves that were in use from the first to the third century CE. The caves contained evidence of secondary burial and three ossuaries dated to the late first/early-second century (Ravani and Kahane 1961: 121–147; Aviam and Syon 2002: 168). In Ravani’s survey, Early Bronze, Iron, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and twelfth-thirteenth century pottery was reported (no quantities given). Tepper and Shahar (1987: 311–313) surveyed a hiding complex at the site. Tepper *et al.* (2000: 25, 83–84) reported a *miqveh* at the site and unique installations that they refer to as “Ḥuqoq installations” that they believed served to produce oil from the mustard plant. Based upon the



Fig. 31: Ḥuqoq: architectural element from a monumental building



Fig. 32: Ḥuqoq: architectural element from a monumental building



Fig. 33: Ḥuqoq: ossuary from a burial cave excavated by B. Ravani (courtesy of the IAA)



Fig. 34: Ḥuqoq: capstone of a water cistern

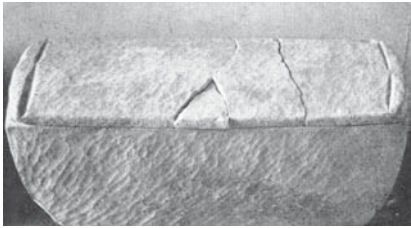


Fig. 35: Ḥuqoq: ossuary from a burial cave excavated by B. Ravani (courtesy of the IAA)

architectural elements, including a lintel decorated with a menorah that had been reported at the site in the past, Ilan (1991: 122) suggested that a synagogue stood at the center of the site.

Identification: Perhaps Biblical Ḥukkuk (see summary: Lissovsky and Na'aman 2005: 9–12); Roman Byzantine Ḥuqoq/ Ḥiqoq (*TIR*: 148); E. Damati (1986: 37–43) proposed identifying the site with Capharecho, one of Josephus' fortifications.

Historical Sources

Damati (1986: 37–43) proposed identifying Ḥuqoq with *καφαρεαχώ* (Caphareccho), Josephus’ “missing” fortress (*War* 2, 573; *Kapharath in Life* 37, 188). A philological examination, however, does not seem to support this proposal. This name appears in tannaitic and amoraic layers of Palestinian rabbinic literature in various forms: כפר אכוס/עכר/עיקוס/איכוס/אבוס (Kefar Ekhos/‘Ako/‘Ikos/Evos [‘Avos?]).²⁹ It is difficult to accept the proposal that this name evolved to the form Ḥiqoq or Ḥuqoq (חיקוק/חוקוק), a name that appears in the amoraic layers of that corpus. First, the form Kefar Ekhos continues to appear in the amoraic sources alongside the name Ḥuqoq.³⁰ Second, it appears that the name Ḥuqoq in rabbinic literature preserves the name of Biblical Ḥukkok (Joshua 19, 34), a name that has been preserved in the name of the Arab village Yaquq to this day (Saarissalo 1927: 127). It is difficult to assume that the ancient name that has been preserved to this day changed for a certain period into Kefar Ekhos and later reverted to Ḥuqoq. From a phonetic point of view, it is difficult to suppose a transition from Kefar Ekhos to Ḥuqoq or something similar (Eusebius, for example, transcribes Ḥukkok as *Ειχώχ* and Jerome transcribes it as *Icoc*, forms not similar to *καφαρεαχώ*).

Y Pesahim 1, 4, 27c:

חד בר נש אפקיד דיסקיא דפיסתה גבי ר' חייה רבה. אמר ר' יוסי ביר' בון: יוחנן חיקוקיא הוה. אתא שאל לרבי אמר ליה: תימכר על פי בית דין בשעת הביעור...

A man gave R. Ḥiya Rabba a sack of bread (to keep for him). R. Yosi son of R. Bon said: it (the man) was Yohanan of Ḥiqoq. R. Ḥiya came (on Passover eve) and asked Rabbi (what to do). He told him: the *beth-din* (court) should sell it...

This tradition from the Y mentions R. Yehuda ha-Nasi and R. Ḥiya Rabba who were active in the late second/early third century in relation to Ḥuqoq. They are the earliest individuals mentioned in relation to this settlement in rabbinic literature. It is interesting that R. Yosi son of R. Bon, who was a Palestinian *amora* of the fifth generation (ca. mid-fourth century), refers to the name of someone from Ḥuqoq who lived in the time of R. Yehuda ha-Nasi, that is, some 130 years earlier, and this raises doubt concerning this tradition.

Agriculture: Y Shevi'it 9, 1, 38c:

רבי שמעון בן לקיש הוה בחיקוק, חמתון מגלגלין בהדין חרדלא. נפל מיניה והוא לא נסב ליה. אמר: מאן דמייתי לי חרדלא אנא מורי כר' יהודה.

R. Shim'on ben Lakish was in Ḥiqoq. He saw them (the locals) gathering³¹ mustard. (Some) fell and they did not (bother to) pick it up. He said: whoever brings me (lit. asks me about) mustard, I will instruct like R. Yehuda.³²

²⁹ See discussions in Klein 1967: 40; Bar Kochva 1974: 110; Safrai 1985: 38.

³⁰ See for example, Y Sanhedrin 10, 6, 29c (Leiden Ms.); Genesis Rabbah 70, 2.

The previous passage in the Y indicates that the mustard leaves, which Feliks (1986 vol. 2: 405) identifies with *Brassica nigra*, were eaten and use was made of the seeds, apparently for spice production. The story indicates that the people of Ḥuqoq used the mustard plant to their advantage. It appears, however, that this was a minor crop in agricultural and economic terms and perhaps only involved utilization of a wild plant.

The latest sages mentioned in relation to Ḥuqoq are R. Yirmiya, R. Huna and R. Pinḥas, Palestinian *amoraim* of the fourth generation who were active in the first half of the fourth century CE and are mentioned in one story together with R. Ḥizkiyah of Ḥuqoq (Y Sanhedrin 3, 10, 21d).

In summary, the individuals mentioned in relation to Ḥuqoq are ones who were active from roughly the first half of the third to the mid-fourth century CE. All the references are found in the Y, which was completed close to the mid-fourth century.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 222 identifiable sherds)

The clear connection between this site and nearby Sheikh Nashi [Site 18] necessitates their being discussed together (see below).

It was noted in the first survey of the site that the ancient settlement was larger than that of the Middle Ages and extended over the eastern part of the hill, where no Medieval pottery was collected at all. During the second visit to the site we divided it into two collection zones, the eastern portion and the rest of the site. Aside from strengthening the conclusions regarding the shrinking of

³¹ Y. Feliks (1986: 223) believed that the expression מגלגלין בחרדל (“rolling mustard”) reflects the method of gathering by rolling the collected plant. Lieberman, on the other hand (1940: 465) believed that the word rolling (*mglglyn*) means here ‘to hold in disregard’, which suits the context in this story. See also Yalon (1935: 227).

³² Thus (יהודה) in the Vatican Ms., while the Leiden Ms. has R. Yonah (יונה). Clearly, the version in the Vatican Ms. is to be preferred, since in the M, R. Yehuda is the one who allows self-seeded mustard which grew in the sabbatical year. The dispute in the M concerns self-seeded, that is, produce that grows by itself during the sabbatical year. Sages forbid the eating of these for fear of transgression of the prohibition by intentional planting and selling of produce claimed to have grown by itself. R. Yehuda, on the other hand, allowed self-seeded mustard “since it is not susceptible of transgression.” R. Yehuda, it would seem, is not concerned that offenders would plant and deal in mustard during the sabbatical year since this is a wild plant that grows in abundance and is available without planting. Therefore, it must be treated as the wild plants one is permitted to gather during the sabbatical year (Feliks 1986 vol. 2: 405). Concerning this discussion, this story is told in the Y about R. Shim’on ben Lakish, who saw the people of Ḥuqoq gathering mustard and did not even bother to collect seeds that fell due to its minimal value. R. Shim’on ben Lakish’s conclusion is that the halakhah should be as R. Yehuda, who maintained that mustard should be treated as wild plants rather than cultivated vegetables.

the site in the Middle Ages, it was not possible to observe significant changes in the extent of the settlement during the periods researched.

Two Hellenistic jars characteristic of the Late Hellenistic period are the only finds from that period and may provide an indication of the beginning of settlement here around the mid-first century BCE.³³

The settlement continued uninterrupted from the Early Roman period (19% of the finds) until the end of the Late Byzantine period. The largest amount of pottery belongs to the Late Roman period (43%) and even if the amount of KH1e (27% of the total) is ignored, this remains the most dominant period. The decline in the percentage of vessels from the Early (18.4%), Middle (5.8%) and Late Byzantine period (2.7%), is indicative of a gradual decline in the size of settlement beginning in the mid-fourth/early fifth century. The site, however, continued to be settled afterwards and the finds include LRRW vessels from all of the Byzantine sub-periods. Architectural elements scattered around the center of the site, and a lintel decorated with a menorah that had been here in the past indicate that there was a monumental synagogue at the site.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	4-10	11-20	21-25	11-20	4-10	0.5-3

Site No. 18

19-25/54/18

שיח' נאשי Sheikh Nashi

Map ref.: 1958/2544; *Elevation:* 42 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* sheikh's tomb; *Type of site:* ancient ruin without recent settlement, some 400 m. from the edge of Ḥuqoq [site 17]-a deep wadi separates the two sites; the lack of continuity and the difference in the pottery finds led to defining two separate sites; *Site area:* 11 dunams; *Topography:* a hill above Wadi Ḥuqoq; a southern spur of Mt. Ḥabakuk; *Arable land:* limited flat areas of brown rendzina and brown grumusol are east of the site. Moderate slopes and extensive flat alluvial areas of terra rossa and brown grumusol are 1 km. west of the site; *Nearest water source:* 'En Ḥuqoq, 700 m. from the center of the ruin; *Water installations:* subterranean reservoir with descent via a staircase (perhaps a *miqveh*); cistern;

³³ In the survey collection of B. Ravani at the IAA which I examined, the finds from this site include two Persian/Hellenistic mortaria, which moves back the date of settlement here. As stated, it is difficult to rely absolutely upon this collection because of the manner in which it was held over the years.



Fig. 36: Sheikh Nashi: crushing basin of an olive oil press

Agricultural installations: winepress and a crushing basin of an olive oil press; *Finds:* the upper portion of the hill has a platform-like structure and is surrounded by indistinct remains—apparently fortifications; *Natural fortification:* Steep slopes protect the site on the west, south and east; it is easily accessible from the north.

Proximity to roads: Approx. 2 km. north of the Wadi Zalmon route (B2) and 3 km. south of the Beth ha-Kerem-Ramat Korazim route (B4).

Finds from other periods: Scant finds of Iron and Persian periods.

Prior surveys and studies: Gal (1992: 34) reported Iron II and Byzantine pottery (no quantities given). Ravani reported a peripheral wall and Early and Middle Bronze, Iron I and II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and twelfth-thirteenth century CE pottery (no quantities given). Tepper *et al.* (2000: 25, 45) reported a *miqveh* at the top of the hill and remains of a winepress and an olive oil press in the northern part of the site. According to them, Ravani's survey, as well as the finds of coins from their own survey (no quantities given), show that the main finds at Sheikh Nashi belong to the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods and that the settlement at nearby Huqoq continued to exist in later periods. They further proposed that the site of Sheikh Nashi was an army camp while nearby Huqoq was a civilian site.

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 182 identifiable sherds)

The settlement began in the Iron Age and perhaps even earlier. One Persian period sherd and two Persian/Hellenistic sherds may indicate a settlement here

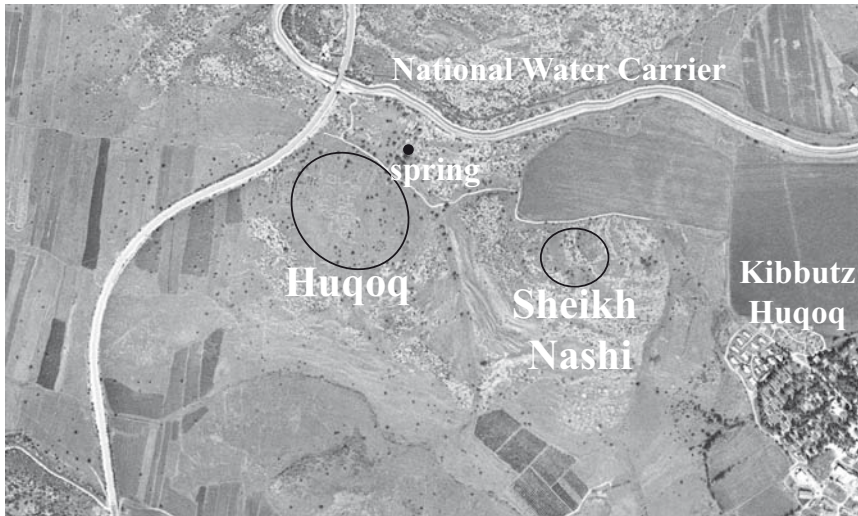


Fig. 37: Aerial photo of Huqoq and Sheikh Nashi (photograph: see Mapping)

during the Persian period. The most significant finds at the site belong to the Hellenistic period (23% of the finds). The site has natural fortifications on three sides and remains of man-made fortification. These features are characteristic of Hellenistic sites. A slight decline was observed in the finds from the Early Roman period (20.8%) and particularly during the Middle Roman period (12%). The amount of Late Roman and Early Byzantine period types (23% and 20.8% respectively) are mainly due to the strength of type KH1e, which constitutes 30% of all finds at the site. The Byzantine period pottery finds are similar in composition to those of the destruction layer at Sepphoris, without a single vessel that must be later than the second half of the fourth century. Notably absent are imports of types PRS3 and CRS2, typical of assemblages from the mid-fifth century onward and found at nearby Huqoq. This together with the relatively small number of vessels that must be later than the mid-fourth century (a total of 5.5%) seem to show that the settlement was abandoned in the second half of the fourth century.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-11	4-11	4-10	4-10	4-10	--	--

Discussion: The proximity of this site to Ḥuqoq [Site 17] on the other side of the wadi, and the shared spring and agricultural land, indicate a relationship between these sites. It would appear that during the early periods, the settlers preferred this hill because of its high topography to that of nearby Ḥuqoq, which is closer to the spring, but lacks strategic advantages. Following the Early Roman period, the hill of Ḥuqoq became the dominant site while that at Sheikh Nashi began to decline. The absence of monumental public building remains at Sheikh Nashi, which was settled up to about the second half of the fourth century, and the presence of such remains at nearby Ḥuqoq, further emphasize the transition of the major center. Nonetheless, the few Middle and Late Byzantine finds at Ḥuqoq apparently show that there was no movement of population from Sheikh Nashi to Ḥuqoq, but rather a decrease in settlement in this area during those periods.

Site No. 19

18-25/54/19

חורבת צלמון/ח'רבת סאלמה H. Zalmon/Kh. Sallameh

Map ref.: 1858/2545; *Elevation:* 162m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Sallameh-Arabic; nearby Bedouin village-preserves the name of the ancient settlement Selame/Zalmin; Ottoman census: Sallamiyah; Sellem in Crusader documents; *Type of site:* Tell; *Site area:* 63 dunams; *Topography:* a hill located at the confluence of Wadi Zalmon and Wadi Kamon, connected to a small ridge by a narrow saddle on the northwest; *Arable land:* terra rossa, brown grumusol upon moderate slopes and extensive alluvial plains in the basin of Wadi Zalmon; *Nearest water source:* Wadi Zalmon, some 200 m. from the center of the site, carries water from the Zalmon Springs higher up in the wadi; *Water installations:* cisterns; *Agricultural installations:* – –

Finds: burial caves at the northern and northeastern slopes; 24 coins of the second century BCE to third century CE (Syon 2004: 192–201); a number of ashlar and an isolated architectural element (a relief of a carved column on an ashlar); in the past, parts of a decorated lintel and column fragments were noted. Aviam found a sarcophagus fragment with a burial inscription in Greek, apparently belonging to a Roman soldier (Applebaum *et al.* 1981/82: 99). Ilan (1991:136) identified remains of a city wall in the southern part of the site, doubtful remains of a moat along the saddle connecting the hill of the site with the spur to the northwest, and architectural elements that he attributed to a synagogue.

Natural fortification: Steep slopes descend from the site to Wadi Zalmon and Wadi Kamon, which almost entirely surround the site. The only access is via a narrow saddle to the northwest;



Fig. 38: Aerial photo of Zalmon (photograph: see Mapping)

Proximity to roads: on the Wadi Zalmon route (B2);

Finds from other periods: Early, Middle and Late Bronze, Iron, Persian (scant), and Early Islamic.

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 460–461) noted numerous basements and cisterns at the site, as well as two quarried pressing installations. Gal (1982: 30; 1992: 29) noted that the place was settled in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages and Iron Age I and was later abandoned until the renewal of settlement during the Roman period. Aviam (2004: 96) noted the presence of Early and Middle Bronze, Iron, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic pottery as well as remains of a late citadel.

Identification: Σελάμην mentioned in Josephus and Zalmin/Zalmon in rabbinic literature and in the lists of the Priestly courses (Klein 1967: 52; Aviam 2004: 96; Safrai 1985: 66; TIR 225);

* * *

Historical Sources

In both of the parallel lists in which Josephus enumerates the sites that he fortified in preparation for the Revolt (*War* 2, 573; *Life* 37, 188) he mentions a site called Selame, which is identified on the basis of its preservation in the name of the Bedouin village of Salameh and with Zalmin/Zalmon of rabbinic literature. The two lists present the sites in different order and differ in other

details³⁴ and neither follows a clear geographical order. In any event, in both lists Bersabe, Selame and Jotapata appear in succession, which apparently indicates geographical proximity, strengthening the identification of Selame with Salameh which is located between Bersabe (Be'er Sheva') to the northeast and Jotapata (Yodfat) to the southwest.

Rabbinic literature: M Kil'ayim 4, 9:

הנוטע את כרמו על שש עשרה אמה שש עשרה אמה מותר להביא זרע לשם. אמר רבי יהודה: מעשה בצלמי³⁵ באחד שנטע את כרמו על שש עשרה שש עשרה אמה והיה הופך שער שתי שורות לצד אחת וזרע את הניר... ובא מעשה לפני חכמים והתירו.

If a man planted his vineyard (in rows) sixteen cubits apart, it is permitted to sow seed there. R. Yehuda said: It once happened in Z̄almin that a man planted his vineyard in rows of sixteen cubits (apart); (one year) he turned the tips of the vine branches of two (adjacent rows) towards one place and sowed the ploughed land... The case came before the Sages and they pronounced it permissible.

The M deals here with the prohibition of planting *kilayim*, that is, mixing different types of crops in the same field and in this context, presents the tradition of a man from Z̄almin who apparently planted grain in his vineyard. The tradition is presented by R. Yehuda bar 'Ila'i who lived around the mid-second century. Based upon the language of the M, Klein (1967:33) assumed that R. Yehuda referred to an episode that occurred prior to his day.

Another episode at Z̄almin following a similar literary pattern, however without mentioning the name of the transmitter, is found in M Yevamot 16, 6:

ושוב מעשה בצלמי³⁶ באחד שאמר 'אני איש פלוני בן איש פלוני, נשכני הנחש והרי אני מת', והלכו אחריי ולא הכירוהו והשיאו את אשתו.

It once happened at Z̄almin that a man called out, "I am so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, a snake has bitten me and I am dying," (and although when) they went (to him) they did not recognize him they allowed his wife to marry (again).

The third and last reference to Z̄almon in rabbinic literature, also in the name of R. Yehuda bar 'Ila'i, is in T Parah 9, 2:

כל הנהרות פסולין לקדש מהן מי חטאת... וכן היה ר' יהודה אומר יורדת הצלמון אסורה מפני שכזבה בשעת פולמוס. אמרו לו כל מימי בראשית כזבו בשעת פולמוס, שילוח היתה נמלה מהלכת

³⁴ The order in *War* is: Jotapata, Bersabe, Selame, Caphareccho, Japha, Sigoph, Mount Itabyrion, Tarichaeae and Tiberias and the caves in the Lower Galilee in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee. In Upper Galilee... the rock known as Acchabaron, Seph, Jamnith and Mero. In Gaulanitis: Seleucia, Soganaea and Gamala. The order in *Life* is: "The region of Gaulanitis... Seleucia and Sogane...villages in Upper Galilee, also in very rugged surroundings: Jamnia, Ameroth, and Acharabe. In Lower Galilee... Tarichaeae, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Beersubae, Selame, Jotapata, Kapharath, Komus, Soganae, Papha and Mt. Tabor." For a comparison of the lists, see Klein 1967: 39–40.

³⁵ Thus in the Kaufmann Ms.

³⁶ Thus in the Kaufmann Ms.

בו, אבל מייין שהיה יוצא שנה זו מצד אחד ושנה זו מצד אחר או שהיה רבה מימות הגשמים ונתמעטו בימות החמה כשר.

[Water from] all rivers is unfit for mixing the purification-water... And so did R. Yehuda say: “the descendent of the Zalmon is prohibited (for purification-water) because it ceased (to flow) in time of war.” They said to him: “all the waters of creation ceased in the time of war; Shiloah – an ant would walk in it (during the war). But a spring which emerges on one side in one year and on the other side in the next year, or which flows abundantly during the rainy season and diminishes in the dry season, is permissible.”

It appears that the term “descendent of the Zalmon” does not refer to Wadi Zalmon as proposed by Safrai (1985: 66), since the T opens with the affirmation that the water of all rivers are improper for preparing the purification-water and in continuation, the discussion revolves around spring water. It appears, therefore, that the term “descendent of the Zalmon” refers to a spring or the aqueduct emanating from the spring. Support for this view is found in the response of the sages who disagree with R. Yehuda, claiming that “all the waters of creation ceased in the time of war; Shiloah – an ant would walk in it,” and it is clear that this refers to the Shiloah Spring in Jerusalem. From the language of the halakhah, it seems that the drying up of the Shiloah occurred during the same war in which the descendent of the Zalmon dried up and since the Shiloah Spring is located in Jerusalem, it may be assumed that the dispute mentioned refers to the First Jewish Revolt. It thus appears that a certain confrontation took place at Zalmon during the First Jewish Revolt, a confrontation that is not mentioned in the descriptions of Josephus.³⁷

Summary: The three references to Zalmon in rabbinic literature are found in tannaitic sources and two of these are presented by R. Yehuda bar ‘Ila’i who lived at Usha in the Galilee. One of the traditions mentions Zalmon, apparently during the time of the First Jewish Revolt. The second tradition mentions grape and apparently also grain cultivation at Zalmon, and from its language, it appears to also have occurred prior to the time of R. Yehuda, that is, prior to the mid-second century CE.³⁸

³⁷ Klein (1967: 53) attempted to link this tradition in the T with the battle at Mt. Ἀσαμών (Asamon) between the rebels and the army of Gallus at the beginning of the First Jewish Revolt (*War* 2, 511). According to him, one should read Mt. Ἀσα[λ]μών, which refers to the region of Zalmon. In any event, Braslavsky (1954: 248) and Safrai (1985: 67) noted the fact that according to Josephus, Mt. Ἀσαμών overlooks Sepphoris, which is totally inappropriate for Zalmon and its vicinity.

³⁸ “Carobs of Zalmona” are mentioned in Sifre Deuteronomy 105 (ed. Finkelstein p. 165) and in parallels; as well as in the Y ‘Orlah 1, 2, 61a. Press (1961: 160) believed that this is the term for carobs that grew here at Zalmon. On the other hand, Klein (1923²: 4) identified Zalmona with “mutatu Calmon” mentioned in the writings of the Bordeaux Traveler, as a way-station between ‘Akko and Shiqmona (Limor 1998: 27). However, “Carobs of Zalmona” appears to be an expression referring to the carob-shaped fruits of a plant called Zalmona rather than place-name of the settlement’s location (see Liebner 2003).

List of the Priestly Courses and the Piyyutim: Zalmón is mentioned in several Palestinian *piyyutim* of the Byzantine and Early Islamic period, that are based upon the list of Priestly Courses, in relation to the twenty-third course – Delaiah.

The only *piyyut* from which it might be possible to obtain historical information is *ʿykh yšvh ḥvzlt ha-šrwn* (איכה ישבה חבצלת השרון) by ha-Qallir who lived in Palestine around the beginning of the seventh century CE (Fleischer 1984/5: 406). Adan-Bayewitz (1996–1997: 468 n. 99) showed that in two Genizah copies of this *piyyut*, instead of the usual wording for the other Courses: the Cana Course migrated... the Maʿon Course wandered etc., (...נדה משמרת מעון... נעה משמרת קנה...), the wording is “Zalmón has been captured,” which is unique to this settlement and Yodefāt only. Adan-Bayewitz also pointed to the fact that the names of the settlements in the *piyyut* serve only as nicknames for their courses, while Zalmón and Yodefāt are the only ones for which the *paytan* hints at historical events that took place at the settlements themselves. This probably demonstrates the *paytan*’s historical knowledge concerning events at these sites. The conquest of Yodefāt is not mentioned in rabbinic literature, which indicates that the *paytan* had other sources of information concerning this. Regarding Zalmón, however, it is possible that the above T mentioning the water of Zalmón during a war is the source from which the *paytan* drew his inspiration for the rhyme “Zalmón has been captured.”³⁹

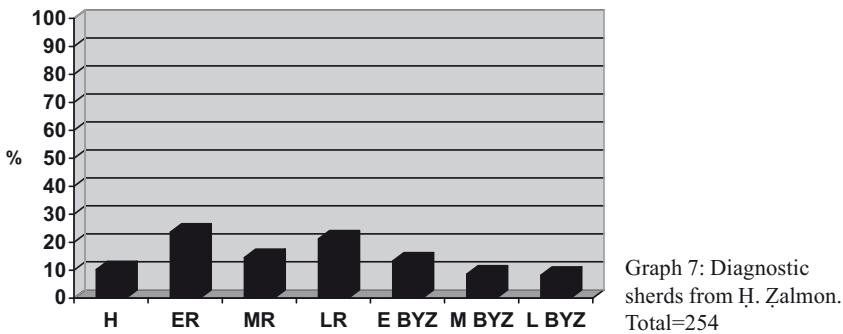
Historical Analysis (sample size: 254 identifiable sherds)

This site is a tell with numerous early settlement layers. It was continuously occupied throughout all of the periods with which this study deals and virtually up to the present day. Clear Persian period finds (scant) suggest that the significant settlement of the Hellenistic period (10.2% of the finds) is the continuation of the Persian period settlement and it is probable that some of the Persian/Hellenistic types belong to this period. The fact that the most dominant pottery finds on the surface belong to the Early Roman period (23.6%) is quite unusual and indicates considerable settlement strength during this period. The

³⁹ Portions of the *piyyut* indicate that the *paytan* drew some of his information and metaphors from rabbinic literature. Thus, the first rhyming phrase *מרון במסרבי הבית* (the house was handed [to the enemies] by Mesarbai Meiron) is based upon Y Ta’anit 4, 8, 68d: The day the Temple was destroyed... was the work-time of Jehoyarib... R. Levi said: “Jehoyarib is a (name of a) man,” “Meiron is a city,” “Mesarbai: he handed over the house (i.e., temple) to the enemy.” In addition, it appears that the ancient form of the name Sepphoris – *זַפְּוֹרִיָּם* which appears in the second rhyme, recalls “Jeda’aya ‘Amoq Zypwrym” mentioned in the Y above. The fact that historical memory concerning the destruction of Yodefāt was preserved among Palestinian Jewry despite it not being mentioned in rabbinic literature is also supported by another elegy, apparently composed in the Galilee, recalling the “day of Yodefāt” among a series of calamities and destructions (see Fleischer 1987: 223).

decline in Middle Roman period finds (14.5%) is also anomalous; this may be connected with some sort of a damage connected to the First Jewish Revolt. It is clear, however, that the settlement continued into the second and third centuries.

The quantity of sherds representing the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period (21% and 13% respectively) is, to a large extent, due to the KH1e type which constitutes 20% of all finds at the site. The amount of imported vessels (14% of all finds) is considerable, particularly in the Middle Byzantine period. It is important to note that Zalmon is one of the only sites where a significant quantity of Early Islamic pottery was found, indicating continuity of settlement after the seventh century. Architectural elements scattered around the site suggest that a monumental public building existed here in the past.



Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
21-40	41-63	21-40	21-40	21-40	21-40	21-40

Discussion: Finds of GCW and ESA ware may suggest a gentile population during the Hellenistic period, while, on the other hand, it is clear from the historical sources that during the Early Roman period this was a Jewish settlement. Based upon finds at the site, including Hasmonean coins and eight Long Rim SJ vessels characteristic of the Jewish settlements from roughly the beginning of the first century BCE, it might be surmised that there was an ethnic change here following Hasmonean domination of the region. The topography of this site, surrounded by deep wadis and connected to the spur above by a narrow saddle, is typical of Hellenistic sites located at strategic points in the region. In addition, there are sparse remains of fortifications at the site (including a moat on the saddle) and this too is characteristic of the Hellenistic period. Above we pointed out that common to sites that Josephus decided to “fortify” is the

presence of fortifications of some sort prior to his time. Thus, even though there is no direct evidence, it may reasonably be assumed that the fortifications at Zalmon are Hellenistic and that Josephus' activity consisted of restoration or utilization of the earlier fortifications in preparation for the Revolt.

In addition to Josephus, who noted that he fortified this place but did not mention any battle here, both the T and one of the *piyyutim* of the Priestly Courses include a vague tradition attributing to Zalmon involvement in some clash. The decrease in finds of the Middle Roman period supports the proposal that the settlement suffered some sort of setback during the Early Roman period, possibly related to the First Jewish Revolt. It is difficult, however, to establish a clear picture regarding this or to measure the extent of damage due to the continuation of settlement during the subsequent periods.

Site No. 20

19-25/42/20

חורבת רביד/ח'רבת רובדיה H. Ravid/Kh. Rubudiyeh

Map ref. 1947/2520; *Elevation:* 10 m. b.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; Ottoman census: Mazra'at Rabudiyah (also mentioned are two mills of Rabudiyah in the wadi); *Type of site:* ancient ruin; *Site area:* 18 dunams; *Topography:* top of a slope that descends northward toward Wadi Zalmon; *Arable land:* brown grumusol and brown rendzina on moderate slopes; limited flat area in a stream of nearby Wadi Zalmon; flat rocky area with patches of terra rossa west of the site; *Nearest water source:* Wadi Zalmon (in the past, perennial) and 'En Ravid, 400 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* cisterns; *Agricultural installations:* winepress and numerous quarried features in the western part of the site;

Finds: caves, hiding complex; 3 coins of the coastal cities dating to the second half of the second century BCE, 1 Hasmonean coin and 6 coins of the first century BCE to the third century CE (Syon 2004: 192-201);

Natural fortification: - - ; *Proximity to roads:* on the Wadi Zalmon route (B2);

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868-80 vol. 1: 213) noted basements, cisterns, tombs and pressing installations among the ruins. Tepper and Shahar (1987: 313) surveyed a hiding complex at the site;

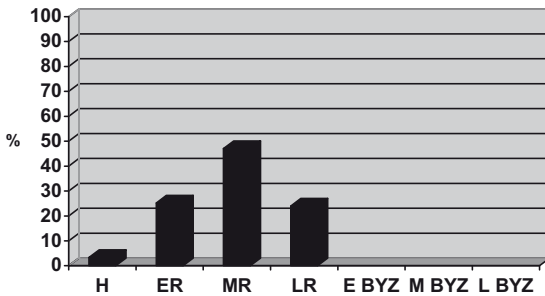
Finds from other periods: considerable amounts of Medieval pottery;

Identification: - -

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 91 identifiable sherds)

Three Hellenistic sherds and three Late Hellenistic coins may indicate the beginning of settlement at the site during this period. As at other sites with similar ceramic profile, these minimal finds probably indicate settlement toward the end of that period, at the end of the second or during the first century BCE. It is difficult, however, to reach decisive conclusions concerning this matter. Significant settlement at the site began during the Early Roman period (25% of the finds), and the most dominant finds belong to the Middle Roman period (47%). The decline in the quantity of finds from the Late Roman period, during which settlement at the site ended, the total absence of finds that must be dated to the fourth century and the relative weakness of the KH1e type (17%), which generally constitutes from a third to half of the finds at Roman period sites, indicate the abandonment of the site during an early stage of the Late Roman period, toward the end of the third/early fourth century CE. The clear absence of Late Roman types (with the exception of KH1e, which already appears in the mid-third century), corresponds with the proposed abandonment during an early phase of the Late Roman period. It is worth noting that at the site, which reached its greatest size during the Middle Roman period (up to 18 dunams), no evidence was found of a monumental public building.



Graph 8: Diagnostic sherds from H. Ravid. Total=91

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	4-10	11-18	4-10	--	--	--

Site No. 21

18-25/81/21

Kh. Luziah/el-Weiziya ח'רבת לחיאה/וואזיה

Map ref.: 1887/2517; *Elevation:* 94 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic/name of a plot of land indicated on the Mandatory maps; *Type of site:* field scatter; the site area underwent heavy mechanized plowing and today lies within and at the edges of an olive grove; *Site area:* 6 dunams; *Topography:* moderate spur descending toward Wadi Zalmon; *Arable land:* terra rossa, brown grumusol upon moderate slopes and extensive flat alluvial areas in the Wadi Zalmon basin; *Nearest water source:* Wadi Zalmon (previously a perennial stream) 350 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* plastered pool, partly quarried into bedrock and partly built in the north of the site (indicated on the map as a lime kiln);

Agricultural installations: – – ; *Finds:* numerous rock cuttings at the edges of the site; no construction remains at the site; *Natural fortification:* – – ; *Proximity to roads:* ca. 500 m. from the Wadi Zalmon route (B2); *Finds from other periods:* scant Medieval pottery;

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80: vol. 1: 460) noted that no built remains survive at the site and that only a number of quarried cisterns remain.

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 209 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of the site was probably in the Early Roman period (2.4%). Judging by the small number of types of this period, however, it appears that if there was a settlement at the site, it was quite limited. Significant settlement



Fig. 39: Kh. Luziah: cist tomb



Fig. 40: Kh. Luziah: water reservoir, partly quarried into bedrock and partly built

dates to the beginning of the Middle Roman period (14.3%), around the second century CE. The most dominant finds belong to the Late Roman period (52%). This period is also the most dominant if we ignore the large quantity of KH1e vessels, which constitute 59% (!) of all the vessels at the site. Only five vessels belong to types that must be later than the mid-fourth century CE and one of these is an imported CRS1/2 type vessel (doubtful), a type found in the destruction level at Sepphoris. It appears that the end of the settlement is around the second half of the fourth century CE. There are no architectural elements at the site indicative of a monumental public building.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	0.5-3	4-6	4-6	4-6	--	--

Site No. 22

19-25/61/22

ליבנים Livnim

Map ref.: 1960/2516; *Elevation:* 110 m. b.s.l.; *Origin of name:* modern, after the name of the nearby settlement; *Type of site:* pottery scatter in a ploughed field; scant building remains at the edge of the field on the slope descending to Wadi Z̄almon; building stones were removed by heavy machinery to the south of the site and examination revealed only fieldstone; *Site area:* 13 dunams; *Topography:* Flat, broad terrace north of Wadi Z̄almon; *Arable land:* Brown and blackish basaltic grumusol on moderate to steep slopes; limited flat areas on a terrace above Wadi Z̄almon; *Nearest water source:* Wadi Z̄almon, approx. 200 m. from the center of the site (in the past, a perennial stream); *Water installations:* Aqueducts and water-powered mills along Wadi Z̄almon, approximately 150 m. from the site, some apparently Medieval and some modern (the latter of concrete); *Agricultural installations:* --

Finds from other periods: -- ; *Finds:* scant remains of the tops of walls and scant sherds on a low terrace in the southwest, between the field scatter of pottery and Wadi Z̄almon;

Proximity to roads: on the Wadi Z̄almon route (B2);

Identification: --

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 313 identifiable sherds)

Among the 313 rims collected at the site, the vast majority belong to a number of Middle/Late Roman jar types and this, together with production waste collected at the site, indicate that there was a pottery workshop here. These remains are now being examined by a research group under the direction of D. Adan-Bayewitz.

Only two rims belong to the Early Roman period and do not seem to attest to a settlement phase. It appears that the beginning of permanent settlement was around the mid-second century CE. Settlement at the site continued beyond the mid-fourth century, as supported by a number of vessels that begin to appear in assemblages only around this time. The low number of these types, as well as the absence of vessels clearly belonging to the rest of the Byzantine period, indicate that the site was abandoned around the second half of the fourth century.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	--	4-13	4-13	0.5-3	--	--

Site No. 23

18-25/51/23

עין א-נג'מיה/ח'רבת נג'מיה 'Ein Najmiah/Kh. Nejeimiyeh

Map ref.: 1854/2514; *Elevation:* 320 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* name of a spring at the site; *Ottoman census:* Nujamiyeh; *Type of site:* Field scatter situated between olive groves of the village of Deir Ḥanna, approximately 1,200 m. from the ancient core of the village. The site has been entirely ploughed and no building remains or agricultural installations remain on the surface; *Site area:* 15 dunams; *Topography:* the northern and lower portion of the spur that descends from Mt. Netofa toward Deir Ḥanna; *Arable land:* limited leveled areas of alluvial soil in the eastern part of the Sakhnin Valley at the foot of the site; terra rossa on steep slopes at the site and above it; *Nearest water source:* 'Ein Najmiah near the foot of the site; *Water installations:* -- ; *Agricultural installations:* --

Finds: a cave in a small cliff in the eastern part of the site; *Natural fortification:* --

Proximity to roads: 1.5 km. from the Wadi Zalmon route (B2) and 1.5 km. from the Sakhnin Valley route (B7).

Prior surveys and studies: Gal (1992: 28) noted a 20-dunam ruin called 'Ein en-Nakhleh with Persian and Mamluk pottery that, according to the map reference, should be just southeast of our site. Our survey in the vicinity of 'Ein en-Nakhleh found no ruins nor pottery and he probably was referring to 'Ein Najmiah.

Finds from other periods: Middle Bronze, Iron and significant amounts of Medieval and Ottoman pottery.

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 80 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of settlement at the site is in the Hellenistic period (29% of the finds) and some of the Persian/Hellenistic types may belong to the end of the Persian period. Prominent are 15 Long Rim SJ vessels typical of the Late Hellenistic period. The Early Roman pottery is the most dominant among the finds with 31% of the total. A slight decline is noted in the Middle Roman period finds (26%) with a greater decrease during the Late Roman period (12.5%). The meager amount of Late Roman finds and the weakness of type KH1e, which generally constitutes a third to half of the finds at Late Roman sites, indicate abandonment at an early stage of this period, around the beginning of the marketing of this type during the second half of the third century CE. A single Middle Byzantine period sherd does not seem to indicate a phase of settlement. There is no evidence at the site of a monumental public building.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11-15	11-15	11-15	4-10	--	--	--

Site No. 24

19-25/11/24

H. Mimlahic/Kh. Mamelia חורבת ממלה/ח'רבת מאמליה

Map ref.: 1917/2514; *Elevation:* 130 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic name of the ruins preserves ancient name; Ottoman census: Mamliya/Mazra'at Mimla; *Type of site:* ancient ruin; *Site area:* 60 dunams; *Topography:* upper portion of the hill at the foot of the Mimlah Ridge; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate slopes and extensive alluvial plains north and west of the



Fig. 41: Mimlah: architectural element from a monumental building



Fig. 42: Mimlah: architectural element from a monumental building



Fig. 43: Mimlah: architectural element from a monumental building



Fig. 44: Mimlah: vaulted burial niches in a rock-hewn burial cave



Fig. 45: Mimlah: crushing basin of an olive oil press



Fig. 46: Mimlah: base of an olive oil press



Fig. 47: Mimlah: winepress



Fig. 48: Mimlah: winepress



Fig. 49: Mimlah: entrance to a rock-hewn burial cave



Fig. 50: Mimlah: remains of a monumental building, apparently a synagogue

site; *Nearest water source*: ‘En Mimlah, 500 m. southeast of the center of the ruin; *Water installations*: numerous cisterns; *Agricultural installations*: olive oil installation (threshing basin, threshing wheel and press installation); scattered around the site are a number of winepresses and an industrial installation of uncertain function related to liquids;

Finds: ashlar and architectural elements, column drums including thin columns, numerous caves and numerous burial caves including niches, arcosolia and possible evidence for secondary burial; Tepper and Shahar (1987: 300–302) surveyed the entrance to a hiding complex at the site; *Natural fortification*: to the northeast, to the south and to the east, relatively steep slopes; the approach from the west and northwest is comfortable.

Proximity to roads: Approx. 1.5 km. from the Wadi Zalmon route (B2);

Finds from other periods: Considerable Iron, Early Islamic and Medieval pottery;

Prior surveys and studies: Stepansky conducted salvage excavations here and reported structures with Byzantine pottery and coins and architectural elements scattered amid the ruins (Stepansky 1984: 78). Ilan (1991: 162) identified elements from a synagogue and suggested the southern slope of the site as its probable location;

Identification: identified with Mimlah of rabbinic literature (Klein 1967: 63–65; Reeg 1989: 413; *TIR*: 177).

* * *

Historical Sources

Identification of the site: The name Mimlaḥ appears several times in Palestinian rabbinic literature, in a fragmentary inscription of a list of the Priestly Courses from Caesarea, in *piyyutim* of the Priestly Courses and in a text belonging to the New Testament apocryphal literature, all in clear Galilean contexts. The sages mentioned in relation to this place are: R. Meir, R. Yoḥanan and Resh Lakish, all inhabitants of Tiberias, and the traditions mentioning them in relation to the settlement are of a local nature, such as coming upon the settlement or a visit to comfort mourners there. The list of settlements of the Priestly Courses, which includes Mimlaḥ, focuses mainly upon the Lower Galilee and it is therefore likely that Mimlaḥ is located in this region. Important literary-geographical evidence is found in the Christian tradition in the Acts of Pilate. This text, which has a local Galilean nature and which was apparently written in the fourth century CE, moves the scene of events of Jesus' resurrection to Mount Mimlaḥ in the Galilee. According to Reiner (1996: 295–317), this tradition is part of a group of Jewish and Christian Galilean local traditions that attribute a central place in the appearance of the Messiah to the Arbel Valley and its vicinity. The proximity of H. Mimlaḥ to the Arbel Valley (ca. 5 km.), which plays a central role in these messianic traditions, supports the identification of this site with the site mentioned in the Acts of Pilate and with the accepted identification of the ruin with ancient Mimlaḥ. Finally the name Mamliya appears in the Ottoman census of the sixteenth century as a settlement in “*naḥiyat* Tabariya” (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 188) and was documented here as Mamelia and Mimla by nineteenth century European surveyors.

Rabbinic literature: Genesis Rabbah 59, 1 (p. 630):⁴⁰

‘ואברהם זקן בא בימים’ וגו’, ‘עטרת תפארת שיבה’ (משלי טז, לא), ר’ מאיר אזל לממלא ראה אותן כולם שחורי ראש, אמר להם מאי זו משפחה אתם? שמה מעלי אתם דכתיב ‘וכל מרבית ביתך ימותו אנשים’ (ש”א, ב, לג). אמרו לו: ר’ התפלל עלינו. אמר להם: לכו וטיפלו בצדקה ואתם זוכים לזקנה, מה טעם – ‘עטרת תפארת שיבה בדרך צדקה תימצא’....

“And Abraham was old, well advanced in age,” etc. (Gen. 24, 1). “The hoary head is a crown of glory” (Prov. 16, 31), R. Meir went to Mimla. Seeing that the people there were all black-haired (i.e., young), he asked them: From what family are you? Perhaps from ‘Eli, of whom it is written “And all the increase of your house shall die young men” (I Sam. 2, 33)? They said to him: “Rabbi, pray for us.” He told them: “Go and engage in charity and you will attain to old age.” What is the proof? “The hoary head is a crown of glory, it is found in the way of righteousness (lit. charity)...”

This tradition from Genesis Rabbah, a composition edited in the fifth century CE, connects R. Meir, who was active in Tiberias in the mid-second century CE

⁴⁰ And in the parallel: Midrash on Samuel 8, 15.

with Mimlah.⁴¹ Klein (1967: 63) relied in part upon this tradition, which mentions priests at Mimla, in an attempt to demonstrate that the list of Priestly Courses reflects a reality of families of priests living in the settlements appearing in the list.

Several Palestinian sources refer to a sage called Yosi Mimlahiya (Yosi of Mimlah).

Lamentations Rabbah 1, 37 [10] (p. 73):

...יוסי ממלחייא דמך סליקו ר' יוחנן וריש לקיש למיגמל ליה חסדא סליק עמהון ר' יצחק פסיקא...
 הוה תמן חד גבר סב בעא מפטרא עלוי. אמר לו יצחק פסיקא: קמי אילין תרין ארייתא את מפתח
 פומך?! אמר לו ר' יוחנן: שבקיה דהוא גבר סב בעי מתייקרא באתריה. עאל ואיפטר עלוי: קשה הוא
 סילוקן של צדיקים לפני הקב"ה ממאה חסר שתיים תוכחות שבמשנה תורה ומחורבן בית המקדש...
 אמר ר' יצחק פסיקא: בריך גברא הדין בחייליה. אמר לו ר' יוחנן: אילו לא שבקיניה, מן הין הוין
 שמעין הדא מרגלית? ...

Yosi of Mimlah died. R. Yoḥanan and Resh Lakish went to pay their last respects to him (i.e., to his funeral) and R. Yitzhaq Pesika accompanied them. There was an old man there who wanted to present a eulogy. R. Yitzhaq said: “before these two lions (i.e., eminent scholars) you wish to open your mouth?” R. Yoḥanan said: “allow him, for he is an old man and wishes this honor in his own place.” He rose and gave his eulogy: “We find that the demise of the righteous is more grievous before the Holy One, blessed be He, than the ninety-eight curses mentioned in Deuteronomy and the destruction of the Temple...” R. Yitzhaq Pesika said: “blessed be the strength of this man.” R. Yoḥanan said: “If we hadn’t let him (eulogize), how could we have heard this pearl (i.e., fine words)?”

According to this tradition, R. Yosi of Mimlah was active in the second generation of *amoraim* (ca. 250–280 CE) since R. Yoḥanan and Resh Lakish, who were active during that period, were present at his funeral, and according to what is said, it is clear that they were already the foremost authorities of their generation. On the other hand, in another tradition presented in Leviticus Rabbah 26, 2 (p. 589)⁴² R. Yosi of Mimlah and R. Yehoshua of Sakhnin present

⁴¹ Concerning R. Meir in Tiberias, see, for example: Y Ḥagigah 2, 1, 77b; Sotah 1, 4, 16d. The form “Mimla” in this tradition is apparently related to the decline of gutturals in the Galilee during the Talmudic period (Kutscher 1977: 120) and similar forms of the name were documented in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries as well. The similarity between the name Mimlah/Mimla and the Beit Memel family from the village of Rumah mentioned in Y ‘Eruvin (4, 9, 22a. [in the Leiden Ms., Beit Memeh]) led Klein (1967: 30) to propose that the origins of the family were in the village of Mimlah. Press (1946–55: 576) and Rosenfeld (1988: 75), went even further, claiming that the numerous sages called “bar Memel” were named after the place where they resided, which was Mimlah. As indicated in our discussion above about ‘Akbara, the combination bar+X in Palestinian literature generally means “son of (person) X” rather than “resident of (place) X.” The interpretations of Klein, Press and Rosenfeld, therefore, do not seem plausible. It should be noted that a site called Mimla appears in a fourteenth century Geniza document containing a list of the tombs of righteous men in the Upper Galilee, between Kefar Maros and Meiron (Ilan 1997: 91). No site with a similar name is known in this part of the Upper Galilee and this name has no parallel in other lists of tombs or in the numerous descriptions of pilgrims’ travels at our disposal.

⁴² And with minor changes, also in Pesiqta de Rav Kahana 4 (p. 56).

an aggadic tradition in the name of R. Levi. It seems that this refers to R. Levi haDarshan (the aggadist), who was active in Tiberias during the second half of the third century CE (Albeck 1969: 250), and whose words R. Yehoshua of Sakhnin frequently quotes. This information, as well as the presentation of the tradition together with R. Yehoshua of Sakhnin, who was active in the fourth generation of *amoraim* (Albeck 1969: 331), shows that R. Yosi of Mimlaḥ was active in the fourth generation, or at the earliest, in the third generation of *amoraim* and it is thus not clear how R. Yoḥanan (died 279) was present at his funeral. This difficulty led Klein (1967: 120) to propose that there were two sages with this name in the settlement, one during the third century and the other during the fourth century CE.⁴³

In summary, Mamela or Mimlaḥ is referred to in rabbinic sources in traditions related to R. Meir, who was active in the mid-second century, R. Yoḥanan Resh Lakish and R. Yosi of Mimlaḥ who were active in the second half of the third century, and perhaps another sage, R. Yosi of Mimlaḥ who was active at the first half of the fourth century CE.

Acts of Pilate: This composition belongs to the New Testament apocrypha and was apparently composed in the fourth century CE (Reiner 1996: 312). It offers a different course of events than the one appearing in the canonic gospels concerning the events following Jesus' crucifixion. According to this composition, the ascension of Jesus would appear to have taken place a week following the crucifixion (instead of three days according to the canonic tradition), and the place where this occurred was "the mountain called Mamlich in the Galilee."

Chapter 14:

"...Now Phinees a Priest and Adas a Teacher and Angaeus a Levite came from Galilee to Jerusalem and told the Rulers of the Synagogue and the Priests and the Levites: We saw Jesus and his disciples sitting upon the mountain which is called Mamlich... And while Jesus was still speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up to Heaven..."

The priest, the teacher and the Levite are rebuked by the rulers of the synagogue, but after a while, they are called to testify before the Sanhedrin. Chapter 16:

⁴³ In Y 'Avodah Zarah 2, 4, 41c, R. Yosi of Mimlaḥ presents a question to R. Mana. Two Palestinian *amoraim* were called R. Mana, one in the second and the other in the fifth generation (Albeck 1969: 187, 398). This fact does not allow one to decide based upon this source if indeed there was another sage named R. Yosi of Mimlaḥ in the fourth century CE. In addition, in Y Sotah 3, 7, 19b (according to the Leiden Ms.), a sage named R. Dosa of Mimlaḥ is mentioned and Rosenfeld (1998: 76 n. 80) believed that this was another sage from this place. In the Vatican Ms., however, the name is presented as R. Dosa bar Memel and in a parallel (Y Kidushin 1, 7, 61c according to the Leiden Ms.) this tradition is presented by R. Yosi bar Memel (son of Memel). It appears that the latter version should be preferred and that this is not a sage from Mimlaḥ.

“...And they called Adas first and asked him: How did you see Jesus taken up? Adas answered: ‘As he sat on the mountain Mamlich and taught his disciples, we saw that a cloud overshadowed him and his disciples. And the cloud carried him up to heaven and his disciples lay on their faces on the ground...’ (trans. by Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1965: 462–468).

Reiner indicated the vicinity of the Arbel Valley as the center of eschatological events in local Jewish and Christian Galilean traditions during the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. The proximity to the Arbel Valley explains the peculiar choice of Mt. Mamlich.⁴⁴

Reiner also noted that this tradition is based upon the canonic gospels, according to which Jesus (while dead) says to two women who visit his tomb: “...go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee; there they will see me... Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them...” (Matthew 28: 9, 16). The place is therefore called *Mount Mamlich*. Reiner also noted a Jewish work found in the Cairo Geniza known as the *Toledot Yeshu*, according to which Jesus was crucified at Tiberias and after the rumor of his ascension had spread, the Jews removed his body from burial and dragged it through the city. These Jewish traditions disputed local Galilean Christian traditions that have not reached us in their entirety, such as this tradition of Mt. Mamlich. Reiner alternately proposed that the Jewish and Christian traditions noting the redemption beginning in the Galilean region of the Arbel Valley drew upon a shared ancient source.

Priestly Courses and Piyyutim: Mamlyḥ appears in the list of Priestly Courses in relation to the seventeenth course Hezir. In one of three fragments of a marble plaque from Caesarea which bore the list of the Priestly Courses, letters were found that were completed as follows by Avi-Yonah (1962: 139):

⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that the transcription of the name in this tradition, Mamlich, is similar to certain Hebrew forms such as the one that appears upon the fragmentary inscription of the Priestly Courses from Caesarea which preserves the letters ...mlyḥ, that from the Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana recalled above, and the transcription in some of the *piyyutim*. In all Mss. of the Pesiqta deRav Kahana utilized by Mandelbaum for his edition, the spelling is ממליחיא/ממליחיא (mamlyḥiya). In the parallel in Leviticus Rabbah, most of the Mss. use ממליחיא (mimlahya), however the Munich 117 Ms. utilizes ממלוחיא (mamlyḥya) and perhaps the *yod* was lengthened here to a *vav*. The Vatican 60 Ms. of Genesis Rabbah 41, 1 mentions R. Yosi from ממליחיא (mamlyḥyah). In the *kerovot* of Haduta who was active around the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century CE (Fleischer 1983: 91) the form mamlyḥ (ממליח) appears 11 times and based upon the photograph of the Ms., it appears, even a twelfth time, which should be read mamlyḥ rather than mimlḥ as published by Kahle (1967: 17–20; 88A). The form mamlyḥ also appears in the *piyyut* of R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen (eighth century) (Elizur 2004: 637). In other rabbinic literary sources, the spelling is mimlah. According to these testimonies, it appears that the name of the place was indeed ממליח (mamlyḥ) and the form ממליח (mimlah) in rabbinic literature and in some of the *piyyutim* was a misspelling.

[The seventeenth course Hezir] מליח (*mlyh*)
 [the eighteenth course Happizzetz] נצרת (Nazareth)
 [the nineteenth course Pethahiah] [ערב] אכלה (Akhlah [*'Arav*])
 [the twentieth course Yehezkel] [מ]גדל [נוניא] ([Mi]gdal [Nunyah])

Fragments of the inscription were found in secondary use incorporated in buildings and some in a pile of debris (Avi-Yonah 1962: 137). The inscription was dated by Avi-Yonah to the third-fourth centuries on the basis of paleographic considerations. These parameters, however, are of doubtful value when it comes to stone engraving (Naveh 1978: 5).

The paytan Haduta, who was active in Palestine at the end of the sixth century or beginning of the seventh, dedicated a lengthy *kerovah* to the “Hezir from Mamlyḥ” course:

אהבת ממליח תכסיף	פאוכלי בשר החזיר תסיף
בעבור לשמחם בחג האסיף	ברית מלח לכהנים תוסיף
געה והפל הר הזדון	[גרש] לץ ויצא מדון
דעו כי יש לישראל אדון	[ד]בר יהיה העם נדון
הרוס שיניו באש תגריס	[ה]חזיר אשר פרסה מפריס
(Kahle 1967: 17–20) וטהור יהיה כמקרינ ומפריס	[חזיר ממליח יהי כיתריס]

Animosity toward the Byzantine regime, which is referred to as חזיר (*hazir* = swine) emerges from nearly every line in the *piyyut* and provides an indication of the problematic relations that prevailed between Palestinian Jewry and the Byzantine authorities during the lifetime of the *paytan*. Using the close intonations of *hazir* (swine) and Hezir (the name of the course), the *paytan* produces a contrast between the hated empire and the praised priestly course. On the other hand, the *piyyut* does not provide hints that can aid us in solving such questions as: was Haduta familiar with Mimlaḥ or was the place inhabited in his day? Also another verse that explicitly recalls *khl mmlyḥ* (congregation of Mimlaḥ, *ibid.* 19) can be interpreted as referring to the historical Priestly Course rather than to actual inhabitants of Mimlaḥ. This phenomenon, in which the name of a settlement attributed to a Priestly Course replaces the name of the course itself, is also familiar in the works of other *paytanim* and makes the attempt to obtain historical information concerning the settlements of the *piyyutim* even more difficult. In the famous *piyyut* of ha-Qallir 'ykh yšvḥ ḥvzlt ha-šrwn (Goldschmidt 1968: 50) this verse appears:

כּי לא האמינה בהשכם ושלוח	פרשה ואין יד שלוח
ואין שמן ממולח בראש ממלח	והושבתה ברית מלח

One might understand that the *paytan* mourns the destruction of Mimlaḥ itself, for the expected meaning of the elegy on the cessation of the work of the Course of Hezir in the Temple would be: “There is no offering oil on the head of Hezir,” rather than “on the head of Mimlaḥ.” However, the phenomenon of referring to the Courses by the name of the settlements shows that the intention was

apparently that there was no offering oil on the heads of the priests of Mimlaḥ – the priests of the Course of Hezir.

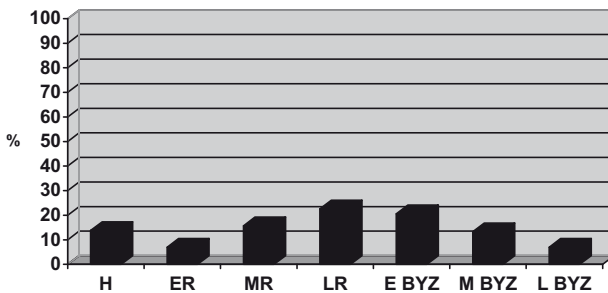
In summary, Mamliḥ/Mimlaḥ is mentioned in a synagogue inscription from Caesarea that is dated to sometime between the fourth and seventh centuries, and in Palestinian *piyyuṭim* of the Priestly Courses, the earliest of which belongs to the sixth or early seventh century and the latest to the eighth or ninth century. The nature of the sources, however, does not allow one to conclude anything about the site at the time of their composition.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 203 identifiable sherds)

The division of this large site into four collection areas showed its reduction in size following the Late Roman period, when it became limited to the western hilltop. Likewise, most of the Hellenistic pottery was concentrated on the hilltop and in the western sector.

This site is one of the outstanding examples of a continuously inhabited site and was settled throughout the periods covered by the present study. It began during the Hellenistic period (13.8% of the finds) and the presence of Long Rim SJ of the Late Hellenistic period stands out. A considerable decline in the amount of pottery is noted during the Early Roman period (7%), however vessels from this period were found in all collection areas. There is a considerable increase in the amount of Middle (15.7%) and Late (22.6%) Roman types. All of the sub-phases of the Byzantine period are richly represented with LRRW wares that represent 17% of all finds at the site. The Middle Byzantine period stands out in particular with 19 imported vessels. In the eastern collection area, which was devoid Byzantine pottery, a significant quantity of Roman pottery was collected, showing the shrinking of the settlement to the hilltop and the western zone during the course of the fourth century CE. Numerous architectural elements and remains of a building with columns indicate the existence of a monumental public building at the site.

The considerable Byzantine and Early Islamic pottery show that the site was settled during these periods. It is therefore likely that *paytanim* who refer to



Graph 9: Diagnostic sherds from H. Mimlaḥ. Total=203

Mimlah – Haduta and ha-Qallir, who were active during the Byzantine period, probably in the Galilee (Fleischer 1967: 33), and perhaps also R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen of Kafra in Tiberias, who was active after the mid-eighth century – were familiar with this settlement.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
21-40	21-40	41-60	41-60	21-40	21-40	11-20

Site No. 25

18-25/50/25

Hararit/Ras Hazaweh הררית/ראס חזאוה

Map ref.: 1852/2509; *Elevation:* 470 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* name of the nearby settlement; *Type of site:* ancient ruin; *Site area:* 11 dunams; *Topography:* hilltop on a spur that descends from Mt. Netofa northward; *Arable land:* terra rossa and rendzina on steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* ‘Ein an-Naḥleh, 550 m. from the center of the site (in autumn 1999 the spring was completely dry); *Water installations:* three large cisterns at the site; *Agricultural installations:* – – ; *Finds:* Ancient terraces around the site.

Natural fortification: The site is isolated by steep slopes on every side except for the southeast, where it is connected with a saddle to the range of hills to the south.

Proximity to roads: – –

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 465) noted that at Khirbet Djemieh, located on a plateau several minutes ride from ‘Ein Najmiah, only a cistern and a quarried basement remain, apparently referring to this site and not to Kh. Najmiah next to the spring. Bagatti (2000: 130) noted elements



Fig. 51: Hararit: water cistern



Fig. 52: Hararit: fortification remains



Fig. 53: Hararit: general view, looking north

belonging to an oil press and Hellenistic pottery including a fragment of an amphora handle bearing an impression depicting a cluster of grapes (see Saller 1971: 166).

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 26 identifiable sherds)

Repeated visits to this site yielded only 26 sherds from the periods covered by this study. Thirty-seven Iron Age vessels indicate that this period was significant in the history of the site. The site was settled in the Hellenistic period (7 sherds – 27%) and three Persian/Hellenistic jars may belong to the end of the Persian period. The Roman period finds include Early Roman (9 sherds – 35%) and Middle Roman (10 sherds – 38%) vessels only. There isn't a single sherd of the types common from the mid-third century onward and it appears that the settlement ended around the first half of the third century CE.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-11	4-11	4-11	--	--	--	--

Site No. 26

19-25/71/26

ח'רבת אבו שושה/גבעת איילה Kh. Abu-Shusheh/Giv'at Ayala

Map ref.: 1978/2512; *Elevation:* 140 m. b.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; after the name of a sheikh's tomb at the highest point of the site; *Type of site:* The upper part is a tell with meager remains of recent settlement; there is a field cleared of stones on the slopes. *Site area:* 52 dunams; *Topography:* the lower portion of a spur that descends toward Wadi Zalmon and the Gennesar Valley; *Arable land:* brown and brownish black bazaltic grumusol covering extensive flat alluvial areas in the Gennesar Valley; *Nearest water source:* Wadi Zalmon and 'En Dishna, approx. 250 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* – – ; *Agricultural installations:* threshing wheel from oil press in the southern part of the site (AVST);

Finds: aqueduct and water-powered mill in the southeastern part of the site; the mill's aqueduct is of concrete. The mill itself, however, is clearly situated upon an early mill.

Natural fortification: – – ; *Proximity to roads:* situated where the Wadi Zalmon route (B2) enters the Gennesar Valley; ca. 1.5 km. west of the Roman road west of the Sea of Galilee (R2);

Findings from other periods: Early, Middle and Late Bronze, Iron, Medieval and Ottoman periods.

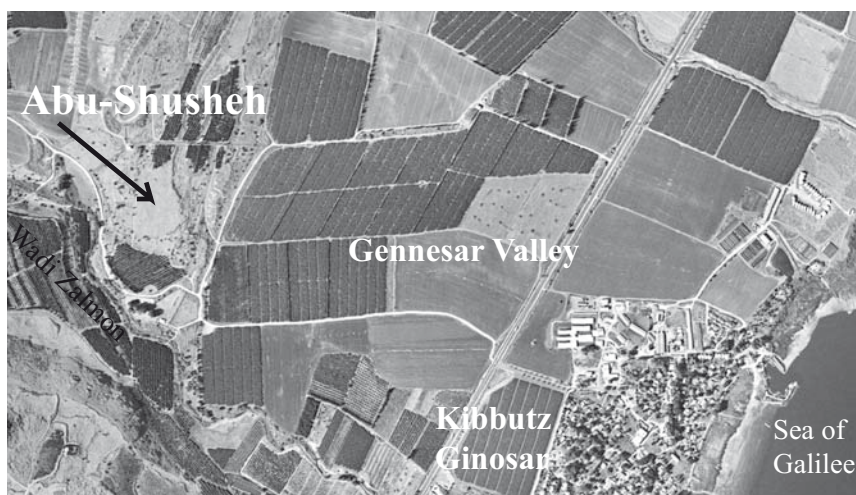


Fig. 54: Aerial photo of central Gennesar Valley and Kh. Abu-Shusheh (photograph: see Mapping)

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 209–212) noted the sheikh's tomb, flour mill and a number of abandoned huts. Epstein (1974) excavated four Middle Bronze tombs at the southern foot of the hill. AVST reported a decorated sarcophagus bearing a faint inscription, apparently in Greek, and pottery from the following periods: Middle Bronze I and II, Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk and Late Islamic (IAAA). Tepper and Shahar noted rich Roman and Byzantine period pottery finds at the site (no quantities given).⁴⁵

Identification: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 209–212) proposed identifying Abu Shusheh with ancient Gennesar, a proposal recently made again by Shahar and Tepper (1991: 47).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 183 identifiable sherds)

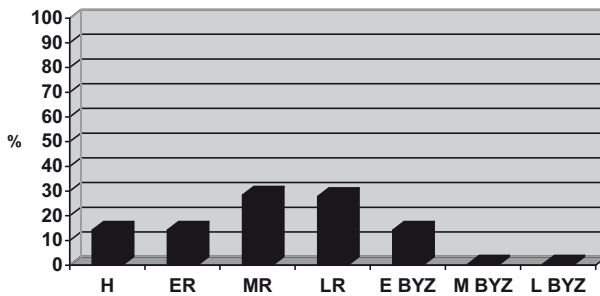
The pottery finds from Kh. Abu Shusheh and their comparison with finds from other archaeological sites from the surrounding valley show that this site should be identified as ancient Gennesar (see Leibner 2006²). Therefore, we shall begin with an analysis of the pottery finds from this site and presentation of the data from other archaeological sites in the Gennesar Valley, followed by a discussion of the historical sources dealing with the Gennesar Valley and its location and with the settlement of Gennesar itself.

The site was settled during the Bronze and Iron Ages. The clear absence of Persian pottery, however, indicates that intermediate Persian/Hellenistic types belong to the Hellenistic period. It thus appears that settlement at the site was renewed during the Hellenistic period, whose pottery constitutes 14.2% of the finds. The settlement remained stable during the Early Roman period (14.2%), with a significant increase apparent in the Middle Roman period, whose finds are clearly predominant (28.4%). This flourishing of the site during the Middle Roman period corresponds with the main traditions in rabbinic literature which mention this settlement and which belong to the tannaitic layers of rabbinic literature that parallel this period.

The Late Roman period finds (27.8%) are mainly of type KH1e, which constitute nearly a quarter of all the finds at the site. It appears that settlement at

⁴⁵ Shahar and Tepper (1991: 27, no. 20) claim that architectural elements from a Galilean synagogue located here were buried at the dock of Kibbutz Ginnozar. An examination at the kibbutz and the dock did not provide any trace or documentation of this, and it should be noted that there is no other evidence for architectural elements from this site, either in reports of the AVST which documented the village prior to its destruction, or in the lists of Claire Epstein or the surveys by Guérin and the PEF in the nineteenth century. In a careful examination of all of the piles of stones at the site, we did not find any hint of architectural elements that could attest to a monumental public building at the site in the past.

the site during this period was considerably smaller than that reflected in the pottery finds.⁴⁶ Three imported vessels from the types found at the destruction layer at Sepphoris show that the settlement here continued at least up to the mid-fourth century. The representation of the Early Byzantine period in the tables (14.2%) belongs almost entirely to the intermediate type KH1e, which is already widespread from the mid-third century. The relative paucity of Late Roman period and Early Byzantine finds shows a decline in settlement at the site beginning during these periods, up to the cessation of settlement around the second half of the fourth century CE. A single Middle Byzantine sherd and one Late Byzantine one do not seem to attest to settlement phases at the site. It should be noted that although the site reached its greatest size during the Middle Roman period and remained a large site during the Late Roman period, there was no sign of a monumental public building.



Graph 10: Diagnostic sherds from Kh. Abu-Shusheh. Total=183

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
21-40	21-40	41-50	21-40	11-20	--	--

Other archaeological sites in the Gennesar Valley

As we shall see in the section on historical sources below, the al-Ghuweir Valley, which in recent generations has once more been called the Gennesar Valley, is indeed the historical Gennesar Valley. Ancient Gennesar should be identified as lying within the defined geographical boundaries of this valley.

There are six substantial settlement sites in this valley (in contrast to isolated structures), that are candidates for identification with ancient Gennesar:

⁴⁶ See the discussion of the overrepresentation of type KH1e among the surface finds in comparison to the excavated finds (above Chapter 4).

1. Tell Oreimah (Chinneroth) on the northern border of the Valley: most scholars identified Gennesar with this site, which is also identified as Biblical Kinneret (Avi-Yonah 1951; Dalman 1935: 130; *TIR*: 132). Intensive excavations have been conducted at the tell over the past two decades, revealing that the site was not resettled following its final destruction in ca. 700 BCE. Two Ptolemaic coins and a few Hellenistic period sherds found on the slopes of the site (not in a stratigraphic layer), were interpreted by the excavators as evidence for the practice of agriculture on the slopes of the site during the Hellenistic period, rather than as settlement strata (1993: 204, 214; Fritz 1993²: 301) and therefore, the site should not be identified as Gennesar.
2. Kh. Minya and nearby Khan Minya, at the southern foot of Tell Oreimeh: Kh. Minya was proposed by Mazar (1939–40: 412) as the location of Gennesar. Hübner (1986: 257), followed somewhat hesitantly by Fritz (1990: 182), proposed that Gennesar is actually the Greek pronunciation of Kinneret, and that during the Hellenistic period, the site moved from the tell to the ruins at its foot. Excavations at Kh. Minya showed that settlement here began no earlier than the seventh century CE (Loffreda 1997: 417; Graber 1993: 1050), and likewise the nearby bathhouse that B. Ravani began to excavate (unpublished; his notes in the IAAA record Byzantine and Early Islamic pottery). Khan Minya, north of these ruins (the Sapir Electric Station stands upon these remains today) was constructed at the end of the Mamluk period and was in use during the Ottoman period, as excavations conducted here revealed (Stepansky 1988–89: 73).
3. Tel Hudim (Hunud): An approximately 45 dunam tell, next to the shore of the lake slightly north of the center of the valley. Fritz surveyed the site in 1977 and wrote that the few sherds collected were Roman-Byzantine (no details provided), and that during that period, this was the most significant settlement in the region. Hence, it may be proposed as the location of ancient Gennesar (Fritz 1978: 44).⁴⁷ During the present survey, we were able to collect here 116 indicative sherds (vessel rims), approximately 100 of which were of the Bronze and Iron Ages,⁴⁸ and five Medieval ones (all the latter from a limited area in the west). Only 9 sherds were dated to the period during which, according to historical sources, Gennesar was supposed to have been the main settlement in the region, that is, the Hellenistic and Early and Middle Roman periods.⁴⁹ The fact that the pottery from earlier periods

⁴⁷ Later, Fritz, as stated, proposed to identify Kh. Minya at the foot of Tell Oreimeh as Gennesar.

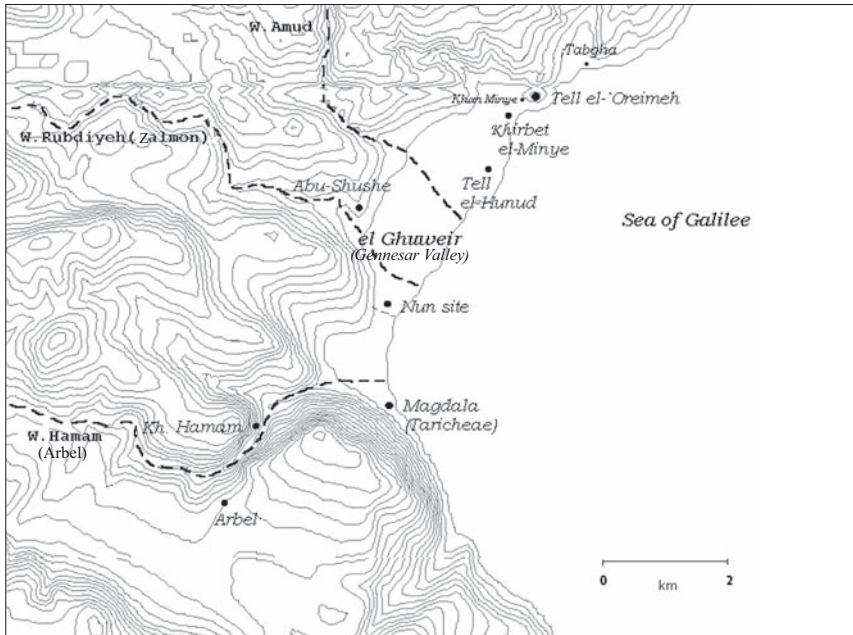
⁴⁸ A small portion may belong to the Persian period (for a pottery chart of the representative finds from the site, see Leibner 2006²). My thanks to Prof. Aren Maeir and to Dr. Yitzhak Shai for their assistance in examination of the pottery from the early periods.

⁴⁹ Four Hellenistic, 3 Early Roman and 2 Middle Roman. An additional sherd was of the Late Roman period and another one Byzantine.

was found in abundance upon the tell shows that the reason for the paucity of Hellenistic and Roman sherds among the survey finds is not a result of erosion, covering or poor survey technique, but rather, the absence of settlement at the site during these periods. It appears that these few sherds are evidence of agricultural activity, seasonal occupation or passersby, but there appears to have been no permanent settlement at the tell during these periods and thus, Tell el-Hunud cannot be identified with ancient Gennesar.

4. A small, nameless site (2–3 dunams) north of Wadi Nun in the center of the valley (near the entrance to Ilanot Beach). At the site is a Muslim cemetery and the pottery finds belong mostly to the Ottoman period, with a few perhaps Mamluk in date. Of 60 vessel rims collected in the survey, not a single one is from the Hellenistic or Early Roman period. Two Middle Roman sherds and two Late Roman ones do not seem to attest to a settlement phase.⁵⁰
5. Migdal: On the southern boundary of the valley. The Franciscans' excavation at Migdal revealed that the settlement was first established only during the Hasmonean period around the late second/early first century BCE, and this was confirmed by the results of the present survey. Mention of the name "waters of Gennesar" in a description of the journey of Jonathan the Hasmonean in the Galilee in 145 BCE in the First Book of Maccabees, which was completed some 20 years later, shows that during that period Gennesar was already a central and important settlement that gave its name to the sea of Galilee and can therefore not be identified as Migdal, which was founded later. In addition, the names Migdal (which has been preserved to this day in the name of the Arab village Majdal) and Gennesar are mentioned frequently in rabbinic literature of the second-fourth centuries as settlements of that period that existed simultaneously and therefore, it is not possible to identify ancient Gennesar with Migdal. The excavations at Migdal, located next to the main road along the shore of the lake, revealed that this settlement was urban-Roman in character and it appears that it took the place of Gennesar as the most important settlement in the region until the establishment and strengthening of Tiberias (Safrai 1985: 83).
6. Giv'at Ayalah/Ghuweir Abu Shusheh: Survey Site 26 on the western border of the valley: In view of the survey results, this site appears to be the only one in the valley at which archaeological evidence for settlement during the Hellenistic period was found. As proposed by Guérin some 130 years ago, ancient Gennesar should be identified here. Fritz (1978: 44) rejected this identification, claiming that the site was too far from the lake to have given it its name (the distance is approx. 2 km.). The combination of data from the excavations in the area and from the present survey show that the site at

⁵⁰ The Roman finds at the site are as follow: 2 KH1b, 1 KH1d and 1 KH1e. For the pottery chart of representative finds from the site, see Leibner 2006².



Map 8: Archaeological sites in the Gennesar Valley

Giv'at Ayala was not only the largest settlement in the region during the Hellenistic period, but the only significant single settlement in the area west of the lake during that period and consequently, gave the lake its name despite not being situated directly on its shore.⁵¹

⁵¹ The three main settlements for which the sea has been named in the different periods: Kinneret, Gennesar and Tiberias, are on its western shore. The only significant settlement known on the shore of the Sea of Galilee from the Hellenistic period, except for Abu Shusheh, is Tel Beth Yerah in the southern part of the lake, which should apparently be identified with Philoteria, mentioned by the historian Polybius (V, 70) in connection with the campaign of Antiochus III in 218 BCE. In fact, aside from that reference, we have no additional information about Philoteria. Aside from the excavation of the Byzantine church (Delougaz 1960), the extensive excavations conducted at the site have not been published, though the name of the place and perhaps the hoard of Hellenistic coins (Vinogradov 1992: 232) suggest that the settlement was founded around the mid-third century BCE by Ptolemy Philadelphos (=Φιλάδελφος, “lover of his sister”), brother and husband of Philoteria. The reasons for the disappearance of this city are unclear but may be related to the Hasmonean campaign of conquest in the region. Another large Hellenistic site is Sussita, which is, however, far from the shore of the lake and located in a different geographical context. Other Hellenistic sites near the Sea of Galilee with Hellenistic period finds are Capernaum, with poor Hellenistic remains; et-Tel, identified today with Bethsaida, some 2 km. from the lake (Arav and Freund 1999) and Kh. Nasr ed-Din west of Tiberias, ca. 1 km. from the lake (see survey Site 46).

*Historical Sources*⁵²

Second Temple period: I Maccabees 11:67 states that Jonathan and his troops camped τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Γεννησαρ (by the Waters of Gennesar) during a campaign around 145 BCE. In Strabo's geographical description from the beginning of the first century CE, the name Γεννησαρῖτις (Gennisaritis) appears as the name of the lake (Geography XVI.2.16). In the New Testament, the Land of Gennesar is mentioned (γῆ ν...Γεννησάρ⁵³), to describe the χώρα where Jesus and his disciples anchored after the story of the walk on the water (Matthew 14:34; Mark 6:53–55) as well as mentioning the Lake of Gennesar (Luke 5:1), however a settlement of this name is not explicitly referred to.

Pliny the Elder noted that the Jordan widens at a place called Genesaram vocant (Sea of Gennesar) and mentions a number of cities around the lake, but does not mention a city of this name (*Natural History* V, 15). It is noteworthy that even Josephus, who mentioned the Lake of Gennesar on numerous occasions (*War* 2, 573; 2, 463; 506; 510; 516; *Antiquities* 5, 84; 13, 158; 18, 28; 36; *Life* 349) and important events in his story occur in this region, noted that “the Lake of Gennesar (λίμνη Γεννησάρ) takes its name from the adjacent territory (χώρα)...” and that “skirting the lake of Gennesar, and also bearing that name, lies a region (χώρα) whose natural properties and beauty are very remarkable... (*War* 3, 506; 516, see below), but did not mention a settlement of that name.⁵⁴

The fact that the lake is called by the name of the main settlement next to it in different periods (Sea of Kinneret in the Old Testament and Sea of Tiberias in rabbinic literature of the Roman period) shows that in the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, during which the names Lake of Gennesar and Gennesar Valley appear, the settlement of that name was the main settlement in the region (Nun 1977: 66), though specific references to the settlement are found for the first time only in traditions from rabbinic literature that reflect the second century CE (Safrai 1985: 78–83). It appears that the relative distance of the site from the lake was the reason for not mentioning it in the framework of texts dealing with events along its shores, such as in the Gospels and the works of Josephus, as

⁵² For a detailed discussion, see Leibner 2006².

⁵³ In this form (Γεννησάρ = *gnysr* = Gennesar) the name appears in the important Ms. D (Codex Bezae), but in most editions of the New Testament the form Γεννησαρέτ is the most common, perhaps influenced by the Biblical name Kinneret (see Flusser 2002: 343). The better Mss. of rabbinic literature, and particularly the Leiden Ms. of the Y, indicate that the original form of the name of the place is גניסר, similar to the Greek transcription Γεννησάρ.

⁵⁴ The Greek word χώρα is interpreted as a region or area in general and also as a territory or agricultural hinterland of a specific settlement (generally a polis). The absence of mention of a settlement in these cases apparently suggests that the Gennesar Valley was not perceived by Josephus as being a territory belonging to a settlement of that name, despite it being likely that the settlement gave the valley its name.

well as its absence from early geographical works describing the main settlements alongside the lake.⁵⁵

The Location of the Gennesar Valley: In the framework of a description of the battle at Tarichea-Migdal, Josephus presents the following:

“The Lake of Gennesar (λίμνη Γεννησάρ) takes its name from the adjacent territory (χώρα)... Skirting the Lake of Gennesar, and also bearing that name, lies a region (χώρα) whose natural properties and beauty are very remarkable... Besides being favored by its genial air, the country is watered by a highly fertilizing spring... This region extends along the border of the lake which bears its name, for a length of thirty furlongs (στάδια), and inland to a depth of twenty. Such is the nature of this district.” (*War* 3, 506–521 [Thackeray 1927, 719–723]).

The length of the Gennesar Valley is 5.5 km. and its maximum width approx. 2 km. This indeed fits Josephus’ description, which noted a size of 30×20 stadia (approx. 5.4×3.6 km.). The valley constitutes a closed geographical region that is separated from its surroundings: Mt. Arbel, which reaches the edge of the Sea of Galilee, closes the valley to the south, the ridge of Mt. Kor and Tel Oreimah close the valley to the north, and on the west, the valley is bounded by the slopes of the hills of the Lower Galilee. Both Josephus’ physical description of the valley as a region with abundant water as well as its inclusion in his presentation of the battle at Tarichea support its identity as the valley known by this name today.

In several rabbinic literary sources, the Gennesar Valley is referred to as an example of goodness due to the fertility of its land and the quality of its fruits, and Klein (1967: 139) noted the similarity between these descriptions and Josephus’ account.

Genesis Rabbah 99, 21 (p. 1267):

נפתלי אילה שלוחה – מדבר בארצו שכולה בית השלחין הדה הוא דכתיב ‘מכנרת ועד ים הערבה’ (דברים ג, יז). ‘מכנרת’: ר’ אלעזר אמר גנוסר... אמר רבי ברכיה כל חוף ימה של טבריה נקרא כנרת ולמה הוא קורא אותה גנוסר? רבנן אמרי: גני שרים...

“Naphtali is a hind let loose” (Gen. 49:21): This refers to his territory which is all irrigated.⁵⁶ Thus it is written: “From Kinneret even unto the sea of the Arabah” (Deut. 3:17): From Kinneret: Rabbi Elazar said, (this is) Gennesar... Rabbi Berakiah said: The whole shore of the Lake of Tiberias is called Kinneret. And why does he call it Gennesar? The Rabbis said: (Gennesar means) gardens of rulers⁵⁷...

⁵⁵ It should be noted that the rabbinic sources do not mention Gennesar in contexts that might indicate immediate proximity to the lake (fishing, boats, etc.), but rather, only in agricultural contexts (Shahar and Tepper 1991: 47 n. 96), once more, a fact that suits the location of the site.

⁵⁶ This *midrash* is based on the similarity in pronunciation between *ayala shluḥa* = hind let loose) in this verse and בית השלחין (*beit hashalchin*), which indicates a field whose crops are irrigated.

⁵⁷ The *midrash* is based on a play on words: Gennesar = *ganei-sar*, i.e., gardens of the statesman.

This connection between the Gennesar Valley and irrigation agriculture leaves no room for doubt that this is the valley known by this name in our day, since this is the only area in the region that can be irrigated in its entirety.⁵⁸

The name Gennesar, as the name of an agricultural zone, was preserved in the form Mazra‘at Janusar until the sixteenth century in the Ottoman tax censuses (Rhode 1979: 82), and its presence in Naḥiyat Jira, among other sites west of the Sea of Galilee, leaves little doubt concerning the identification of the Valley.

The Settlement of Gennesar

The site Gennesar was apparently still known up to the early nineteenth century and the sources in which it is mentioned also point to the present-day Gennesar Valley as the area in which this site should be sought. R. Eshtori ha-Parḥi, who lived in Beth Shean at the beginning of the fourteenth century, noted that Gennesar is located half an hour (on horseback, apparently) north of Tiberias and half an hour west of Tanḥum which is Capernaum (Kaftor va-Perah vol. 1: 286). In the Jacotin map, prepared during Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt and Palestine (1798/9), a site of ruins bearing the name Ruines de Genezareth is noted in the northern part of the al-Ghuweir Valley (Panckoucke 1826). The fact that this map was drawn by the French army corps of engineers for military purposes apparently shows that the name Gennesar or a similar name was encountered by the cartographers in the field and was not their own identification. In any event, significant topographical distortions in this map, which in effect is the first modern map of Palestine, do not allow us to determine the precise location of the site in the valley. A final piece of evidence for the preservation of the site name is found in a book by Yehosef Schwarz (1845: 220), a researcher active in the Land of Israel during the first half of the nineteenth century who noted that about an hour north of Tiberias are ruins called גאנסר (g’nswr) which is ancient Gennesar. Since then, this name has disappeared and it does not appear in the works of Robinson, of the PEF or of Guérin, who were active in the region later in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁸ Klein (1967: 147) believed that the *midrash* that mentions “gardens of the statesmen” (*ganei-sarim*) preserves an early tradition that the Gennesar Valley was a royal holding, in his view, from the time of the Ptolemies onward. Flusser (2002: 344), on the other hand, believed that the *midrash* indicates Hasmonian dynastic control by Simon or his son Johanan who, in his view, functioned as *srym* (rulers) prior to the Hasmonian monarchy. It seems difficult, however, to reach historical conclusions from such studies of word play (Gennesar = *ganei-sar* = *ganei-sarim*), of which there are numerous examples in rabbinic literature.

