

THE MIDDLE MACCABEES

ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES

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THE MIDDLE MACCABEES

Archaeology, History, and the Rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom

Edited by

Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin





Atlanta

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Contents

Abbreviations.....	ix
Figures.....	xix
The Middle Maccabees: A Period Comes into View	
Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin	1
Part 1. Material Evidence: The Archaeology of the Regions	
1. The Regions and Material Evidence: Overview	
Andrea M. Berlin.....	11
2. Jerusalem in the Early Hellenistic Period: New Evidence for Its Nature and Location	
Yiftah Shalev, Efrat Bocher, Helena Roth, Débora Sandhaus, Nitsan Shalom, and Yuval Gadot	17
3. Hellenistic Military Architecture from the Giv'ati Parking Lot Excavations, Jerusalem	
Ayala Zilberstein.....	37
4. Settlement and History of the Northern Judean Hills and Southern Samaria during the Early Hasmonean Period	
Dvir Raviv	53
5. Settlements and Borders in the Shephelah from the Fourth to the First Centuries BCE	
Débora Sandhaus	73
6. Settlement in the Southern Coastal Plain ("Philistia") during the Early Hellenistic Periods (Third through Mid-Second Centuries BCE)	
Uzi 'Ad.....	91

7. Go West: Archaeological Evidence for Hasmonean Expansion toward the Mediterranean Coast Yehiel Zelinger	107
8. Galilee in the Second Century BCE: Material Culture and Ethnic Identity Uzi Leibner	123
9. The Upper Galilee and the Northern Coast Andrea M. Berlin.....	145
10. The Hasmonean Settlement in Galilee: A Numismatic Perspective Danny Syon	177
11. Contribution of the Rhodian Eponyms Amphora Stamps to the History of the Maccabees: The Data Gerald Finkielsztein	193
12. John Hyrcanus I's First Autonomous Coins Donald T. Ariel	215
Part 2. The Wider Stage: A Small State in a Great Power World	
13. Overview: The Middle Maccabees in Context Paul J. Kosmin.....	243
14. Before the Spark Ignites the Fire: Structural Instabilities in Southern Syria Sylvie Honigman	257
15. Seleucid Throne Wars: Resilience and Disintegration of the Greatest Successor Kingdom from Demetrius I to Antiochus VII Altay Coşkun	269
16. The Machinations of the Ptolemaic State in Its Relationship with Judea (160–104 BCE) Christelle Fischer-Bovet	293

17. Silver Coinage in Seleucid Coele Syria and Phoenicia: Implications for the History of Judah Catharine Lorber	311
18. Roman Hegemony and the Hasmoneans: Constructions of Empire Duncan E. MacRae.....	331
Part 3. Voices: Textual Responses to the Middle Maccabees	
19. Reading the Middle Maccabees Benedikt Eckhardt.....	349
20. Competitors to Middle Maccabees: Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls Jutta Jokiranta	363
21. Jewish Voices on Rome and Roman Imperialism Erich S. Gruen	379
22. Conclusion: The Maccabean Rise to Power, in Archaeological and Historical Context Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin	391
Bibliography.....	409
Contributors.....	477
Ancient Sources Index	479
Personal Names Index	489
Place Names Index	493

Abbreviations

1 Macc	1 Maccabees
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
1QM	Milḥamah <i>or</i> War Scroll
1QpHab	Pesher Habakkuk
1QS	Serek Hayāḥad <i>or</i> Rule of the Community
1QSa	Rule of the Congregation (appendix a to 1QS)
1Q Sb	Rule of the Blessings (appendix b to 1QS)
4Q175	Testimonia
4Q247	Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks
4Q249a	papyrus cryptic Rule of the Congregation
4Q298	cryptic Word of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn
4Q524	Temple Scroll ^b
4QMMT	Miqṣat Ma‘aśê ha-Torah (Some of the Torah Observations)
4QpNah	Pesher Nahum
4QSE	Serekh ha-‘Edah
11QT ^a	Temple Scroll ^a
AAAG	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>
AAAPSS	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>
AAAS	<i>Les Annales archéologiques Arabes syriennes</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AAW	Armies of the Ancient World
AB	Anchor Bible
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AD	<i>Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
ADART	Sachs, Abraham, and Hermann Hunger. 1988–1996. <i>Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia</i> . Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AdvAnth	<i>Advances in Anthropology</i>