Rabbinic Literature

As stated, rabbinic traditions reflecting the second century CE are the earliest references to the settlement called Gennesar. Two sources related to R. Yosi (active in the second century CE) mention “Yonatan ben Ḥarsha a man of Gennesar” who queried the sages of Yavneh concerning halakhic issues.⁵⁹ The questions refer to the cultivation of date palms, appropriate to the botanical realia of the region and suggesting one of the branches of agriculture in the valley (Safrai 1985: 83). Two additional tannaitic sources show that Gennesar is the name of a settlement and not only of a region.

T ‘Eruvin 7, 13:

מודין חכמים לר' יהודה במעשה גניסר, שזה פותח דלת קרפיפו וסותם רשות הרבים, וזה פותח דלת קרפיפו וסותם רשות הרבים, שמערבין ונושאים ונותנים באמצע...

The sages concede to R. Yehuda in the case of Gennesar that (if) this (one) opens the gate of his enclosed area and closes off the public domain, and that (one) opens the gate of his enclosed area and closes off the public domain (then) they prepare an ‘erub, so that they may carry or set (objects) in the center (of the enclosed space).

The discussion in which R. Yehuda (bar ‘Ila’i – first half of the second century CE) participates deals with turning public domains into private domains, which is related to laws of the Sabbath. An example from Gennesar is presented to illustrate how this is done.

T Tohorot 6, 7:

מעשה במסוכן אחד שהיו מוליכין אותו מגניסר לחמתן והיו הכתות מתחלפות עליו ובאחרונה נמצא מת בידן ובא מעשה לפני חכמים ולא טמאו אלא כת האחרונה בלבד.

It once happened they were bringing a dying man from Gennesar to Ḥamatan and the groups (of bearers) were changing and at the last (group) he was found dead in their hands, and the case came before sages, and they declared unclean only the last group (of bearers) alone.

An additional source from which it emerges that Gennesar is the name of the settlement is in Y Megillah 1, 1, 70a:⁶⁰

‘וערי מבצר הצדים צר וחמת רקת וכנרת’ (יהושע יט, לה) הצידים – כפר חטיי, צר – דסמיכה לה, חמת – חמתה, רקת – טיבריא, כנרת – גניסר... וחבר הכרך ונעשה של גוים? איתא חמי בו אינן קורין ובחוצה לו קורין?!

‘...And fortified cities (that are) Ziddim, Z̄er, Ḥammath, Rakkath, Kinneret’ (Josh. 19.35). Ziddim is Kefar Ḥittaya. Z̄er is near it. Ḥammath is Ḥammata. Rakkath is Tiberias. Kinneret is Gennesar... A city that was destroyed and was settled again by gentiles (does the Jewish population in its vicinity read the Book of Esther on the 15th?). Take note: if (in the city) it is not read (on the 15th), (does it make sense) that outside of the city they will read (on this day)?!...

⁵⁹ T Kelim 5, 6; Y Ma’aserot 1, 2, 48d.

⁶⁰ See also parallel, B Megillah 6a.

This source, which deals with the times at which the Book of Esther is read (on the festival of Purim), “in walled towns from the days of Joshua” deals with identification of the fortified cities in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee that are mentioned in Joshua 19. Based upon the fact that the fortified city Kinneret was identified by the sages with a place called Gennesar, Gennesar also emerges as the name of a specific site familiar to the sages (though not necessarily settled in their day) and not only as the general name of the region. The date of the list of these identifications is not clear, but the language of the list is Aramaic and in the discussion, R. Aybo bar Nagrei and R. Ḥiya bar Abba are mentioned.⁶¹ It appears, however, that these sages are discussing an already-formulated list with which they are familiar and therefore, it appears that it was compiled prior to their time. It is of interest that at Gennesar [Site 26] and at Kefar Ḥitaya [Site 40], two sites mentioned in this list that were included in our survey, there are settlement remains much earlier than the time of these Roman period sages. Therefore, it seems that the identification by the sages relied upon remains of ancient settlements that they saw in these places.⁶²

This proposal corresponds with Adan-Bayewitz’s findings (1996–1997: 467–469) which showed that one of the criteria in the tannaitic halakhah for “houses of walled towns from the days of Joshua,” is the presence of remains of ancient fortifications at these settlements, remains that were known to the Jewish inhabitants at the time of the composition of the rabbinic sources that dealt with the matter. It is noteworthy that among the sites mentioned in rabbinic tradition under this category are also Gamla and Yodefat, which, in light of the archaeological excavations, appear to have been sites fortified by gentiles and settled by Jews following Hasmonean domination of the region. This appears to be true at Ḥittin as well, which we surveyed and which also belongs to this category (see below, discussion of Sites 40–42). Thus, it is probable that the traditions of the “walled towns from the days of Joshua” reflect a historical memory related to Hasmonean domination over fortified settlements (we shall expand upon this point in the discussion of the Hasmonean conquest in chapter 6). If my assumption is correct, then it would appear that Gennesar also was a fortified settlement in the Hellenistic period. This also seems apparent due to the nature of the settlements of the period, which were usually fortified.

⁶¹ Fourth and third generation of *amoraim*, ca. end of the third and beginning of the fourth century.

⁶² Safrai (1985: 83) believed that sages identified the fortified towns with the important settlements of their period. However, the fact that Zer was identified by the sages with a nameless site (“near Kefar Ḥitaya”) apparently shows that this site was not settled at all in their day and subsequently, that this is not a decisive criterion for inclusion in the list. This site “near Kefar Ḥitaya” is apparently our survey’s Site 41 (Kh. el-‘Aiteh) which is located approx. 300 m. southwest of Ḥittin. The site was abandoned during the Late Hellenistic period and was not resettled.

Summary: The name Gennesar as the name of the lake or of the valley west of the lake appears in sources beginning in the second half of the second century BCE and during the course of the entire Early Roman period. We first learn of a settlement by this name in rabbinic traditions that reflect the second-fourth centuries CE, though it is clear that the settlement existed previously and gave the lake and the valley its name. These sources are also the latest from which we may learn of the existence of a settlement at the site, while in later sources, the name Gennesar was preserved as the name of an agricultural region or of a ruin.⁶³

Site No. 27

19–25/40/27

חורבת סבן/ח'רבת סבאנה H. Sabban/Kh. Sabana

Map ref.: 1947/2504; *Elevation:* 138 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; Ottoman census: Sabana al Fauqa; *Type of site:* recent settlement remains upon ancient ruins; *Site area:* 28 dunams; *Topography:* hilltop upon a spur that splits-off eastward from the Mimlah ridge; *Arable land:* light-colored rendzina, proto-grumusol and blackish-brown basaltic grumusol on steep and moderately steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* numerous large cisterns throughout the site, two with staircases descending to the bottom; *Agricultural installations:* in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, 6 winepresses were located, each with a depression for a beam in one wall. Three of these are unusually large (3.5×3.5 m) with collecting vats, also of unusual dimensions (approx. 1.5×1 m. and 1 m. deep). One of these vats has a staircase descending to the bottom; *Finds:* a series of caves on the terraces beneath and north of the site; *Natural fortification:* steep slopes on the north, south and east; to the west, the hill is connected by a saddle to the ridge; *Proximity to roads:* 2 km. from the Wadi Zalmon route (B2);

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 359) noted ancient cisterns.

⁶³ Thus, for example, the twelfth century pilgrim Saewulf, who notes the plain of Gennesareth to the north of Tiberias; see PPT Vol. IV, p. 25. The name Gennesar appears frequently as the name of the Sea of Galilee, mainly in the literature of Christian pilgrims who undoubtedly were influenced by references to this name in the New Testament. Abbot Daniel, a Russian pilgrim (early twelfth century) notes a city called Genisara near the Sea of Gennesar, 'which is the sea from which the Jordan River flows into the Sea of Tiberias...' (*ibid.*, p. 65), and the traveler Fretellus mentions during the same period a hollow mountain full of gold near the Sea of Galilee where Gennesar is located and from it emerges the swamp of Gennesar... (PPT Vol. V, p. 29). These, however, are undoubtedly legendary descriptions that do not reflect geographical reality and these pilgrims were not familiar with a contemporary settlement called Gennesar.



Fig. 55: H. Sabban: winepress



Fig. 56: H. Sabban: winepress



Fig. 57: H. Sabban: winepress

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 145 identifiable sherds)

This site was divided into three separate collection areas. The only clear conclusion arising from this division, however, is that the strong medieval settlement here extended only over the hilltop and the southern slope, while the ancient settlement was larger and extended over the northern slope as well.

Two Hellenistic sherds may perhaps indicate the beginning of settlement during that period (probably in its latter part). The clear beginning of settlement is during the Early Roman period (16.5% of the finds), with a continuous increase during the Middle (20%) and Late (29.6%) Roman periods. Settlement at the site continued through all Byzantine sub-periods, but once more, the presence of intermediate LR/E BYZ types pose a methodological difficulty.

The Early Byzantine period (17%) is represented by a single imported vessel that belongs with certainty to this period, and the only other representation is due to the intermediate KH1e type (which constitutes 33% of the finds at the site). On the other hand, Middle Byzantine period finds (6%) include 8

imported vessels and the Late Byzantine period (9%) presents 12 imported vessels. The absence of KH4d and KH4e types and Diamond Rim jars typical of the fourth century should be noted. It is possible that there was a decline in the size of the settlement during the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century and only around the mid fifth century was there some recovery here. It is difficult to resolve this question unequivocally because type KH1e extends from the mid-third to the beginning of the fifth century.

It should be noted that there is no evidence for a monumental public building at this large site, which was settled during the Byzantine period. This is in marked contrast to other large Byzantine sites in the survey area.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	11-20	20-28	20-28	11-20	11-20	11-20

Site No. 28

18-24/79/28

‘Ailbun עילבון

(No pottery was collected at this site)

Map ref.: 1877/2496; *Elevation:* 200 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arab village; *Ottoman census:* Aylbun; apparently preserves an ancient name; *Type of site:* Arab village upon ancient ruins; *Site area:* unknown; *Topography:* hilltop and tops of slopes of a spur that descends from Mt. Ha-Koç northward; *Arable land:* terra rossa on relatively steep slopes; brown grumusol and hydromorphic grumusol over extensive flat alluvial areas in the Netofa Valley, 1.5 km. south of the site (sometimes flooded in winter); *Nearest water source:* ‘Ein ‘Ailbun, approx. 300 m. from the ancient central core of the village; *Water installations:* -- ; *Agricultural installations:* -- ; *Natural fortification:* steep slopes protect the site on the west, north and east. In the south, the site is connected by a saddle to the Mt. ha-Koç ridge.

Proximity to roads: On the watershed route (B5), approx. 1.5 km. from the Wadi Zalmon (B2) and Wadi Arbel (B3) routes.

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868-80 vol. 1: 359) noted that the village lies upon an ancient settlement and that it includes poor remains of a pillared building (perhaps a synagogue), and a nearby burial cave. The PEF surveyors reported a sarcophagus west of the village (*SWP* vol. 1: 381).

N. Tefilinski, an antiquities inspector during the 1960s, noted tens of burial caves containing Roman pottery on the slope north of the village, and a water

tunnel and a springhouse west of the village (IAAA). In excavations he conducted along the course of the National Water Carrier near the village, a horizontal tunnel deep underground was exposed, to which one descends from the surface via a slanted tunnel that apparently served as a passageway and provided ventilation. Small amounts of pottery that he dated to the second-third centuries were collected in the tunnels (Tefilinski 1963: 14–15). The nature of the tunnel and its height (approx. 1.8 m.) makes it difficult to accept Tepper and Shahar's proposal (1987: 280) that this was a hiding complex;

Identification: עילבו – 'ylbw, mentioned in the list of Priestly Courses as the settlement of the seventh course, Hakkoz (Klein 1967: 63; Safrai 1985: 198; *TIR*: 60).

* * *

Historical Sources

עילבו ('ylbw) is mentioned for the first time in the list of the Priestly Courses as the settlement of the seventh course, Hakkoz, and there is agreement among scholars concerning its identification with the village of 'Ailbun. In the inscription of the Priestly Courses from Bait al-Ḥader in Yemen, which was published by Degan (1972–73: 303) and dated by him to the fifth or sixth century (see above, note 28), the following line is preserved:

קוץ עילבו משמר השביעי [ה]kwz 'ylbw mšmr hšvy 'y (the seventh course)

This name appears as a settlement of the Course of Hakkoz in several *piyyutim* composed in Palestine at the end of the Byzantine period and during the Early Islamic period.⁶⁴

The name of the village appears in the Ottoman tax census from the end of the sixteenth century (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 189 – Aylbun) and in the account of an eighteenth century traveler (Yaari 1976: 438).

Summary: The only literary evidence in which 'ylbw is mentioned are Palestinian *piyyutim* from the end of the Byzantine and Early Islamic period. We do not know if the site was settled at the time of their composition, or if the *paytanim* utilized the name from a list compiled prior to their time.

Historical Analysis

Due to the dense settlement at the site today, we were unable to conduct a thorough survey; the following analysis is based upon chance archaeological finds and literary sources only.

⁶⁴ See: ha-Qallir – Goldschmidt 1968: 49; El'azar Berabi Qallir – *ibid.* 150; R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen – Elizur 2004: 630.

The identification of 'Ailbun with 'ylbw of the list of the Priestly Courses appears quite reasonable and – as we concluded in the case of Maghar – this suggests that the site was settled during the Roman period, at least prior to the early fourth century CE. The sporadic archaeological evidence also indicates that the site was apparently settled during the Roman period.

Sparse remains of an ancient public structure that Guérin saw – an ancient synagogue in his opinion – have not been noted since (including by the PEF surveyors), and the existence of a monumental building at the site thus remains doubtful. If indeed there was a monumental synagogue at the site, then as we proposed in the case of Maghar, it is probable that the settlement of that period belongs to the C Group or greater (11–20 dunams) and that it continued to exist at least into the fourth century.

At this stage of our research, we are unable to present a more precise historical-settlement portrait and therefore, these partial data will not be incorporated into the tables and summarizing regional analysis.

Site No. 29

18–24/68/29

H. Beth Netofa/Kh. Natef חורבת בית נטופה/ח'רבת נטיף

Map ref.: 1862/2488; *Elevation:* 194 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; apparently preserves an ancient name; in Crusader documents: Valée Battof; Ottoman census: Mazr'at 'Ayn al Natif, a term used to describe the area; *Type of site:* ancient ruin; *Site area:* 52 dunams; *Topography:* isolated hilltop in the northeast of the Netofa Valley; *Arable land:* brown grumusol and hydromorphic grumusol on an extensive flat alluvial area in the Netofa Valley (occasionally flooded in winter); *Nearest water source:* 'En Netofa, 1,200 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* five large cisterns; *Agricultural installations:* base of a screw-type olive oil press and fragment of a crushing wheel in the southern slope of the site;

Finds: large caves in the southern and northwestern sides of the site; cistern from which two caves branch, apparently part of a hiding complex; two cisterns with their stone covers at the foot of the southern slope and at the foot of the eastern slope of the site; a concentration of smooth ashlar and ashlar with marginal drafting as well as massive remains, apparently of fortifications, on the northwestern slope of the site;

Natural fortification: steep slopes on all sides; the site overlooks the Netofa Valley;

Proximity to roads: on the Netofa Valley-Wadi Arbel route (B3);

Finds from other periods: Iron, Persian and Medieval pottery;



Fig. 59: Beth Netofa: base of a direct-pressure screw oil press

Fig.58: Beth Netofa: ancient route climbing from the valley to the site



Fig. 60: Beth Netofa: cist tomb with a triangle slab cover



Fig. 61: Beth Netofa: fortification remains

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin reported numerous rock-cut cisterns and basements as well as a pillared building in the northern part of the site, perhaps a synagogue (Guérin 1868–80 vol. 1: 465). H. Eshel (1983: 51) reported a hiding complex at the site. Gal (1992: 27) noted Iron II, Persian, Roman-Byzantine and Mamluk pottery (no quantities given). Ilan (1991: 125) also identified a public building on the northern slope of the site and, in addition to ashlers and roof tiles, also reported column drums and architectural elements no longer visible at the site. Ilan also reported an architectural element in secondary use next to the spring. Recently, a pump was erected over the spring and the surrounding archaeological remains have been destroyed.

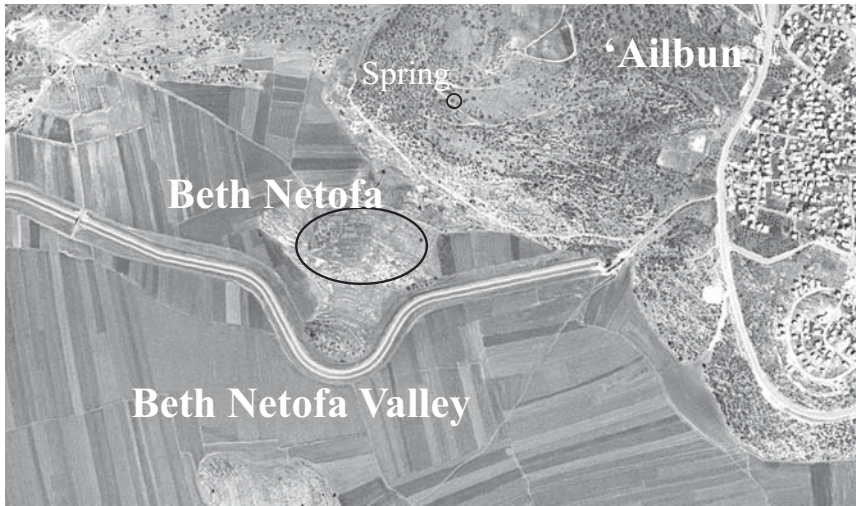


Fig. 62: Aerial photo of Beth Netofa (photograph: *see Mapping*)

Identification: Klein (1967: 22) believed that the Beth Netofa Valley of rabbinic literature is named after the main settlement of the region, whose name has been preserved in its Arabic place name – Kh. Natif. This identification has been accepted by scholars dealing with the site (Braslavsky 1954: 244; Klein 1967: 22; Safrai 1985: 50; *TIR*: 84).

* * *

Historical Sources

There is no reference to a settlement called Beth Netofa in the historical sources; the name appears in rabbinic literature in several variations as the name of the valley – בקעת בית-נטופה/נטופה/טופה/טופה (bq'ṭ byt-ntwfh/ntwf'/twfi/twfh). Klein was the first to identify the ancient Beth Netofa Valley based upon the valley's Arabic name – Sahel al-Batuf, and even proposed that the Arabic name Batuf⁶⁵ preserves the Aramaic form בקעתא דבי טופה (bq'ṭ' dby twfh).

In Genesis Rabbah 79, 18 (p. 941–945), following the famous story about the purification of Tiberias by R. Shim'on bar Yoḥai, it says:

⁶⁵ This form is familiar as early as the Crusader documents which refer to the region as Valée Battof (Prawer 1971 vol. I: 534).

סלק ישובות בביתיה ועבר בהדין מגדל צבעייה,⁶⁶ שמע קליה דנקיי ספרא א' לא אמריתון דדכי בן יוחי לטבריה? אמרין אשכחון חד קטיל?!... עבר בהדה בקעתיה דבית טופה,⁶⁷ חמא חד ברנש קאים מלקט ספיחי שביעית. א' לו ולא ספיחי שביעית הן?...

...He then departed to spend the Sabbath at home. Passing Migdal Zaba'aya he heard the voice of Nakai the Scribe saying: "Have you not said that ben Yoḥai has purified Tiberias? Yet it is said that a corpse has been found there?!..." He then passed through the valley of Beth Tofa. He saw a man standing and gathering the aftergrowth of the Sabbatical year. He said: "Is this not the aftergrowth of the Sabbatical year?..."

The (legendary...) route of R. Shim'on bar Yoḥai thus left Tiberias northward and in the vicinity of Magdala, turned west at the ascent of Wadi Arbel, to the Beth Netofa Valley. This route, in the broad and gradually ascending channel of Wadi Arbel, is the most comfortable for movement from the basin of the Sea of Galilee directly to the Netofa Valley and to the heart of the Galilee. Evidence for the use of this route exists up to at the beginning of the twentieth century (*SWP* I: 379; Dalman 1935: 118).

The widespread practice in rabbinic literature of calling a valley after a nearby settlement, as well as the form Beth Netofa Valley, and the preservation of the name Natif for a ruin at the east of the valley, show that this, indeed, was apparently the ancient name of this settlement.

Safrai (1985: 43) proposed that the name Beth Netofa Valley replaced the earlier name *yvt/ywdft* Valley בקעת יטבת/יודפת (T Niddah 3, 11; B Niddah 20a) and this attests to Beth Netofa becoming the main settlement in the valley after the decline of Yodefāt following its destruction in the First Jewish Revolt. Examination of the sources, however, reveals that both these names were used in the same period. In the M Shevi'it 9, 5, the Beth Netofa Valley is mentioned in the words of R. Shim'on (mid-second century), and in the T Niddah (3, 11), the *yvt* Valley is mentioned in the words of R. Yosi, a contemporary of R. Shim'on. If indeed *yvt* is Yodefāt, as emerges from the parallel tradition in the BT,⁶⁸ then it appears that the Beth Netofa Valley is the eastern portion of the

⁶⁶ In the parallels (Y Shevi'it 9, 1, 38d; Pesiqta de Rav Kahana 11, p. 193), the reading is מגדלא (Magdala).

⁶⁷ In some Mss. דבית טיפה/דבית טופה.

⁶⁸ And this is in no way clear. Settlements rarely mentioned in the Palestinian literature, or settlements with difficult names, sometimes appear in the B in corrupted forms or in "satisfying forms." Thus, כפר אכוס/אבוס (Kefar 'kws/'bws) in the Palestinian literature is turned into כפר עכו (Kefar 'Akko) in the B (see above, site 17), כפר נבוריה (Kefar nbwryh) becomes כפר גבוריא (Kefar gbwrya) or כפר גבור חיל (Kefar gbwr hyl), etc. Further, the possibility should be noted that the M before us resulted from a literary reworking of an earlier halakhah appearing in the T, and in that instance, the editor of the M changed *yvt*-Yodefāt to Netofah, which perhaps was known and more central in his day following the destruction of Yodefāt in the Jewish Revolt (on the T as one of the early sources for the M of Rabbi Yehuda see: Friedman 2002: 14–22).

entire valley (the present-day Sahel al-Batuf), while the *yvt* Valley lies in its western portion.

It is noteworthy that the appearance of the name Beth Netofa Valley in the Palestinian sources from the third-fifth centuries (M, Y and Genesis Rabbah), does not necessarily attest to the existence of a settlement called Beth Netofa during the entire period and it is possible that the name of the valley remained as before, even after the disappearance of the settlement (Safrai 1985: 43 n. 96). Therefore, these sources cannot aid us in clarifying the history of the settlement.

Agricultural Crops: M Shevi'it (9, 5):⁶⁹

ר' שמעון אומר: כל ירק אחד לביעור, אוכלין ברגילה עד שיכלו סגרות מבקעת בית נטופה.

R. Simon says: All vegetables are alike in what concerns the law of Removal: one may continue eating (i.e., during the Seventh Year) *regilah* until *sigariyot* (in the Y: *sinadiyot*) come to an end in the valley of Beth Netofa.

The halakhah deals with the question of how long it is permitted to eat vegetables in the sabbatical year. R. Simon states that all the vegetables are alike and one may eat the plant called *regilah* (*Portulaca oleracea*) so long as the *sigariyot* plant from the Netofa Valley is eaten.⁷⁰ The *sigariyot* has not been identified, however it appears that, like the *regilah*, it was not a cultigen but an edible wild plant that ripened late and grew in the Beth Netofa Valley.⁷¹

Historical Analysis (sample size: 341 identifiable sherds)

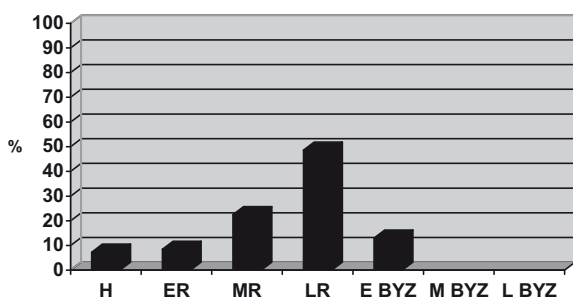
This site was divided into four collection areas, a division that enabled us to conclude that the Early Byzantine finds were concentrated primarily at the summit and on the southern slope. For other periods, no significant variations were noted.

⁶⁹ And with minor changes, in the M cited in Y Shevi'it 9, 5, 38c.

⁷⁰ For the interpretation of this M and the identification of the *regilah*, see Feliks 1987: 223–225.

⁷¹ In a number of places in the Palestinian literature from the third-fourth centuries, *zyt hntwfh* (Netofa olive) is mentioned as the name of a specific type of olive. Thus, for example, in M Pe'ah 7, 1 (according to the Kaufmann Ms.): כל זית שיש לו שם בשדה בזית הנטופה בשעתו ושכחו, אינו שכחה (Any olive tree which has its special name in the field, such as the Netofa olive in its season, and it is forgotten, [the law of the] Forgotten Sheaf does not apply to it). Various scholars proposed that this olive is named after the settlement or the valley (Klein 1967: 22; Safrai 1985: 51; TIR: 84). On the other hand, from the discussion in Y Pe'ah 7, 1, 20a, it emerges that the *amoraim* understood this name as referring to olive trees considered special because their fruit drip oil (notef in Heb. = drips). Because of their uniqueness, it is obvious that their owners did not forget to pick their fruit (fruit left on the tree by their owners, ordinarily become gifts to the poor). From the continuation of the discussion as well, in which the question of whether a field that consists entirely of *netofa* olives is exempt from the law of the Forgotten Sheaf, it emerges that the *amoraim* understood *netofa* olive as a description of a quality rather than as the name of a place.

The site was settled in the Iron and in the Persian periods, and probably some of the Persian/Hellenistic types belong to the Persian period. The site was settled during the Hellenistic period (7.3% of the finds) and its size remained unchanged during the Early Roman period (8.5%). There was a marked increase in the quantity of Middle Roman period finds (22.5%). The most dominant finds belong to the Late Roman period (48%), once more largely due to the KH1e type which constitutes 38% of all of the finds at the site. Among the Middle and Late Roman period finds, the relatively numerous finds of vessel types – jars, bowls and kraters – identified as manufactured at Shiḥin should be noted. It appears that the relative proximity of the site to Shiḥin had an influence on the quantity of these finds.



Graph 11: Diagnostic sherds from H. Beth Netofa. Total=341

Eighteen vessels (5%) belong to the group that began to appear in the region only from the mid-fourth century onward, including 4 imported vessels – all types found in the 363 CE destruction layer at Sepphoris (Balouka 1999). The imported vessels of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods found in large quantities at nearby sites (such as H. ‘Ammudim, H. Mashkanah and Nimrin) are entirely absent here and demonstrate the abandonment of this large site during the Early Byzantine period. The similarity between the late vessel repertoire here and that of the destruction layer at Sepphoris without a single later sherd, allows us to focus upon the final abandonment of the site at a date close to that of the earthquake that hit Sepphoris, that is, the second half of the fourth century CE.⁷²

Ashlars and roof tiles as well as column drums and building remains with columns seen in the past appear to indicate a monumental public building here, apparently a synagogue. At the same time, our precise survey of all of the piles of stones at the site did not reveal any decorated stones and it is therefore

⁷² Representation of the Early Byzantine period in the graph (13%) is primarily due to type KH1e. Sherds of this type were divided here between the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods at a ratio of 4:1, in accordance with the policy adopted for the intermediate types (above, Chapter 4).

probable that the building stones were either undecorated or had few decorations (similar to the synagogue at Kh. Shema‘). Our conclusion concerning the date of the settlement’s abandonment indicates that this monumental building was constructed before the mid-fourth century CE, an important finding in light of the question of the dating of the Galilean synagogues, much disputed by scholars in recent years.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
21-40	21-40	41-52	41-52	--	--	--

Site No. 30

19-24/08/30

Kh. Es‘ad/Kh. S‘ad ח'רבת אסעד/סעד

Map ref.: 1901/2485; *Elevation:* 120 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; Ottoman census: Xirbat Sa‘ad; *Type of site:* ancient ruin, part of which was damaged by heavy machinery; *Site area:* 8 dunams; *Topography:* a small hilltop upon a spur descending from Mt. Nimra to Wadi Arbel, near the wadi; *Arable land:* brown and light-colored rendzina and blackish-brown basaltic grumusol on steep and moderately steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* ‘Ein Es‘ad in Wadi Arbel, 400 m. from the center of the site; *Water installations:* a number of cisterns, three of them with impressive capstones; *Agricultural installations:* faint traces of quarrying in the northern slope – apparently remains of a winepress; *Finds:* tops of walls; seven first century BCE-third century CE coins (Syon 2004: 192–201); *Natural fortification:* steep slopes on the north, west and east; to the south the hilltop is connected by a saddle to the hill above; *Proximity to roads:* on the Wadi Arbel route (B3) and ca. 1.5 km. from the watershed route (B5);

Prior surveys and studies: Gal (1992: 34) reported Iron II and Persian pottery (no quantities given). Stepansky reported piles of stones and Iron Age pottery at S.E. 142, 300 m. southwest of the ruins (IAAA).

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 175 identifiable sherds)

The clear beginning of settlement at the site is during the Early Roman period (37% of the finds). Three Hellenistic sherds (1.7%) may indicate its

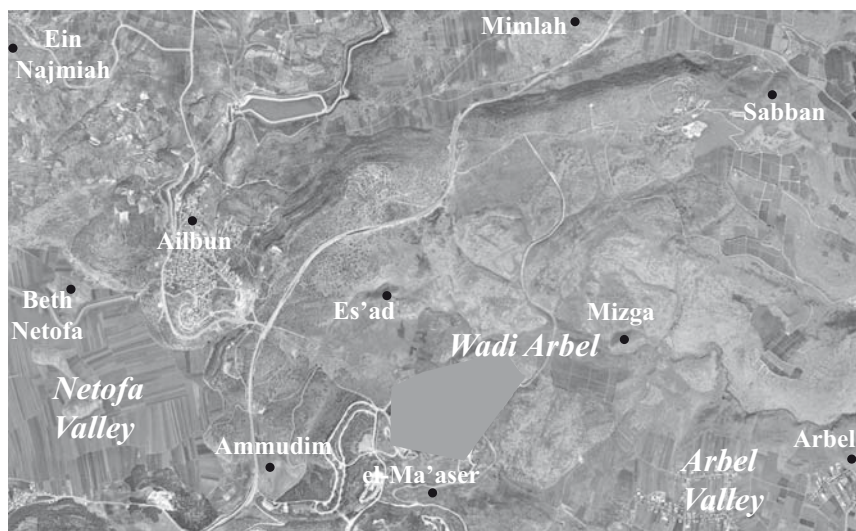
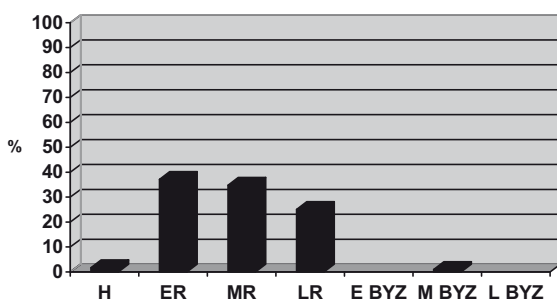


Fig. 63: Aerial photo: Eastern Netofa Valley and Wadi Arbel Settlements (photograph: *see Mapping*)

establishment at the end of the Hellenistic period, around mid-first century BCE or slightly earlier, however we are unable to draw a clear conclusion in this regard. Ten vessels of the T1.3 jar type that was common only up to the mid-first century CE indicate a significant presence during the first part of the Early Roman period. Settlement remained stable during the Middle Roman period (35%), while in the Late Roman period, which marked the end of settlement at the site, there is evidence for a significant decline in the amount of pottery finds (25%). The relatively small amount of the Kh1e type (which constitutes between a third and half of the finds at Late Roman period sites) and the absence of predominant fourth-century types indicate the abandonment of the site around the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century at the latest. Two local Byzantine sherds do not seem to indicate a settlement phase. No



Graph 12: Diagnostic sherds from Kh. Es'ad. Total=175

architectural elements indicative of a monumental public structure were found at the site.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	4-8	4-8	4-8	--	--	--

Site No. 31

19-24/38/31

חורבת מזגה/ח'רבת מוזקה H. Mizga/Kh. el-Muzekka

Map ref.: 1930/2481; *Elevation:* 40 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; *Type of site:* recent construction remains upon ancient ruins; *Site area:* 7 dunam; *Topography:* hilltop upon a shoulder that descends from Mt. Savyon to Wadi Arbel, next to the wadi; *Arable land:* brown and light-colored rendzina and brown grumusol on steep slopes; very limited flat areas in the streambeds of nearby Wadi Arbel and Wadi Nemerim; *Nearest water source:* spring in Wadi Arbel 250 m. from the center of the site (indicated as a well on maps); *Water installations:* -- ; *Agricultural installations:* two winepresses on the southeastern slope of the site; *Findings:* a cave at the hilltop; faint traces of a wall surrounding part of the site are probably the remnants of fortifications; *Natural fortification:* steep slopes to the east, west and south. To the north, a saddle connects the hilltop to Mt. Savyon. The site overlooks the confluence of Wadi Arbel and Wadi Nemerim and the spring at its foot; *Proximity to roads:* on the Wadi Arbel route (B3);

Prior surveys and studies: Gal (1992: 34) noted Iron II and Ottoman pottery (no quantities given).

Identification: Vilnay (1955: 131) and Peres (1946-55: 560) identified this site as Mizga, which appears once in rabbinic literature.

* * *

Historical Sources

Genesis Rabbah 34, 7 (according to the Vatican 30 Ms.):

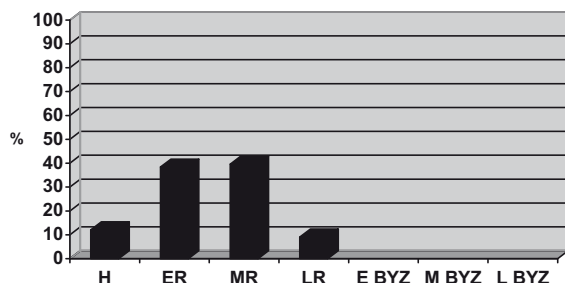
ריש לקיש הוה יתיב לעי באוריתא בהדה אולסיס דטיביריה, נפקין תרתין נשין מתמן. אמרה חדא לחברתה: בריך דאפקן מהדין אורה בישה. צווח להון ואמ' להון מן אתון? אמרין מן מזגה. אמ' אנא חכם מזגה ולית בה אלא תרתין עומרן. פתח ואמר ברוך שנתן חן למקום בעיני יושביו.

Resh Lakish was sitting and studying Torah in *ilsis*⁷³ of Tiberias when two women came out from there. One (of them) said to the other: “Praised be He who had led us out from that bad air.” He called out to them: “From what place do you come?” They said: “From Mizga.” He said: “I know Mizga, and it contains no more than two dwelling houses” (see: Sokoloff 1990: 399). He said: “Blessed is He who causes the inhabitants of a place to like it.”

Klein (1939: 104; 1967: 96) identified this Mizga with Mesḥa (Kefar Tabor), however this does not appear likely on phonetic grounds and the identification proposed by Vilnay and Peres with Ḥ. Mizgah in Wadi Arbel, which is nearer to Tiberias, appears to be preferable. On the British Mandatory maps, this ruin appears with the name Mazaqqa and in the SWP, Mazekka, names phonetically similar to Mizgah. The modest dimensions of the site (up to 7 dunams), suit Resh Lakish’s provocative reference to it as a “settlement of two houses” and its isolated location at the bottom of Wadi Arbel suits the provincial image of its women reflected in the midrash. If the settlement mentioned in the midrash is indeed Ḥ. Mizga, then it is mentioned in a story whose protagonist lived around the mid-third century CE.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 164 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of settlement at the site was during the Iron Age and a single clear Persian period sherd may indicate a settlement during that period. The site was settled during the Hellenistic period (12% of the finds) and its high topographical location and the faintly visible remains of fortifications constitute the characteristics of Hellenistic settlements in the survey area. There was a considerable increase in the finds belonging to the Early Roman period (38.4%). The Middle Roman period finds (39.6%) indicate stability in the settlement here, while the Late Roman finds reflect a precipitous drop (9%). The absence of



Graph 13: Diagnostic sherds from Ḥ. Mizga. Total=164

⁷³ Lieberman (1932: 208) proposed that *ilsis* was a place name where a center for glass manufacture was located. Gil (1977: 26), on the other hand, proposed that *ilsis* means a courtyard or palace and that this is the term employed for the *bet midrash* of Tiberias.

clear fourth century vessels as well as the small number of type KH1e indicate the end of settlement here shortly after the beginning of the production of this type in the second half of the third century CE.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-7	4-7	4-7	--	--	--	--

Site No. 32

19-24/67/32

ח'רבת חמאם (ח. ורדים) (Ḥ. Veradim)

Map ref.: 1961/2679; *Elevation*: 90 m. b.s.l.; *Origin of name*: the Arabic name of the adjacent wadi (today, also of a permanent settlement of Bedouins); perhaps Mazra'at Muḡr al Ḥammam of the Ottoman tax censuses; *Type of site*: ancient ruin; *Site area*: 54 dunams; *Topography*: the base of a cliff and a basaltic slope on the eastern side of Mt. Nitai, at the meeting point of the Arbel and Savyona streams; *Arable land*: terra rossa and rendzina on steep slopes; extensive alluvial areas at the outlet of Wadi Arbel into the Genessar Valley (1.5 km.); *Nearest water source*: 'Ein Arbel at the foot of the site, 70 m. from its center; *Water installations*: --; *Agricultural installations*: portions of an olive oil press: crushing basin, vertical posts, screw-type pressing installation and weights for beam-type press;

Finds: Numerous architectural elements from a public structure including column drums, heart-shaped columns, building stones, limestone and basalt architectural elements, and a lintel bearing a relief of a raptor (today at Beit Gordon in Kibbutz Degania). A monumental lintel bearing a pair of lions in relief, incorporated in secondary use at Kul'at Ibn Man [Site 35] opposite this site (*SWP* vol. 1: 410, now at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem), perhaps originated here.

There are numerous walls and building remains at the site attesting to a settlement built on terraces; the lanes between the terraces on different levels are visible. There are numerous natural and man-made caves in the cliffs above the site (see Site 33) and an impressive wall, including nine towers at the top of Mt. Nitai, some 350 m. above the site.

A number of limestone sarcophagi with lids were taken from Kh. Wa'ara el Soda (Map ref. 1955/2486) to the Ramat Gan Park (IAAA 1960) and some elements, apparently of a mausoleum can be seen today in gardens in the Bedouin village (Ilan 1991: 130). There is no evidence for ancient settlement in



Fig. 64: Kh. Ḥamam: crushing basin of an olive oil press



Fig. 65: Kh. Ḥamam: base of a direct-pressure screw oil press



Fig. 66: Kh. Ḥamam: back of a heart-shaped pedestal and column of the synagogue



Fig. 67: Kh. Ḥamam: column, probably from the synagogue



Fig. 68: Kh. Ḥamam: basalt drum of a heart-shaped column



Fig. 69: Kh. Ḥamam: corner pilaster, probably from the synagogue



Fig. 70: Kh. Ḥamam: weight of an oil press

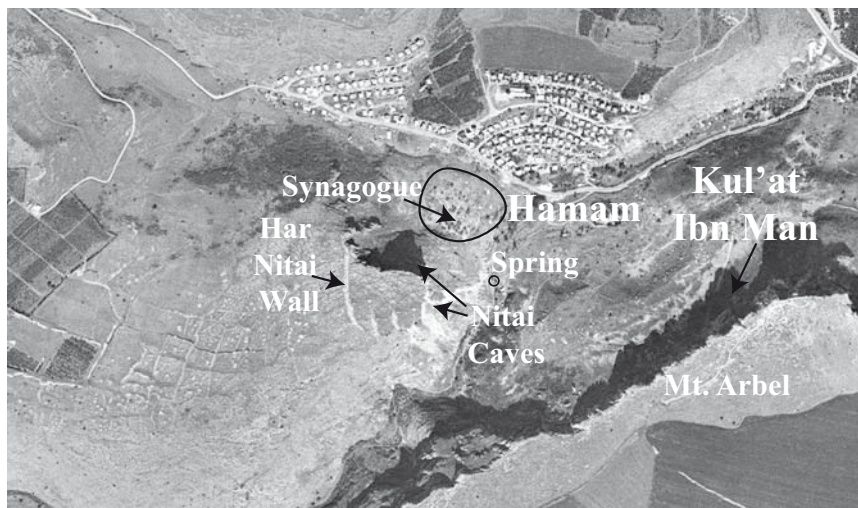


Fig. 71: Aerial photo: Kh. Ḥamam, Mt. Nitai and the Arbel cliffs (photograph: *see Mapping*)

this adjacent ruin and it appears that it is only a burial area of the settlement at Ḥamam;

Natural fortification: – – ; *Proximity to roads:* on the outlet of the Wadi Arbel Route (B3) and ca. 2 km. west of the Roman road west of the Sea of Galilee (R2).

Prior surveys and studies: Braslavsky (1954: 276) was the first to note the synagogue at the site. Shahar and Tepper (1991) surveyed the ruins, the caves and the wall at the top of the cliff and noted considerable Roman and Byzantine pottery (no quantities given).

Identification: Shahar and Tepper (1991) proposed identifying Ḥamam with ancient Arbel, based upon the relation to cave networks, the fortifications at the top of the cliffs and linguistic analysis of the expression *biq'at Arbel*.

* * *

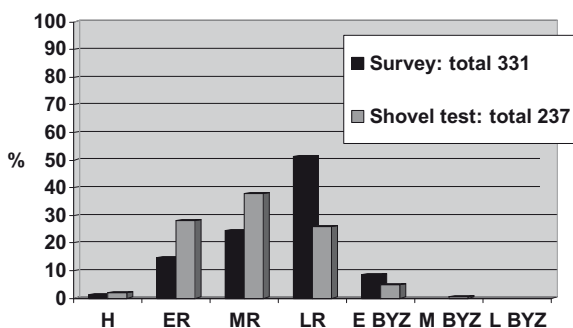
Historical Analysis

Results of shovel testing at this site and comparison with the surface survey results were discussed at length in Chapter 4. The small amount of Hellenistic pottery (1.2% in the survey and 2.1% in the shovel testing) may indicate settlement at the site as early as this period. However, such a small quantity out of such a large sample as well as the specific types found, seem to indicate the beginning of settlement at the site around mid-first century BCE or slightly earlier. Significant settlement here is apparent during the Early Roman period

(14.5% in the survey and 28% in the shovel testing), with a significant increase during the Middle Roman period (24.5% in the survey and 38% in the shovel testing). The five coins found in the survey and shovel testing all belong to these periods (see appendix on the coins).

The significant difference between the strength of the Late Roman period in the survey (51%) and in the shovel testing (26%) is a result of the dominance of type KH1e on the surface, which has been discussed at length in Chapter 4. In any event, the results of the excavation indicate that during the Late Roman period the size of the settlement diminished significantly.

In the surface survey, seven vessels (2.1%) were collected of types produced from ca. mid-fourth century onward (ARS58; CRS1; CRS1/2; C4B; two C3a; PRS2) and nine vessels in the shovel testing (=3.8%: C3a; C4b; two KH4e; two C3a covers; Sim Byz CP; CRS1; CRS2). Aside from a single Middle Byzantine vessel that does not seem to represent a settlement phase, all of the imported vessels clearly belong to the group characterizing the destruction layer of 363 C.E. at Sepphoris. This dramatic decline in the transition between Late Roman and Early Byzantine types, and the tiny number of vessels of the types that penetrate the region beginning in the mid-fourth century indicate the final abandonment of this large site not long after the appearance of these types – around the second half of the fourth century CE.⁷⁴



Graph 14: Diagnostic sherds from Kh. Hamam. Total=568

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	41-54	41-54	21-40	--	--	--

⁷⁴ The representation of the Early Byzantine period in the graph (8% of the survey and 5% of the shovel testing) belongs largely to the type KH1e which is common from the mid-third to the early fifth century. The almost total absence of vessels that must be dated to after the 363 earthquake, led to classification of the considerable finds of type KH1e on the graph mainly to the Late Roman period and only a minority to the Early Byzantine period (in a ratio of 7:1, according to the relative quantities of the other types from the two periods.)

Discussion: As stated, the ashlar and numerous architectural elements scattered around the ruins attest to a monumental synagogue at the site (Foerster 1983: 243), and the fact that part of the elements are of limestone and part of basalt even led to a proposal that there were two synagogues at the site (Ilan 1991: 128). The foundation of numerous synagogues during the Byzantine period has become increasingly clear in recent years (Loffreda 1972; Levine 2005: 210–214). It emphasizes the strength of this settlement at which a monumental synagogue was already constructed during the Roman period. As at Netofa [Site 29], the conclusion concerning the period of abandonment of the settlement indicates that this monumental structure is apparently earlier than the mid-fourth century CE. It is also important to note that at one of the shovel test excavations near the concentration of architectural elements *tesserae* were found, perhaps indicating that this synagogue had a mosaic floor. This information, together with the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Ḥ. ‘Ammudim, which belongs to ca. late third/early fourth century, strengthens Levine’s claims that mosaic floors need not be a late characteristic of Galilean synagogues and that not all of the buildings of this type were paved with stone slabs (Levine 1982: 10; 2000: 337).⁷⁵

The similarity between the latest types of pottery at this site and the types found in the destruction layers of the 363 earthquake at Sepphoris may, perhaps, indicate that the final abandonment of the settlement was related to the earthquake. This earthquake is referred to in detail in a church document from the fourth century CE that lists numerous sites in the Galilee and throughout Palestine that were damaged (see Brock 1977; Russell 1980). Recently, Balouka (1999) compiled information from many sites at which there is archaeological evidence of damage in the fourth century, damage that in her view should be attributed to that earthquake.

As is known, in addition to the nature and strength of construction, location and precise topographical character of a settlement have a decisive influence on its vulnerability during an earthquake (Karcz and Kafri 1978: 251). Kh. Ḥamam is located in the Rift Valley, a region highly vulnerable to seismic activity (Amiran 1996: 54). Additionally, its location at the foot of cliffs and the nature of the site, built on terraces on a steep slope, certainly made the site highly vulnerable to an earthquake. An earthquake here could result in the collapse of portions of the cliff, cause landslides, and a chain reaction in the event of the collapse of the houses constructed on the terraces. Beyond this possible reason

⁷⁵ Two seasons of excavations were conducted lately (2007–8) by the author at Kh. Ḥamam. All the data collected meanwhile leads to the conclusion that the initial phase of the synagogue had a mosaic floor and belongs to the late third or early fourth century. It is worth noting that the historical picture gained by the survey, which pointed to the abandonment of the site in the late fourth century has remained valid after two seasons of excavation in different areas of the site.

for the final abandonment of the site, which is purely conjectural, it is more important to note its decline during the Late Roman period and the failure of this large and impressive settlement to recover.⁷⁶ These points will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 6.

Identification of the Site: Shahar and Tepper (1991) claimed that Kh. Ḥamam should be identified with ancient Arbel and that, over the generations, the ancient name “migrated” to nearby Kh. Irbid. This proposal does not stand up to critical evaluation. First, the survey and shovel testing at Kh. Ḥamam revealed that the settlement was abandoned around the second half of the fourth century CE, while the pottery from Kh. Irbid shows that the settlement there continued uninterrupted for hundreds of years, at least until the middle of the Early Islamic period. This is further supported by the tens of Byzantine coins (fifth-seventh centuries) and 25 Umayyad coins (seventh-eighth centuries) found there (Dolev 1988: 30).⁷⁷ A considerable amount of Crusader-Mamluk and Ottoman pottery at Kh. Irbid shows that the site flourished during these periods as well. The proposal that the name of the settlement that was abandoned since the fourth century CE was transferred to a nearby contemporary site that was settled continuously, virtually to the present day, for hundreds of years after the abandonment of the former, must be rejected. In addition, the “people of Arbel” are mentioned in the synagogue inscription from Hammat Gader, which is dated to the sixth century CE (Foerster 1983: 11; 1995: 90; Naveh 1978: 57–59). This does not fit Kh. Ḥamam which was abandoned long before that. The series of references to Arbel and the valley in literary sources of the Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods, together with the identification of the settlement at Kh. Irbid in travelers’ literature of the past thousand years, indicate the preservation of the name at the known site (Elitzur 2004: 58 n. 3); see Site 39 below.

Shahar and Tepper’s proposal relies upon four main arguments:

a. The immediate connection of Kh. Ḥamam to the Mt. Nitai caves in their view corresponds to Josephus, who notes “caves very near the village called Arbel” (*Antiquities* 14, 415) and in another place, includes the “cave of Arbel” among the villages that he fortified (*Life* 188). Kh. Irbid, on the other hand, is not visible from the western group of caves located next to this ruin and according to Shahar and Tepper, these caves include no Early Roman period finds. In fact, however, in these caves (located approx. 400 m. from Kh. Irbid) we collected rich finds from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, that indicate these periods as the height of

⁷⁶ Noteworthy is the fact that the name of a settlement of this size and so close to Tiberias has not been preserved. I shall only briefly note that at most of the settlements abandoned during the Roman period, the ancient names have not been preserved while for most of the sites where settlement continued into the Byzantine period, the ancient names have been preserved (see below, Chapter 7).

⁷⁷ This also emerges from an repertory of the coins found in the numismatic card files of the IAA. My examination yielded 32 coins of the fifth century and later, mostly Byzantine and some Umayyad. My thanks to D. Ariel for permission to examine these files.

activity at the site (see Site 36). It is likely that preparation of the caves for habitation, which included quarrying cisterns and rooms, took place during these periods.

The fortified nature of this group of caves, their proximity to Kh. Irbid and the indications that they were prepared for habitation probably during the Late Hellenistic period seem to indicate that they were the caves referred to by Josephus. As we have already seen, the sites that he selected to “fortify” were mainly ones that had already been fortified during the Hellenistic period.

b. The massive wall on the summit of Mt. Nitai above Kh. Ḥamam was identified by Shahar and Tepper (see also Aviam and Richardson 2001: 181; Aviam 2004: 100) as part of Josephus’ fortifications intended to protect the caves and the settlement at the foot of the hill, which, according to their view, was Arbel. This interpretation relies upon the nature of the wall and its towers, which face westward and create a protected area to the east, as well as the absence of similarity between this compound and the familiar Roman siege camps.

Firstly, it should be noted that the guiding line in Josephus’ fortification activity was fortification of built-up areas in major settlements (see p. 339), which does not fit the fortifications at Mt. Nitai, which was, in effect, a fortified camp in an open field. The view that this wall was intended to block Roman military movement toward the settlement and its caves at the foot of the cliffs of the mountain to the east, is totally unreasonable. The descent from the vicinity of the wall to Kh. Ḥamam involves an extremely difficult descent via the cliffs, something virtually impossible for the heavy Roman army, which would undoubtedly choose to move via the broad streambeds of Wadi Arbel or Savyona, over which the wall has no control whatsoever. Izdarechet’s view (1988: 67), that the wall belonged to Herod’s camp from the siege against those holding out in the caves of Arbel around the years 38–39 BCE (*War* 1, 307–313), is a far more reasonable explanation. It should be recalled that the siege conducted by Herod against those holed-up in the caves was not undertaken under “sterile” conditions, but in what was a hostile region from Herod’s point of view, settled by a pro-Hasmonean population that supported Antigonus, who even went to an open-field battle directly against Herod and nearly defeated his army (*War* 1, 304–305, and see below, site 39 concerning the identification of the location of this battle). It should be recalled that Herod acted under the auspices and with massive aid from the Roman army (Stern 1966: 236) and it may be proposed that he utilized the Roman army to construct the compound.

From Josephus’ writings, it appears that the suppression of the rebels by Herod was cut short by the winter season, during which he apparently left a garrison to besiege the rebels in the caves (*War* 1, 307–308). Leaving a garrison in hostile territory prior to suppressing the rebellion obliged Herod’s army, first and foremost, to protect itself (indeed, immediately after Herod left the region, upon the surrender of the last of the rebels in the caves, the inhabitants of the region once more rose up against his army and killed its commander Ptolemaeus. See *War* 1, 315). The wall at the summit of Mt. Nitai creates a protected area with virtually impassible cliffs on three sides, while the west, which is the only side from which there is access to the compound, is protected by the wall. The compound offers a view over the entire region and makes it possible to warn of any approaching enemy from a distance of kilometers, and in addition is located just opposite the western group of caves of Arbel (above, Section a) and controls their openings. Herod’s army’s success in overcoming the rebels by lowering boxes containing fighters from the top of the cliff opposite the openings of the caves had to have been directed from the opposite side, which corresponds to the area at the top of Mt. Nitai and to the description according to which ἐξ ἀπόπτου δε Ἡρώδης ἐπιβλέπων – “Herod observed from a conspicuous place” (see Rengstorf 1973 I: 203) an old man killing his wife and children, and even negotiated with him (*War* 1, 312).

It is possible that the creation of the compound was even earlier than Herod’s day, for, nearby Tarichea (approx. 2 km. distant) was, apparently, the base of support for Aristobulus the



Fig. 72: Fortification on the summit of Mt. Nitai: remains of one of the wall towers



Fig. 73: Fortification on the summit of Mt. Nitai: remains of one of the wall towers



Fig. 74: Fortification on the summit of Mt. Nitai: remains of one of the wall towers



Fig. 75: Fortification on the summit of Mt. Nitai: remains of one of the wall towers

Hasmonean, and his Parthian patrons in their struggle against the Romans around 53 BCE. A Roman military camp is specifically mentioned in Tarichea in a letter dated 43 BCE (below, site 34). A possible indication of this is found in the fortification towers in which two building phases are clearly visible (particularly in the northernmost). The lower courses belong to a tower with a circular profile, which is characteristic of the Hellenistic period, while the upper courses belong to a square structure.

c. In accord with their view that the term בקעה (*bq'h* “valley”) in rabbinic literature denotes a narrow and deep area or the delta of a wadi, Shahar and Tepper believed that the term בקעת ארבל (*bq'at Arbel*) in rabbinic literature was appropriate for the delta of Wadi Ḥamam, next to which Kh. Ḥamam is located, but was inappropriate for the basaltic heights upon which Kh. Irbid is located.

This interpretation of the term *bq'h* does not coincide with the many rabbinic sources that indicate that *bq'h* is an extensive plain lying lower than its surroundings, which suits the accepted identification of the Arbel Valley, and is certainly inappropriate for the limited delta of Wadi Ḥamam.

d. According to Tepper and Shahar (1984: 45), the large spring adjacent to Kh. Ḥamam suits the description of Arbel as a center for the production of flax, a crop that requires considerable amounts of water, contrary to Kh. Irbid, which has no spring at all and therefore lacks the features required for the cultivation and processing of flax. However, there is no foundation to the view that flax cultivation requires an abundance of water (Izdarechet 1988: 70). It can be grown in Israel under dry-farming conditions, like winter grains, while for the purpose of soaking the harvested flax, there is no need for large amounts of water.

Site No. 33

19–24/57/33

מערות הר ניתאי Har Nitai Caves

Map ref.: 1959/2478; *Elevation:* 40 m. b.s.l. to 60 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* name of the mountain; *Type of site:* large group of caves on several levels; *Site area:* the caves extend in several groups over the face of the slope for an approx. 600 m. stretch at an elevation of approx. 200 m.; *Topography:* the southern and eastern cliffs of Mt. Nitai and the steep slope between the peak and Kh. Ḥamam [Site 32]; the difficult approach and the distance of some of the caves from Kh. Ḥamam (for those in the southern cliff, approx. 1 km.) and the difference in pottery finds, led to the definition of the cave group as a separate site; *Arable land:* terra rossa and rendzina on steep slopes; extensive alluvial areas at the outlet of Wadi Arbel to the Genessar Valley (1.8 km. from the center of the cave group); *Nearest water source:* ‘En Arbel in Wadi Arbel, approx. 400 m. from the center of the cave group; difficult access; *Water installations:* quarried reservoir in a cave in the high, northern part of the area and other reservoirs on the level adjacent to Kh. Ḥamam ; *Agricultural installations:* – – ; *Finds:* – – ; *Natural fortification:* access to the caves is extremely difficult and possible only by climbing from below; *Proximity to roads:* above the Wadi Arbel route (B3) and approx. 2.5 km. west of the Roman road west of the Sea of Galilee (R2).

Prior surveys and studies: Shahar and Tepper (1991: 24–53) surveyed the caves and noted that some of them were quarried; they also noted numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds (no quantities given).

Identification: Based upon proximity to Kh. Ḥamam, identified, in their view, with ancient Arbel, Shahar and Tepper (1991) proposed that the cave complexes together with the ruins constitute “cave village of Arbel” noted in Josephus (see above, site 32).

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 110 identifiable sherds)

As stated, part of these cave assemblages are located in direct proximity to Kh. Ḥamam [Site 32] and some are distant and very difficult to access from the ruin. The finds from the Hellenistic period in the caves (6.3% of the finds) included 1 ESA vessel and 6 Long Rim SJ attributed to the end of the Hellenistic period. These finds correspond with the considerable activity reflected in the cave assemblages of Wadi Arbel during the Hellenistic period, particularly during its latter part (see Sites 35 and 36). The bulk of the finds belongs to the Early and Middle Roman periods (33% each) while a significant decline in activity is

perceptible in the Late Roman period (16.3%). The poor finds from the Early Byzantine period (8%) consist of one imported vessel and of the calibrated amount of intermediate Late Roman/Early Byzantine KH1e vessels. This decline in L.R/E BYZ finds corresponds to the decline in settlement at Ḥamam during the Late Roman period and its abandonment in the Early Byzantine period and reflects the relation to the ruins (reservoirs and chambers quarried into these caves appear to indicate their use as dwellings). There is not even a single Middle Byzantine sherd. Noteworthy finds are four Late Byzantine imports, all found in an area of particularly difficult access of the upper cave level on the southern side of the cliff.

A similar phenomenon in the Arbel West caves [Site 36] and a lead bulla bearing the image of Mary and Jesus – a find typical of Christian sites (see appendix 1) – may indicate Christian monastic presence in the cliffs of Wadi Arbel during the Late Byzantine period, though there is no unequivocal evidence for this.

Although considerable finds belong to the Early Roman period, in view of the direct relation of numerous caves to Kh. Ḥamam, as well as the no less considerable finds dated to the Middle Roman period, it is difficult to accept Shahar and Tepper's proposal that the Early Roman finds are evidence of rebels seeking refuge in caves. It is, of course, probable that the phenomenon of caves of refuge mentioned by Josephus includes these caves, however, the archaeological finds offer no proof of this.

In terms of function, these cave assemblages do not reflect an ordinary civilian settlement, and obviously it is difficult to compare them to other sites in terms of position in the hierarchy of settlements. Nonetheless, because of the archaeological evidence for continuous settlement during certain periods and the fact that their use was not limited to being places of refuge, we decided to evaluate their size in terms of possible population.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
0.5–3	4–10	4–10	0.5–3	0.5–3	--	0.5–3

Site No. 34

19–24/87/34

מגדל/אל מגדל Migdal/el-Mejdel

Map ref.: 1986/2478; *Elevation:* 200 m. b.s.l.; *Origin of name:* ancient; preserved in the name of the Arab village located here until 1948; in Crusader documents: Magdala; *Type of site:* ancient ruins; *Site area:* 90 dunams;

; *Topography*: plain at shore of Sea of Galilee, extending from the lake in the east to the foot of Mt. Arbel in the west; *Arable land*: brown alluvial grumusol upon extensive flat areas in the Genessar Valley; *Nearest water source*: ‘Ein Kera in the northern part of the site; ‘Ein Nevi’an, 150 m. northwest of the center of the site; *Water installations*: Early to Late Roman period *nymphaeum* (Aviam 1997: 399–400); water tower and aqueduct; *Agricultural installations*: weight from an olive oil press (doubtful) (Frankel 1984: 376);

Finds: Domestic dwellings, a *villa urbana*, *nymphaeum*, paved urban plaza surrounded by colonnades, water installations and sarcophagi, all dated from the first century BCE to the fourth century CE; a Byzantine monastery that may have continued to function as such during the Early Islamic period; a Byzantine bathhouse adapted for other purposes during the Early Islamic period (Corbo 1974: 19–32; Corbo and Loffreda 1974: 40; 1976: 9; 1977: 8; Corbo 1976: 360; Loffreda 1976: 342; Netzer 1987: 165–172; Abu Uqsa 2001);

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: Roman road west of the Sea of Galilee (R2) crosses the site.

Prior surveys and studies: Extensive excavations were conducted by the Franciscans at the center of the site, the final report of which has not yet been published. A small, decorated public building (9×7 m.) was found, surrounded on three sides by columns and a water channel. Above the original first-century-BCE floor, another floor dated by the excavators to the first century CE was laid. Corbo (1974: 19–32) proposed that the building was a miniature synagogue during the initial phase and became a spring-house in the second phase. However, architectural considerations as well as the absence of significant changes in the transition between the first and second phase, seem to support E. Netzer’s suggestion that the building was intended as a spring-house from the outset and was never a synagogue of unusual proportions and design (Netzer 1987).

A Roman *villa urbana* was uncovered in the north of the site (Corbo 1978: 232–240), while in the south of the site, a large, multi-roomed structure was excavated. South of this building was found a paved plaza surrounded by colonnades extending over an area of 900 sq. m. To the west, a paved street that crosses the site (called *cardo maximus* by the excavators) and an aqueduct were exposed (Corbo 1976; 1978). Remains of a fortified Byzantine period monastery were uncovered in the southern part of the site (HA 48–49 [1974]: 40; Corbo 1974: 7–8; Loffreda 1976: 338). No evidence for damage to the settlement in the First Jewish Revolt was found (Loffreda 1976: 340). In the last decade salvage excavations were conducted at three spots in the site (Abu Uqsa 2001; 2005). In the first excavation, approx. 30 m. west of the Byzantine monastery, remains of buildings whose pottery assemblages belong to the first-third centuries CE were discovered directly beneath the surface. In the second excavation, conducted approx. 40 m. south of the Franciscan compound,



Fig. 76: Migdal: sarcophagi with slab covers (photograph: Y. Gal)

superimposed remains were found: sparse Mamluk period remains; remains of an Early Islamic period public structure with a mosaic pavement dated to the late eighth/early ninth century, apparently a church – according to the excavator; and remains of a Byzantine period bathhouse (Abu Uqsa 1995; 2001). These remains apparently belong to the above-mentioned monastic compound exposed by the Franciscans. In the third excavation (Abu Uqsa 2005), slightly farther south, buildings with pottery assemblages on their floors dated to the second-third centuries CE were discovered (my thanks to the excavator for permission to visit the excavation and examine the pottery finds; some of the types found continue into the fourth century, however the assemblage as a whole belongs to the second-third centuries). In all the excavations conducted at the site, the earliest finds belong to the Hasmonean period.

A concentration of sarcophagi dated from the third century CE onward was found south of the site (Tefilinski 1965: 14). In the underwater survey conducted in the Sea of Galilee just southeast of the site the foundations of a tower that may have given the site its name were found, as well as an approx. 90-m.-long wharf and a harbor marked by a breakwater. Pottery and oil lamps typical of the first century CE were found in the wharf and its vicinity (Raban 1989: 48; Galili 1991: 161; Aviam 1997: 399–400).

In 1985 when the water level of the Sea of Galilee dropped, a first century BCE–first century CE boat was found approximately 1.5 km. north of Migdal



Fig. 77: The Arab village of el-Mejdel in the early 20th century (after K. Gröber, *Palästina, Arabien und Syrien*, Berlin 1925)

(Carmi 1990; Wachsmann 1990). The boat may have been connected with the sea-battle that took place in the autumn of 67 CE opposite the shore of Migdal between the Jews and the army of Vespasian (*War* 3, 462–542). A hoard of 188 coins, minted between 74 and 222 CE, was found in the vicinity of present-day Migdal, west of the site (Meshorer 1976: 54–71).

Identification: The accepted identification of this site in the last generation has been with the settlement of Tarichea, mentioned in Greco-Roman literature and called Migdal, Magdala or Migdal Nuniya in rabbinic literature and in the Gospels. (Klein 1967: 47; Manns 1976: 307–337; Safrai 1985: 77; Reeg 1989: 391; *TIR*: 173).

* * *

Historical Sources

*Identification of the Site:*⁷⁸ Pliny the Elder noted that the city Tarichea lies at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee (*Natural History* V.71) and at the beginning of modern research it was identified with Kh. Kerak (Robinson 1856 II: 387;

⁷⁸ See details in Leibner 2006.

Masterman 1909: 28). Despite this, in light of Josephus' description of the campaign of Vespasian from Beth Yerah to Tiberias and thence to Trichea,⁷⁹ it appears that this settlement is located north of Tiberias, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. Based upon a critical reading of Pliny together with an analysis of Josephus' evidence, which also noted that Tarichea is located 30 *stadia* from Tiberias,⁸⁰ Albright decided in favor of Wilson's proposal to identify Tarichea with the Arab village of Majdal in the southern Genessar Valley, which corresponds to the indicated distance from Tiberias.⁸¹

The preservation of the name Majdal, geographical considerations and the similarity between the Greek name *Ταρχέα* = Tarichea (salted fish) and the name Migdal Nunya (tower of the fish) in Hebrew sources (see below) led Klein (1923: 76; 1967: 116) to propose that these were Greek and Aramaic names for the same settlement, a proposal that has been accepted by most scholars.

However, the only source in rabbinic literature that mentioned the name Migdal Nunya noted an entirely different distance from Tiberias, which makes the identification of Migdal Nunya with Majdal-Tarichea problematic. This source deals with the time it takes for dough to rise.

B Pesahim 46a:⁸²

א"ר אבהו אמ' ריש לקיש: "כדי שיהלך אדם ממגדל נוניה לטבריא - מיל". ולימא מיל?! הא קמ"ל שיעורא דמיל כמה הוי? כמגדל נוניה לטבריא. א"ר אבהו אמ' ריש לקיש: לגבל ולתפילה ולנטילת ידיים - ארבעת מילין...

R. Abbahu said in the name of R. Shim'on ben Lakish: '(dough is considered leavened if enough time has elapsed) so that a person can walk from Migdal Nunya to Tiberias - a mile'. Then let him say (directly, the time it takes to walk) a mile?! (By mentioning these places, R. Shim'on ben Lakish) is teaching us that the measure of a mile is like (the distance) from Migdal Nunya to Tiberias. R. Abbahu said in the name of R. Shim'on ben Lakish: 'with regard to (purifying) a (hired) kneader and with regard to prayer (in a synagogue) and with regard to (the obligation of) washing hands, (the distance one is obligated to seek these) is four miles.

A comparison is made here between the times it takes for dough to rise and the time that it takes to walk from Migdal Nunya to Tiberias, which is a distance of a mile (1,450 m.). The discrepancy regarding the distance between Migdal and Tiberias according to this source on the one hand and Josephus' testimony on the other, together with the actual distance of Arab Majdal from Tiberias

⁷⁹ *War* 3, 445-462.

⁸⁰ See *Life* 157. 30 *stadia* are approx. 5.4 km.

⁸¹ See Albright 1921-2; Wilson 1877: 10-13.

⁸² According to Munich Ms. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek-95).

(approx. 5 km.), has led to the proposal that there were two adjacent settlements north of Tiberias with Migdal as the first part of their names.⁸³ However, it appears that the cause for the discrepancy is the different halakhic view of the Babylonian sages concerning the length of time required for dough to rise – a view that led them to correct the original distance of four miles to one mile and thereby to “revise” the geography of the Galilee.⁸⁴ Thus, according to the original tradition, the distance between Migdal Nunya and Tiberias was 4 miles, the exact distance between Majdal and Roman Tiberias, which supports the accepted identification proposed by Albright.

Second Temple Period: Following the description of the results of the Parthians’ defeat of the Romans (53 BCE) and their invasion of Syria, Josephus noted:

Κάσσιος... ἀφικόμενος ἀνέβη καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ταριχέας μὲν οὖν προσπεσὼν εὐθὺς αἴρει, καὶ περὶ τρισμυρίου ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραποδίζει...

Cassius... went up to Judaea. Here he fell upon Tarichea, which he quickly took and made slaves of some thirty thousand men... (*Antiquities* 14, 120; see also *War* 1, 180).

These events are related to the cooperation between the supporters of Aristobulus the Hasmonean and the Parthians against Rome (Pucci 1982: 125). The numbers presented by Josephus appear very high, and it is not clear if he meant inhabitants of Tarichea or the rebels from throughout the area (Shatzman 1991: 135 n. 19). However, even if there is some numerical exaggeration here, the impression created by this source, which recalls the earliest episode connected with Tarichea, is of a large and important settlement during the mid-first century BCE. It is worth noting that the earliest text in which the name of the settlement⁸⁵ appears is by the same Cassius who, in a letter he sent to Cicero in Rome in 43 BCE, closed with the words: “*ex castris Taricheis*” (from the Tarichea camp). This source is also the sole evidence for the existence of a

⁸³ Albright, *ibid.*

⁸⁴ In the continuation of this discussion in the B, three additional halakhot are recalled in the name of the same sages dealing with the measurement of distance and in all of these the distance is “4 miles.” In the discussion of this same question in the Y (Pesaḥim 3, 2, 30a), the Palestinian *amoraim* clearly establish that the time required for dough to rise is equivalent to “a 4-mile walk” and it thus appears that the original halakhah incorporated in the B was similar. It appears that a different halakhic opinion of the Babylonian sages led them to change the authentic Palestinian tradition regarding the time needed to walk from Migdal Nunya to Tiberias and to note that the distance between these two settlements was a single mile only. See Leibner 2006: 38 n. 17 and the literature mentioned there. On the manner in which the Palestinian traditions reached and were changed on the way to Babylon, see Rosenthal 1999.

⁸⁵ Josephus wrote his book toward the end of the first century CE.

Roman military camp in the region.⁸⁶ Aside from Josephus, who we shall return to below, the town is also mentioned in three geographic-historical essays of the Early Roman period. In the midst of a description of the Dead Sea region and its characteristics (such as the asphalt and the story of the destruction of Sodom) the Greek geographer Strabo (early first century CE) mentions the town of Gadara and then notes:

Ἐν δε ταις καλουμέαις Ταριχέαις ἡ λίμνη μὲν ταριχέαιας ἰχθύων ἀστείας παρέχει

In the place called Tarichea, the sea provides good fish for salting (*Geography* XVI.2.45).

The confused geographical presentation indicates something about Strabo's level of familiarity with the region. However, the fact that Tarichea and Gadara are the only settlements mentioned by him in the region of the Sea of Galilee demonstrates the town's importance in his day.

In describing the region of the Sea of Galilee at the end of the same century, Pliny the Elder noted in his essay:

...Genesaram vocant... amoenis circumsaeptum oppidis, ab oriente Iuliade et Hippo, a meridie Tarichea, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant, ab occidente Tiberiade...

...the Sea of Genessar... surrounded by pleasant towns of Julias and Hippos in the east, Tarichea in the south – a name by which the sea itself is called, and in the west Tiberias... (*Natural History* V.71).

In addition to his mentioning Tarichea, Pliny's statement that some call the Sea of Genessar the Sea of Tarichea also attests to the importance of the site, for the lake is generally named after the most important settlement on its shores (see above, site 26).

In his book *Lives of the Caesars*, the Roman historian Suetonius noted:

⁸⁶ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* XII, 11. The Latin word *castris* can be understood as either a permanent fortified camp or as a temporary camp or as a force in a military battle. His mention of the camp in closing the letter, as well as the preposition *ex* (from), seems to show that this was not a temporary overnight encampment or a military force in a battle, but a permanent and known camp. In 44 BCE, this Cassius participated in a plot to murder Julius Caesar following which he took control over the Provincia Syria where he ruled from 44–42 BCE. In the letter, Cassius notes that his ally Bassus sent him a legion that was under his orders. It seems that this legion was sent in preparation of the invasion of Dolabella, Mark Anthony's candidate for the position of the governor of Provincia Syria, who invaded the region in 42 BCE (Schürer 1973–87 vol.1: 249). Probably the preparation for this invasion led to the creation of a military camp in the area of Tarichea, which lies alongside an important route. On the other hand, this camp was perhaps created in the framework of the suppression of the revolt by supporters of Aristobulus in 53 BCE, a revolt that apparently received Parthian support, as they were Aristobulus' patrons and invaded Syria during the same period (Schürer 1973–87 vol. 1: 270). It is possible that the impressive wall at the top of Mt. Nitai, ca. 2 km. northwest of Tarichea, is related to this Roman camp (see above, site 32).

(Titus)...deinde honore legioni praepositus Tarichaeas et Gamalam urbes Iudaeae ualidissimas

(Titus)... was placed in command of the legion and conquered Tarichea and Gamla, strong Jewish towns (*De Vita Caesarum*: Titus IV, 3).

The reference to Tarichea alongside Gamla as a strong town likewise shows its importance during the Early Roman period.

The Urban Nature of Tarichea during the Early Roman Period

Aviam, in summarizing the archaeological finds from the site, noted that during the Roman period the settlement was apparently a small and well-planned town (Aviam 1997: 399). However, in studies based largely on historical sources and dealing with the hierarchy of settlements in the Galilee during the Early Roman period, Tarichea does not appear among those of a distinctly urban character (Safrai 1985: 94–95; Goodman 1983: 27; Freyne 1980: 133). I wish to elaborate on the point made by Aviam, utilizing historical sources and the archaeological finds that demonstrate the urban nature of the settlement. I will limit my conclusions, however, to the Early Roman period, as it is only from this time that there is evidence for this urban character.⁸⁷

In two sources Josephus notes Tarichea as one of four towns that were added with their toparchies by Nero to the kingdom of Agrippa II:

πόλεις... σὸν ταῖς τοπαρχίαις, Ἄβελα μὲν καὶ Ἰουλιάδα κατὰ τὴν Περσίαν, Ταριχέας δὲ καὶ Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίας

cities... with their districts namely Abila and Julias in Perea, and Tarichea and Tiberias in Galilee.⁸⁸

The fact that Tarichea served as the capital of a toparchy over thirty years after the foundation of the capital of the Galilee at nearby Tiberias, testifies to the continuity in the settlement's dominance. As we shall see below, there appears to have been tension between these settlements with their dissimilar populations. We have no clear answer regarding when Tarichea developed its important regional status. From the survey results it emerges as the largest settlement in the region during the Early Roman period, and Josephus' account of the Roman conquest in 53 BCE shows that already at that early stage Tarichea was apparently the most important settlement in the region. Tarichea may have

⁸⁷ Urban indicators generally include: management of city affairs by an organized body, public buildings and structures for entertainment and leisure, an urban water-supply system, and generally, a rural hinterland controlled by the city and government recognition of the special status of the settlement (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 27–34). Most of these characteristics, though not all, find expression in the historical sources or archaeological finds from Migdal (see below).

⁸⁸ *War* 2, 252; see also *Antiquities* 20, 159.

attained the status of an administrative center during the Hasmonean period, when it took the place of Genessar as the main settlement on the west side of the Sea of Galilee (Leibner 2006²).

Classification of Tarichea as a town also seems justified in view of the extent of its population. As stated, at the time of the conquest by Cassius in the mid-first century BCE, an impression is made of a settlement with a considerable population. During the period of the First Jewish Revolt, Josephus noted that the town had 40,000 inhabitants (*War* 2, 608) and Suetonius likewise depicts it as an important town during the period of the revolt. Again, even if the numbers are exaggerated, one still gets the image of a town with a considerable population.

As known, Josephus does not always distinguish between cities or towns and large villages which he also sometimes refers to as *poleis*.⁸⁹ However, in the list of settlements he fortified Josephus makes a clear distinction between two types of settlements and classifies Tarichea alongside Tiberias and Sepphoris as a polis.

Life 188:

ἐν τῇ κάτω Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις μὲν Ταριχέας Τιβεριάδα Σέπφοριν, κόμας δὲ Ἀρβήλων σπήλαιον, Βηρσουβαί, Σελαμὴν, Ἰωτάπατα...

In lower Galilee I fortified *the cities of* Tarichea, Tiberias and Sepphoris, and *the villages of* the Cave of Arbela, Beersubae, Selame, Jotapata...⁹⁰

Apparently the classification of Tarichea as a polis here was not merely because of its size or its population but because of its urban status, as the size of Arbel, which Josephus includes among the villages, is 80 dunams in this period, Zalmon is 60 dunams and Be'er Sheva' approx. 50 dunams, none significantly smaller than Tarichea, which during this period was 90 dunams.

It appears that the question of the name of the settlement can also contribute to this discussion. The corpus of names in the tannaitic literature, as well as in the Gospels, show that the local population continued to use the ancient Hebrew or Aramaic names, even when the official names utilized by the administration had been changed to Greek ones (Jones 1971: 228–229; Grünzweig 1999: 354). On the other hand, new settlements given Greek names are always called by their Greek names in these sources. Thus, the names Julias, Diocaesarea or Scythopolis are not found in rabbinic literature or in the Gospels, but rather, Bethsaida, Sepphoris and Beth Shean. On the other hand, there is no evidence for any attempt to create Hebrew names for Tiberias and Caesarea, which were founded with these names. It thus appears that Magdala is the original name of

⁸⁹ Goodman (1983: 27). Galilee settlements to which Josephus refers as *polis* are: Kabulon (or Zebulon) (*War* 2, 503), Gabara (or Gadara) and Gush H̄alav (*ibid.* 629) and Yodefata (*ibid.* 3, 111), which, in the list of fortifications below is counted among the villages.

⁹⁰ The construction μὲν... δε... is used to show a contrast (on the one hand... on the other...).

the settlement, while the name Tarichea was given later. The fact that this Jewish settlement received a Greek name has been interpreted by scholars as a translation of the Hebrew name Migdal Nunya i.e., tower of the fish or of the fishermen (Klein 1967: 200). This is considered a functional name describing the occupation of the inhabitants (Schürer 1973–87 vol. 1: 494) or as a name attesting to trade connections or a Greek speaking population (Safrai 1985: 78). At other settlements, Greek names are related to the reception of a special status, to royal construction activity or to becoming a real *poleis*.⁹¹ It is proposed that the Greek name Tarichea was given to the settlement as part of its receiving certain urban privileges. The Greek name may be connected to royal construction or fortification of some sort, as in the case of Bethsaida/Julias, or perhaps to its becoming the center of the toparchy.⁹²

It is not clear when the settlement received its Greek name. From archaeological evidence concerning the foundation of the settlement around the late second century BCE, it is obvious that the settlement was Jewish from the outset, as already in 53 BCE it was involved in Jewish rebellion, so that the name Tarichea cannot be related to an earlier phase during which it might have been inhabited by gentiles. The Greek name is perhaps related to the foundation and renewal of cities by Pompey after his conquest of the east. The permanent presence of the Roman army in the region probably contributed to the development of the settlement and led to it receiving a Greek name.⁹³

⁹¹ For example, Sepphoris, which was fortified by Herod Antipas, receives the name Autokratoris and Beth Hermata which he surrounded by walls receives the name Juliada (*Antiquities* 18: 28). Nearby Bethsaida is a good example: this settlement received the status of polis from Philip (πόλιος παρασχων ἀξίωμα *Antiquities, ibid.*) and the name Julia and Philip even fortified it and added to its inhabitants. However, in the extended excavation conducted at et-Tel which is identified with Bethsaida, no monumental construction was found (Arav 1999²: 88–91), and there is no evidence that this settlement minted coins. Thus, two outstanding characteristics of a polis are absent from this settlement despite it being clear that it received the status of polis.

⁹² It should, nonetheless, be noted that centers of other toparchies in Judea included in Josephus' and Pliny's lists (*War* 3, 54–55; *Natural History* V.70), preserve the Hebrew or Aramaic names and do not bear non-Hebrew/Aramaic names. In addition, the functional name Tarichea (salting fish) differs in character from Greek names given by the authorities (often times related to the name of the Caesar or those close to him, or expressing a concept (city of peace, city of freemen). At the same time, there are Hellenistic cities with functional-descriptive names, such as Hippos (Sussita), a name stemming from the topographical form of the settlement, or Semitic names that were merely modified to make them Greek-sounding – Gader/Gadara, Paḥl/Pella, etc.

⁹³ On the presence of the Roman army as an economic impetus for development, see Safrai 1994: 39–49. In this regard, the influence of the Roman army on the leisure culture of the local population should also be noted. If there was indeed a permanent Roman military presence in the region of Tarichea in the first century BCE, this could explain the rapid development of the settlement and perhaps also the fact that there was a hippodrome here (see below), which is a clear sign of Hellenistic leisure culture.

Indirect support for the view that Tarichea enjoyed urban privileges emerges from studies that show the difference reflected in Josephus' writings between the rural population, which supported the Jewish Revolt (the "Galileans") and the urban population, which refrained from revolt for fear of harming their economic status and these privileges (Cohen 1979: 209 n. 53; Freyne 1992: 84). In a number of places in Josephus' writings, it appears that among the permanent inhabitants of Tarichea were ones opposed to the revolt "out of fear for their property and their city" (*War* 3, 492; 500). This also emerges from the fact that following the conquest, Vespasian divided the permanent inhabitants whom he spared, from the outsiders who were killed or sold into slavery because he believed they were responsible for the revolt (*ibid.* 532). In addition, from Josephus' description the Romans apparently did not destroy the town itself following the conquest.⁹⁴ This too is a possible indication of a distinction made by the Romans between the town's native inhabitants and the "Galilean" initiators of the revolt – apparently mainly refugees from the settlements destroyed in clashes between Jewish and gentile populations. This opposition to the revolt among inhabitants of Tarichea is similar to the opposition of the inhabitants of Sepphoris and of members of the First Party in Tiberias. It may be indicative of the socio-economic stratum to which they belonged. Tarichea being an important settlement in Agrippa's kingdom and its permanent residents his subjects is perhaps an additional reason for Vespasian sparing the town. According to Josephus, it appears that this was a main consideration in Vespasian's policy (see, for example, *War* 3, 453–461; 540–542). At the same time, the difference in Agrippa's relations with his subjects inhabiting Tiberias and those at Tarichea should be pointed out. After the lives of the latter were spared by Vespasian, Agrippa sold them into slavery. This may indicate a fundamental difference in his relation to the inhabitants of Tiberias, which was founded by Herod Antipas, and in his relation to Migdal, which was founded by and perhaps still identified with the Hasmoneans. Cohen has proposed that the fact that recently founded Tiberias took the place of the veteran Tarichea as the main city in the region and as holder of privileges, constituted the main factor in the hostility the inhabitants of Tarichea felt toward Tiberias (Cohen 1979: 209).⁹⁵ As we shall see below, the historical sources provide clues concerning

⁹⁴ In the extensive excavations conducted by Corbo and Loffreda at the site, no destruction level or gap in settlement during the second half of the first century CE was revealed (Loffreda 1976: 340).