AE	Ausonius Études
AEM	Annales de l'Est. Mémoire
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Ag. Ap.	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
AH	<i>Acta Hyperborea</i>
AHSS	<i>Annales, Histoire et Sciences sociales</i>
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJC 1	Meshorer, Ya'akov. 1982. <i>Ancient Jewish Coinage</i> . Vol. 1, <i>Persian Period through Hasmonaeans</i> . Dix Hills, NY: Amphora Books.
AJC 2	Meshorer, Ya'akov. 1982. <i>Ancient Jewish Coinage</i> . Vol. 2, <i>Herod the Great through Bar Cochba</i> . Dix Hills, NY: Amphora Books.
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJSRev	<i>AJS Review</i>
Alon	<i>Alon: Internal Quarterly of the Israel Numismatic Society</i>
Anab.	Arrian, <i>Anabasis</i>
ANGSBAA	Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
AntCl	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i>
Arm. Hist.	Moses of Khoren, <i>Armenian History</i>
APR	Coşkun, Altay, ed. 2018. <i>Amici Populi Romani. Prosopographie der auswärtigen Freunde Roms = Prosopography of the Foreign Friends of Rome</i> . Version 08. http://www.altay-coskun.com/apr .
ASI	Archaeological Survey of Israel
asl	above sea level
ASORMS	American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series
Athenaeum	<i>Athenaeum Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità</i>
Atiqot	<i>ʿAtiqot</i>
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
b.	Babylonian Talmud
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
Babyl.	Berosus, <i>Babyloniaca</i>
BAG	Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique

BAIAS	<i>Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BARIS	BAR (British Archaeological Reports) International Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BCHSup	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique Supplement
<i>Bib. hist.</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BICSL	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London</i>
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
B.J.	Josephus, <i>Bellum judaicum</i>
BMC Pal.	Hill, George Francis. 1914. <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine (Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea)</i> . London: British Museum.
BMH	<i>Bulletin of the Museum Haaretz</i>
BMiq	<i>Beit Miqra</i>
BRS	Biblical Resource Series
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CD	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CDSAJ	<i>City of David Studies of Ancient Jerusalem</i>
CH	1975–2010. <i>Coin Hoards</i> . 10 vols. London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1975–2002; American Numismatic Society and Royal Numismatic Society, 2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHJ	Davies, William D., and Louis Finkelstein, eds. 1984–2006. <i>Cambridge History of Judaism</i> . 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
CHL	Meshorer, Ya'akov, Gabriela Bijovsky, and Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert. 2013. <i>Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum</i> . Edited by David Hendin and Andrew R. Meadows. New York: American Numismatic Society.
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronicon</i>
CIIP	Cotton, Hannah M., et al., eds. 2010–2012. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> . 4 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter.
cm	centimeter(s)

CN	Collezioni Numismatiche
CNCNRS	Colloques nationaux du CNRS
CNI	<i>Christian News from Israel</i>
ColH	Collectanea Hellenistica
C.Ord.Ptol.	Lenger, Marie-Thérèse, ed. 1964. <i>Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées</i> . Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
D	Damascus Document
<i>Deipn.</i>	Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophists</i>
DHASup	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne Supplement
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EAnc	Études Anciennes
EH	Faucher, Thomas, Andrew R. Meadows, and Catharine C. Lorber, eds. 2017. <i>Egyptian Hoards</i> , Vol. 1, <i>The Ptolemies</i> . Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ENHG	Études nancéennes d'histoire grecque
<i>Epit.</i>	Justinus, <i>Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum</i>
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>Expl. Dan.</i>	Jerome, <i>Exposition in Danielelem</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FGrHist	Jacoby, Felix, ed. 1954–1964. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill.
FHG	Müller, Karl, ed. 1878–1885. <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . 5 vols. Paris: Didot.
frag(s).	fragment(s)
ft	feet
g	gram(s)
<i>Geog.</i>	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>
GFA	<i>Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft</i>
Git.	Gittin
GR	<i>The Geographical Review</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
GS	Golan Studies
ha	hectare(s)
HA-ESI	<i>Hadashot Arkheologiyot–Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
HB	Hebrew Bible
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs

HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
<i>Hen</i>	<i>Henoch</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i> Polybius, <i>Historiae</i>
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IAAR	Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
<i>IC</i>	<i>Iran & the Caucasus</i>
IDelos	1926–1972. <i>Inscriptions de Delos</i> . 7 vols. Paris.
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IGCH</i>	Thompson, Margaret, Otto Mørkholm, and Colin M. Kraay, eds. 1973. <i>An Inventory of Greek Coins Hoards</i> . New York: American Numismatic Society.
<i>INJ</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>INR</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Research</i>
<i>INRev</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Review</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>JAJ</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
<i>JASup</i>	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEI</i>	<i>Jerusalem and Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>JPH</i>	<i>Journal of Planning History</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRASup</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	Jubilees

<i>Kalanit</i>	<i>Kalanit: Israel Plant Magazine</i>
km	kilometer(s)
KMFS	Kelsey Museum Fieldwork Series
KSGVI	<i>Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel</i>
l(l).	line(s)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
LevSup	Levant Supplementary Series
LG	Land of Galilee
LPPRSA	<i>La Parola del Passato Rivista di Studi Antichi</i>
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
m	meter(s)
MA	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
MBPF	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
MDIA	Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens
Mes	<i>Mesopotamia</i>
Midr.	Midrash
mm	millimeter(s)
MnemSup	Mnemosyne Supplements
NAC	<i>Numismatica e Antichità Classiche</i>
Name-IB	<i>Name-ye-Iran-e-Bastan</i>
Nat. hist.	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	Stern, Ephraim, ed. 1993. <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster.
NEASB	<i>Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin</i>
NETS	Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright III, eds. 2007. <i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
NJPS	<i>Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text</i>
NL	Numismatica Lovaniensia
NNM	Numismatics Notes and Monographs
NSR	Numismatic Studies and Researches
NumAC	<i>Numismatica Ars Classica</i>
NumC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>

OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica
Obv.	Obverse
OG	Old Greek
OGI	Dittenberger, W., ed. 1903–1905. <i>Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OSEE	Oxford Studies in Early Empires
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. 1983–1985. <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . 2 vols. New York: Doubleday.
para(s).	paragraph(s)
P.Cair.Zen.	Edgar, C. C., ed. 1925–1940. <i>Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> . 5 vols. Cairo.
PCPS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
P.Diosk.	Cowey, J. M. S., K. Maresch, and C. Barnes, eds. 2003. <i>Das Archiv des Phrurarchen Dioskurides</i> . Paderborn.
PEFA	Palestine Exploration Fund Annual
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
Per.	Livy, <i>Perochia</i>
P.Gen.	1896–2010. <i>Les Papyrus de Genève</i> . 4 vols. Geneva.
PH	<i>The Public Historian</i>
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute, Greek Inscriptions
Picus	<i>The Picus</i>
pl(s).	plate(s)
PP	<i>Past & Present</i>
P.Polit.Jud.	Maresch, K., and J. M. S. Cowey, eds. 2001. <i>Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3, 133/2 v. Chr.)</i> . Wiesbaden.
Prol.	Pompeius Trogus, <i>Prologues</i>
Protr.	Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i>
PSI	Vitelli, G., and M. Norsa, eds. 1912–2008. <i>Papiri greci e latini</i> . Florence.
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Qad	<i>Qadmoniot</i>
Qidd.	Qiddushin
r.	reigned
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>

RBN	<i>Revue Belge de Numismatique</i>
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
Rep	<i>Representations</i>
Rev.	Reverse
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RPC	Burnett, Andrew, Michel Amandry, and Pere Pau Ripollès. 1992. <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> . Vol. 1, <i>From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)</i> . London: British Museum Press with Bibliothèque Nationale.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
S	Community Rule
SB	Preisigke, F., F. Bilabel, E. Kiessling, and H.-A. Rupprecht, eds. 1915–. <i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i> . Berlin.
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SC	Houghton, Arthur, Catharine Lorber, and Oliver D. Hoover. 2008. <i>Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue II; Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII</i> . 2 vols. New York: American Numismatic Society.
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SE	Seleucid Era
SE ^B	Seleucid Era, Babylonian calendar
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SE ^M	Seleucid Era, Macedonian calendar
SHAMAW	Studies on the History of Ancient and Medieval Art of Warfare
SHJPLI	<i>Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel</i>
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
SKU	stock-keeping unit (used by online forum Vcoins)
SNR	<i>Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StEll	<i>Studi Ellenistici</i>
StH	Studia Hellenistica