⁹⁵ The creation of Tiberias has been understood by scholars as the desire of Herod Antipas to create an independent, pro-Herodian Roman center, against the pro-Hasmonean tendencies of Sepphoris (Kasher 1988²: 4). It appears that the decision to create a new city with all of the inherent difficulty involved, rather than develop nearby Tarichea, which already had an important regional role, also stemmed from the pro-Hasmonean character of the latter, a character reflected in its participation in the revolt of Aristobulus in 53 BCE and again, to some extent, in the First Jewish Revolt.

the tense relations between these settlements, which continued into much later periods.

The complex picture presented above points to an important settlement of Agrippa II and on the other hand to a settlement that constituted a base of support for the revolt in eastern Galilee (see, for example *War* 3, 458). It is difficult to suppose that Josephus would have chosen to locate his command at Migdal and to concentrate his soldiers there had it not been for the support of at least a significant segment of the local population. The central role played by the city in anti-Roman activity in the first century BCE and in the first century CE show, in my opinion, a zealot ideology among part of the town's population. In addition, the survey enabled us to see common characteristics in the sites fortified by Josephus or which served as his bases (such as Migdal, Arbel, Beth Maon), particularly their foundation or settlement by Jews in the Hasmonean period. It appears that the population settled by the Hasmoneans in the region, perhaps as part of an organized project,⁹⁶ was infused with Hasmonean ideology (Ben Shalom 1993: 170–171; 303; 315) and, some five generations later, played a central role in Jewish Revolt.

An additional question, perhaps related to the outcome of the revolt, concerns the circumstances in which Tarichea lost its administrative status as the capital of the toparchy. We have no sources specifically dealing with this, but the absence of any reference to an administrative status of any sort later in the Roman period led Avi-Yonah (1966: 111; 138) to suppose that following the revolt or in the time of Hadrian, Tarichea lost its status and its territory was placed under the control of Tiberias.

Urban Construction in the Literary Sources

Fortifications of the Town: It should first be noted that no remains of fortifications were uncovered in the excavations at the site. However, it must be recalled that the various excavations focused upon the Franciscan compound and its immediate surroundings at the center of the site, so that in any case, one would not have expected to encounter peripheral fortifications. In any event, the town wall is mentioned several times by Josephus and the detailed description of the outflanking of the wall during the conquest of the town by Titus leaves no doubt that the town was walled. It may reasonably be assumed that the town wall was destroyed by the Romans following the bloody battle that led to the conquest of the town and it appears that the destruction of the wall was part of the “rules of

⁹⁶ See Bar-Kochva 1977. For possible evidence for this settlement project, see Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997.

conquest” implemented by the Roman army.⁹⁷ From Josephus’ remarks, presented above, he would appear to have fortified the town, along with several other settlements that he fortified prior to the revolt. Further information, at least concerning his intention to fortify the town, is presented to us in connection with the rebellion that erupted against him in Tarichea in reaction to his confiscation of a precious cargo that was stolen from a convoy belonging to Agrippa and Berenice. Josephus attempts to extract himself from the angry mob by calling to the inhabitants that he needed money because:

...πόλιν ἀσφαλείας δεομένην καὶ πρὸς κατασκευὴν τείχους χρήζουσαν ἀργυρίου... τὰ χρήματα προεβλόμην, ἵν’ ὑμῖν περιβάλωμαι τείχος. (*War 2, 606*)

“...the city had to be put in a state of defence and that it was in lack of funds to construct ramparts... I decided quietly to keep this money in order to encompass you with a wall...”

This translation may suggest that Josephus strengthened existing defenses. It should likewise be noted that in the description of the battle itself, Josephus noted once more that the city was fortified by him, however, its fortifications were not as strong as those of Tiberias, whose wall was built in the early days of the revolt, when he had access to abundant resources, while Tarichea was forced to make due with leftovers (*War 3, 464–465*).

Shatzman (1991: 266), noted that the capitals of toparchies: Jerusalem, Herodion, Jericho and Sepphoris, were fortified in Herod’s day and had garrisons and proposed that other capitals of toparchies, including Tarichea, were also fortified by Herod (or perhaps, even before his time). One may thus assume that Tarichea was fortified prior to Josephus’ day and that his words concerning fortification of the city and making due with leftovers suggest strengthening an already existing fortification. If this assumption is correct, it strengthens the impression concerning the urban character of the settlement. Such elements were found mainly in urban contexts and were rare in Roman period villages.

Hippodrome: Josephus mentions the hippodrome of Tarichea (*War 2, 599; Life 132*). This was probably not a built hippodrome such as those known throughout the Roman Empire, but an open field for races typical of the Hellenistic and the Early Roman period (Humphrey 1986: 5–11; 530). In either case, however, it shows something about the leisure culture of the inhabitants, which had a clearly urban flavor.

⁹⁷ At nearby Tiberias, for example, Josephus notes that despite the city opening its gates to Vespasian, he only refrained from destroying its walls after the intervention and at the request of Agrippa (and that only after he had destroyed part of the southern wall in order to open “a broad passage for his soldiers” [*War 3, 453–461*]). Also at Gush Ḥalav, the Romans destroyed a portion of the walls after the city opened its gates to them (*War 4, 112–120*), while Yodefat, which, like Tarichea, did not open its gates, was destroyed to its foundations with its wall (*War 3, 336–339*).

The Urban Character as Reflected in Archaeological Findings

An agoranomos weight of the first century CE found upon the surface of the site was attributed by Qedar to the market of Tiberias (Qedar 1986–87: 31),⁹⁸ however, in accord with our proposal to see Tarichea as a settlement with a network of urban facilities, it may be proposed that such weights belonged to the local market supervision, a clear urban function.

Two additional urban characteristics are a paved central plaza surrounded by colonnades covering an area of approx. 900 sq. m., dated by coins found in the foundations to the early first century CE (Corbo 1978), as well as a water supply system that includes an aqueduct and storage installations, founded apparently during the Early Roman period (Corbo 1976: 360; Loffreda 1976: 342). A bathhouse, located in the center of the site also fits this urban character although bathhouses may also be found in rural contexts.

The stylized and elaborated spring-house erected in the first century BCE (Corbo 1974: 19–32; Netzer 1987), is a typical urban structure. A pillared monument upon a rock in the lake next to the settlement – perhaps a lighthouse conceivably giving the settlement its name, Migdal (“tower”), should be added to this list (Galili et al. 1991: 161–162). Construction projects like the above are unknown in the rural sector in the region during this period. The organizational ability and the extensive financing required to undertake such projects would have required local administrative supervision and perhaps even external sources of funding and supports the assumption that this settlement had a clearly urban character.

Summary: Although Tarichea of the Early Roman period was not a polis in the full political, economic and architectural sense of this concept, it nonetheless had clear urban qualities that set it apart from contemporary large central villages, and place it among the towns.

⁹⁸ Translation of the inscription upon the weight reads: (side A) – Year forty three of the great king Agrippa (our) lord (according to Ala Stein, the correct reading is “year twenty three...” see, Kushnir-Stein 2002: 131 no. 32). (side B) – (In the term of office of the agoranomoi Iaesaias (son of) Mathias and Aianimos (son of?) Monimos. Qedar believed that the Agrippa in question is Agrippa II, however since it is not at all clear if he reigned 43 years (i.e., until year 98 or 103 CE), Qedar proposed that the date indicated does not reflect the years of his reign, rather, the 43rd year since the founding of Tiberias (61/2 CE). According to the chronicler Fotius (ninth century), who perhaps relied upon a lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias (see Stern 1974–84 vol. 2: 333), Agrippa II died in the third year of Trajan’s rule, that is, in 100 CE, however this has not been accepted by all scholars (see Schürer 1973–87 vol.1: 481 n. 45–47). An additional difficulty in establishing a chronology for Agrippa is the fact that on his coins, apparently two systems were used for indicating the year of his rule, one beginning in 49 CE in Paneas (Kushnir-Stein 2002) and the second beginning in 61 CE (Meshorer 2001: 107; 114). This confusion makes it difficult to determine whether his latest coins were minted in 88/89 (Stein) or in 95/6 (Meshorer).

The New Testament: Dalman (1935: 128) proposed that the region Δαλμανουθά (Dalmanoutha), along the Sea of Galilee mentioned in Mark 8:10 is a corruption of the name Migdal Nunya. The same story appears in Matthew 15:39 where the place is called Μαγαδαν (Magadan), a name much closer to Magdala.

Μαρία ή Μαγδαληνη (Mary Magdalene) is referred to several times in the New Testament and Christian tradition identifies Majdal as her place of origin.⁹⁹ Ruf (1995: 44) believed that the epithet Magdalene, which lacks relevance for Migdal itself, shows that at the time of the events in the Gospels, Mary was no longer living at Migdal.

The fact that Migdal itself is not mentioned in the Gospels in direct relation to Jesus's or Mary's activities but only as an epithet added to Mary's name could explain why there are few traditions of sanctity attached to this place in Christianity and why it is mentioned less in pilgrims' accounts than other nearby places such as Tabḥa, Capernaum and Kursi.

It is important to note that neither Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (written around the early fourth century [Freeman-Grenville *et al.* 2003: 3]), nor Jerome in his Latin edition of that work (edited around the end of the same century), mention Migdal on the shore of the Sea of Galilee at all in the entry for Μαγαδαν. Both locate this site next to Jerash in present-day Jordan, despite Matthew specifically speaking of θάλασσαν της Γαλιλαίας (the Sea of Galilee) as the place where the events took place, and stating that Jesus arrived at the area of Μαγαδαν by boat. This is even more surprising in view of the familiarity with the site and its sanctity among Christian pilgrims of the Byzantine era, evidenced by the monastery at the site and testimonies of pilgrims (see below). This fact is probably related to the decline of the settlement at Migdal during the Late Roman period. Perhaps it had declined to such an extent that Eusebius never heard of it and it may also be connected with Eusebius' limited familiarity with the eastern Galilee (Notley and Safrai 2004: 128).¹⁰⁰ It is also likely that the monastery at the site was erected only after the time of Eusebius and Jerome, based upon the local traditions with which they were unfamiliar, though an

⁹⁹ In another context, Bar-Kochva (2002: 21 n. 34) maintained that the form of the ending νη is a suffix used for districts and accordingly, the meaning is "Maria from the district of Migdal"; this is possible against the background of a proposal that at least during the Early Roman period, Migdal was the capital of a toparchy. However, such a suffix is also utilized to denote a city of origin, as is seen in the burial inscription of Αννας θυγάτρ[ος] Μαθηθία Βισορηνή (Ḥannah daughter of Mattathias of Beth She'arim). See Avi-Yonah and Schwabe 1942: 31.

¹⁰⁰ The fact that the sites in the center of the country, which Eusebius apparently knew first hand, received more up-to-date descriptions than those in other regions was noted by Wallace-Hadrill (1960: 205). The fact that Eusebius does not, in fact, know anything about nearby Bethsaida led the researchers there to propose that abandonment of the settlement before his time or unfamiliarity with the region were the possible reasons (Smith 2004).

absence of data from excavations of the monastery does not allow us to establish the date of its foundation at present.

Rabbinic Literature: The form Migdal Nunya first appears in the B (Pesaḥim 46a) and in Palestinian *piyyutim* of the Byzantine period based upon the list of Priestly Courses, however, it is not found at all in Palestinian rabbinic literature, where it appears as Migdal or Magdala. Apparently the name Tarichea reflects a Greek form of Migdal Nunya and it seems that in the New Testament as well, there is an echo of the form Migdal Nunya, making it peculiar that this form does not appear in Palestinian rabbinic literature. Probably this large and important site, which lies at a central place on the shore of the Sea of Galilee and on the Roman road from Tiberias northward, was simply called Magdala, which is the Aramaic shortened form containing the definite article (“the tower”) that appears many times in rabbinic literature.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the poetic style of the lists of the Priestly Courses and the *piyyutim* preserved the full name of the settlement: Migdal Nunya.¹⁰²

Two rabbinic literary sources mention a synagogue at Migdal. The first deals with R. Shim‘on Bar Yoḥai, the earliest figure in rabbinic literature mentioned in relation to Migdal (ca. mid-second century). After the famous legend of his activity purifying Tiberias from its uncleanness, it is told that:

מִן דִּנְפֵק עֵבֶר קוּמֵי כְּנִישְׁתָּא דְּמַגְדָּלָא וּשְׁמַע קְלָא דְּמִינְקֵי סְפָרָא דְּמַגְדָּלָא אֹמֵר: הָא בַר יוֹחַי דְּכִי
בְּרִיא. אִמ’ לִיה וְלֹא מִן הַמִּינִיין הוּיִתָּה? תֵּלֵא עֵינֵינוּי וְאִסְתַּכַּל בֵּיה וּמִיד נַעֲשֶׂה גַל שֶׁל עֲצָמוֹת.

When he left (Tiberias), he passed in front of the synagogue of Magdala and heard the voice of Minkai the scribe of Magdala, saying (i.e., criticizing): ‘Here is Bar Yoḥai who purified Tiberias’. He (R. Shim‘on) said to him: ‘Were you not with us when the vote was taken’? He cast his eyes and looked at him and (the scribe) immediately became a heap of bones.¹⁰³

The aggadic character of this tradition makes it difficult to draw a clear conclusion concerning the existence of a synagogue at Migdal around the mid-second century CE. In any event, the criticism of the scribe of Migdal regarding the purification of Tiberias in this legend is interesting. Above we pointed to the hostility between the inhabitants of Migdal and Tiberias in the Early Roman

¹⁰¹ On the other hand, less central places called Migdal (Migdal Zab‘aya, Migdal Gader, Migdal Malḥa, among others) generally appear in full so as to differentiate them from one another.

¹⁰² Use of the Hebrew forms of settlement names are more characteristic of the tannaitic layers of rabbinic literature, while the amoraic layers generally utilize Aramaic forms. All of the names of settlements in the list of the Courses are in the more ancient Hebrew form (except for Migdal Nunya itself, which sounds Aramaic). One might add the use of the early form *zfwrym* rather than *zypwry*, a form that appears in a halakhah that apparently belongs to the Second Temple period (Adan-Bayewitz 1996–1997: 467). Possibly, the compiler of the list of Courses wished to give it an ancient touch and therefore utilized archaic expressions.

period, as reflected in the writings of Josephus, and we proposed that it is connected among other things, with the Hasmonean roots of Migdal and its inhabitants as opposed to the Herodian and to a certain extent, pro-Roman settlement at Tiberias. This rabbinic tradition, which reflects a much later period, may suggest a continuation of this tension between these two settlements.

A second source of special interest is Y Megillah 3, 1, 73d:

ביישנאי שאלון לר' אימי: מהו ליקח אבנים מבית כנסת זו ולבנות בבית הכנסת אחרת? אמר לון אסור. אמר ר' חלבו לא אסר ר' אימי אלא מפני עוגמת נפש. ר' גוריון אמר: מוגדלאיי שאלון לר' שמעון בן לקיש: מהו ליקח אבנים מעיר זו ולבנות בעיר אחרת? אמר לון אסיר. הורי ר' אימי: אפילו ממזרח למערבה אסור מפני חורבן אותו המקום.

The people of Beth Shean asked R. Ami: “What is (the law) with regard to the taking of stones from this synagogue for the use in the building of another synagogue?” He said to them: “It is forbidden.” R. Helbo said: “R. Ami only forbade this because of sorrow.” R. Gorion said: The people of Migdal asked R. Shim'on b. Lakish: “What is (the law) with regard to the taking of stones from (a dilapidated synagogue) from this town for use in the building (of a different synagogue) in another town?” He said to them: “It is forbidden.” R. Ami had taught: “Even from the eastern to the western (side of the city) it is forbidden because of the destruction (that would be evident) at that site (where the synagogue once stood).”

Unlike the previous source, this tradition deals with a concrete halakhic question, which makes it easier for us to rely upon it as a historical source. From the question posed by people of Migdal to R. Shim'on ben Lakish, one may surmise that in the second half of the third century CE there was a destroyed synagogue in the town, the stones of which they wished to utilize to construct a synagogue in another town. It is interesting that in the numerous surveys conducted at the site in recent decades, no evidence of a monumental synagogue was found, a peculiar fact considering the size and importance of this settlement.¹⁰⁴ Later in the passage, R. Ami (ca. 290–320) states that “even from east to west it is forbidden,” however it is not clear if this too concerns the question posed by the people of Migdal, which could, perhaps, show that some of the settlement was

¹⁰³ Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana 11, 16 (Mandelbaum edition, p. 193); and with minor changes, Y Shevi'it 9, 1, 38d, where a synagogue is not mentioned; Qohelet Rabbah 10, 8; and with more major changes, Genesis Rabbah 79, 18 (p. 941–945). For comparison between the sources and an extensive discussion of the entire story, see Levine 1978. Levine proposed that the criticism of the purification of Tiberias in the tradition reflects the tension between that city and Sepphoris, against the background of the conflict between these two cities over supremacy in Galilee. He proposes that the absence of Sepphoris in the tradition was a literary device intended to place the criticism of Sepphoris in the mouths of others (*ibid.* pp. 175–178 and n. 144).

¹⁰⁴ As stated, the structure that the excavators identified as “a small synagogue” was in fact a spring-house (Netzer 1987).

destroyed or abandoned and that its inhabitants wished to move the synagogue to the part that survived.

Aside from R. Shim'on ben Lakish, other Palestinian *amoraim* of the second generation (ca. third quarter of the third century) are mentioned in relation to Migdal, as in this well-known story in Y Horayot 3, 1, 47a:

וריש לקיש אמר: נשיא שחטא מלקין אותו בבית דין שלשלה... שמע ר' יודה נשיאה וכעס. שלח גותיין למיתפס ית ר' שמעון בן לקיש וערק בדה דמוגדלא ואית דמרין בדה דכפר חטיא...¹⁰⁵

And Resh Lakish said: 'A Nasi (Patriarch) who sinned – they administer lashes to him by the decision of a court of three (judges)'... R. Yehuda Nesi'ah (the Patriarch) heard (this ruling) and was outraged. He sent (a troop of) Gothes to catch R. Shim'on ben Lakish. (R. Shim'on ben Lakish) fled to Magdala, and some say, it was to Kefar Hittaya.¹⁰⁵

It is worth noting that both Migdal and Kefar Hittaya, the “refuge” of R. Shim'on in the different versions, are settlements that, according to archaeological evidence, were founded or settled by Jews during the Hasmonean period. It appears that in this tradition as well, there is suggestion of the ongoing tension between Tiberias, represented here by the seat of the patriarchate (which, of course, was not only located at Tiberias but also maintained close ties with the Roman administration) and Migdal, which represents, at least to the minds of the creators of the tradition, an alternative, “Hasmonean” tradition and opposition to pro-Roman ideas.

Another sage of the second generation of Palestinian *amoraim*, R. Yizḥak of Magdala, is mentioned on several occasions in Genesis Rabbah and in the B, however he does not appear in the Y.

The latest certain personage mentioned in relation to Migdal is R. Yudan of Magdala of the fourth generation of Palestinian *amoraim* (ca. 320–350).¹⁰⁶

Priestly Courses and Piyyutim: Migdal Nunya appears in the list of Priestly Courses in relation to the twentieth course of Jehezekel. In one of three fragments of inscriptions of the Priestly Courses from the synagogue at Caesarea, Avi-Yonah (1962: 139) completed the fragmentary text as follows:

משמרת שבע עשרה חזיר מ]מליח
משמרת שמונה עשרה הפיצן] נצרת
משמרת תשע עשרה פתחיה] אכלה [ערב]
משמרת עשרים יחזקאל מ]גדל [נוניא]

¹⁰⁵ According to the Leiden Ms., and with minor changes also in Y Sanhedrin 2, 1, 19d.

¹⁰⁶ In Y 'Eruvin 4, 3, 21d, R. Hūnah mentions Magdala and Tiberias in regard to their Sabbath limits, however, this name is shared by two Palestinian *amoraim*, one belonging to the third generation (290–320) and one belonging to the fifth (mid-fourth century; see Albeck 1969: 232, 387), and it is not possible to decide which of them was intended here.

Fragments of the inscription were found in secondary use and amid piles of debris (Avi-Yonah 1962: 137) and were dated to the third-fourth century by Avi-Yonah on the basis of paleographic considerations. These paleographic considerations, however, are quiet doubtful regarding inscriptions engraved on stone. The Course of Jehezkel and Migdal Nunya are mentioned in several *piyyutim* composed in Palestine, apparently at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century onward, however, from most of them, we cannot obtain historical data about the settlement at the time the *piyyutim* were composed.¹⁰⁷ In R. El'azar Qallir's *piyyut 'ykh yšvh ḥvzlt ha-šrwn* (איכה ישבה חבצלת השרון) (early seventh century; see Fleischer 1984/5: 406) there appears:

ראה כי הסערתִי כאניה / בתאניה ואניה
ועדתי כצאן לטבח מנויה / ונעה מחנויה / מגדל ננויה

Probably, by his inclusion of *'nyh* (boat) in the *piyyut*, the writer provides an indication of the settlement on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, which can show a familiarity with the geography of the area. As we have seen, it appears that at the time of the composition of the *piyyutim*, there was no longer a Jewish community at Migdal and on the ruins of the town, abandoned during the course of the fourth century, a monastery was constructed in the Byzantine period. In other words, the *paytanim* were not relating to a contemporary community or settlement.

Church Fathers and Christian Pilgrims: The site is absent from the fourth-century writings of Eusebius and Jerome. During the sixth century Migdal is mentioned in Theodosius' *Topography of the Holy Land*, a work apparently based upon imperial administrative lists of roads. Aside from mentioning the distance of two miles from Tiberias and noting the birth of Mary there, there are no details concerning the site (Wilkinson 2002: 9, 103).

In the seventh or eighth century CE, the monk Epiphaneus, in a description of a journey he made along the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, mentioned a village at Tabgha (?) where the Church of the Heptapegon is located. However, at the next site, two miles to the south, the writer noted "a church containing the house of the Magdalene at the place called Magdala" without mentioning the existence of a village there (Wilkinson 2002: 214). This laconic description and the numerous alterations and additions this travel log suffered (*ibid.*: 20), do not allow us to reach any clear conclusions.

The Village of Magdalom between Tiberias and Capernaum is mentioned in a description of the journey of Willibald, dated to the eighth century (Wright

¹⁰⁷ For example, in the *piyyut* on the Courses by R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen, who was active in the second half of the eighth century, there is a reference to the "Course of Jehezkel Migdal Nunya" both in the title and at the side of the page of the twentieth verse. See Elizur 2004: 639.

1969: 16), though this source is likewise full of alterations that prevent us from reaching reliable conclusions.¹⁰⁸

Summary of Historical Sources: Migdal-Tarichea first appears in literary sources of the first century BCE, corresponding with the most ancient archaeological remains found at the site, which are only slightly earlier. Within a short time, the settlement achieved its status as foremost in the region, including certain privileges, urban construction, culture and leisure facilities as well as demographically. It appears that the rapid development of the settlement stems from its location on the main road and perhaps the presence of a nearby Roman military camp. Excavations show the height of monumental urban construction at the site during the Early Roman period. In the anti-Roman and anti-Herodian uprising in the region in the first century BCE the site served as a base for supporters of Aristobulus the Hasmonean and perhaps also for his Parthian allies. During the first century CE, the settlement played a key role in the Jewish Revolt, serving as the center of strength and support of Josephus; it appears that this support came mainly from the numerous refugees flooding the city. A huge massacre accompanied the conquest of the city by Vespasian and Titus, however the city itself was not destroyed and it appears that most of those killed were refugees who played an active role in the fighting. The settlement is mentioned several times in rabbinic literature in relation to second, third and early fourth century CE figures, however aside from mentioning a synagogue at the site, these sources shed no light on the character of the settlement during those centuries. The settlement is mentioned in the list of the Priestly Courses, whose period of editing and historical interpretation are disputed. In any event, it appears that at the time of the composition of *piyyutim* based on this list during the later Byzantine period, the place, except for a monastic compound, was no longer settled.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 448 identifiable sherds)

In the survey, the site was divided into three separate collection areas:

- A. Channel cut by the Salt-Water Carrier – this channel crosses the site from north to south and its average depth below the surface is approx. 1.5 m. In effect, this channel constitutes an archaeological “section” extending for hundreds of meters that crosses the entire site and hundreds of sherds were collected from it.
- B. The area that encompasses the Franciscan compound. The main finds were from the north and west of the compound, while we succeeded in collecting little pottery to the south and east (along the shoreline).

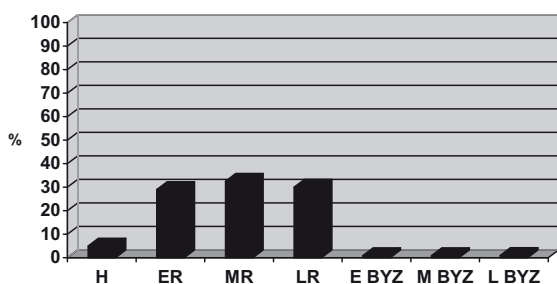
¹⁰⁸ For example, Willibald does not note a church at either Migdal or Capernaum, but does tell that he visited a church at Beth Saida and at the church of Chorazim...

C. West of Route 90 up to the foot of the sharp eastern escarpment of Mt. Arbel. Analysis of the breakdown of pottery according to collection area shows that the extent of the settlement westward, west of Route 90, occurred mainly during the Early and Middle Roman periods. The Late Roman finds from this area are relatively few and Byzantine finds are entirely absent.

The sparse Byzantine finds at the site were found almost entirely in the area of the Monastery compound. The Medieval settlement was limited, centered mainly in the northwestern part of the site.

It is also important to note the difference between the relatively large number of Early Roman period types from the section of the National Water Carrier and the relatively small number among the finds from the other collection areas. This increase in earlier finds below the surface in comparison with finds from the surface was also observed at sites where we conducted shovel tests.

From the numismatic finds from the various excavations conducted at the site (below), the beginning of settlement emerges as the end of the Hellenistic period, around the end of the second/beginning of the first century BCE. The quantity of Hellenistic finds (5% of the finds) corresponds with the proposed start of settlement towards the end of that period. The absence of the dominant Early Hellenistic types and the abundance of the Long Rim SJ, attributed to the end of that period, also support this proposal. The settlement appears to have peaked in size during the Early (29% of the finds) and Middle (32%) Roman periods. Late Roman period finds (30%) show a slight drop in comparison to the preceding period. In view of the fact that this period marks the end of settlement in most parts of the site, and the relative paucity of types characteristic of the fourth century (KH4d, KH4e, Diamond Rim jars and particularly the paucity of type KH1e, which constitutes only 13.5% of the finds in comparison to other Late Roman period sites at which it generally constitutes between a third to half of the finds),¹⁰⁹ it appears that the sharp decline of this large settlement started at the late third/early fourth century. This conclusion is supported by the numismatic finds (see below).



Graph 15: Diagnostic sherds from Migdal. Total=448

¹⁰⁹ The virtual absence of vessels of types appearing from the mid-fourth century resulted in attribution of intermediate type KH1e in the graph entirely to the Late Roman period.

Of the large pottery collection (448 identifiable sherds!), only 13 (2.9%) are of types that must be later than the mid-fourth century CE and they belong to all of the Byzantine sub-periods. The data concerning 96 coins uncovered in the various excavations at the site were processed by D. Syon, who generously allowed us to use his results. 67 coins from this collection were published by Corbo (2001²). The coins appear in a table divided into centuries, having been classified according to the primary century of their production, for example, coins of Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) have been placed in the first century BCE; those of Trajan (98–117 CE) have been placed in the second century CE, etc. Five city coins classified by Corbo and Syon as first-second centuries CE have been divided between these centuries. Beyond the number of coins, which permits statistical analysis, the importance of the collection is in it having originated in several excavations carried out in different parts of the site. Examination of the numismatic finds divided by century presented in the following table emphasizes the decline in settlement at the site.

2 nd c. BCE	1 st c. BCE	1 st c. CE	2 nd c. CE	3 rd c. CE	Late Roman unclassified	4 th c. CE	5 th c. CE	6 th c. CE	7 th c. CE
1	17	20	18	10	14	5	0	2	9

Aside from a single coin dated to the third century (Severus Alexander 222–235 CE), the remainder of the coins from salvage excavations at the site belong to the first century BCE–second century CE. Except for three, all of the coins from the fourth–seventh centuries from the Franciscans’ excavations as well as coins classified by Corbo as “Late Roman,” were found in a limited portion of Area E (Corbo 1976: 372–377). In addition, all the coins classified as fourth century belong to the first half of that century (Constantine I, 308–324 CE).

Comparison between the data in the table of coins and the graph of sherds shows great similarity in the results and strengthens the view that there was a sharp decline in settlement at the site around the end of the third/beginning of the fourth century. Corbo and Loffreda’s conclusion, based upon their extensive excavations at the site, was that the buildings of the city were abandoned early in the fourth century, except for a pool in Area E that remained in use and a monastery that was constructed in the southern part of the site during the Byzantine period (Corbo and Loffreda 1976: 9).

Estimate of site size in dunams

Late H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
41–60	Over 90	Over 90	41–60	4–10	--	0.5–3

Summary: The foundation of Migdal in the Hasmonean period may explain its involvement in anti-Roman activity over a lengthy period, as it appears that the Zealot-Hasmonean ideology was adhered to by at least a part of the population of the city, at least up to the First Jewish Revolt. The settlement was established upon the important route along the western shore of the Sea of Galilee in the south of the fertile Genessar Valley. The favorable conditions resulted in it becoming the most important settlement in the region during the first century BCE. Its importance and status as capital of the toparchy, which is documented around the mid-first century CE, is probably much earlier than this documentation and perhaps related to Hasmonean administrative division; however we have no sources relating to this. The status of capital of an independent toparchy is documented over 30 years after the establishment of the capital of the Galilee at nearby Tiberias. Reading Josephus' description carefully, one notes the tension and perhaps even hostility between the people of Migdal and those of Tiberias who identified more with the Herodian administration. The settlement is located in a plain without strategic advantage, something shared by many settlements created during that period. It is likely that the settlement was fortified even before Josephus, perhaps by the Hasmoneans or by Herod as part of his policy of fortifying the centers of his toparchies, which did not prevent Josephus from adding it to the list of cities that he himself fortified... In Josephus' description there is, in fact, no evidence of the destruction of the settlement at the time of its conquest by the Romans during the Jewish Revolt, and from the survey, it emerges that the settlement remained stable throughout the Early and Middle Roman periods. The preliminary publication of the Franciscans excavation results in their compound at the center of the site (approx. 10 dunams) offers no evidence for damage at that time. This publication, as well as the salvage excavations at the site, further reveal that, except for the monastic compound in the southern part of the site, the rest of the settlement is primarily first century BCE to fourth century CE. These data correspond to the findings of the survey, which indicate the Early and Middle Roman periods as the peak of settlement of the site and the Late Roman period as a time of decline leading to nearly complete cessation of settlement at the site during the fourth century.

It appears that from the Early Byzantine period onward, there was no ordinary settlement at the site and the presence there consisted of the monastery established during the Byzantine period (apparently, in a late phase of that period), where the house of Mary Magdalene was identified.

Despite the extensive excavations, descriptions of travelers who visited here and intensive surveys conducted at the site in recent generations, there is no evidence at the site of a monumental synagogue. This stands out even more against the background of the fact that this is the largest site in the entire survey area and against the background of the urban character of Migdal during the Early/Middle Roman period that we have discussed in detail. This site thus joins several other large sites at which monumental synagogue buildings are

lacking, and which share in common cessation of settlement or marked decline in settlement during the Late Roman period.

We have dealt above with the source from Y Megillah concerning the question of the people of Migdal whether it is permissible to take the stones of a synagogue “from this city and to build in another.” This question suggests the existence of a synagogue there – however it appears that there was no monumental public structure – rather something that would be difficult to distinguish among the architectural ruins and the dwellings at the site.

Beyond the question of the synagogue, this tradition appears in a new light in view of the settlement-history conclusions and it seems to reflect the situation at Migdal around the second half of the third century, when its (former?) inhabitants wished to move the synagogue to another settlement! This seemingly casual tradition, which combines a discussion concerning the sanctity of the synagogue and its appurtenances, bears an indication of the sharp decline of the settlement at Migdal in the Late Roman period, as revealed by the archaeological data.

Site No. 35

19–24/67/35

קלעת אבן מען Kul'at Ibn Man

Map ref.: 1968/2477; *Elevation:* 100 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic, dating to Ottoman period; *Type of site:* large group of caves containing building remains and quarried spaces; remains of Ottoman period fortress, apparently upon ancient fortification at entrance to central caves; *Site area:* several groups of caves at different levels along approx. 300-m. stretch of cliff; *Topography:* cliff and cliff base atop steep slope above Wadi Arbel, at foot of summit of Mt. Arbel; *Arable land:* in Arbel Valley – reddish-brown and brownish black basaltic grumusol covering very extensive flat alluvial areas; in Wadi Arbel – terra rossa on steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* 'Ein Arbel in Wadi Arbel, approx. 600 m. from center of cave cluster; difficult access; *Water installations:* approximately 20 plastered cisterns scattered in cave complexes, three of which are *miqva'ot*; *Agricultural installations:* – –

Finds: Extensive remains of Ottoman period fortress, incorporating ashlar with marginal dressing characteristic of Late Hellenistic/Early Roman period in secondary use; east of Ottoman fortress is a wall corner built of ashlar with marginal dressing, demarcating a large quarried hall; lintel bearing relief depicting lions was in the past incorporated in entrance to fortress (today at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem); it may have originated at one of the synagogue buildings of the vicinity; a coin of Alexander Jannaeus, a Mamluk coin, arrowheads and ancient metal nails on the slope beneath the entrance to the caves;



Fig. 78: Kul'at Ibn Man: arrowhead

Natural fortification: Access to caves is difficult, well controlled from entrances of caves and possible only by climbing from below;

Proximity to roads: Above Wadi Arbel route (B3) and approx. 1.5 km. west of Roman road west of Sea of Galilee (R2).

Prior surveys and studies: Z. Ilan surveyed the cave assemblages and noted building remains, *miqva'ot*, a Hellenistic coin, two Hasmonean coins, a Byzantine coin and noted that the use of “caves of refuge,” as he defines them, continued during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Ilan was also the first to identify the style of construction typical of the Second Temple period and proposed that a fortress already stood here during the Hellenistic or Early Roman period (Ilan and Izdarechet 1988: 200–207; Ilan 1989–90²).

Identification: Ilan (*ibid.*) proposes that these caves are part of the cave complexes noted in Josephus in reference to the rebellions during Herod's reign and the First Jewish Revolt.

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 122 identifiable sherds)

Numerous building remains, reservoirs, *miqva'ot*, small finds and a considerable amount of pottery scattered in front of and at the foot of the cave openings attest to intensive activity and permanent settlement in this group of caves during certain periods. In the absence of pottery clearly earlier than the Hellenistic period, the intensive activity here appears to have begun only in that period. The Hellenistic period pottery, the most dominant (31% of the finds), corresponds to the Seleucid and Hasmonean coins found at the site.¹¹⁰ Over a third of the Hellenistic finds are Long Rim SJ jars typical in Jewish settlement

¹¹⁰ Absence of clear Persian period pottery indicates that the intermediate Persian/Hellenistic types probably belong to the Hellenistic period.

areas from approximately the early first century BCE. Intensive activity is also apparent here during the Early (26%) and Middle (19.6%) Roman period, while a sharp decline in activity is noted during the Late Roman period (5.7%). There is not a single sherd that must be dated to the Early Byzantine period. Sparse activity here was noted for the Middle Byzantine period (5.7%), which strengthens during the Late Byzantine period (11.5%).

These cave assemblages are not similar in terms of their function to ordinary civilian settlements, and it is difficult to compare them with other sites in terms of settlement hierarchy. Nonetheless, because of archaeological evidence of continuous settlement here over several periods and finds indicative of the caves having served as permanent dwellings during some of these periods, we decided to evaluate their size in terms of possible population.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4–10	4–10	4–10	0.5–3	--	0.5–3	0.5–3

Discussion: The dominance of Hellenistic period pottery together with coins and ashlar of masonry characteristic of the Hasmonean and Early Roman period, create the impression that there was some sort of fortress here – possibly Hasmonean or Herodian.¹¹¹ This proposal appears even more acceptable in view of Josephus’ tendency to select previously fortified sites for “fortification.” The question of why Josephus did not fortify Arbel itself, one of the largest and most important settlements in the region during the Early Roman period, becomes clear in view of the conclusion that there had been an existing fortification near the settlement. The most likely place for the “Cave of [the village of] Arbel” which Josephus fortified is here, in the vicinity of Kul‘at Ibn Man. As we shall see below, there is also evidence for intensive activity at the western group of caves [Site 36] during the Early Roman period. It appears that in the preparation for the revolt, various cave complexes were readied, as also emerges from the parallel in Josephus, where he mentions the “caves around the Lake of Genessar.” It is also worth noting the differences in Josephus’ terminology: Josephus notes that the fortification of Antigonus’ supporters against Herod took place “in caves very near the village called Arbel” – caves that we

¹¹¹ On Hasmonean fortifications in the Galilee, see Shatzman 1991: 83–87. The strong opposition to Herod in the Galilee during the early years of his reign led Shatzman (*ibid.*: 260) to propose that he certainly held fortifications throughout the Galilee. If this was the case, a Herodian fortification in the vicinity of Arbel appears most likely in view of the strong opposition to his rule that found expression both during the battle at Arbel and among the rebels seeking refuge in the caves of Arbel.

propose to identify with the western cave complex. The site fortified in preparation for the First Jewish Revolt, is referred to as the “cave of [the village of] Arbel” – and here the reference is apparently to the eastern complex of caves, where there appears to have already been an actual fortress.

The significant Early Roman finds might support the assumption that these caves indeed served as places of refuge for rebels during the First Jewish Revolt, however, this cannot be proven and there is a considerable amount of pottery from other periods as well.

Despite the decline of finds from the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, it appears that activities were renewed during the Middle Byzantine period and strengthened further during the Late Byzantine period (sixth-seventh centuries), as evidenced by the imports from this period. This anomaly may indicate Christian monastic activity in the caves at the end of the Byzantine period, as shall be discussed below [Site 36].

Site No. 36

19-24/57/36

Arbel Caves West מערות ארבל מערב

Map ref.: 1958/2472; *Elevation:* 20 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* name of nearby site; *Type of site:* group of caves on three levels; signs of quarrying and building; *Site area:* dense group of caves along a 200 m. stretch; 1 km. from eastern group of caves around Kul‘at Ibn Man [Site 35]; *Topography:* cliff and base of cliff at top of steep slope above Wadi Arbel; *Nearest water source:* ‘Ein Arbel, approx. 800 m. down the wadi; difficult access; *Water installations:* two quarried and plastered reservoirs, one stepped – perhaps a *miqveh*; *Finds:* arrow-head, nails, 3 Hasmonean coins, Early Roman coin, Late Byzantine bulla depicting Mary and Jesus, Crusader coin; *Natural fortification:* access to caves is difficult, easily controlled from the caves and possible only by climbing from below;

Proximity to roads: Above Wadi Arbel route (B3) and approx. 2.5 km. from Roman road west of Sea of Galilee (R2); *Finds from other periods:* Middle Bronze, Iron, Persian and Early Islamic.

Prior surveys and studies: Ilan (1988: 200; 1989–90²: 14–15) surveyed the cave complex and noted the quarried ancient silos and Late Roman and Byzantine pottery. Ilan further noted that the preparation of the caves indicates their use as permanent dwellings.

Identification: Due to the proximity of the ruins of Arbel, Ilan (*ibid.*) proposes to identify them with the “caves of Arbel” referred to by Josephus.

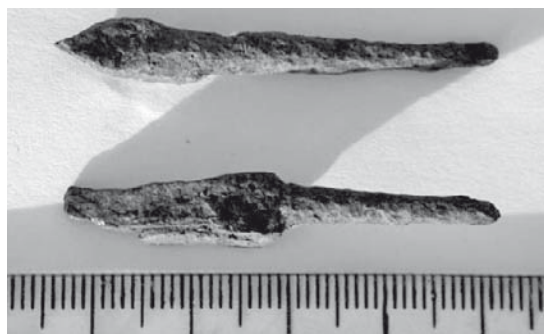


Fig. 79: Arbel Caves West: arrowheads

Historical Analysis (sample size: 128 identifiable sherds)

The pottery finds point to activity in the caves as early as the Iron Age. Sparse finds from the Persian period may indicate that some of the intermediate Persian/Hellenistic types belong to the Persian period.

The most significant activity in this cave complex occurred during the Hellenistic period (48% of the finds) and this large quantity of pottery corresponds to the Hasmonean numismatic finds from the site. It should be noted that half of the Hellenistic pottery belongs to the Long Rim SJ types attributed to the end of the Hellenistic period. There is reduced, though significant activity during the Early Roman period (19%) and a sharp decline in the Middle and Late Roman periods (11% and 3% respectively). There is not a single sherd unequivocally dated to the Early or Middle Byzantine period, in contrast to seven imported vessels belonging to the Late Byzantine period. All of the local Byzantine pottery has thus been attributed to the Late Byzantine period (constituting a total of 18.7% of the finds) and it appears that the activity here continued during the Early Islamic period as well.

As stated, these cave assemblages are not similar in terms of their function to ordinary civilian settlements and it is difficult to compare them to other sites in terms of their place in the hierarchy of settlements. Nonetheless, as the archaeological evidence indicates continuous settlement here through several periods and the finds attest to the caves having served as permanent dwellings during certain periods, we decided to evaluate their size in terms of possible population.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
4-10	0.5-3	0.5-3	--	--	--	--

Discussion: The dominance of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman finds suggests that the preparation of the caves as dwellings and the quarrying of reservoirs were carried out during those periods. This group is the most likely candidate for “the caves very near the village called Arbel” where the supporters of Antigonus against Herod’s army found refuge. It is likely that the preparations for the First Jewish Revolt included, aside from the eastern complex of caves, this complex as well, which fits Josephus’ reference to “the caves around the Lake of Genessar.” Likewise, preparation of the caves, apparently at the end of the Hellenistic/beginning of the Early Roman period, corresponds with our conclusion that Josephus’ fortifications were restorations or reuse of sites that had already been fortified. The finds from the Early Roman period certainly attest to activity here during that period and lend some support to the proposal that these caves served as a hide-out during the revolt, though there is no unequivocal evidence of that.

Following a lengthy hiatus in activity, significant activity was renewed during the Late Byzantine period (sixth-seventh centuries). A lead bulla found here bears a portrait of Mary nursing Jesus on one side and a cross in relief on the other, and is dated to the sixth-seventh centuries (see numismatic appendix). As stated, during the Late Byzantine period the other cave complexes in Wadi Arbel also experienced an increase in activity, in contrast to the decline in many of the settlements. This bulla, typical of Christian sites, together with the increase in the volume of activity in the Wadi Arbel cliffs during the Late Byzantine period and the establishment of a monastery at Magdala at the opening of the wadi, may indicate the activity of Christian monks in the caves.

Site No. 37

18-24/68/37

ח. אַמּוּדִים/ח'רבת אום אל-עמד Umm el-'Amed/Kh. Ammudim

Map ref.: 1863/2488; *Elevation:* 210 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic; apparently named after an ancient synagogue column standing at the site; *Ottoman census:* Mazra'at Umm al 'Amed; *Type of site:* ancient ruin; *Site area:* 55 dunams; *Topography:* pair of small hilltops upon ridge bordering Beth Netofa Valley on the east; *Arable land:* terra rossa and brown grumusol on moderate to steep slopes; extensive flat alluvial grumusol tracts in adjacent Beth Netofa Valley (1 km.); *Nearest water source:* in the past, a spring probably existed in the northern part of the site (in autumn 1998, there was a damp area and reeds generally associated with water); *Water installations:* cisterns in eastern part of site; a seasonal pool, perhaps man made, in the western part of the site; *Agricultural installations:* oil press in the southern part of site; winepress;

Finds: Synagogue in the western part of site; additional structure, partly of ashlar, in the southern part of site; lime kiln, pits, quarried installation of unknown function, cist tombs and a sarcophagus in the eastern part of site – an area that apparently served for industry and burial; road demarcated with curbstones descending from the center to the eastern part of site; faint remains of a wall or terrace in northern part of site; *Natural fortification:* – –

Proximity to roads: At intersection of Wadi Arbel route (B3) and watershed route (B5);

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 361) noted the synagogue and ashlar-built structure to its south, perhaps constructed from elements taken from the synagogue. Kohl and Watzinger (1916: 71–79) excavated here in 1905 and established the synagogue's plan. Z. Yeivin (1971: 63–68) made a plan of the settlement in the framework of a survey of settlements in the Galilee and the Golan. L.I. Levine (1982: 1–12) excavated the synagogue in 1979 and, based upon numismatic evidence and finds of pottery studied by Adan-Bayewitz (1982: 13–31), dated its construction to the late third/early fourth century and, following a brief period of use, its abandonment in the late fourth century. Ma'oz (1996: 423) believed that the mosaic floor, beneath which was found pottery and coins upon which Levine based his dating, represents a later phase of the structure and that, based upon its style, the original building appears to have been constructed at the end of the second-beginning of the third century.

A segment of a mosaic floor, exposed in Levine's excavations includes an inscription that reads:

נח
דהטבלה
סהואגרה
רכתה

Naveh completes the inscription as follows:

[דכיר לטב...בר ת]נח[ום] [דעבד ה]דה טבלה [דפסיפ]סה ואגרה [תהא לה ב]רכתה [אמן סלה]...
[May he be remembered for good... bar Ta]nh[um who made th]is pavement [of mosaic] and paid (?) for it [may he be b]lessed [Amen Selah]

An additional inscription found by Sukenik in 1930 inscribed upon a building stone, was deciphered by Avigad as follows:

יועזר חזנה
ושמעון
אחוי עבדו
הדנ תקא דמרי
שומיא

Yo'ezer the *hazzan* and Shim'on his brother made this *tq'* (?) of the master of heaven
Naveh (1978: 40–42) raised the possibility that the word *tq'* denotes an ark and that it refers to the donation of the Torah ark.



Fig. 81: H. 'Ammudim: crushing wheel of an olive oil press

Fig. 80: H. 'Ammudim: architectural elements and a still standing heart-shaped column (photograph: Z. Ilan, courtesy of A. Ilan)



Fig. 82: H. 'Ammudim, southern part of the site: A monumental lintel bearing a pair of lions in relief

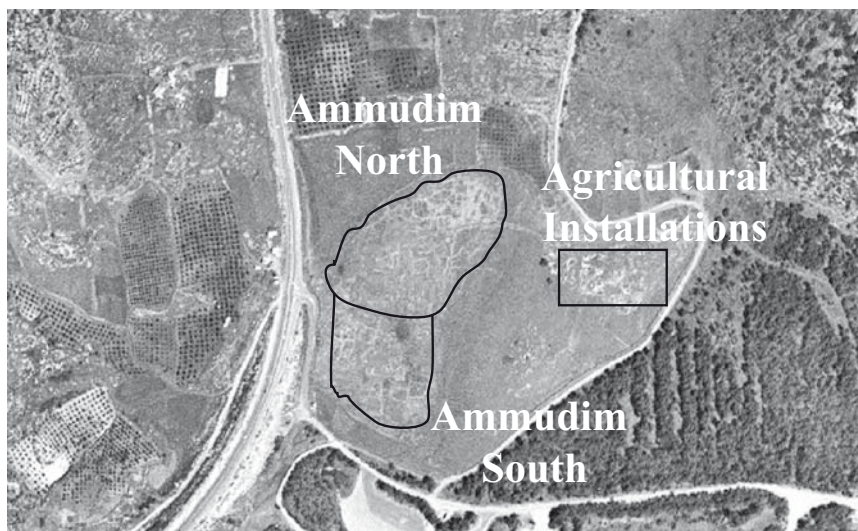


Fig. 83: Aerial photo of H. 'Ammudim (photograph: *see Mapping*)

E. Braun conducted a salvage excavation in the southwestern part of the settlement. Pottery finds included fifth-sixth century LRRW imports as well as Medieval pottery (Braun 2001: 237–242).

Identification: Dalman proposed identifying this with Kefar Uziel, referred to as one of the settlements of the Priestly Courses (Dalman 1913: 49; 1935: 52, 116).¹¹²

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 611 identifiable sherds)

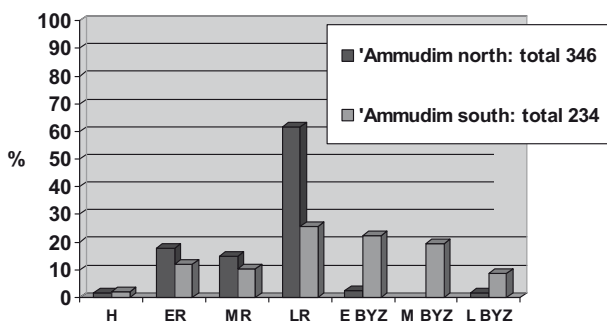
This site, which was divided into three separate collection areas, optimally displays the importance of site division into secondary areas. The collection areas were:

- A. The northern hill – approx. 35 dunams in area. The monumental synagogue structure lies in the southern part of this area.

¹¹² This proposal is fundamentally mistaken, for Dalman believed that this is the site that Guérin refers to as *el-Weiziya*, and notes that this name preserves the ancient form Uziel. However *el-Weiziya* [Site 21], which is near Wadi Zalmon, is some 5 km. from H. 'Ammudim. See Guérin 1868–80 vol. 1: 460.

- B. The southern hill – approx. 20 dunams in area. Incorporated into construction in this area are ashlar and numerous architectural elements apparently taken from the synagogue.
- C. The eastern area with a concentration of agricultural installations extending over several dunams.

In all, approx. 700 vessel rims were collected at the site, 611 of which are from the period with which this study deals! The quantity of pottery from Area C is not sufficient to constitute a reliable statistical base, and the discussion below will focus only upon areas A and B. From the large sample, only 11 rims belong to the Hellenistic period (1.7% in the northern area and 2.1% in the southern) of which 8 are Long Rim SJ of the Late Hellenistic period. These data indicate the beginning of the settlement at the end of the Hellenistic period, around the mid-first century BCE or slightly earlier. The large quantity of type T1.3 jars (18 in all) that belong to the earlier part of the Early Roman period, indicate a significant presence as early as that period. The pottery picture for the Early (17.6% in the north and 12% in the south) and the Middle Roman period (14.7% and 10.2%) is quite similar and it may be noted that a slight decline in the amount of finds in both areas between the two periods is perceptible.



Graph 16: Diagnostic sherds from H. 'Ammudim. Total=580

Prior to dealing with the Late Roman period, it is important to note the major changes in the Byzantine finds from both parts of the site. In the northern area, of 346 vessels, only 15 belong to groups whose production began around the mid-fourth century CE (4% of the finds in this area), of which 3 are LRRW vessels of the Early Byzantine period and 2 of the Late Byzantine period. On the other hand, in the southern area, 82 vessels belonging to this group (35% of the finds in this area) were collected, 46 of which are LRRW vessels from all the Byzantine sub-periods. Since no Medieval sherds at all were found in the northern area (in other words, the Byzantine period is the latest period and effectively seals the settlement in this part of the ruins), one may say that during the Byzantine period, the northern part of H. 'Ammudim was virtually without settlement. It is important to recall that the two collection areas are adjacent and

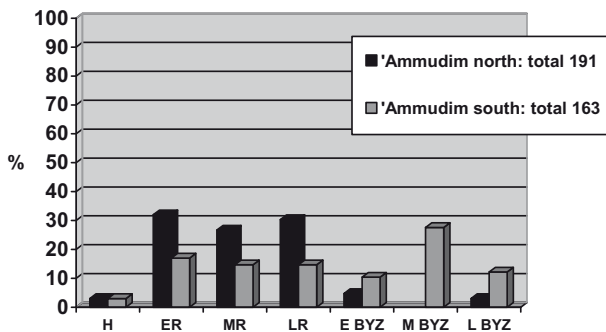
only the arbitrary line of a terrace separates them. The small amount of Byzantine pottery in the northern area may be attributed to the significant presence in the southern part of the site during the Byzantine period or to a sparse settlement in the northern area during that period.

On the other hand, despite a certain presence in the southern area in the Medieval period (a very limited presence, only on the upper portion of this hill), the Byzantine finds from this area are dominant.

Summarizing the information we have obtained from the division into two distinct collection areas, it clearly emerges that during the Byzantine period the site was reduced to the southern 20 dunams only, in contrast to the Roman period when the entire site was inhabited.

If we now return to the Late Roman period and attempt to focus on the period during which settlement at the site declined, we will be confronted with the serious problem of intermediate type KH1e, which constitutes 45% of the finds in the northern area. This type, common from the mid-third to the first decades of the fifth century, makes it difficult to focus on the period in which this area was abandoned. Based on the minute quantity of Byzantine pottery in the northern area, it appears that the crises at the site occurred near the beginning of the penetration of Byzantine types to the area, around the mid-fourth century or slightly later. The excavation of the synagogue, located at the northern part of the site, which pointed to its abandonment during the late fourth century, confirms our conclusion.¹¹³

The enormous quantity of pottery collected at this site enables us to present a very large sample (354 vessels) even without the dominant and problematic KH1e type, assuming that the rest of the sample will reflect the relation between the periods and perhaps even do so more accurately:



Graph 17: Diagnostic sherds from H. 'Ammudim without type KH1e. Total=354

¹¹³ It should be noted that the dating of the abandonment of the building is not unequivocal because it is based on a single locus in the level above the supposed level of the synagogue floor (in this vicinity, no pavement or mosaic has been preserved). See Adan-Bayewitz 1982; Levine 1982.

In this manner of presentation of the findings, one can see that stability was maintained in the Roman sub-periods and the sharp increase during the Late Roman period disappears in both areas of the site. The few finds from the Early Byzantine period in both areas (4.7% in the north and 10.4% in the south) may suggest that the entire settlement underwent a crisis during this period and that this is not a scenario in which demographic decline produced mere shrinkage in a certain area of the site. The impressive increase in the southern area during the Middle Byzantine period is clearly perceptible through this graph, as is the further decline during the Late Byzantine period.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	41-55	41-55	41-55	11-20	11-20	4-10

Discussion: The abandonment of the northern part of the site around the mid-fourth century, as well as the conclusion of the excavators regarding the abandonment of the synagogue around the same time, not long after its foundation, suggest a severe crisis at the settlement. It is difficult to assume that after hundreds of years of habitation throughout the site, the entire population decided to move and crowd into its southern part, and it is clear that the decrease in its size from around 55 dunams to 20 dunams within a relatively short period of time reflects a dramatic demographic decline. Although the archaeological picture is not sufficiently clear to establish this with certainty, it is possible that the settlement was abandoned for a certain period during the Early Byzantine period and resettled (only on the southern hill) during the Middle Byzantine period in the course of the fifth century. It should be noted that from the fifth century settlement phase onward, the synagogue building was not utilized or restored and the inhabitants preferred to reuse its building stones for construction in the southern area. If these inhabitants were Jews, it is not clear why they would have done so. It may be proposed that renewal of settlement at the site was related to ethnic change, however, we have no data that can aid us clarify this question.¹¹⁴ Finally, it should be noted that the ancient name of this large site, lying in a central position at the crossroads of local routes, has not been preserved. While not evidence for ethnic change here, this is, however, quite unusual among the other sites that were continuously settled during the Roman

¹¹⁴ Ethnic exchanges of this type during that period at nearby settlements with similar historical-settlement characteristics may apparently be seen at Kh. Qana. See Edwards 2002. It should, of course, be noted that if Edwards is correct in his proposal that the site is identified with Cana of the New Testament, it is easier to understand the ethnic change and the Christian settlement there.

and Byzantine periods, most of which preserved their ancient names (see discussion on toponymy in Chapter 7).

As stated, this site optimally emphasizes the importance of dividing a site into secondary areas while collecting pottery. It is important to note that were it not for this division, we would not identify the dramatic changes in the settlement analyzed above and at most, might note a decline in the quantity of sherds from the Byzantine period.

Site No. 38

19-24/16/38

אל מעאצר el Ma'aser

Map ref.: 1913/2468; *Elevation:* 108 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* The Arabs of Hittin refer to it as el-Ma'aser ("the presses") (Tor 2000: 22); *Type of site:* Ancient ruin; *Site area:* 14 dunams; *Topography:* Base of a spur descending from Mt. Nimra, extending northward, and a saddle between Mt. Nimra and Mt. Doron; *Arable land:* Light brown rendzina on steep slopes; alluvial grumusol on extensive plains in nearby western Arbel Valley (1.5 km.); *Nearest water source:* a modern pumping station, approx. 800 m. east of the site, might be located upon a spring (not indicated on map); *Water installations:* Three cisterns; *Agricultural installations:* Ten wine presses were surveyed at the site and its immediate vicinity and several more on nearby Mt. Doron. An agricultural installation that apparently served for crushing is located at center of site, however its precise function remains unclear;

Finds: Partially blocked cave (*miqveh?*) with descent via short staircase at center of site;

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: On branch of B3 which connects settlements of Arbel Valley with Netofa Valley. Clear remains of road, portions of which rest upon a retaining wall, have been preserved in site area;

Prior surveys and studies: Site was discovered by Mr. Yitzhak Tor of the IAA (Tor 2000: 22).

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 129 identifiable sherds)

This site is divided into two collection areas: the hill known as S.E. 108, where building remains are concentrated; and adjacent Mt. Doron to the north where a



Fig. 84: el Ma'aser: water cistern

Fig. 85: el Ma'aser: cave
(*miqveh?*) at the center of the site

concentration of wine presses and quarries are found. Three Hellenistic vessels may suggest the beginning of the site in this period, apparently toward its end. The indisputable beginning of settlement at the site is during the Early Roman period and the amount of pottery finds gradually increases from 12.4% in the Early Roman period to 23.2% in the Middle Roman period and 35.6% during the Late Roman period, again owing to the dominance of type KH1e. The settlement continues to exist during the Early Byzantine period (23% – mostly KH1e). The finds include 9 sherds of types that must be later than the mid-fourth century, 8 of which are LRRW vessels, 5 E BYZ and 3 M BYZ. The scanty finds from the Middle Byzantine period seem to attest to a continued sparse settlement here and the absence of Late Byzantine types shows the cessation of settlement at the site during the Middle Byzantine period, around the first half of the sixth century. No remains of a monumental public structure were found at the site.

Estimate of site size in dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	11-14	11-14	11-14	11-14	0.5-3	--

Site No. 39

19-24/56/39

חורבת ארבל/אירביד H. Arbel/Kh. Irbid

Map ref.: 1956/2467; *Elevation:* 30 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic, apparently preserves ancient name; Nasir al-Khusraw visited here in 1047 and

referred to it as Irbil (Le Strange 1965: 457); in Crusader documents: Irbid/Erpelle/Erabeth/Erbel; twelfth and fourteenth century travelers: Arbel; Ottoman census: Irbid; *Type of site*: Ancient ruin; *Site area*: 85 dunams; *Topography*: Edge of plain atop a steep slope that descends from the basaltic Arbel Valley to Wadi Arbel; *Arable land*: In valley – brownish-red grumusol and brownish-black basaltic grumusol upon very extensive alluvial plains; in Wadi Arbel – terra rossa on steep slopes; *Nearest water source*: ‘Ein Nitai springs in the ascent of Wadi Arbel; the nearest of these is 1.3 km. from center of site; *Water installations*: Well lined with basalt stones in southeastern part of site; two constructed pools in western part of site – one unusually large (Tsuk 1988: 156). Reservoir with vaulted roof in eastern part of site; several cisterns in different parts of site; *Agricultural installations*: Two winepresses; several fragments of donkey-powered mills (Pompeian mills); crushing stone from oil press in west of site, and another possible crushing stone at center of site; another oil press descending toward Wadi Arbel, approx. 250 m. north of the site; near it, several small quarried installations including a small domestic olive oil installation (*bodidah*), cup-marks and a small winepress. Ilan (1988: 36) noted that there were large pools, probably used for flax processing.

Finds: Synagogue at center of site with ashlar and architectural elements gathered by Ilan and Izdarechet from around the ruin; additional architectural fragments were found at Moshav Arbel; large number of cist tombs, some with covers, mostly on the slope north of the site; several sarcophagi, some with lids, today at Moshav Arbel; several incomplete sarcophagi apparently indicate that the quarrying area was northeast of the site; burial cave with burial niches north of site. Bronze weights of 3 oz. (79.9 gm.), bearing a cross and the Greek letter gamma, apparently Byzantine; ring with depiction of eye and an animal, inscribed with the name שמואל in the center (IAAA);

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: Approx. 500 m. above route B3. A parallel branch of this route appears to have originated at Arbel, crossing Arbel Valley and climbing toward Beth Netofa Valley;

Finds from other periods: Early Islamic and Medieval pottery;

Prior surveys and studies: The PEF published a plan of the synagogue (SWP 1882 vol. 1: 397). Kohl and Watzinger exposed a portion of the synagogue and published plans and reconstructions of it (Kohl and Watzinger 1916: 59–70). Yeivin (1971: 56–63) surveyed the building remains at the site and drew a site plan. Ilan and Izdarechet (1988; 1989) conducted a comprehensive survey at the site and examined the synagogue’s architectural style. In this framework, T. Tsuk (1988) surveyed the water installations, A. Ayalon (1988) surveyed the agricultural installations and M. Dolev (Dolev 1988) examined the coins found at the site. Based upon the numismatic findings, Ilan dated the beginning of



Fig. 86: Arbel: entrance to the synagogue (after Conder and Kitchener 1882 vol. 1: 397)

settlement to the second century BCE. In Ilan's opinion the synagogue was founded in the fourth century CE and existed until the eighth century, with renovations and modifications in the late sixth or early seventh century CE. Ilan qualified his views, noting that the dating is not based upon excavations, but numismatic finds and architectural style.

In the summer of 2000, M. Aviam conducted a salvage excavation at the northern part of the site and exposed three Late Byzantine period dwellings, two of which included *miqva'ot*. In one area, a floor was uncovered and upon it were found a coin, pottery and stone vessels dated to the second century CE (Aviam 2004²: 25 n. 9–10).

Identification: Most scholars identify this site with ancient Arbel (Klein 1967: 12; Yeivin 1971: 57; Safrai 1985: 73; Reeg 1989: 56; *TIR*: 66).

* * *

Historical Sources

Identification of the site: The identification of Kh. Irbid with ancient Arbel, mentioned often in Josephus' writings, in rabbinic literature, in *piyyutim* and *midrashei geulah*, has been accepted since the beginnings of modern research and is based upon the preservation of the name, the geographical context implied by ancient sources, and the reports by numerous travelers beginning in

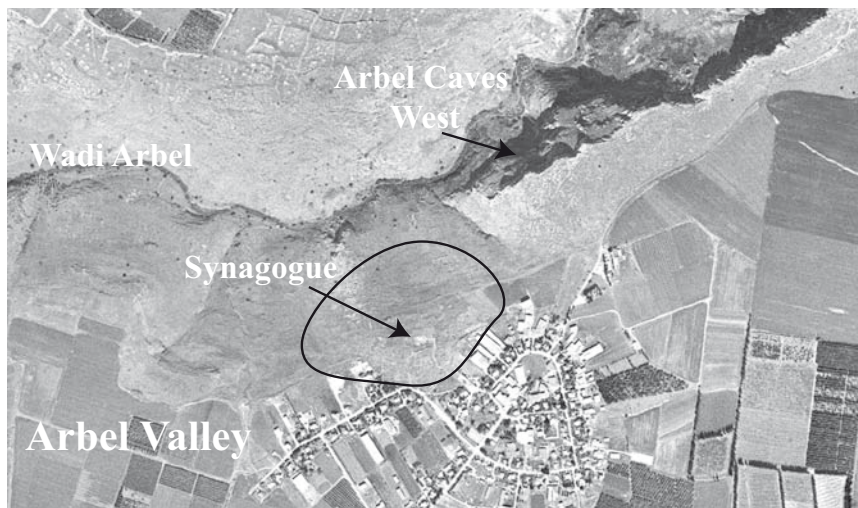


Fig. 87: Aerial photo of Arbel (photograph: see Mapping)

the eleventh century who mention the site.¹¹⁵ Elitzur noted that as in the case of Ἀρβηλά in Transjordan (mentioned by Eusebius), the L changes to D in the transition to Arabic, and the name becomes Irbid (Elitzur 2004: 58).

Second Temple Period: The earliest reference to Arbel would appear to be in the description of Bacchides' campaign to Judea during the second century BCE, according to which he encamped "in Masaloth, which is in Arabella" (1 Maccabees 9:2); and in detail in Josephus, (*Antiquities* 12, 421). However, Bar-Kochva (1989: 552) showed that inclusion of Arbel of the Galilee in a description of the campaign is not possible geographically and proposed that Arbel in 1 Maccabees is a corruption of *hr byt 'l* (הר בית אל), a corruption that misled Josephus, whose description is based upon the Book of Maccabees.

In chapters 1 and 2 of M Avot, the main transmitters of the Torah from generation to generation are listed in chronological order. In Chapter 1: 6–7, Mathei of Arbel (מתיי הארבל) – thus in the Kaufmann and Parma Mss.) appears and it seems that he was active around the second half of the second century BCE (Albeck 1952–58 *Neziqin*: 347–349). The appointment of a sage of Arbel as head of the Sanhedrin (see M Ḥagigah 2, 2) led researchers to conclude that even during this early period there was significant Jewish presence in the Lower

¹¹⁵ Guérin 1868–80 vol. 1: 198; Dalman 1935: 116; Klein 1967: 12; Yeivin 1971: 57; Safrai 1985: 73; Reeg 1989: 56; *TIR*: 66; Elitzur 2004: 58 and many others. Contrary to this view, Shahar and Tepper (1991) identified Arbel with Kh. Ḥamam. See my reservations concerning this identification in site 32.

Galilee.¹¹⁶ It should be noted that this evidence concerning a local second century BCE sage appears in a composition edited only in the early third century CE, which, of course, makes it necessary to exercise caution in reaching conclusions based solely upon this information.

If we accept Bar-Kochva's view above, then the earliest mention of Arbel is in the struggle between Herod and the supporters of Antigonus that took place ca. 39–38 BCE. In *War* (1, 305), Josephus noted that after gaining control over Sepphoris, Herod sent a military force “to the village of Arbelā” (προς Ἀρβηλα κώμην), and 40 days after he had arrived there a battle was waged between his army and the supporters of Antigonus. The rebel army succeeded in defeating Herod's left flank, but thanks to his right flank, he eventually succeeded in winning the battle. Supporters of Antigonus fled, most toward the Jordan, and some, apparently, to nearby caves. A similar description appears in *Antiquities* 14, 415, however there the campaign is not to “the village of Arbel” but rather against the rebels living in caves ἐγγιστα δ' ἦν ταῦτα κώμης Ἀρβήλων λεγομένης (“very near the village called Arbel”). From the description of the battle it emerges that this was not a guerilla war of rebels against an organized army, but one in which the opposing forces faced one another on the battlefield. Based upon the numbers presented by Josephus, Shatzman (1983: 81) calculated the size of Herod's army in this battle at between 5,000 and 7,000 troops. These figures produce the following conclusions:

- A. Antigonus' supporters in the Galilee, numbering at least several thousand trained soldiers, were able to wage a battle against Herod's army that was built and armed along the lines of the Roman army (Shatzman 1991: 193–216), and even to prevail against it in the first round.¹¹⁷ Applebaum proposed that these were either military settlers who had been placed in the fertile Arbel Valley by the Hasmoneans, or perhaps a Hasmonean garrison from a nearby fortress (Applebaum 1989: 23).

¹¹⁶ Klein 1967: 11; Ilan and Izdarechet 1988: 7; Rappaport 1993: 29. It should be noted that Arbel/Irbid in Transjordan and another Arbel in the Jezreel Valley (9 miles east of Legio), are first mentioned in the writings of Eusebius in the fourth century (Klostermann 1966: 14–15) and are apparently not referred to in rabbinic literature (but see n. 125 below). This strengthens the assumption that the Arbel in M Avot is the known Arbel in the Galilee which is mentioned many times in rabbinic literature. It should be noted, however, that references to the location of a sage in the M generally follow in the form: “Rabbi X of (place name) Y” (“of Sokho,” “of Zreda,” “of Jerusalem,” “of Yavneh,” “of Tib'in,” etc.) while the form of the definite article *he* before the name with *yod* in the suffix is quite rare, raising doubt whether it refers to the name of a settlement or has some other significance (to the best of my knowledge, the only other examples in the M are: Elazar the Moda'ite [Avot 3, 11], R. Shim'on the Shezurite [Demai 4, 1] and perhaps R. Yosi son of the *hwtf* the Efratite [Kil'ayim 3, 7]. On the other hand, a similarity probably exists here to the common feature of Biblical toponyms with definite articles, a feature also found in documents from the Bar-Kokhba period, close in time to the M (Goodblatt 1993).

B. The conditions of the battle in which opposing armies of thousands of soldiers deployed one against the other are indicative of the extensive plain of the Arbel Valley as the most likely location for the battle, as proposed by Izdarechet (1988: 62).

From the two parallels it emerges that, following his victory in this battle, Herod sent his soldiers to winter camps and only after a time, returned to defeat those of the enemy who had retreated to the caves (*War* 1, 307–309; *Antiquities* 14, 417–421). There are three groups of caves in the cliffs of Mt. Arbel. The ones in which the rebels took refuge should be identified with the western group “which is very near the village called Arbel” as Josephus noted (approx. 400 m. from the ruins, as the crow flies). Hence, Herod’s garrison as well as Herod’s camp at the time of the battle against those in the caves, were probably in the fortified enclosure at the top of Mt. Nitai to the north of Arbel. This enclosure overlooks the entrances of the western group of caves and would accord with the descriptions of Herod observing the events unfolding from a strategic position and even communicating with those besieged in the caves (see above, p. 211).

The next events mentioned in relation to Arbel are Josephus’ preparations for the revolt. Josephus notes in the list of places that he fortified (*War* 2, 573) that “he further provided with walls the caves in Lower Galilee in the neighborhood of the lake of Gennesar.” However, in a parallel version in *Life* 188, in the list of villages he fortified in the Lower Galilee, appears σπήλαιον Αρβήλων (“cave of Arbel”).¹¹⁸ It is not clear why Josephus deviates here from his custom of fortifying central Jewish settlements (Aviam 2004: 94; Safrai 1985: 190), and

¹¹⁷ The words of Josephus to the effect that Herod’s army did not frighten the rebels “... but (they) met him in arms; for their skill was that of warriors, but their boldness was the boldness of robbers” (ληιστρικόν – here in the sense of a political rebel), point to the fact that supporters of Antigonus were not merely a “popular militia” but a trained military force, as emerges from the battle itself. Even after Herod’s victory in the battle and after the surrender of those fortified in the caves, the region still remained pro-Hasmonean, as emerges from the fact that the garrison left by Herod in the region was attacked by the rebels (*War* 1, 315; *Antiquities* 14, 432). It should be noted that an army of supporters of Antigonus in Judea and in Jerusalem was probably even larger than this force in the Galilee, which shows the considerable military might at the disposal of Antigonus.

¹¹⁸ Based on this passage from Josephus’ *Life*, Shahar and Tepper (1991:40) proposed that Josephus fortified a village called “Village of the Cave of Arbel,” which, in their view, fits Kh. Ḥamam where caves are found in direct relation to the ruins, hence “village of the cave” or “village of the caves.” Ilan (1988: 51) also seems to understand the above passage in this way, though he believed “village of the caves” to be the western group of caves at Mt. Arbel. However, it appears that the translation of the passage does not confirm this reading. The expression Αρβήλων σπήλαιον is in the genitive case which expresses belonging, hence, “the cave of Arbel” (rather than Arbel Cave in the sense of the cave called Arbel). It thus appears that the precise translation of the sentence is “In the Lower Galilee I fortified cities: Trachaeae, Tiberias... and villages: the cave of the (village) Arbel, Be’er Sheva’... etc.,” in other words, the cave that belongs to or is located near the village of Arbel.

instead of the large and important village of Arbel, chose to fortify a complex of caves.

In Chapter 6, we will see in detail that archaeologically, the sites that Josephus selected to fortify existed during the Hellenistic period and in some cases we can clearly show that they had also been fortified at that time. In other words, Josephus restored or reused existing fortifications from the Hellenistic period and apparently did not construct fortifications himself. Arbel itself, which was first settled shortly after the Hasmoneans gained control over the area, around the end of the second century BCE, was established at a site lacking topographical-strategic advantages and was not surrounded by a network of fortifications (a phenomenon that characterized settlements established from this period on). Above, we saw that there is ample evidence of habitation in the western Arbel Caves [Site 36] during the Hellenistic period, and apparently, their preparation as dwellings occurred then. There is likewise evidence for the existence of fortifications at Kul‘at Ibn Man [Site 35] during that period. The proximity of these assemblages to Arbel and the nature of the sites Josephus chose to “fortify,” explain why Josephus fortified the cave of Arbel and not Arbel itself. It is likely that the site Josephus “fortified” is the eastern group of caves where there are remains of actual fortifications. However, the parallel text in *War* on the fortification of the caves around the Lake of Genessar could also point to the western caves of Arbel, and it is likely that there, as at other cave complexes in the Galilee, places of refuge were prepared.

In *Life* 311, Josephus noted that after a letter supporting his control of the Galilee arrived from the command of the revolt in Jerusalem, he convened the Galileans (των Γαλιλαίων), his supporters in Arbel, while his opponents, including the members of the Tiberias council, notables from Gabara and the first group of emissaries from Jerusalem under Jonathan, convened for deliberations against him, apparently in Tiberias. The gathering of his supporters in Arbel apparently shows that this settlement supported Josephus, who at least gave the appearance at the time of supporting revolt against the Romans. Probably, as at Migdal, Jewish refugees who constituted the catalyst for the revolt also gathered at Arbel or perhaps in nearby caves. At least some of the settlements supporting Josephus (or, more precisely, the revolt) had in common foundation or settlement by Jews during the Hasmonean period. It appears that something remained of the zealot tradition among this population which the Hasmoneans had settled in the region (see: Ben Shalom 1993: 170–171; 303; 315). This proposal corresponds with Appelbaum’s assumption, noted above, concerning Herod’s battle in the Arbel Valley, according to which Arbel was a Hasmonean military settlement.¹¹⁹

Rabbinic Literature: Rabbinic sources in which Arbel is mentioned have been dealt with in the past by Klein (1967: 119) and Safrai (1985: 73–76), mainly in relation to the cultivation of flax there. Aside from Mathei the Arbelite,

mentioned above, the earliest source in which Arbel is mentioned appears to be T Parah 12, 16:

כוש הארבלי חבור לטומאה ולהזאה. של פשתן ושל פקיע הרי זה לא יזה ואם הזה מוזה.

An Arbelite spindle is connected for (issues of) uncleanness and for sprinkling. And one (i.e., a spindle) used for flax and wick – lo, one should not sprinkle on it. And if one sprinkled, it is sprinkled.

Lieberman (1937–39 vol. 2: 255) noted that this weaving implement is named after the settlement, which dealt in flax, and Safrai (1985: 74) brought this as evidence that there was flax production at Arbel in the first half of the third century.¹²⁰ It should be noted that the T distinguishes between an Arbel spindle (*kwš 'rbly*) and a flax spindle (*kwš šl pštn*) which appears at the conclusion of this halakhah. It may be inferred that the Arbel spindle was utilized in another type of production and not in spinning flax, but in view of the text in Genesis Rabbah, (below), it appears that, in fact, it indeed was an implement for spinning flax, though different in form from the commonly used one, and therefore received a distinct name, taken from the settlement where it was utilized.¹²¹

The Arbel Valley is mentioned in a famous tradition telling about R. Ḥiya and R. Shim'on bar Ḥalafta, of the first generation of Palestinian *amoraim* (ca. 220–250 CE) Y Berakhot 1, 1, 2c; Yoma 3, 2, 40b (and later parallels):

...הוּו מהלכין בהדא בקעת ארבבל בקריצתה וראו איילת השחר שבקע אורה. אמר ר' חייא רבה לר' שמעון בן חלפתא: בירבי כך היא גאולתן של ישראל. כתחילה קימאה קימאה. כל מה שהיא הולכת היא רבה והולכת...

...were walking in the Arbel Valley when they saw the dawn whose light burst forth. R. Ḥiya said to R. Ḥalafta: "Such is the redemption of Israel. At first it comes little by little (but) as it continues it becomes greater and greater..."

¹¹⁹ The late Prof. Y. Meshorer informed me (orally) that according to rumor, in the 1930s a hoard of coins that included coins of the First Jewish Revolt was found in the Arbel region. According to him, an antiquities dealer from Tiberias purchased this hoard, but there is no documentation concerning its exact content, the precise place of its discovery, or its fate.

¹²⁰ It should be noted that examinations of pollen from the recently published Bethsaida excavations (Geyer 2001: 233) show that flax was an important element in the region's crops by the beginning of the first century CE. This is in contrast to the accepted view that flax only became an economically important crop from around the mid-second century (Safrai 1986: 36–38).

¹²¹ The T indicates that the Arbel spindle "is connected for uncleanness and for sprinkling." In other words, all parts of that implement were considered to be a single unit and impurity that touched a portion of the implement brought impurity to its entirety. Thus, sprinkling on part of it would be sufficient to purify all of it. On the other hand, with the flax spindle, sprinkling on part of it was insufficient to purify its entirety, in other words, the implement was not regarded as a single unit (or part of it was made of different materials). In any case, it is different from the Arbel spindle. It should likewise be noted that in a parallel halakhah, in the M (Parah 12, 8), a "Raban spindle" (and in another version, Ruban) is noted instead of the Arbel spindle.

This tradition is the earliest of the numerous traditions in which the Arbel Valley is mentioned in reference to eschatological ideas and the question is whether it is probable that this tradition is the reason why later ones connected the beginning of redemption with this place.¹²²

It is worth noting that R. Ḥiya, who is mentioned here in relation to Arbel, which was known for its flax industry, is mentioned elsewhere as personally involved in flax cultivation.¹²³

The first source in which Arbel is specifically mentioned as a center for flax production is Genesis Rabbah 19, 1 (p. 170), a composition edited around the fifth century CE, in a tradition presented in the name of R. Yoḥanan who was active in ca. the third quarter of the third century CE:

אמר ר' יוחנן ככלי פשתן הדקים הבאים מבית שאן, אם מתפחמים הם קימאה הם אבדים, אבל כלי פשתן הארבלין כמה הן וכמה דמיהן.

¹²² See below, n. 132. Reiner (1996: 294) proposed that the origins of the messianic traditions connected with Arbel lie in Second Temple period apocrypha (ca. second century BCE). In the first source he notes (Book of Jubilees 34, 9), a place called Robel (thus in the translation from Ethiopian; Vanderkam 1977: 227) is mentioned. And in the Greek translation of the book, Ῥαβᾶλ is mentioned in connection with the war of Jacob against the Emorite kings that took place in the “Desert of Shechem.” In view of the proposal to see this chapter of the Book of Jubilees as a reflection of the wars of the Maccabees, Vanderkam (*ibid.*) proposed that Robel is a corruption of Arbel and that what the text says here suggests the “roads of Arbel” in the campaign of Bacchides. However, it is difficult to assume that Arbel in the Galilee could have been included in a story so full of geographical details all indicating the central hill region as the place where these events took place (Tapuah, Shiloh, Ga’ash, Beth Ḥoron, Timnat Ḥeres). Even if we accept Vanderkam’s views concerning the reflection of the Hasmonean battles in this source and the distortion of the name (which is entirely unclear), then it is more likely that the source indicates the “Mountain of Beth El,” apparently the place where Bacchides camped (Bar-Kochva 1989: 557). Support for this is found in the Greek transcription of the place name – Ῥαβᾶλ (Mt. Beth El?). A parallel tradition is found in the composition of the Testament of Judah, however here too, the reading Arbel is unlikely. The Greek version first states that the people of Ἰωβηλ came to battle against the sons of Jacob at the place called Kozba (*ibid.* 6, 1). Following their victory over them and over the inhabitants of Makir, Shiloh, Ga’ash and Timnah, Judah and Jacob build Timnah and Ῥαβᾶλ (*ibid.*, 7, 9. This name appears only in a part of the Ms. Concerning the Greek versions, see Charles 1966: 74–77). The similarity to the tradition in the Book of Jubilees is clear, and it appears that the author of the Testament of Judah combined the borrowed tradition, places where Judah is mentioned in the Biblical description (Keziv, Timnah, and Adolam [*ibid.* 8, 2]). There is thus no real basis for the reading “Arbel” in these sources, and the identification of Arbel of the Galilee proposed by Reiner (1996: 316), seems to lack textual support.

¹²³ See Y Bava Metzia 5, 7, 10c. Another tradition in which R. Ḥiya asks Rabi how to deal with a pest that affects flax is found B Ḥullin 85b. This tradition also appears in Y Ma’aser Sheni 5, 13, 56d, where Rav is the cultivator of flax and his question is posed to R. Ḥiya.

Rabbi Yoḥanan says: “The fine linens that come from Beth Shean – if they are singed a bit, they are ruined, but the coarse linens that come from Arbel, what is their value, what is their price?”¹²⁴

One learns of the fertility of the Arbel Valley from the following tradition, which laments the economic decline of the land. Y Pe’ah 7, 4, 20a:

אמר ר' יוחנן: יפה סיפסוף שאכלנו בילדותינו מפרסקין שאכלנו בזקנותנו דביומוי אישתני עלמא.
אמר ר' חייא בר בא: סאה ארבלית היתה מוציאה סאה סולת סאה קמח סאה קיבר סאה סובין סאה
מורסן סאה גנינין. וכדון אפילו חדא בחדא לא קיימא.

R. Yoḥanan said: “The late fruits (i.e. the worst of them) that we used to eat in our youth were better than the peaches that we would eat in our old age. For in our days the world was changed (i.e. for the worse).” R. Ḥiya b. Ba said: “A se’ah (approx. 7.3 liter) of Arbel used to produce a se’ah of fine flour, a se’ah of (ordinary) flour, a se’ah of cibar (flour), a se’ah of coarse bran, [and] a se’ah of flour containing all sorts of colours. And nowadays, there is not even one measure for a measure.”¹²⁵

In other words, a se’ah of Arbel grain that could, in the past, produce six se’ah of various products, today cannot produce even one se’ah...

In another tradition, R. Abbahu (ca. late third century) is mentioned in Arbel. Y Shevi’it 6, 3, 36d:

ר' אבהו עאל לארבל ואיתקבל גבי אבא בר בנימן. אתון ושאלון ליה באילין בצלייא והורי לון כהדא
דר' זעירא...

¹²⁴ And with minor changes, also in the Vatican 30 Ms. However, in the important Vatican 60 Ms., the text reads: שמ' בר נח' כלי פשתן הדקין הבאין מבית שאן אם פאחמו אחד מהן בכמה דמים אר' שמו' בר נח' כלי פשתן הגסין הבאין מארבל, אם פאחמו אחד מהן רב מה הוא ומה הן דמיו R. Shmuel bar Nahman said: “The fine linens that come from Beth Shean – if one of them is singed, how much does it cost (lit. how expensive is it)? The coarse linens that come from Arbel, if one of them is singed – so what, what is its value, what is its price?” R. Shmuel bar Nahman was active at the end of the third century, one generation after R. Yoḥanan. It should be noted that in all of the Mss. in the apparatus of Theodor-Albeck, it says R. Yoḥanan, and even in the continuation (Genesis Rabbah 20, 21 [p. 197]) “The fine linens that come from Beth Shean” are mentioned in a tradition in the name of R. Yoḥanan.

¹²⁵ And with minor changes, in parallels Y Sotah 1, 8, 17b; *ibid.* 9, 12, 24b. In a discussion in Y (Ma’aser Sheni 4, 1, 54d), which deals with *Ma’aser sheni* redemption values in different places, Adbael or Arbael appears in the discussion of exchange rates for coins: “We have been taught: ‘A person is permitted to earn up to a *shekel* or up to a quarter (without transgressing the laws of usury). How can one do it? A [gold] *dinar* here (in Tiberias?) is worth two thousand [*dinarri*] and in Adbael (in some versions: Arbael) (it is worth) two thousand and a *leukon* (a coin or unit of value)...” The Talmud proceeds to describe how a man can earn only by transferring dinars from one place and exchanging them in another. It is difficult to suppose that at Arbel in the Galilee there were different exchange rates than those at nearby Tiberias and it appears equally unlikely that this rural settlement (regardless of its great local importance) had a unique exchange rate that would merit mention in discussing this question. If, indeed, the reading Arbael is correct (which must not be assumed due to the lack of clarity in the discussion and the numerous differences between the many versions), then it is more likely that this refers to the settlement of Arbela-Irbid in the Peḥal district in Transjordan (see Sperber 1991: 33 n. 23).

R. Abbahu went to Arbel and was received at (the home of) Abba bar Binyamin. (People) came and asked him about those onions and he instructed them like R. Ze'ira (instructed)...

Aside from an esoteric tidbit of information indicating that onions were grown at Arbel at the end of the third century CE, we are informed that R. Abbahu, the greatest Palestinian sage of that generation, who customarily resided at Caesarea (Albeck 1969: 217), arrived at this settlement, which is not located on a main road. This is indicative of the place's importance at the end of the third century. Abba bar Binyamin was apparently a local sage whose name appears elsewhere in rabbinic literature.¹²⁶

The latest individual referred to in rabbinic literature in relation to Arbel is R. Mar 'Okba (Y Sotah 4, 3, 19d) who was active in the fourth and fifth generation of Palestinian *amoraim* (ca. mid-fourth century) and taught halakhah there.

Piyyut Literature and Midrashei Ge'ulah (midrashim of redemption): References to Arbel and the Arbel Valley in the *piyyutim* and *midrashei ge'ulah* have been treated extensively by Ilan (1988: 16–22) and Reiner (1996: 296–317), without discussing the question of settlement there during the period in which these compositions were written. The following passage is preserved in an inscription of the Priestly Courses from Bait al-Ḥader in Yemen, which Degan proposed dating to the fifth-sixth centuries:

ישוע נשדפ ארבל משמר התשיעי (Degan 1972–73: 302; Urbach 1972–73: 307).

A similar form has been preserved in a passage from the Book of Zerubbabel (apparently seventh century), where it is referred to in a prophecy of the War of the End of Days, apparently influenced by the wars between the Byzantines and the Persians and Arabs at the beginning of the seventh century (Fleischer 1983: 92):

ויאמר אלי מיכאל... "מנחם בן עמיאל יבא פתאום בחדש ניסן [בארבעה עשר בן] ויעמוד על בקעת ארבאל [אשר ליהושע בן שרף] ויצאו אליו כל חכמי ישראל, ולהם יאמר בן עמיאל, אני הוא משיח אשר שלחני ה' לבשרכם ולהצילכם מיד צורריכם. ויביטו בו החכמים ויבוזוהו כמו שאתה בזית אותו [ולא יאמינו בו], ותבער בו חמתו וילבש בגדי נקם תלבושת, ויבא בשערי ירושלם ועמו אליהו הנביא ויקצו ויחיו את נחמיה בן חושיאל הנהרג ויאמינו במנחם בן עמיאל..."

¹²⁶ Aside from Caesarea, we find R. Abbahu at Bozrah – capital of Provincia Arabia, at Alexandria in Egypt, at Tiberias, Sepphoris, Lod, and at Arbel (Albeck 1969: 217). Abaye b. Binyamin teaches a *baraita* in Y Berakhot 5, 5, 9d and in a parallel in Y Gittin 5, 8, 47b. The same *baraita* is presented in B Rosh Hashanah 35b; Sotah 38b in the name of Abba b. R. Binyamin b. Ḥiya. Albeck (1969: 350) believed that this is a Babylonian *amora* since in B Ḥullin 80a he poses a question to R. Huna bar Ḥiya. Contrary to this, Rosenfeld (1998: 84) proposes that two sages are referred to: the first, a Palestinian sage from Arbel and the second, a Babylonian sage, the similarity of whose names resulted in their being switched in the traditions.

Michael said to me... “Menaḥem ben ‘Amiel will come suddenly in the month of Nissan [on the fourteenth day], and will stand in the Arbel Valley [of Yehoshu‘a b. Saraff]. And all the sages of Israel will go out to him and b. ‘Amiel will say to them: ‘I am the Messiah whom the Lord has sent to give you tidings and to save you from the hand of your oppressors.’ And the sages will look and will despise him as you despised him [and will not believe him], and he will put on garments of vengeance, and will come to the gates of Jerusalem, and with him Elijah the prophet. And they will awaken and resuscitate Nehemiah the son of Hushiel who was slain, and (then) they will believe Menḥem b. ‘Amiel.”¹²⁷

An additional example of this special form is found in Seder ‘Olam Zuta (apparently edited in the ninth century), which states:

ושכיב חזקיה ונקבר בארץ ישראל בגבעת ארבאל אשר ליהושע בן נשרף הכהן במזרח העיר.

And Hizqiya died and was buried in the Land of Israel in the hill of Arbel of Yehoshua ben Nšrf in the east of the town (Neubauer 1887–95 II: 71).

Reiner (1996: 298) proposed that the origin of the expression *nšrf* is in the Galilean tradition concerning the burial of Joshua in the vicinity of Arbel, a tradition that in one of its forms was attributed to the high priest Joshua son of Jehozadaq, the “brand snatched from the fire” (Zechariah 3:2). According to Reiner, the origin of this tradition is in “an etiological tradition of a family of Galilean priests named *nšrf* that lived at Arbel.”

The only *piyyut* that may contain an indication of historical or geographic *realia* related to the settlement of Arbel is Qallir’s זכור איכה אנו שפתינו (apparently seventh century), which states:

בנפשנו טובים נאלחו ללא דבר / טוב מבצר שוד ארבל הדבר
טוב עד צולה אתם נדבר / טוב רשפי קשת בעמק שבר
טבעו בדבר / עד תשיעי דבר
(Goldschmidt 1968: 151) ממתה משלוח דבר / לצוק המדבר

Reference to ארבל ... מבצר (Arbel fortress), which here indicates the priestly course residing at Arbel, is based upon Hosea (10:14) which states: “...and all thy fortresses shall be spoiled, as Shalman spoiled Beth-arbel in the day of battle...”, however it is possible that in the background lies the *paytan*’s familiarity with the geography of the place, and possible support for this are the עמק – ‘mq (Arbel Valley?) and the צוק – zḡq (the Arbel cliff?) that follow in the text.

The literary nature of the *piyyutim* and the eschatological character of the *midrashei ge‘ulah* do not allow us to reach historical-settlement conclusions regarding Arbel, neither concerning the *realia* of settlement of the Priestly

¹²⁷ *Midrashei Geula* p. 83. This tradition of the War of the End of Days that will take place in the Arbel Valley is also referred to in a *piyyut* of Qallir, which appears to be slightly earlier than the Book of Zerubbabel:

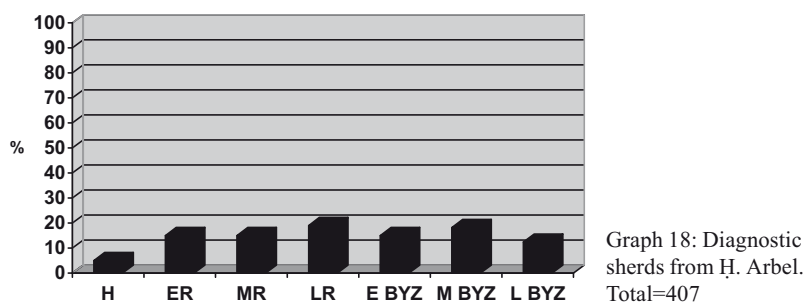
בימים ההם ובעת ההיא / בחודש הראשון הוא חודש ניסן
אמנם בארבעה עשר בו / מנחם בן עמיאל פתאום יבוא
בבקעת ארבאל יצמח טרבו / ובגדי נקם ילבש בחטובו
(*Midreshei Geula* p. 113)

Courses in the Galilee, nor concerning the existence of a given settlement during the periods in which these compositions were written. The archaeological data that emerge from the survey, as well as the rich numismatic finds from the site, indicate that Arbel was settled continuously from the Hasmonean period through the entire Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic period. It is thus likely that Qallir, who was active during the Byzantine period, possibly in this region (Fleischer 1967: 33), and perhaps even R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen of Kafra near Tiberias, who was active after the mid-eighth century and also mentions Arbel in his *piyyutim*, knew this place. It is also possible the writer of the Book of Zerubbabel who appears to have been active at the beginning of the seventh century in the area in which the Persian and Byzantine armies clashed, probably in Palestine (*Midrashei Geula* 1954: 63–66) was familiar with this settlement.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 407 identifiable sherds)

Division of the site into sub-areas revealed that the northwestern part was not settled during the Middle Ages. No other significant differences were observed between the different parts of the site.

The beginnings of the site were clearly in the Hellenistic period (5% of the finds), and the settlement remained stable throughout all Roman and Byzantine sub-periods. The rich and varied finds of LRRW types from this site, including 110 rims (28% of the finds at the site), are significant. The fact that the finds from the early periods are roughly equal in quantity to the later periods (which are closer to the surface) seems to show that the settlement here was apparently larger during the Early and Middle Roman period than during the later periods.



Numismatic finds: A table summarizing the chronology of 298 coins from the ruins at Arbel was published by Dolev (1988). In addition, 15 coins were found in the salvage excavation conducted by M. Aviam in the northwest of the ruin, (the excavator has generously provided the information about them presented here) and 62 coins were found in a project of cleaning the synagogue carried out by Ilan in the 1980s. The data from the last two collections are found in a

numismatic catalogue of the IAA and presented here courtesy of D. T. Ariel. The table below summarizes the data for 375 coins from the site,¹²⁸ however caution should be exercised in drawing conclusions concerning settlement intensities during the various periods since all of the coins in the Ilan collection and apparently a large number in the Dolev collection were obtained from the synagogue and its immediate vicinity (see Dolev 1988: 29). Nonetheless, the periods represented in the rich numismatic finds were probably ones during which the site was settled.

2 nd C. BCE	1 st C. BCE	1 st C. CE	2 nd C. CE	3 rd C. CE	4 th C. CE	5 th C. CE	6 th C. CE	7 th C. CE	7 th -8 th C. CE	12 th -13 th C. CE	19 th -20 th C. CE
18	28	30	23	50	115	43	26	11	27	2	2

Discussion: The number of Hellenistic finds indicate that this site was founded at the end of the Hellenistic period. The abundant numismatic finds enable greater precision in dating and indicate the end of the second century BCE as the period of the settlement's foundation.¹²⁹ The combination of this data enables us to propose that additional sites with similar pottery profiles, for which we have no numismatic data, were also founded around that time.

The existence of Arbel as a significant settlement in the Hasmonean period corresponds to the tradition concerning Mathei the Arbelite who was an important sage during this period. Furthermore, the involvement of Arbel and its region in pro-Hasmonean activity against Herod as well as anti-Roman activity later on appear against the historical settlement background of the site, which was established after the Hasmoneans achieved domination over the region and likely as part of the Hasmonean settlement policy.¹³⁰ As we noted above, this characteristic was shared by settlements active in the Jewish Revolt.

The intensity of settlement at the site is notable in all of the sub-phases of the Roman period; however, against the background of the severe settlement crisis

¹²⁸ Coins belonging to two centuries were classified here according to their main period (for example, coins of Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) were assigned to the first century BCE, etc.). Coins classified in a general manner by Dolev, without details (e.g., “second-first centuries BCE”) were divided equally between the two centuries.

¹²⁹ All of the second century BCE coins are from Dolev's collection; two are coins of Antiochus III (222–187 BCE), one of Antiochus VII (138–129 BCE) and six of John Hyrcanus I (Dolev mistakenly attributed them to Hyrcanus II. Today, it is clear that all of the *ywhnn* coins belong to Hyrcanus I; see Meshorer 2001: 25–26). Dolev's publication contains detailed information concerning only some of the coins, but in any event, his conclusion from analysis of the coins is that “at the end of the second century BCE, the site was already settled.”

¹³⁰ Concerning Arbel specifically, see Appelbaum 1989: 23; concerning Hasmonean military settlement in general, Bar-Kochva 2002: 7–28.

that took place in the region during the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period, its continued significant existence in all Byzantine sub-periods should be emphasized. In effect, among the large Jewish villages located in the Genessar Valley and its surroundings during the Roman period (Genessar, Migdal, Ḥamam, and Arbel), Arbel is the only one that remained in existence after the late-fourth century, and pottery and numismatic evidence indicate its continued existence even during the Early Islamic period. We have no unequivocal historical evidence concerning the identity of its inhabitants during the Early Islamic period, however based upon the archaeological findings indicating a continuity of settlement, we may assume that they were Jews.¹³¹ These data indicating the continued existence of a large Jewish settlement here, apparently into the Early Islamic period, can explain the frequent references to Arbel in the *piyyutim* and in eschatological literature from the Early Islamic period. Moreover, it appears more than a coincidence that the War of the End of Days and the beginning of the redemption are attributed in these genres to the area of Arbel, which was a focus of zealot military activity in the distant past and whose dominant Jewish settlement remained in existence uninterrupted from that distant past to the time of those genres' creation.¹³²

¹³¹ In the salvage excavations conducted by Aviam at the site, dwellings with *miqva'ot* dated to the Late Byzantine period were uncovered (Aviam 2004²: 25 n. 9–10).

¹³² The question of “historical memory” among the Galilean Jews in antiquity and its taking shape around sites and monuments in the region still requires comprehensive clarification. An important effort in this direction is the work of Reiner (1996). The fact that historical information about sites and events of the Hasmonean and Early Roman period appear in rabbinic literature from much later generations or *piyyutim* of the Byzantine period, at times without the “mediation” of rabbinic literature, demonstrates this phenomenon (see, for example, my discussions of the list of walled towns at Genessar and Ḥittin; and of the *piyyut* on Zalmun, and see also Elizur 1995). It likewise appears that the inclusion of the settlements in the list of Priestly Courses, which is connected with the formation of a historical memory, is not random and is apparently connected to sites with a particular characteristic (see Chapter 7 below). The question of what led to the connection between traditions about the redemption or the War of the End of Days and the Arbel Valley and during what period that occurred, is unclear (as I noted above, there is no actual evidence for these traditions in the apocrypha of the Second Temple Period, as Reiner has proposed). Was the insertion of the tradition from the Y concerning the sages discussing the redemption in the Arbel Valley intentional, and evidence for “historic memory” of some sort, or was it placed there merely by chance? Perhaps the very same anecdote came to shape historical memory? The answer to the second question depends upon the influence that the circle of sages and their traditions had on the Jewish public in the Galilee, on its *paytanim* and commentators in their day and afterwards, during the Byzantine and Islamic periods. However, this influence is very unclear and it is difficult to burden the minor tradition in the Y with the heavy load of the redemption that *piyyutim* and *midrashei ge'ulah* place upon the Arbel Valley in the following generations. Links between the War of the End of Days and the Arbel Valley are likewise suggestive of a historical memory connected with military events more suited to the Hasmonean and Early Roman periods, however, it must be admitted that the entire matter remains elusive and unclear.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
41-60	61-85	61-85	41-60	41-60	41-60	41-60

Site No. 40

19-24/25/40

Ḥittin/Ḥattin חטיין/חטיין

Map ref.: 1926/2458; *Elevation:* 100 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Ḥittin-Arab village until 1948; preserves the name of the ancient settlement Kefar Ḥittin; mentioned in the twelfth century by the Islamic geographer al-Harawi as Ḥattin (Le Strange 1965: 450); in Crusader documents, Hattin and in Ottoman tax census Ḥittin; *Type of site:* Destroyed Arab village on ancient ruins; *Site area:* 25 dunams; *Topography:* Base of a slope and beginning of a plain; *Arable land:* Grumusol on extensive alluvial plains in Arbel Valley; *Nearest water source:* 'Ein Ḥittin in southern part of site; *Water installations:* Plastered pool in southwestern part of site; *Agricultural installations:* South of mosque, in channel, base of pressing installation of olive oil press;

Finds: Row of four cist tombs in southwestern part of site; probably several architectural elements at nearby moshav Kefar Zeitim come from this site; AVST reported lintels, doorposts and ashlar incorporated into village houses, rock-cut tombs west of the village, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze pottery and a single rim of a Hellenistic red-slipped bowl near the village spring (IAAA); *Natural fortification:* – –

Proximity to roads: On branch of route B3, which linked Arbel Valley with Beth Netofa Valley; approx. 2.5 km. from Roman Sepphoris-Tiberias road (R1).

Prior surveys and studies: Lawrence Oliphant (Oliphant 1976: 192) visited here in 1884 and noted that the mosque was built over a Byzantine church.



Fig. 88: Hittin: a clay ossuary from a burial cave west of the site (courtesy of the IAA)

Based on architectural elements mentioned above and Oliphant's observations, Z. Ilan believed that there had been a synagogue here (Ilan 1991: 138). West of the site, Y. Stepansky exposed a burial cave containing a clay ossuary and a small glass juglet, according to which the burial was dated to the first or second century CE (Aviam and Syon 2002: 169).

Identification: Researchers who dealt with the site have identified it with Kefar Ḥittin/Ḥittaya in rabbinic sources (Dalman 1935: 114; Klein 1967: 119; Reeg 1989: 340; *TIR*: 163).

* * *

Historical Sources

Rabbinic Literature: R. Shim'on ben Lakish of the second generation of *amoraim* (ca. 250–280 CE) is the earliest figure mentioned in rabbinic literature in connection with Kefar Ḥittaya and appears in a tradition discussed above in connection with Migdal (above, p. 231).¹³³ As noted above, it does not seem coincidental that the authors of the tradition chose Migdal or Kefar Ḥittaya as R. Shim'on's place of refuge when he escaped the anger of the Patriarch in Tiberias, who symbolized the connection with Roman rule. These settlements were apparently founded or settled with Jews by the Hasmoneans. Tension between this element of the population and the population of Tiberias, clearly evident in Josephus' first-century writings, emerges from time to time in rabbinic literature in traditions reflecting considerably later periods.

The following tradition, which mentions Kefar Ḥittaya, is presented by R. Abba bar Kahana who was active in the third generation of Palestinian *amoraim* (ca. 280–310 CE).

¹³³ B Ḥagigah 5b tells of R. Yehuda ha-Nasi and R. Ḥiya who went to greet a blind scholar and received his blessing: "You have greeted one who is seen and does not see; may you live to greet one who sees and is not seen." In reply to their question of where he learned this blessing, he replied "I heard it at the lecture of R. Jacob. Since R. Ya'akov of Kefar Ḥittaya used to visit his master every day..." Thus, we have a tradition that appears to mention a sage from Kefar Ḥittaya who lived prior to or in the time of R. Yehuda ha-Nasi (Klein 1967: 118; Rosenfeld 1998: 77). However, Kister (1993: 446) showed that in the original Babylonian version, the sage from whom the blind man learned the blessing was R. Eliezar ben Ya'akov and later, unrelated to this tradition, there appears a different tradition mentioning R. Ya'akov of Kefar Ḥittaya. Furthermore, Rosenthal (1999: 10) noted that the original form of the series of legends appearing (with certain errors) in B Ḥagigah above, is found in Y Pe'ah 8, 9, 21b; Shekalim 5, 6, 49b. That the Babylonian tradition concerning R. Ya'akov of Kefar Ḥittaya does not appear at all in the series of *aggadot* in Y, and that a sage of this name does not occur anywhere else in rabbinic literature, raises, in my view, serious doubts concerning its reliability and the very existence of a sage by this name.

Genesis Rabbah 65, 15 (p. 728):

‘ותקח רבקה את בגדי עשו... אשר אתה בבית’; וכמה נשים היו לו ותמר (ואתה אומר) אשר אתה בבית? אלא הוזהו ידע מה עובדיהון. אמ’ ר’ אבא בר כהנא: עובדא הוה בחדא סיעה דפאריטון בהדא כפר חיטייה והוון אכלין בכנישתה כל אפתי רמש בשובה. מן דהוון אכלין הוון גרמייא מקלקין מל סופרה. חד מינהון מן דמיד, אמרין לה למן את מפקד על בניך? א’ להון לספרה. כמה רחמין הוה לה והוא אמר לספרה, אלא הוזהו ידע מה עובדיהון...¹³⁴

“(And Rebekah took the coveted garments of Esau) which were with her in the house” (Gen. 27.15): How many wives did he have, yet you say “which were with her in the house”? Nevertheless, he knew their ways (i.e. could not trust them). R. Abba b. Kahana said: “There was this incident with one group of servants¹³⁵ at Kefar Hittaya who would eat in the synagogue every Saturday eve. After they had eaten, they would throw the bones at the scribe. (Now) one of them was dying, and they asked him: “To whose charge do you commit your son?” He said to them: “To the scribe.” How many (lit. so many) friends he had, yet he said “To the scribe”!? Nevertheless, he knew their ways.

It is difficult to decide whether this clearly didactic sermon has any historical authenticity. If we assume that the *midrash* has a historical basis, then this could show that a synagogue that also served as some sort of guest house, where a scribe (=teacher of children, see Safrai 1995: 53–60) and a group of servants or mercenaries resided permanently, existed at Kefar Hittaya at the time of or prior to the time of R. Abba bar Kahana.

As stated, a number of architectural elements at the nearby moshav Kefar Zeitim as well as Oliphant’s testimony from 1884 show that, despite the absence of remains today, there was a monumental public structure at the center of the settlement, though its identification as a synagogue is unclear.

In Leviticus Rabbah (and in a parallel in Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana), a sage by the name of R. ‘Azariya of Kefar Hittaya is mentioned. Based upon the sources,

¹³⁴ According to MS Vatican 30. In MS Vatican 60, this entire segment is missing. Theodor and Albeck noted in the apparatus that in MS Vatican 30, the version is: בהדה ביזרה דכפר חיטייה (in that house of strangers [?] of Kefar Hittaya). Klein (1967: 108) regarded this version as the original version and based upon it and an inscription from the village of Rama that in his view and Ben-Zvi’s (1933²) mentions a guest house, Klein proposed that *by zrh* was a house for guests (*zrym*). In Kleins’ view, this was a common institution in Jewish settlements in the Galilee, located near the synagogue and for which the local scribe was responsible. However, the basis for this proposal is weak. Examination of a photograph of MS Vatican 30 clearly shows that *before* the word בהדה (*bhdh*) was a word of which one can still clearly read the letters ב.ה.ו, and which was erased by the scribe who below this corrected to *bhdh kfr hytyh*. The preserved letters, and particularly the order of the words in the sentence, do not make it possible to accept the Theodor-Albeck reading בהדה ביזרה דכפר חיטייה. The state of preservation of the inscription from Rama (in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem) is quite poor, as already attested by Ben-Zvi himself (*ibid.*), and in examining it and the photographs utilized by Ben-Zvi to read it, Naveh (1978: 34) noted that “It is difficult to accept the readings proposed by Ben-Zvi and Klein...” and does not accept the view that it refers to a guest house.

¹³⁵ פאריטון from ὑπηρέταις, a group of servants or mercenaries.

we cannot establish his precise period, but it can be established that he was active prior to the fourth generation of Palestinian *amoraim*.¹³⁶

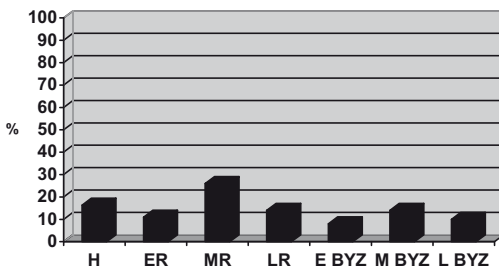
Another tradition mentioning Kefar Ḥittaya, though its date is unclear, is a tradition in Y Megillah with which we dealt above (site 26), concerning the identification of walled cities from the time of Joshua which identifies ancient ha-Ẓedim with Kefar Ḥittaya. In the discussion, *amoraim* active in the beginning of the fourth century are mentioned, however it is unclear if the verse containing the identification of the cities also belongs to the sages of that period. In any event, this list of fortified cities and the settlements with which they are identified was known to sages who dealt with it at the beginning of the fourth century, and they were thus familiar with the settlement called Kefar Ḥittaya, though this does not necessarily mean that the place was inhabited in their day. Klein (1967: 119) proposed that this identification of ha-Ẓedim with Kefar Ḥittaya actually referred to Ḥittin al-Qadim (today, Kh. ‘Eika, Site 42), a site on the hilltop above Ḥittin which, in the survey, turned out to have been settled during the Hellenistic period. It is worth noting that the quantity of Hellenistic pottery collected at Ḥittin itself shows that it too was settled during the Hellenistic period. The distance between Ḥittin, located at the bottom, and Kh. ‘Eika at the hilltop is approx. 300 m. of steep slope, and during the Hellenistic period this was possibly a single settlement unit. On the other hand, the complete absence of Roman and Byzantine pottery from the hilltop site shows that the settlement was located in the vicinity of the spring, from the middle of the slope downward, during these periods. As noted above, the tradition identifying fortified sites mentioned in the Book of Joshua with sites from the time of the sages is apparently related to sites with remains of ancient fortifications Jews encountered when they settled in the region following the Hasmonean conquest and which they referred to as “walled cities from the days of Joshua.” This explanation fits Kefar Ḥittaya, in which and near which there are settlement remains earlier than the time of the Hasmonean conquest of the area.

¹³⁶ Leviticus Rabbah 7, 4 (p. 157); Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana 6, 3 (p. 118). In the former, mentioned in the sayings of R. Berakhiyah and R. Ḥanan (fourth and third generation *amoraim*, respectively) and in the latter, in the sayings of R. Abba bar Kahana and R. Ḥanan (third and fourth generation *amoraim*, respectively). Klein (1967: 118) proposed that there was another sage from this place called Bar Ḥittaya or Shim’on bar Ḥittaya. As concluded above, the combination “*br X*” in Palestinian literature is used to refer to the son of a person rather than someone from a certain place. Beyond this, an examination of the versions in all of the places where this sage is mentioned (Genesis Rabbah 1, 10; 26, 3; 30, 8; 31, 10; 53, 12 [p. 9; 246; 273; 282; 569]; Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana 12, 5 [p. 206] and later parallels), shows that all of the reliable Mss. read Bar Ḥutah or Bar Ḥuta, including MS Vatican 60, which does not appear in Theodor-Albeck’s apparatus and is apparently the best manuscript of Genesis Rabbah. In MS Vatican 30 in three places the reading is *brhyth* in one word and in another place, Bar Ḥutah. In any event, the version Bar Hittayah or Bar Hittaya proposed by Klein does not exist in any important Ms. of any of the six sources in which this sage is mentioned, and these sources do not appear to indicate a person from Ḥittaya.

Summary of Rabbinic Sources: Kefar Hittaya is mentioned in Y and Genesis Rabbah – Palestinian sources completed in the fourth and fifth centuries CE. The earliest sage mentioned in reference to this settlement is R. Shim'on ben Lakish (active ca. 250–280); another sage mentioned in reference to the settlement is R. 'Azariya, a native of Kefar Hittaya, whose period of activity is uncertain. The settlement is mentioned again in a discussion by sages from the early fourth century about a list that seems to reflect a historical memory of some sort concerning the beginning of Jewish settlement there, apparently in the Hasmonean period.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 148 identifiable sherds)

During the survey, the site was divided into six collection areas; however the only obvious difference observed as a result of this division is the relocation of the site during the Middle Ages from mid-slope where it was in earlier periods to the foot of the slope and the field below. The beginning of settlement at the site was in the Hellenistic period and the relatively considerable finds from that period (16.3%) are noteworthy. Also remarkable are the quantity of Middle Roman period finds (25.6%) and the obvious weakness of the Late Roman period (14%) and the Early Byzantine period (8%). These periods generally enjoy strong pottery representation due to type KH1e, which usually accounts for between a third and half of the finds at Late Roman/Early Byzantine sites, while here it constitutes only 5.5% of the finds. It thus appears that there was a certain decline in settlement during these periods. In this regard, it should be noted that in salvage excavations conducted recently by M. Hartal at the site, there was a clear gap in the Late Roman period followed by renewal of settlement (in the restricted area excavated) during the Byzantine period. In any event, 8 sherds clearly dated to the fourth century collected in the survey¹³⁷ demonstrate, in my opinion, that there was presence of some sort at the site during that period. The increase of finds from the Middle Byzantine period (14% of the finds, of which 12 are LRRW vessels, as opposed to 2 in the



Graph 19: Diagnostic sherds from Hittin. Total=148

¹³⁷ C4a1; KH4d; Diamond Rim SJ 3; LR Krater 1.

preceding period) should also be noted, as should the stability maintained during the Late Byzantine period (10%). Prior to our survey architectural elements and remains of a public building, apparently beneath the village mosque, were noted, however, its identification as a Jewish public building has not been validated archaeologically.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11-20	11-20	11-20	4-10	4-10	11-20	11-20

Discussion: It appears probable that during the Hellenistic period, this site and Kh. ‘Eika [Site 42] on the hilltop constituted a single settlement unit. It is clear that following the Hellenistic period there was no settlement on the hilltop or on the adjacent terraces, and that the settlement was located mainly from the center of the slope downward, near the spring. As stated, Kefar Ḥittaya is mentioned in rabbinic sources as “a city surrounded by a wall from the days of Joshua” and is identified with the fortified biblical city of ha-Zedim.

In our discussion, we noted that these are sites where Jews of the Second Temple period encountered remains of earlier fortifications when they settled the region. Probably, this tradition is related to the Hasmonean domination of the Galilee and the Jewish settlement that followed (see Sites 41 and 42 below). It is probable that the identification of Kefar Ḥittaya in this tradition with the fortified ancient city of ha-Zedim refers to the fortified site of Kh. ‘Eika, which is situated at the top of the slope upon which the later settlement lies (it is noteworthy that the Arabic name of Kh. ‘Eika is Ḥittin al-Qadim = “Ancient Ḥittin”! See discussion of Site 42 below). At Ḥittin itself, a considerable amount of Hellenistic pottery was also collected and this area at mid-slope is probably that identified by the tradition as ha-Zedim (though we found no remains of fortifications here – perhaps because of the intensive settlement here until recently). All of the rabbinic sources in which Kefar Ḥittaya is mentioned are related to or presented in the name of sages who were active during the Late Roman period; one of these mentions the synagogue of the village.

Site No. 41

19-24/25/41

Kh. el ‘Aiteh (el-Haraker) (אל הראכר)/עיייתה

Map ref.: 1924/2456; *Elevation:* 210 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Apparently Arabic; el-Haraker: name of the plot in the British Mandatory map (Tor 2000:



Fig. 89: Kh. el 'Aiteh: general view, looking north-west

23); *Type of site*: Ancient ruin; *Site area*: 11 dunams; *Topography*: Hilltop with steep slopes, west of the tomb of Nebi Shu'eib; *Arable land*: Grumusol covering extensive flattened alluvial plains in the Arbel Valley at the foot of the site; blackish-brown basaltic grumusol upon extensive plains south of the site; *Near-est water source*: 'Ein Hittin; 300 m. from center of site; difficult access; *Water installations*: – – ; *Agricultural installations*: – –

Finds: Several caves in the northeastern slope of the hill; high stone walls within the site; remains of a wall surrounding the site on the south – the only side not naturally defended. During the survey, a significant difference was noted between the abundant pottery found from this line of wall inward (northward) and the small amount of pottery outside the line of this wall.

Five Rhodian amphora handles bearing Greek inscriptions collected by B. Ravani are today in the storerooms of the IAA. On three, Ravani noted “site west of Karnei Hittin” which apparently refers to this site or to nearby Kh. 'Eika (see appendix 2);

Natural fortification: Steep slopes to the north, east and west; controlled and accessible from the south;

Proximity to roads: Above a branch of route B3, which linked the Arbel Valley with the Beth Netofa Valley; approx. 2 km. from the Roman Sepphoris-Tiberias road (R1);

Prior surveys and studies: The site appears on SWP maps and was rediscovered by Mr. Y. Tor of the IAA (Tor 2000: 22);

Finds from other periods: Early and Middle Bronze pottery.

Identification: – –

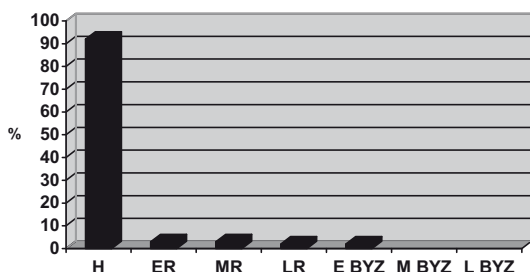
Historical Analysis (sample size: 127 identifiable sherds)

The absence of clear Persian period finds apparently indicates that the rich finds of intermediate Persian/Hellenistic types (32% of the finds at the site) belong to the Early Hellenistic period. Rhodian amphora handles collected by B. Ravani (4 from the this site and a fifth upon which Ravani noted the map reference of this site or of nearby Kh. 'Eika) were examined by G. Finkielsztein and dated to the second half of the third century and the first half of the second century BCE (see appendix 2).

Finds of relatively large amounts of ESA vessels (6.3% of the finds in addition to bases and numerous body sherds) indicate that the site was still settled after the beginning of the penetration of these vessels into the region around the third quarter of the second century BCE. On the other hand, the total absence of Kefar Hananya types of the Early Roman period, which constitute the absolute majority of cooking vessels in the region in assemblages from the mid-first century BCE onward, shows that the site was no longer inhabited by the mid-first century BCE.

The absence of Early Roman pottery from this site also shows that ESA type vessels that cannot be categorized as Hellenistic or Roman, belong to the Hellenistic period, raising the percentage of Hellenistic vessels to 92% of all the finds at the site.

The minute amount of pottery representing all of the Roman period sub-phases up to LR/E BYZ (10 vessels for a 500 year period) does not represent, in our view, settlement phases at the site and probably comes from nearby Hittin.



Graph 20: Diagnostic sherds from Kh. el 'Aiteh. Total=127

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11	--	--	--	--	--	--

Discussion: See Site 42 below.

Site No. 42

19-24/25/42

Kh. 'Eika/Kh. Madin מדין מ'רבת עיכה/ח'רבת

Map ref.: 1927/2455; *Elevation:* 251 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Apparently Arabic; *Type of site:* Ancient ruin; *Site area:* 15 dunams; *Topography:* Hill with steep slopes east of the tomb of Nebi Shu'eib; *Arable land:* Grumusol on extensive alluvial plains in the Arbel Valley at the foot of the site; blackish-brown basaltic grumusol on extensive plains south of the site; *Nearest water source:* 'Ein Ḥittin, 250 m. from the center of the site; difficult access; *Water installations:* – – ; *Agricultural installations:* Stone fragment of pressing installation of some sort, near the hilltop.

Finds: Top of wall constructed of large trimmed stones preserved to height of 1–2 courses for approx. 15 m. in southern part of site – apparently remains of fortification intended to protect the site at its weakest point. Building remains and outlines of buildings, visible mainly in western part of site; large quantities of building stones scattered around the site.

Natural fortification: Steep slopes to the north, west and east; site is controlled and accessible from its southern side;

Proximity to roads: Above branch of route B3 which connected the Arbel and Beth Netofa Valleys and approx. 2 km. from Roman Sepphoris-Tiberias road (R1).

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 193) visited the site in 1875 and refers to it as Ḥittin al-Qadim;

Finds from other periods: Early and Middle Bronze, Iron and Persian periods pottery.

Identification: – –

* * *

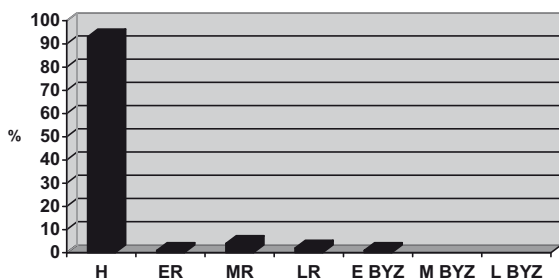
Historical Analysis (sample size: 118 identifiable sherds)

33% of the finds at this site belong to intermediate Persian/Hellenistic period types and the presence of types clearly belonging to the Persian period indicate that the site was settled during that period and that some of the intermediate types apparently belong to it.

The relatively large quantity of ESA vessels (7.6% of the finds) shows that the site existed at least for a certain period after the third quarter of the second century BCE. On the other hand, the total absence of Kefar Ḥananya types, so common during the Early Roman period, shows that settlement ceased prior to the mid-first century BCE.

The absence of Early Roman pottery at this site shows that ESA types that cannot generally be classified as Hellenistic or Roman belong here to the

Hellenistic period, thus increasing the share of the Hellenistic vessels to 93% of the finds at the site. The rest of the finds extend over all sub-phases of the Roman period to E BYZ (8 vessels over a span of approx. 500 years) and do not seem to represent settlement phases; their source is apparently at nearby Ḥittin.



Graph 21: Diagnostic sherds from Kh. 'Eika. Total=118

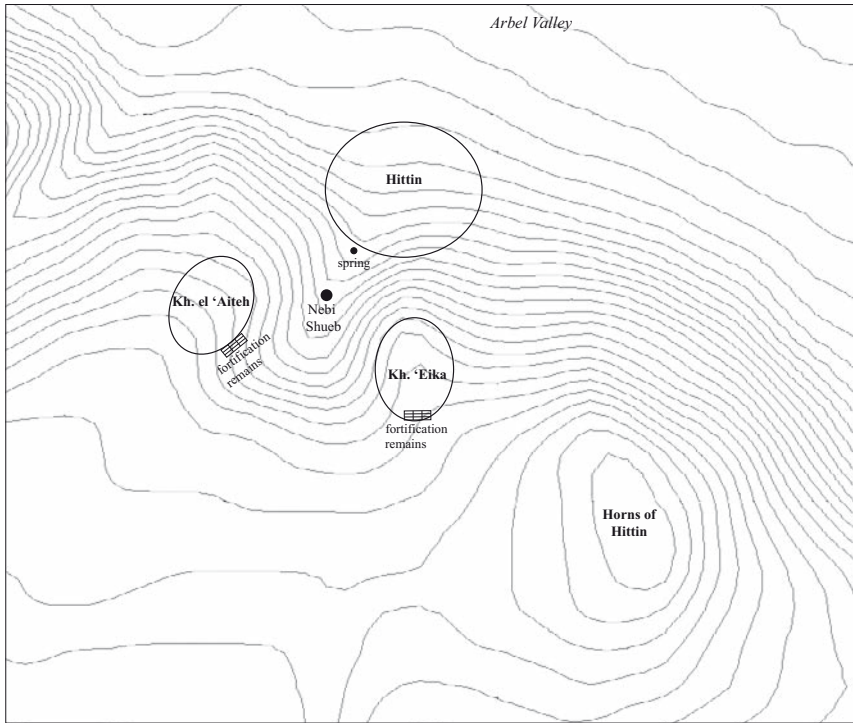
Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
15	--	--	--	--	--	--

Discussion: The sites Kh. el 'Aiteh and Kh. 'Eika are located across from one another on opposite sides of a deep gorge, in the same agricultural area. Both sites depend on the water of 'Ein Ḥittin in the valley below them. The clear relationship between the two sites¹³⁸ led us to examine (twice!) whether this is perhaps a single large site, however, we did not find any building remains or sherd scatter between them. The presence of unequivocal Persian pottery at 'Eika as opposed to its absence at Kh. el 'Aiteh led us to propose that the latter was established in the Early Hellenistic period as a kind of “branch” of the former. Their strategic location on a hilltop with steep slopes and the remains of fortifications surrounding both apparently indicate that the reason for the establishment of the new settlement, rather than expansion of the old toward the saddle or the slopes, had to do with security.

The similar pottery profile for the two sites, the presence of ESA ware in relatively large quantities and the total absence of Kefar Ḥananya Early Roman types indicate that these sites were abandoned between ca. the third quarter of the second to the mid-first century BCE. It appears that the most likely historical explanation for their abandonment and the presence of a Jewish site in their agricultural plot during the Roman period (Ḥittin, Site 40) is the Hasmonean domination of the Galilee. The presence of imported vessels from the end of the first century BCE and of GCW at both sites and the presence of imported

¹³⁸ It is of interest that at both, significant amounts of Early Bronze pottery were also found.



Map 9: Hittin Area

amphorae at Kh. el 'Aiteh seem to support the view that the sites were settled by gentiles and that their abandonment was related to Hasmonean domination of the region. The question regarding when Jews started to avoid utilizing imported wares and gentile wine (if, indeed, the amphorae here were for wine), has been examined from the archaeological perspective as regards the amphorae from Jerusalem, where a sharp decline in their use is recorded from the mid-second century BCE onward (Ariel 1990: 18–25), though Ariel himself is not convinced that the interpretation of this decline is related to halakhic considerations (see Ariel 2000²: 276–280).¹³⁹

¹³⁹ Finkielsztein (1993: 29–37), on the other hand, is more adamant in his view that this is a result of intentional avoidance. In addition, a summary presented by Berlin (2002; 2005) concerning imported serving vessels at sites in the Galilee (Gamla, Yodefat, Bethsaida, and Capernaum) indicates, in her opinion, the end of the first century BCE as a period during which this phenomenon of avoidance became widespread among the Jewish population. Berlin explains this avoidance as a political anti-Roman act or as a symbol of identity rather than a halakhic act, because in earlier periods, the Jewish inhabitants did use imported vessels, however she does not deal with the possibility of development and change in halakhah (or with the period before halakhic rules became norms of behavior in Jewish society).

Further support for the proposed abandonment of the sites related to Hasmonean domination is found in a rabbinic tradition mentioned above, which saw Kefar Ḥittaya and another nearby site as “towns surrounded by a wall from the days of Joshua” (Y Megillah 1, 1, 70a). Two other sites, also known in rabbinic tradition as walled from the days of Joshua, are Yodefat and Gamla, both of which present evidence for the existence of Hellenistic fortifications prior to Hasmonean domination (Adan-Bayewitz 1996–1997). This is probably true of this case as well. As stated, the identification of Kefar Ḥittaya as a walled town from the time of Joshua probably refers to fortified Kh. ‘Eika, which lies at the top of the slope upon which the later settlement lies. The identification of the biblical city of Z̄er with an unnamed site (“near Kefar Ḥittaya”) in this tradition, apparently refers to Kh. el ‘Aiteh which lies right near Kefar Ḥittaya.

Site No. 43

19–24/05/43

נימרין Nimrin

Map ref.: 1902/2455; *Elevation:* 340 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arab village until 1948; Ottoman census: Nimrin; perhaps Naim in Crusader documents (Prawer 1971 vol. 1: 536, n. 15); *Type of site:* Arab village upon ancient ruin; construction of military base here damaged western part of site; *Site area:* 23 dunams; *Topography:* Moderate spur descending northward from Mt. Nimrah; *Arable land:* Brown grumusol and terra rossa upon moderate slopes and extensive alluvial plains in nearby (1.5 km.) eastern Tur‘an Valley; *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* AVST reported tens of cisterns at site (IAAA); in our survey, we found five of these. Presumably some of the cisterns were damaged by construction of a military base; *Agricultural installations:* The report of the AVST noted a threshing wheel of an olive oil press (today opposite the command of the base).

Finds: AVST reported cist tombs, a column drum and a number of ashlar in secondary use.

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: approx. 2.5 km. north of the Roman road from Sepphoris to Tiberias;

Finds from other periods: Pottery from the Middle Bronze, Iron, Persian (scant), Early Islamic, Medieval and Ottoman periods.

Prior surveys and studies: – –



Fig. 90: Nimrin: crushing basin of an olive oil press

Identification: Accepted identification is Kefar Nimrah/Imra in rabbinic literature (Dalman 1935: 115; Avi-Yonah 1951: 140; Klein 1967: 10; Safrai 1985: 2; Reeg 1989: 353; *TIR*: 164).

* * *

Historical Sources

The village of Nimrin is mentioned in the Ottoman tax census from the end of the sixteenth century (Hütteroth and Abudulfattah 1977: 189) and existed as an Arab village until 1948. Klein (1967: 10) identified this site as Kefar Nimrah, which he cites as appearing in rabbinic literature, based on the preservation of the name. This identification has been accepted by many researchers. The only rabbinic source that appears to mention Kefar Nimrah is Lamentations Rabbah 2, 2 (Buber edition p. 54).¹⁴⁰

רב הונא אמר ג' מאות חנויות של מוכרי טהרות היו במגדלא דצבעייה ושלש מאות חנויות של אורגי פרוכות היו בכפר נמרה.

R. Huna said: There were three hundred stores selling [food preserved in the condition of] cultic cleanness in Migdal Zaba'aya and three hundred stores of those who weaved veils (i.e. curtains for synagogue arks or for the Temple) in Kefar Nimrah.

However, this source in Lamentations Rabbah is taken from a series of destruction narratives in Y Ta'anit (see Bubers' introduction pp. 11–12), to which the editor, on the one hand, added more material and, on the other, inserted errors. The tradition in Y Ta'anit 4, 6, 69a, according to the Leiden Ms., differs thus:

אמר ר' יוחנן שמונים חנויות שלאורגי פלגס היו במגדל צבעייה. אמר ר' חיייה בר בא: שמונים חנויות שלמוכרי טהרות היו בכפר אימרא

¹⁴⁰ In fact, this passage does not appear at all in the Vatican Ms. of Lamentations Rabbah upon which Buber based his edition. Its inclusion here by Buber was based on the parallel in Y; see below.

R. Yoḥanan said: There were eighty stores of those who weaved *palgas* (a certain garment) in Migdal Zaba'aya. R. Ḥiya bar Ba said: There were eighty stores selling (food preserved in the condition of) cultic cleanness in Kefar *Imra*.

Thus, a place called Kefar Nimrah is not mentioned at all in rabbinic literature, and its identification with the Arab village of Nimrin in the Galilee, or with any other place, lacks textual support.¹⁴¹

Another source noted by Klein (*ibid.*) in connection with this identification is a verse from the *piyyut* “*wdkh ky 'nft by*” (אודך כי אנפת בי) by Yosef bar Shlomo of Carcassonne (France, eleventh century):

מתתיהו ואחיו פנימה הכניס / מכבי יהודה גבורה השניס
מאסת כל עץ הדקיר המזנה / מעכו לנמרים רדף המחנה
...מחצם וכלם יגד לאליפרני...

This *piyyut* for the Sabbath of Hanukkah includes events from the time of the Hasmoneans drawn from Megilat Ta'anit, from the Book of Judith and from later *midrashim* based on the story of Judith (Weinberger 1998: 170). Klein believed that the line מעכו לנמרים רדף המחנה (from 'Akko to Nemerim he [Judah Maccabee] chased the army) “...the *paytan* certainly did not invent himself” and that it is taken from an ancient *midrash* that has not reached us. Klein also believed that this verse reflects the battle of Simon the Hasmonean, who reached the gates of 'Akko (1 Maccabees 5:22); therefore, it should be corrected to “from Nemerim to 'Akko” which is evidence that the battle mentioned in 1 Maccabees began at Nimrin in the Galilee. In fact, “the *paytan* certainly did not invent this line himself” since it appears in a literary work comprising the above variety of sources in the *she'iltot* of R. Aḥay Gaon (27 [Mirsky edition, p. 188]) who lived in Babylonia in the eighth century CE. It is difficult to accept a *midrash* that is scattered throughout with legends and that was written some 1,000 years after the Hasmonean period as a reliable historical source, though a

¹⁴¹ A type of a date, known as *ktbt hnymryn* (כתבת הנימרון) is mentioned in T Yoma 4, 3 and is probably named after its place of growth. This place is mentioned again in the famous *baraita* of the boundaries of the Land of Israel in T Shevi'it 4, 11; and in the parallel Sifre Deuteronomy 51: ...ומלך דזוראי, ויבקא, וחשבון... In T Shevi'it (7, 11), בית נמרה וחברותיה, are mentioned as examples of places in the valley in Transjordan. In all of these sources it is clear that Nimrin east of the Jordan valley is referred to, which is Βηθησαμύρν mentioned by Eusebius (Klostermann 1966: 44; 48). This place is mentioned again in Y Shevi'it 9, 2, 38d, while identifying cities of the kingdom of Siḥon mentioned in Joshua 13: “...and in the valley, Beit-Haram, and Beit-Nimrah, and Sukkot, and Zafon, the rest of the kingdom of Siḥon...” Beit-Haram – Beit Ramtah. Beit-Nimrah – Beit Nimrin. Sukkot – Dar'ela. Zafon – 'Amtu... In M Pe'ah 4, 5 it tells of בית נמר (*byt nmr*) where they would demarcate the *peah* of the field that was left for the poor with a rope. If indeed this refers to the name of a place rather than to the name of a family, then it is likely that it is the same place as in the other occurrences of this name, i.e., Beth Nimrah in Transjordan, and identified as such in the research literature (Klein 1939: 16; Avi-Yonah 1951: 166 n. 3; Segal 1979: 41; Grünzweig 1999: 87).

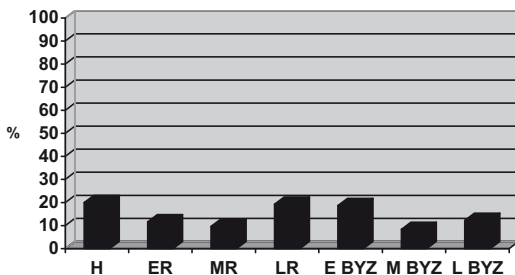
number of motifs from this literary work appear in a Hanukah *piyyut* of the Byzantine period by Qallir (Elizur 1995: 306). Recalled in this *piyyut* is a battle of the Hasmoneans “from ‘Akko to Levo Hammath” and Namer (“tiger”) appears in the *piyyut* as a name for Greece.¹⁴² It appears that, as a result of an error or a misunderstanding of this *piyyut*, the line “from ‘Akko to Nemerim” found its way into the *she’iltot* of R. Aḥay Gaon and from there to the *piyyut* of Yosef bar Shlomo of Carcassonne.

Summary: The only reference to Kefar Nimrah in rabbinic literature originates in a copyist’s error. Therefore, there is no foundation for its identification with Nimrin or any other place. It is likewise difficult to accept that נמרִים (*nmrym*), first mentioned in the *She’iltot de-R. Aḥay Gaon* in the eighth century, faithfully preserves a tradition concerning Hasmonean battles in the Galilee in the second century BCE.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 156 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of the settlement is in the Bronze and Iron Ages and distinct Persian period finds (few) indicate that the Persian/Hellenistic types belong, in part, to that period. The Hellenistic period finds (20% of the finds) are slightly more dominant than those of the other periods and there was a decline in the Early and Middle Roman periods (11.6% and 9.6% respectively). Despite the weakness of type KH1e (only 15% of the finds), an increase is perceptible in Late Roman period (19%) and Early Byzantine period (18.7%) finds.

Only two types of LRRW belong to the Middle Byzantine period, and both of them are of type PRS 3H, which was produced only from the beginning of the sixth century onward. This, together with six imported Late Byzantine vessels,



Graph 22: Diagnostic sherds from Nimrin. Total=156

¹⁴² According to Avi-Yonah’s reconstruction, the sixteenth course in the list of Priestly Courses – the Course of Immer – is attributed to Kefar Nimrah (Avi-Yonah 1962: 138). However, this reconstruction is not supported by the numerous *piyyutim* in which the names of settlements are mentioned, nor in any of the inscribed names of settlements of the Priestly Courses found to date.

may indicate a decline of some sort in the settlement around the fifth century and renewed growth in the sixth century, though we have no sufficiently extensive data at our disposal to show this definitively. The exceptional absence of remains of a public building at this site, which continued to exist through the Byzantine period, should be noted.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11-23	4-10	4-10	11-23	11-23	4-10	4-10

Site No. 44

18-24/83/44

H. Mashkanah/Kh. Meskeneh ח' מסכנה / חורבת משכנה

Map ref.: 1886/2433; *Elevation:* 250 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic. Ottoman tax census: Maskanah; apparently, Mareshaucie or Maneskalkia in Crusader documents (Prawer 1971 vol. 1: 536, n. 14); *Type of site:* Ancient ruins; *Site area:* 35 dunams; *Topography:* Very moderate eastern spur of SE 253 east of Tur'an Valley; *Arable land:* Brown grumusol and terra rossa on extensive alluvial plains in eastern part of Tur'an Valley; *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* Large seasonal pool west of site; five large cisterns at site, the three easternmost very near one another; *Agricultural installations:* Concentration of installations in southern part of site, including the base of a screw-type direct-pressure press cut directly in bedrock; rock-cut pool that apparently served as an industrial installation of some sort; winepresses and cave; several winepresses west of the site; remains of columbaria (Tal *et al.* 2002: 57);

Finds: Several cist tombs west of the ruins; sarcophagus decorated with vases was moved from the ruins to 'Ailbun (IAAA). Top of wall of carefully trimmed ashlar in eastern part of ruins and scattered in the vicinity, numerous other ashlar, including one with carved column base or capital in relief and portions of a doorpost and what appears to be part of an architrave indicate the existence of a monumental building at the site. No finds suggesting synagogue remains reported in previous studies;

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: Approx. 300 m. north of the Roman Sepphoris-Tiberias road (R1). Z. Safrai reported a local road from the site that connects with the Roman road;

Finds from other periods: Early Islamic, Medieval and Ottoman pottery;



Fig. 91: H. Mashkanah: base of a direct-pressure screw oil press cut directly in bedrock



Fig. 92: H. Mashkanah: cist tombs



Fig. 93: H. Mashkanah: architectural element from a monumental building



Fig. 94: H. Mashkanah: wall of large ashlars, maybe a synagogue



Fig. 95: H. Mashkanah: architectural element from a monumental building

Prior surveys and studies: PEF reported sarcophagi near the site (SWP 1881–3, vol. 1: 403). Shenhav (1984: 107) surveyed remains of the Roman road at the foot of the site to the south and reported four milestones, one bearing an inscription apparently mentioning the Emperor Caracala. Stepansky (2002²: 22–23) uncovered a 400-m.-long segment of this road south of the site, which includes branching of a secondary road toward the site. Z. Safrai (1985: 167–172) surveyed the site and drew a plan of several structures, including a building he identified as an inn (פונדק).

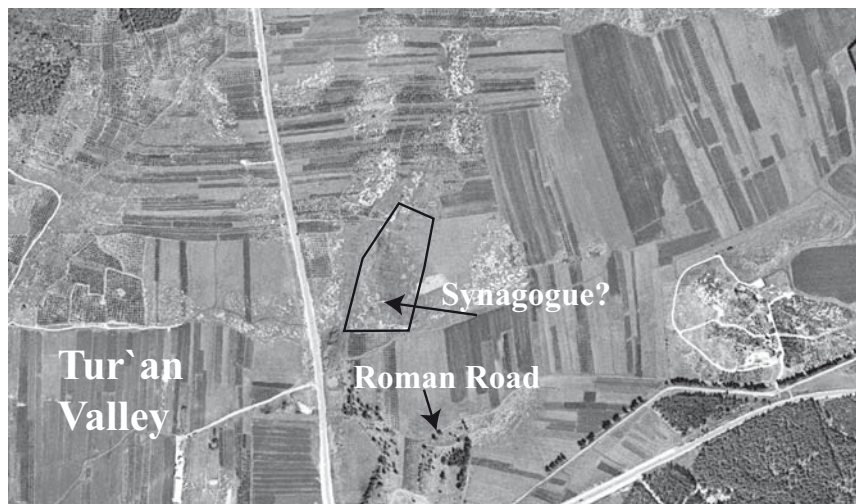


Fig. 96: Aerial photo of H. Mashkanah (photograph: see Mapping)

Identification: Mashkanah is a settlement referred to in rabbinic literature (Dalman 1935: 114; Klein 1967: 116; Safrai 1985: 168; Reeg 1989: 424; *TIR*: 181).

* * *

Historical Sources

Identification of the site: Aside from the preservation of the name Mashkanah in the Arabic name Kh. Meskeneh, literary sources provide clear indication of the location of this settlement:

Y Berakhot 9, 5, 14d:

אמר ר' שמעון בן לקיש: במגילת חסידים מצאו כתוב: 'יום תעזבני ימים אעזבך'. (משל) לשנים שיצאו אחד מטיבריא ואחד מציפורין ופגעו זה בזה בחדא משכנה. לא הספיקו לפרוש זה מזה (עד שהלך) זה מיל זה מיל, נמצאו רחוקין זה מזה שני מילין...

R. Shim'on ben Lakish said: "In *Megillat Hasidim* it was found to be written: 'Should you abandon Me for one day, I will abandon you for (many) days.' (This is like) two individuals who left, one from Tiberias, the other from Sepphoris, and met each other in that Mashkanah. They have just separated from each other, this going a mile and this going a mile, (and already) they are two miles apart (so one who abandons God for one day is really separated from Him for longer)..."

Y Sanhedrin 3, 1, 21a:

'זה פוסל דינו שלזה'... אמר ר' לעזר: זה אמר בטיבריא וזה אמר בציפורי, שומעין לזה שאמר בטיבריא... אמר ר' לא: והאי דמר ר' לעזר 'זה אומר בטיבריא וזה אומר בציפורי' באינן דהוון יהיבין בחדא משכנא, מן הכא להכא ז' מילין, מן הכא להכא ט' מילין...

“One may invalidate the judge (chosen) by the other (party)”... R. El‘azar said: “This one says (they should go to court) ‘In Tiberias’ and that one says ‘In Sepphoris’ – they accept the position of the one who said ‘In Tiberias.’” ... R. La said: “And as to that which R. El‘azar has stated, ‘This one says “In Tiberias” and that one says “In Sepphoris” – (that statement applies to) those who are located in that Mashkanah, from here to here (i.e. from Mashkanah to Tiberias the distance is) seven miles, from here to here (i.e. from Mashkanah to Sepphoris the distance is) nine miles...”¹⁴³

From the first source it appears that Mashkanah is located on the route that leads from Sepphoris to Tiberias and from the second source we learn that it is seven miles (approx. 10.5 km.) from Tiberias and nine miles (approx. 13.5 km.) from Sepphoris. These data fit Kh. Meskeneh both in terms of the distance from Tiberias and Sepphoris as well as its position beside the Roman road to Tiberias.¹⁴⁴

Summary: The two sources that mention Mashkanah are both in the Y, which was completed shortly after the mid-fourth century CE. The first tradition is brought in the name of R. Shim‘on ben Lakish (ca. 250–280) and the second in the name of R. La (ca. 280–310, see Albeck 1969: 223), apparently indicating that the place was still inhabited in R. La’s day.

¹⁴³ The question concerns the agreement that litigants must reach concerning the location of the trial and the composition of the judges. R. Elazar determined that if one wishes the case to be tried in Tiberias and the other in Sepphoris, the wishes of the one who opted for Tiberias are respected; from the continuation of the question, it is clear that his reasoning was that the house of judgment in Tiberias is more important. R. La interprets the statement of R. Elazar in a geographical context and presents examples of litigants at Mashkanah, which is 7 miles from Tiberias and 9 miles from Sepphoris, explaining that R. Elazar noted that one must to go Tiberias because it is nearer (and not more important). The example of R. La concerning litigants in Mashkanah appears to be taken from the *realia* with which sages of the *bet midrash* were familiar, and therefore, seems to indicate that the place was inhabited in his day.

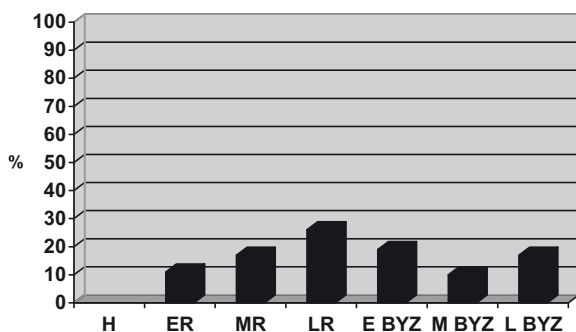
¹⁴⁴ The proximity of the site to the road and the description of the meeting between passersby led Klein (1967: 116) to propose that there was a roadside inn here, in addition to the inn at nearby Lavi (Lubieh, ca. 1.3 km.) which is explicitly referred to in the sources (Site 49 below). Safrai, on the other hand, assumed that it is unlikely that there would be two inns operating so close to one another, and therefore proposed that Mashkanah was an “offshoot village” of Lavi and that the inn of Lavi referred to in the sources in fact referred to the inn at Mashkanah. In the survey he conducted, he proposed identifying the inn with the remains of a structure at the high eastern part of the site (Safrai 1985: 168–172). From the survey we conducted, it emerged that this was a large village (approx. 35 dunams) with agricultural installations, cisterns and burial facilities and that it was continuously inhabited from the Early Roman period at least up to the Early Islamic period. The size of the site, even greater than Lavi itself, makes it difficult to accept the proposal that Mashkanah was an “offshoot village” of Lavi and that the Inn of Lavi was actually at Mashkanah. The remains of that inn may possibly be identified with Khan Lubya south of Kibbutz Lavi (see note 164 below).

Historical Analysis (sample size: 243 identifiable sherds)

The site was divided into two collection areas – a northwestern area and the rest of the site. The pottery distribution clearly indicates that, unlike the Roman-Byzantine settlement that stretched over the entire site, the Medieval settlement was more limited and did not include the northwestern area.

There is not even a single sherd earlier than the first century BCE. Thus the beginning of settlement here was during the Early Roman period (11.5% of the finds) and continued through all the Roman and Byzantine sub-periods and generally maintained stability throughout these periods. The abundant Byzantine finds, including 65 LRRW vessels (27% of the finds), should be noted. Early Islamic period pottery indicates that a presence continued here into that period.

Based on the ashlar and an architectural fragment here, the site appears to have had a monumental structure, apparently a synagogue. Indeed, such buildings appear at most of the large survey sites dating to the Byzantine period.



Graph 23: Diagnostic sherds from H. Mashkanah.
Total=243

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	11-20	21-35	21-35	21-35	21-35	21-35

Site No. 45

19-24/83/45

תל מעון/שייח' קדום Tel Ma'on/Sheikh Kaddum

Map ref.: 1984/2432; *Elevation:* 250 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* On SWP map and Mandatory maps: Tell Ma'un; based on the names appearing in documents and its location on modern maps, Prawer (1972; see also Beyer 1945: 236) noted a settlement here called Mahum during the Crusader period, and Rhode

(1979: 87), a settlement called Ma'un in the sixteenth century. As we shall see below, the name Ma'on appears to have moved from a site located approx. 1 km. east of Tel Ma'on (Kh. Nasr ed-Din; Site 37). The absence of Medieval pottery at Tel Ma'on and its presence at Nasr ed-Din, as well as the fact that the detailed Ottoman *defterler* do not mention a place called Nasr ed-Din, seem to point that Mahum/Ma'un in the Crusader and Ottoman documents refers to Nasr ed-Din, and the shifting of the name apparently occurred only at the end of the Ottoman period; *Type of site*: A sherd scatter at the top of Upper Tiberias; no building remains found; recent preparations for construction may have eliminated any ancient remains; *Site area*: 2–3 dunams; *Topography*: High basaltic hilltop that controls the area; *Arable land*: Reddish-brown basaltic grumusol upon moderate slopes descending to the Yavne'el Valley; *Nearest water source*: – – ; *Water installations*: – – ; *Agricultural installations*: – –

Finds: – –

Natural fortification: The hilltop of the site is the highest in the entire area; steep slopes to the north and east; moderate slopes to the south and west.

Proximity to roads: Near Roman Tiberias-Sepphoris road (R1) which apparently passed south of the tell.

Prior surveys and studies: B. Ravani surveyed the hill in 1954, prior to the construction, and reported that there were no antiquities or sherds here and that it is a natural hill and not a tell (IAAA).

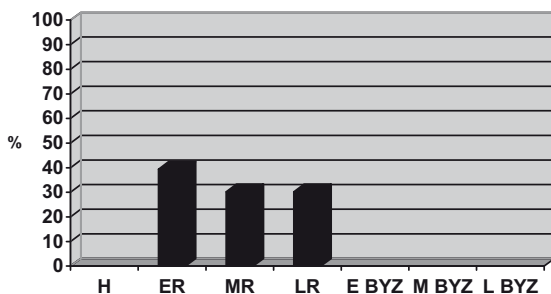
Identification: Several researchers proposed identifying this site with Beth Ma'on referred to by Josephus and in rabbinic literature (Avi-Yonah 1951: 139 [and in attached map]; *TIR*: 84 [and in attached map]). Klein (1967: 115) rejected this identification because of the site's distance from Tiberias, while the sources indicate that Ma'on was very close to Tiberias.

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 76 identifiable sherds)

As stated, this site is a small sherd scatter lacking any building remains. Despite the exposed surface and repeated visits, we collected only 76 diagnostic sherds.

The earliest sherds date to the Early Roman period, which is also the most dominant among the pottery finds (39.4%). The presence here continued into the Middle (30.2%) and Late (30.2%) Roman period. The absence of definitive fourth century types indicates that the site was abandoned around the late third/early fourth century.



Graph 24: Diagnostic sherds from Tel Ma'on. Total=76

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	0.5-3	0.5-3	0.5-3	--	--	--

Site No. 46

19-24/92/46

נאצר א-דין Nasr ed-Din

Map ref.: 1995/2428; *Elevation:* 80 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Small Arab village until 1948; Mahum/Ma'un, appearing in Crusader period and sixteenth century documents, appears to refer to this site (see previous site); *Type of site:* Ancient ruin; there was a small Arab village over a small portion of the western part of the site until 1948; *Site area:* 45 dunams; *Topography:* Slope descending from the Poriah ridge eastward toward Tiberias; *Arable land:* Brownish red basaltic grumusol and light colored rendzina on steep slopes; *Nearest water source:* Spring at center of site; *Water installations:* Tunnel, collecting pool and part of an aqueduct (recently constructed, judging by concrete); *Agricultural installations:* -- *Finds:* -- *Natural fortification:* --

Proximity to roads: Indistinct remains of ancient road at edge of village probably belong to Roman road that ascended from Tiberias to Sepphoris (R1); approx. 1 km. west of the Roman road along the western shore of the Sea of Galilee that passes through Tiberias (R2).

Finds from other periods: Largest number of surface sherds collected are Middle Bronze! Two MB I burial caves were excavated near the ruins.

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868-80 vol. 1: 264) reported cisterns, aqueduct, quarried basements and ashlar scattered around site; B. Ravani reported Early Bronze, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Crusader pottery (IAAA). Y. Stepansky (1990: 30) surveyed the spring tunnel and believed that despite it being late in its present form, it appears to have been quarried in

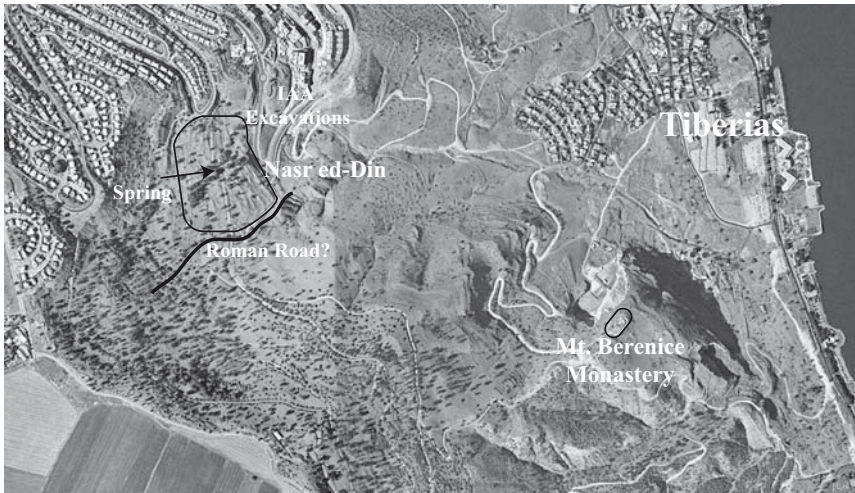


Fig. 97: Aerial photo of Nasr ed-Din (photograph: *see Mapping*)

antiquity and may be attributed to the Roman period. Y. Alexander conducted a salvage excavation in two adjacent Middle Bronze II burial caves (Alexander 1999). H. Ben Nahum (1999) conducted extensive salvage excavations in the northeastern part of the ruins where she uncovered dwellings (some standing to their original height), dated to the second-third century CE.

Identification: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 264) proposed identifying this site as ancient Beth Ma'on, a view lately supported by Reeg (1989: 113), Stepansky (1990: 30), Eliav (1995: 73), Ben Nahum (199) and Aviam and Richardson (2001: 183).

* * *

Historical Sources

Identification of the Site: In the past Beth Ma'on was identified with the high hilltop of upper Tiberias, known as Sheikh Qadum by the Arabs, and already called Tel Ma'on by the PEF in the nineteenth century (SWP 1881 I: 371; Klein 1909: 60; Avi-Yonah 1951: 139 [and on attached map]; *TIR*: 84 [and on attached map]). Later, Klein perceived the difficulty of this identification due to its distance from Tiberias, since the sources indicate that Ma'on was next to Tiberias. He therefore proposed that the tell preserves the name of the ancient settlement that lay below it to the east (Klein 1967: 115).

In fact, as early as the fourteenth century, R. Eshtori ha-Parhi noted that Ma'on is located approx. 2,000 *ama* (approx. 1 km.) west of Tiberias, based on

the source in the Y that will be dealt with below (*Kaftor va-Perah* vol. 1: 133). At the end of the nineteenth century, Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 264) proposed identifying ancient Beth Ma'on with Kh. Nasr ed-Din based on the facts that this ruin is the first site one encounters on the road ascending from Tiberias to Sepphoris, and upon its distance from Tiberias, which is identical to that cited by Josephus.

Second Temple period: Josephus' Life (64) states:

ἄρας οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σεπφοριτῶν πόλεως εἰς κόμην τινὰ Βηθμαοῦς λεγομένην ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδια τέσσαρα παραγίνομαι, καὶ πέμψας ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τοῦ δήμου παρεκάλουν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς με.

I accordingly set out with them (i.e., the messengers from Jerusalem) from headquarters at Sepphoris and came to a village called Bethmaus, four stadia distant from Tiberias, and from there sent to the council and principle men of that city, requesting them to come to me.¹⁴⁵

The distance noted by Josephus – “4 stadia from Tiberias,”¹⁴⁶ as well as the conclusion that emerges from his statement that this settlement lies next to the Sepphoris-Tiberias route, precisely fits Kh. Nasr ed-Din, which is located west of Tiberias along the road that climbs the Poriah ridge, a point already made by Guérin. In fact, among the three archaeological sites known today that are close to Roman Tiberias from the west: Qasr Bint Malik to the southwest, Tel Ma'on to the west-northwest and Nasr ed-Din directly to the west, the last is the only one that fits, both in terms of distance to Tiberias and in terms of proximity to the road. Among the three, Nasr ed-Din is also the only site whose remains may be seen as belonging to a village. Qasr Bint Malik was only founded in the sixth century CE and even then, only as a monastery (see Hirschfeld 2004). The scant pottery scatter at Tel Ma'on indicates only a meager presence there and was apparently a small farmstead and certainly not anything that may be defined as a village.

It appears that the Roman road from Tiberias to Sepphoris, remains of which still exist near Kh. Nasr ed-Din and which was apparently paved during the second or third century CE, is based upon the location of the more ancient route whose existence may be indicated in Josephus. It should be noted that this route,

¹⁴⁵ It should be noted that in Complex 20 of the Beth She'arim necropolis (dated to ca. late second-early third century CE, see Avigad 1976: 91; 263) appears the inscription Μεωνιτῶν which Schwabe and Lifshitz interpreted as a genitive form indicating the place of origin of the deceased (i.e., the Ma'onite). They, however, believed that this referred to Ma'on in Judea, and saw this as proof of the existence of Ma'on in Judea during that period, of its connections with Beth She'arim and perhaps also of its inhabitants' use of the Greek language (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974: 182, 218). It would, in my opinion, be more reasonable to identify the origin of the deceased as Beth Ma'on.

¹⁴⁶ i.e., approx. 700–800 m. (1 Stadia = approx. 180 m.; see Liddell and Scott 1996: 1,631).

ascending directly westward from Tiberias, was still in use at the end of the nineteenth century, according to the notes and maps of the SWP (1881 I: 380) as well as Guérin's description above.

Based on Josephus (above), who indicates that upon his arrival to the eastern Galilee, he refrained from entering Tiberias and at this spot asked the city's notables to ascend to him in Beth Ma'on, one may understand that even in the early phases of his establishment in the region, he preferred to rely on the rural population and distrusted the urban population, a pattern that would characterize all of his later activity in the Galilee (Cohen 1979: 206–210). It is noteworthy that despite Beth Ma'on's immediate proximity to Tiberias, Josephus did not fear to locate himself there and to act from there against Tiberias (see below), which may indicate this village's independence from the nearby polis. Josephus' reliance upon the rural population and the hostility between Beth Ma'on and the nearby polis, to the point of actual violence, are further emphasized in the story of the conquest of Tiberias by Josephus, which appears in *Life* 320–329. After Josephus' soldiers captured a delegation sent from Tiberias to the revolutionary government in Jerusalem aimed at deposing him, Josephus tells of the preparations for conquest of the city, including placing 10,000 soldiers in the village of Adamah (Ἀδόμαις)¹⁴⁷ and another 1,000 in another village in the hills: ἀπέχουσιν δὲ τῆς Τιβεριάδος τέσσαρας σταδίους (“which is 4 stadia from Tiberias”). Based upon the similarity between this source and Josephus' *Life* 64 (above), which describes the distance from Beth Ma'on to Tiberias, Klein (1967: 44) proposed that Beth Ma'on was the village where Josephus' soldiers were readied. This proposal is also supported by the fact that Nasr ed-Din (= Beth Ma'on), is the only settlement located at a distance of 4 stadia from Tiberias and is in the mountains right above that city.

The survey results point to a significant presence here during the Hellenistic period, and that the founding of this settlement preceded by many years that of nearby Tiberias, which was founded between 17 and 20 CE (Kasher 1988²: 5). One may assume that aside from the city-village tension between these two settlements and the urban privileges granted Tiberias (cf. Cohen 1979: 206–210), it is probable that another factor aggravating their relations was the anti-Roman position of the inhabitants of Beth Ma'on. This was likely related to the pro-Hasmonean tendencies of the Galilee population of previous generations in contrast to the pro-Herodian/Roman tendencies of at least the members of the First and Second Party in Tiberias (Rappaport 1988²: 13–19), a city founded by Herod Antipas (*Antiquities* 18, 36–38).

¹⁴⁷ Thus according to Thackeray in the LCL edition. There are other possible readings based upon other Mss. of Josephus' *Life*.

Rabbinic Literature: Several sources in rabbinic literature indicate the geographical proximity of Beth Ma'on to Tiberias and two of them even aid us in establishing the precise location of Beth Ma'on.

Y 'Eruvin 5, 1, 22b:

דמר ר' שמעון בן לקיש: יכול אני לעשות שתהא בית מעון מתעברת עם טיבריא ואת רואה את האיציטדין כילו היא מלאה בתים. והקצרין נתון בתוך שבעים ושיריים לאצטדין. ובית מעון נתון בתוך שבעים ושיריים לקצרים...

... R. Shim'on ben Lakish said: "I can make Beth Ma'on a continuance of Tiberias (i.e., a joint Sabbath domain); you see the stadium as if it is full of houses. And the *castra* is located within (a distance) seventy (cubits) and two-thirds from the stadium. And Beth Ma'on is located within seventy (cubits) and two-thirds from the *castra*..."

The tradition deals with establishing the distance one is permitted to walk on the Sabbath (*thum ha-shabbat*) from Tiberias,¹⁴⁸ and quotes the words of R. Shim'on ben Lakish, who noted that he is able to create a link between Beth Ma'on and Tiberias, thereby turning them into a single settlement unit for the purpose of the *thum ha-shabbat*. This connection was achieved by considering structures located between the two settlements, including the stadium and the castra, as part of an urban continuity, thereby turning Tiberias and Beth Ma'on into a single settlement unit. This source contains evidence that Beth Ma'on was inhabited during the time of R. Shim'on ben Lakish, i.e. around the third quarter of the third century CE. In addition, it seems that the location of the stadium and the castra of Roman Tiberias should be sought in the area adjacent to the western side of the city. Furthermore, it emerges from this source that Beth Ma'on lay at a distance of only several hundred meters from Tiberias, as was indicated by Klein (1967: 114) and Lieberman (1932: 209). The portion of the building exposed recently by Hartal on the shore of the Sea of Galilee north of Roman Tiberias (Hartal 2002: 22–24) cannot, in my opinion, be the stadium referred to in this source as Hartal believes, because according to the source, that stadium was located between Tiberias and Beth Ma'on, which was west of Tiberias.

Genesis Rabbah 85, 13 (p. 1,040):

'ויגד לתמר לאמר הנה חמיך עולה תמנתה': רב אמר שתי תמניות הן אחת שליהודה ואחת שלשמשון. ר' סימון אמר תמנה אחת היא... אמר ר' אייבו בר נגרי: כהדה בית מעון דסלקין לה מן טביריה ונחתין לה מן כפר שובתי.

¹⁴⁸ The verse "do not leave your place on the seventh day" (Exodus 16:29) was interpreted by the sages as prohibiting going more than 2,000 *amot* outside the boundaries of the settlement on the Sabbath. This question deals with the establishment of the boundaries of the settlement and the possibility of including buildings and areas that extend beyond the city line (up to 70 *amot*, see: M. 'Eruvin 5, 2) within the boundaries of the city for the purpose of Sabbath halakhah. R. Shim'on ben Lakish believed that it is permitted to include a series of several built elements located outside the city, the distance between which is not greater than 70 *amot*, thereby extending the boundaries of the city.

“It was told to Tamar, saying, Behold, your father-in-law is going up to Timnah...” (Gen. 38.13): Rav said: “There were two (places called) Timnah, one of Judah and the other of Samson. R. Simon said: There was but one Timnah... R. Aybo bar Nagri said: It is like Beth Ma'on, to which one ascends from Tiberias but descends from Kefar Shabtai.”¹⁴⁹

Concerning the words of Rav, who noted that there were two settlements called Timnah, one to which Judah went up and one to which Samson descended (“and Samson descended to Timnah” – Judges 14:1) R. Aybo¹⁵⁰ replied noting that there was only one Timnah located on a slope, similar to Beth Ma'on which one ascends from Tiberias; but one descends to it from Kefar Shabtai. Kefar Shabtai is identified with Kafir Sabth west of Tiberias.¹⁵¹ Thus, we have further evidence for Beth Ma'on being located west of Tiberias, on the eastern slopes of the Poriah heights.

Genesis Rabbah 80, 1, (p. 950) tells about a preacher by the name of Yosi from Ma'on (around the second half of the third century) who gave a sermon in the synagogue of Ma'on against the house of the *nasi* (Patriarch):¹⁵²

יוסי מעוניה תרגם בכנישתא דמעונואי "שמעו זאת הכהנים והקשיבו בית ישראל ובית המלך האזינו כי לכם המשפט" (הושע ה א). אמר: עתיד הקב"ה להעמיד הכהנים בדין 'למה לא יגעתם בתורה, ולא הייתם נהיגו מבני כ"ד מתנות? הינון אמרין: 'לא יביגין לן כלום'. 'הוקשיבו בית ישראל" 'למה לא נתתם להם כ"ד מתנות [כהונוה שכתבתי בתורה]? הינון אמרין: 'על אלין דבית נשיאה הוון נסבין כולהון. 'ובית המלך האזינו כי לכם המשפט" 'שלכם היה "זה יהיה משפט הכהנים"? (דברים יח ג), לפיכך עליכם מידת הדין נהפכת". שמע ר' וכעס...

Yosi of Ma'on interpreted in the synagogue of Ma'on: “Listen to this, you priests, Listen, house of Israel, And give ear, house of the king! For the judgment is against you” (Hosea 5:1). He said: “In the future the Holy One, blessed be He, will make the priests stand in judgment, saying to them, ‘Why did you not toil in the Torah: did you not enjoy from my children the twenty-four (priestly) dues?’ To which they will reply, ‘They gave us nothing.’ (Then): “Listen, house of Israel,” ‘Why did you not give them

¹⁴⁹ In a parallel in Y Sotah 1, 8, 17a, the version in MS Leiden reads: It is like Beth Ma'ayan, to which one descends from Plateta פלטתה (in MS Vatican: פלוגתא – Plugta) and ascends from Tiberias. Klein (1967: 115 n. 14) believed that Plateta/Plugta was another settlement lying west of Tiberias. It can also be proposed that this refers to a familiar crossroads (*plwtg'*) or plain or road (*pltt'*; see Sokoloff 1990: 435) which lay west of Tiberias.

¹⁵⁰ R. Aybo was active during the third-fourth generation of Palestinian *amoraim*, and apparently lived in Tiberias. See, Margalioth 1995: 34.

¹⁵¹ Map ref. 191/238; see *TIR*: 165; Klein 1967: 115, etc. The site is located outside the survey boundaries.

¹⁵² In a parallel in Y Sanhedrin 2, 5, 20c-d, the place where the events occur is a synagogue in Tiberias. Theodor and Albeck, in their commentary on *Genesis Rabbah*, attempt to resolve the contradiction between the sources and propose that this refers to the synagogue of the people of Ma'on in Tiberias. Eliav (1995: 73) noted the difficulty in accepting that people of Beth Ma'on had a synagogue in nearby Tiberias; an indication that the original version is the one in Y. If our explanation for the circumstances of the place of the sermon is correct (below), it is clear that this is not coincidence and that the author intentionally placed the story in Beth Ma'on.

the the twenty-four (priestly) dues, [as I prescribed for you in the Torah]?’ To which they will answer: ‘Because the members of the house of the *Nasi* took everything.’ “And give ear, house of the king! For the judgment is against you,” ‘(Were those privileges) yours, (which I intimated in the verse): “And this shall be the priests’ due [from the people]” (Deut. 18:3)?’ ‘Therefore against you will judgment be turned.’” Rabbi heard of this (sermon), and was angry...

Irshai (2004: 77–79) dealt at length with this tradition, viewing it as reflecting the tension between the two positions of the leadership in Late Antiquity, the priesthood and the patriarchate. As we have already seen at other settlements founded or settled by Jews following the Hasmonean conquest (Migdal and Kefar Hittaya), we can find this element in the population as one that maintained some sort of “Hasmonean” or “anti-Roman” identity or tradition. This is clearly expressed in Josephus’ writings concerning the relation of their inhabitants toward Herodian/pro-Roman Tiberias, and it appears that it sometimes still emerges in the tradition of the sages that reflects a much later period. It thus appears that it is not mere chance that the criticism of the patriarchate (based in Tiberias and symbolizing the pro-Roman attitude in that it drew its power from Roman patronage) was by a person from Ma’on.

In Y Megillah 1, 11, 72d, concerning a discussion on the Mishna’s determination that in the days of the Tabernacle at Shiloh it was permitted to eat sacred offerings not only in Shiloh itself but also *בכל הרואה* *bkl hrw’h* (anywhere from which Shiloh was visible) it says:

ר' שמעון בר מיישא בעא קומי ר' לעזר: מהו הרואה? שילה, או שילה ומשכן שילה? אמר ליה: שילה ומשכן שילה כגון הדא בית מעון.

R. Shim'on b. Miasha asked before R. L'azar: “What does (the law that one must) see (indicate)? (Seeing) Shiloh, or (both) Shiloh and the tabernacle of Shiloh?” He said to him: “Shiloh and the tabernacle of Shiloh, as in the case of Beth Ma'on.”