StPB	Studia Post-biblica
StPhoen	Studia Phoenicia
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word
Syr.	Appian,
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TJC	Meshorer, Ya'akov. 2001. <i>A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kochba</i> . Translated by Robert Amoils. Nyack, NY: Amphora.
T.Jud.	Testament of Judah
TMOM	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen
TOOSup	Topoi orient-occident Supplement
<i>Transeu</i>	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
<i>Trésors</i>	Seyrig, Henri. 1973. <i>Trésors monétaires séleucides II: Trésors du Levant anciens et nouveaux</i> . Paris: Geuthner.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
T.Sim.	Testament of Simeon
TV	<i>Teva' v'aretz</i>
<i>Virt. vit.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De virtute et vitio</i>
VKAWLSKB	Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België
vol(s).	volume(s)
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Figures

1.1. Israel, relief map. Source: Eric Gaba/Wikimedia Commons	12
1.2a. Decorated table vessels, Maresha. Courtesy of Ian Stern. Photographs by Mark Letteney	14
1.2b. Undecorated, plain table vessels, Gamla. Source: Danny Syon, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	14
1.3. Imported wine amphorae. Courtesy of Gérard Finkielsztein, Israel Antiquities Authority, and the Tel Kedesh Excavations	15
2.1. Map of Jerusalem with the location of Giv'ati parking lot	20
2.2. Aerial view of Giv'ati parking lot excavation. Courtesy of City of David Archive. Photograph by Yair Isboutsy	20
2.3. Area 10, plan of architectural remains from Iron IIC, Persian, and Hellenistic periods (Jerusalem)	23
2.4. Area 10. Schematic plan of Building 110 (Jerusalem)	24
2.5. Area 10. Wall of Building 110 (Jerusalem)	24
2.6. Area 10, Building 110, Floor 1051 (Jerusalem)	26
2.7. Selection of pottery found within the collapse on Floor 1051 and in the fill below the floor (Jerusalem)	27
2.8. Selection of pottery found in the fills below Floor 1051 (Jerusalem)	28
2.9. Area 10, the western portion of Building 110 after the removal of Floor 1051 and the fill below it (Jerusalem)	28
2.10. A golden earring and a bead. Photograph by Clara Amit	29
2.11. Hellenistic bulla from Building 110. Photograph by Sasha Flit	31
2.12. Area 50, Domestic Structure B (Jerusalem)	32
3.1. Aerial view of Giv'ati parking lot excavations. Photograph by Skyview	39
3.2. Remains against the northern portion of the salient (Giv'ati parking lot). Photographs by Assaf Peretz	41
3.3. View of the tower and the gravel-system glacis (Giv'ati parking lot). Photograph by Assaf Peretz	42
3.4. The eastern edge of Section 21 (Giv'ati parking lot). Photograph by Assaf Peretz	43
3.5. Section 21 (Giv'ati parking lot). Photograph by Assaf Peretz	46
4.1. Settlement map of southern Samaria and the northern Judean hills, in light of the literary sources	55

4.2. Settlement map of southern Samaria and the northern Judean hills, according to the archaeological findings	56
4.3. Types of jars from the early Hellenistic period uncovered at sites in southern Samaria and Judea	64
4.4. Southern Samaria and the northern Judean hills during the early Second Temple period, according to the archaeological surveys	66
4.5. The changes of the border between Judea and Samaria during the Hasmonean period	69
4.6. Remains of a tower or peripheral wall uncovered at Artabba Fortress. Photograph by Yoram Hofman	69
4.7. Hasmonean fortresses in northern Judea	70
5.1. View of the 'Ela Valley from the top of Tel Azekah. Source: Wilson44691, Wikimedia Commons	74
5.2. Map of the sites in the 'Ela Valley. Drawn by Atalya Fadida	77
5.3. Aerial view of Naḥal Zanoaḥ excavations. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority, Pablo Betzer, and Omer Shalev	78
5.4. Aerial view of the granary building in Area W1 in Tel Azekah. Courtesy of Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot, and Manfred Oëming	79
5.5. Aerial view of Area D in Khirbet Qeiyafa. Courtesy of Michael Hasel and Yosef Garfinkel	80
5.6. Plan of buildings in Area D in Khirbet Qeiyafa. Courtesy of Michael Hasel and Yosef Garfinkel	81
5.7. Aerial view of Khirbet er-Rasm excavations. Courtesy of Avraham Faust and Adi Erlich	83
5.8. Olive press and columbarium system in Amaziah. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority/Vladik Lipschits. Photograph by Assaf Peretz	84
6.1. Southern coastal plain. Map of Hellenistic sites known from survey and excavation	92
6.2. Plan of Gan Soreq North. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority	97
6.3. Plan of Gan Soreq South. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	98
6.4. Plan of Ashkelon-Barnea. Source: Peretz et al. 2018, figure 2, prepared by Michal Berkenfeld	99
6.5. Winepress. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority	101
7.1. Suggested routes in Persian-period Palestine	108
7.2. The rural settlements in the Lod Plain	111
7.3. El'ad—the manor farmstead from the Hellenistic period	112
7.4. El'ad, Area A1. Remains of the estate owner's house. Photo: Tzia Sagiv. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	112
7.5. El'ad, Area A1. Masonry style stucco. Photo: Tzia Sagiv. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	113
7.6. El'ad, Area A2–3. Storage room (U-44). Photo: Tzia Sagiv. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	113

7.7. Hellenistic silver drinking set. Photograph by Clara Amit. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority	115
7.8. Restored amphoras and jars. Photograph by Clara Amit. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	116
7.9. Loom weights from small farm. Photograph: Clara Amit. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority	119
7.10. Reconstruction of the weaving room at the small farmstead. Drawing: Tania Korenfeld. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority	119
8.1. Aerial view of Khirbet el-‘Eika. Photograph by DPS Images	129
8.2. Plan of Khirbet el-‘Eika excavations. Source: Marcos Edelcopp	130
8.3. Aerial view of tower. Photograph by DPS Images.	131
8.4. Assemblage of restored vessels. Photograph by Tal Rogovski	133
8.5. Corner of a storeroom. Photograph by Tal Rogovski	133
8.6. Bronze incense shovel. Photograph by Tal Rogovski	134
8.7. Distribution of Persian and Hellenistic coins at Khirbet el-‘Eika	135
8.8. Map of sites discussed. Source: Roi Sabar	138
9.1. Upper Galilee relief map. Source: Eric Gaba/Wikimedia Commons	146
9.2. View of the lower mound. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition. Photograph by SkyView Photography	149
9.3. Kedesh compound, bin rooms. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	152
9.4. Large storage jar. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	153
9.5. Archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	155
9.6. Apollo and Tanit seal impressions. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	157
9.7. Infant burial, in situ. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	159
9.8. Storage jars reused as ovens. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	167
9.9. Hemispherical drinking bowl. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition	168
9.10. Dishes, Eastern Sigillata A, and glass drinking cup. Courtesy of the Tel Anafa Expedition	170
10.1. Coin of Antiochus VII from the mint of Jerusalem. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.CNGcoins.com	179
10.2 The distribution of the coins of Antiochus VII in Galilee	180
10.3. Coin distribution in Galilee, 125–63 BCE	183
10.4. Coin of Hyrcanus I. Photograph by Clara Amit	184
10.5. Gamla: A demographic change	185
10.6. Coins of Hyrcanus I in Galilee and Golan	188
10.7. Coins of Yehuda (Aristobulus I) in Galilee and Golan	189
10.8. Sites in Galilee and Golan with coins from the second century BCE	191
11.1. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Maresha	195
11.2. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Jerusalem	196
11.3. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: El‘ad	197
11.4. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Philoteria	198