It can be understood that R. El'azar, in his reply that *הרואה* (*hrw'h*) refers to the person who sees Shiloh and the Tabernacle of Shiloh, presents Ma'on and the synagogue of Ma'on that is visible from Tiberias as an example. Perhaps it was even visible from the place where the two sages sat and studied.¹⁵³

Y Bava Metzia 7, 1, 11b:

מתני' – השוכר את הפועלין ואמר להן להשכים ולהעריב, מקום שנהגו שלא להשכים ולהעריב אינו יכול לכופין... גמ' – בני טיבריא לא משכימין ולא מעריבין. בני בית מעון משכימין ומעריבין. בני טיבריא שעלו לשכר בית מעון נשכרין כבית מעון. בני בית מעון שירדו לשכר בטיבריא נשכרין

¹⁵³ In B Zevahim 118b where this discussion appears with some alterations, the version is indeed: It was taught: When they said, “(As far as the eye could) see (the tabernacle) ... for example the synagogue of Ma'on.” This proposal, that it was a living example in the course of study, has already been proposed by Schwarz (1845: 215 n. 2). For a hypothesis concerning the location of the *bet midrash* of Tiberias, see: Hirschfeld 1990: 21; “synagogue of Ma'on” is referred to three other times in the B (Shabbat 139a; Zevahim 118b; Hullin 97a), in regard to events involving sages active around the mid-third century.

כטיבריא. אבל שעולה מטיבריא לשכר פועלין מבית מעון יכילו מימר להון כן סלקת במחשבתכון דלא הוינא משכח מיגר פועלין מטיבריא! אלא בגין דשמעית עליכון דאתון משכימין ומעריבין בגין כן סלקית הכא.

Mishnah: He who hires (day-) workers and tells them to rise early and retire late – in a place in which they are accustomed not to rise early nor retire late, he cannot force them to do so... *Talmud*: The people of Tiberias do not rise early and do not retire late. The people of Beth Ma'on rise early and retire late. The people of Tiberias who went up for employment in Beth Ma'on are employed according to (the conditions prevailing in) Beth Ma'on. The people of Beth Ma'on who went down for employment in Tiberias are employed according to (the conditions prevailing in) Tiberias. However, if someone went up from Tiberias to hire workers in Beth Ma'on, he can say to them: "Now did you imagine that I did not find workers in Tiberias? But it is because I hear about you that you rise early and retire late; on that account I came up here (to hire you)."

Aside from the implied geographic proximity of the two settlements and the evidence that Beth Ma'on was located above Tiberias, from this source one learns about of the labor relations that existed between the two settlements as well as about one form of income of the local inhabitants, which was day labor. It also appears to reflect upon the urban character of Tiberias laborers who "do not rise early or retire late" (i.e., a standard workday does not begin before sunrise and does not end after sunset), vs. the rural character of the inhabitants of Beth Ma'on who "rise early and retire late."¹⁵⁴

Piyyutim: The following line is preserved in an inscription containing a list of the Priestly Courses found at the village of Beit al-Ḥader in Yemen, dated by Degan to the fifth or sixth century:

[חן]פה בית מעון משמר שלשה
[עש]ר (Degan 1972–1973: 303)¹⁵⁵

Reference to Beth Ma'on as a settlement of the Course of Huppah also appears in numerous *piyyutim* probably composed in Palestine starting at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century.¹⁵⁶ As noted in previous discussions, the liturgical and flowery language of the *piyyut* and the custom of utilizing the name of a settlement in reference to the priestly course make it difficult to derive historical data from them. Does, for example, נעה ממעון משמרת מעון ("the course of Ma'on fluctuated from its place") in the *piyyut* of Qallir (Goldschmidt

¹⁵⁴ It is possible that the סיפסלא דמעוניה ("bench of the Ma'onites") mentioned by R. Yoḥanan in Y Megillah 3, 2, 74a is a bench in Tiberias where the people of Ma'on would offer their services as laborers for hire (thus the interpretation of *Pnei Moshe*). Whereas Lieberman, in light of the context, corrected to 'פסקוליא דמעוניה', i.e., the charity the people of Ma'on pledged while they were in Tiberias (Lieberman 1940: 463).

¹⁵⁵ On the problematic dating of the inscriptions of the Priestly Courses and on their relation to the *piyyutim* of the Courses, see above, note 28.

¹⁵⁶ See: Haduta – Kahle 1967: vi-vii; Qallir – Goldschmidt 1968: 50; El'azar Berabi Qallir – *ibid.* 153; R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen – Elizur 2004: 634.

1968: 50) refer to the exile of the course from the Temple (*ma'on* ["dwelling"] of God) or is the *paytan* indicating an event that took place in the settlement of Ma'on itself?

Similarly, the absence of passages that reflect the familiarity of *paytanim* with the geographical or settlement *realia* of Beth Ma'on prevents us from determining whether they were familiar with the place and if it was inhabited in their day. The results of the survey (below) and the extensive excavation indicate that the site was abandoned around the second half of the third century.¹⁵⁷ It appears probable that this abandoned settlement, adjacent to the Jewish center at Tiberias was known to *paytanim* such as Haduta and Qallir who were active in Palestine at the end of the Byzantine period, or to R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen of Kafra in Tiberias who was active in the second half of the eighth century.

Summary: The earliest literary references to Beth Ma'on are dated to the second half of the first century CE in Josephus' writings from which it emerges that this settlement served as one of Josephus' bases against the pro-Roman inhabitants of Tiberias. The settlement appears in rabbinic literature in reference to *amoraim* of the second and third/fourth generation, i.e. from about the middle to the end of the third century.¹⁵⁸ Also emerging from rabbinic sources are the geographic proximity and the strong connections between this settlement and nearby Tiberias. The *piyyutim* of the Priestly Courses mention this settlement as the seat of the Course of Huppah, however it is not possible to obtain historical information about the site from the *piyyutim*.¹⁵⁹

Historical Analysis (sample size: 229 identifiable sherds)

Comparison of the surface survey finds with those of shovel testing at the site was discussed at length in Chapter 4. The beginning of settlement was during the Hellenistic period, as attested by the relatively large quantity of pottery finds from that period, both from surface survey and shovel testing (43% and

¹⁵⁷ A few sherds may indicate very limited settlement (near the spring) that is renewed around the second half of the fifth century.

¹⁵⁸ An additional source embodying a tradition of doubtful reliability, is *Avot de R. Nathan* B, 46 (Shechter edition, p. 65): "Three books (i.e., of Torah) were found in the (Temple) Court: the book of Ma'onah, the book of Za'atutah and the book of He... In one it was written (in Deut. 33:27) ... 'Ma'on' and in one it was written... 'Ma'onah'... R. Yosi said this is the book that is found in Beth Ma'on..." This *midrash*, however, also appears in Y Ta'anit 4, 2, 68a and in *Sifre Deut.* 355 (Finkelstein ed., p. 423) without the words of R. Yosi. Beyond the differences in versions, which prevent us from knowing for certain which R. Yosi is referred to, it appears that his words are an association connecting the *Book of Ma'onah* with the settlement of Beth Ma'on, and, in any event, do not shed light on this settlement in his day.

¹⁵⁹ On the possible reason for the inclusion of this settlement in the list of Priestly Courses, see Chapter 7.

15% respectively), as well as numismatic finds from excavations in the north-eastern part of the site (below). The absence of clear finds from the Persian period indicate, in our opinion, that the few intermediate Persian/Hellenistic types all belong to the Hellenistic period. It is thus probable that the settlement was founded only after the Hasmonean occupation of the area, however, a number of coins from the mid-second century BCE and our limited ability to divide the Hellenistic finds into sub-periods prevent us from reaching any definitive conclusions regarding this matter, and it is possible that settlement at the site began earlier. In any event, it is clear that during the Hasmonean period this was a relatively large settlement and the inhabitants' anti-Roman sentiments during the Early Roman period, which we indicated in our discussion of the literature, strengthen the assumption concerning the site having been settled by the Hasmoneans.

The intensity of presence here was also considerable during the Early Roman period (24% of the surface finds and 43% of the finds from shovel testing) and both forms of sampling indicate a decline in the Middle Roman period (17% and 20%). A similar picture arises from the numismatic finds from the excavation in the northeastern part of the ruins.

The extremely weak representation of Late Roman types and the tiny amounts of type KH1e (5%–7%) suggest that the site was abandoned around the beginning of the appearance of these types – around the second half of the third century CE. This conclusion is supported by the complete absence of types characteristic of the fourth century, and the absence of LRRW vessels of the Byzantine period. The finds in the area excavated by Ben Nahum in the north-eastern part of the site strengthen this conclusion even more since the rich finds from the last occupation stratum in this vicinity clearly belong to the second-third centuries, with no later finds at all (Ben Nahum 1999; Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 17). Middle and Late Byzantine LRRW vessels from surface survey and shovel testing apparently indicate renewed presence here around the second half of the fifth or early sixth century. Nonetheless, the few finds from these periods, as well as their presence in just a few of the test probes, merely show that the settlement during these periods was much smaller and limited to the area of the spring and the area southeast of the spring. It should be noted that in the second half of the sixth century, the new city wall of Tiberias was erected at the foot of the site, and at Mt. Berenice, approx. 1 km. southeast of the site, a monastic compound was established (Hirschfeld 2004). Renewed presence at the site may be related to these projects, though we cannot verify this.

There is no indication of a monumental public building at this large site. Since a few rabbinic traditions mention the “synagogue of Ma‘on,” it seems that this synagogue lacked monumental elements since no such elements were found in this survey nor in previous surveys, nor in excavations at the site.

Sixty-three coins from H. Ben Nahum's excavations have been identified by D. Syon, who has kindly allowed me to utilize his data. Below is a table

showing the distribution of the coins by century, with coins belonging to two centuries classified according to their main period (Trajan, for example [98–117 CE] has been classified as second century). It is, however, important to note that the finds reflect the area of the excavation only, which is removed from the core of the ancient settlement and which appears to have been a separate neighborhood or nearby farmstead.

3 rd BCE	2 nd BCE	1 st BCE	1 st CE	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th	7 th	8 th	12 th
1	14	8	5	30	2	1?	--	--	--	1	1

As stated, the numismatic finds likewise indicate a predominance of material reflecting the Hellenistic, Early Roman (over half of the coins of the second century CE are from the beginning of the century) and Middle Roman periods. There is a notably steep decline from the third century and a total absence of coins from the Byzantine period. The total absence of coins (and pottery) from the Middle/Late Byzantine period indicates that the renewal of settlement during these periods did not include the area excavated by Ben Nahum and supports the conclusion that the settlement during these periods was extremely limited.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER-end of 2nd century	First half of 3rd century	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
21–45	21–45	11–20	--	--	4–10	4–10

Site No. 47

18–24/52/47

טורען אן

(No pottery was collected at this site)

Map ref.: 1850/2425; *Elevation:* 340 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Touraan appears in Crusader sources (Schmidt 1970: 161; Prawer 1971 vol. 1: 534); in Ottoman tax census of late sixteenth century – Turan (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 188); preserved in the name of the Arab village located here; *Type of site:* Arab village, apparently on ancient ruins; *Site area:* unknown; *Topography:* Deep valley between two ridges at outlet of Tur'an Valley; *Arable land:* Brown grumusol and terra rossa upon extensive alluvial plains in Tur'an Valley at foot of the site; *Nearest water source:* Spring approx. 300 m. up the valley from site

core; *Water installations*: Cisterns noted in past surveys in old village core;
Agricultural installations: – –

Finds: Burial caves on a spur east of the village, hiding complex (?) near ancient core of village; burial cave with Middle Bronze finds (Eisenberg 1975: 7); Iron II kernos (Gal 1993: 124).

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: Approx. 1 km. north of the Roman Sepphoris-Tiberias road (R1).

Prior surveys and studies: The village was surveyed by Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 182) who mentioned the village spring and numerous quarried cisterns.

In the winter of 2003, 'A. Muqari conducted a limited salvage excavation at the ancient core of the site. The finds included remains of walls and Ottoman, Mamluk, Byzantine (body sherds only) and Roman Kefar Ḥananya-type pottery (apparently third century). During work in a sewage system in the village in the 1990s, the entrance to a hiding complex of unknown dimensions was uncovered (unpublished). My gratitude to 'A. Muqari for this information.

Identification: Klein (1967: 207) proposed identifying this site with Tir'an, appearing in rabbinic literature in a relatively late *midrash*.

* * *

Historical Sources

Midrash *Song of Songs Rabbah* 6, 9, (4) (Dunesky ed., p. 142):

יפה את רעייתי כתצה' – אלו נשי תירען דאמר רבי: נשי תירען כשרות הו, עמדו ומיחו על עצמך ולא נתנו מנזמיהם למעשה העגל. אמרו מה ליסטטירין הקשה שיברו הקב"ה, ליסטטירין הרך על אחת כמה וכמה.

“You are beautiful, my darling, as Tirzah”: this refers to the women of Tir'an, for Rabbi said: “The women of Tir'an were virtuous, and made up their minds not to give their nose-rings for the making of the calf. They said: ‘If the Holy One, blessed be He, could break the hard *listetirin* (idols),¹⁶⁰ how much more so the soft *listetirin*.”

Klein (1967: 207) proposed that Tir'an in the *midrash* is the village of Tur'an east of Sepphoris. It is unclear what the women of the village of Tir'an have to do with the episode of the calf. This *midrash* may be based on a play on words: Tirzah-Tir'an-listetirin. The traditional commentators believe that “women of Tir'an” is a scribal error or a reference to women of the generation of the desert – their explanation relies upon a parallel in this *midrash* itself (4, 20, [9]) as well as a parallel in an earlier *midrash*:¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Apparently, from the Latin *statua* meaning a statue.

¹⁶¹ *Leviticus Rabbah* 2, 1 (Margalioth ed. p. 36), and see: Sahar 2002: 138.

נשי המדבר כשרות היו, כיון שהגיעו לאותו מעשה עמדו ונמלכו עצמן ולא נתנו מנזמיהן למעשה העגל

The women of (the generation of) the wilderness were virtuous; when they (i.e. the Israelites) arrived to this act (i.e., making the calf) they (the women) stood and decided not give from their nose-rings for the making of the calf.

Summary: The only place in rabbinic literature where Tir'an is mentioned is in *Midrash Song of Songs Rabbah* which was edited around the sixth-seventh century (Herr 1971: 1511), however, it is probable that the source is corrupt. The name of the settlement appears in several Medieval documents.

Historical Analysis

As stated, we did not survey this site and except for a limited salvage excavation conducted recently at the ancient core of the village, we have no archaeological information about it. In the excavation, body sherds of what appear to be Byzantine vessels were found, as well as cooking pots of Kefar Ḥananya types. The literary evidence concerning this settlement from *Midrash Song of Songs Rabbah* is doubtful and probably a corruption of the original source. Aside from this sparse information, we are unable to present a fuller picture of the site at the present time.

Site No. 48

19-24/02/48

Lubieh לוביה

Map ref.: 1904/2424; *Elevation:* 310 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Arabic. Arab village until 1948. In Crusader documents: Lubija/Lubie/Lubia; Ottoman census: Lubiya; *Type of site:* Large Arab village upon ancient ruin; *Site area:* 70 dunams (area of Arab village); *Topography:* Extensive, high hilltop upon a ridge east of the Golani Junction; *Arable land:* Light-brown rendzina on steep slopes; brown grumusol and terra rossa on extensive alluvial plains in nearby (1 km.) eastern Tur'an Valley; *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* Tens of quarried cisterns; *Agricultural installations:* – –

Finds: Numerous caves, hiding complex;

Natural fortification: Steep slopes facing north, east and west. Easily accessible from south;

Proximity to roads: approx. 600 m. south of the Roman Tiberias-Sepphoris road (R1);

Prior surveys and studies: Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 184) reported a house built of ashlar oriented east-west, that in his view lay over an ancient church and reused its building stones. PEF reported winepresses and a sarcophagus (SWP 1881–3 vol. 1: 412). AVST noted two sherds of terra sigillata, Roman, and Medieval pottery, as well as architectural elements including column drums, capitals and lintels of limestone and basalt in secondary use in village houses. Nearly every courtyard has a quarried cistern (at this site and at nearby el-Khirbeh, over 100 rock-cut cisterns were counted). Also reported were remains of an olive oil press, apparently modern, that includes a basin and crushing stone. A hiding complex was surveyed by Y. Tepper (Tepper and Shahar 1987: 294–299). Gal (1992: 21) surveyed the site and noted Persian and Byzantine period pottery, but his doctoral dissertation indicates that these were finds from the adjacent site of el-Khirbeh (Gal 1982: 23). Ilan (1991: 161) reported architectural elements that appeared at the site in the past, leading him to believe that there had once been a monumental synagogue here.

Identification: Several researchers have identified Lubieh with Levi/Lavi appearing in rabbinic literature (Klein 1967: 116; Safrai 1985: 172; *TIR*: 170).

* * *

Historical Sources

See discussion of next site [Site 49].

Historical Analysis (sample size: 31 identifiable sherds)

At the time of the survey, this large site was divided into four separate collection zones. Repeated visits yielded a total of 31 identifiable sherds from the periods covered by the study, the vast majority from the western base of the hill near the saddle connecting this site with nearby el-Khirbeh [Site 49], and a minority from the northern edge of the site; this in contrast with 257 indicative sherds dated to the Medieval and Ottoman periods. It should be noted that we did not encounter a similar situation at other sites covered by Medieval strata or at Arab villages (such as Ḥuqoq, Ḥittin, Parod, etc.). This, together with the area in which the relevant pottery was collected, as well as the name of the adjacent site el-Khirbeh (i.e. “the ruin”), suggests that the ancient site was indeed el-Khirbeh, upon the nearby hilltop to the west. At a certain phase in the Middle Ages, apparently after a period of abandonment, the settlement moved or was rebuilt on this hill to the east. The fact that the site on the western hill lacks a name and was simply called “the ruin” by the locals, provides further indication in support of the proposal that the Medieval village bore the name of the nearby ancient settlement. An abundance of building stone at the eastern site, in

contrast to its near total absence upon the surface at the western one, indicates that the inhabitants of Lubieh took advantage of the ruins of the nearby site as a source of building material. The relevant pottery finds concentrated mainly at the western edge of Lubieh, near the saddle, belong, in our view, to the edge of the western site, which also extended over part of the western slope of the eastern hill, which constituted a branch of the main site of el-Khirbeh. This proposal leads to the conclusion that the ashlar, column drums and architectural elements scattered around Lubieh and incorporated in the past in secondary use in the village houses, originally belonged to a monumental public building that stood upon the western hill – a hill that should be identified as Lubieh/Lavi of rabbinic literature. The relatively meager pottery finds make it difficult to sketch a reliable picture, however it appears that this neighborhood existed at least from the Early Roman period onward. A number of sherds of well-represented types from assemblages of the Sepphoris destruction layer, with no later finds, apparently indicate that this neighborhood was abandoned around the mid-fourth century and that the settlement at el-Khirbeh (below) was then reduced to the western hill alone.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams (of the area at the western edge of settlement)

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	4-10	4-10	4-10	4-10	--	--

Site No. 49

18-24/92/49

אל-חירבה/אל חורבה el-Khirbeh/el-Khurbeh

Map ref.: 1898/2421; *Elevation:* 326 m. a.s.l.; *Type of site:* Ancient ruin; *Site area:* 30 dunams; *Topography:* Extensive and high hill upon a ridge southeast of the Golani Junction; *Arable land:* Light-brown rendzina upon steep slopes; brown grumusol and terra rossa over extensive alluvial plains in eastern part of adjacent (1 km.) Tur'an Valley; *Nearest water source:* -- ; *Water installations:* Over 40 cisterns were counted on the hill, some unusually large; *Agricultural installations:* Two crushing basins of oil presses on the western hill; next to one of these, found in a cave, were oil press weights; winepresses.

Finds: Cist tombs, hiding complexes;

Natural fortification: Steep terraces to the north, east and west. Easily accessible from the south;

Proximity to roads: Approx. 800 m. south of the Sepphoris-Tiberias road (R1);



Fig. 98: el-Khirbeh: cist tombs



Fig. 99: el-Khirbeh: crushing basin of an olive oil press

Prior surveys and studies: Gal (1982: 23) noted Persian and Byzantine pottery. A. Shenhav exposed a winepress that was deepened at a later phase and turned into a cistern (Shenhav 1984: 107). Tepper and Shahar surveyed three hiding complexes at the site (1987: 294–299). Y. Alexander conducted a salvage excavation at the site and exposed a Roman building on bedrock as well as Hellenistic sherds and an imported Byzantine period bowl (Alexander 2003: 27–30).

Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Sources

In view of our conclusion that this is ancient Lavi, the sources concerning that settlement will be discussed here.



Fig. 101: el-Khirbeh: an underground olive oil press

Fig. 100: el-Khirbeh: a weight from the underground olive oil press

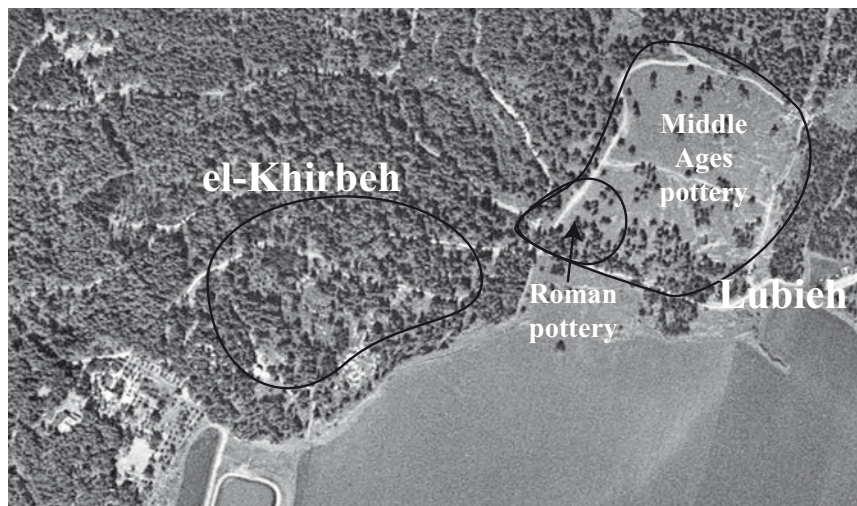


Fig. 102: Aerial photo of Lubieh and el-Khirbeh (photograph: see Mapping)

Identification of the site: Klein (1967: 116) proposed to identify Pundaka de-Levi/Lavi (the inn of Lavi) which is mentioned in two places in Y, with the Arab village on the basis of the preservation of both the name of the village Lubieh occurring in Crusader and Ottoman period documents (Praver 1971 vol. 1: 418; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977: 187) and the name of the khan called Khan Lubieh (map reference 1926/2429) east of the village. Klein's identification was subsequently accepted by some researchers (Press 1946–55: 517; Safrai 1985: 172; *TIR*: 170), while others proposed that the name Pundaka de-Levi/Lavi was not a place name but a personal name (Sussmann 1973/74: 135 n. 140) or a functional name signifying “inn of the caravans” (Sokoloff 1990: 278). Demsky (1979: 190) proposed identifying Pundaka de-Levi/Lavi with Lubiyeh mentioned in the Rehob Inscription, in his view identical with Nabi Lawin northwest of el-Fandakumiya (ancient Pentacomia) in Samaria.

As we shall see below, the best Mss. present the form לוי *lwy*, however, it is peculiar that in certain Mss. the form לובאי *lwb'y* or לביא *lby'* is preserved, which is a less likely and less intelligible form. It is difficult to believe that the copyist would go from a simple form “Inn of Levi” to an unfamiliar name “Inn of Lubai” which is the *lector difficilior*; however in view of the form לוי *lwy* in the best Mss., we are unable to decide this matter.

Y Shekalim 7, 3, 50c:

עיגול דגובנא אישתכח בפונדקא דלוי והתירוהו משם שני דברים: משם מציאה ומשם רוב מהלכי דרכים. משם מציאה דתני: המציל מיד הגייס, מיד הארי, משונת הנהר, מאיסטרטיה גדולה ומפלטיא גדולה הרי אילו שלו מפני שהבעלים מתייאשין מהן. משום רוב מהלכי דרכים: משם גבינת גוי. ואשתכח מן דר' אלעזר ביר' יוסי...

A wheel of cheese was found in the Inn of Levi,¹⁶² and they permitted it on two counts: on account of it being a lost item (the owners having despaired of finding it), and on account (of the principle) that most of the people who walk these roads (are Jewish). On account of it being a lost item, for it has been taught: “He who rescues (something) from soldiers, from the (mouth of a) lion, from the surge of a river, from a main road and from a large piazza – lo, these are to be his, for the owner despairs (of ever getting his property back).” And on account of the fact that most of the people who walk about these roads (are Jewish): (should we be concerned on account) of the cheese having been made by Gentiles (thus being prohibited). It turned out that the cheese came from (the household of) R. El‘azar bar R. Yosi.

R. Elaz‘ar bar Yosi of the fifth generation of Palestinian *amoraim*, apparently the son of R. Yosi who had been the head of the sages of Tiberias in the preceding generation (Hyman 1964: 178), probably lived and was active in Tiberias. The fact that this fourth century tradition noted that most of the travelers passing through the Inn of Levi were Jews points to the eastern Galilee as the place in question. It is certainly impossible to accept Demsky’s proposal that most of the travelers passing through an inn in the region of Sebastia in Samaria in the fourth century were Jews.

Y Berakhot 7, 4, 11c:

תני: עשרה בני אדם שהיו מהלכין בדרך אע”פ שכולם אוכלין מככר אחד, כל אחד ואחד מברך לעצמו. ישבו ואכלו, אע”פ שכל אחד ואחד אוכל מככר עצמו, אחד מברך על ידי כולם. ר’ ירמיה זמין זמן (?) לחמריה בפונדוק דלוי.

It has been taught: “If ten persons were traveling on the road, even though all eat of one loaf, each one says grace for himself; but if they sat down to eat, even though each one eats of his own loaf, one says grace on behalf of all.” R. Yirmiya said grace (on behalf) of the donkey drivers in the Inn of Levi.¹⁶³

Also this source, which mentions R. Yirmiya who lived and was active in Tiberias in the fourth generation of *amoraim* (Albeck 1969: 342), probably indicates the eastern Galilee as the location of the Inn of Lavi. We are unable to determine conclusively whether *pwndq’ dlwy/lwb’y* is the name of a place, a personal name or a functional name, but from the sources, it appears that it was

¹⁶² Thus (לוי) in the Leiden Ms. Also in Y fragments from the Geniza, the name is Levi (Ginsberg 1909: 139) while in *Dikdukei soferim* appears בפונדקא דלביא (*bpwndq’ dlby’*; see Lieberman 1930: 110) as does the version that was used by R. Shlomo Syrileo (Garboz 1958: 108). The question deals with the rules concerning food found *en route*, and tells that sages permitted eating a wheel of cheese that was found in the inn of Levi, in terms of halakhot concerning loss, as it was probable that the owners despaired of finding it, and in terms of kashrut since most of those passing along the roads here were Jews, making it possible to presume that the cheese had belonged to a Jew and was thus kosher.

¹⁶³ Thus in the Vatican Ms. In the London and Paris Mss.: זמין לחבריה בפונדקא דלובאי (said grace on behalf of the friends in the Inn of *lwb’y*); in the Leiden Ms. זמין לחבריה בפונדקא (said grace on behalf of the friends in an inn); and in the fragments of Y from the Geniza: זמין לחמרייה ברוך דפונדקא דלוי (*said grace on behalf of the donkey drivers outside (?) the Inn of Levi* (Ginzberg 1909: 28).

in the Galilee. Nonetheless, in light of the fact that the name Lubia appears in thirteenth century Crusader documents and in the Ottoman tax census of the sixteenth century, and in light of the village's location near an important cross-road and the fact that the pottery evidence shows the presence of settlement here during most periods from Hellenistic times to the present day, the view that the name Lubieh preserves an ancient name appears quite reasonable. This, in addition to the evidence that east of the village remains are preserved of an inn that according to the findings of Guérin and the PEF was known by the locals as Khan Lubieh or el-Khan, supports Klein's proposal to identify *pwndq' dlwy* with the inn named after the adjacent settlement: Levi or Lubai.¹⁶⁴

Summary: פונדקא דלוי (*pwndq' dlwy*) is mentioned in Y in two traditions involving individuals who lived and were active during the fourth century. Both of the traditions are clearly Tiberian in orientation, lending support to the view that *pwndq' dlwy* was located in the eastern Galilee. It therefore appears that it should be identified with Lubieh, located near the Golani Junction.

Historical Analysis (sample size: 241 identifiable sherds)

The beginning of settlement was in the Hellenistic period (8.5% of the finds). The absence of clear Persian period pottery indicates that the intermediate Persian/Hellenistic jars belong to the Hellenistic period. Settlement continued into the Early and Middle Roman periods; even if we minimize the weight of dominant type KH1e, there are still significant finds from the Late Roman period (20.6%; 27%; 25% respectively). The relatively rich finds of vessels of types produced at Shihin (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1990), apparently due to the relative proximity to the latter, are also significant.

The LRRW and the local Byzantine pottery indicate a continued presence here during the Early (13.7% – mostly of type KH1e) and Middle Byzantine

¹⁶⁴ There is no evidence in the literary sources to support the view that the khan was constructed and utilized during the Mamluk or Ottoman period (El. Stern 1997: 125). That view appears to have been accepted due to the use of the term "khan" by the locals and perhaps due to the similarity of its plan with typical Mamluk and Ottoman khans (incidentally, the photograph presented in Sterns's book (*ibid.*) is not of Khan Lubieh but of the Arab village of Lubieh to the west). The earliest references in the literature to the khan (as opposed to the village) date only to the second half of the nineteenth century and are by Guérin (1868–80 vol. 1: 185) and the PEF (SWP 1881 I: 394), which describe the place as entirely ruined. The small amount of pottery that we managed to collect at the site includes the rim of an ER/MR jar, a rim of cooking pot type KH4c, a lid of a Byzantine cooking pot, a Late Byzantine imported bowl of type PRS 10, three Medieval/Ottoman rims and numerous body sherds belonging to wares typical of products of Kefar Hananya and Shihin workshops as well as sherds from wares of typical Medieval fabrics. Thus, the remains of Khan Lubieh are possibly those of *pwndq' dlwy* or lie upon its remains, however this cannot be verified without excavation.

period (5%). The total absence of Late Byzantine pottery apparently indicates the decline of the settlement around the first half of the sixth century.

As stated, the hill of el-Khirbeh appears to be an ancient site that should be identified with Levi/Lubay and it appears that the numerous building stones as well as elements of a monumental structure scattered around adjacent Lubieh originated on this hill.

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
11-20	21-30	21-30	21-30	11-20	4-10	--

Site No. 50

19-24/32/50

‘Oodaysa/Udeisa עודיסה

Map ref.: 1938/2425; *Elevation:* 120 m. a.s.l.; *Origin of name:* Not preserved; the name ‘Oodaysa appears on Mandatory maps as the name of the surrounding agricultural plot; *Type of site:* Ancient ruins; *Site area:* 7 dunams; *Topography:* Small basaltic hilltop in the midst of a ploughed field on a slope facing the Yavne’el Valley to the south; *Arable land:* Blackish-brown basaltic grumusol and basaltic proto-grumusol on moderate slopes descending toward the Yavne’el Valley; *Nearest water source:* – – ; *Water installations:* Quarried reservoir in southeastern part of site; *Agricultural installations:* – –

Finds: A Korazim windows wall, approx. 10 m. long, in the center of the site;

Natural fortification: – –

Proximity to roads: Approx. 1 km. south of the Sepphoris-Tiberias Roman road.

Prior surveys and studies: – –

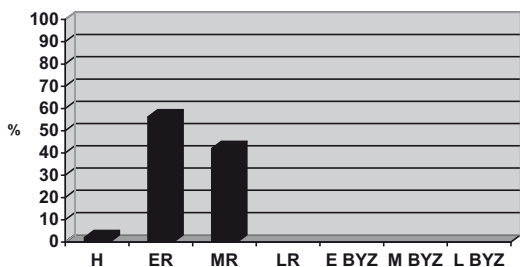
Identification: – –

* * *

Historical Analysis (sample size: 105 identifiable sherds)

The Early Roman period was the beginning of settlement and also the period with the greatest quantity of finds (56%). Two Hellenistic sherds may indicate the beginning of settlement here at the end of that period, around the mid-first century BCE. The relatively large number of jar T1.3 (13 vessels) indicates significant presence in an early phase of the Early Roman period.

A slight decline is evident in the Middle Roman period (42%) and the total absence of the types common in large amounts elsewhere from the mid-third century onward indicate the end of the presence here around the first half of that century. There are no objects that might suggest a monumental public building at the site.



Graph 25: Diagnostic sherds from 'Oodaysa. Total=105

Estimate of Site Size in Dunams

H	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ
--	4-7	4-7	--	--	--	--

Chapter 6

Settlement History of the Eastern Galilee in Light of the Archaeological Survey

Introduction

In the previous chapter we presented the settlement periods of each site as well as an evaluation of its size during each period. The archaeological data together with the historical sources constitute the basis for the spatial-historical synthesis presented in this chapter.

In the first part of this chapter the raw data is presented, discussion of which will follow in the sections dealing with the chronological periods. The entire period under discussion has been divided into periods of fifty years, in an attempt to evaluate the changes that occurred in every half century. The evaluations are not intended to provide exact dates, but a general historical framework. It is quite likely that there may be deviations of up to fifty years in each direction.

Despite the high resolution achieved in the division of the Roman and Byzantine finds, the ability to accurately divide the Hellenistic period into sub-periods is limited. Nonetheless, several of the chronological anchors pointed out in Chapter 3, as well as evidence from excavations and numismatic finds from a number of sites, sometimes enable us to show sites that were established around the beginning of the first century BCE. For this reason, the Hellenistic period has been divided into two sub-periods: the first (designated "Hell." in the tables) represents the period between 300 and 100 BCE and the second, the period between 100 and 50 BCE. It is important to emphasize that when a site is indicated as existing during the Hellenistic period, it does not necessarily mean *throughout* the entire period. It is possible that it existed only during part of that period, as in the case of Zeitun er-Rama [Site 7] which was inhabited only at the beginning of the Hellenistic era. It is also possible that some of the sites defined as Hellenistic were established only at the end of the Hellenistic period, but due to the limited resolution achieved with Hellenistic pottery, we were unable to establish this with certainty and for the sake of caution, defined them in a more general manner as Hellenistic.

Demographic Introduction

It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of demographics in an attempt to understand any society. The ability to identify demographic changes is what enables us to trace phenomena such as growth or collapse, migration and immigration or to discuss issues of production and consumption (Osborne 2004). At the same time, the need to calibrate data with assumptions (and an awareness of the criticisms of various demographic estimates) often led archaeologists to avoid dealing with demography, though they are the ones with the best available data and the ability to present it in a critical fashion. Consequently, historians often make use of raw archaeological data for their demographic estimates, despite their inability to critically evaluate such data (Wilkinson 1999).

Among a variety of methods for making demographic estimates, a calculation based on the number of settlement sites during each period would appear to be the least reliable due to divergent settlement patterns and fluctuations in size in different periods.¹ Estimates of the carrying capacity of the land based on calculations of grain-growing potential cannot stand alone either, at least not during periods in which there was lively trade with foreign markets, as was apparently the case in our region during the Byzantine period. Despite difficulties, presentation of a demographic picture based upon the model proposed by Wilkinson (*op. cit.*) would appear to be the most reliable method. This model is based upon using advanced survey methods and presenting estimates of settlement size for each given period. The total settled area for every period can then be multiplied by an approximated number of individuals per dunam. As explained in detail in chapter 4, estimating the size of a settlement during a given period is difficult. Therefore, it was decided to present categories of range rather than a strict “numerical” size. Adding-up the results produced a range of upper and lower estimates of settled area for each period, allowing comparisons of the different periods rather than “accurate” population numbers. In addition to this data, which are not “solid,” the estimated number of individuals per dunam in Israel in antiquity ranges from 40–50 in the center of a city to 16–25 in suburbs and rural areas.² Thus, we are faced with an “equation with two variables.” Caution obliges us, therefore, to present a possible population size range for each period.³ This often results in a huge gap between the minimalist and

¹ For example, Wilkinson’s study of northern Iraq indicated a period with a relatively low number of settlements as the period of greatest demographic expansion, as most of the settlements were urban centers of over 200 dunams. During this period there was also the most extensive evidence for agricultural activity over the greatest area (Wilkinson 1999: 48–49). Concerning the various methods for demographic estimates based on archaeological data, see Hassan 1981.

² See, for example: Broshi and Gophna 1984; Tsafirir 1996; Safrai 1997.

³ On this model of upper and lower estimates, see Wilkinson 1999, who proposes a range of 10–20 individuals per dunam.

maximalist proposals. However, as for estimates of settled areas, here too the main achievement is the presentation of a model indicating the difference between periods, even if we cannot give precise numbers. Our study deals mainly with rural settlements, but during certain periods some became semi-urban (e.g., Migdal) or walled settlements in which population density was greater. Thus, a population range between 16 and 35 individuals per dunam was established for our estimates.

Summary of the Site Survey Results

The first table summarizes the number of sites in every period without taking settlement size fluctuations into consideration. The estimate for the period during which a site was abandoned relates, in the following two tables, to the first period during which it is indicated as uninhabited (and not for the last period for which it is indicated as inhabited). For example, a settlement that was abandoned between the years 250–300 CE will be indicated in the column for those years as uninhabited.

Table 10: Survey sites during the different periods

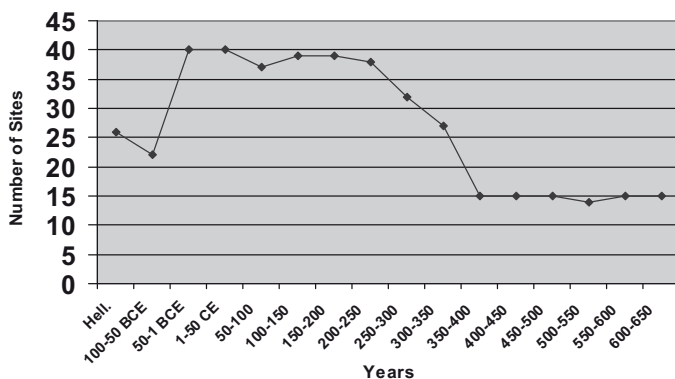
Site	Years	Hell. 50-100 BCE	100-150 BCE	150-200 CE	200-250 CE	250-300 CE	300-350 CE	350-400 CE	400-450 CE	450-500 CE	500-550 CE	550-600 CE	600-650 CE
1. Sammu'iya		+	÷	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2. Mizpeh Yamim		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. 'Akbara		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4. Parod		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	÷	÷
5. H. Kefir		+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
6. Be'er Sheva'		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
7. Zeitun er-Rama		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Kf. Hananya		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9. 'Ein Camonim		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
10. Kh. Bellaneh		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
11. Kul'at Shuneh		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
12. Hazon		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
13. W. 'Amud Site		+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. W. 'Amud Cvs.		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
16. Kaḥal		-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
17. Huqoq		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Sheikh Nashi		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
19. H. Zalmon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. H. Ravid		-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

Site	Years	Hell.	100-	50-	1-	50-	100-	150-	200-	250-	300-	350-	400-	450-	500-	550-	600-	600-
		50	1	50	100	150	200	250	300	350	400	450	500	550	600	650	CE	CE
21. Kh. Luziah	-	-	-	÷	÷	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22. Livnim	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23. 'Ein Najmiah	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24. Ḥ. Mimlah	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25. Hararit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26. Abu Shusheh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27. Ḥ. Sabban	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
29. Ḥ. Beth Netofa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30. Kh. Es'ad	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31. Ḥ. Mizga	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32. Kh. Ḥamam	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33. Ḥ. Nitai Caves	÷	÷	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	÷	÷	-	-	-	÷	÷	÷
34. Migdal	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	÷	÷	÷	÷	÷	÷	+	+
35. Kul'at Ibn Man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	÷	÷	-	-	÷	÷	÷	÷	÷
36. Arbel Cvs. W.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	÷	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
37. Ḥ. 'Ammudim	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38. el-Ma'aser	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	÷	÷	-	-	-
39. Ḥ. Arbel	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. Ḥittin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41. Kh. el 'Aiteh	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
42. Kh. 'Eika	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
43. Nimrin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Ḥ. Mashkanah	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Tel Ma'on	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
46. Nasr ed-Din	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
48. Lubieh	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
49. el-Khirbeh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
50. 'Oodaysa	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total		26	22	40	40	37	39	39	38	32	27	15	15	15	14	15	15	

+ Existing settlement ÷ Doubtful or very limited settlement - No settlement

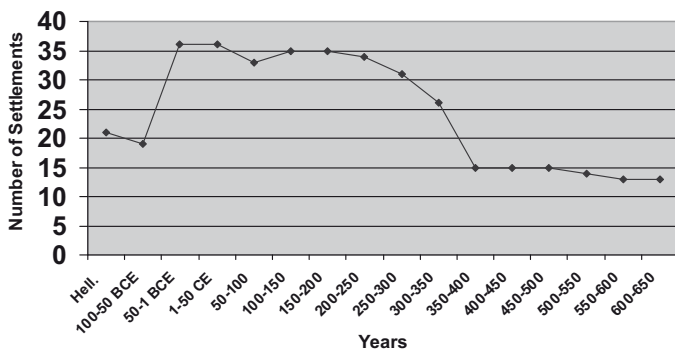
The summary line includes only existing settlements.

The above data are presented in graph form below. These include all 46 sites at which a pottery survey was conducted, including small sites and cave complexes whose settlement significance is not always clear. The graph does not reflect precisely the number of settlements in the region during the various periods nor their varying size – only the number of sites with evidence for activity during the different periods.



Graph 26: Number of Sites by Period

The two outstanding phenomena in the above graph are the sharp rise in evidence for the presence of sites in the region during the first century BCE and a sharp drop at the end of the third century and during the fourth century CE, phenomena that will be discussed in detail below. The values presented in the graph include cave complexes whose settlement significance is not always clear, or sites that had very limited settlement, such as the temple at Mt. Mizpeh Yamim or the Byzantine monastery at Migdal. Hence, another graph (below), presents the dynamics of settlements only, eliminating all of the above phenomena, which are insignificant in demographic terms and likely to create a skewed settlement picture in a visual presentation.



Graph 27: Number of Settlements by Period

This graph illustrating the difference in the number of settlements during the different periods provides a preliminary picture of the intensity of settlement in the region, but relates only to the number of settlements without relating to their sizes. A consideration of the different sizes of the sites during different periods is an essential basis for any demographic and historical study. It might be claimed, for example, that the 15 Middle Byzantine period settlements were all

Site	Years																Nat. Fort.	Fort. Rms.
	Hell. 100-50 BCE	100-50 BCE	1-50 CE	50-100 CE	100-150 CE	150-200 CE	200-250 CE	250-300 CE	300-350 CE	350-400 CE	400-450 CE	450-500 CE	500-550 CE	550-600 CE	600-650 CE	*		
31.Ḥ. Mizga	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
32.Kh. Ḥamam	-	-	E	E	E	E	E	E	D	D	-	-	-	-	-	-		
33.H. Nitai Cvs.	A	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	A	A	-	-	-	A	A	+	+
34.Migdal	-	E	F	F	F	F	F	F	E	B	B	-	-	-	A	A		
35.Kul‘at Ib.Man	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	A	-	-	A	A	A	A	+	+
36.Arbel Cvs. W	B	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	A	+	+
37.Ḥ. ‘Ammudim	-	-	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	C	C	C	C	B	B		
38.el-Ma‘aser	-	-	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	A	A	-	-		
39.Ḥ. Arbel	-	E	E	F	F	F	F	F	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E		
40.Ḥittin	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	B	B	B	B	C	C	C	C		
41.Kh. el ‘Aiteh	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
42.Kh. ‘Eika	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
43.Nimrin	C	C	B	B	B	B	B	B	C	C	C	C	B	B	B	B		
44.Ḥ. Mashkanah	-	-	C	C	C	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	D		
45.Tel Ma‘on	-	-	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
46.Nasr ed-Din	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	-	-	-	-	B	B	B	B		
48.Lubieh	-	-	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
49.el-Khirbeh	C	C	D	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	C	B	B	-	-	+		
50.‘Oodaya	-	-	B	B	B	B	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		

A=0.5–3 dunam; B=4–10 dunams; C=11–20 dunams; D=21–40 dunams; E=41–60 dunams; F=61–90 dunams

* Nat. Fort.=Natural Fortification – site in a location with natural fortification, generally at the top of an isolated hilltop.

** Fort. Rms.=Fortification Remains – remains on the surface identified as belonging to a fortification, generally a wall.

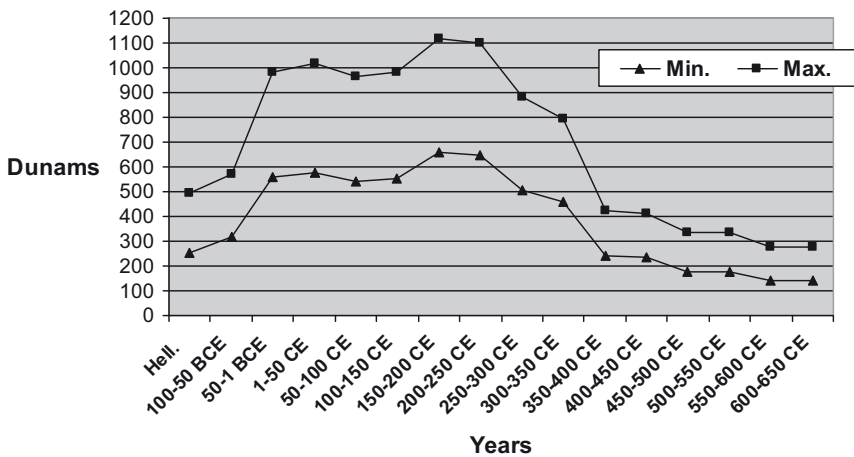
In the next table, data for the various periods have been summarized according to the number of settlements in each category. The aim of the table is to present an estimate of the possible range of settled area for each period and to serve as a basis for analysis of settlement models during the different periods. Therefore, we used the estimate for all of the sites including farms, cave complexes and sites that had only limited activity during certain periods. Since the estimate of the site size during the various periods is presented as a category of possible range and not as an absolute number, the summary line of the table presents the possible range of the extent of settled area during each period. The boundaries of this possible range are, of course, not “hard data” either since the possibility exists that our estimate is imprecise for some of the sites or we did not reach a number of small settlements in the region. In any case, estimating dimensions of

sites in different periods based on methodological tests gives, in our view, a cautious and reasonable estimate of the extent of the total settled area in the region. The presentation of a model of relative amplitudes that change from period to period is of primary importance. The inability to provide an exact number, as well as the range of possible settled area that sometimes presents a very large gap between the minimum and maximum, are secondary.

Table 12: Estimated range of settled area in dunams

Years Settlement † Category	Hell. 50 BCE	100- 50 BCE	50- 1 CE	1- 50 CE	50- 100 CE	100- 150 CE	150- 200 CE	200- 250 CE	250- 300 CE	300- 350 CE	350- 400 CE	400- 450 CE	450- 500 CE	500- 550 CE	550- 600 CE	600- 650 CE
A 0.5-3 dunams	4	3	5	5	4	4	3	3	4	2	1	-	2	2	5	5
B 4-10 dunams	10	8	14	14	13	15	13	11	9	7	4	3	7	7	6	6
C 11-20 dunams	8	5	8	8	7	7	8	10	7	7	7	7	4	4	3	3
D 21-40 dunams	4	5	7	7	8	8	7	6	7	7	3	3	3	3	2	2
E 41-60 dunams	1	3	5	4	3	3	6	6	6	5	2	2	1	1	1	1
F 61-90 dunams	-	-	1	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Sites	27	24	40	40	37	39	39	38	33	28	17	15	17	17	17	17
Estimated range of settled area	255 ‡	316 ‡	559 ‡	579 ‡	544 ‡	652 ‡	656 ‡	649 ‡	508 ‡	459 ‡	239 ‡	234 ‡	177 ‡	177 ‡	143 ‡	143 ‡
	492	569	985	1015	962	982	1119	1099	882	796	423	410	336	336	275	275

The following graph summarizes the above table of estimated range of settled area for each period:



Graph 28: Range of Settled Area

Settlement Dynamics, Distribution and Patterns during the Various Periods

The Hellenistic Period (ca. 300–100 BCE)

Introduction: There is a nearly complete absence of historical sources concerning the eastern Galilee during the 550 years between the Assyrian conquest and the Hasmonean rebellion. The paucity of published archaeological finds belonging to this period likewise makes it difficult to reconstruct the political and administrative situation in the region, limiting our knowledge of the Galilee as a whole.⁴ A survey of Iron Age sites in the Lower Galilee conducted by Z. Gal, combined with data from numerous excavations, revealed that in the aftermath of the Assyrian conquest, most of the settlements in the region were abandoned (Gal 1992: 108–109). Our knowledge of the circumstances leading to the renewal of settlement in the region, as well as its range and pattern, is minimal.

The Phoenician coastal cities of 'Akko, Tyre and Sidon had considerable influence in the Galilee during the Hellenistic period, particularly judging from numismatic finds (see Syon 2004). The picture is less definitive regarding the administration during this period. Researchers assume that there was an eparchy known as Γαλιλα (Galila) in the administrative area known as Syria and Phoenicia during the Ptolemaic period.⁵ If such an eparchy existed, nothing is known about it or about its boundaries. The only settlements in the eastern Galilee (in the broad sense of this term) that are mentioned in historical sources of the Ptolemaic period are Scythopolis, Philoteria, Kedesh and perhaps Beth 'Anat.

Nor are there sources dealing with the administrative division of the region following the final Seleucid conquest around 198 BCE, nor references to the Galilee as a separate administrative unit or of any administrative boundary between the Galilee and the Phoenician coast (the first direct references to these matters are found only in Early Roman period sources). Avi-Yonah proposed that the country was divided into eparchies: the Galilee belonged to the eparchy of Samaria and was separate from the eparchy of the coastal zone which was

⁴ Most scholars assume that the Galilee constituted a separate administrative unit during the Persian period and have proposed Megiddo, Hazor and even 'Akko as its capital. The discovery of a public building dating to the Persian period beneath the Hellenistic administrative building at Kedesh led the excavators to propose that by the Persian period Kedesh served as the center of Tyrian control in the Upper Galilee or as an Achaemenid customs post on the border between the territory of Tyre and the Galilee. See Herbert and Berlin 2003: 46–48.

⁵ Avi-Yonah 1966: 36; Stern 1990: 46. The basis for this proposal is the name Γαλιλα mentioned in the list of the Egyptian administrator Zenon who visited the Land of Israel in 260–258 BCE. See Westernman and Hasenoehrl 1934: 6–8.

called Paralia. M. Sartre, on the other hand, has proposed that the Galilee was a separate eparchy. Herbert and Berlin, in view of the finds from their excavation, have proposed that the capital of this eparchy was at Kedesh.⁶

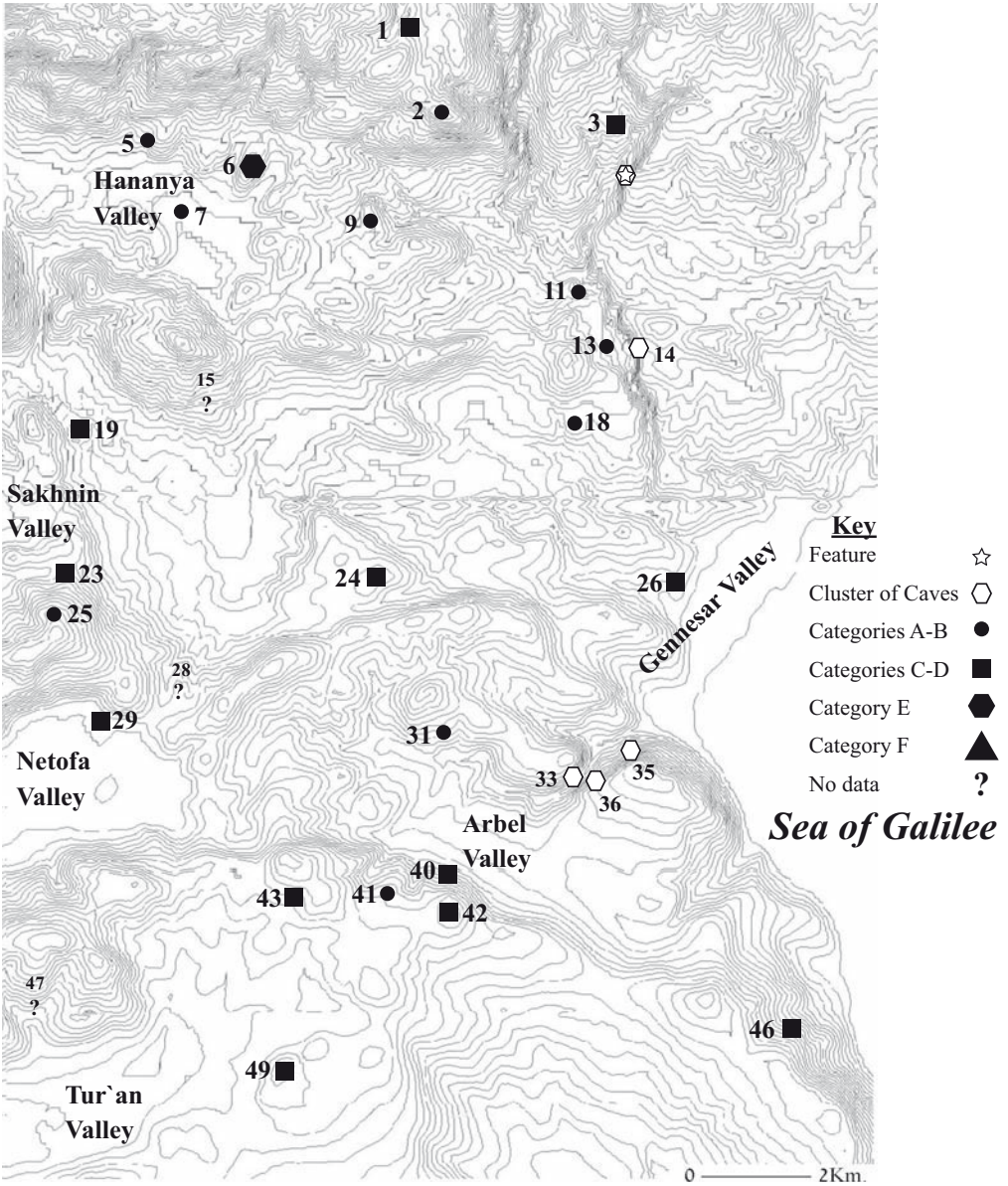
F.M. Abel (1967 II: 134) believed that during this period the Galilee served as the agricultural *chora* of the Phoenician coastal cities and was divided among them. Syon, likewise, noted that the division was mainly between 'Akko and Tyre (Syon 2004: 145). Rappaport agreed to some extent, stating that the territory of 'Akko included at least part of the western Galilee (Rappaport 1988: 41). Whether or not the Galilee was a separate district from the Phoenician coast from the early Hellenistic period, it appears that at least with the decline of the Seleucid empire in the second century BCE, the Phoenician coastal cities gained control over territories within the Galilee. Conclusions based on our survey seem to support this proposal regarding control of the coastal cities deep within the Galilee (see below).

The Number and Character of Settlements: Of 27 Hellenistic period sites, four are cave complexes [14; 33; 35; 36], one is a temple site without settlement [2] and one belongs only to the very early phase of the Hellenistic period [7]. We shall now focus on the twenty-one actual settlement sites remaining.

Among the settlement sites, only one [5], a pottery scatter and whose early form is not known, belongs to Category A (0.5–3 dunam). Six settlements [9; 11; 13; 18; 25; 31] belong to Category B (4–10 dunams) and the shared characteristic of these is either naturally fortified locations – such as a high, isolated hilltop – or easily fortified position. Eight sites belong to Category C (11–20 dunams) four with obvious natural fortification [1; 3; 42; 49] and four without [23; 40; 41; 43]. Five settlements [19; 24; 26; 29; 46] belong to Category D (21–40 dunams). Aside from Nasr ed-Din (46), all are located on high hilltops with excellent natural fortifications. Of all of the settlements of this period, only Be'er Sheva' [6] belongs to Category E (41–60 dunams) and also has natural fortification.

A significant characteristic of Hellenistic period settlements is the predominance of fortified or naturally fortified sites. Hence, it seems that security

⁶ See Avi-Yonah 1966: 42–50; Sartre 1989; Herbert and Berlin 2003. Herbert and Berlin's proposal is based on the public building uncovered at Kedesh, which contained an archive with over 2,000 bullae. Alternatively, Herbert and Berlin have proposed that Kedesh may have served as the seat of the strategos of Coele Syria and Phoenicia until its destruction by the Hasmoneans in the mid-second century BCE. The excavators prefer this explanation of a Seleucid administrative center over the interpretation of the site as a Tyrian administrative center (despite most of the official seals from the collection being in Phoenician and some containing Tyrian motifs). They also raise the possibility that the site simultaneously served as a Seleucid and a Tyrian administrative center. In any event, the bullae and other material finds from this excavation are indicative of the close connections between Tyre and this distant site in the eastern Upper Galilee.



- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Ḥamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Ḥananya | 17. Ḥuqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arb'el Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 10: The Hellenistic Period

considerations were the main factor in selecting settlement locations. In the previous chapter we noted the sites of Be'er Sheva', el-'Aiteh, 'Eika, Sheikh Nashi, Z̄almon, Mizga and Netofa where remains of constructed fortifications were identifiable. The abandonment of el-'Aiteh and 'Eika at the end of the Hellenistic period and the findings from the excavations at Be'er Sheva' (Aviam 2004: 28; 95) indicate that the fortifications at these sites indeed belong to this period. Even though without excavation it is not possible to establish the date of the fortifications at the other sites, the existence of all of these settlements in the Hellenistic period, as well as the common denominator of topographical-fortification, suggest that these fortifications also belong to that same period. This is further supported by the pattern that characterizes later settlements of Hasmonean and Early Roman periods (such as Arbel, Kefar Ḥananya, or Mashkanah) at locations lacking both defensive advantages and fortifications. Another interesting point related to the security question is significant finds from this period in all of the cave complexes we surveyed. All these complexes share locations with difficult approaches and some have remains of built fortifications at their entrances; here again, we cannot date them without excavating.⁷

Settlement Pattern and Distribution: The absence of urban settlements in the survey area and its vicinity during the Hellenistic period is noteworthy. The nearest urban settlements are Scythopolis, the Phoenician cities of the Coastal Plain and Hippos-Sussita in the southern Golan, all at a considerable distance from the survey area. Closer to the survey area was Philoteria, which is identified with Tel Beth Yerah on the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee, though our knowledge of that city as well as the circumstances of its disappearance,⁸ is minimal. The overall picture that emerges from the survey area is of a rather small settlement, both in terms of population and settled area, approximately half of the population and size that existed later on in the Early Roman period.

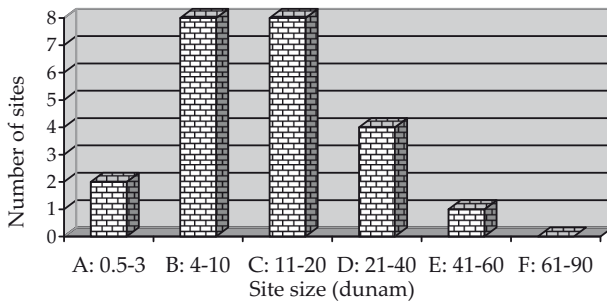
With the exception of Nasr ed-Din [46], all of the large settlements (20 dunams and greater) are located at the margins of the valleys or abutting extensive patches of alluvial soil: three are located in the western part of the region (Be'er Sheva' [6], Z̄almon [19], and Netofa [29]); in the center of the region are Mimlah [24] and the cluster of settlements in the western Arbel Valley: Ḥittin, 'Eika and el-'Aiteh [40; 41; 42]; and in the eastern part of the region only one significant settlement – Abu-Shushah [26]. This is also true among the smaller sites; most are located in proximity to extensive agricultural plains (except for

⁷ See sites 14, 33, 35, 36, and the caves of Ḥ. Sela' discussed with site 3.

⁸ Apparently as a result of the Hasmonean conquest, see: Stern 1981: 39 (the information is based exclusively on Syncellus, an eighth–ninth century Byzantine author whose reliability is doubtful).

‘Akbara [3], Kul‘at esh-Shuneh [11], Wadi Amud Site [13] and Mizga [31]). An additional shared characteristic of this period is the location of most settlements near a permanent water source.

The pattern that emerges is of a series of medium and large-sized settlements near extensive areas suitable for agriculture, most in the west and center of the survey area, most fortified or at least with natural fortifications. In addition to these, there are a few small settlements of Category B, mostly in fortified locations, with no small farms at all in the agricultural areas.



Graph 29: Size of sites of the Hellenistic period (excluding cave complexes). Total=22

Demography: On a settled area estimated between 255–492 dunams, the potential population ranges from 4,080, (according to the minimal estimate of 16 individuals per dunam), to 17,220, (according to the maximal estimate of 35 individuals per dunam). In order to produce a base which enables comparison of different periods (even if the numbers are not accurate), we multiply the averages of these estimates of area and of population per dunam (374 dunams times 26 individuals per dunam), obtaining the result of 9,724 individuals.

Ethnic Identity: The ethnic identification of the inhabitants of the Galilee during the Persian and Hellenistic periods is problematic. The Galilee is shrouded in near total obscurity in terms of historical sources from the Assyrian conquest in the eighth century BCE to the Hasmonean takeover in the second century BCE (Rappaport 1993: 20–25). Information about the region is sketchy until its annexation to the territory of Judaea in Gabinius’ administrative structuring, which followed the Roman conquest in the mid-first century BCE. This annexation proves that the demographic weight of its Jewish population was critical. Ethnic identification is related to essential questions concerning the roots of the vibrant Jewish settlement in the Galilee during the Early Roman period and to the origins of early Christians. The presence of Jews in the Galilee prior to the mid-second century BCE is demonstrated by Simon Maccabaeus’ campaign (ca. 164 BCE) to assist them (1 Maccabees 5: 14–23). However, we do not know *when* they arrived in the Galilee, *what* the extent of their settlement was

or *where* in the Galilee they settled. The view of some scholars that the beginning of Jewish settlement was based on remnants of the Israelite kingdom who survived the Assyrian exile is pure conjecture,⁹ whereas there is rather extensive archaeological evidence indicating a settlement gap in the Lower Galilee following that exile (Gal 1992: 108-109). Likewise, the assumption that Jewish settlement in the Galilee expanded after the return from the Babylonian exile during the Persian period (Klein 1967: 5-8), does not appear reasonable. This assumption was based on sources in rabbinic literature that mention “cities surrounded by walls from the time of Joshua... which were sanctified by the returnees from the exile” (*Sifra BeHar* 4.1 [Weiss ed. p. 108b]). However, Gamla and Yodfat, for example, are included among those cities, but according to archaeological evidence, they were first settled only in the Hellenistic period and they appear to have been settled by Jews only following Hasmonean takeover of the area (Adan-Bayewitz 1996-1997: 460-470).¹⁰

A number of researchers believed that even before the Hasmoneans gained control over the Galilee, there was a significant Jewish hold on the area (Rappaport 1993: 22-29; Frankel *et al.* 2001: 109; Stern 1993: 8-10). This is based on the following: the freedom with which Jonathan the Hasmonean moved around the Galilee (ca. 145 BCE), indicative of support for him on the part of the region’s inhabitants; the story of the exile of Alexander Jannaeus to the Galilee during his youth, around the end of the second century BCE (*Antiquities* 13, 322-323); the battle of Ptolemy Lathyrus against the Jews of Shihin and Sepphoris around 103/2 BCE (*Antiquities* 13, 337-338), which presumably indicates large, long-established Jewish settlements; and lastly, the activity of a sage called Nita’i from the village of Arbel (M Avot 1, 6-7), apparently during the time of John Hyrcanus. In addition, according to Rappaport, the absence of any mention of Hasmonean conquest of the Galilee in historical sources points

⁹ See Klein 1967: 1-3; Horsley 1995: 19-52; Frankel *et al.* 2001: 110. The isolated information in II Chronicles 30: 1-10 on the participation of individuals from the tribes of Asher and Zebulun in the Passover in Jerusalem during the time of Hezekiah at around the end of the eighth century BCE might indicate, at best, that some remained following the Assyrian exile during that period. The identification of Jotbah, from where the wife of one of the last kings of Judah came (II Kings 21: 19) with Yodfat (Abel 1967 II: 438) has been shown impossible since the latter was not settled during the Iron Age (Adan-Bayewitz 1996-1997: 461). Likewise the identification of Rumah, from where the wife of Josiah came, with Khirbet Rumah, also in the Beit Netofa Valley (Abel 1967 II: 366), is no more than an assumption and also appears unlikely. Finally, both the time and background of the books of Tobias and Judith in which some connection between Judah and the Galilee is mentioned are obscure and disputed (Rappaport 1993: 21).

¹⁰ It appears that the term בני גולה *benei gola* (returnees from the exile) in Tanaitic sources is identical in meaning with the term עולי בבל *olei bavel* (returnees from Babylon), which relates to the entire period from the return from Babylon during the Persian period up to the time of the formulation of these sources during the Roman period, and not necessarily to the beginning of that period (see Sussmann 1976: 252).

to the annexation of a Jewish or pro-Jewish region to the Hasmonean kingdom following the conquest of Samaria and Scythopolis. These cities constituted sort of barrier between the Jews of the Galilee and those of Judah.

Bar-Kochva (1977) rejected both the possibility of significant Jewish settlement in the Galilee prior to Hasmonean takeover and the possibility of widespread conversion of its inhabitants.

Adding to the difficulty is the question of the reliability of a piece of information brought by Josephus (*Antiquities* 13, 319) in the name of Timagenes of Alexandria stating that Judah Aristobulus annexed part of the land of the Itureans and forcibly converted them during the only year of his reign (104–103 BCE). Schürer considered this information reliable and concluded that the “Jewish” Galilee of the time of Jesus was, in fact, settled by the descendents of those same Iturean converts. Other scholars, such as Kasher and Rappaport, accepted Josephus’ report, at least in part, and proposed that this was a process of voluntary Judaization of the Itureans or other rural Semites, which took place in the Upper or at least in the Eastern Upper Galilee.¹¹ Currently, however, archaeological information does not support either proposal. Iturean material culture has been clearly identified in the northern Golan and the Hermon, where it has been intensively studied in recent years (Dar 1993; Hartal 2005). Elements of this material culture, however, do not appear at sites of the Upper or Lower Galilee (or in the Eastern Upper Galilee). Nor is there any reason to believe that conversion and annexation occurred in the predominantly Iturean region of the Northern Golan, the Hermon and the Lebanese Beq’a. It is clear that this area remained outside Hasmonean borders and its population remained Iturean-pagan (Hartal 2005: 374). In addition, there is ever-growing evidence for Hasmonean control over the area east of the Sea of Galilee even before the time of Judah Aristobulus (see below). Thus the scholars who reject Josephus’ report as entirely unreliable appear to be correct (Bar-Kochva 1977: 191).

Recent archaeological evidence has revealed that prior to Hasmonean control of the area, the Upper Galilee was settled by a pagan population who, if not truly rural-Phoenician, had at least strong links to the Phoenician coast.¹² This picture is supported by excavations at Tel Anafa, Kedesh (which remained outside the boundaries of Hasmonean control) and ash-Shuhara. In the Upper Galilee Survey, GCW pottery was found in 25 Hellenistic sites, which did not continue into the Early Roman period. The presence of this type of pottery at the

¹¹ See Schürer 1973–87 vol. 1: 9; 275–276; Kasher 1988: 79–85; Rappaport 1993: 29; see also Stern 1974–84 vol. 1: 225.

¹² The occurrence of GCW pottery at sites in the Upper Galilee, and its absence from the Phoenician coast, led scholars to propose that another ethnic group was involved (whose identity remains unknown). See Frankel *et al.* 2001: 109–110; Aviam and Amitai 2002²: 126–132. In any event, at some of the sites where it appears, there were also finds indicating connections with the Phoenician coast (ESA vessels, Rhodian amphora handles or bronze figurines from Be’er Sheva’ and Mizpeh ha-Yamim; see sites 2, 6, 19, 41, 42).

pagan temple at Mizpe Yamim and at Be'er Sheva' of the Galilee where cultic figurines were likewise encountered, indicates, according to the researchers of the Upper Galilee, that the population that used the GCW was pagan and that the abandonment of the settlements occurred in the aftermath of the Hasmonean conquest. Since they also believed that there was a significant Jewish presence in the Galilee even prior to Hasmonean control, they proposed that the Lower Galilee was Jewish while the Upper Galilee was "the whole Galilee of the Gentiles" (*πασαν Γαλιλαίαν αλλοφύλων*) cited in 1 Maccabees 5:15.¹³

From the current survey it appears that until the end of the Hellenistic period, the entire area was sparsely inhabited, with most of its population concentrated in large fortified centers at the margins of the western and central valleys. Following Hasmonean domination of the region around the end of the second–beginning of the first century BCE, Migdal and Arbel, the largest settlements in the surveyed region, were established. This was the beginning of a very extensive wave of settlement that occurred mainly in the first century BCE and which dramatically changed the region (see below).

Some scholars believe that the developed Jewish Galilee of the Early Roman period was a result of a combination of factors: Jewish settlements prior to the Hasmonean period, extensive conversion of the local population, and immigration from Judah.¹⁴ Bar-Kochva, on the other hand, attributes it mainly to immigration from Judah. The conclusions of our survey favor the latter position. Clearly, the dramatic increase in the size of the settled area (some 50%) within 4–5 generations could not have stemmed from natural increase of the indigenous population and was largely a result of immigration.

Moreover, among the few sites in the survey area and its surroundings for which we have a clearer picture, it appears that Hasmonean domination of the region included actual conquest, followed by abandonment of sites or resettlement by Jews rather than a process of "voluntary unification of the Jewish nation and its metastasis" (Rappaport 1993: 29).

The sites of el-'Aiteh [41] and 'Eika [42], at which finds suggest a gentile population with links to the Phoenician coast (GCW, ESA ware and Rhodian amphora handles), were abandoned. During the Roman period the Jewish settlement of Hittin [40] was located here in this catchment area. The material finds and in particular, the abandonment of these two sites, suggest ethnic changes there. The finds of figurines and GCW pottery at Be'er Sheva' indicate

¹³ See Frankel *et al.* 2001: 109–110. This passage presents the words of the emissaries of the Jews of the Galilee who reached Jerusalem following the start of the Hasmonean rebellion: "They gathered against us from Ptolemais and from Tyre and from Sidon and from the whole Galilee of the Gentiles to destroy us." Rappaport (1988: 42; 2004: 173) defined "Galilee of the Gentiles" as a literary term (borrowed from Isaiah 8: 23) or as a paraphrase of the first half of the verse and rejected the simple interpretation of Bar-Kochva (1977: 192) that the Galilee was largely inhabited by gentiles.

¹⁴ Rappaport 1993, esp. n. 27; Stern 1993: 8–11; Safrai 2000, esp. p. 82.

a pagan population and together with the coins, show a connection to the Phoenician coast. During the Early Roman period, however, it was an important Jewish settlement, as we may surmise from Josephus' decision to fortify it prior to the revolt. Hence, it appears that here too, there was a change in population.

At this point, we will expand the methodological and geographical scope regarding population change. At sites where there is a continuous sequence of pottery between the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, it is difficult to show ethnic change based upon survey findings alone. Thus, without the finds of figurines at Be'er Sheva', it would have been difficult to establish change in the ethnicity of the population at the site. A similar picture emerges from the excavations at Yodefata where, if it were not for the small finds, it would have been difficult to assume that an ethnic change had taken place. The pre-Hasmonean layer, including oil lamps decorated with Cupids (Aviam 2005: 115), Phoenician jars, and imported amphora (ibid. 111–113) points to a gentile population with close connections to the Phoenician coast. In addition, eighty Seleucid and Phoenician autonomous coins that belong to the period between 222 and 110/109 BCE were found, indicating a clear connection with the Phoenician coast.¹⁵ From that time to the end of the first century BCE, there are no coins unequivocally belonging to that group whereas the presence of 81 Hasmonean coins clearly indicate influence of the Hasmonean kingdom. The pre-Hasmonean layer was apparently destroyed by fire (ibid. 274), but the site was resettled immediately, this time by Jews, as the archaeologists have convincingly asserted (ibid. 115). The sites of Yodefata and Be'er Sheva' are quite similar in their characteristics and location – both are at the margins of valleys, upon high hills with natural defenses and surrounded by man-made fortifications.

¹⁵ See Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: 155–161. Syon has proposed that Yodefata was settled by Jews already prior to Hasmonean domination of the region (Syon 2004: 219–222). This proposal (which Syon himself describes as speculative) is based on finds of two coins of Antiochus VII from Jerusalem (138–129 BCE); upon what seems to be a “preference” for coins of Tyre over those of nearby 'Akko (according to Syon, because of the tension between 'Akko and the Jewish population); and upon the view of scholars who claim that the Jewish presence in the Galilee prior to the Hasmonean conquest was in the western Lower Galilee. The number of coins upon which this proposal is based is extremely low and coins of Antiochus VII could have reached the site following the Hasmonean conquest, which took place shortly after the period of their minting. In addition, the tension between the Hasmoneans and 'Akko was, of course, higher due to proximity and conflict of interests (see below). This does not, however, mean that relations with Tyre were of such a different character that there was a “preference” for its coins, as clearly emerges from conflicts with Tyrians and their settlements before the Hasmonean conquest of the region (see for example, 1 Maccabees 5: 14–23; 11: 63–74).

It may be assumed that ethnic changes occurred at additional sites where there was a continuity of habitation from the Hellenistic to the Early Roman period and Jews settled after Hasmonean control was established over the area. Zalmon [19] for example was settled continuously during these periods and has similar characteristics – high isolated hill, remains of fortification and location in a vast agricultural area. Hellenistic coins of the coastal cities and GCW pottery, suggesting a gentile population during the Hellenistic period, were found here. Historical sources show that this site was later inhabited by Jews during the Early Roman period (see discussion of the site in Chapter 5). Hasmonean coins as well as eight Long Rim SJ vessels, common at Jewish settlements from about the beginning of the first century BCE (Berlin 2005: 425–428), were found at the site. These support the assumption that here too, ethnic change followed the consolidation of Hasmonean control over the region.¹⁶

¹⁶ There is disagreement regarding the circumstances and dating of the beginning of Jewish settlement at Gamla. However, it is probable that there was ethnic change at this site too, or at least significant Jewish settlement as early as the end of the second century BCE, that is, before the date accepted by most researchers. Based upon Josephus (*War* 1, 105), Gamla appears to have served as a gentile stronghold and the excavators proposed that some of the fortifications of the site are Seleucid and precede the Hasmonean conquest (Gutman and Rappel 1994: 84; Syon 2002: 139). Josephus tells of the military campaign of Jannaeus (ca. 83–80 BCE) during which he conquered a series of sites in Transjordan and the Golan and afterward, “took the strong fortress of Gamla, and stripped Demetrius, who was governor therein, of what he had, on account of the many crimes laid to his charge.” According to this passage, it became accepted that Jewish settlement at Gamla (and elsewhere in the Golan) began only following this event, at the end of Jannaeus’ reign. Despite this, the find of coins at Gamla, include 310 coins of John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE) and 30 coins of Judah Aristobulus (104/103 BCE) constituting the largest collection of coins of this ruler, which are relatively rare. In addition, in contrast to hundreds of Phoenician coins from coastal cities of the second century BCE, at around 98 BCE these disappear almost entirely and Hasmonean coins become virtually the only ones at the site for the following decades (Syon 2004: 95–107). Based on these data, Syon’s view (*ibid.*) that significant Jewish settlement at Gamla preceded Jannaeus’ campaign appears credible. The question of control in Gamla prior to Jannaeus’ campaign and the identity of Demetrius, who Jannaeus removed, remains unclear. Syon proposes that the Jewish inhabitants were the ones who raised the accusations against Demetrius, who was apparently a local despot or perhaps a Seleucid officer. In this context, the information we have about Jewish mercenaries in Hellenistic armies in the region of Syria (Stern 1981; Rappaport 2004: 257) and the proposals of Seleucid rulers to draft Jews as mercenaries to their armies (1 Maccabees 10:36; 13:40), should be mentioned, though it must be admitted that it is difficult to imagine such a reality during the days of Jannaeus and in such close proximity to the Hasmonean kingdom. In connection with ethnic changes during this period, the excavation by M. Aviam (2004: 59–88) at the fortress of Keren Naftali should be noted. That fortress was apparently erected by the Seleucids. However, a *miqveh*, which was later added to one of its rooms and Hasmonean coins excavated at the site, show that it passed to Jewish hands around the beginning of the first century BCE.

Settlement continuity thus does not necessarily prove unchanging ethnic continuity. Signs of ethnic change in population over a relatively brief period of time are beginning to emerge from the few sites from which we have more detailed information. There is also support for the assumption concerning ethnic changes from rabbinic literary sources. A tannaitic tradition mentions Sepphoris, Gush Ḥalav, Yodefāt and Gamla as sites “surrounded by walls from the days of Joshua” (M ‘Arakhin 9, 6; Sifra BeHar 4, 1 [Weiss ed. 108b]). Yodefāt and Gamla were settled by Jews only during the Hasmonean period. Adan-Bayewitz, citing Talmudic sources, demonstrated that one of the criteria for classification of “walled cities” is the existence of fortification remains that preceded the Jewish settlement at these sites, remains that were later attributed by the Jewish inhabitants to “the days of Joshua...” (Adan-Bayewitz 1996–1997).

Adan-Bayewitz proposes considering that other sites mentioned in this list may have been fortified by gentiles and settled by Jews during the Second Temple period. Particularly important are Gush Ḥalav and Sepphoris. Considerable finds of GCW found in a survey and a salvage excavation near the summit of the tell at Gush Ḥalav, Hasmonean coins (Aviam 1999: 10; Frankel *et al.* 2001: 88, 110), as well as the site’s appearance in a list of “walled cities” may indicate that this site was also gentile and was settled by Jews following the Hasmonean conquest of the region.

Of particular interest is the question of Sepphoris, which as early as 103 BCE is portrayed as a strong Jewish settlement that resisted the army of Ptolemy Lathyrus. At the present, there is no clear information concerning the character of Sepphoris during the Early Hellenistic period. At the top of the hill were exposed remains of a massive structure identified by the excavators as a fortification. Two *miqva’ot* of the Late Hellenistic period and numerous Hasmonean coins within the structure indicate that it was used by Jews – the Hasmonean army, according to the excavators’ proposal – as early as the beginning of the first century BCE. Since the walls rest upon bedrock, the excavators are not certain that this is also the date of the founding of the building and indeed, in pockets on bedrock, earlier pottery was discovered (Meyers 1999).

If the list of the “walled cities” indeed preserves a historic memory and includes only sites that were fortified by gentiles and settled later by Jews, then it is probable that, like at Gamla and Yodefāt, the Jewish settlers in Sepphoris found remains of earlier fortifications and here as well, the tradition is related to Hasmonean takeover of the region. Rappaport relied, among other things, on Sepphoris’ endurance in the face of Ptolemy Lathyrus as evidence for the antiquity of significant Jewish presence in the Galilee. It is improbable, in his opinion, that such a strong a Jewish settlement developed entirely in just two years after the Hasmonean conquest of the region (which, in his view, began during the reign of Judah Aristobulus, 104/3 BCE). First, it seems that the Hasmonean domination of the Galilee apparently preceded the reign of Judah Aristobulus and took place during that of his father, John Hyrcanus (135–104 BCE). The conquest of Scythopolis by John Hyrcanus (*War* 1, 66) attested to in the archaeological excavations (Bar-Nathan and Mazor 1994), apparently occurred around 107 BCE. The disappearance of coins of the coastal cities from Yodefāt and their replacement with Hasmonean coins that indicate Hasmonean dominance over the site, took place between the years 125–110/109 BCE (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997: 161). From the numismatic research of Syon it also emerges that during the reign of Judah Aristobulus the Galilee already had a significant Jewish population (Syon 2004: 234). Second, if the Hasmonean takeover was

indeed accompanied by Jewish settlement in fortified sites that had previously been gentile, it can be proposed that Sepphoris was settled by immigrants from Judah, perhaps military settlers, and that the process was indeed rapid.

On the other hand, Frankel *et al.* maintained that the tradition of the “walled cities” simply records central Jewish settlements from the period of the Mishnah (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 109). It should be noted, however, that Gamla and Yodefat, which appear on the list, were destroyed during the First Jewish Revolt long before the editing of the Mishnah (early third century) and never resettled. In addition, on a similar list at least one site is mentioned that appears not to have been settled at all during the period of the composition of the list. Therefore, the view that these are important settlements from the period in which the traditions were compiled cannot be accepted. The second list, which is presented only in the amoraic layers of rabbinic literature (Y Megillah 1, 1, 70a), identifies fortified cities mentioned in the Book of Joshua with sites known to the authors of the list. This list relates to a halakhah that the Book of Esther is read in cities “surrounded by a wall from the days of Joshua” on a different day than in other cities. In this source, biblical Kinneret is identified with Gennesar, Ziddim with Kefar Hittaya (Hittin [Site 40]) and Zer is said to be “near Kefar Hittaya.” Gennesar, Kefar Hittaya and Zer should be identified as sites 26, 40/42 and 41 respectively (see discussion in Chapter 5). The fact that remains of fortifications exist at two of these, and both were abandoned around the end of the second century BCE indicates that the list in the Y preserves a similar tradition of settlements where Jewish inhabitants of the Second Temple period encountered remains of earlier fortifications constructed by gentiles.¹⁷

Control over the Area at the end of the Seleucid Period: Based on the physical characteristics of settlements of the period discussed above; the indications of a gentile population with connections to the Phoenician coast; and the abandonment or ethnic change around the end of the second century BCE, we can assume that the Lower Galilee (particularly the area of the large valleys there) was the breadbasket of 'Akko before the Hasmonean conquest. Apparently, this series of fortified settlements constituted a frontline annex of the polis where the agricultural activities of this fertile region were concentrated.¹⁸ Accordingly, the *chora* of the coastal cities during this period included considerable areas deep within the Galilee, if not the entire Galilee, and not only the coastal

¹⁷ It may be assumed that Hittin [40] and perhaps Gennesar [26] were settled by Jews around the Hasmonean period. However, it cannot be proposed that all of the sites in the list were settled by Jews during that period for, Tiberias, which appears on the list as identical with the Biblical Rakkath, was first established only in the first century CE.

¹⁸ In this regard, Aviam's study should be noted. It points to a series of fortified Hellenistic sites, primarily in the western Galilee, that were, in his view, established for the purposes of 'Akko's control and defense of its rear (Aviam 2004: 22–30).

plain or a strip of the western Galilee. If this assumption is correct, it would help explain: the hostility of the Phoenician coastal towns, particularly 'Akko, toward the Jews from the beginning of the Hasmonean period; the aggressive initiative taken by 'Akko against the Hasmoneans time and again; and the repeated attempts of the Hasmoneans to conquer those towns, especially 'Akko (Rappaport 1967; 1988). According to this proposal, it is likely that the struggle was over land and control over the entire region—not only over limited property in the western Galilee or a general fear on the part of the coastal towns of the Hasmonean threat. If this is correct, the question of the area of Jewish settlement in the Galilee prior to the Hasmonean conquest should be reconsidered. The assumption that Jews were concentrated in the western Lower Galilee is based on Simon Maccabaeus' rescue campaign (ca. 164 BCE) in which he pursued the gentiles "to the gates of 'Akko" (1 Maccabees 5:23–24) as well as the report that Sepphoris and Shihin were strong Jewish settlements as early as 103 BCE (see above). However, if the Galilee (the Lower Galilee, at least) constituted the *chora* of 'Akko, it is clear why the battle – casually mentioned as one of the many encounters during this campaign – was with the people of 'Akko or with the rural population fleeing to 'Akko. This does not prove that the Jewish population necessarily inhabited western Galilee.¹⁹ As stated, it appears that an extensive wave of Jewish habitation, in some cases apparently military settlers, began with Hasmonean domination over the region. Jewish presence at Sepphoris and Shihin thus did not necessarily stem from settlement that preceded the Hasmonean conquest.