11.5. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Khirbet el-‘Eika	198
11.6. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Kedeshe	199
11.7. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Tel Keisan	200
11.8. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Gezer, Jerusalem	201
11.9. Distribution of Rhodian eponym amphora stamps: Samaria and Scythopolis-Nysa	204
12.1. Antiochus VII Sidetes coins	217
12.2. <i>TJC</i> , 207, group H coins	217
12.3. <i>TJC</i> , 207–9, group I coins	219
12.4. <i>TJC</i> , 209, group J coins	219
12.5. Alexander II Zabinas coins	235
12.6. Antiochus VIII Grypus coins	235
12.7. Alexander II Zabinas coins	236
13.1. Hellenistic west Asia. Source: Kosmin 2018	246–47
17.1. Alexandrian tetradrachm of Ptolemy V. Courtesy of Harlan J. Berk	313
17.2. Alexandrian tetradrachm of Ptolemy VI. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority	313
17.3. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after third-century coinage of Ptolemais-Akko	316
17.4. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after third-century coinage of Ptolemais-Akko	317
17.5. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy I	317
17.6. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy I	317
17.7. Era didrachm dated year 114	320
17.8. Tetradrachm of Antiochus V	320
17.9. Tetradrachm of Antiochus V	320
17.10. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Laodicea-Berytus mint	322
17.11. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Sidon mint. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group	322
17.12. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Tyre mint	322
17.13. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Ptolemais-Akko mint	322

The Middle Maccabees: A Period Comes into View

Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin

This book details the charged, complicated establishment of an independent Jewish state in the latter second century BCE. That ancient state was situated almost precisely within the geographical confines of its Iron Age predecessor and modern Israeli successor. Much as the biblical kingdom informed the Hasmonean emergence, so the rise of the Maccabees and the stories they told of their victory established the conditions of the late Second Temple period as well as the rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity that would follow, offered inspiration for later resistance movements, and generated the key paradigm for Jewish nationalism from Roman antiquity to the present. All three polities have been the object of intensive scrutiny and historical analysis.

This volume focuses narrowly on the half-century from the death of Judas Maccabeus, circa 160 BCE, to that of his nephew, John Hyrcanus I, circa 104 BCE. This span, which we have termed the period of the middle Maccabees, falls between the initial years of revolt and the expansionist campaigns of Alexander Jannaeus. In these five and a half decades, the Maccabean cause was headed by Judas's brothers Jonathan, then Simon, and finally by Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, under whom a fully independent Hasmonean state was confirmed. Until recently, the events leading up to Hasmonean independence could be reconstructed only through close analysis of written sources, because on the ground these years were in effect invisible, as few sites and strata could be dated only to this span. However, in the past fifteen or so years concentrated archaeological work from every region of the land has transformed this situation. We are now in a position to identify the physical world in which the actions described by the ancient authors played out, along with a dense array of material remains that they did not discuss at all: dwellings, household belongings, coin issues, market networks, and so forth.

The enormous amount of new archaeological evidence is welcome, but it obviously cannot be, in and of itself, sufficient to explain the historical dynamics of the Hasmonean emergence. Rather, this new real-world baseline must be brought into dialogue with two other bodies of research. The first are fresh considerations of the wider historical stage and the powerful, deeply entwined interests and actions of neighboring imperial states. Second are studies of the written accounts of these years, primarily the Hasmonean court history 1 Maccabees, read with an eye to its legitimizing concerns and biblical rhetoricity. This book, the result of these dialogues, represents a collaborative process of rethinking and deliberation by archaeologists, ancient historians, and biblical scholars. Together we have worked to come to terms with the full array of evidence about these years, in order to bring the period of the middle Maccabees more firmly into view.

This book is the end result of a long intellectual journey, including archaeological excavation in northern Israel, a collaborative working group in Boston, and a weeklong conference near Milan.

Andrea M. Berlin and Sharon C. Herbert (Herbert and Berlin 2003; Berlin and Herbert 2012a, 2013, 2014, 2015) jointly directed the University of Michigan–University of Minnesota Expedition to Tel Kedesh from 1997 to 2011. Over these eight seasons they uncovered a huge administrative compound, initially built under the Achaemenids circa 500 BCE but abruptly and thoroughly abandoned circa 145 BCE. This date accords with the chronology of the battle between the Hasmonean leader Jonathan and forces of the Seleucid king Demetrius I, dated to circa 143 BCE and recounted in 1 Maccabees 11:60–74. Yet, excavation revealed incontrovertible evidence for more actors and a more complicated situation than that depicted in the Hasmonean record (for details, see Berlin, “The Upper Galilee and the Northern Coast,” in this volume).

From 2015 to 2017, Berlin (Boston University), Yonder Gillihan (Boston College), and Paul J. Kosmin (Harvard University) ran an interdisciplinary research group on the history, material culture, and religious life of the southern Levant in the second half of the second century BCE, organized around a series of lectures, dialogues, and colloquia. Topics under consideration ranged from 1 Maccabees to infant sacrifice, Hasmonean tombs to modern Zionism. Participants and visitors included Donald Ariel (Israel Antiquities Authority), Doron Ben-Ami (Israel Antiquities Authority), Jonathan Bethard (Boston University), Katell Berthelot (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Robert

Doran (Amherst College), Benedikt Eckhardt (University of Edinburgh), Gérald Finkielsztein (Israel Antiquities Authority), Jonathan Klawans (Boston University), Uzi Leibner (Hebrew University), Amit Re'em (Israel Antiquities Authority), Daniel Schwartz (Hebrew University), Steven Weitzman (University of Pennsylvania), and Yehiel Zelinger (Israel Antiquities Authority).

In February 2018, a one-day workshop, “The Maccabees and Archaeology: Old Texts, New Discoveries,” was held at the Albright Institute in Jerusalem, followed in June 2018 by a weeklong colloquium, held under the auspices of the Nangeroni Seminar, at the Villa Cagnola, in Gazzada north of Milan. Participants included, in addition to the contributors to this volume, Berthelot, Francis Borchardt, Jonathan Bourgel, Boris Chrubasik, Edward Dąbrowa, Robert Doran, Avner Ecker, Lester Grabbe, Moran Hagbi, John Kampen, Magnar Kartveit, and Julien Olivier (in absentia).

The Middle Maccabees: Archaeology, History, and the Rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom presents the results of these endeavors, specifically of the Gazzada conference. The papers are organized into three parts, presenting in turn treatments of the new archaeological material, the wider political setting, and contemporary textual evidence.

Part 1, “Material Evidence: The Archaeology of the Regions,” is devoted to the enormous amount of new data coming out of the ground. It is organized, first, by the individual regions of the southern Levant and, second, by two key corpora of material evidence, coins and imported amphorae. In an initial “The Regions and Material Evidence: Overview,” Berlin discusses the key categories of physical evidence and their explanatory force. She demonstrates that dishes used for eating and drinking, imported wine amphorae, and bronze coins make visible culturally salient behaviors (and attitudes) toward foodways, consumption of imported wine, and political status.

The region-by-region account begins in Jerusalem, the political and religious heart of the land. In “New Evidence on the Nature and Location of Jerusalem during the Early Hellenistic Period,” Yiftah Shalev, Efrat Bocher, Helena Roth, Débora Sandhaus, Nitsan Shalom, and Yuval Gadot lay out the up-to-date archaeological evidence for the development of Jerusalem from the end of the Achaemenid era (mid–late fourth century BCE) to the end of the second century BCE, with particular attention to the remains of the Ptolemaic and early Seleucid city. They focus on the so-called city of David, and especially the new evidence from its north-

western corner. The following chapter, Ayala Zilberstein's "Hellenistic Military Architecture from the Giv'ati Parking Lot Excavations, Jerusalem," provides a detailed reconstruction of the recently excavated remains of successive phases of military architecture from this same area. Zilberstein argues that a first phase of construction, dated to the second quarter of the second century BCE, should be identified as the famed Seleucid Akra. She goes on to explore the military architecture's continued use under the middle Maccabees and final destruction, probably in the time of Alexander Jannaeus.

Moving outward from Jerusalem, Dvir Raviv's "Settlement and History of the Northern Judean Hills and Southern Samaria during the Early Hasmonean Period" and Sandhaus's "Settlements and Borders in the Shephelah from the Fourth to the First Centuries BCE" present the archaeological evidence from northern Judea/southern Samaria and southern Judea/northern Idumea, respectively, in the third and second centuries BCE. Using newly refined chronological diagnostics, they lay out the patterns and changes in settlement and the types and character of material remains, with particular attention to the second half of the second century BCE. A similar approach is taken in Uzi 'Ad's "Settlement in the Southern Coastal Plain ('Philistia') during the Early Hellenistic Periods (Third through Mid-second Centuries BCE)" and Zelinger's "Go West: Archaeological Evidence for Hasmonean Expansion toward the Mediterranean Coast." 'Ad's and Zelinger's in-depth treatments of the excavations at the large village of Gan Soreq and the manor house at El'ad, respectively, open out into studies of the wider settlement trajectories of these regions.