Galilean Coarse Ware: The presence of this pottery at pagan sites of the Hellenistic period and the abandonment of numerous Upper Galilean sites at which this pottery was dominant around the end of the second century BCE led researchers to regard this pottery as characteristic of the pagan population that was expelled during the Hasmonean conquest. However, absence of this pottery from sites on the Phoenician coast led the same scholars to regard the population that used it as non-Phoenician (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 109–110; Aviam 2004: 49).

These vessels are not restricted to the Upper Galilee and are also found in the Lower Galilee as has already emerged from the excavations at Yodefat. During the course of our work we collected 52 vessels belonging to this group from 12

¹⁹ Around 145 BCE there was a battle between Demetrius II and Jonathan in the vicinity of Hazor and Kedesh in the eastern Upper Galilee. According to Josephus, the concentration of Demetrius' army in that region was intended to lure Jonathan there since he would not be able to exercise restraint if the Galileans, who were his own people, would be attacked (*Antiquities* 13, 154). Thus, it seems that the Jewish concentration was in fact in the eastern Upper Galilee. However, the source upon which Josephus relies when he expands on the story in 1 Maccabees (13, 63–74) is unclear. See Kasher 1990: 101.

sites. While this pottery appears at more sites adjacent to the Upper Galilee, it should be noted that the sites containing the richest finds of GCW ware were sites 41 and 42 in the southern part of the survey area, which were abandoned towards the end of the Hellenistic period. It should be noted that the definition and typology of GCW pottery as a family is still unclear. Vessels of this type (or very similar ones) from the stratum dated to the mid-second century BCE have been found recently at Kedesh in the Upper Galilee, a site with strong connections to Tyre and the Phoenician coast. In the current survey, GCW pottery was found together with large quantities of ESA finds, also strengthening the possibility of a link to the Phoenician coast (see sites 41, 42). The distribution of this pottery in the interior of the Galilee thus suggests local production. However, the claim of a non-Phoenician ethnic factor still requires proof. In addition, since it appears that most pre-Hasmonean Galilee was settled by gentiles, it is natural that this local pottery would be found at the sites abandoned following the Hasmonean conquest. We do not know, however, if the Jews who settled in the Galilee prior to the Hasmonean conquest – whatever their number and wherever they settled – used this pottery. It is important to note that no pottery belonging to this group was found at Migdal and Arbel, both which were established around the end of the second century BCE and settled by Jews from the start.²⁰ The explanation for this may be ethnic, i.e., these vessels were used solely by a gentile population. However, the explanation may be chronological, meaning that by the end of the second century BCE these vessels were no longer in use.

Economy: We have little archaeological data concerning the region's economy during the Hellenistic period. At sites that were in existence only until the end of the Hellenistic period: a columbarium was found near Zeitun er-Rama and a fragment of a press installation (the precise purpose of which remains unclear) was found at Kh. 'Eika. Although the last period of settlement at both these sites was Hellenistic, it is possible that the installations belong to earlier periods of habitation. The only clear information is drawn from the Zenon Papyri of the mid-third century BCE, which mention wine, raisins, figs, wheat and perhaps perfumes from the estate of Beit 'Anat, which was apparently located west of the survey area.²¹

²⁰ At Nasr ed-Din as well, where rich Hellenistic finds were encountered, this group is not present. However, we are unable to establish if the site was first settled only following Hasmonean domination and whether it was a Jewish settlement from the beginning, as it certainly was during the Early Roman period.

²¹ Perhaps in the area of the Beth ha-Kerem Valley. See Tchericover 1933: 235–236, 356, 364; Safrai and Safrai 1976; Frankel *et al.* 2001: 14.

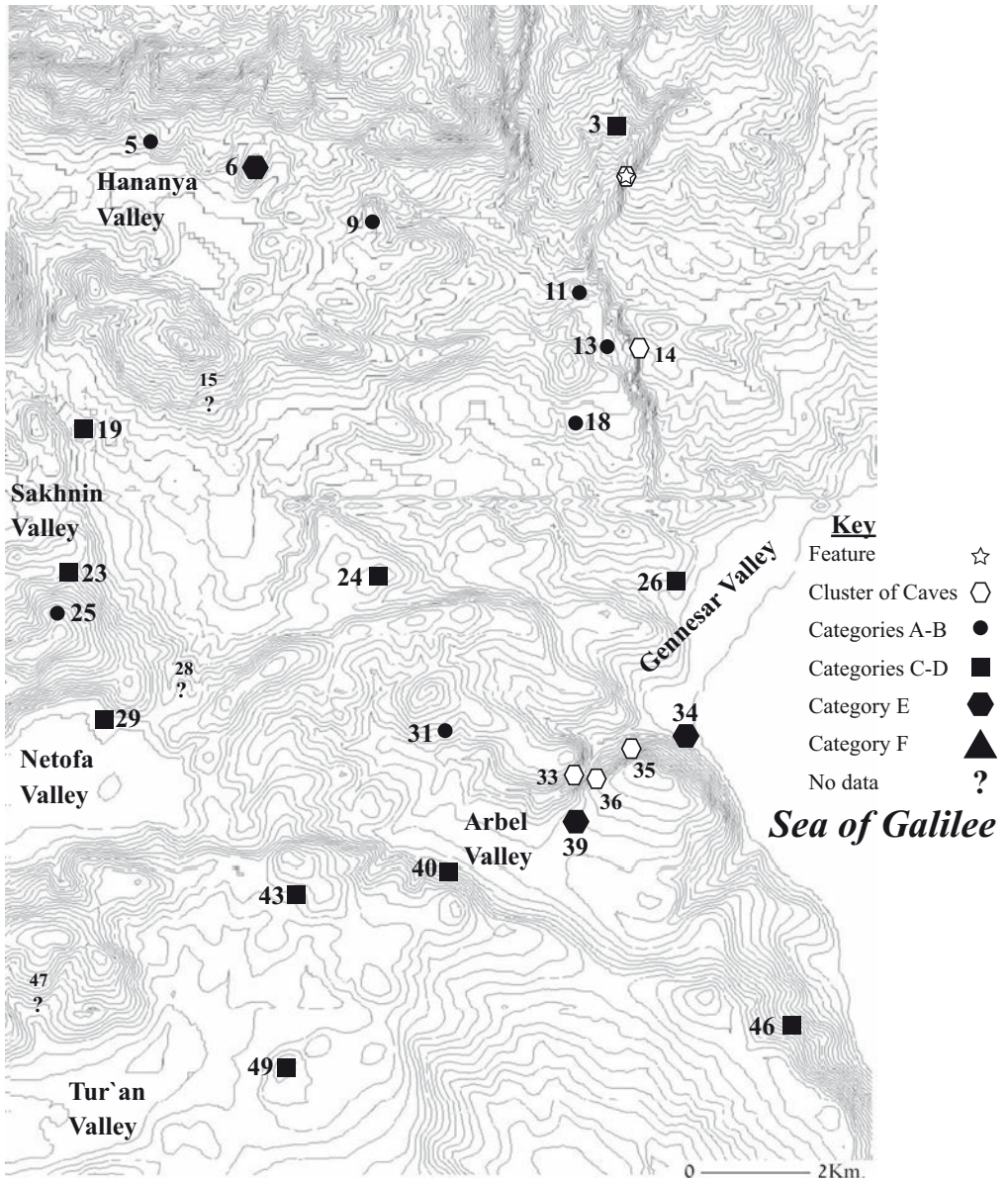
The end of the Hellenistic Period (ca. 100–50 BCE)

The Pattern and Number of Settlements: The temple at Mizpe Yamim [2], el-'Aiteh [41], Kh. 'Eika [42] and apparently also Sammu'iya [1] were abandoned at the end of the Hellenistic period. Despite a slight decline in the number of settlements from 21 to 19 (not including cave complexes, the temple at Mizpe Yamim, and Zeitun er-Rama which was abandoned at the beginning of the Hellenistic period), the settled area increased due to the foundation of Migdal [34] and Arbel [39] around the beginning of the first century BCE. These soon became the largest sites in the entire survey area (Category E). These occurrences of abandonment of settlements on the one hand and the foundation of Jewish ones on the other hand, are connected to the Hasmonean conquest.

It is possible that other sites with Hellenistic pottery were established during the Hasmonean period as well. However, the ability to divide the Hellenistic material into sub-periods is limited and we are not always able to establish during which phase each settlement was founded. For example, most Hellenistic finds from Nasr ed-Din, both numismatic (from the IAA excavations), and apparently also the pottery from this survey, belong to the late Hellenistic period. However, a number of coins from the early and mid-second century BCE and the inability to classify the pottery finds at a high resolution did not permit us to establish precisely the beginning of settlement here. Therefore, it was classified in a general manner as Hellenistic. In addition, at most of the sites whose foundation was dated to the Early Roman period, there is a recurring pattern of few finds from the Hellenistic period, generally in the form of Long Rim SJ type, which begins to appear around the end of the second century BCE and is widespread during the first century BCE. Thus, it is possible that the establishment of this group of sites occurred during the Hasmonean period, prior to the Roman conquest. Since we do not know to what extent this type of jar was in use, and in view of the small number found, it is possible that these sites were settled only at the end of the Hasmonean period or perhaps even slightly afterward. In any case, it is clear that the beginning of the major wave of settlement in the region, which is observed more clearly in the Early Roman period, began during the Hasmonean period, around the end of the second/beginning of the first century BCE.

Since most of the settlements established from the Hasmonean period onward are located in areas without topographical advantages and lack natural fortification, it would appear that defense considerations were not of particular importance to the new settlers. In addition, the majority were not established in proximity to a permanent water source.

Government and Administration: Hasmonean domination over the area was presumably achieved by actual military conquest apparently in the final years of John Hyrcanus' rule. Syon's numismatic study shows that during this period



- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iya | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 11: The Hasmonean Period

Hasmonean coins became dominant in eastern Upper and Lower Galilee, the Golan and, to a lesser extent, in the Beth-Shean Valley. At the same time there was a sharp decline in the presence of Phoenician bronze coins (Syon 2004: 226–235). Syon attributes this not only to the inclusion of the Galilee into the Hasmonean state, but also to a preference on the part of the Jewish inhabitants of the Galilee. The boundaries of Hasmonean control are clearly delineated by the distribution of Hasmonean coins (*ibid.*, 230) and the area of the current survey is located at the heart of this region. We do not have historical sources concerning the administrative division of the region during the Hasmonean period. The status of Migdal-Tarichea as the center of a toparchy in the mid-first century CE may have originated in the Hasmonean period, when the settlement was apparently founded. As we observed, the pro-Hasmonean orientation of Migdal's population is still apparent for a long period thereafter (see discussion of the site in Chapter 5). It is likely that Sepphoris also served as an administrative center during the Hasmonean period.²² However, we do not have any solid information about administrative borders or zones during this period.

The Early Roman Period (50 BCE–135 CE)

The Number and Character of Settlements: The settlements of the Hellenistic period, with the exception of Sammu'iya [1], Mizpe Yamim [2], el-'Aiteh [41] and Kh. 'Eika [42], continued without interruption into the Roman period. This does not mean that the population remained unchanged, and the question of ethnic change has been discussed above.

The period from around the end of the second century BCE up to the first half of the first century CE is characterized by a great wave of settlement throughout the survey area. The number of settlements rose from 21 during the Hellenistic period (not counting cave complexes, the temple at Mizpe Yamim and Zeitun er-Rama which was abandoned at the beginning of the Hellenistic period) to 36. The size of the settled area increased by some 50%. In addition to Migdal [34], Arbel [39] and perhaps Nasr ed-Din [46], which were founded during the Hasmonean period, sixteen new sites were established during the Early Roman period (Parod [4], Kefar Hananya [8], Bellaneh [10], Hazon [12], Kahal [16], Huqoq [17], Ravid [20], Sabban [27], Es'ad [30], Hamam [32], 'Ammudim [37], el-Ma'aser [38], Mashkanah [44], Tel Ma'on [45], Lubieh [48], and 'Oodaysa [50]). Scanty Hellenistic finds – generally Long Rim SJ vessels – at sites 10, 12, 17, 20, 27, 30, 32, 37, 38, 50, raises the possibility that

²² In view of the fact that with the Roman conquest, it was established as the administrative capital (*synedria*) of the entire Galilee. Also the presence of a Hasmonean garrison in the city during the days of Matthias Antigonos (*Antiquities* 14, 413–415) is indicative of its important status in the Hasmonean administration.

these sites were founded slightly prior to the Roman period, that is, during the Hasmonean era.²³ The division of the Early Roman period itself into sub-phases in order to distinguish, for example, between settlements founded around 50 BCE and ones founded around 50 CE, is difficult to do with any measure of confidence based only upon survey data. Still, the occurrence of minor Hellenistic finds at many sites from this period and the appearance of the Early Roman T1.3 SJ type at most of the Early Roman sites – a type found until ca. the mid first century CE – indicates that most of the sites were settled during the early phases of this period.

The wave of settlement that began with the Hasmonean takeover seems to have continued and even strengthened during the reign of Herod or of his son Herod Antipas. As is known, the period of Herod's rule is characterized by monumental building and settlement projects. The stabilization of security during this period apparently contributed to prosperity and to the creation of unfortified settlements in the agricultural areas. At the same time, no Herodian construction projects are known in the northern part of the country (except for the temple at Paneas). Aviam has proposed that due to Herod's conflict with the inhabitants of the Galilee at the beginning of his reign, he did not invest in, nor develop this area (Aviam 2004²: 15). The increase in rural settlement may be attributed to the reign of Herod Antipas and his construction enterprises. Antipas also rebuilt Sepphoris in the west and founded Tiberias in the east of our survey area around the beginning of the first century CE. These rapidly became the largest settlements in the Lower Galilee – the only ones with clearly urban characteristics. In the subsequent Roman and Byzantine periods, they left their mark on the region as economic, administrative and ruling centers.

The foundation and expansion of cities following Graeco-Roman framework was followed by intensification of agricultural exploitation and rural settlement in the hinterland upon which the cities relied (Garnsey 2000). Therefore, it might have been expected that the establishment of Tiberias and Sepphoris as Roman cities would bring about the foundation of surrounding agricultural settlements in the subsequent phase. However, it should be noted that the beginning of most rural sites in the survey area, more or less parallels (or even precedes) the foundation of these cities. The growth of settlement must also be understood in the context of the Roman Empire and the significant expansion of

²³ Based upon Hasmonean coins from excavations and surveys at Jewish settlement sites throughout the Galilee, Aviam maintained that *all* of the Jewish settlements we know from the Roman period were founded already during the Hasmonean period (Aviam 2004: 48). However, Syon has shown that Hasmonean coins continued in widespread use well into the first century CE, perhaps even until the First Jewish Revolt. Of the numismatic finds from the western quarter of Gamla, for example – an area that was first settled during the first century CE and existed until the First Jewish Revolt – 75% of the coins (2,370) were Hasmonean (Syon 2004: 116–122). Thus, Hasmonean coins cannot alone serve as evidence for settlement during the Hasmonean period.

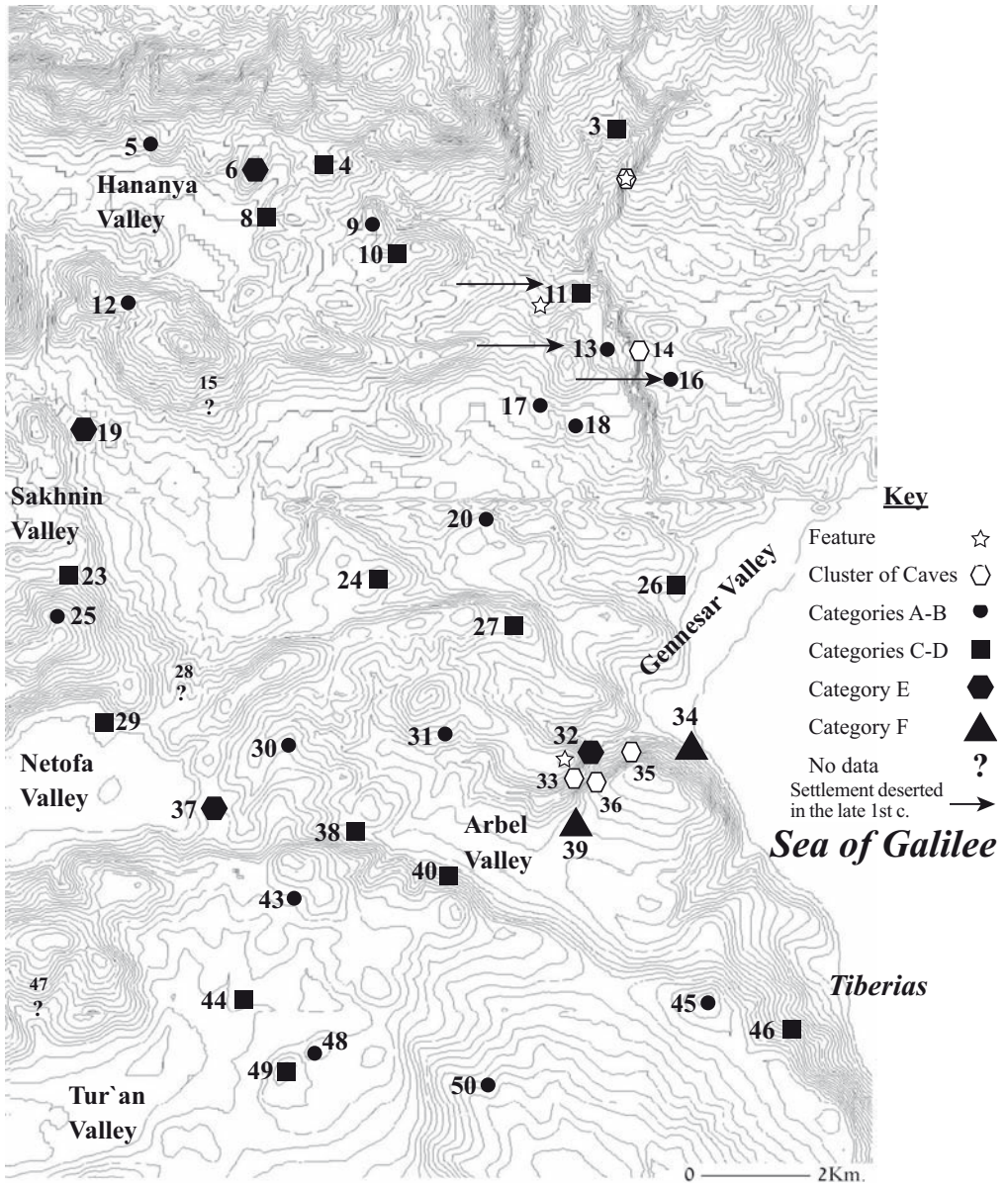
rural settlement in many regions that came under its control. This was largely a result of changes brought about by this administration in the realms of taxation, security, urbanization etc. (See *ibid.*).

Settlement Pattern and Distribution: Small rural sites such as Kaḥal [16], Tel Ma'on [45] and 'Oodaya [50] were founded together with numerous sizable settlements (of over 20 dunams) such as Kefar Ḥananya [8], Sabban [27], Ḥamam [32], 'Ammudim [37], and Mashkanah [44]. During this period most new settlements were founded at sites lacking both natural fortification and permanent water sources. A significant increase in the number of sites occurred throughout the area, however, it was particularly prominent in the eastern portion of the survey area, which had only been sparsely settled during the Hellenistic period. In effect, aside from Abu-Shusheh [26] and Nasr ed-Din [46] (which was probably also established only after Hasmonean domination of the region), there were no significant settlements in the eastern part of the area during the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, at the end of the Hellenistic period and during the Early Roman period, Ḥuqoq [17] and nearby Sheikh Nashi [18] form a significant settlement bloc in the northeast of the region. Migdal [34], Arbel [39] and Ḥamam [32] – three large settlements – were located in close proximity to each other at the center of the eastern portion. The city of Tiberias crowned the southeast of the region.

The model that emerges is of a series of fortified or naturally fortified settlements that existed during the Hellenistic period. These continued into the Roman period and were joined by new large unfortified settlements as well as numerous small settlements scattered over the area. Some of these small settlements were in remote and poor agricultural areas.

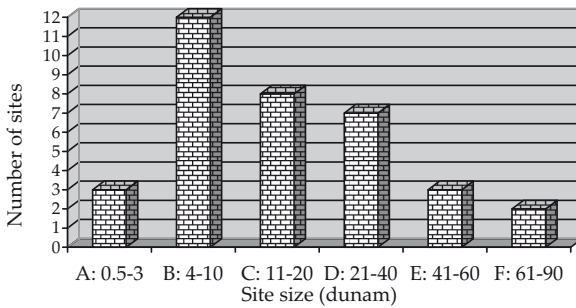
Arbel [34] and nearby Migdal [39] are the largest settlements in the area. The latter, having certain urban characteristics, served as the capital of a toparchy even long after the foundation of Tiberias. Other large settlements (over 40 dunams) in the region are Be'er Sheva' [6], Z̄almon [19], Ḥamam [32] and 'Ammudim [37]. Aside from Migdal, not one of these settlements had urban characteristics.

In conclusion, during the period extending over four–five generations (at most) from roughly the beginning of the first century BCE to the first half of the first century CE, settlement in the region underwent a dramatic change: numerous settlements were established; unsettled or sparsely settled areas, such as the eastern portion of the region or hilly areas with limited agricultural potential, experienced a wave of settlement; and the size of the settled area doubled. During this period the number of sites reached its height. This settlement map remained stable until about the mid-third century when an abandonment of sites and decline in settlement began.



- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shushesh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 12: The Early Roman Period



Graph 30: Size of sites (excluding cave complexes) of the Early Roman period (ca. mid-1st c.). Total=36

Demography: In a settled area estimated between 579 and 1,015 dunams, the number of inhabitants ranges between 9,264 individuals according to the minimal estimate (16 individuals per dunam) and 35,525 according to the maximal estimate (35 individuals per dunam).

Taking the averages for area and population and multiplying them (797 dunams×26 individuals per dunam), the result is 20,722 individuals, double the population of the Hellenistic period.

Economy: A columbarium at Parod ceased to be used as such during the Early Roman period when it was converted into a burial cave. The excavators proposed to date it and other columbaria they examined (at Kefar Ḥananya, Mashkanah, Be'er Sheva', Zeitun er-Rama and Deir Ḥanna) to the end of the Second Temple period (Tal *et al.* 2002). Since the vast majority of the survey sites are multi-period, agricultural installations could not be dated to specific periods (except those with technological-chronological determinations). Nonetheless, it should be noted that no olive oil installations were found at Kul'at esh-Shuneh [11], Wadi 'Amud Site [13] and Kaḥal [16], which were abandoned during the Early Roman period – an issue that will be dealt with below. At the two latter sites, wine presses were found. However, we were unable to determine if they belong to the Early Roman period, as these sites were also settled during other periods.

Ethnic Identity: Many scholars have dealt with the issue of ethnic identity, particularly in view of following questions: the background environment in which Jesus and his first disciples lived and were active; the Galilean zealots; and the general character of “Galilean Jewry” in comparison to “Judean Jewry.” We are unable to cover the vast number of essays written on this topic (for a survey, see Chancey 2002: 11–27), and will therefore focus only on those points which the present work can contribute to. As stated, the view that the roots of Galilean Jewry during the Early Roman period lie in the Kingdom of Israel has neither a historical nor an archaeological basis. Early Christianity certainly cannot be seen as a movement working among communities preserving the

culture of the ancient Kingdom of Israel, as Horsley claimed (1995: 19–52). To the archaeological evidence gathered by Reed concerning the religious similarity between the Galilean population and that of Judea at the end of the Second Temple period, (*miqva'ot*, stone vessels, secondary burial, absence of pig bones – see Reed 1999; 2000) may be added minor finds such as the ossuaries from Parod, Ḥuqoq or Ḥittin (see site descriptions). More important, however, is the survey's documentation of increased settlement construction in the region following the Hasmonean conquest. In view of the archaeological evidence concerning ethnic change that point to a considerable portion of the indigenous population not remaining in the region and the large number of new settlements founded at the beginning of the period both in Eastern Galilee and the Lower Golan,²⁴ a picture emerges of a very considerable wave of settlement. These new settlers were most likely immigrants, possibly connected with a settlement project initiated by the Hasmoneans, as suggested in the past by Bar-Kochva (1977).²⁵ This wave of settlement, which Judaized the region, is probably the reason for the inclusion of the Galilee in the area of Jewish domain following the Roman conquest. It also explains the massive support of Hasmonean descendents by the inhabitants of the Galilee in their struggle first against Rome and later against Herod. This support cannot be understood if we assume that the population of the Galilee was forcibly converted or a remnant of the ancient Kingdom of Israel with which contact had been broken many centuries earlier. It seems that zealotry originating from Hasmonean ideology is recognizable among the inhabitants of the region even five or six generations after the Hasmonean conquest, up to the days of the First Jewish Revolt. This results from an examination of the foci of support for the revolt that was indicated in our discussion of different sites (see analysis of the sites Migdal [34], Arbel [39], and Beit Ma'on/Nasr ed-Din [46], to which should be added, of course, Yodefat and Gamla). This strengthens the view that most of the Jewish settlement in the region was a result of the Hasmonean conquest.²⁶

²⁴ Only at five sites in the Lower Golan survey were significant Hellenistic remains found (five sherds and more, constituting at least 5% of the finds), as opposed to 33 sites from the beginning of the Early Roman period (Ben David 2005: 179; 183). It is noteworthy that in this survey as well, there are occurrences of minimal Hellenistic finds at sites definitely settled during the Early Roman period. These apparently should be interpreted as having been settled in the early phases of the Early Roman period, around the middle of the first century BCE, or even slightly earlier, during the Hasmonean period.

²⁵ See also Bar-Kochva 2002: 8–15 and the discussion above in the section dealing with the Hellenistic period.

²⁶ Concerning zealotry and its ideological roots resting firmly in the Hasmonean tradition, see Ben-Shalom 1993: 19, 303–304. See also Loftus 1977: 78–98; Farmer 1956. Freyne (1980: 67–68), on the other hand, believed that the zealots and the pro-Hasmonean tendency among the population of the Galilee were insignificant.

All sites in the survey region, which are mentioned in historical sources from this period ('Akbara, Be'er Sheva', Zalmon, Migdal, Arbel, the Arbel Caves and Beit Ma'on/Nasr ed-Din)²⁷ were settled by Jews and attest to a homogeneous Jewish region. It is difficult to verify this through survey findings, since the widespread local pottery in the region during the Early Roman period was used by both Jews and gentiles.²⁸ There is an absence of material finds that might indicate a pagan population in the survey area during this period in contrast to the preceding period (bronze figurines from Mizpe Yamim and Be'er Sheva') and to Roman-period pagan temples from adjacent regions (in the northern Upper Galilee, northern Hulah Valley and the Hermon. For a survey, see Aviam 2004: 12–17).

Government and Administration: The knowledge about the administration of the area during this volatile period is much better than for the preceding period (see Avi-Yonah 1966: 77–117; *TIR* 10–14). After the Roman conquest of the country by Pompey (63 BCE) and the arrangements made by Gabinius (55 BCE), the Galilee remained within the boundaries of Judaea. This attests to the dominance of the Jewish population there since gentile areas and cities conquered by the Hasmoneans were taken from its territory (Levine 1984: 154). Until the death of Agrippa II at the end of the first century CE, the eastern

²⁷ In addition, traditions from rabbinic literature that were discussed above that mention Gennesar and Hittin, apparently reflect Jewish settlement during the Hasmonean period.

²⁸ As evident from Kefar Hananya types at gentile sites of the northern Golan and at Tel Anafa (Adan-Bayewitz 2003: 10). Andrea Berlin proposed that from around the beginning of the first century CE the northern Jewish population intentionally refrained from using ESA vessels (Berlin 2002; 2005). As discussed in Chapter 3, it appears that there was indeed a decline in the presence of these vessels in the survey area during the Early Roman period, in comparison with the Hellenistic period (the amounts are too small to establish this with certainty). However, it is not possible to rely upon this decline as evidence for Jewish settlement, or for intentional avoidance by Jews of these vessels. The foundation of Provincia Iudaea during that period (ca. 6 CE; see below, the discussion on Government and administration) and tariffs on goods that perhaps began to be charged at borders may have been the factor for the paucity of finds of these types in the rural areas, while the wealthy population of Jerusalem – to which Berlin draws a comparison – could continue to afford these vessels (see also Syon 2004: 155). In addition, Kefar Hananya kitchenware of the Early Roman period have been found in considerable quantities in gentile settlements. However, the distribution of jars of this period indicates different patterns. Comparison of Early Roman storage jars among the finds at Yodefat and Beth Zeneta in the western Galilee shows that at the first site there were finds of “Shihin/Yodefat” types without Phoenician storage jars and at the second site, the opposite. This led researchers to propose that the preference was ethnically motivated (Avshalom-Gorni and Getzov 2002). Nonetheless, the difference may be due, at least in part, to the range of marketing of the Shihin pottery, which was limited in relation to that of the Kefar Hananya products. As noted in Chapter 3, even in the clearly Jewish region of the survey, the distribution of certain “Shihin ware” vessels or “Yodefat jars” was very limited and barely reached the north of the region.

Galilee was mostly under the rule of Herod and his descendents, and only for brief periods did it come under direct Roman rule. From 47 BCE, the entire Galilee was ruled by Herod, first as governor (under the Hasmonean ethnarch Hyrcanus II) and from 37 BCE, as king of all Judaea. Sepphoris served as the Galilee's district capital from the time of Gabinius until the foundation of Tiberias at the beginning of the first century CE (Avi-Yonah 1951: 52; Levine 1984: 162). The years between the Roman conquest and the beginning of the first century CE were marked by repeated Jewish uprisings against Rome and the Herodian dynasty. Most of the insurgence in the north of the country was concentrated in the eastern and central Lower Galilee.²⁹

After Herod's death (4 BCE), his kingdom was divided among his heirs. Herod Antipas, who received the Galilee, rebuilt Sepphoris and later, around 17–20 CE, founded Tiberias, which replaced Sepphoris as the capital of the Galilee and its administrative center. It appears that the period of Antipas' rule (4 BCE–39 CE) was calm since we do not know of conflicts between him and his subjects (Smallwood 1976: 183–187). It is probable that the foundation of Provincia Iudaea (6 CE), which brought the areas of Judea, Samaria and the central coastal plain under direct Roman control, had administrative repercussions in the Galilee as well, though their substance is unclear. The census and land registry carried out by Quirinius, the procurator of Syria, along with the foundation of the province, aroused strong local opposition apparently also in the areas under Antipas' and Philip's control.³⁰ After the removal of Antipas in 39 CE, the Galilee was transferred to the control of King Agrippa I from ca. 40 CE until his death in 44 CE when the region came under the control of the procurator of Provincia Iudaea. In 61 CE Nero annexed Tiberias, Tarichea (Migdal) and their toparchies to the kingdom of Agrippa II, which included the Golan, Bashan and Trachonitis (*War* 2, 252; *Antiquities* 20, 159). Thus, the eastern Galilee was separated from the rest of the Galilee, which remained under direct Roman control and whose administrative capital returned to Sepphoris. This administrative division probably continued until the death of Agrippa II around the end of the first century CE. Here, we observe for the first time that Tarichea served as the center of a toparchy. In view of the detailed division of the region of Judea into toparchies during the Early Roman period (*Antiquities* 12, 212; Pliny *NH* V. 70), it is probable that such a division existed in the Galilee as well. This division apparently preceded the reign of Agrippa II, however we do not

²⁹ See, for example: the battle in Tarichea in 53 BCE (*Antiquities* 14: 120; see also *War* 1, 180); Herod's campaign against the rebels in the vicinity of Arbel (*Antiquities* 14, 415–433; *War* 1, 304–316); the uprising at Sepphoris following the death of Herod (*Antiquities* 17, 471–472).

³⁰ So it appears from the local rebellion led by Judah the "Galilean" or the "Golanite." Regarding the census, see *War* 2, 117–118; *Antiquities* 17, 1–7; 26; Smallwood 1976: 150–153. Schürer, on the other hand, believed that the census did not include the territories of Antipas and Philip. See Schürer 1973–87 vol. 1: 400–427.

have clear information about it.³¹ In view of the Roman policy of basing the organization of provinces upon cities and their territories and the absence of later references to toparchies in the Galilee, Avi-Yonah proposed that these were eliminated after the death of Agrippa II, apparently during the reign of Hadrian, at which time the entire Lower Galilee was divided between the territories of Sepphoris and Tiberias (Avi-Yonah 1966: 111; 138).

Josephus' Fortifications: Much has been written about Josephus' fortifications (for a summary, see Aviam and Richardson 2001: 177–201). In the discussion that follows we shall focus on the topics that can advance research concerning this subject. First, it should be noted that an examination of the sites whose identification seems certain shows that they were settlements, apparently large and central ones, rather than military fortifications as already noted by Aviam (2004: 93–94) and Safrai (1985: 190). Hence, one should not attempt to see these sites as a strategic or tactical arrangement for controlling the area, blocking arteries, etc., as Avi-Yonah (1953: 94–98), for example, believed.

The archaeological and literary discussion of each site individually is found in the previous chapter. Here, we will synthesize these so as to obtain an overall view. As a starting point for our discussion, three features should be noted:

- A. All of the sites in our survey area that Josephus chose to fortify were already settled during the Hellenistic period.
- B. Many first century villages were not fortified by Josephus although they were large and central. Most of these were established only from the first century BCE onward.
- C. At sites where the picture can be clarified, it appears that the fortifications there preceded Josephus' days. This is true of the Arbel Caves (Kul'at Ibn Man), of Be'er Sheva', and probably also of Tarichea/Migdal, the capital of the toparchy, which may have been fortified by Herod or perhaps even earlier.

Expanding our examination of Josephus' fortifications to sites outside the survey area whose identification appears certain, we find settlements whose substantive archaeological data suggest their having already been settled during the Hellenistic period. This is the case with Jamnith identified as Kh. Yavnit (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 82), with Mero identified as Meroth (Ilan and Damati

³¹ Avi-Yonah assumed that the division belonged to the days of Herod and that Sepphoris and 'Arav ('Arabe) in the Lower Galilee should be added to Tiberias and Tarichea, which are mentioned explicitly as toparchy capitals and that the upper Galilee was a separate toparchy (Avi-Yonah 1966: 97). There is no historical information concerning the boundaries between these toparchies. However, it seems that the survey area, except, perhaps, for a small portion in the west, is within the toparchies of Tiberias and Tarichea. Regarding the division between the Lower and Upper Galilee, which apparently also reflects an administrative division, see *War* 3, 35–40; T Shevi'it 7, 11; M Shevi'it 9, 2.

1987: 19, 129), Sefh identified as Safed (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 39), and Yodefath and Gamla.³² As mentioned earlier, most Hellenistic sites were situated at naturally fortified locations. Thus, Josephus would logically select these easily defensible sites for fortification. However, there are also some sites dating from the Roman period that were suitable for fortification that Josephus did not fortify (such as Parod [4] or Sabban [27]). It is difficult to assume that Josephus did not see fit to fortify any of the important villages established during the Roman period by mere chance. Apparently, the parameters of central settlements suitable for fortification were not Josephus' only considerations. Examination of the sites for which there is archaeological or literary data presents the following interesting picture: at Mt. Tabor, a fortification is mentioned in connection with the war between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids in the third century BCE (Polybius V.70.6) and later, in connection with its conquest by Alexander Jannaeus in the first century BCE (*Antiquities* 13, 396).³³ Gamla is mentioned as a "strong fortress" during the days of Jannaeus and its excavators documented remains of a Seleucid citadel or fortifications (Syon 1995:4 n. 6). At Yodefath, a Hellenistic period fortification system bearing a number of building phases was uncovered.³⁴ Impressive remains, apparently of a Hasmonean or perhaps even pre-Hasmonean period citadel were exposed recently at Sepphoris. That city's stand against the army of Ptolemy Lathyrus in 103 BCE (*Antiquities* 13, 337–338) also suggests that the city had been previously fortified (see Shatzman 1991: 83; Meyers 1999). Tiberias, Herod Antipas' capital and the main construction project in his kingdom probably had fortification or perhaps even a wall from the time of the establishment of the city at the beginning of the first century CE. Though partial, these details lead one to believe that a central consideration in the selection of sites by Josephus was the existence of earlier fortifications. This explanation also solves some difficulties in understanding the logic of Josephus' actions. It seems surprising that Josephus did not fortify Arbel, a base for his activity and one of the largest and most important settlements in the area, choosing instead to fortify a nearby cave.

³² The accepted identification of Sigoph (or Soganae) with Sakhnin is not possible from a linguistic point of view, nor from the geographical order of the list of sites presented in Josephus' *Life*, as Bar-Kochva has noted (Bar-Kochva 1974: 113–114). Ben David (2005: 87) also showed that the accepted identification of Seleucia in the Golan with Tell Salukiya south of Kazrin does not suit either Josephus' geographical description or the archaeological finds at that site.

³³ Shatzman proposed that the place may have served as a Hasmonean military stronghold, later used by Herod (Shatzman 1991: 87; 260)

³⁴ Aviam (2005: 198) noted that in a lower area remains of a wall were found that he attributes to the revolt. Part of the wall was constructed with towers and part improvised by connecting walls of nearby houses and filling their rooms with earth. The eastern wall of Gamla was also constructed in this fashion and appears to also date to the revolt, though, as stated, there seems to have been a fortification of some sort here prior to the revolt.

However, the existence of an earlier fortification at the adjacent cave complex explains this choice. Mt. Tabor is also unusual in the list of fortifications. The site was apparently not a permanent settlement during that period (Aviam and Richardson 2001: 191). Here too, the existence of prior fortifications on the mountain explains Josephus' choice, and how in 40 days – if we were to believe what he says – he erected a wall encompassing an area 26 stadia long, i.e., over 4.5 km. (*War* 4, 55–56). Josephus chose to “fortify” rural Hellenistic sites where fortifications were characteristically common, in contrast to the Early Roman period settlements which were generally unwallled and lacking fortification. Migdal, an exception among these sites, had perhaps already been fortified by Herod (Shatzman 1991: 266) or, perhaps because of its urban status and considerable population Josephus did fortify it.

The fact that no Hellenistic wall was found at Gamla, but only what appear to be the remains of a citadel of some sort, may indicate that not all sites were surrounded by fortifications. Some sites may have had a citadel or *acra* to which the inhabitants could flee in the event of Roman attack.

Thus, Josephus' activity, if any, appears to have involved mere restoration or re-use of existing fortification systems. This is also reasonable given the short period of time at his disposal to prepare for the revolt and the difficulties that he faced both internally and externally. In effect, only at Gamla and Yodefath have portions of fortifications been found that could possibly be attributed to the First Jewish Revolt. However, the wall of Gamla and at least a portion of the wall of Yodefath attributed to the time of the revolt are unimpressive, blocking passages between nearby houses or making use of rooms as part of the wall by filling them with earth. Josephus' activity apparently consisted of such makeshift constructions (see also Weiss 2007: 55–56). A reasonable conclusion would be that higher quality fortifications involving considerable effort and investment, such as the massive fortifications at the top of Mt. Nita'i, moats such as those at Zalmon and Meroth or reservoirs in the cliffs of Arbel and atop Mt. Tabor, are unrelated to Josephus' preparations for the revolt.

The Effect of the First Jewish Revolt on Settlement: Three sites along Wadi 'Amud (Kul'at esh-Shuneh [11], Wadi 'Amud Site [13] and probably the small farmstead at Kaḥal [16]) were abandoned toward the end of the first century CE, apparently as a result of the revolt. The picture that emerges from these sites stands in contrast to that of the other survey sites, where there is no evidence for a cessation of settlement during the first century CE. Moreover, during the second century there appears to have been a strengthening of settlement at many sites. Abandonment of a settlement for a generation or two cannot be established through survey (and sometimes, not even through excavation), and theoretically, this may have occurred at some of the settlements as a result of the revolt. Such abandonment appears unlikely, however, since the settlements following the revolt are at the very same locations as before the revolt.

Among the many sites excavated and surveyed in the Galilee to date, only at Yodefāt, Tel Basul in the Beth-Shean Valley³⁵ and at the three sites referred to above is there archaeological evidence for damage attributable to the First Jewish Revolt.

Nor does the literary evidence indicate extensive destruction of Galilee settlements during the revolt. Josephus noted destruction only at Yodefāt, Gamla, 'Araba and Kabul. The last two are known settlements during subsequent generations, as indicated in rabbinic literature (see their entries in *TIR*). Although Josephus noted the large number of people killed at Japhia and Tarichea during the revolt, there too, it is clear from archaeological finds and historical sources that habitation continued and it is questionable if there was any physical destruction (see, *ibid.*).³⁶ Incorporation of the archaeological evidence both from the Galilee and from the Lower Golan, where Gamla is in fact the only site where settlement ceased as a result of the revolt (Ben David 2005: 183), together with the picture that emerges from the literary sources, shows that destruction of settlements as a result of the revolt was, in fact, very limited (see also Rappaport 1983: 50). The increase in population and settled area that characterizes the period following the revolt (see below) also indicates that demographic damage was limited in scope.

The Abandoned Settlements: The only three survey sites that were abandoned in the First Jewish Revolt are located in a limited geographical area, intimating that the damage to them was related to their location or to a specific event in the vicinity. The fact that settlement was not renewed at these sites for hundreds of years strengthens this view and may be related to Roman punitive policy.

³⁵ At this site 47 coins dating from the Hellenistic period to the First Jewish Revolt were collected, with no later coins. Hence, Syon's proposal that the site was abandoned following the revolt appears likely (Syon 2004: 244). Syon also proposed that Tel Yardinon in the Hulah Valley was also damaged during the revolt, based upon four Jewish War coins and an absence of coins dating to the end of the first century (*ibid.* 243). Nonetheless, it is possible that this absence is coincidental, as eight coins of the second–third centuries were found at the site (*ibid.* 200). In Chapter 5 we have indicated the anomalous decline in the Middle Roman finds from Zalmōn [19] as opposed to the rich Early Roman finds and the possibility of connecting this with an unclear tradition in the T concerning a battle that took place there, perhaps during the First Jewish Revolt. On the basis of available data, however, we can not confirm this and it is clear that a large settlement existed at the site later in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

³⁶ A tradition in the Y (Ta'anit 4, 6, 69a) notes Kabul, Shihin and Migdal Zaba'aya as settlements that were destroyed due to the sins of their residents. However, it does not note when this destruction occurred. The destruction of Kabul in the First Jewish Revolt (*War 2*, 504) led Klein (1967: 50) to attribute this tradition to the destructions that occurred during that revolt. In any event, rabbinic literature clearly indicates that these three settlements existed during the following Roman period (see their entries in *TIR*) and it is not clear if this tradition deals with the First Jewish Revolt.

Geographical background: The easiest and shortest route from 'Akko to the eastern Galilee and to the Golan leads from the 'Akko coastal plain directly eastward, via the Beth-Hakerem Valley, Ḥananya Valley – Wadi Livnim and continues eastward to the Korazim Heights. The route must cross the deep chasm of Wadi 'Amud at the foot of Kul'at esh-Shuneh [11] and this is the only significant impediment along this course. From there, it continues in a southeasterly direction along Wadi 'Amud as far as the Gennesar Valley and the Sea of Galilee, or directly eastward to the Korazim heights toward the Benot Ya'akov Pass and the Golan. The strategic location of Kul'at esh-Shuneh above this weak point is demonstrated by the presence of an Ottoman fortress here as well as a French camp dating from Napoleon's campaign of 1799 (see Jacotin map – Panckoucke 1826). The most likely explanation for the abandonment of the three nearby settlements is their proximity to this weak point in the wadi.

It may be possible to connect one or more movements of the Roman army during the First Jewish Revolt with this route. Vespasian's base was at 'Akko (*War* 3, 29; 115), whence he first went on a series of campaigns in the western and central Galilee (to Gabara, Japhia and Yodefah). After the conquest of Yodefah, Vespasian returned to 'Akko. He later moved to Caesarea where he left two legions to winter, and sent an additional legion to winter at Scythopolis (*War* 3, 409–413). He himself went out to camp at Paneas with forces, whose size Josephus does not indicate (*ibid.*, 443). This forced him to cross the entire Galilee from the coast to the Ḥulah Valley. Josephus does not mention the route taken. It is likely that Vespasian chose to avoid passing both the Sea of Galilee basin (which was not yet under his control) and crossing the hilly and difficult passage through Upper Galilee. Whether Vespasian first moved to 'Akko and then eastward via the route described above, or went eastward via the more southerly valleys of the Lower Galilee as far as the Galilee's main watershed line and from there began to move northward in order to reach the Ḥulah Valley, he had to cross the problematic passageway of Wadi 'Amud. The abandonment of these settlements may possibly be connected with this journey.

The second campaign that may be connected to this route is related to the siege of Gamla. This siege lasted approximately one month and was the most distant from the coast conducted by the Romans during their campaign in the north of the country. It undoubtedly required transport and supply lines to the main base at 'Akko. The wadi 'Amud route is the shortest and easiest way from 'Akko to Gamla. The abandonment of the three settlements above, thus, may be related to protection of the supply route from 'Akko to Gamla.

In this regard, it is important to note a small site approx. 400 m. southwest of Kul'at esh-Shuneh, which lies on a dominant hilltop overlooking Kul'at esh-Shuneh and the terrace west of the wadi (map ref. 2568/1954). This site was first surveyed by B. Ravani (unpublished), who referred to it as a "fortress" and noted pottery of the first and second centuries CE. Our subsequent repeated surveys at the site produced a total of ten indicative sherds, all of the Early and

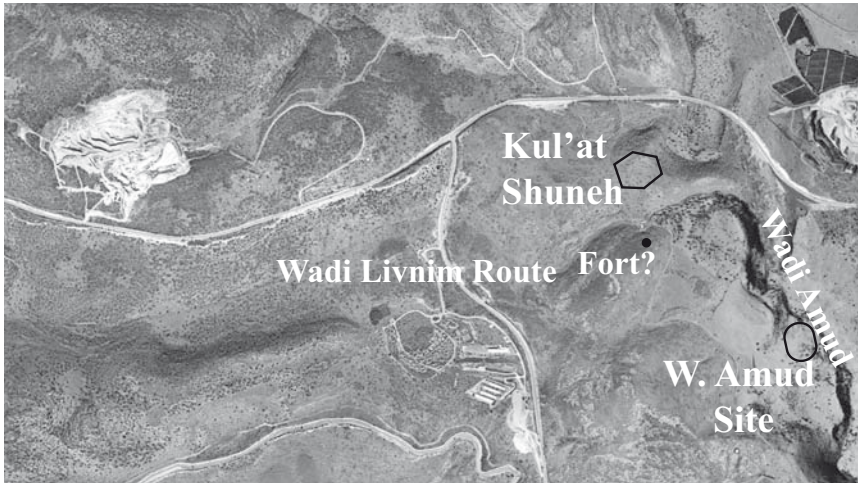


Fig. 103: Kul'at esh-Shunch: aerial photo (photograph: *see* Mapping)

Middle Roman periods.³⁷ Clearly evident at the site are remains of a square-shaped peripheral enclosure wall with 40 m. sides. The character of the fortification and its commanding location near the weak point of the route, as well as the few sherds gathered, may indicate that a fortress was erected there during the Roman period.

The abandonment of these settlements might also be related to local uprisings of the inhabitants against the Roman army. It should be recalled that there are cave complexes with remains of man-made fortifications and rock-cut reservoirs just next to these settlements, on the cliffs of Wadi 'Amud (see site 14). Arrowheads and coins found in these caves led researchers to propose that rebels sought refuge here during the First Jewish Revolt (Tepper *et al.* 2000: 87–96). The continued abandonment of these settlements following the revolt may indeed suggest a direct link to it, in view of the Roman policy of expropriating lands in areas where inhabitants actively participated in hostilities (Appelbaum 1977).³⁸

³⁷ One H/R ESA, one KH3a/b, two KH4b/c, two ER/MR SJ and four KH1b. We were unable to locate the pottery from Ravani's survey of this site in the IAA warehouses.

³⁸ B. Isaac has shown that the passage in Josephus (*War* 7, 216–217) which researchers have attempted to interpret as meaning that all of the lands of Judaea were expropriated by Vespasian, has been misunderstood. Rather, only the lands of those who participated in the revolt were confiscated and sold after the revolt (Isaac 1984). Ben David has shown that following the destruction of Gamla, which was not resettled after the revolt, five new settlements were established in its vicinity. At four of these, archaeological evidence has been found for Christian presence during the Byzantine period (Ben David 2005: 184–185). It is likely that gentile penetration of the Gamla region, in the center of a substantial Jewish area of the Roman and Byzantine periods, occurred as a result of expropriation of the town's lands and their sale following the revolt.

The Bar-Kokhba Revolt: B. Zissu has documented extensive destruction at numerous rural settlements in Judea during the early second century (Zissu 2001). In contrast to this, the increase of settlement and the fact that not even a single settlement in the entire survey area was abandoned during the second century, strongly supports the view that this revolt did not spread to the Galilee (Mor 1991: 102–121). Nor is there any evidence from the survey supporting the view that the Galilee participated in and was harmed during the Jewish Revolt in the reign of Trajan (115–117 CE; *ibid.* 121; Oppenheimer 1991: 37).

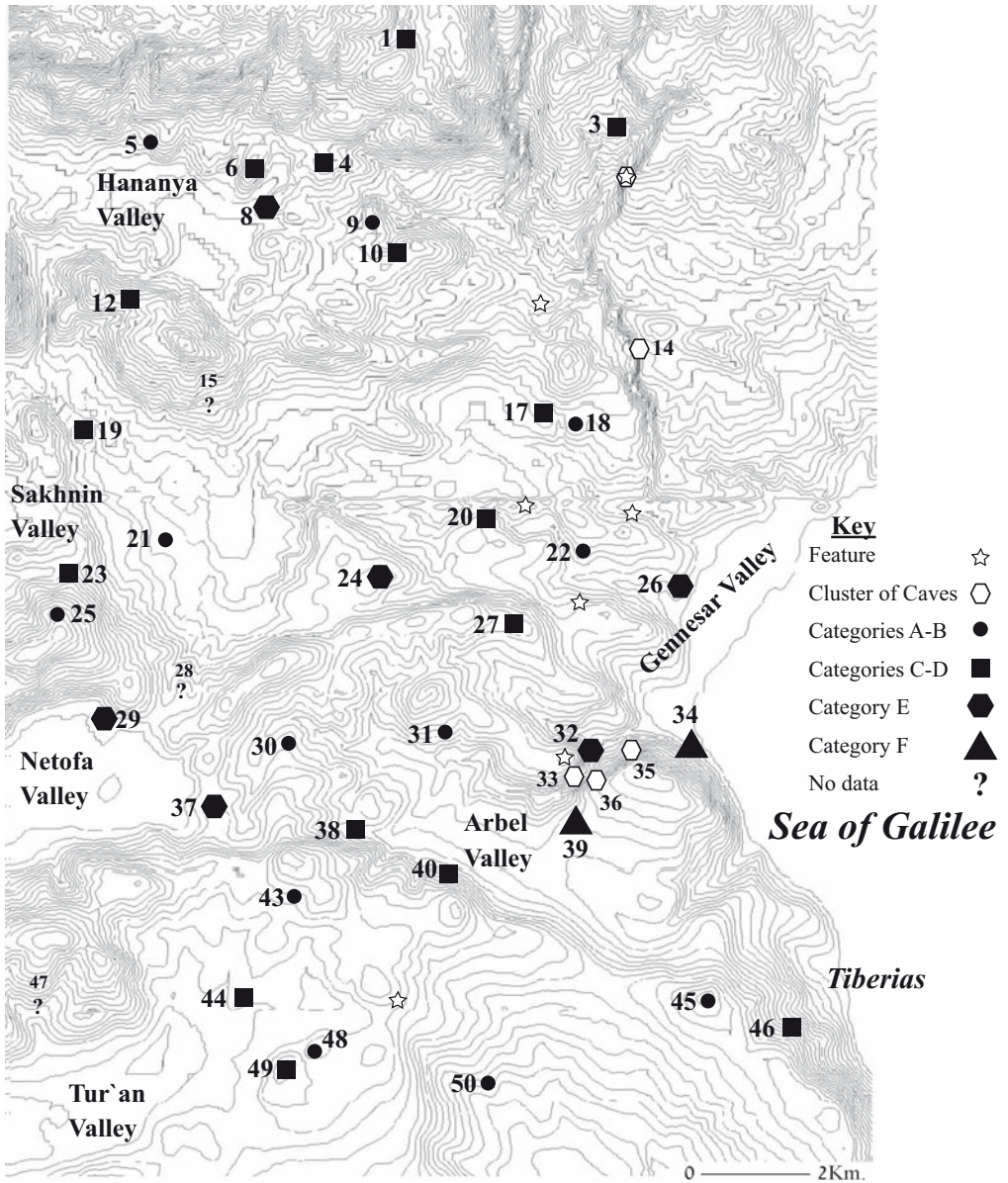
The Middle Roman Period (135–250 CE)

The Number and Character of Settlements: Except for the three settlements [11, 13 and 16] that appear to have been abandoned due to the First Jewish Revolt, all the rest of the sites settled during the Early Roman period continued into the Middle Roman period. The small site of Luziah [21] was apparently established around the beginning of the second century, and the site at Livnim [22] in the second half of the same century. The small site (farmstead?) at Kaḥal [16] was resettled, apparently around the first half of the third century CE as was the site of Sammu'iyā [1], which was abandoned from the end of the Hellenistic period. Around the first half of the third century the number of settlements (except for cave complexes) stands at 35 at its peak, in contrast to 36 settlements on the eve of the First Jewish Revolt. The four sites added/resettled during this period are relatively small (Category B, B, A and C, respectively) and these small variations are the only changes in the settlement map of the survey area until the first half of the third century.

Nonetheless, in this period the size of the settled area grew from the estimated 579–1,015 dunams of the Early Roman period to between 656–1,119 dunams (an approximate 10–15 % increase). The increase occurs in settlements belonging to all categories – from Category A settlements (apparently farmsteads) which become small villages, to medium-sized settlements which become large villages.

During the Middle Roman period, the extent of settlement reached a peak. Toward the mid-third century initial signs of settlement decline appear. This decline will become a major crisis during the fourth century (see below). The settlements Hararit [25] and 'Oodaya [50] were abandoned prior to the mid-third century. A decline is noted at the large sites of Be'er Sheva' [6] and Nasr ed-Din [46], which were later abandoned in the second half of that century.

Emigration from Judea to the Galilee: At this point, it is appropriate to relate to the common view that numerous refugees arrived from Judea and settled in the



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|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iya | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 13: The Mid Roman Period (ca. early 3rd c.)

Galilee following the suppression of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.³⁹ This view is based mainly on analysis of rabbinic sources and supported by archaeological records of settlement expansion (below). These sources suggest the movement of scholars and of the Patriarchate from Judea to the Galilee following the revolt and the foundation of *batei midrash* in the Galilee during this period (Oppenheimer 1982).⁴⁰ In view of the literary sources, there is no doubt that individuals from Judea arrived in the Galilee in the aftermath of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. The question is: what was the extent of this phenomenon and what was its demographic significance? Examination of the archaeological data does not provide clear answers. As stated, according to our estimate, there was an approx. 10–15% increase in settled area, and based on numerous excavations in the Galilee, this period indeed emerges as one of prosperity and settlement expansion.⁴¹

However, new settlements were seldom established in the region during the Middle Roman period. According to the survey, only two small settlements were founded in the area during the course of the second century CE and another two around the beginning of the third. Also, in all of the excavations noted above, there was no establishment of new settlements and all the sites existed already during the Early Roman period, if not earlier.⁴² Some of this

³⁹ See, for example, Klein 1967: 72; Goodman 1983: 32–33; Safrai 1985: 10–12; Chancey 2002: 60–61.

⁴⁰ In addition, the list of Priestly Courses and their settlements in the Galilee, known primarily from sources dating to the Byzantine period, has been interpreted by most scholars as reflecting a transition of the Priestly Courses from Judah to the Galilee following the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. This transition was seen as “a representative sample of the population which attests to widespread migration from Judea to the Galilee” (Safrai 1985: 12). Other researchers express doubt concerning the assumption that the list reflects a historical event during the second century (Trifon 1989) or even a historical-settlement reality at all (Irshai 2004). I shall deal with this list extensively in chapter 7. Here, let it suffice to note that at two of the sites in the list, Zalmun [19] and Beit Ma'on/Nasr ed-Din [46], a decline in settlement is noted during the Middle Roman period, compared to the preceding period.

⁴¹ The significant expansion of Sepphoris from the acropolis to the plateau to the east is dated to this period (Weiss and Netzer 1997: 6). Likewise, the expansion of the settlement at Meiron is dated to this period (Stratum III, Meyers *et al.* 1981: 156–157). Other extensive excavations in the Galilee, for which we still lack a final picture, present a similar phenomenon of expansion and extensive construction during the second–third centuries. For example: Beth-She'arim (Mazar 1973: 17), Nabratein (Meyers *et al.* 1981², 1982²) and Tel Dover (Rapuano 2002).

⁴² See previous footnote. In all of these excavations, the Early Roman period is represented mainly by numismatic finds and pottery, but remains of buildings from this period are few because of the continued settlement and intensive construction during the rest of the Roman period (aside from Yodefah and Tel Anafa which ceased to exist in the first century CE, there are virtually no significant architectural remains from the Early Roman period from the numerous excavations in the Galilee). This clearly presents methodological difficulties in evaluating the nature and size of settlements during the Early Roman period and the ability to estimate the degree of change in the subsequent periods, even at sites that were excavated.

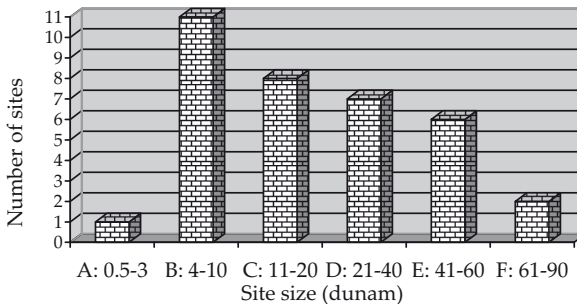
prosperity and enlargement of settlements may reasonably be attributed to natural population growth. The Pax Romana was a period of prosperity in the rural areas of many regions of the empire (Garnsey 2000). The data thus leave a question mark concerning the extent of immigration from Judea to the Galilee and, on the face of it, this appears to have been a rather limited phenomenon with no significant effect on demography or settlement in the rural region.

Settlement Pattern and Distribution: As in the Early Roman period, there were settlements in the region covering the entire spectrum of categories including small settlements (mainly of Category B) scattered throughout the area. As we shall see below, these small settlements disappeared mainly during the course of the fourth century. During the Byzantine period only nuclear villages generally remained. The settlement hierarchy of the Early and Mid-Roman periods but not later ones, is, therefore, the one reflected in rabbinic literature in sources dealing, for example, with farmers arriving at villages for market day or to participate in religious ceremonies due to lack of community facilities on their farms. To the Early and Mid-Roman periods belong the settlement ranking of *'ir* (village) and *kefar* (farm) that appears in these sources (see M Megillah 1, 1; Y Megillah 1, 1, 70b; Safrai 1995: 29–49).

It should also be noted that none of the small sites seem like an estate or a villa. The ability to distinguish between the architectural character and functional use of a site based upon survey data is limited, and sites that at later stages became villages may have developed from villas of the preceding period. However, this absence stands in contrast to the villas or estates that have been discovered in surveys in the Mediterranean region or in other parts of Palestine (for a summary, see Hirschfeld 1997). On the whole, however, settlement in the entire Roman east was characterized mainly by villages, while estates and villas were relatively few (Ward-Perkins 2000²: 328; Chavarría and Lewit 2004: 19).

The considerable expansion of Sepphoris during this period arouses interest in terms of town-country relations. Indeed, one would expect that this growth (and apparently also that of Tiberias, though our archaeological information about the latter during this period is limited) would also bring an increase in surrounding rural settlement upon which the economy of the city relied. There was indeed an expansion at many of the existing settlements in the region, though new settlements were rarely established during this period. This is probably because the area was already densely settled and expansion therefore took the form of increasing the density of existing settlements and probably, intensification of cultivation rather than creation of new settlements.

Demography: In a settled area estimated at between 656 and 1,119 dunams, the number of inhabitants would range between 10,496 according to the minimal estimate (656×16 individuals per dunam) and 39,165 according to the maximal

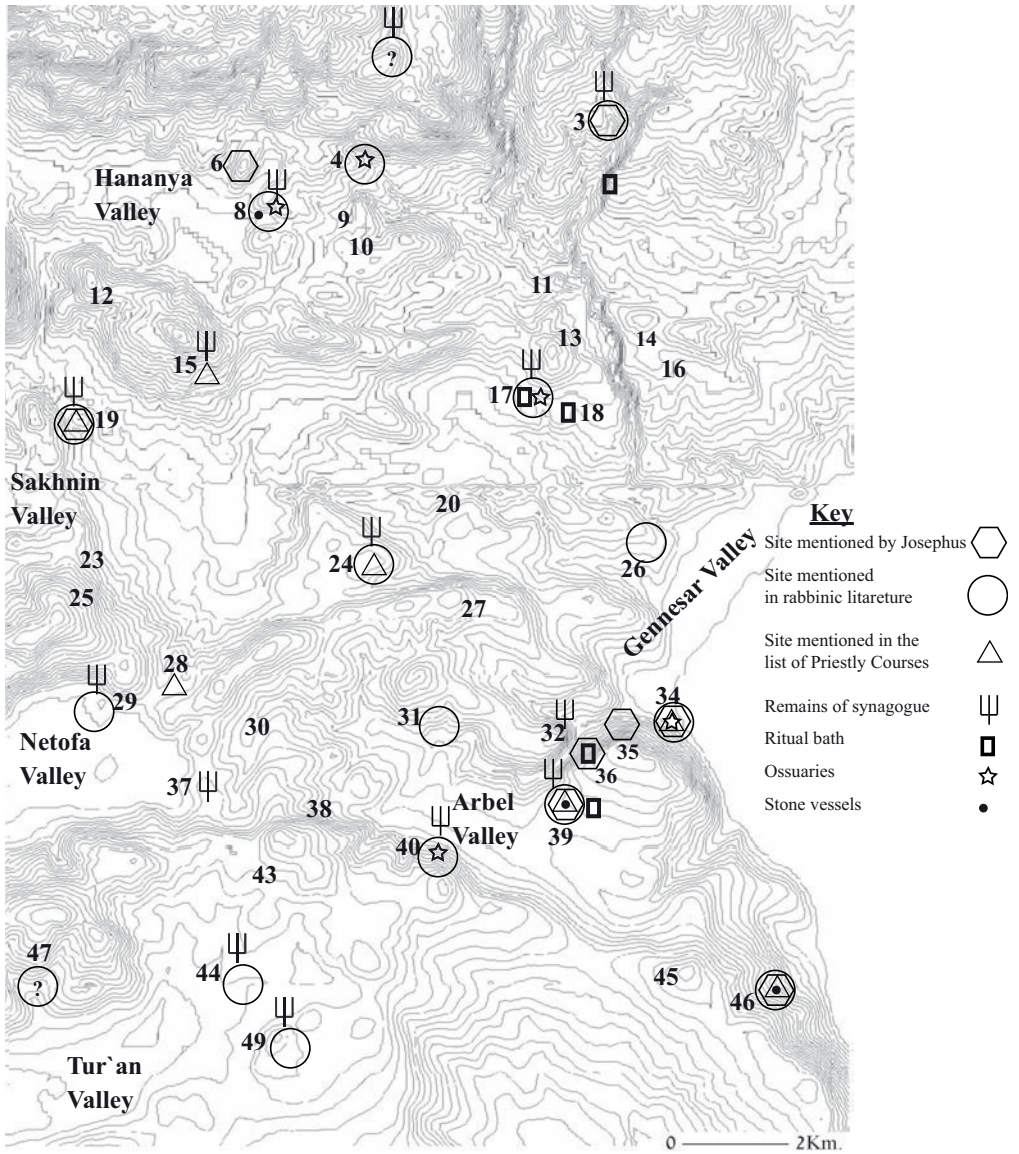


Graph 31: Size of sites (excluding cave complexes) of the Middle Roman period. Total=35

one (1,119×35 individuals per dunam). Taking the averages of these estimates of area and population and multiplying them (887 dunams at 26 individuals per dunam), the result is 23,062 individuals, a growth of over 10% compared to the Early Roman period.

Ethnic Identity: Our knowledge of the ethnic presence in the region during this period is primarily based upon rabbinic sources, which present a picture of a region of predominantly Jewish settlement (Oppenheimer 1991: 89–90). Support for this picture of Jewish ethnic homogeneity is found in the archaeological findings from the region, which include *miqva'ot*, ossuaries and stone vessels (for a summary, see Aviam 2004: 19), though their dating is not always unequivocal. Closer examination of this picture reveals that monumental synagogues would be erected at most of the sites that remained in existence into the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. It appears likely that these sites were settled by Jews in earlier periods as well. Map 14 presents the sites mentioned in the literary sources as being Jewish, beginning with Josephus through rabbinic literature and as late as the *piyyutim*. The map also indicates sites where remains of monumental synagogues and Jewish artifacts, such as the ossuaries, were found. In order to clarify the ethnic character of the settlement, sites that were not settled during the Middle Roman period have been removed from the map. The picture that emerges reveals historical and archaeological evidence for settlement by Jews during the Roman period at most of the sites. Nowhere in the survey area was anything found that can attest to gentile rural settlements or mixed settlements during the Roman period.

Government and Administration: Following the death of Agrippa II, his lands in eastern Galilee, the Golan and Perea were included within the boundaries of the province of Judaea. It appears that around this period the division into toparchies was eliminated and the entire Lower Galilee was divided between the jurisdictions of Tiberias and Sepphoris. It is likely that most of the survey area, except, perhaps, for the margins of the valleys in the west, was under the



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|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 14: Indications for Jewish Presence: Roman and Byzantine Periods

jurisdiction of Tiberias.⁴³ Aside from tax collection by the urban administration (both for the city and the empire), this subjection does not appear to have had great significance in the rural areas (Goodman 1983: 130–134). In addition, the ceramic uniformity in the Tiberias-Sepphoris area certainly does not indicate a border or economic barrier between their territories.

The Late Roman Period and the beginning of the Early Byzantine Period (ca. 250–400 CE)

Introduction: During the period between the mid-third to the late fourth century CE, dramatic changes in the region took place, particularly involving the disappearance of numerous settlements. Even before the mid-third century, the small settlements of Hararit [25] and ‘Oodaysa [50] were abandoned. Around the middle of that same century, there were 33 settlements in the region. At the end of the Late Roman period, around the mid-fourth century, only 26 settlements remained in the region. In the second half of the fourth century, or at latest the beginning of the fifth, that number declined to 15.⁴⁴ Although this decline overlapped two periods, and was somewhat spurred on by specific historical events, it will be dealt with below collectively.

Many present-day scholars hold that Galilean Jewry enjoyed a period of stability and even continuous settlement growth into the Byzantine period.⁴⁵ This common view demands we present evidence for this decline in detail. This presentation obliges familiarity with the methodology and with the Galilean pottery presented in detail in Chapters 3–4. For the convenience of the reader, we shall reiterate pertinent information. The dominant pottery vessels in the Galilee during the Roman period are those referred to as the “Kefar Ḥananya group,” the vast majority of which were produced at Kefar Ḥananya itself, and a minority, imitations of the same types, which were produced at other sites (Adan-Bayewitz 1993; 2003). Another important production center, at Shiḥin, produced mainly storage vessels and in this case too, there were competing centers manufacturing similar vessels (particularly storage jars). During the fourth century vessels from other production centers (henceforth: “Local Byzantine”) began to penetrate the region. These were entirely different from

⁴³ See Avi-Yonah 1966: 111. It should be noted that there is no information (for the entire Roman period) on the territorial boundaries of these cities.

⁴⁴ In addition, it seems that the sites of Sabban [27] and ‘Ammudim [37] underwent a crises and perhaps even a period of abandonment around the mid-fourth century (see site descriptions), however, since I cannot establish this with certainty, I have left them out of this discussion.

⁴⁵ See, for example: Levin 1997; 2004: 28; Stemberger 2001: 159, 313–315; Schwartz 2001: 181–184, 203–204, among many others.

the Kefar Ḥananya types and gradually took the place of the latter. Research on local Byzantine ceramics enables us to date most of these types in general terms only as “Byzantine.” The production of some of the Kefar Ḥananya types continued in some form until the beginning of the fifth century and assemblages dated to this period are the final evidence for these vessels.⁴⁶ As early as the mid-fourth century, however, the local Byzantine vessels had taken over considerable portions of the market for Kefar Ḥananya vessels, particularly in areas relatively distant from Kefar Ḥananya.⁴⁷

The large sample of identified pottery vessels collected from each surveyed site was the basis for documenting periods of settlement, and the last period of settlement was determined by the latest pottery phase represented in the sample. At numerous sites, Kefar Ḥananya types proved to be the latest pottery phase in the sample. At other sites there were also few local Byzantine and imported Byzantine vessels (LRRW) of types that became common around the mid-fourth century. At other sites the finds included considerable local Byzantine pottery as well as large amounts of LRRW of the fifth–seventh centuries.

Something must be said first concerning the question of the relationship between the ceramic finds – our main tool in dating settlements – and the “presence” or “disappearance” of settlements. The phenomenon of an enormous quantity of Roman pottery (Kefar Ḥananya and Shihin types) in contrast to low quantities and sometimes total absence of Byzantine pottery, is clear to anyone who has had field experience in this region. The question is to what extent the paucity of Byzantine finds reflects a decline in settlement? It might also reflect changes in lifestyle that resulted in decreased use of vessels or it may reflect surveyors’ subjective difficulty in gathering or identifying this pottery.⁴⁸ It

⁴⁶ The cessation of production at Kefar Ḥananya after hundreds of years of dominance, without the establishment of new production centers in the eastern Lower Galilee (to the best of our knowledge) attests to a decline in demand and the decline of settlement in the region (Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 239–243; 2003: 20–23).

⁴⁷ For example, in excavation of the destruction layer of the 363 CE earthquake at Sefphoris, most of the cooking vessels were already of types of the new production centers. This was in contrast to earlier levels in which the Kefar Ḥananya types were clearly dominant (Balouka 1999).

⁴⁸ It has recently been claimed that at least part of the sharp decline in settlement in Western Europe during the post-Roman period should be attributed to the population of the period being “invisible” in archaeological terms. Stone houses and roof tiles were replaced by wooden houses and thatch and pottery vessels of the period were few and of such poor quality that they were not preserved in the ground or are very difficult to identify. In the absence of traces, it is impossible to prove that settlements disappeared. However, as Ward-Perkins has correctly stated, it is impossible to prove their existence as well (Ward-Perkins 2005: 138–146). This phenomenon, however, does not exist in our area, where the local and imported pottery are well known and the basic material cultural traditions continue through the Byzantine period (with changes in style and quality).

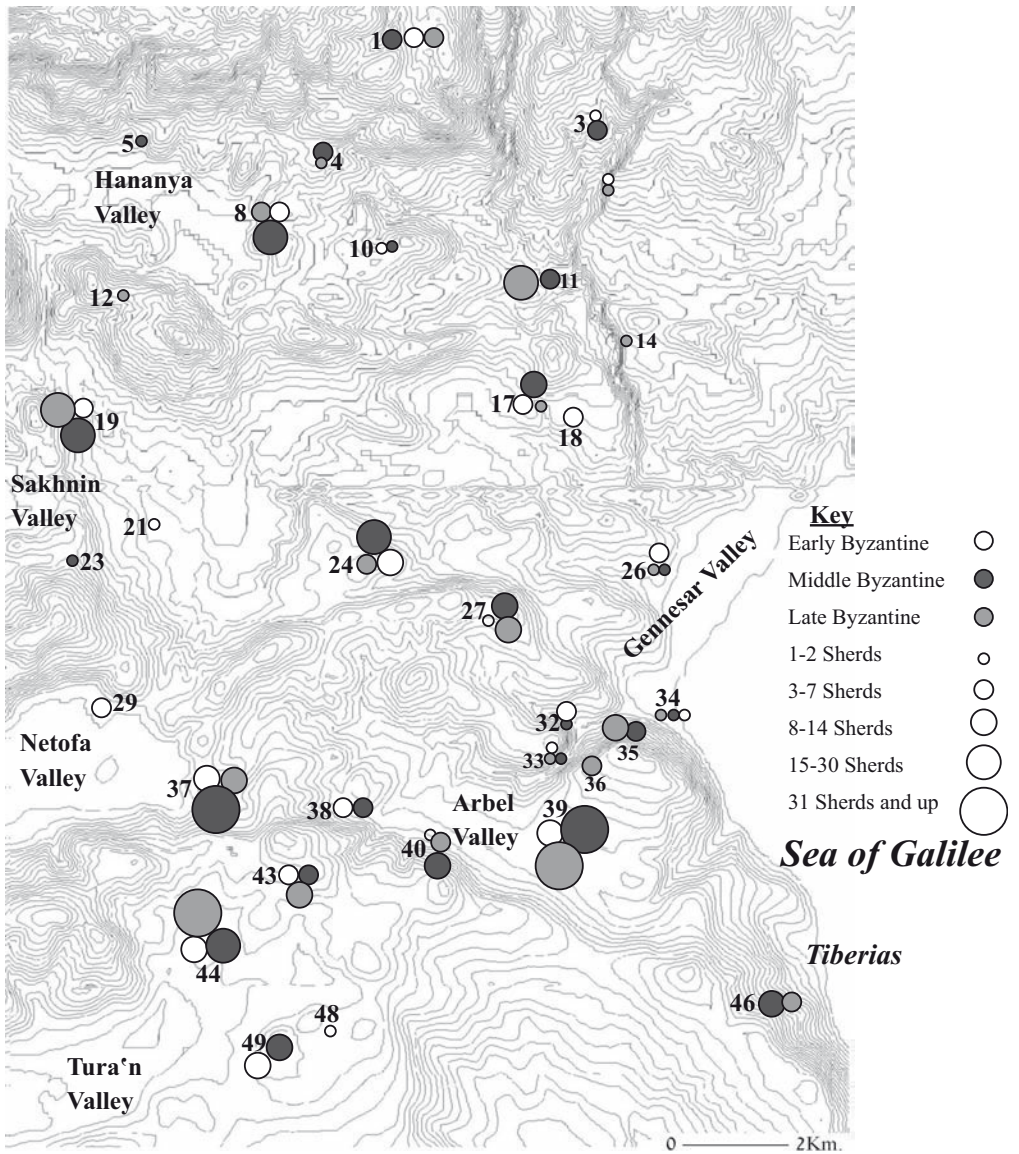
might also be claimed that the characteristically dark local Byzantine pottery is difficult to identify on the surface, particularly in comparison to the reddish Kefar Hananya ware, and is therefore less frequently collected.

Rich Byzantine period pottery finds in residential complexes from excavations in the region, such as Sepphoris or Capernaum, show that there is no basis for assuming that there were changes in pottery usage. Furthermore, the numerous samples of local Byzantine pottery of a variety of types collected from many sites show that there is no problem of collection or identification of this pottery.⁴⁹ Yet, these vessels (as well as LRRW – see below) were absent from many other nearby sites. The question if indeed there is a difficulty in identifying and collecting local Byzantine pottery was examined also by shovel testing at three sites. All of the excavated earth was sieved and all of the sherds were collected and processed. Comparison of the percentages of finds of these vessels from the probes and from the surface survey does not indicate significant differences. At these three sites, Byzantine finds were concentrated in a limited number of probes. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that many inhabitants used a small amount of pottery, for in such a case the pottery from that period should have been scattered over the entire site.

An important point for this discussion is the presence of imported Byzantine vessels (LRRW) at sites in this rural area. The shiny red slip and the large sherds of these vessels make them easy to find and collect, and these vessels were gathered in large quantities at numerous sites. At every site where local Byzantine pottery was collected, LRRW were also found. The relatively accurate dating of these types (Hayes 1972; 1980) enabled us to indicate the period around the mid-fourth century as one during which these vessels began to appear in the region in considerable amounts. The same picture emerged from the Sepphoris excavations, where these vessels began to be common in the 363 CE destruction level. Examination of the distribution and quantities of these vessels (see map 15) clearly shows that they are found in settlements of all sizes and in all parts of the survey area. These include: hill sites distant from main roads, such as Sammu'iyā [1], 'Akbara [3], Kul'at esh-Shuneh [11], and Sabban [27]; sites in regions of difficult access such as cave complexes in the cliffs of Mt. Nitai [33], Kul'at Ibn Man [35] and Arbel Caves West [36]; and sites in wadis such as Zalmon [19] and el-Ma'aser [38]. These vessels were thus in use by the entire population of the region during the Byzantine period and were not limited to large and wealthy settlements or to specific ethnic groups.

Thus, we have two groups of pottery: local Byzantine vessels and LRRW. Both groups became common around the mid-fourth century and their types

⁴⁹ Eg.: Arbel – 42 vessels, 'Ammudim – 45 vessels, Nimrin – 35 vessels, Mimlah – 23 vessels, Hittin – 23 vessels.



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|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

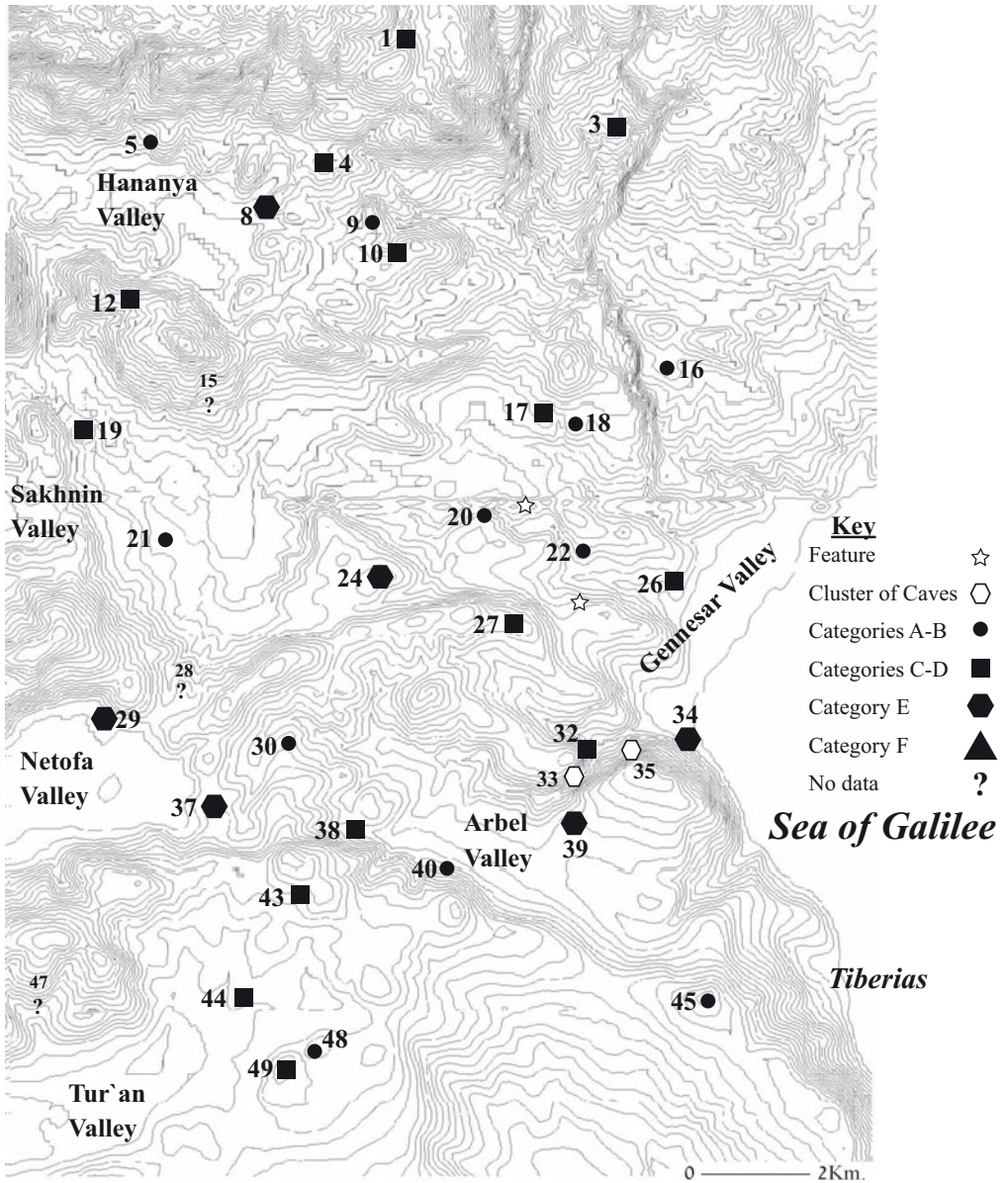
Map 15: Distribution of Late Roman Red Ware

were readily collected and identified at numerous sites in the area.⁵⁰ The complete or nearly complete absence of vessels from these two groups at other sites where considerable Roman pottery was collected shows that settlement at those sites ceased before these vessels came into widespread use, or during the early stages of their appearance.

Dating the Last Phase of Settlement. The following table summarizes the settlements abandoned during this roughly 150-year period. The time of abandonment proposed for each settlement is based upon the latest pottery phase in the sample, according to the following guidelines (based on Ben David 2005: 42):

1. Sites with considerable Middle Roman pottery, without Late Roman types that begin to appear around the mid-third century (particularly type KH1e, which is very common at Late Roman sites), were abandoned before the mid-third century.
2. Sites with considerable Middle Roman pottery and small amounts of Late Roman pottery were abandoned after these vessels began to appear, i.e., after the mid-third century.
3. Sites with a considerable quantity of Late Roman pottery without any Byzantine local pottery or LRRW, were abandoned before the mid-fourth century.
4. Sites at which a considerable quantity of Late Roman pottery was found with small quantities of local Byzantine pottery and LRRW of the fourth century, and no LRRW types of fifth–seventh century (which are the most common types in the survey area), were abandoned around the second half of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (at the latest). It should be noted that at all of the sites in this group, the percentage of Byzantine pottery (local and LRRW) is never greater than 6%, and usually accounted for 2%–3% of the collection. As discussed at length in Chapter 4, it is difficult to interpret a few isolated sherds as a settlement phase. This is even more valid when large quantities (often, hundreds) of sherds from earlier periods were collected.

⁵⁰ In addition to the prominent nature of the Byzantine pottery, this period, which is closer to the surface in relation to the Hellenistic and Roman pottery, should be the best represented in a sample from the surface.



- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Ḥamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 16: The Late Roman Period (ca. early 4th c.)

Table 13: Settlements abandoned between the mid third and the late fourth century CE

Site	Proposed period of abandonment	Max. size *	Remains of monumental public building	Oil press	Wine press	Comments
25. Hararit	200-250 CE	11 d.	-	-	-	MR pottery. No LR pottery
50. 'Oodaysa	200-250 CE	7 d.	-	-	-	MR pottery. No LR pottery
6. H. Be'er Sheva'	250-300 CE	50 d.	-	-	-	MR pottery. Scanty LR pottery
46. Nasr ed-Din	250-300 CE	45 d.	-	-	-	MR pottery. Scanty LR pottery
23. 'Ein Najmiah	250-300 CE	15 d.	-	-	-	MR pottery. Scanty LR pottery
31. H. Mizga	250-300 CE	7 d.	-	-	+	MR pottery. Scanty LR pottery
4. Parod	300-350 CE	25 d.	-	-	+	LR pottery. No LRWW/local Byz.
9. 'Ein Camonim	300-350 CE	6 d.	-	-	-	LR pottery. No LRWW/local Byz.
16. Kaḥal	300-350 CE	1-2 d.	-	-	+	LR pottery. No LRWW/local Byz.
20. H. Ravid	300-350 CE	18 d.	-	-	+	LR pottery. No LRWW/local Byz.
30. Kh. Es'ad	300-350 CE	8 d.	-	-	+	LR pottery. No LRWW/local Byz.
45. Tel Ma'on	300-350 CE	2-3 d.	-	-	-	LR pottery. No LRWW/local Byz.
10. Kh. Bellaneh	350-400 CE	20 d.	-	+	+	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
12. Ḥazon	350-400 CE	10 d.	-	+	-	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
18. Sheikh Nashi	350-400 CE	11 d.	-	+	+	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
21. Kh. Luziah	350-400 CE	6 d.	-	-	-	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
22. Livnim	350-400 CE	13 d.	-	-	-	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
26. Abu Shusheh	350-400 CE	52 d.	-	+	-	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
29. Beth Netofa	350-400 CE	52 d.	Synagogue	+	-	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
32. Kh. Ḥamam	350-400 CE	54 d.	Synagogue	+	-	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.
34. Migdal	350-400 CE	90 d.	Monastery	?	-	LR pottery. Scanty LRWW/local Byz. Late (?) Byzantine monastic site
48. Lubieh	350-400 CE	10 d.	-	-	+	LR pottery. Scanty Early LRWW/local Byz.

* Maximum size – the settlement's peak during one of the periods, and not necessarily during the period prior to abandonment.

The Number and Character of Settlements: The settlements abandoned during the third century were small-to-medium size (Categories B–C) and located in relatively hilly regions with limited agricultural potential. An exception is Be'er Sheva', which is located above the fertile Hananya Valley and had been a Category D settlement (21–40 dunams) during the Middle Roman period. Nonetheless, it cannot be proposed that this was a structural change of abandonment of small settlements and concentration in larger ones since in the next stage of the crisis many of the large settlements were abandoned and at others there was a decline in size.

During the first half of the fourth century abandonment of small- and medium-size settlements continued with Parod [25] and Ravid [18] being the largest abandoned. In the second half of the fourth century, alongside the continuation of the abandonment of small and medium-size sites, larger settlements were also abandoned. Examples of this are: Migdal [34] (Category F), which during the previous period had been the largest settlement in the survey area; settlements of Category E such as Abu Shusheh [26], identified with Gennesar; and Netofa [29] and Ḥamam [32], two sites with remains of monumental synagogues.

Demography: The extent of the settled area reached its peak in the first half of the third century and the estimated population based upon the average estimates of area and number of individuals per dunam was 23,062. In the second half of the fourth century, after the abandonment of settlements indicated in the above table, the estimated extent of settled area was between 239–423 dunams. The number of inhabitants would range between 3,824 according to the minimal estimate (239×16 individuals per dunam) and 14,805 according to the maximal one (423×35 individuals per dunam). Taking the averages for settled area and population and multiplying them (331 dunams×26 individuals per dunam), the result is 8,606 individuals, a decline of over 60% compared to the population estimate some 150 years earlier!

The Decline in Settlement – Additional Data: This documented sharp decline in settlement during the fourth century stands in contrast to the accepted view in recent years that Jewish settlement in the Galilee was stable and even prospered during this period. This view is based mainly on the numerous synagogues in the northern part of Palestine dated to the Byzantine period. The focus upon them created a lopsided picture and the illusion that the region flourished during the Byzantine period (see in detail below).

A more balanced view emerges from the data collected in numerous salvage excavations conducted in the survey area and its vicinity. These excavations are random and in large numbers can constitute an indication of settlement and intensity of human activity in the region. Most important, they are not determined by the excavator's preferences or influenced by the existence of

monumental architecture (Faust and Safrai 2005).⁵¹ The following table displays data from salvage excavations from the periods covered by this study. These excavations include those conducted between 1960-2003 within the boundaries of the survey area, and others conducted in the past decade (1993–2003) within a radius of 10 km. of its northern, western and southern boundaries. The data presented are only from published excavations or from ones that a considerable portion of the finds was examined by the author. The periods noted are those established by the excavators for dating structures or assemblages and limited finds from earlier or later periods are not mentioned. Excavations at which finds have not been clearly dated or have only a presumed date have not been included. For publications that include pottery plates, the plates have been carefully examined and stars are indicated in the “comments” column with the number of pottery vessels and lamps published.

Table 14: Data from salvage excavations in survey area and vicinity

Site	Type of structure	Hell	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ	BYZ U.C	Comments	Bibliography
Sasa	Ft.? and Dm.	+								*21 Vs. (2 Hell.)	Smithline 1997
Gush Halav	Ft.?	+	+	+						*15 Vs.	Aviam 1999
Ḥurfeish	Dm.							+		*8 Vs.	Amitai 2000
Ḥurfeish	BC				+					*1 Vs.	Shaked 2000
Ḥurfeish	BC		+	+	+						Abu Uqsa 1997 ²
Meiron	BC and Sc.	+	?	+	+					*16 Vs.(3 relevant)	Stepansky 2003
Kisra	2 BC					+					Lieberman-Wander 1994
Parod	2 BC and instal.		+	+	+	+				*7 Vs.	Tal <i>et al.</i> 2002
er-Rama	5 Dm.					+	+	+		*22 Vs.	Abu Uqsa 2001 ²
Hazon	2 Cs.		+	+						*30 Vs.	Bahat 1974
Ḥuqoq	2 BC		+	+						*20 Vs.	Ravani 1961
Camon	Dm.		+	+							Hartal 2004

⁵¹ Safrai and Faust maintained that data from salvage excavations are the most reliable tool for portraying settlement history because of their number, the relative precision of their dating of finds and their randomness. This tool is indeed very useful when entire regions undergo extensive development. However, in some cases it can be deceptive. Despite the general picture emerging from the survey and from the salvage excavations being quite similar, it should be noted that the vast majority of these excavations (necessitated mainly due to construction) were conducted in Arab villages where the settlement patterns of the Byzantine period (large nuclear villages at the edges of valleys) are largely preserved. These lie over the Byzantine sites and most of the Byzantine finds come from these sites. The excavations, therefore, are not entirely random, and it is certainly possible to point to ancient patterns of settlement that are not proportionately represented in the salvage excavations.

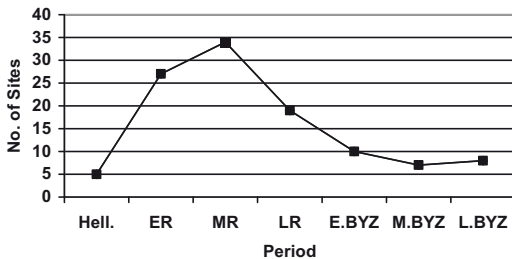
Site	Type of structure	Hell	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ	BYZ U.C	Comments	Bibliography
Sakhnin	BC			+	+						Muqari 1996
Kh. Qav (Karmiel)	many Dm.						+	+		large excavation	Stern <i>E. et al.</i> 2000
Kh. Qav (Karmiel)	farm?							+			Gorin-Rosen 1993
Karmiel	Ft.?		+	+	+	+					Gal and Shalem 1999
Kh. Kenes (Karmiel)	Ch.							+			Avshalom-Gorni and Aviam 1996
'Araba	Dm.		+	+						*6 Vs.	Yitah 2001
'Araba	BC				+	+				*1 Vs.	Syon 1997
'Araba	BC			+	+						Stern Ed. 1998
'Araba	BC		+	+						*3 Vs.	Stern Ed. 1998
Mimlah	Dm.								+		Stepansky 1984
Migdal	Bathhouse Ch.?							+	+	*31 Vs. mainly Early Arab	Abu Uqsa 2001
Migdal	Dm.		+	+						*23 Vs.	Abu Uqsa 2001
Migdal	Dm.			+	+	+				20	Abu Uqsa 2005
Migdal	Dm.		+	+	+	+					Stepansky 1986
Migdal	tombs			+	+						Tefilinski 1965
'Ailbun	Water tunnel?			+							Tefilinski 1963
'Ammudim	Sc.				+		+			*14 Vs.	Braun 2001
Arbel	3 Dm. Miqva'ot			+					+		
'Uzeir	Dm.				+	+	+	+			Alexander 2001
Nasr e-Din	many Dm.		+	+						large excavation	Ben Nahum 1999; Adan- Bayewitz 2003: 17
el-Khirbeh	Dm.		+	+	+					*25 Vs.	Alexander 2003
Rumana	Dm. and Sc.		+	+	+					*37 Vs.	Stepansky 2002
Kefar Kana 2	BC		+	+						*23 Vs.	Abu Uqsa 2002
Kefar Kana	BC			+	+	+				*2 Vs.	Abu Uqsa 2002
Kefar Kana	Dm.			+	+				+	*10 Vs.	Gal and Hanna 2000
Kefar Kana 2	BC		+	+						*6 Vs.	Najjar 1997
Kefar Kana 2	BC		+	+							Abu Uqsa and Najjar 1997
Beth Yerah	tombs	+									Gatzov 1998
Sepphoris	Dm.		+	+	+	+				*18 Vs.	Syon 2001
Moshav Zippori	Dm.			+						*6 Vs.	Gal <i>et al.</i> 2002

Site	Type of structure	Hell	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ	BYZ U.C	Comments	Bibliography
Reine	BC		+								Najjar 1998
Nazareth	BC		+								Najjar and Najjar 1997
Nazareth	BC		+							*3 Vs.	Yavor 1998
Yafa (Japhia)	BC				+	+					Abu Uqsa 1998
Yafa (Japhia)	BC		+	+						*10 Vs.	Muqari 1999
e-Dir	Dm. and instal.								+		Gal and Hanna 2003
Dabburiye	BC		+	+						*14 Vs.	Aviam 2002
Dabburiye	2 Dm.		+			+			+		Gal and Satterfield 1996
Dabburiye	BC		+	+							Najjar 1997 ²
Iksal	BC		+	+	+	+	+			*3 Vs.	Muqari 2003
Period		Hell	ER	MR	LR	E BYZ	M BYZ	L BYZ	BYZ U.C		
Total		5	27	34	19	9	5	8	4		

BC=burial cave Ch.= church Cs.=cistern Dm.=domestic structure Ft.=fortification Sc.=scatters Vs.=vessels

Byz. U.C. In a number of excavations, the finds were defined as “Byzantine” in general. These have been noted as Byzantine Unclassified

The summary line of the table is represented in the following graph.



Graph 32: Periods represented in salvage excavations (Unclassified Byzantine sites have been divided equally among the sub-periods of the Byzantine era).

The picture that emerges from the salvage excavations is quite similar to the survey results (see graphs at the beginning of this chapter): sparse findings for the Hellenistic period, a sharp increase during the Early Roman period, and reaching a peak in the Middle Roman period. The documentation of the decline during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods is important. Each method separately portrays a similar picture of sharp decline around the fourth century followed by stabilization after the decline.

It is further interesting to note that most of the representation for the Middle and Late Byzantine periods in the salvage excavations comes from sites that, based on literary sources or remains of churches, are known to have been settled by Christians, or at least had some Christian population, during this period (Rama, Ḥorvat Qav, Migdal, Kafr Kanna, Daburiyeh and Iksal). Historical sources or archaeological data further indicate that all these sites were Jewish settlements during the Roman period (aside from Ḥorvat Qav, about which we know nothing prior to the Byzantine period).⁵² These changes – assuming that this was not a population that converted to Christianity⁵³ – suggest that these settlements did not continue smoothly into the Byzantine period either and probably suffered a break during the same period in which a crisis was documented for the rest of the area. This will be dealt with below.

Adjacent Regions and Cities: The documentation of the severe crisis in the late third and fourth centuries and of the few settlements remaining in the fifth–seventh centuries (see below) stands in sharp contrast to the commonly held view that all of Palestine, including the Galilee, enjoyed a period of prosperity during the late Roman and particularly the Byzantine periods.⁵⁴ In

⁵² See their entries in *TIR*. It is also interesting to note that evidence for the custom of burial in caves comes mainly from the Early and Middle Roman periods, decreases significantly during the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods, and disappears almost entirely afterwards. The only evidence from the Middle Byzantine period (from Iksal) comes from a cave that was quarried and in use for a lengthy period beforehand (see also: Faust and Safrai 2005: 149–150).

⁵³ A few reliable historical sources indicate conversion of Jews to Christianity in Byzantine Palestine, but as individuals rather than entire villages (Safrai 1998: 73–75). From the west of the empire, on the other hand, there are a number of reports of group conversions to Christianity, mainly of high status individuals from urban communities. See, for example, Schwartz 2001: 195–198.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Broshi 1979; Tsafirir 1996; Stemberger 2000: 159, 313–315; Schwartz 2001: 181–184, 203–214; Bar 2001²; Levine 2004; Bowersock 1998 (especially p. 44) and many others. This view is based mainly upon a count of sites on maps of the Survey of Israel, without regard for their size or character, and most important, without real data of the surveyor concerning the types of pottery representing each period and their quantities. In many cases, knowledge of the local pottery, which is the main raw material of the surveyor, does not permit classification of the finds, and thus we find, for example, numerous sites that are defined as “Roman-Byzantine” – a period of some 700 years! From the few works in which quantities were published, it emerges that chronological definitions were often based upon a few sherds only, raising serious doubts about the use of maps from the Israel Survey to create a historical-settlement picture. In order to emphasize this problem, we shall note that Bar (2002²) and Lapin (2001), who both made use of data from such surveys for areas adjacent to or overlapping our survey area, deduced that the Byzantine period (according to Lapin, the fourth century) was the high point of settlement in the region. Almost the complete opposite of what we have concluded here.

addition, these findings raise questions about the situation in nearby regions and cities. It is indeed conceivable that the crisis may have been unique to the eastern Lower Galilee, assuming for example, a demographic shift to nearby regions or to urban centers. It is worthwhile, therefore, to examine the situation in nearby regions and cities. However, drawing a comprehensive picture is problematic since most regional studies of the nearby areas have not provided the very basic data needed for such a picture.⁵⁵ Therefore, the focus will be on studies where extensive and detailed chronological data are available.

Lower Golan: This area of substantial Jewish population was recently surveyed systematically, employing many of the same methods used in our survey. Forty-five settlements from the Roman and Byzantine periods were documented and sampled.⁵⁶ The picture in this region is much more dynamic than that of eastern Lower Galilee, especially with respect to the Middle Roman period, during which a series of settlements were deserted while others were settled for the first time. However, between the early third and mid-fourth century, 15 settlements were deserted while only 3 new sites were settled.⁵⁷ It is questionable if this decrease in settlement can be interpreted as a result of the concentration of the population in large settlements, since there are no convincing data to support such an assumption. In addition, the survey results show that during the Byzantine period (mid-fourth century and onward) no new settlements were established in this area, except for one small farm.⁵⁸ It is worth noting that this reconstruction of settlement patterns in the Golan challenges the previous accepted view that there was a settlement gap in the region after the First Jewish Revolt and a wave of new settlement construction in the early fourth century

⁵⁵ Except for the survey of Upper Galilee (Frankel *et al.* 2001), none of the previous surveys throughout the Galilee have offered the essential information, *i.e.* a systematic presentation of the data. Due to the absence of the basic information concerning what pottery types represent (in the surveyor's eyes) what period and what quantity of datable pottery was collected (a "handful" of sherds? 10 sherds? 100 sherds?), it is impossible to evaluate a survey's reliability or the validity of its conclusions.

⁵⁶ Ben David 1999; 2005. An average of over 150 identified Hellenistic through Byzantine sherds were collected from each site.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 1999: 225, 241–244. The estimated sum of the areas of the deserted settlements is approx. 170 dunams, and of the new settlements, approx. 70 dunams. It is worth noting the large scale excavations conducted recently at et-Tell, on the western border of Lower Golan (identified by the excavators as Bethsaida). The last phase of occupation, as attested by the pottery and coinage, seems to be around the mid-third/early fourth centuries. See, Fortner 1995; Tessaro 1995; Kindler 1999. I would like to thank C. Savage, the expedition's ceramicist, for the information.

⁵⁸ Carved crosses in this small site (Kh. Daliyye) point to Christian inhabitants. See, Ben David 2005: 157.

(Ma'oz 1997). Unlike the new perception, based on a systematic examination of all settlement in the region, the previous view was not based on a systematic site-by-site study. Rather, it was apparently influenced by the monumental synagogues of the Golan, most of which probably date to the Byzantine period.

To conclude, although the settlement in Lower Golan seems to be more stable than in eastern Lower Galilee (a drop of only 30% in the number of settlements continuing into the late fourth/fifth centuries) the picture does not support the suggestion of large immigration into this area in the late Roman and Byzantine periods.⁵⁹ Indeed, it seems that Lower Golan itself experienced some demographic decrease at the same time as eastern Galilee.

*Eastern Upper Galilee:*⁶⁰ The eastern Upper Galilee was another area of Jewish settlement in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The Meiron Excavation team conducted research at several different sites, namely, Meiron, Kh. Shema', en-Nabratein and Gush Ḥalav. Most importantly, their excavations of relatively large residential areas at the first three sites, enabled a reconstruction of settlement history. Indeed, the findings from these three excavations have pointed to a severe decline during the Early Byzantine period. Meiron was gradually forsaken until it totally disappeared in the course of the late fourth/early fifth centuries (Meyers *et al.* 1981: 161). At Kh. Shema', residential areas were deserted early in the fifth century and the excavators are doubtful if the site continued to be occupied later in the Byzantine period (Meyers *et al.* 1976: 109, 112, 258, 260). Most interesting is the story of en-Nabratein, where excavations indicate the abandonment of the site in the mid-fourth century and a re-occupation some two centuries later.⁶¹ Only at Gush Ḥalav did the excavations (limited

⁵⁹ This was first suggested by Meyers *et al.* 1978: 22, and more recently by Bar 2005.

⁶⁰ The survey of Upper Galilee (Frankel *et al.* 2001) introduced an important innovation into the regional research of the Galilee, *i.e.*, a systematic presentation of the data. However, this survey (dealing with settlements from prehistoric times to the Ottoman period) is problematic when trying to gain a picture of specific periods since, at many of the sites, periods of occupation were determined on the basis of isolated sherds. For example, a simple count showed that the classification of 95 sites as "Roman" or "Byzantine" was based on 1–3 sherds representing those periods (see the pottery tables, *ibid.* pp. 83–89). As discussed in Chapter 4, a few sherds can be coincidental and can hardly be seen as representing a period of habitation. In addition, a group of Kefar Ḥananya types, common from the mid-third to late fourth centuries (one – KH1e – continues to the early fifth) was classified in the Upper Galilee survey exclusively as "Byzantine." This had serious implications for the interpretation, since this group (consisting of 16% of the total Byzantine pottery collection in that survey) was at many sites the major "Byzantine" representative and in some, the only one (see, for example, *ibid.*, sites 46 and 296 on pp. 14, 37). Thus, even a site that ceased to exist in the late third century can be classified in this survey as "Byzantine."

here to the synagogue alone) point to a continuation well into the fifth and sixth centuries.

Large sites with monumental synagogues in Lower Galilee were deserted in the later stages of the crisis. Hence, it may be assumed that in Upper Galilee as well, during a period when the number of large settlements with monumental synagogues decreased, the situation in farms and smaller villages was probably quite similar.

Although the picture from this region is limited, the available evidence suggests a considerable decrease in settlement. In any case, a substantial shift of population from the eastern Lower to Upper Galilee in the late Roman and Byzantine periods is not indicated.

Urban Centers: The strengthening of the urban centers of late Roman and Byzantine Palestine is a well known phenomenon⁶² and indeed, one could imagine a shift from the survey region to nearby Tiberias and Sepphoris, cities with dominant Jewish populations.⁶³ Many salvage excavations and a few initiated university excavations have been conducted in Tiberias in recent decades (for general overviews see, Hirschfeld 1993; Stacey 2004). However, producing an archaeological synthesis that will enable a comparison of the Roman city with

⁶¹ I would like to thank E.M. Meyers who shared information regarding this site. See Meyers and Meyers (forthcoming) and meanwhile, Meyers *et al.* 1982²: 35–54. As noted, the phenomenon of re-occupation of a few sites in the Middle Byzantine period was observed also in the Lower Galilee.

⁶² The best nearby and clear example is Beth-Shean which seems to have (roughly) doubled in size during the Byzantine period (Tsafrir and Foerster 1997: 99–105). However, the documentation for this expansion belongs mainly to the fifth and sixth centuries, i.e., after the crisis. Besides being an urban center with a largely gentile population, facts which can help explain the contrast to the survey area, no doubt the expansion of Beth-Shean is connected to its establishment as the capital of the new province of *Palaestina Secunda* probably in the early fifth century (*ibid.* 86). Likewise, the expansion of Jerusalem (Tsafrir 1999) and presumably of Caesarea (see, Raban And Holum 1996: map 3–4) belong mainly to the fifth–sixth centuries and are most likely connected to their sacred or provincial status. On the other hand, some extensively excavated urban centers have shown considerable signs of decline during the Byzantine period such as Paneas and Petra (Hartal 2003: 151, 301; Fiema 2002) and the general picture seems to show major differences from city to city and from region to region.

⁶³ On emigration from rural sites into urban centers in Byzantine period Palestine see, Stemberger 2000: 15. Based on rabbinic sources, Sperber claimed that during the crisis of the third century many villagers in Palestine fled to the cities. On the other hand, the fourth century in his view was a period of improvement, hence suggesting a movement back to rural settlements. See, Sperber 1978: 54–56, 64.

the Byzantine one is presently impossible, since the vast majority of these excavations have not yet been published.⁶⁴

Large sections of ancient Sepphoris have been excavated in the past 20 years and although most of the material has not yet been published, preliminary reports present a general picture. There is no doubt that this city flourished during both the Roman and Byzantine periods. We are focused here, however, on the question of whether there are indications of significant growth (mainly during the fourth century) that could suggest a shift of population from the nearby Jewish rural area, into the city. First, it is worth noting that the excavations revealed widespread destruction in Sepphoris itself in the mid-fourth century, a result of the severe earthquake of 363 CE. Later in the Byzantine period, the city was renewed and flourished but the archaeological findings point to a dramatic break in the mid-fourth century. Secondly, all the areas where Byzantine-period structures were uncovered revealed also a Roman-period layer beneath. There is no indication of an expansion of the Byzantine city further than the borders of the Roman city.⁶⁵ The upper city (acropolis), moreover, which was a densely populated area until the 363 CE earthquake, was apparently less inhabited thereafter and even this re-occupation included both residential and non-residential structures.⁶⁶ In addition, the evidence of an increasing presence of Christian population at Sepphoris from the late fourth/early fifth century and onward does not support the proposal of massive Jewish immigration to the city during that period.

⁶⁴ There is no doubt that the area of the city surrounded by the wall constructed in the 6th century was much larger than that of Roman Tiberias. But this wall, built by the Emperor Justinian I (527–565), surrounded the summit of Mount Berenice where an impressive pilgrimage center (including a church and structures identified as a hospice and a monastery), was built overlooking the city (Hirschfeld 2004: 75–134, 220–222). The city encircled by this wall included large portions of very steep slopes, unsuitable for building. In addition, in its southern part the Byzantine wall was attached to the free-standing Roman-period gate. Excavations in this area (inside the limits of the city-wall) revealed agricultural terraces, not domestic structures (Stacey 2004: 28). Also, from the many salvage excavations conducted lately in different parts of Tiberias, Byzantine findings are frequently absent and Early Arab period remains are stratified directly on top of a Roman layer (I thank Dr. M. Hartal for this information). Hence, the area encompassed by the Byzantine city-wall by itself cannot serve as proof for growth of the domestic area.

⁶⁵ For example, the Byzantine structures uncovered in the outlying areas of the lower city, the Nile Festival Building in the south and the synagogue in the north overlay Roman-period structures. See, Weiss and Talgam 2002: 55–90; Weiss 2005: 30–37. There are, however, indications from a few areas within these borders of the city for intensification of building during the Byzantine period (my thanks to Z. Weiss for this comment).

⁶⁶ See for example, Strange: 1992: 346–347. Weiss and Netzer 1991: 114–115, 121; idem 1996: 81; Hoglund and Meyers 1996: 42.

In conclusion, archaeological data indicate that a considerable demographic decline, mainly during the fourth century, was a process that also affected adjacent rural areas and was not limited to the region of eastern Lower Galilee (although it seems to have been more severe in that region). Nor do the data support an assumption of substantive growth in the Jewish population of Sepphoris during this period.⁶⁷

Since these areas were populated mainly by Jews, the possibility of attributing the decrease to ethnic issues, namely, Christianity's rise to power and its effect on the Jewish population, should be considered. This impression is strengthened by the data collected from the salvage excavations where most of the Middle and Late Byzantine findings came from Christian settlements. It should, however, be noted that Northern Golan, an area of Christian and pagan settlement, also experienced considerable decline during the Early Byzantine period. In a recent systematic survey, M. Hartal found that in comparison to 69 settlements occupied in this area during the Late Roman period, only 40 (58%) remained during the Byzantine period.⁶⁸

Discussion: Previous documentation of the decline of settlement in the Galilee came mainly from excavations at sites that had monumental synagogues.⁶⁹ At all of these sites, the crisis was dated from the mid-fourth to the early fifth century, and consequently, researchers dealing with the question focused

⁶⁷ The many ritual baths (miqva'ot) from the Roman period layers in the upper city point to Jewish inhabitants. On the other hand, the post-363 structures in this area contained several ostraca with Christian names and prayers and LRRW vessels with stamped crosses (see, Meyers and Meyers 1997: 532; Meyers forthcoming). The location of the Byzantine period synagogue and its uncommon plan and arrangement within the urban layout may indicate that the Jews were shoved to the margins of the city in this period. Later in the Byzantine period – probably in the late fifth or early sixth centuries – two churches were erected in the very center of the city (Weiss and Netzer 1996: 81–87). These emphasize Christian presence, and possibly reflect Christian dominance.

⁶⁸ Hartal 1999; 2003: 151, 301. Like the surveys of Lower Golan and eastern Lower Galilee, this survey was based on the collection of large samples of pottery from each site and was carried out by an archaeologist knowledgeable in Roman and Byzantine pottery. A decline in the Byzantine period is revealed in the preliminary reports of additional regions. Thus, in the western Jezreel Valley, a region that appears to have been partially, if not largely, inhabited by Christians during the Byzantine period, systematic shovel tests were conducted at several sites and the results indicated a significant decline during the Byzantine period (Portugali 1986: 18). A similar picture emerges from the survey in the area of Petra (Fiema 2002: 231–232; 2003: 38–58).

⁶⁹ Beth-She'arim (Avigad 1976: 3), Horvat 'Ammudim (Levine 1982: 10–11), Korazim (Yeivin 2000: 106), Kh. Shema' (Meyers *et al.* 1976: 6, 37–38, 81, 109), Meiron (Meyers *et al.* 1981: 160–161) and Nabratein (Meyers *et al.* 1982: 36, 43, 49–50). See summary in Adan-Baywitz 1993: 240–243.

mainly on events or processes from the mid-fourth century onward. Among the factors proposed for the decline were the Gallus Revolt, the earthquake of 363, political pressure in the wake of the Empire's and the region's Christianization, a rise in taxes, Christian attacks following the death of Julian the Apostate, a series of drought years, over-cultivation resulting in depletion of the land, or a combination of several of the above.⁷⁰

The new data point to the beginning of the decline in the late third century, continuing in the first half of the fourth, and peaking in the middle and up to the end of that century. This steady decline creates the impression that this was an ongoing process rather than due to any specific event. Its initial phases in the late third century and the beginning of the fourth, prior to the rise of Christianity, show, in my opinion, that the roots of the crisis are unrelated to the "Jewishness" of the area. At the same time, it is quite likely that the dramatic events of the mid-fourth century strengthened and hastened the process that had already started.

On the other hand, the fact that the survey area did not recover following the crisis and remained sparsely populated for the rest of the Byzantine period is apparently related to its Jewish population (see below).

Since the documentation of the decline shows it as an ongoing process that began in the late third century, it is reasonable to connect it with the crisis that swept the entire Empire during this period. This crisis is well known from historical sources, however, systematic archaeological data have until now come mainly from the west of the Empire, while the numerous sources from Palestine that mention this crisis have not been supported by systematic archaeological data until recent years.⁷¹ The continuation and worsening of the crisis during the fourth century arouses particular interest because that century has generally been understood as a period of recovery in Palestine. It should be noted, however, that a considerable portion of historical sources relating to the settlement crisis throughout the empire as well as sources on the crisis from Palestinian rabbinic literature date to the fourth century.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Geller-Natanson 1981; Meyers *et al.* 1981: 160–161; Mor 1989; Adan-Bayewitz 1993: 240–243; Safrai 1998: 83–128.

⁷¹ For documentation of the decline from surveys in the Western Empire, see, for example Hayes and Martini 1994: 71; Eliss 1998: 226–232; and lately, a broad overview and informative discussion of the West in Ward-Perkins 2005. For a discussion of the sources on the crisis in the Palestine, see Avi-Yonah 1976: 89–114; Sperber 1978; Levin 1982². Bar recently came out against the "concept of a crisis" in Palestine, and on the basis of data collected from excavations and surveys, claimed that the crisis was not felt at all in Palestine (Bar 2002; Bar 2002²: 177–187).

A.H.M. Jones attributed the dramatic decline in settlement and mass abandonment of lands first and foremost to the ever-increasing tax burden which often made working the land unprofitable.⁷²

This narrative, based exclusively on historical sources, has undergone a dramatic change in recent years, particularly in view of the extensive archaeological documentation of prosperity in the late Eastern Empire.⁷³ According to the new narrative, there is a great difference between the Western Empire, which was in decline, and the Eastern Empire, which continued to prosper for several hundred years. Numerous contemporary complaints concerning the difficult situation in the Eastern Empire should be regarded as subjective. The obsessive attention of Byzantine laws with abandoned lands – *agri deserti* – or prohibiting tenant farmers from leaving the land, should be seen more as fiscal changes than as evidence for the decline of settlement.⁷⁴

Ward-Perkins' recent synthesis, based upon extensive archaeological data and comparison between the different parts of the empire, serves as a basis for continuing this discussion.⁷⁵ First, it appears that most of the clearly dated archaeological material reflecting the prosperity of the late Eastern Empire (including the material from Palestine) belongs to the fifth and sixth centuries.⁷⁶ The situation in the East during the fourth century was not more stable than that in the West. It may have been even worse in view of the repeated invasions by Goths and Huns and the need to rely upon military aid from the West. However, the geographical conditions,⁷⁷ the quiet on the Persian border during the fifth century, the competent administration of Theodosius I (379–395) who was

⁷² Jones 1973. Many of the sources Jones relies upon are from the eastern provinces. Concerning a drastic increase in taxation in the fourth century, see for example, Jones 1974: 82–89. In addition to the increase in taxes Jones points to significant changes that took place in the system of taxation (some apparently during the reign of Diocletian). These include collection of a fixed tax regardless of the yield of a given year's agricultural crop, or the linkage of tax to units of land rather than individuals (boundary stones from the Hūlah Valley dated to the reign of Diocletian reflect the division into fiscal units and are related to these changes. See Millar 1993: 196). Abandoned or uncultivated lands were appropriated and sold to new owners. If buyers were not found, the owners of other lands in the same village or fiscal unit were made responsible for collection of the land tax. This code is probably reflected in the gradual abandonment of settlements in the survey area when, during the first phase, the small settlements were abandoned, followed by medium-sized ones and only toward the end of the crisis, the large sites. It is clear that the burden of tax collection that was re-divided following the abandonment of some of the inhabitants would have been more severe in a small settlement than in a larger one, where the burden was divided among more numerous inhabitants.

⁷³ See Cameron 1993. For the rural sector, see Foss 1995.

⁷⁴ See Goffart 1974; Garnsey Whittaker 1998.

⁷⁵ Ward-Perkins 2000; 2000²; 2005.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* See also Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Chavarría and Lewit 2004: 16. For Palestine, see Tsafirir 1996.

⁷⁷ The band of oceans separating Asia from Europe constituted a barrier protecting all of the wealthy provinces from Asia Minor to Egypt from invading tribes.

specially appointed caesar after the defeat in the battle with the Goths at Hadrianopolis (where two-thirds of the Eastern army was massacred), as well as considerable luck, brought the East a fate entirely different from that of the West during the remainder of the Byzantine period. The survival and renewed prosperity of the Eastern Empire from the fifth century on also resulted from the final and decisive break between the two halves of the empire at the end of the fourth century. Since, a large portion of the empire's income that funded the never-ending wars in the West during the third and fourth centuries arrived mainly from the wealthy provinces in the East, the final separation removed an enormous tax burden from its population, making renewed prosperity possible in the East.

Contrary to this model, many scholars paint a picture of prosperity in the East as a permanent feature – at least since the end of the crisis of the third century. However, the picture of the fourth century in large parts of the East is blurry and most of the archaeological surveys in the region do not distinguish between the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods (Ward-Perkins 2000²: 316). The advanced knowledge of local pottery in the current survey, which enables differentiating between Late Roman and Early Byzantine pottery and the fact that settlement at many sites did not recover during the fifth and sixth centuries seem to provide a unique window to the fourth century from which one may also learn about other regions in the East. In view of the scene that emerges, it indeed seems likely that the prosperity was not continuous and that the historical sources that suggest abandonment of lands and an extremely heavy tax burden during the fourth century should be taken seriously.

Here we should note that the famous law of the *colonatus* forbidding land tenants from leaving the land they were cultivating and which was understood by scholars as an attempt to halt the abandonment of lands, was explicitly applied in Palestine around 386 CE.⁷⁸ Cancellation of the *cessio bonorum* may also be related to this. This declaration, common earlier in the empire, enabled a debtor who relinquished his property (most likely – land), to be declared bankrupt and thus saved from physical punishment. However, in 385 a law explicitly relating to Palestine forbade the *cessio bonorum* (Dan 1976: 237). The picture that emerges both from the survey area and from excavations at various sites in the Galilee indicates a peak in abandonment during the second half of the fourth century. The enactment of these two laws in Palestine may have been an attempt

⁷⁸ In other regions, the law was already applied at the beginning of the fourth century and a number of assumptions concerning its explicit application in Palestine have been made. See Dan 1976: 235–244; Safrai 1998: 40–41; Bar 2005. Interestingly, the prohibition of people leaving the land may be reflected in a question preserved in the Genizah and originating, probably, from Byzantine Palestine. Jews forced to adopt Christianity ask how to divorce their wives living in a different province, as they themselves are not allowed to leave their land. See, Friedman 1981/82: 193–205.

to halt the mass abandonment of lands by peasants and landowners relinquishment of ownership in lieu of tax obligations. Also, comments by the church father Jerome, who lived in Palestine ca. 385–420, support this view of a harsh period during the late fourth–early fifth centuries. In his commentary on Isaiah (6:11–13) Jerome pointed out that the Jews remaining in Palestine were barely a tenth of their number in previous periods. Jerome also noted the impact the Hun invasion of Asia Minor and Syria in 395 CE had on the local population, though scholars disagree over whether this invasion did indeed reach Palestine (see, Newman 1997: 13–18). Another invasion, this time of the Isaurians, took place ca. 405–407 CE. Jerome explicitly mentioned harm to the Galilee as a result of this invasion (Letter 114, a, p. 394; see Newman *ibid.* 418–419).

Further support that prosperity in other regions of Palestine during the fifth–sixth centuries began only after a period of crisis is found in data from excavations in adjacent areas. At most sites where salvage excavations yielded Middle and Late Byzantine finds, clear evidence for Christian population during this period was found (generally, a church). Literary sources or archaeological finds indicate that *all* of these sites were settled by Jews during the Roman period (except for one, about which there is no prior information). Similarly, Z. Safrai collected data from various rural sites that had evidence of Jewish settlement during the Roman period and Christian settlement during the Byzantine period. Aside from those mentioned above, churches are also noted at Bethlehem of the Galilee and ‘Araba west of the survey area, and at Beth-Yerah and Sarona south of it (Safrai 1998: 79–80). Most of these churches are not precisely dated, but those that are, like most of the churches in rural Palestine, are dated to the second half of the fifth and particularly the sixth century (Di Segni 1999). It is difficult to assume that entire villages were converted to Christianity or that the Jewish hold continued at these sites alongside the new Christian population.⁷⁹ It appears that there was Christian settlement after Jewish habitation in these places had ended. A similar picture has been noted in recent years in the villages around Hippos/Sussita in the southern Golan (see Ben David 2005: 222–223; *ibid.* 2006: 220). Historical sources indicate that during the Roman period this area had a mixed population of Jews and gentiles. However, the absence of synagogues and the remains of churches and cross decorations at most of the sites in this region show that during the Byzantine period this area was settled mainly by Christians. Archaeological data from some Jewish sites indicate their abandonment during the third–fourth centuries.

The increase in the number of Christian settlements during the Byzantine period, some of which were established near or upon the abandoned sites, came mainly after the crisis of the fourth century and after the abandonment of many

⁷⁹ The villages in Palestine, at least from the fifth century onward, are characterized by clear religious segregation between Christian and Jewish villages (except for the exceptional cases of Capernaum and perhaps Nazareth, due to their sanctity in Christian tradition).

Jewish settlements. This picture strengthens Safrai's claim that the dwindling Jewish settlement and the growing Christian settlement in the region were two distinct processes, separate in time (Safrai 1998: 64–80).

The Misleading Impression of Monumental Buildings: The discovery of the many monumental synagogues in northern Israel dating to the late Roman/Byzantine periods has played a major role in the new perception viewing Palestinian Jewry as flourishing during the Byzantine era. "Flourishing" is a relative observation however, and we should ask ourselves: what is flourishing and in comparison to what?

First of all it is important to emphasize that monumental building at rural sites was mainly a phenomenon of the late Roman and particularly the Byzantine period in Palestine. This building activity (as well as religious symbols or dedicatory inscriptions common during this period) reflects motivations that emerged or strengthened during this period.⁸⁰ It does not necessarily reflect a demographic increase and obviously cannot be used as a parameter for obtaining a comparative picture of settlements in different periods. From the Middle Roman period for example, there is not even one monumental building in the eastern Galilee, though the number of settlements and their range peaked during that time. The tendency of researchers to concentrate on monumental buildings (often excavating only those buildings) led scholarly research to focus specifically on the settlements in which they were built, such as Capernaum.⁸¹ This and other settlements which continued into the Byzantine period, created an impression, or more properly – an illusion – that the entire region prospered during the Byzantine period. The systematic survey that examined the entire picture – settlement by settlement, clearly indicated that the settlements (and population) of the Byzantine period were less than half of that

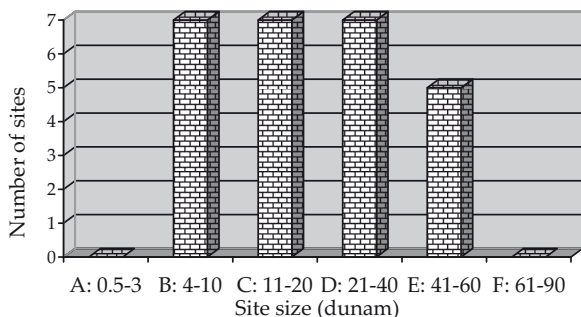
⁸⁰ The increase in synagogue building in Byzantine Palestine is seen lately as reflecting the efforts of the Jewish communities to demonstrate their religious identity in a period when Christianity was rising to power and churches were being built nearby (Levine 2004: 35). In addition, in light of the survey's results, it seems that most of these buildings were constructed after a period of a considerable decrease in Jewish population and against a background of the penetration of Christianity into areas of the Galilee previously populated by Jews. In the course of this process, the dominant Galilean Jewry of just a few generations earlier became a minority, which consisted of communities in a region undergoing Christianization. Hence, the building activity (and likewise other "visual" demonstrations) can perhaps be seen as a phenomenon characteristic of minority groups, trying to express vitality precisely because of their lack of power. On monumentality in the ancient world precisely as a mask for the lack of power, see Marcus 2003.

⁸¹ For example, Kh. Abu-Shusheh [26], deserted late in the fourth century, was a settlement of about the same size as Capernaum, located just a few kilometers away. However, like many other sites lacking monumental remains, it is actually unknown to most researchers dealing with Roman/Byzantine Galilee.

found in the region a few generations earlier, even though a synagogue was standing virtually in every inhabited settlement during that period.⁸²

Settlement Pattern and Distribution: During the Late Roman period, settlements (not including cave complexes) of Category A and many of Category B disappeared from the survey area. After this period the region is mainly characterized by medium and large nuclear villages. The sites of Category A or B that appear in the tables and maps of the Byzantine period were apparently not like farmsteads. Rather, they are settlements overlying the medium/large nuclear villages of earlier periods and, based upon the amount and distribution of pottery, appear to have preserved their character, though they were reduced in size. Thus, small settlements that probably did not have community institutions, existed through the Early and Middle Roman periods, however most ceased to exist during the Late Roman period. A similar phenomenon in the same time frame has been documented in the Jewish settlement area of the Lower Golan (Ben David 1999: 229–231). Hirschfeld (1997) noted the absence of farms and manors in the Jewish regions of Late Roman–Byzantine Palestine. The presence of farms in gentile areas indicates that their absence from Jewish areas is not related to security or agricultural considerations but to the need of the Jewish population for community institutions. This explanation seems reasonable. It should be noted, however, that documentation of the phenomenon in the eastern Galilee and the Lower Golan from mid-third and primarily fourth century, is much later than Hirschfeld's proposal that relates to the results of the First and Second Jewish Revolts. It appears more likely that the disappearance of farms is connected to the struggle for group identity and strengthening of the community dimension among the Jews of Palestine during the Late Roman and Byzantine periods (Schwartz 2001: 180; 2004: 351–352). Aside from the sociological explanation, the phenomenon should not be separated from the entire Roman East. Many surveys across this empire documented a process of abandonment of farms and hamlets (except monasteries) and concentration in nuclear villages during this period (see Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988).

⁸² The economic resources for funding these buildings will be discussed in Chapter 7. As will be shown below, the Middle Byzantine period seems to have been a time of relative stability. This may be reflected in the construction of many synagogues during this period in different parts of the country (after over a century of stagnation), see Levine 2005: 177. But again, monumentality, especially in religious buildings, does not necessarily reflect a general wealth but rather motivations or different priorities. See, for example, the wave of church constructions in Epirus (Greece) during a period of public impoverishment as reflecting a new agenda and elite (Bowden 2001). Likewise, the construction of impressive churches in Petra took place while major urban landmarks and large sections of the surrounding city lay, literally, in ruins, see Fiema 2002.



Graph 33: Size of sites (excluding cave complexes) of the Late Roman Period (ca. early fourth century). Total=26

Government and Administration: Diocletian's reform at the end of the third century included a re-division of the administrative boundaries and the borders between villages. However, unlike the nearby Ḥulah Valley and northern Golan where this new division is supported by the discovery of numerous boundary stones, up to now not even a single boundary stone has been found in the survey area. It is unclear how – if at all – this re-division affected the Galilee.

It appears that Tiberias and Sepphoris served as the only administrative centers in the Lower Galilee until the reign of Constantine when the city of Helenopolis (Ἑλενοπολις), with a separate domain that was taken in part from that of Sepphoris, was founded in the Tabor area (Avi-Yonah 1966: 123). This change, however, apparently did not affect settlement in the survey area, which was mainly under the administrative control of Tiberias and perhaps only its western part under control of Sepphoris.

Economy:

Olive Oil: No olive oil presses were found at any of the sites abandoned in the first and third centuries CE (a total of 9 sites). Among the sixteen sites abandoned during the fourth century, only at six or seven of the large ones (abandoned in the second half of that century) were oil-presses found. On the other hand, oil-presses were found in nearly all settlements that continued into the fifth and sixth centuries. The conclusion that mass production of oil in the region began only in the Byzantine period will be dealt with below.

Wine: Evidence for wine production, however, is found at both small sites of Categories A–B and at sites abandoned during earlier periods, including those abandoned during the first century CE. This could be due to the simplicity and relatively low cost of winepress installations in comparison to oil-presses which are concentrated in large settlements. This indicates the importance of viticulture in the region during the first centuries CE, as opposed to olives, which apparently became the main crop only at a later stage.

Ethnic Identity: The ethnic picture portrayed above for the Middle Roman period is also valid for the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. All the evidence, both literary and archaeological, indicates Jewish homogeneity in villages in the survey area without any evidence for gentile presence or settlement (see map 14).

Specific Historical Events – the Gallus Revolt of 351/2 CE: Aside from an unclear note by the Roman historian Sextus Aurelius Victor, which mentions a rebellion of Jews without noting the circumstances or location (*Liber De Caesaribus* 42: 9–12. See Stern 1974–84 vol. 2: 500), the first to explicitly mention a rebellion by the Jews of Palestine is Jerome in his additions to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, which he wrote while he was still at Constantinople in the 370s. Jerome does not mention the reason for the rebellion but notes that Sepphoris, Tiberias, Lod and numerous other Jewish cities were destroyed in this revolt (see: Geiger 1982: 202–208; Herr 1985: 65, 225).

Scholars are divided concerning the extent and even the occurrence of this rebellion. Some minimize its importance and believe it should be regarded only as a localized disturbance. M. Mor has proposed that the destruction Jerome attributed to this rebellion was in reality caused by the earthquake of 363. Others give weight to the rebellion and believe that it encompassed large parts of Palestine.⁸³ Based upon finds related to destruction in the mid-fourth century, B.G. Nathanson (1981: 161) noted that at least Sepphoris, Beth-She‘arim, Korazim, Meiron, Nabratein and Juḥder (in the Golan) suffered damage during this revolt. Waner and Safrai have proposed that several coin hoards from Jewish sites are evidence for this rebellion.⁸⁴ A severe earthquake in Palestine in 363 CE (Brock 1977; Russell 1980: 47–64) makes it difficult to utilize archaeological evidence of destruction layers from the mid-fourth century CE to demonstrate that a revolt took place. It should be noted that so far, archaeological excavations have not yielded unequivocal evidence of damage to Jewish settlements as a result of this rebellion. Moreover, at Sepphoris, which is the only settlement mentioned by all Christian chroniclers who relate to this revolt, the extensive damage of the mid-fourth century is dated by the excavators to the 363 CE earthquake on the basis of numerous Julian coins (361–363) that were found in the destruction layer. The excavators of Meiron and Nabratein, who

⁸³ Those who minimize its importance: Lieberman 1946: 329–370; Schäfer 1986: 184–201; Mor 1989. Those who maximize its importance: Avi-Yonah 1976: 176–181; Geiger 1982.

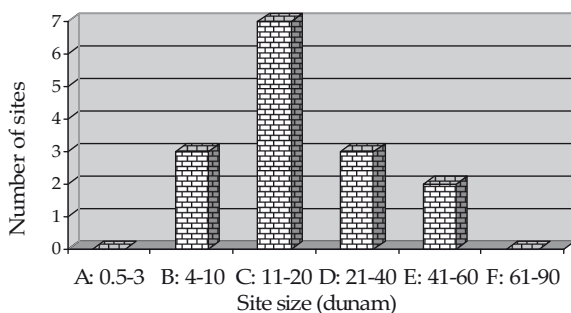
⁸⁴ Waner and Safrai (2001) note eight hoards related, in their opinion, to the Gallus Revolt and indicate its “Jewish” character. A cautious examination of these hoards by Bijovsky showed that only two of them (from Beth-She‘arim and Korazim) may be related to the period of the Gallus Revolt. The rest of the hoards are totally unrelated to the revolt and contained considerable quantities of later coins (Bijovsky 2007).

documented a severe crisis in the mid-fourth century, propose a number of possible explanations and date the archaeological break to 363 CE.⁸⁵

The 363 CE Earthquake: The 363 CE earthquake is documented archaeologically in the excavations at Sepphoris and a few other sites in Northern Israel (Balouka 1999). It appears that at least one survey site, Kh. Ḥamam, suffered as a result of this event, though a decline in this settlement is already evident during the Late Roman period, as documented by shovel testing. The earthquake may have quickened the process of abandonment at other sites with a similar pottery profile, though it appears that it was not the decisive event leading to such abandonment.

The Early Byzantine Period (350–450 CE)

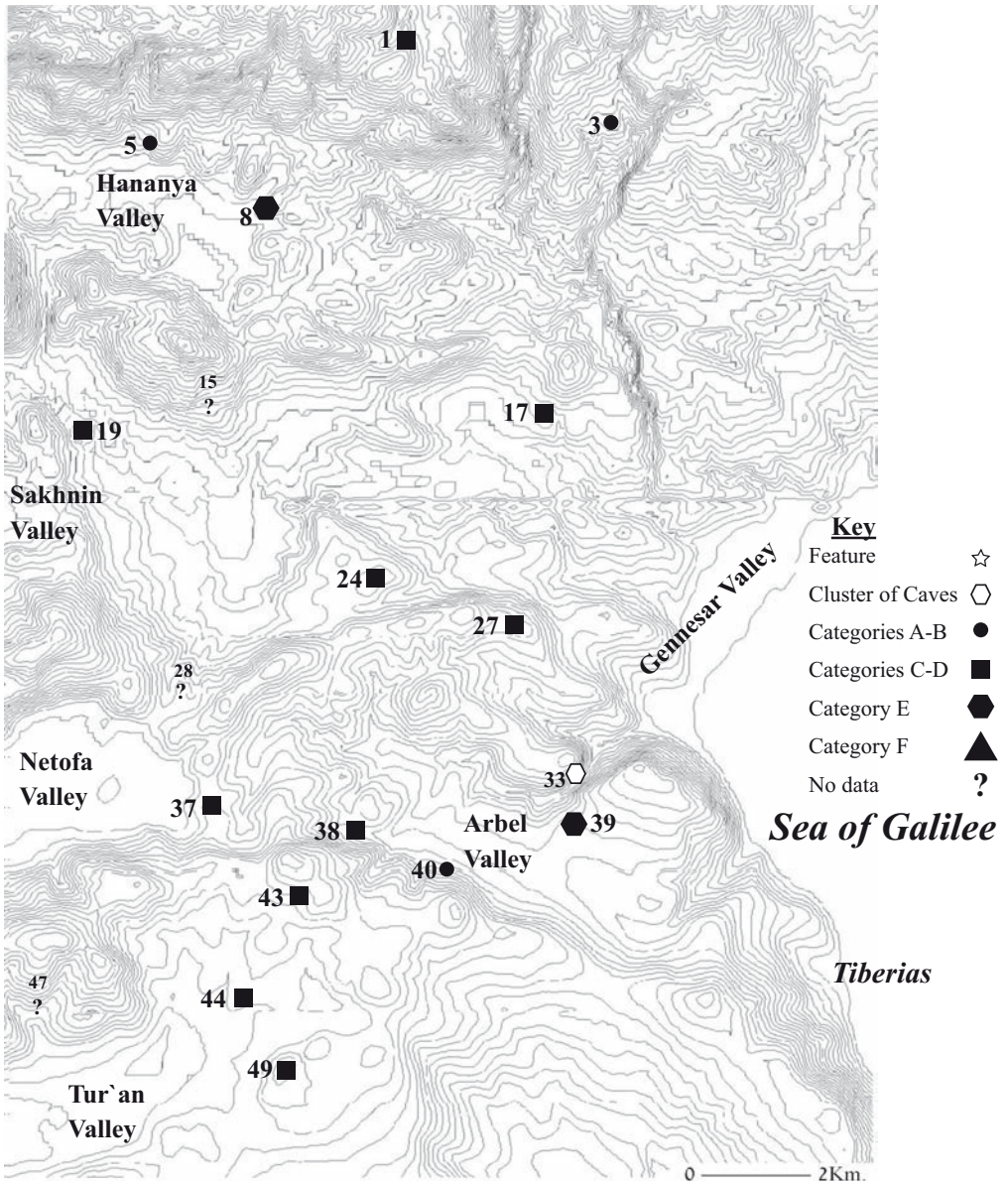
The beginning of this period (the second half of the fourth century) was examined together with the previous one. It appears that following the severe crises of the previous century, the first half of the fifth century CE was a period of stability. Based upon our analysis, settlements were not abandoned or settled during this period of time and there are no significant demographic variations.



Graph 34: Size of sites (excluding cave complexes) of the Early Byzantine period (ca. early fifth century). Total=15

Ethnicity (Throughout the Entire Byzantine Period): The data that emerge from archaeological finds and, even more, from literary sources, show that the area was an exclusively Jewish one with no gentile penetration in the rural sector until the mid-fourth century. The problem becomes more complex when we examine the period from the mid-fourth century onward. Literary sources from the Byzantine period that were edited in the Galilee, particularly early Palestinian *midrash*, are almost entirely lacking in information from the period when

⁸⁵ Sepphoris: Meyers *et al.* 1981: 158; 1982²: 36. For a comprehensive discussion on the absence of archaeological evidence for this revolt, see Bijovsky 2007.



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|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iya | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 17: The Early Byzantine Period (ca. early 5th c.)

they were edited and no firm historical information can be drawn from them concerning that period.

In the discussion on the Hellenistic period we presented sites where despite the continuity of pottery between the Hellenistic and Roman periods, ethnic change did occur. In light of this, we must ask if sites where no cessation of settlement was noted between the Roman and Byzantine periods remained Jewish.

Based upon the absence of Christian symbols (signs which are common at Christian sites of the Byzantine period in adjacent areas), together with the noted continuity of settlement, one may assume that Jews continued to live at such sites. On the other hand, at sites where there was a cessation of settlement, this assumption is not as well founded. At *Ḥ. 'Ammudim*, for example, there was a severe crisis and perhaps even a brief period of abandonment around the mid-fourth century during which the synagogue there was probably abandoned. It is likely that this also occurred at *Ḥ. Sabban*, which was also a large site (see Chapter 5). According to finds from the excavation, the synagogue at 'Ammudim remained in ruins despite the settlement itself recovering (or being resettled) after a generation or two. At *Ḥ. Sabban* no evidence for a monumental synagogue was found, unlike most of the settlements of the Byzantine period where remains of such structures were found. Thus, it is at least possible that there were no Jewish inhabitants at these sites during this period.⁸⁶ Similarly, following an approximately 200-year abandonment, limited settlement was renewed at *Nasr ed-Din* around the mid-fifth century and at *Kul'at esh-Shuneh* early in the sixth century (following an approximate 400-year abandonment). At these sites no monumental synagogues were constructed either, though this may be attributed to their limited size. Given the current state of research we are unable to determine the ethnicity of the Byzantine period inhabitants of all these settlements. A monastery complex was erected at *Migdal* at some phase of the Byzantine period (Corbo 1976; 1978). As noted in Chapter 5, caves in the cliffs of *Wadi Arbel* may have been settled by Christian monks affiliated with that monastery during the Late Byzantine period. This Christian presence, related to the sanctity of *Migdal* in Christian tradition, cannot shed light on whether there was Christian settlement in ordinary villages of the survey area.

In contrast to archaeological evidence in the form of synagogue remains that attest to Jewish presence at most of the settlements that remained in existence during the Byzantine period, we have no archaeological or literary evidence for Christian settlement in the survey area except from *Migdal*. It appears that the

⁸⁶ At nearby *Kh. Qana* in the *Beth Netofa Valley*, Edwards (2002) proposes that the Jewish site became a place of Christian pilgrimage during the course of the Byzantine period, with a monastery complex. It is possible that also at this site there was a break between the Roman and Byzantine periods. It should, nonetheless, be noted that there is a difference between ordinary settlements and this site which, according to Edwards, was identified by Christians as *Cana* of the New Testament, hence attracting Christian presence.

Christian presence in the surrounding region included: churches constructed at Tiberias beginning around the late-fourth century; a Christian community in that city, the existence of which we first hear of at the beginning of the fifth century (Tsafrir 1966: 81–85 and n. 41); and monasteries and churches located at sites holy to Christianity along the shores of the Sea of Galilee – Migdal, Tabḥa and Capernaum. Remains of Byzantine churches at rural sites that are not holy places in Christian tradition were found south and west of the survey area.⁸⁷ These indicate penetration of Christian population into areas that were settled by Jews during the Roman period. We shall deal with this below.

It seems that even in the later periods of the Byzantine era, the survey area remained an enclave of homogeneous Jewish rural settlement in the Lower Galilee. This enclave was surrounded on the south, west and east by areas with large Christian presence, but remained geographically connected to the Ramat Korazim, eastern Upper Galilee and the Lower Golan regions in which homogeneous Jewish rural settlement continued (see maps showing the distribution of synagogues and churches, *TIR* maps 4–5).

Government and Administration: The division of Palestine into two parts (around 358 CE) did not influence the area in question. However, a further subdivision (around 400 CE) in which the Galilee, the Golan and northern Transjordan were subordinated to a new province called Palaestina Secunda (*TIR*: 16), was certainly felt in the region, particularly in view of the establishment of the capital of the province at nearby Scythopolis, and the subjugation of Tiberias and Sepphoris to this gentile city. The administrative affiliation of the survey area did not change and it remained under the control of Tiberias with perhaps only its western margins affiliated with Sepphoris.

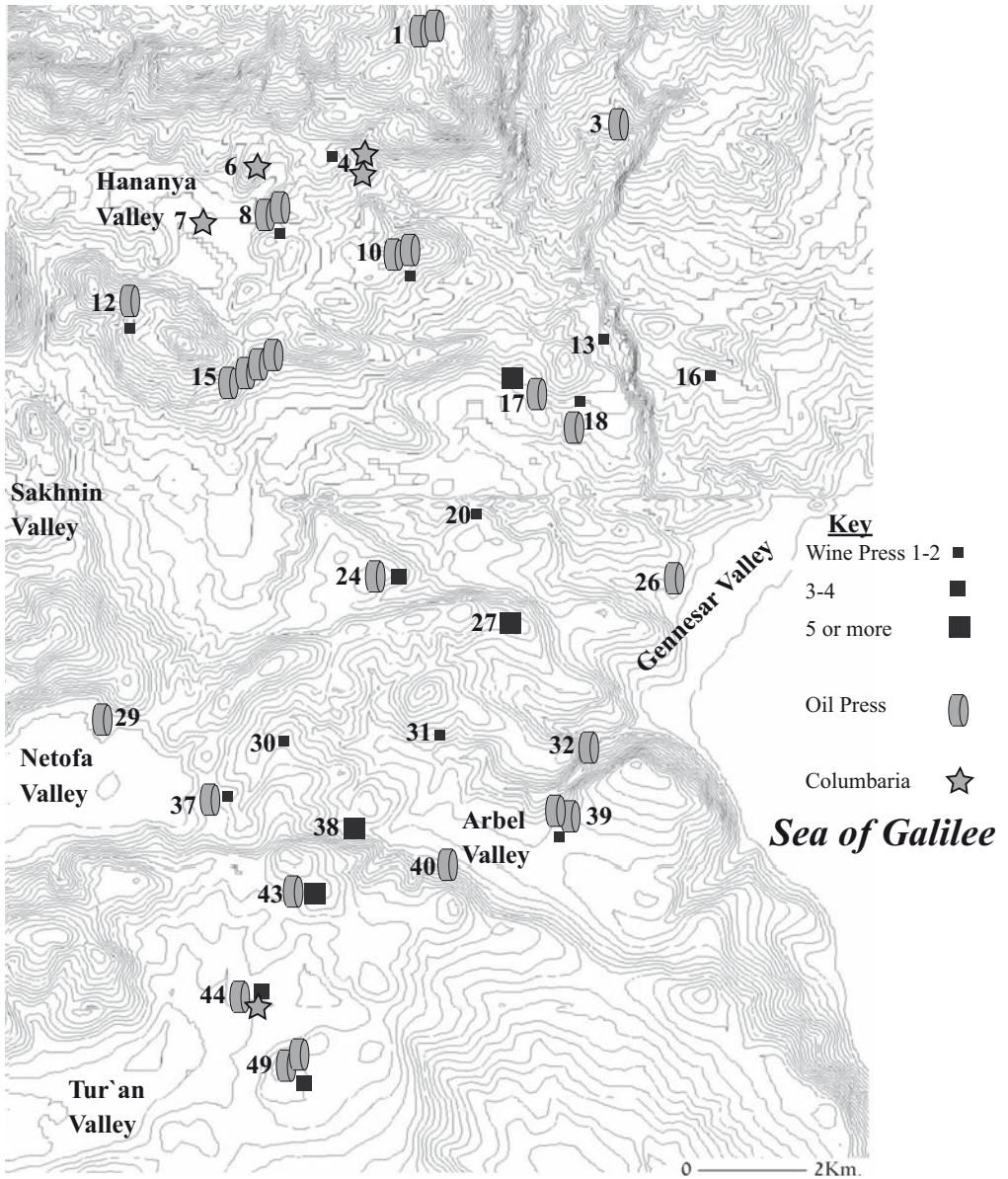
A list of the Christian bishoprics provides a good picture of the main cities in the area since the Christian hierarchical division overlapped the civil districts of the empire (Avi-Yonah 1951: 74). From these lists it appears that the strength of Tiberias and Sepphoris as the main cities of the Lower Galilee weakened, for aside from these cities, bishoprics are also mentioned in Helenopolis (apparently in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor),⁸⁸ Na'im (Nin), Dabaritta and at Maximinopolis.

Economy (Throughout the Entire Byzantine Period):

Olive oil: No olive oil installations were found at any sites abandoned during the first–third centuries CE. Among the sixteen sites abandoned in the course of the fourth century, only six or seven of those abandoned in the second half of

⁸⁷ For example: Beth-Yerah (Delougaz and Haines 1960), Sarona (Ilan 1991: 168) and Kafr Kama (Saarisalo and Palva 1964) to the south, al-Bo'eina (Ovadia 1984: 131), 'Araba (Tzaferis 1971: 242) and Rameh (Tzaferis 1972: 7) to the west. See also *TIR* map 5.

⁸⁸ Accepted proposals for the identification are Kefar Kama or Dabburiye. See *TIR* 142.



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|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iyā | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Ḥamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 18: Agricultural Installations in the Region

that century had olive-oil installations – Bellaneh [10], Ḥazon [12], Sheikh Nashi [18], Abu-Shusheh [26], Netofa [29], Ḥamam [32], and perhaps Migdal [34]. It should be noted that the last four are relatively large settlements (Categories C–E), and the installation at Sheikh Nashi (Category B) probably also served nearby Ḥuqoq and therefore belonged to a large settlement concentration. Oil presses were found at most of the sites that continued into the fifth–sixth centuries (11 of 15 sites, see map 18). It is noteworthy that oil presses were found at all of the monumental synagogue sites in the survey area, except for Zalmun.⁸⁹ Two main conclusions emerge from these data:

- A. Olive oil production or at least installations for crushing and pressing, were concentrated in large settlements. If olives were also grown in small rural settlements (which may reasonably be assumed) it appears that the farmer would use the oil press of a nearby large settlement. This may be echoed by the tradition in the Y dealing with the fee charged by oil-press owners at ‘Akbara from farmers who came to produce oil there (see Chapter 5: ‘Akbara).
- B. Since all of the Late Roman/Byzantine sites are ones that remained in existence from the Early and Middle Roman periods, it is possible that at least some of the oil presses there are pre-fourth century. Still, the fact that there is not even a single oil press at any of the sites abandoned up to the beginning of the fourth century is of considerable weight. It seems that extensive olive oil production in the region, documented in the past (Frankel 1984; Aviam 2004: 51–58), began not earlier than the fourth century.

Similar but less vague chronological results were obtained from the nearby area of the Lower Golan, where numerous oil presses were found in Byzantine settlements founded only during the third century (Ben David 2006: 206–209. See also Ben David 1998). Both eastern Galilee and Lower Golan surveys present documentation of a large rural area where, around the fourth century, extensive production of olive oil began. This, according to Ben David’s calculations (*ibid.*), far exceeded the local demand.⁹⁰

The reasons for this change in farming are not clear and several hypotheses may be proposed. First, two processes that occurred simultaneously in the fourth century should be noted. On the one hand, there was a sharp decline in settlements and demography, undoubtedly accompanied by widespread

⁸⁹ Thus, absence could be a result of intensive theft of stones that the site has experienced in recent years.

⁹⁰ Olive oil was, of course, produced in the region prior to this, as emerges from the testimony of Josephus and rabbinic tradition. It appears, however, that this production was aimed mainly at local consumption while from the fourth century, production began aimed at external markets. In the large settlements of Yodefata and Gamla for example, only one and two oil presses were found (respectively), pointing to modest oil production during the first century. On the other hand, many Byzantine-period settlements in the Golan, even relatively small ones, yielded 4–6 oil presses (Ben David, *ibid.*).

abandonment of agricultural lands.⁹¹ On the other hand, there is evidence for the beginning of intensification of olive oil production and evidence for the development of trade connections with distant regions. Extensive evidence for these connections comes in the form of the rich finds of LRRW pottery, which from approximately the mid-fourth century became common in the region, after some 300 years during which imported vessels were entirely absent there. Pottery vessels were a rather insignificant factor in the ancient economy. Their importance lies in their preservation, the ability to date them and the indication they provide of the level of trade in their period. If pottery vessels were transported as a commodity for hundreds if not thousands of miles, it is likely that goods of high value such as oil were transported for great distances as well (Ward-Perkins 2000). Studies in other parts of the Mediterranean basin have shown a strong link between marketing of surpluses to external markets and the presence of imported vessels during this period. Consequently, it has been proposed that these vessels accompanied the main cargo or were cargo returning on empty ships (see, for example Hitchner 1993; Fentress *et al.* 2004). This is probably the means by which imported vessels penetrated our area. The network involved in exporting products from the region, brought in these vessels on their return voyage. If this hypothesis is correct, it seems that local olive oil was marketed to Mediterranean ports in the west, from whence these imported pottery vessels clearly arrived to our area. It is tempting in this context to point to the decline of the large oil production centers in the western Mediterranean, in Spain around the end of the second century and in Tripolitania and perhaps in other parts of North Africa at the end of the third or in the fourth century (Mattingly 1988; 1988². See also Mattingly and Hitchner 1995; Ward-Perkins 2000: 357). The problem with this hypothesis is that the evidence is not sufficient, meaning that we have documentation for mass production of olive oil and for the presence of imported vessels in our region. However, at present we have no documentation concerning jars from the eastern Galilee or Lower Golan appearing at sites in the Mediterranean region, or even in the Galilee coastal cities, that could indicate the exportation of olive oil to distant regions.⁹²

⁹¹ An analytical palynological study by researchers from the University of South Florida should be noted in this context. Samples from Middle Roman and Byzantine period levels of two excavated areas at the upper city of Sepphoris indicated a clear decline in the agricultural vegetation and a rise in wild vegetation during the Byzantine period, in comparison to the findings for the Roman period. See Longstaff and Hussey 1997.

⁹² Jars typologically similar to the Late Roman/Byzantine Galilean jars are referred to by Kingsley as LR5, and were found at numerous sites throughout the Mediterranean and in Egypt. According to Kingsley, these arrived as containers in which products from Provincia Palaestina (primarily wine) were marketed (Kingsley 2001). At present there is no proof (to the best of my knowledge) that the source of these jars was indeed Palestine. As Kingsley notes (*ibid.*, p. 57, note 73), typologically identical jars were produced at numerous sites along the Nile (in his view, as imitations of the Palestinian jars).

The distribution of LRRW in the area may be related to the foundation of Constantinople at 330 CE. From that time on, the African *Anona Civica* which was a tax in kind, was sent to Constantinople, where the empire supplied wheat and oil to the masses (as in Rome). According to this hypothesis, the ships that traveled from Africa to Constantinople with agricultural products were loaded, mainly on the return route, with products traded in ports along the way (Kingsley and Decker 2001). This assumption alone does not explain the penetration of LRRW far from the coast and deep into the Galilee and the Golan. This penetration seems to be connected to the transportation system exporting oil or other goods from the hinterland to the coast. It is also probable that collection of taxes in the form of products rather than money, which began during the late third century (Hopkins 1980: 120), and the search for economic alternatives against the background of the ever-growing tax burden during the fourth century, led to the increase of oil production and, consequently, to the penetration of the LRRW.

An alternate hypothesis is that reduction of tariffs on goods transported between provinces (a result of Diocletian's reform? Constantine's reform?) resulted in increased exports. There are very few historical sources dealing with tariffs from the empire as a whole throughout its existence. Documentation from various regions and possibly regarding diverse products from the first–third centuries, show huge differences in tariff rates, ranging from 2.5% to 25%. Ben-Efraim and Hartal have shown that the provincial boundary between Syria-Phoenicia and Palestine in the Golan was also a clear boundary for the distribution of pottery from production centers on both sides of the border during the Roman period. Hartal convincingly maintains that the most reasonable explanation for this boundary is transit tariffs for which pottery vessels were liable (Ben-Efraim 2002; Hartal 2005: 264–273). Sources from the beginning of the fourth century reveal changes in tariff regulations, such as a full exemption for importing agricultural implements (Corbier 2005: 370). It is possible that changes or reductions in tariffs were broader. However, in the absence of clear sources, the only thing that can confidently be said is that there is little evidence for trade with the exterior from the first to the third century CE (the absence of imported vessels). In contrast to this, from approximately the mid-fourth century onward there is an abundance of imported vessels⁹³ and intensification of olive oil production, apparently for export.

⁹³ The sudden penetration of imported vessels during precisely that period was also noticed in surveys and excavations in Cyprus. See Lund 1993; Given and Knapp 2003: 280–281.

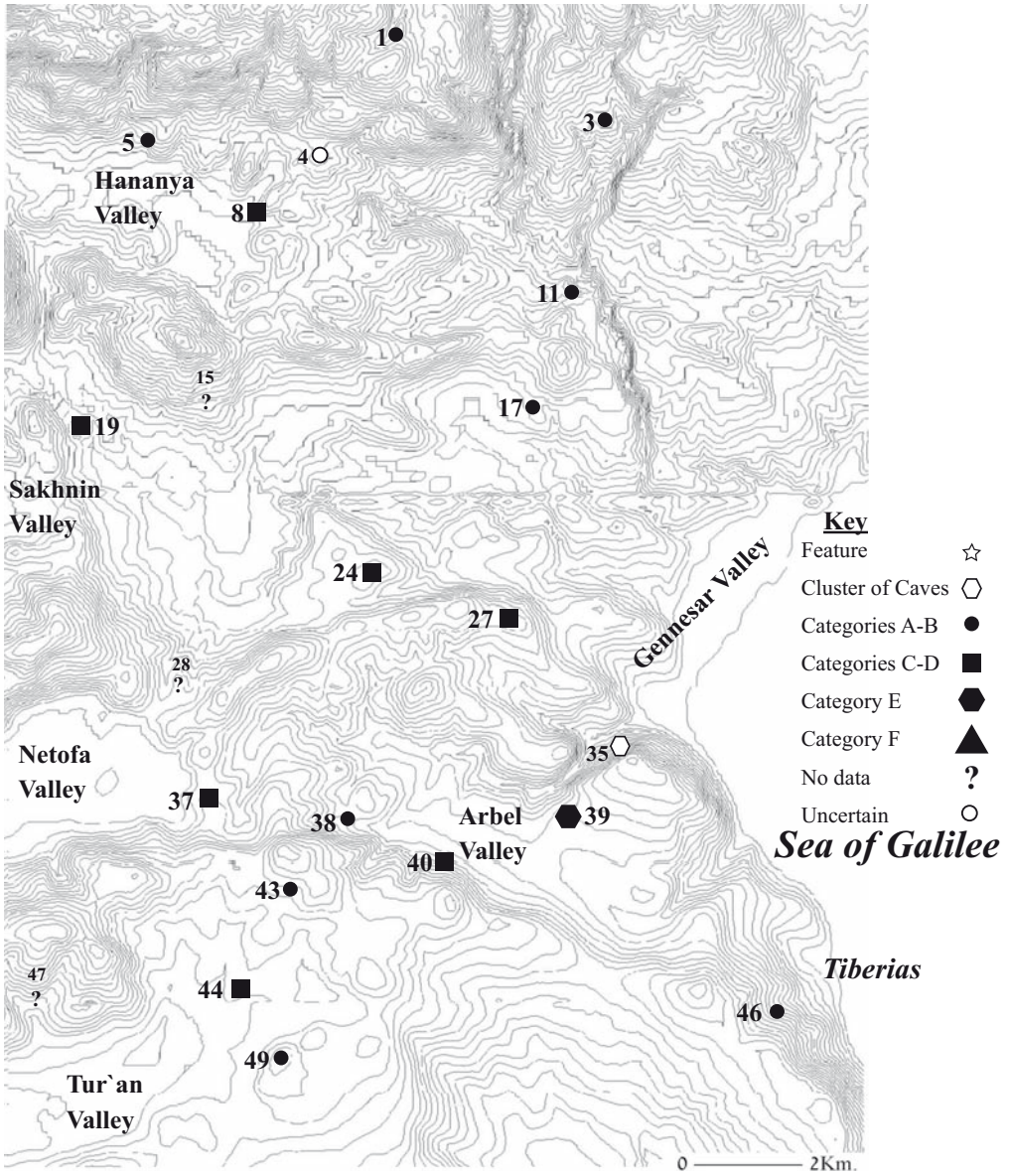
The Middle Byzantine Period (450–550 CE)

The Number and Character of Settlements: In the first half of the fifth century there were 15 settlements in the survey area (excluding cave complexes and the Migdal monastery). In the course of the fifth century, the small site of H. Kefir [5] was abandoned, while in the second half of the same century or in the early sixth, limited settlement was renewed at Nasr ed-Din [46]. It should be noted that in the first half of the sixth century the large complex of the Anchor Church was constructed approximately 1 km. south of Nasr ed-Din and that the wall of Tiberias was erected at the foot of that site (Hirschfeld 2004). It is difficult, however, to attribute renewal of settlement at the site to those projects. At Kul‘at esh-Shuneh, which had lain desolate since its abandonment in the first century CE, settlement was also renewed around the early sixth century.⁹⁴ It should be noted that also at Beth-She‘arim, which the first excavators viewed as a poor settlement during the Byzantine period (Avigad 1976: 3), remains of buildings and mosaics belonging to the sixth century have recently been uncovered (Vitto 1996). These perhaps attest to some degree of renewed settlement and prosperity at the site. The relatively extensive excavations at Nabratein also indicated abandonment in the mid-fourth century and renewed settlement at the site during the sixth century (Meyers and Meyers forthcoming; Meyers *et al.* 1982²: 35–54). Despite this evidence being at somewhat remote geographical settlements, taken together, it creates a picture of renewed settlement around the late fifth/early sixth century at sites that had been abandoned. It should be emphasized that the extent of this phenomenon in the survey area is very limited, both in terms of the number of sites where one can suggest renewal and in terms of pottery, which is extremely limited and apparently attests to a very sparse re-settlement.

The number of settlements in the area at the beginning of the sixth century thus stands at sixteen. During the first half of the sixth century el-Khirbeh [49], el-Ma‘aser [38] and probably also ‘Akbara west [3] were apparently abandoned and the settlement in the region declined to the lowest level ever (see below).

Except for the resettled sites which were limited in number and of unclear significance, the other sites settled during this period were medium- or large-sized (Categories B–E). Small rural sites in the agricultural area are absent, and other than Arbel (Category E), very large villages that characterized the Roman period are likewise absent. It should be noted that Category B and C sites that were settled during this period were neither farms nor large manor houses, for the vast majority were situated in the large nuclear villages of the previous periods. It appears that these sites maintained their character, but were reduced in area. In addition, there are remains of monumental synagogues in nearly all of

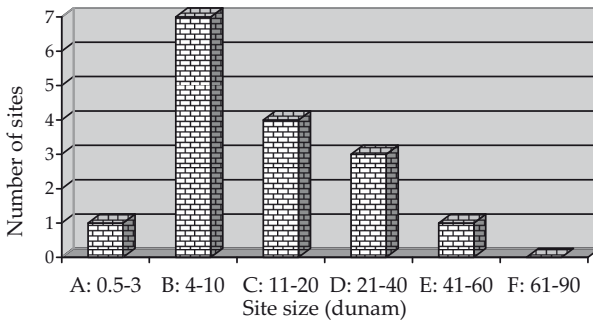
⁹⁴ This may also be the case at Parod, though the small quantity of Byzantine pottery from this site (six Byzantine sherds vs. 125 Roman sherds) does not allow a definite conclusion.



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| 1. Sammu'iya | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 19: The Middle Byzantine Period (ca. early 6th c.)

the settlements during this period – a phenomenon that will be dealt with in Chapter 7.



Graph 35: Size of sites (excluding cave complexes) of the Middle Byzantine period (ca. early sixth century). Total=16

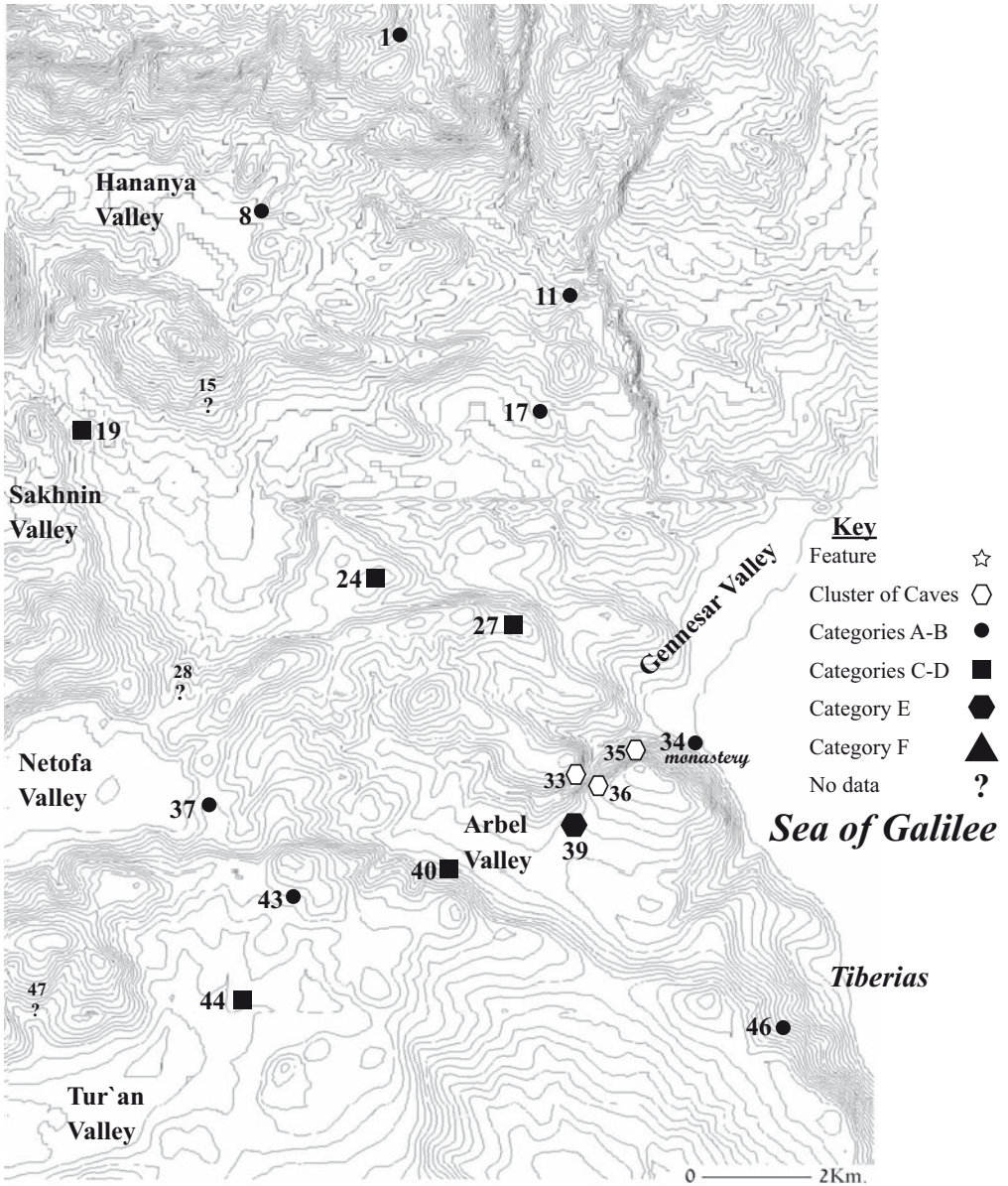
Settlement Pattern and Distribution: The common denominator of most of the sites that remained is their location at the periphery of valleys or in regions with extensive areas suitable for cultivation. Exceptions are Sammu'iya [1] and 'Akbara [3], which have no such areas nearby. Security problems do not appear to have troubled the inhabitants, as settlement continued at sites lacking natural fortification.

Demography: On a settled area estimated at between 177 and 336 dunams, the number of inhabitants was between 2,832 according to the minimal estimate (177×16 individuals per dunam) and 12,810 according to a maximal (336×35 individuals per dunam). Taking the averages for area and population and multiplying them (256 dunams by 26 individuals per dunam), the result is 6,656 individuals.

The Late Byzantine Period (550–650 CE)

During the first half of the sixth century, el-Khirbeh [49], el-Ma'aser [38] and probably 'Akbara west [3] were abandoned. The Late Byzantine period had the lowest number of settlements of all the periods in the study, with only 13 settlements in addition to the monastery at Migdal. As in the preceding period, most of the settlements were built on large villages of the Roman period (such as Kefar Hananya, Mimlah, 'Ammudim, Arbel and Mashkanah) and even if their area decreased during the period in question, they remained nuclear villages. This period also witnessed an increase in activity in the cave complexes in Wadi Arbel, possibly related to Christian monastic activity.

The only criterion according to which we were able to classify sites to this period was finds of LRRW types dated to this phase. The question arises



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|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sammu'iya | 10. Kh. Bellaneh | 19. H. Zalmon | 28. Ailbun | 37. H. Ammudim | 46. Nasr ed-Din |
| 2. Mizpe Yamim | 11. Kul'at Shuneh | 20. H. Ravid | 29. H. Beth Netofa | 38. el-Ma'aser | 47. Tur'an |
| 3. Akbara | 12. Hazon | 21. Kh. Luziah | 30. Kh. Es'ad | 39. H. Arbel | 48. Lubieh |
| 4. Parod | 13. W. Amud Site | 22. Livnim | 31. H. Mizga | 40. Hittin | 49. el-Khirbeh |
| 5. H. Kefir | 14. W. Amud Cav. | 23. Ein Najmiah | 32. Kh. Hamam | 41. Kh. el 'Aiteh | 50. 'Oodaysa |
| 6. Be'er Sheva' | 15. Maghar | 24. H. Mimlah | 33. H. Nitai Caves | 42. Kh. 'Eika | |
| 7. Zeitun er-Rama | 16. Kahal | 25. Hararit | 34. Migdal | 43. Nimrin | |
| 8. Kefar Hananya | 17. Huqoq | 26. Abu Shusheh | 35. Kul'at Ibn Man | 44. H. Mashkanah | |
| 9. Ein Camonim | 18. Sheikh Nashi | 27. H. Sabban | 36. Arbel Cav. W. | 45. Tel Ma'on | |

Map 20: The Late Byzantine Period (ca. early 7th c.)

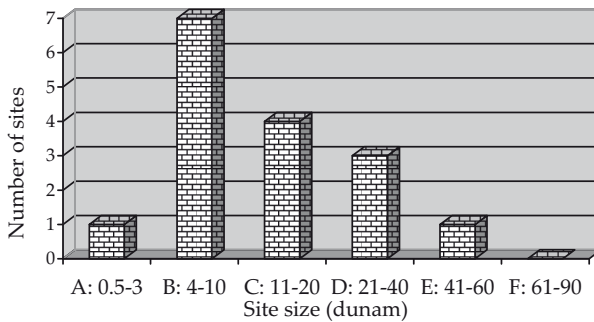
whether the absence of such types necessarily proves a site was uninhabited at the time, a question Ben David dealt with regarding his finds in the Golan (Ben David 2005: 195). Alternatively, the absence of these types may be attributed either to Jews intentionally avoiding imported vessels or to changes in the trade routes of this pottery. The appearance of these types at Jewish sites in the Golan, where the dating of synagogues proves that the population during this period was Jewish, as well as at sites in the Galilee such as Arbel, which to the best of our knowledge were also Jewish during this period contradicts the possibility that Jews avoided using imported vessels during this period. In addition, examination of the distribution of LRRW (map 15), clearly shows that the Late Byzantine LRRW are found throughout the survey area – including small settlements in remote mountainous areas and even in cave complexes located in cliffs. Therefore, it does not appear to have been a question of changes in marketing routes or that such imported vessels were found only in large settlements or ones with a population of a certain economic profile. Similar to Ben David's conclusion (*ibid.*), the paucity of sites with these types of pottery indeed seems to attest to a decline in settlement during this period.

The view that the decline of settlement in the area began during the Byzantine period, and not as late as the Arab conquest as was previously thought, is dealt with in studies concerning the western and northern Golan regions and the western Galilee where a decline in settlement is already documented during the Byzantine period (Frankel and Getzov 1996: 36; Ben David 2005: 195; Hartal 2003: 301). The data from the current survey show that, at least in this area, the sharp decline in settlement occurred mainly during the fourth century, with a further but less significant decline at the end of the Byzantine period. Evidence for considerable Jewish presence in the area at the end of the Byzantine period emerges from the fact that the Emperor Heraclius made a treaty with the Jews of Tiberias during his campaign to re-conquer Palestine from the Persians in 629 CE (Baras 1982: 343). Aside from this isolated report from the end of the Byzantine period, historical sources dealing with the region and its settlements and the social and political circumstances of its inhabitants are almost entirely absent. Without archaeological documentation, it is difficult to obtain a historical picture of the region during this period. The Early Islamic period is beyond the boundaries of our discussion here, though it should be noted that Early Islamic period pottery, sometimes in significant amounts, was found in at least half of the Late Byzantine period sites. Hence, settlement in the area certainly continued during that period.

Demography: On a settled area estimated at between 143 and 275 dunams, the number of inhabitants would be between 2,288 according to the minimal estimate (143×16 individuals per dunam) and 9,625 according to the maximal (275×35 individuals per dunam). Taking the averages of these estimates for area

and population and multiplying them (20 dunams by 26 individuals per dunam), the result is 5,434 individuals.

Settlement Pattern and Distribution: Settlement patterns of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods were maintained during this period. Characteristic of most of the settlements is their location at the periphery of valleys or in regions with extensive flat areas suitable for cultivation. The sites are situated more or less uniformly across the area. In addition, most of the settlements are not located at topographically “strategic” points and are not fortified. The inhabitants do not appear to have been concerned with security considerations.



Graph 36: Size of sites (excluding cave complexes) of the Late Byzantine period (ca. early seventh century)
Total=14

Chapter 7

Additional Topics Concerning the History of the Region during the Roman and Byzantine Periods

Toponymy

The study of the changes in place names over the generations is a field of great geographical-historical importance and rules of transcription and substitution of letters and vowels in different languages have been discussed by Aharoni (1966: 94–117) and more recently, by Elitzur (2004). Beyond the proposed identifications that arise from the toponymic study of the preservation of names, its main geographical-historical importance is in providing an indication of settlement continuity or lack thereof at a given site or region (Elitzur 1993: 2–11). Aside from gathering literary references to names of settlements from historical sources for the periods being studied, an effort was made to gather the names of places as they appear in Cairo Geniza documents, in Crusader period documents, in travel literature, in Ottoman censuses, in works of nineteenth century explorers, and on modern maps. Most of this work was done by Grootkerk (2000) in his study of Galilean place names.

Under the column *Name* in the following table the site names are presented as they appear in the *SWP* maps. The few sites not mentioned in the *SWP* are presented according to their names in Guérin (1868–80), in *Yalkut ha-pirsumim* (the Official Gazette of the IAA) or in the maps of the Survey of Israel. Sites that do not occur in these sources were named after a geographical feature or a nearby settlement and are marked with an asterisk.

In the column *Ottoman Census* names of sites appearing in *defterler* of sixteenth century Ottoman tax authorities are presented in English transliteration based on the studies of Rhode (1979) or Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (1977). The great importance of these *defterler*, preserved in Ottoman archives in Istanbul and Ankara, lies in the fact that they contain a systematic listing of fiscal units that owed tax. Aside from settlements, they document agricultural plots and installations and khans that sometimes preserved the names of earlier settlements located there or nearby. Rhode's work relies upon six censuses conducted between the years 1525 and 1596. There are sometimes minor changes both in the spelling of settlement names from one census to the other, as well as between Rhode's work and that of Hütteroth and Abdulfattah. The latter work is

based upon one census conducted in the first half of the sixteenth century and does not include the names of agricultural plots and installations.

Under the column for the *Middle Ages* are names mentioned in: Geniza documents; Muslim geographers; traveler and pilgrim literature as well as the Crusader names, taken partly from Prawer (Prawer 1971; Prawer and Benvenisti 1972) and mainly from O. H. Schmidt's gazetteer (1970), which, in turn, is largely based upon the research of G. Beyer (1945).

The next column contains names (in their most common form) appearing in *Rabbinic Literature* as well as in the list of Priestly Courses and in Byzantine period *piyyutim* based upon that list.

In the next column are names from the *Second Temple Period* in their Greek form as presented in the works of Josephus Flavius (sometimes in genitive rather than nominative), as well as one name mentioned in the New Testament.

The sixth column presents *Biblical Names*.

The last column presents proposals for *Identifications* which withstand philological and archaeological scrutiny. The descriptions of the sites in Chapter 5 contain separate discussions for each site.

Table 15: Preservation of site names in the survey area

Name	Ottoman Census	Middle Ages	Rabbinic Lit. & Liturgy	Second Temple	Biblical	Identification
1.es-Semûaieh	Sammu'iyya					
2. Jebel Tubaket el-Arba'in						
3.'Akbara	'Akbara al Hiqab	עכברי (Akhbari) Achara? Athabara?	עכברה/עכברי ('Akhbara/'Akhbari)	Ἀκαβάρων (gen.)		'Akbara
4.Ferrâdieh	Farradiyyah	El Faradiyah/ Ferradija	פרוד? (Farod)			Parod/Farod
5.Kh. et Tahûneh						
6.Kh. Abu esh Sheba'	Siba			Βησσαβέ		Be'er Sheba'
7.Kh. Jul					רמה? (Rama)	
8.Kafr 'Anan	Kafr Inan/ Kafr Anan	ענאן/כפר חנן ('Anan/Kfar Hanan)	כפר חנניה (Kefar Hananya)			Kefar Hananya
9.*Ein Camonim						
10.Kh. el-Bellâneh	Mazra'at Ballanah					
11.Kul'at esh-Shûneh						
12.Kh. Ḥazzur	Ḥazzur					

Name	Ottoman Census	Middle Ages	Rabbinic Lit. & Liturgy	Second Temple	Biblical	Identification
13.*W. 'Amud Site						
14.*W. 'Amud Cvs.						
15.el-Mughâr	Magar Ḥazzur	Mughâr	מערייה? (Ma'ariya)			Ma'ariya?
16.*Kaḥal						
17.Yâkûk	Yakuk	יעקוק/יאקוק (Ya'akuk/ Yakuk)	חיקוק/חוקוק Ḥikuk/ Ḥukuk)		חוקוק (Ḥukuk)	Ḥukuk/ Ḥuqoq
18.Sheikh Nashy						
19.Kh. Sellâmeḥ	Sallamiyah	Sellem	צלמון/צלמין (Z.almon/ Z.almin)	Σελάμη		Zalmon
20.Kh. Rubûdiyeh	Mazra'at Rubdiya					
21. Kh. Luziah/ el-Weiziya						
22.*Livnim						
23.Kh. Nejeimiyeh	Nijmiyya					
24.Kh. Mâmelia	Mimla/ Mazra'at Mamliya		ממליח/ממלה (Mimlah/ Mamlih)			Mimlah
25.*Hararit						
26.Kh. Abu-Shusheh	Mazra'at Janusar (Gansur 19th c.)		גינסר (Gennesar)	Γεννησάρ		Gennesar
27.Kh. Sebâna	Sabana al- Fauqa					
28.'Ailbun	'Aylabun		עילבון ('Ailbun)			'Ailbun
29.Kh. Nâtef	Mazra'at 'Ayn al-Natif	(Valée Battof)	בית נטופה/ בי טופה (Bet Netofa/ Bei Tofa)			Beth Netofa
30.Kh. S'ad	Xirbat Sa'ad					
31. Kh. el-Musekka			מזגה (Mizga)			Mizga
32.Kh. Ḥamam	Mazra'at Muḡr al Ḥammam					
33.*Har Nitai Cvs.						

Name	Ottoman Census	Middle Ages	Rabbinic Lit. & Liturgy	Second Temple	Biblical	Identification
34.el-Mejdel	Mazra'at Majdal	Magdala/ Magdalum	מגדלא / מגדל נוניה (Magdala/ Migdal Nunyah)	Ταριχέα (Μαγδαλα Μαγαδαν? NT)		Tarichea/ Migdal Nunyah
35.Kul'at Ibn M'an						
36.*Arbel Cvs. West						
37. Kh. Umm el-'Amad	Mazra'at Umm al Amad					
38.el-Ma'aser						
39.Kh. Irbid	Irbid/Arbel	Irbil/Erpelle/ Irbid/Erbel/ Arbel	ארבל (Arbel)		Ἀρβηλα	Arbel
40.Ḥattin	Ḥittin	Ḥattin	חיטייה / כפר חיטייה (Ḥittaya/ Kefar Ḥittayah)			Kefar Ḥittaya
41.Kh. el-'Aiteh						
42.Kh. Madin						
43.Nimrîn	Nimrin	Naim?				
44.Kh. Meskeneh	Maskanah	Marschaucia?/ Maneskalikia?	משכנה (Mashkanah)			Mashkanah
45.Sh. Kaddûm / Tel Maûn	Ma'un?	Mahum?				
46.Nasr ed Dîn	Ma'un?	Mahum?	מעון/בית מעון (Ma'on/ Beth Ma'on)	Βηθμαουσ		Beth Ma'on
47. Tôrân	Tur'an	Touraan	תירען? (Tir'an)			Tir'an?
48.Lûbieh	Lubiya	Lubija/Lubia				
49.el-Khûrbeh			לובאי/לוי (Lubai/Levy)			Lubai
50.'Oodaya /'Udeisa [Mandatory maps]						

Discussion: The present names of 15 out of 50 sites in the survey area (approximately 30%), occur in literary sources of the Hellenistic, Roman or Byzantine period in a similar form to the modern name and their identification seems reliable. For two others – Maghar and Tur'an – reference to them in ancient sources

is doubtful. In addition, the names Gennesar and Beth Ma'on were apparently preserved up to the Ottoman period and disappeared only at the beginning of modern times. If we include these four sites, the percentage of sites whose names have been preserved rises to 38%.

A number of sites have clearly Arabic-sounding names, such as Khirbet Jul and Khirbet el-'Aiteh, which are apparently later names. Support for the view that distinctly Arabic sounding names are apparently not the ancient names of sites also arises from the archaeological identification of Nasr ed-Din and Khirbet Abu-Shusheh with ancient Beth Ma'on and Gennesar. Nonetheless, it should be noted that names that end in *-iya/ -ieh/ -iyeh*, regarded as an Arabic suffix of recent centuries (Knauf 1991: 284; Ben David 2005: 224), appear in three cases as endings on names that apparently preserve ancient names: Lubieh-Lubai, Mamaliya-Mimlaḥ and Furediya-Parod. Thus, it is possible that other names with this suffix (*Semûaieh*, *Rubûdîyeh*, *el-Weiziya* and *Nejeimiyeh*) preserve elements of ancient names that have not reached us in historical sources.

All of the sites whose names have been preserved are large or at least medium-sized (Category C and larger) except for Ḥ. Mizga (Category B). It may be categorically stated that the names of small sites have not been preserved. This is apparently related to settlement patterns of the Byzantine period, during which habituation continued almost exclusively at the large sites while small rural ones were abandoned and their names forgotten (see below). Not all of the names of large sites were preserved either. Even names of large settlements in central locations, such as Umm el-'Amed (Ḥ. 'Ammudim) or Kh. Ḥamam, do not seem to preserve ancient names.

By examining preserved names from different periods one can discern several interesting phenomenon. Among the five relatively large biblical sites in the survey area and its immediate vicinity (Karnei Ḥittin, Tell Quneitra, Tell Abu Hunud, Tell 'Oreimeh and Tell Jul [=Zeitun er-Rameh]), not even one has kept its ancient name, which apparently attests to the gap in settlement following Iron Age II (compare: Gal 1992: 108). Ḥuqoq – Yaquq, a settlement of intermediate size located in a relatively hilly area, is the only ancient site that probably preserves its biblical name (Saarisalo 1927: 127).

The vast majority of the sites whose names preserve their ancient ones were settled in the Byzantine period, while the names of most of the sites abandoned up to the end of the Roman period were not preserved. Moreover, most of the sites whose names were preserved are mentioned in documents from the Middle Ages to the fifteenth century as settlements. Among those surveyed, only two (Ḥ. Mizga and Kh. Abu esh-Sheba' – Be'er Sheva') lack literary or archaeological evidence for settlement during the Byzantine period and the Middle Ages. Aside from supporting the assumption that preservation of a name attests to continuity of settlement in the region, the combination of literary and archaeological data show that preservation of a name depends primarily upon

settlement at the site at some time during the Middle Ages, since names of sites that were not settled during the Middle Ages usually were not preserved.¹ Nonetheless, there are several sites that were abandoned during the Roman or Early Byzantine period whose names were preserved, such as Be'er Sheva', Beth Netofa or Mizga, and owe their preservation to the continuation of settlement at nearby sites. These data should be compared to the toponymic study of the Lower Golan where there was a settlement gap of hundreds of years between the Early Muslim and Mamluk period, and another gap from the end of the Mamluk period to the nineteenth century (Ben David 2005: 226–229). Of the 48 settlements examined by Ben David, not even one preserved a Roman-Byzantine period name with certainty. Likewise, boundary stones of many villages in the central and northern Golan, apparently from the early fourth century, note names of settlements unknown in the region today.

The preservation of settlement names is thus a function of the continuity of settlement at the site itself, or, at least, in the immediate region.

Literary Works

The extent to which the cultural sphere is influenced by variables related to historical factors (such as demographic growth or decline, economic prosperity or pressure, etc.) is a matter much disputed among scholars. Palestinian rabbinic literature, which is primarily Galilean (Safrai 1982: 146), will not be dealt with in detail. Rather, the emphasis will be on the interesting correlation between historical processes of settlement, demography or economy and the sphere of cultural activity.

The period of the late second-early third centuries is considered the apogee of Galilean Judaism, both politically and culturally. The political leadership under R. Yehuda ha-Nasi is portrayed by rabbinic sources as at the peak of its strength vis-à-vis Palestinian Jewry and the Diaspora and in relation to its connections with the Roman authorities (Levine 1996: 4–12). The redaction of the Mishnah, undertaken by R. Yehuda ha-Nasi, marks the climax of intensive cultural activity. Indeed, the Middle Roman period emerges in the survey as the height of flourishing settlement in the region.²

¹ The existence of literary or ceramic evidence for settlement during the Middle Ages (particularly from the Crusader and Mamluk periods) at most of the sites that were settled during the Byzantine period, does not necessarily indicate that they were settled during the intervening period. This does, however, appear to indicate a similar geographic model of concentration in large settlements at the edges of the valleys, while more distant settlements in hilly regions or in the wadis were abandoned.

² Also from many excavations in the Galilee, the Middle Roman period emerges as an era of prosperity (see discussion in Chapter 6). It is reasonable to see a connection between settlement and economic prosperity and thriving culture.

The relationship between historical conditions and cultural activity is even clearer at the conclusion of the Talmudic period in Palestine. The completion of the Mishnah marking the end of the tannaitic period was followed by the period of the *amoraim*. The primary work of the Palestinian *amoraim* – the Talmud Yerushalmi – consists mainly of discussions and interpretations of the Mishnah. The vast majority of *amoraim* mentioned in this Talmud were Galileans, as are the bulk of settlement or place names where events described took place. Scholars have shown that most of the Y was compiled in Tiberias (Herr 1985: 169; Moscovitz 2006: 665). A large portion of the traditions in the Y belong to the generation of R. Yoḥanan and to the generation of his students (roughly middle to end of the third century). There was a marked decline in the number of sages, traditions and discussions during the last two generations of Palestinian sages from the early fourth century onward (Levine 1989: 67–68). The processes of compilation and editing of the Y ceased rather suddenly after the mid-fourth century. Y. Sussmann’s observation is instructive: “It is as if the creation of the Talmud Yerushalmi came to a sudden end as if cut with a sharp knife.”³ A period of unprecedented and vibrant cultural activity in the Galilee that lasted for over 200 years came to a sudden end. The decline of the sages and their creative work in the last two generations of the Y, up to the abrupt cessation of its creation around the 360s, surprisingly parallels the severe settlement crisis, which was extensively discussed in the previous chapter. The results of the survey point to the second half of the fourth century as the peak of the crisis when a series of large settlements were abandoned and the population of the entire region decreased sharply. A similar picture emerges from the excavations at five synagogue sites in the Galilee and from the numerous initiated excavations and salvage excavations discussed in the previous chapter. It is thus possible to see a direct link between this severe demographic decline and the end of

³ Sussmann referred to the fifth generation of Palestinian *amoraim* and specifically established the cessation of the creation of the Y not later than the 60s of the fourth century. He rejected attempts to stretch the Y to the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth for lack of evidence (see, for example: Epstein 1962: 274; Safrai 1998: 61–62). Sussmann based his views on the absence of any reference to the major events that occurred in the empire and in Palestine, in particular during the decades around the mid-fourth century such as the rise of Christianity, Julian’s plan to rebuild the Temple, Christian reaction following the death of Julian, the earthquake of 363, etc. In addition, words of the sages of the mid-fourth century are brought directly and not presented by later sages, as was generally the case, and no discussion of or reaction to them is generally presented. Also, there is an absence of real editing (introductions, summaries, etc.) in this Talmud, so that it appears that its redaction “froze” in the middle of the process. See Sussmann 1990: 67–103, esp. n. 35, 187; see also Herr 1985: 168–169; Moscovitz 2006: 665–673. The latest figure mentioned in the Y who we are able to identify from extra-Talmudic sources is Ursicinus, a general in Gallus’ army at the beginning of the 50s of the fourth century; there may also be a hint of Julian’s campaign to the east in 363.

the Palestinian amoraic period.⁴ Nonetheless, literary creation in the Galilee did not cease with the closure of the Y and the obvious difference between literature prior to the completion of the Talmud and that of aggadic literature attributed to the fifth century onward is noteworthy. The essence of the transition from the genre of Talmudic-halakhic literature to the genre of *midrash aggadah* literature itself marks a break between the fourth and fifth centuries that requires explanation.⁵ An even more salient change is the “disappearance of the sages from the stage of history” as Levine has defined it (2004: 27). While the early layer of literary work reflects a reality of active *batei midrash*, contemporary sages (second to mid-fourth century) active in cities and villages and large vibrant Jewish settlement, the Palestinian *midrash aggadah* of the Byzantine period (Genesis Rabbah, Leviticus Rabbah, Lamentations Rabbah, Early Esther Rabbah, Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana, and apparently also Ruth Rabbah and Song of Songs Rabbah) are mainly edited versions and adaptations of material by Palestinian *amoraim* of the previous period. The sayings, the characters and the stories mentioned in these *midrashim* belong almost entirely to the period up to the mid-fourth century and, aside from the work of editing and adapting, do not contain independent contemporary works and do not mention contemporary sages or places. As such, it is quite possible that they are not “products of the *batei midrash*” but projects undertaken by individuals who gathered and edited earlier traditions. These editing projects probably began only around the mid-fifth century when the settlement situation stabilized. The available archaeological and historical data, however, do not provide a clear enough picture to establish this.

It appears that the settlement crisis of the fourth century constituted, at least in the consciousness of later generations, a break between the “golden age” of Palestinian Talmudic literature and their age. This break was undoubtedly influenced by major contemporary historical events: the Christianization of the empire and of Palestine; the quick transformation of the Galilee from a densely populated Jewish area to a collection of communities surrounded by non-Jewish areas; and the apparent cessation of activities of at least some of the *batei midrash*. Apparently this break meant that in the subsequent period when

⁴ Compare Herr 1985: 169: “It appears that the [closure of the Y] should be related to the conditions prevailing in Palestine after 363... Christian pressure, political pressure and economic edicts brought about increasing Jewish emigration from the Land of Israel, particularly among the social elites. The ranks of the sages dwindled and the *batei midrash* gradually emptied...”

⁵ On the difference between these genres and proposals for the cause, see Irshai 2004: 83 n. 43; Levine 2004: 45–47. The dating of collections of *midrash aggadah* is quite problematic and I relate here to what is accepted concerning their dating, which is unproven. Other genres such as *piyyut* or apocalyptic literature were also first created in Palestine approximately parallel to the *midrash aggadah*. These, however, are not a product of the *bet ha-midrash* and were not created in the world of the sages, as Irshai (*ibid.*) has noted.

the work of editing the *midrashim* took place, the Y was already a sacred and closed text that could not be changed, and thus, it remained virtually unedited. Possibly, creative forces who saw themselves worthy of this editing task did not remain in the area. In any case, the historical and settlement framework is the most likely explanation for this significant cultural change.⁶

Monumental Synagogues

In recent decades various scholars have expressed doubts concerning the accepted view that the main period of construction of the so-called Galilean Synagogues was the end of the second and the third century. Indeed, today there is no monumental synagogue structure unanimously dated by archaeologists to those centuries. The debate encompasses issues of historical perspective, architectural-artistic style and stratigraphy, where each side offers a different interpretation of late finds exposed beneath the synagogue floors. This dispute goes well beyond the specific archaeological questions of period and artistic style. The dating of the synagogues is of central importance in our understanding of the cultural, economic and even political world of Galilean Jewry during the Roman, or Byzantine period depending upon which side one takes.

Most of the studies dealing with synagogues have focused upon excavation or analysis of the buildings themselves, while research questions concerning the connection between the settlement and the synagogue have been generally ignored. However, since the synagogue functioned as an organic part of an existing settlement and did not exist in a vacuum, it is important to examine this against the background of the history of these sites. The prevalent assumption is that in all Jewish settlements in ancient times (or at least, in Late Antiquity; see Schwartz 2004: 207), there was a synagogue. However, is this assumption verified in the field or is it merely a result of researchers' focus on synagogue sites? At what stage in the life of a settlement was a monumental synagogue (defined as ashlar built, with architectural decoration, pillars, and stone or mosaic floor) erected: from the beginning or after several generations? Were synagogues constructed in different settlements during different periods, or is some sort of regional phenomenon of synagogue construction perceptible? Is there any correspondence between a period of flourishing settlement and the construction of a monumental synagogue or did the construction of such buildings perhaps occur during periods of religious or political pressure? Below, we will focus on issues to which the present study can contribute.

⁶ Safrai, on the other hand, proposed that the decline in cultural creativity and the extreme difference in literary genres do not necessarily reflect a population decline and could have resulted from internal spiritual processes unrelated to the demographic or economic situation. See Safrai 1998: 2; 61–62; *contra* Irshai 2004: 82–84, n. 42–43.

Three key points serve as a basis for the discussion:

- A. At all six sites abandoned up to the end of the third century, including Be'er Sheva' and Nasr ed-Din (=Beth Ma'on), which were relatively large and important settlements, there are no remains of monumental public buildings.
- B. Of the 15 relatively large settlements abandoned between the late third and late fourth century, only at Ḥamam and apparently at Beth Netofa were remains of monumental structures found.⁷
- C. At 11 of 13 sites that continued to exist into the fifth and sixth centuries,⁸ there are remains of monumental public buildings. These include also sites belonging to Categories C and B.

The Third Century: Two traditions in Palestinian rabbinic literature that relate to sages who were active in the second half of the third century mention synagogues, one at Migdal and the other at Beth Ma'on (see the sites in Chapter 5). The two sites were surveyed as early as the nineteenth century by Guérin and the PEF, and relatively extensive excavations were later conducted at both. We carried out an intensive survey at these sites. Both sites declined before being abandoned between the late third and late fourth century. At neither is there evidence of monumental synagogues.⁹ There is an absence of remains of monumental synagogues at other sites abandoned in the third century as well, both in the survey area and in the Lower Golan (Ben David 2005: 192). A picture now emerges of an area with a large number of Jewish settlements that existed until the third century CE, where there are no remains of monumental synagogues. It appears that most of the synagogues often referred to in rabbinic traditions of the second and third centuries, including those at Migdal and Beth Ma'on, were not monumental structures. They probably resembled the first-second century synagogues excavated recently in the Judean Shephelah (e.g., Kiryat Sepher and Um el-'Umdan), which would be difficult to identify in an archaeological survey and even in an excavation.

It is not clear if the presence of synagogues at most of the settlements that continue to exist into the Byzantine period, and their absence at sites abandoned

⁷ Numerous architectural elements with stone carving were found at Ḥamam, while at Netofa, only ashlar, doorposts and roof tiles were found. It appears that the presumed synagogue at Netofa (see also Ilan 1991: 125; TIR: 85) was not of the Galilean type characterized by stone carvings, but more closely resembled the simpler types, such as the synagogue at Kh. Shema'.

⁸ Not including Kul'at esh-Shuneh and Nasr ed-Din, whose settlement was renewed in the mid-Byzantine period following a lengthy period of abandonment.

⁹ The building at Migdal that Corbo regarded as a "mini-synagogue" was, in both phases, a nymphaeum, as Netzer (1987) has demonstrated.

in the third century, indicate that monumental synagogues belong mainly to the Byzantine period. At the moment there is insufficient data to answer this question, since all of the sites settled in the Byzantine period at which remains of monumental buildings have been found are ones where settlement continued uninterrupted from the Roman period. Without excavation of the synagogues, it is not possible to answer this question. Nonetheless, the abandonment of Ḥamam and Beth Netofa around the late-fourth century CE gives us a clear *terminus ante quem* for the construction of synagogues in these settlements. Thus, they join the synagogue from 'Ammudim, whose construction is dated to the late third/early fourth century and which was apparently abandoned not too long after its foundation.

In view of the claims made lately for dating some or most of the Galilean synagogues later, to the Byzantine period, and particularly to the fifth and sixth centuries (see, for example Magness 1997; Magness 2001²; Schwartz 2002: 208–212), the fact that the Synagogues at Ḥamam and Beth Netofa predate the late-fourth century is particularly important.¹⁰ It supports the view of scholars such as Eric Meyers, Gideon Foerster and Lee Levine that buildings of this style were first constructed no later than the late third century. Interestingly, Ḥamam, 'Ammudim and Beth Netofa, sites with monumental synagogues that were abandoned around the fourth century, are all very close geographically.¹¹

On the other hand, the severe settlement crisis that began in the late third century makes the construction of monumental synagogues such as 'Ammudim during this period even more surprising. Based upon the findings of our survey, we must reject Levine's suggestion (2005: 187–193) that the crisis in Palestine was not as severe as imagined. We should also reject his idea that recovery during the reign of Diocletian might explain the construction of synagogues since it appears that the settlement crisis only worsened during that period. The most acceptable of Levine's proposals, and indeed, the one he preferred, is that construction was undertaken in an attempt by the Jewish community to demonstrate its vitality and power against the backdrop of the difficult events in the late third century.

¹⁰ Two seasons of excavations were conducted lately (2007–8) at the synagogue of Kh. Ḥamam by the author. All the data collected meanwhile leads to the conclusion that the initial phase of the building belongs to the late third or early fourth century.

¹¹ Noteworthy is the basic similarity between the synagogue at Ḥamam and the one at Ḥ. 'Ammudim. Both are large and basilical in form, pillars with heart-shaped section in the corners, entrances facing south; Ḥamam, like 'Ammudim, also had a mosaic floor (see discussion of sites, Chapter 5). It is also noteworthy that a lintel with lion reliefs from Ḥ. 'Ammudim, belonged, most likely, to the synagogue. A similar lintel was incorporated in secondary use at Kul'at Ibn M'an on the cliffs of Arbel and maybe originated in the synagogue of Ḥ. Ḥamam, which is situated just across the wadi.

The Fourth Century and Beyond: In a summary of synagogue excavations throughout the country, Levine (2005: 176–177) noted that following a wave of construction of monumental synagogues from the mid-third century through the fourth century, there was apparently a halt in building during the fifth century (except for Capernaum and Sepphoris) with a new wave beginning around the early sixth century. Aside from Ḥammath Tiberias, Korazim¹² and perhaps Meroth,¹³ all of the synagogues in the Galilee belonging to the first wave are dated by the excavators to the late third century. This apparently corresponds to the entire historical perspective that emerges from the survey area and its surroundings, which indicates that the climax of the settlement crisis was around the second half of the fourth century. Only around the mid-fifth century was there stabilization and even resettlement at a small number of sites.

Aside from Ḥamam and Beth Netofa, all the sites where monumental remains were found were continuously settled from the Roman and into the Byzantine period. It is therefore not possible to date the foundation of the synagogues without proper excavation. In any event, at three of these sites, Sammu'iyā [1], 'Akbara [3] and el-Khirbeh [49], there are large amounts of Late Roman pottery (third-fourth centuries) as opposed to relatively limited amounts of Byzantine pottery (fifth-seventh centuries). 'Akbara and el-Khirbeh were even abandoned, or at least suffered a significant decline during the first half of the sixth century. Hence, the synagogues at these sites may also belong to the first wave of monumental synagogues, however, we do not have sufficient data to prove this.

All that can be definitively stated at present, is that no monumental building can be proven to date from the first-second and most of the third century. There are, however, two buildings of this type at settlements abandoned around the late-fourth century. On the other hand, there is a monumental synagogue at nearly every site where settlement continued into the Byzantine period. These data strengthen the impression that monumental synagogues belong mainly to the period from the end of the third century onward, and that this trend continued to spread during the Byzantine period, encompassing the vast majority of the villages in the area.

Levine has recently dealt with the absence of archaeological finds of synagogues dating to the two centuries following the destruction of the Temple, despite the frequent mention of such structures in the historical sources of those

¹² Here too, the conclusion of the excavator is that construction of the synagogue commenced at the beginning of the fourth century and ceased for a lengthy period, after which the building was only completed in the late fourth century, though not according to the original building plan. See Yeivin 2000: 105–109.

¹³ The excavators dated the first phase of the building to the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century. See Ilan 1992: 1008.

centuries (Levine 2005: 179–193). The explanation he prefers is that intensive Byzantine period construction obliterated the remains of the Roman period so that, with the exception of one or two doubtful cases, no synagogues from the two centuries after the Temple's destruction have been preserved. The results of the present survey, like those of the Lower Golan Survey, point to a different explanation. Over 30 settlement sites in these Jewish settled areas were documented as having been abandoned in the third and fourth centuries, and no remains attesting to monumental structures were found in them. At these sites, this absence cannot be attributed to earlier remains having been covered by Byzantine period remains (see Ben David 2005: 194). A more satisfactory explanation is that either there were non-monumental buildings for public gatherings (difficult to identify in a survey and even through excavation) or that there was an absence of public buildings altogether at some of the settlements of the period. The discovery of “non-monumental” synagogues (that is, ones not built of ashlars, without stone carving and rich architectural decoration), such as those found recently in the Judean Shephelah, were all, to the best of my knowledge, chance discoveries by salvage excavations. Even “monumental” synagogues with elaborate mosaic floors (such as Beth Alfa, Na‘aran or Sephoris), lacking ashlar construction and external architectural decoration, have been chance finds in salvage excavations or work on modern-day infrastructure and agriculture. On the other hand, the existence of “Galilean” or “Golan” synagogues is easily identifiable on the surface due to their architectural elements. Usually it is even possible to point to the exact location of these buildings on account of elements that have remained standing, protruding above the surface. Therefore, the absence of architectural elements at sites abandoned during the third-fourth centuries probably indicates the absence of a synagogue of the Galilean type at these sites. The contradiction between the historical sources and the archaeological finds should probably be attributed to the non-monumental character of the synagogues of that period.

From recent studies it emerges that nearly all of the Byzantine period settlements had monumental synagogues (Levine 2005: 242–249; Schwartz 2002: 206–208; 277). This can be explained against the background of the confrontation with Christianity, the strengthening of community status and issues involving the self-determination of the Jewish communities. The extensive construction of churches in Palestine, particularly from the fifth century onward, appears to have led to a “struggle of monuments.” If previously only the largest Jewish settlements had monumental synagogues and most made do with simple structures for public gathering, now smaller Jewish settlements began to invest in construction of outstanding structures (whether externally or only internally). It appears that the struggle for group identity was a factor that instigated the construction of these monuments. A strong Christian presence began to be felt throughout Palestine, even around and within the Jewish areas of the Galilee in the fifth century and probably, to some extent, even during the

fourth century. In addition, legal pressure on the part of the Christian regime, a sharp demographic decline leading to the loss of Jewish dominance in the region within a few generations, and becoming a minority in the midst of a non-Jewish majority, created the need to consolidate the community inward around the institution of the synagogue. Apparently, it also motivated construction of monumental buildings that would emphasize the vitality of the community.

Synagogues and Olive Oil Production: As shown in Chapter 6, extensive olive oil production in the region appears to have started around the fourth century. The correspondence between synagogue and oil press sites arouses interest, since remains of oil presses were found at 12 of the 13 monumental synagogue sites and were almost totally absent from sites lacking monumental synagogues (compare maps 14 and 18). A similar picture emerged from the Lower Golan Survey, where there was also a correlation between the synagogue sites and oil presses (see Ben David 2005: 15, 208). The capital gained by the mass production of trade surplus of olive oil probably played an important role in enabling the construction of these monumental buildings.

The List of Settlements of the Priestly Courses

Introduction: I Chronicles (24: 7–18) attributed to David the division of the priests into 24 courses for a rotation system of work in the Temple. Only the name of the course and its number appear in this list: “...the fifth to Malchijah, the sixth to Mijamin” etc. In Palestinian *piyyutim* composed from the sixth century onward, these courses are mentioned, each attributed to a specific settlement in the Galilee. According to these *piyyutim* and a brief passage in the Yerushalmi, Klein (1924: 1–29) reconstructed a list of “settlements of the Priestly Courses.” He believed that its source lay in the Mishnaic period, hence called it the “Baraita (tannaitic source) of the Priestly Courses.” Since Klein’s publication, remains of several stone plaques bearing this list, which stood in synagogues in antiquity, have been found. It thus becomes apparent that the list was well known and played an important role in contemporary consciousness and among the artifacts pertaining to the ancient synagogues.¹⁴ The list itself, as preserved in synagogue inscriptions, is laconic and does not shed any light upon

¹⁴ Since Klein’s publication, many additional *piyyutim* from the Cairo Geniza have been found that mention the priestly courses and their settlements. On the role that this list played in the world of the ancient synagogue, see the summary and bibliography in Levine 2005: 519–529.

the period or circumstances of its composition.¹⁵ The *piyyutim* based upon the list neither shed light on these questions, nor on the settlements at the time of composition of the *piyyutim*. In general, it is difficult to isolate solid historical data from these liturgical compositions.

Numerous historical sources indicate that until the destruction of the Second Temple, most of the priestly families were concentrated in Judea, mainly in Jerusalem and its environs. Klein therefore proposed that the list reflects the transition of the priestly courses to the Galilee following the destruction of the Temple, and the settlement of each course in a different place.¹⁶ This view was accepted by most scholars and most of the discussion revolved around the time at which this occurred: following the first Jewish Revolt (Klein 1967: 62); following the Diaspora Revolt (Urbach 1974: 66–69); or following the Bar-Kokhba Revolt (Avi-Yonah 1962; Safrai 1984: 183; Herr 1985: 226; Oppenheimer 1991: 53–57). In recent years, some have disputed the idea of an actual historical episode representing the massive transfer of priestly families to the Galilee during the Mishnaic period. Trifon (1989) maintained that the list was created only in the second half of the third century and that it reflects the large number of priests in the Galilee at that time, the result of significant immigration of Jews from the Diaspora (mainly from Babylon) to the Galilee during this period. The reason the list includes only settlements in the Galilee lies,

¹⁵ Five remains of such inscriptions have been found in Israel; at Nazareth, Rehov, Caesarea, Ashkelon and probably Kissufim and one, the most complete, was found in Yemen. See Naveh 1978: 87; 89; 91; 143; Eshel 1991. The spelling of the names of the courses and their number is virtually identical in Chronicles and in the inscription from Yemen and clearly, the version in Chronicles is the basis for the complete list, while between each name of a course and its number is inserted the name of a settlement; “Mijamin Yodefah the sixth course,” etc. (see Naveh 1978: 142). To some of the courses, nicknames have been added for reasons unknown, mostly names of priests mentioned in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Among the inscriptions, none has been discovered in a stratigraphic context that would allow dating. Avi-Yonah dated the one from Caesarea on paleographic grounds to the third-fourth centuries and as a result, believed that the inscriptions preceded the *piyyutim* and were the source of the *paytanim*’s inspiration (Avi-Yonah 1962, and see Reiner 1996: 297, who believed that the *piyyutim* preceded the inscriptions). In any event, it is quite doubtful that it is possible to precisely date such inscriptions on paleographic grounds, since they probably reflect only the level of skill of the craftsman who inscribed them (Naveh 1978: 5).

¹⁶ Frequent reference to the list in *piyyutim* (in some, it constitutes the main theme) and evidence for an ancient custom of announcing the name of the course whose turn it was to work in the Temple that week, led a few scholars to propose that the *piyyutim* were an expression of priestly patriotism and were intended “for those communities in which priests were concentrated” (Zulay 1950/51: 30). Fleischer (1967: 32) believed that at the time of composition of the *piyyutim* (even in the days of the *paytan* R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen from Kafra in approximately the second half of the eighth century) “There still existed in the Galilee communities of priests or at the very least, synagogues of priests.” See also Klein 1924.

according to Trifon, in its composition in the Galilee and is a reflection of contemporary Galilean local patriotism. Irshai (2004: 94) also expressed doubt concerning the geographic-historical value of the list and connected its widespread appearance in the Byzantine period with the strengthening of the image of the priestly class among the local communities at that time. Other approaches relate to the list as a symbolic literary work that reflects a reality of priestly presence in the Galilee, but not an organized transfer of priestly courses at any particular time or concentration of priests in the settlements appearing on the list. Many difficulties, indeed prevent us from accepting the approach that the list reflects a historical process of settlement of priestly courses in the Galilee during the late first or early second century.

The following is a list of these difficulties (some were already raised by Trifon):

A. It is difficult to escape the impression of something “too good to be true.” The idea that in the midst of the chaos that reigned following the First or Second Jewish Revolt, 24 priestly courses arrived from destroyed Judea to the Galilee and settled seems highly unlikely. Furthermore, the suggestion that each course then settled in a different location, until each location came to be identified with the members of the Course that had settled there, appears too facile and too literary, even if only parts of courses were involved, as Safrai has proposed (1993: 291). Historical sources show that during the Second Temple period the courses were not concentrated in their own particular settlements (Safrai 1985: 196). How can we therefore assume that following the First or Second Jewish Revolt there was a process of consolidation and concentrated settlement of each and every Course? Furthermore, there is no evidence that following the Bar-Kokhba Revolt priests were identified or preserved their identification with their courses (aside from much later evidence, some of it clearly literary-symbolic). In view of the above, it is difficult to assume that following the rebellions, a sufficiently sophisticated organizational mechanism was created to effect the unification of the courses and their transfer to specific settlements (Trifon 1989: 84–86).

B. The key question is: What was the aim of formulating the list of settlements? Clearly, the compiler of the list did not intend to provide a geographical survey per se of the dispersion of refugees from the priestly families and it doesn't seem that such a geographical list would have become a sacred text with a key role in the customs of the synagogue. From the earliest historical source concerning the list (a short passage in the Y, see below) it is clear that from the beginning, the list was of symbolic significance and this is even more emphatic in the liturgical *piyyutim* and in the placement of the inscriptions in synagogue halls. Oppenheimer's view (1991: 56) that the list points to the patriotism of the priests who wanted to preserve the attribution to their courses living in a particular settlement, is problematic. The sanctification of the list and its central place

in the liturgy and in inscriptions were not limited to “priestly communities” but rather nationwide.¹⁷

If the aim was to preserve the status of the course active at the time of the Temple, one might expect that names of the original priestly settlements in Judea would be mentioned, as is the case in genealogical lists, rather than noting the settlements to which they arrived as refugees. This difficulty becomes even stronger in view of the *piyyutim*. Not only is there no prayer for the return of the courses to their settlements in Judea nor even any mention of such settlements, often the *piyyutim* mourn the exile of the courses from their settlements in Galilee and repeat the request for their return to their places, in Galilee.¹⁸

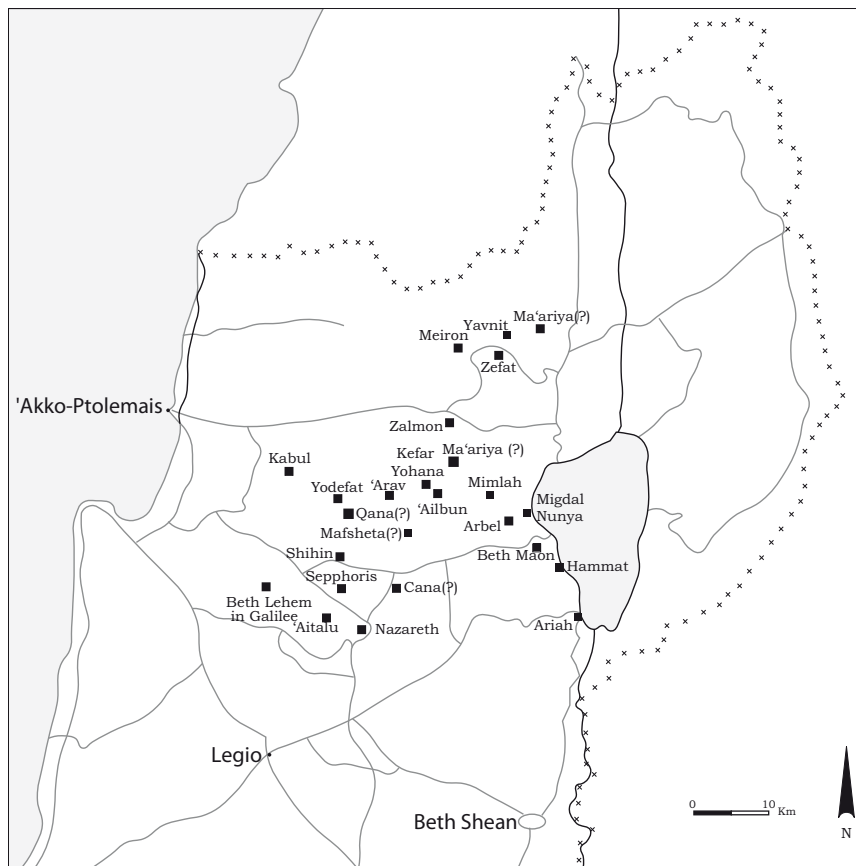
C. It is difficult to assume that in the dense settlement and agrarian conditions of rural Galilee in the late first or early second century, extended families succeeded in finding agricultural land, each in a different settlement among existing and populated settlements.¹⁹ The results of the survey indicate that the Galilee was barely harmed by the First Jewish Revolt and as far as can be judged, was not harmed at all in the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. Therefore, it is difficult to propose that priestly families settled on lands that were abandoned by residents of the Galilee due to these revolts, as suggested by Safrai (1993: 290). This difficulty increases if we examine the data on the map. Of 24 settlements in the list, approximately 21 have preserved their names to this day and their identification is quite clear (Klein 1967: 64–65; Safrai 1985: 98–202). Eighteen (or 17)²⁰ are located in the fertile and most convenient areas across the Lower Galilee along a band not more than 20 km wide. Only three (or four) are located in the Upper Galilee and not even one in Judea, in the Golan or Perea. In view of

¹⁷ Among the sites at which remains of these inscriptions were found, only Nazareth is included in the list. In addition, except for Sepphoris, where a dedicatory inscription mentioning a priest who contributed to the synagogue (among other non-priestly contributors), at none of the “settlements of the courses” have remains or inscriptions indicative of the presence of priests been found (Fine 2005: 5). At the vast majority of settlements on the list, we do not know from other sources of priestly residents and certainly not of concentrations of priests during the period of the Mishnah and the Talmud, while at the same time, at several other settlements not included in the list, we do know of priests during this period (see Trifon 1989: 83).

¹⁸ See, for example, the *piyyut* of El’azar ha-Qallir *eichah yashva ḥavaẓelet ha-sharon*: (Goldschmidt 1968: 50).

¹⁹ All five of the “settlements of the courses” that we surveyed (see below) were settled over a lengthy period before the “transition” of the priestly courses to the Galilee at the late first/early second century. Of these, Zalmon, Migdal, Arbel and Beth Ma’on had, in our estimation, reached their maximum size in the first century CE. Also the other sites identified in the list concerning which we have archaeological or literary data from the Early Roman period (such as Meiron, Shihin, Yodefah, Kabul and Sepphoris) had already been settled before the assumed “transition.”

²⁰ There are two proposals for the identification of Ma’ariya on the list: Maghar-Hazor in the Lower Galilee and Maghar al-Ḥayyat in the Upper Galilee.



Map 21: Settlements of the Priestly Courses (courtesy of M. Aviam)

the knowledge concerning the distribution of Jewish settlements in the late first/early second century, is it possible that refugees from Judea (even if priests) succeeded in settling the most heavily populated areas in the center of the Lower Galilee which was already densely settled at that time? How is it that none of the courses reached Jewish areas of the Golan or Transjordan and that so few “settled” in the more sparsely inhabited areas of the Upper Galilee? No course “settled” in the coastal cities or at the margins of Judea, where Jewish communities remained following the Bar-Kokhba Rebellion, nor in the areas of the Beth-Shean Valley and the Jezreel Valley, despite these areas apparently having a considerable Jewish presence during the period in question.

D. If priestly families moved to these settlements in the late first/early second century, and this process was so obvious that the sites were identified with the courses that settled in them, one wonders how this presence is not mentioned in any source earlier than the late third or early fourth century (see below).²¹ Palestinian rabbinic literature was edited, for the most part, in the Galilee and it is very rich in Galilean traditions of the second and third centuries. Is it possible that these sources are silent concerning such an ideal topic for interpretation and discussion as the priestly courses in Galilee settlements?

The earliest source that includes a passage from the list is Y Ta'anit 4, 6, 68d. Following a tannaitic source that noted that the Temple was destroyed while the Jehoiarib Course was on duty, the words of two *amoraim* endorse the two first lines in the list, explaining each word. This style is an additional reason scholars attributed the list to the tannaitic period, despite not having been preserved in any tannaitic text. For, in addition to the common *midrashim* (homiletical exegesis) on biblical verses, there are also a few *midrashim* on tannaitic sources of special importance (Safrai 1985: 197; Safrai 1993: 288). However, Yahalom (1999: 116) recently pointed out that this homily in the Y actually criticizes the priestly courses and presents them in a derogatory manner!

The first line in the list “Jehoiarib *msrbyy myrwn*” [יהויריב מסרביי מירון] is interpreted by R. Levi (ca. late third/early fourth century):

“Jehoiarib is a (name of a) man. Meiron is a city. Mesarbai: He (Jehoiarib) handed the house (i.e., the Temple) to the enemies.”

The interpretation states, hence, that members of the Course of Jehoiarib gave the Temple to enemies (i.e., to the Romans). R. Berakhiya (ca. first half of the fourth century), explains this line:

“[Jehoiarib]: God (*Yah*) quarreled (*heriv*) with his sons, because they rebelled (*maru*) and refused (*servu*) him.”

²¹ Klein gathered rabbinic traditions that mention priests in Galilean sites, including a number of settlements appearing in the list (Klein 1967: 62–65; see also Trifon 1989: 83). However, in these sources there is no mention at all of the courses, of the transfer of priests to Galilee, or of their concentrated settlement. Since priests certainly lived in Galilee settlements, references to them in the literature offer no evidence in support of Klein’s historical theory. In the description of the funeral of R. Yehuda ha-Nasi it is stated that Bar Kappara called the people of Sepphoris “our brothers the sons of Jedaiah,” hence suggesting that at the beginning of the third century the sons of the Course of Jedaiah were known at Sepphoris. However, as Trifon demonstrated (1989: 80), this sentence appears only in a version found in Qoheleth Rabbah (7, 11), a *midrash* that was composed in the Early Islamic period, when the motif of priestly courses in Galilee settlements was already widespread, and apparently influenced the editors of the *midrash*. The sentence is missing from an earlier version of the story, which appears in the Y (Kilayim 9, 4, 32b) and in the version of the story in the B (Ketubot 104a).

In other words, the destruction came as a result of the rebelliousness of the priests against God. The second line of the list is apparently also interpreted by R. Berakhiya and states:

“Jedaiah ‘*amwq zyppwrym*’ [ידעייה עמוק ציפורים]: God (*Yah*) knew (*yada’*) the deep (*amwq*) conspiracy (?) that was in their hearts and he exiled them to Zipporin (Sepphoris).²²

From these interpretations, it appears that at the beginning of the fourth century at the latest, at least part of the list was known, for contemporary sages reacted to it.²³ However, contrary to an ordinary *midrash* that uses the words of a sacred text to interpret it or to introduce new content, here the text is used by the interpreter in order to condemn the objects of the list, that is, the priestly courses themselves. The interpretation thus provides no evidence for the antiquity of the list and certainly not for its sanctity in the eyes of the interpreter, who in fact criticizes it. At the same time, the fact that the interpreters attack the list turning its significance from positive to negative apparently shows that certain circles did indeed attribute symbolic or sacred importance to the list.²⁴ Yahalom (*ibid.*) proposed that beneath the interpretation lies a leadership struggle between sages and priests. Trifon (1989) and Irshai (2004) also maintained that the list was formulated by or is related to priestly circles outside the world of the rabbis. Fine (2005) doubted the connection to priestly circles and proposed that it is part of a complex of Temple and priestly themes that developed among Jewish society in general in Late Antiquity. According to Fine, the list of priestly courses placed in synagogues fits into the artistic array that described the temple, its appurtenances and its service, and was intended to turn the synagogue into a “small sanctuary” and prayer into “the priestly service.”

All of the above points indicate that the list, indeed, does not reflect a historical reality of priestly families settling in the Galilee during the Mishnaic period. However, even for those who support the symbolic approach, there remain the questions of when the list was created, why these specific settlements were included in it and above all, what it symbolizes.

Let us begin with an examination of the settlement history of the sites associated with the courses. In light of this, we will attempt to make progress in this

²² It should be noted that the Y (Berakhot 3, 1, 6a) mentions the synagogue of Gophnah at Sepphoris and several researchers believed that this was a synagogue of exiles from Gophna in Samaria (according to others, it is “the synagogue of the grape vine”). However, an inscription from Gophna, apparently dating from the Second Temple period, indicates that Priests of the Course of Jakim and Bilgah inhabited this town, and not those of the Course of Jedaiah who are attributed in the list of the courses to Sepphoris (Trifon 1989: 88).

²³ Trifon (1989: 81) proposed that this passage in the Y is perhaps the ancient core from which the entire list developed in a later period.

²⁴ On the decisive opposition of the sages to religious concepts that did not develop in their world, see Boyarin 2004.

debate. Six sites from the list which have been identified lie in the survey area: Z̄almon, Mimlaḥ, Migdal, Arbel, Beth Ma'on (Nasr ed-Din) and 'Ailbun as well as a seventh site, Ma'ariya, whose identification with Maghar is uncertain. We did not survey 'Ailbun or Maghar, and hence, have almost no chronological data concerning these settlements. The other settlements were all inhabited already during the Hasmonean period, an important point to which we shall return below. All of these settlements were inhabited also during the first and second centuries CE (the "period of transition" according to Klein). However, this data is not sufficient to prove the theory of the "immigration." The settlement of Z̄almon, Mimlaḥ and Arbel continued uninterrupted through all of the periods with which this study deals and in all three, evidence of settlement in the Early Islamic period was also found. On the other hand, at Beth Ma'on, which is attributed in the list to the Course of Ḥuppah, the settlement was abandoned around the second half of the third century (a very limited settlement was re-established at the site in the sixth century). Migdal, attributed to the Course of Jehezekel on the list, was abandoned during the fourth century. Later in the Byzantine period, a Christian monastery was established at the site.

We shall now turn to the settlements on the list outside the boundaries of the survey for which historical or archaeological data is available. The extensive excavation at Meiron, which appears first on the list and is attributed to the Course of Jehoiarib, documented settlement beginning in the Hasmonean period, a period of prosperity in the Middle and Late Roman periods, and abandonment of the settlement in the early fifth century (Meyers *et al.* 1981: 155, 160–161). The excavation at Yodefāt (attributed to the Course of Mijamin) documented settlement at the site beginning in the Hellenistic period, when Jewish control apparently began here towards the end of the second century BCE (Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam 1997). The settlement was destroyed in the First Jewish Revolt and was not resettled. A new site, however, apparently with the same name, was settled nearby at a later date. Shiḥin, attributed to the Course of Jeshebeab, was also settled by Jews during the Hasmonean period, before the end of the second century BCE (*Antiquities* 13, 337–338), as was Sepphoris, (attributed to the Course of Jedaiah), as indicated both from this source in *Antiquities* and from excavations at the site (Meyers 1999). The two settlements flourished during the Roman period, as the excavations at Sepphoris and the study of pottery produced at Shiḥin have shown (Adan-Bayewitz *et al.* 1995). However, while Sepphoris enjoyed an additional period of prosperity during the Byzantine period, the results of a thorough survey conducted at Shiḥin seem to indicate a decline during that period (Strange *et al.* 1995: 172–180).

At Kafr Kanna, apparently Cana, which is attributed to the Course of Eliashib, a mosaic floor of a synagogue of unknown date was found. A church here is hinted at in the writings of a sixth century traveler and is explicitly mentioned in the eighth century. Remains of a Byzantine church, whose precise

date is unclear, were found at the site.²⁵ At other sites on the list known as Jewish settlements during the Roman period, the sources or archaeological findings indicate a Christian population during the Byzantine period. Kabul, which is attributed to the Course of Shecaniah, is represented by an episkopos at the First Council of Nicaea in the mid-fourth century (*TIR*: 102). At Ariḥ (Beth Yerah), which is attributed to the Course of Ma‘aziah,²⁶ the first phase of the large church at the site is dated to the early fifth century (Delougaz and Haines 1960). The remains of Byzantine churches dated to the fifth or sixth centuries were also exposed at Bethleḥem of the Galilee, which is attributed to the Course of Malchijah, and at ‘Arav (‘Araba), which is attributed to the Course of Pethaḥiah (Tzaferis 1971: 242; Ovadiah and De Silva 1981: 209) hence, pointing to a Christian population during this period. At Nazareth, which is attributed to the Course of Aphses, a church was erected around the early fifth century, though historical sources show that Jews continued to live in this settlement even during the sixth century (Bagatti 1969: 21–24, 107–108).

What can we learn from this historical-settlement data? Let us begin with the date of the list. The settlement situation reflected in the list is not later than the mid-fourth century since some of the settlements were abandoned by that time. The quote of the first two lines of the list in the Y shows that part of it was certainly already known at the end of the third/beginning of the fourth century. The polished version that appears there, and in particular, the “attack” on the list by the sages seem to suggest that the two lines quoted were part of a complete version that had already been consolidated and not merely “an ancient core” of the list. It is difficult to assume that the list was composed during the period when it first appears in its entirety in *piyyutim* dating to the sixth century.²⁷ This would force us to assume that sites that had already been abandoned for a lengthy period were still familiar to the compilers of the list. However, even if the list was only formulated in its entirety during this late period, it appears that it expresses a somewhat nostalgic look at a past settlement array no longer in

²⁵ Concerning the synagogue mosaic, see Naveh 1978: 52–53. For travelers’ reports, see Wilkinson 1977: 79, 128. Concerning the church, see Ovadiah 1970: 99–100; Loffreda 1969. At Kh. Qana, which is also a candidate for identification as Cana, excavations brought to light evidence for Hellenistic period settlement and for a Jewish population, at least from the Hasmonean period. Following a decline at the site during the third-fourth centuries, it flourished again during the Byzantine period, though apparently as a Christian settlement (Edwards 2002).

²⁶ This course is the only one to which the list assigns two settlements, Ḥammath (Ḥammath Tiberias) and Ariḥ (Beth *Yerah*), see below.

²⁷ The earliest *piyyut* in which the courses are mentioned is a small portion from the Geniza that is attributed to Yannai (Fleischer 1969), who apparently was active around the first half of the sixth century. Most of the early *piyyutim* of the courses are by El‘azar ha-Qallir and Hadota who appear to have been active around the late sixth/early seventh century, as well as by R. Pinḥas ha-Kohen of Kafra, who was active after the mid-eighth century (Trifon 1989: 79, n. 14).

existence, rather than relating to contemporary Jewish settlements. It is therefore not possible to accept the recent view that the list reflects priestly patriotism in settlements on the list during the Byzantine period. Some of the settlements had been abandoned by the fourth century and some were settled by Christians by the fifth century! Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the entire list had already been consolidated during the period in which we find the first evidence for its existence, around the third-fourth century. Nonetheless, it is impossible to accept Trifon's view that the historical framework for its creation was the arrival of waves of migration with numerous priests from the Diaspora to the Galilee, resulting in the growth in the Jewish population in the Galilee during the late third and the fourth century. While in rabbinic literature there is evidence of a number of Babylonian sages immigrating to Palestine during that period, one cannot conclude on that basis that this was a widespread phenomenon (most of the evidence indicates the opposite phenomenon: emigration to Babylon, Herr 1985: 125). The archaeological data indicate, as we have shown, a sharp drop in the Jewish population during that period.

Since the list is symbolic, it seems that any attempt at understanding its general purpose must be based upon an understanding of the selection of the settlements it mentions. The linkage of the place names with the names of the courses and the widespread association of the name of the course with the name of the settlement in *piyyutim*, indicate that the settlements themselves served as part of the symbol.²⁸ It is therefore clear that their selection was not haphazard.

In recent years much has been written about the rise of priestly motifs in synagogue art, in liturgy and in the literature of the Galilean Jewry of Late Antiquity (Irshai 2004; Levine 2005: 519–529; Fine 2005).²⁹ It is clear that the list of the priestly courses belongs to the rise of these motifs (although its appearance apparently precedes the appearance of other expressions of priestly motifs). Also from the source in the Y, which apparently reflects tension between sages and priests (or, at least, opposition on the part of the sages to what the list represents), it is clear that the list was intended to emphasize priestly motifs. This point does not aid us in solving the problem of determining what characterizes these settlements and why they were selected as part of the symbol of the priestly courses.

The list is not based on any reality of priestly settlements of the Mishnaic period, or of the third-fourth centuries and certainly not during the Byzantine

²⁸ Except for the *piyyutim* in which each course and its settlement are mentioned, there are ones in which only the names of the courses appear and ones in which only the names of the settlements occur. Therefore, it is clear that both the course and its attributed settlement represent a single theme.

²⁹ Researchers are divided over the question of whether these motifs reflect a historical reality of priests in positions of leadership (Irshai 2004), or are only symbolic (Weiss 2004: 256–262; Fine 2005).

period. Therefore, it cannot be regarded as an expression of patriotism on the part of priests who lived in these settlements. The idea that the list expresses “sacred geography” or an attempt to define the geography of the Galilee “in Jewish terms” (Fine 2005: 6) does not clarify the reason for selecting these settlements, nor their association with the priests. Aside from the fact that the list begins in the north (Meiron) and ends in the south (Ḥammad and Beth Yerah), there is no geographical order of any sort in the list that can suggest the reason for these settlements having been selected.³⁰

I. Rozenson dealt with three of the sites in the list and claimed that the choice of settlements and their arrangement in the list are not haphazard. The reason that the remote rural settlement of Meiron heads the list, even before the city of Sepphoris, is related to the attribution to that settlement of the Course of Jehoiarib, to which the Hasmoneans belonged, and of R. Shim'on Bar-Yoḥai, to whom tradition attributes anti-Roman sentiments. In his view, the list was intended, at least in part, to create an ethos of independence. The inclusion of Sepphoris in second place on the list, versus the remarkable absence of Tiberias – the most important city of the Jewish Galilee – stems from tensions that are not sufficiently clear to us, but which brought the compilers of the list to emphasize certain settlements, sometimes at the expense of others (Rozenson 2001: 68; 2001–2: 214–215). The difficulty in Rozenson's view is that most of the settlements are rural, relatively small and lacking in importance. Some of the settlements are entirely unknown from any source outside the list. In addition, most of them are not known in connection with any historical narrative, at least not one that is known to us from ancient sources.

As we observed, the list cannot reflect Jewish settlement during the Byzantine period. During the Roman period these sites were indeed settled by Jews but there is nothing they have in common at this time. Surprisingly however, settlements on the list for which we have historical or archaeological data indicate a clear common denominator – Jewish habitation dating from the Hasmonean period. As we showed in detail in Chapter 6, intensive Jewish settlement in the area began with the Hasmonean conquest at the end of the second century BCE. Among the sites belonging to this wave of settlement for which we have archaeological-chronological data are: Be'er Sheva', Zalmōn, Mīmlah, Gennesar, Migdal, Arbel, Kefar Ḥittaya and Beth Ma'on; and outside

³⁰ Based on his historical approach, Klein (1967: 64–65) proposed that the priests settled at sites that participated in and were damaged during the First Jewish Revolt and that is what they have in common. However, among all of the “settlements of the courses” there is evidence in Josephus only for the destruction of 'Arav and Yodefāt (*War* 2, 504; 3, 338). Furthermore, the second course is attributed to Sepphoris, which collaborated with the Romans and was certainly not damaged during the Rebellion (Safrai 1985: 204). Ambiguous traditions in rabbinic literature attribute destruction or damage to Kabul, Shihin, Migdal and Zalmōn, though it is not clear from the sources when these occurred (see *Y Ta'anit* 4, 6, 69a; *T Parah* 9, 2).

the survey area: Yodefāt, Gamla, Meiron, Sepphoris, Shiḥin and Qana. A further wave of settlement, even larger, followed the Roman conquest. Around the end of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE, large and important settlements were founded, including Kefar Ḥananya, Parod, Ravid, Mashkaneh, Sabban, and of course, Tiberias. Indeed, all of the settlements on the list for which we have firm data belong to the first group, while the settlements founded during the Roman period are clearly absent. It would thus appear that the list of the settlements reflects a historical memory of some sort concerning Jewish settlements of the Hasmonean period. The obvious absence of Tiberias from the list strengthens this view. From its very beginning, Tiberias competed with Sepphoris for the status of the Galilee's main center. During the third century it superseded its rival, apparently both demographically and as a Jewish center, once the political leadership (the seat of the Patriarch) and the center of the sages set up residence there. Every attempt to interpret the list as symbolic of the Jewish Roman or Byzantine Galilee, "the map of the Galilee in Jewish terms," or even "local priestly patriotism"³¹ cannot explain Tiberias' striking absence from it. This absence, however, is easily explained if we recall that Tiberias was not a Hasmonean settlement. Understanding the list as a reflection of Hasmonean settlement will also explain why the distant, rural settlement of Meiron has been placed at the top of the list. For, the Course of Jehoiarib, from which the Hasmonean dynasty emerged (I Maccabees 2, 1), is attributed to this settlement and therefore it is worthy of opening the list and preceding even the city of Sepphoris.³²

This explanation likewise clarifies why settlements that are not known to be of special importance in contemporary Roman sources, and even entirely unknown settlements, appear on the list. It simply recalls settlements in the Galilee that were already Jewish during the Hasmonean period.

The question of the historical accuracy of the list and to what extent it indeed reflects Jewish settlement during the Hasmonean period is of secondary

³¹ Concerning priests at Tiberias, see Levine 1978: 174; Irshai 2004: 71–75.

³² Jehoiarib is not mentioned among the priests who arrived during the return from the Babylonian Exile (see Ezra 2: 36–38; Nehemiah 7: 39–41). In the list of priests from the days of Nehemiah, Jehoiarib is mentioned only toward the end of the list (Nehemiah 12: 1–21). In the earliest testimony for the division of the priests into 24 courses, which appears in I Chronicles (24: 7–18), Jehoiarib appears at the top of the list and therefore, several researchers have proposed that the consolidation of the list was related to the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty. See Schürer 1973–87 vol. 2: 250, n. 50; cf. Liver 1968: 35, n. 6. A difficult question is why the Course of Jehoiarib is attributed to Meiron. In addition, several *piyyuṭim* clearly indicate that among the Jews of the Galilee, it was also believed that the Hasmoneans belonged to the Course of Immer (Elizur 2004: 307), and surprisingly, this course is also among the only ones attributed to a settlement in the Upper Galilee (Jabnit, a few kilometers from Meiron). Did the Jews of the Galilee preserve traditions concerning the settlement of members of the Hasmonean family in the Upper Galilee? At the current stage of research, we cannot answer these questions.

significance. We are apparently dealing with an attempt to create a narrative or a nostalgic look backward. In any event, in terms of the archaeological record, it appears that most of the list reflects a real situation and that it indeed expresses a historical memory that survived to the period of the lists consolidation. In this regard, we should recall other traditions of the Roman period related to historical memory of the Hasmoneans gaining control over the Galilee and the settlement that followed this event. Two tannaitic traditions contain lists of “walled cities,” with the Galilee represented by Sepphoris, Gush Ḥalav, Yodefat and Gamla (M ‘Arakhin 9, 6; Sifra Behar 4, 1). Based upon analysis of the sources and the archaeological findings from Yodefat and Gamla, Adan-Bayewitz (1996–1997) showed that these two sites represent fortified settlements that were settled by Jews following the Hasmonean takeover of the region.³³ An additional list that appears in the Y (Megillah 1, 1, 70a) has been dealt with in Chapter 5 (sites 26, 40, 42) and here too, the archaeological finds from sites named in the list show that it reflects a memory of the Hasmonean takeover of the region. These lists thus show that Galilean Jews of the Roman period knew about sites that were settled by Jews during the Hasmonean era. Based on the partial archaeological information available, it appears that their knowledge was accurate. While the lists in rabbinic literature mention sites for practical, halakhic purposes and also refer to settlements outside the Galilee, it appears that the consolidation of the list of the Courses’ Settlements was intended from the outset to create a narrative, and a Galilean one at that, since, the list includes only settlements in the Galilee and only in a relatively limited part of it.³⁴ The question is: what narrative was the list intended to create?

Recently, scholars have emphasized the important place the Hasmoneans have in the *piyyutim* of the Byzantine period, in contrast to rabbinic literature, which pays little attention to the Hasmoneans (Elizur 1996; Irshai 2004: 89).³⁵ According to Irshai, this important role of the Hasmoneans is related to the

³³ The fact that Sepphoris and Yodefat are included in the lists in rabbinic literature and on the lists of settlements of the courses, strengthens our proposal to see it as a list of Hasmonean settlements. Gamla and Gush Ḥalav were probably not placed on the list of settlements of the courses due to their considerable geographical distance.

³⁴ Some believe that the tannaitic source known as “Baraita of the Borders of the Land of Israel” reflects settlements in the Galilee during the Hasmonean period (Frankel *et al.* 2001: 111–113). There is further evidence for the preservation of historical memories among Galilean Jewry over a long period of time. For example, the fall of Yodefat, which is not mentioned in any Palestinian source later than Josephus, is mentioned in a *piyyut* of El‘azar ha-Qallir, who was active around the early seventh century (see Adan-Bayewitz 1996–1997: 468, n. 8).

³⁵ Most of the *piyyutim* deal with the Hasmoneans as a link in a chain toward redemption and only few offer historical descriptions of their activities, apparently due to the limited historical material at the disposal of the *paytanim*. However, it is noteworthy that attributed to El‘azar ha-Qallir, who composed many of the *piyyutim* dealing with the courses, is a lengthy and detailed *piyyut* about the Hasmoneans’ war containing information that does not appear in any other source later than the Books of Maccabees and Josephus (see below).

strengthening of the priesthood as the leadership class during this period, which led to the popularity of priestly motifs. A list of settlements from the period during which the Hasmoneans gained control over the Galilee fits well with the extensive interest in the Hasmoneans during the Byzantine period. It appears that the list was intended to highlight the Hasmoneans' golden age or their conquest of the Galilee. In this connection, it is worth noting that most of the *piyyutim* dealing with the priestly courses deal with two occasions: mourning for the Ninth of Ab; and Hanukah – the holiday of the Hasmoneans (Yahalom 1999: 113). This can be explained simply in connection with the extensive interest in priestly and temple themes. The Hasmoneans, a family of priests, achieved and symbolized victory and the renewal of the Temple service. However, priestly courses worked in the Temple not only during Hanukah, but throughout the entire year and during all holidays. We do not know of any particular connection between the priestly courses (established long before the Hasmonean period) and Hanukah.

In light of our interpretation of the list being based on a memory of settlements from the Hasmonean period, a thematic connection is apparent here between the holiday of the Hasmoneans and the settlements established by them. The extensive interest in priestly, Temple and Hasmonean motifs among the Jews of the Galilee of Late Antiquity led to the creation of a thematic web. This web connected the priestly courses that served in the Temple during the glorious days of the Second Temple and the settlements established following the conquest by the dynasty of Hasmonean priests. These motifs reflect a period of splendor, involving military victories and national independence. Since the settlements selected to represent the courses are all in the Galilee, it is clear that the thematic web is a Galilean creation. In view of the settlements selected, we can assume the list was created specifically in the Lower Galilee.

Support for the idea that the list was viewed in antiquity as reflecting settlements of the Hasmonean period can be found in a *piyyut* for Hanukah, apparently written by R. El'azar ha-Qallir, the greatest of the classical *paytanim*. According to the *piyyut*, after the Hasmoneans defeated the Greeks:

תחת קול בכיה / בת קול נשמע במלכיה / "נצחון טלליה באנטיוכיא"³⁶
 ארבעת ראשי נמר / ריצצו פרחי אימר / בגזירת שומר
 לבשר בחוצות יבנית / כי קיצצה חנית / כל לשון יוונית

Instead of a sound of weeping / a Devine voice was heard in Malchijah (the fifth course) / "the youngsters gained victory in Antioch" /

The four heads of the Tiger (a symbol for the Greeks) / were shattered by the youngsters of Immer (the sixteenth course) / in the command of the guard (God)

To announce in the streets of Jabnit / that the spear has slashed / every Greek tongue

(S. Elizur 2004: 306)

³⁶ Compare: Y Sotah 9, 12, 24b.

At Jabnit, a settlement attributed to the Course of Immar, a certain Hasmonean victory was celebrated. Hence, the *paytan* sees this place as the settlement of this course from the Hasmonean period.

How is it possible to explain that the list, which was apparently known already around the late third century, appeared such a long time before the other priestly motifs, which flourished only in the fifth-sixth centuries?

First, it might be proposed that priestly narratives, or ones related to the Hasmoneans, circulated in the Galilee as early as the Roman period, but went virtually unmentioned in rabbinic literature, either for lack of interest or due to the sages' opposition to such traditions, as indicated in the passage from the *Y*.³⁷ These motifs, revealed to us in their entirety in *piyyutim* of the Byzantine period, were consolidated by circles other than the rabbinic sages (Irshai 2004: 83, n. 43). Second, it is probable that at first a list (or the memory) of the Hasmonean period settlements stood on its own. In the period when priestly motifs began to flourish, this memory was added to the list of the priestly courses that was taken as-is, word for word, from I Chronicles 24, pairing the settlements with the courses. The theme of the list of the courses and their settlements was apparently consolidated already in the third-early fourth century, when a portion of it appeared in the *Y*. However, it is also possible that in this source from the *Y*, we see only the initial phase in the combination of the two lists into one. It is also possible that the original list of settlements included additional sites, but that those extra sites were eliminated in order to match the number of the Priestly Courses. As stated, we know from rabbinic literature of other places which were settled following the Hasmonean conquest. In addition, even in the list of the Courses' Settlements itself, the Course of Ma'azia is attributed to two different settlements. The fact that this is the last course, creates the impression that the editors of the list were left with a settlement "without a match," and were forced to pair it with the last course on the list.³⁸

Summary: A list of settlements in the Galilee was paired with the list of the Priestly Courses that appears in I Chronicles attributing each course to a settlement. It appears that the compilers of this "combined" list chose sites that, according to historical memory (or perhaps, an actual list), were settled by Jews following the Hasmonean conquest of the Galilee and were connected to the ethos of the glorious past of the Hasmonean Galilee. The thematic array came

³⁷ As we showed in Chapter 5, from the testimony of Josephus, one obtains the clear impression of tension between those living at Migdal, Arbel and Beth Ma'on – three "settlements of the courses," on the one hand, and Roman Tiberias, on the other. It appears that the background for this is a "Hasmonean" or "anti-Roman" tradition among the inhabitants of the former. In rabbinic literature as well, there is evidence for tension between these settlements and Tiberias or the House of the Patriarch at Tiberias that largely drew its power from Roman authority (see these site entries in Chapter 5).

together in the Galilee during a period in which treatment of motifs connected with the priesthood and with the Hasmoneans flourished. The theme linked the Priestly Courses of the Second Temple to the local “ancient” settlements that also reflected that same glorious period of priestly leadership.

³⁸ A further question that must be asked is if during the period of the composition of the *piyyutim*, the list of the courses and their settlements served purposes other than the narrative intended by its writers. Many of the *piyyutim* of the courses are elegies for the day of the destruction of the Temple (see Fleischer 1983: 71, n. 2; 1986: 52). In view of the fact that many settlements from the list stood abandoned or settled by Christians during the period of the composition of the *piyyutim*, might we assume that the list served as the basis for the elegies, as a symbol of the illustrious Jewish Galilee of several generations earlier that was slowly disappearing? In view of the custom of the *paytanim* to interweave contemporary calamities with past tragedies, and in particular, the destruction of the Temple (Fleischer 1987: 215), this seems possible. It must, however, be recalled that the motif of the courses continued to serve as a basis for *piyyutim* related to Hanukah and the Hasmonean victory and requests for the restoration of the Temple, so that it is difficult to answer this question decisively.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of Coins

Gabriela Bijovsky

Nasr ed-Din (pit 13)

1. Seleucus IV (187–175 BCE), 'Akko-Ptolemais(?).

Obv: Head of Apollo r. In l. field, monogram

Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ Apollo stg. l., holding arrow, resting elbow on tripod.

Æ, ↑, serrated, 7.56gm, 20 mm.

(Houghton and Spaer 1998: 122, No. 845).

Nasr ed-Din (pit 14)

2. Justin II, Nicomedia, 573/574 CE.

Obv: DN IVSTI–NVS PP AVG Justin and Sophia seated facing on double throne. Above between them, a cross.

Rev: Μ in l. field: ANNO; above, cross; in r. field date: μΙΙΙ; below: Β; in exergue: ΝΙΚΟ

Æ, ↓, follis, 14.77gm, 31 mm.

(Bellinger 1966: 229, No. 99).

3. Justin II, Nicomedia, 576/577 CE.

Obv: [DN I]VSTI–NVS] PP AVG Justin and Sophia seated facing on double throne. Above between them, a cross.

Rev: Μ in l. field: ANNO; above, cross; in r. field date: ΧΙΙ; below: α; in exergue: ΝΙΚΟ

Æ, ↑, follis, 13.02gm, 29 mm.

(Bellinger 1966: 231, No. 102).

Sammu'iya

4. Ayyubids, Al-Kamil, Egypt, after 623 AH = 1226 CE.

Obv: Tetrafoil within circle. In center: محمد بن الملك الكامل ابي بكر
Traces of inscription in margins.

Rev: Tetrafoil within circle. In center: بالله الامام طبصور المتبصر
Traces of inscription in margins.

Æ, fals, 4.07gm, 22 mm.

(Balog 1980: 160, No. 420).

H. Mashkanah

5. Antiochus VII (138–129 BCE), Antioch.

Obv: Head of Eros r.

Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ Headdress of Isis. Date illegible.

Æ, ↑, 4.96gm, 18 mm.

(Houghton and Spaer 1998: 256, No. 1900).

Arbel Caves (West)

6. Alexander Jannaeus, Jerusalem, from 80 BCE onwards.

Obv: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Anchor within circle.

Rev: Star.

Æ, prutah, 1.04gm, 13 mm.

(Meshorer 2001: 210, group L).

7. Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 BCE), Jerusalem.

Obv: Inscription within wreath: ...יהו / נתן הכ / הן...

Rev: Double cornucopia, within a pomegranate.

Æ, 2, prutah, 1.97gm, 12×14 mm.

(Meshorer 2001: 212, group P).

8. Hasmonean (unidentifiable ruler), Jerusalem.

Obv: Illegible inscription within wreath.

Rev: Double cornucopia, within a pomegranate.

Æ, 7, prutah, 1.56gm, 14 mm.

9. Roman, Pseudo-Autonomous, Apamea in Syria(?), first century BCE.

Obv: Laureate head of Zeus r.

Rev: Tyche seated l., holding ears of corn(?)

Æ, →, 6.22gm, 15 mm.

(Burnett et al. 1992: 634, No. 4371).

10. Byzantine bulla, Theodoros, second half 6th–7th centuries CE.

Obv: Bust of the Virgin Mary facing, nimbate, holding the infant before her breast. In field l., cross.

Rev: Monogram:

Pb, 6.36gm, 20 mm. Grayish, upper string channel entrance (above head of the Virgin) is broken. Lower channel slightly indented and broken. Monogram barely legible.

(Zacos 1972-84 vol. 1: 468, No. 537 [reverse]; Zacos 1972-84 vol. 2: 757, No. 1216, Pl. 234, No. 176. [monogram]). Identified by R. Kool.

11. Crusader, Henry I (1218–1253 CE), Cyprus.

Obv: +HEPRICVS Tower with battlements and gateway.

Rev: +REX.CVPRI Cross pattée.

Ⓕ, denier, 0.51gm, 16 mm.

(Metcalf 1995: Pl. 25:No. 639).

Kul'at Ibn Man

12. Alexander Jannaeus, Jerusalem, from 80 BCE onwards.

Obv: Anchor within circle.

Rev: Star.

Ⓐ, prutah, 1.92gm, 14 mm.

TJC 2001:210, group L.

13. Mamluk, unidentifiable.

Ⓐ, fals, 2.60gm, 17 mm.

Kh. Ḥamam

14. Salonina (wife of Gallienus, c. 253–260 CE), Tyre.

Obv: [CORNEL SALONI]NA AVG Bust r.

Rev: COL TVRO METR Tyche stg. r. beside altar, pointing towards a temple with a club within entrance. In r. field, murex-shell.

Ⓐ, ↑, 14.75gm, 28 mm.

(Cf. Hill 1910: 294, No. 490 (Gallienus). Variant unpublished [?]).

15. Roman Provincial, second century CE.

Obv: Bust r. Inscription illegible.

Rev: Tetrastyle temple(?)

Ⓐ, 8.36gm, 20×23 mm.

Completely worn, identification uncertain.

Kh. Hamam (pit E)

16. Hadrian (117–138 CE), Caesarea.

Obv: IMP TRA HADRIANO CAES AVG Bust r., laureate and draped.

Rev: COL I FL AVG CAESARENS Bust of Serapis r.

Æ, ↑, 13.41gm, 23 mm.

(Kadman 1957: 102, No. 28).

17. Autonomous issue, Tyre, 131/132 CE.

Obv: Head of Tyche r., turreted and veiled.

Rev: IEPA MHTPOΠOΛIC Palm tree flanked by date: ZM – Σ

Æ, ↑, 4.10gm, 17 mm.

(Hill 1910: 266, No. 346).

Kh. Hamam (pit M)

18. Gallienus, Antioch, 266–268 CE.

Obv: GALLIENVVS AVG Bust l., radiate.

Rev: SOLI INVICTO Sol stg. l., holding whip.

Æ, ↑, antoninianus, 3.63gm, 22 mm.

(Webb 1927: 189, No. 658).

Kh. Jul/Zeitun er-Rama

19. Hasmonean (unidentifiable ruler), Jerusalem.

Obv: Illegible inscription within wreath.

Rev: Double cornucopia, within a pomegranate.

Æ, ↓, prutah, 2.66gm, 13 mm.

Kul'at esh-Shuneh (Pit L)

20. Constantine I, Antioch, 324–330 CE.

Obv: CONSTAN–TINVVS AVG Head r., laureate.

Rev: PROVIDEN–TIAE AVGG Camp-gate, above a star. In exergue:
SMANTB

Æ, ↑, 3.07gm, 18 mm.

(Hill and Kent 1965: 30, No. 1333).

And two unidentifiable fragmentary coins.

H. Mimlah (west)

21. Autonomous, 1st century BCE–2nd century CE, Sidon(?)

Obv: Head of Tyche r.

Rev: Galley(?)

Æ, 1, 6.76gm, 21 mm. Very worn.



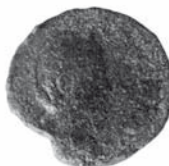
1



10



12



14



16



17



18



Appendix 2

Stamped Amphora Handles from the Collection of B. Ravani

Gerald Finkielsztein

Twelve stamped amphora handles from the survey of B. Ravani are today in the storerooms of the IAA and are brought to light here for the first time. Ravani's survey covered roughly the eastern half of our study area. According to Ravani's records, handles 3, 6, 7 and 8 were probably found at Kh. el 'Aiteh [site 41] and handle 4 probably at Kh. 'Eika [site 42]. I could not clarify the exact location where the rest of the handles were found. The handles were analyzed by Dr. Gerald Finkielsztein to whom I am indebted.

No.	Reading	Dating
1	Ep. Symmachos, Mo. Artamitios ΕΠΙ ΣΥΜΜΑΧ[Ο]Υ/ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤ[Ι]ΟΥ	173/171 BCE
2	Ep. Xenophanes, Mo. Artamitios ΕΠΙ ΞΕΝΟΦ/ΑΝΕΥΣ ΑΡ/ΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ	189 BCE
3	Fab. Agoranax, Mo. Thesmophorios, 2 nd style+frame ΑΓ[ΟΡΑ]Ν[Α]ΚΤΟΣ/ΘΕΣΜ[Ο]ΦΟΡ(ΟΙ)Υ	197/195 BCE
4	Ep. Peisistratos, Mo. ?, Rose ΕΠΙ ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤ[Ο]Υ month	160 BCE
5	Fab. Hieroteles, button stamp [Ι]ΕΡΟΤΕΛ[Η]Σ	260-235 BCE
6	Fab. Olympos, Torch ΟΛ[Υ]Μ[ΠΙ]ΟΥ	Ca. 180 BCE
7	Ep. Nikasagoras I, Head of Helios (Fab. Marsyas) ΕΠΙ Ν[ΙΚΑΣΑΓ]Γ[ΟΡΑ]	172/170 BCE
8	Fab. Menon I, Thyrsos [ΜΕ]Ν[Ω]ΝΟΣ	Ca. 220 BCE
9	Ep. Aristodamos II, Mo. ?, Rose [ΑΡ]ΙΣΤ[Ο]ΔΑΜ[Ο]Υ	166/164 BCE
10	Fab. Sokrates II, Torch ΣΩ[ΚΡΑΤΕ]ΥΣ	185-173/171 BCE
11	Ill.	2 nd half of 2 nd c. BCE
12	Name and month illegible	3 rd quarter of 2 nd c. BCE

Ep.= eponym, High Priest of the God Helios for one year; Fb.=fabricant; Mo= month



1



2



3



4



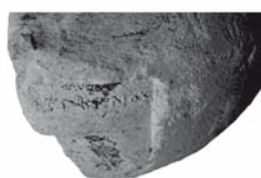
5



6



7



8



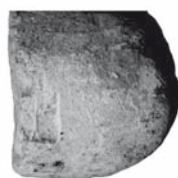
9



10



11



12

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