Looking to the north, in "Galilee in the Second Century BCE: Material Culture and Ethnic Identity" Leibner sets out the array of recent excavation and survey projects in the Galilee, focusing particularly on the lower Galilee and the important site of Khirbet el-'Eika. Berlin's "The Upper Galilee and the Northern Coast" discusses this hinterland of Tyre, with particular attention to the discoveries at Kedesh. She closes with a consideration of the place of Kedesh and the upper Galilee in the mental maps of Judeans, as reflected by their treatment in 1 Maccabees.

Three contributions focus on specific categories of material remains and their utility for dating and characterizing the identity of a site's inhabitants. Danny Syon's "The Hasmonean Settlement in Galilee: A Numismatic Perspective" discusses the significance of the distribution, quantity, and character of early Hasmonean coinage for fixing Jewish settlement in the

Galilee in the later second century BCE. Finkielsztein provides a summary of the finely dated stamped handles of imported amphorae from the second century BCE. Ariel's "John Hyrcanus I's First Autonomous Coins" offers a new analysis of the output of the Jerusalem mint under Antiochus VII and John Hyrcanus, arguing that Hyrcanus oversaw the mint's output, initially for the Seleucid state and subsequently, beginning in the 120s, on his own behalf, issuing a series of coins that asserted Judean autonomy and identity.

Part 2, "The Wider Stage: A Small State in a Great Power World," places the Hasmonean emergence in its regional environment, a task introduced in Kosmin's "Overview: The Middle Maccabees in Context." Two papers reconstruct the Seleucid context of the middle Maccabees. Sylvie Honigman's "Before the Spark Ignites the Fire: Structural Instabilities in Southern Syria" proposes long-term structural instability in the southern Levant, with respect to its demography, economic situation, and political destabilization. She argues that, catalyzed by the intra-Seleucid dynast conflict of the late 150s to early 130s BCE, local resilience collapsed. Altay Coşkun's "Seleucid Throne Wars: Resilience and Disintegration of the Greatest Successor Kingdom from Demetrius I to Antiochus VII" presents a critical narrative of these successive conflicts, which helps to elucidate where, when, and how a political space was opened up for Jonathan, Simon, and John Hyrcanus.

A pair of Ptolemaic papers asserts the continuing interest and involvement of the Egyptian kingdom in the affairs of the southern Levant even after the Sixth Syrian War. Christelle Fischer-Bovet discusses the continuation of Ptolemaic interventions into the second half of the second century BCE, elucidating the ambitions of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. In "Silver Coinage in Seleucid Coele Syria and Phoenicia: Implications for the History of Judea," Catharine Lorber turns to the numismatic data for evidence of Ptolemaic support of the Maccabean emergence and particularly dramatic turmoil in the 140s BCE.

Finally, Duncan E. MacRae's "Roman Hegemony and the Hasmoneans: Constructions of Empire" closely examines 1 Maccabees' depiction of Hasmonean interactions with the Roman Republic in order to propose that the work, and so the court of John Hyrcanus, provided a local articulation of Roman hegemony.

The third and final part, "Voices: Textual Responses to the Middle Maccabees," assesses the evidence produced by or in response to the Hasmonean court in the late second century BCE. Eckhardt's "Reading the

Middle Maccabees” offers a reading of 1 Maccabees, our guiding source for these decades, that focuses on the author’s attempt to legitimize Simon’s and John Hyrcanus’s positions and to promote an image of happy Hasmonean family relations, in marked contrast to the dynastic chaos of the Seleucid house and, possibly, the historical reality of the Maccabean brothers.

Two further chapters present alternative voices to the official Hasmonean account. Jutta Jokiranta’s “Competitors to Middle Maccabees: Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls” takes as a case study the cryptic Rule of the Congregation (Serekh ha-‘Edah) from Qumran. She argues that the text proposes a distinctly different path from that represented by the Hasmonean house—promoting the leadership of priests, sages, and scribes, education in the laws of Israel, and ethical decision making. In “Jewish Voices on Rome and Roman Imperialism,” Erich Gruen draws salutary attention to voices that were critical of Rome, the Hasmoneans’ ally, including those heard in the Dead Sea Scrolls, apocalyptic works, and even, in a muted way, in 1 Maccabees.

The concluding essay to this volume, Berlin and Kosmin’s “Conclusion: The Maccabean Rise to Power, in Archaeological and Historical Context,” attempts to bring together the key insights offered by the contributors. The evidence from the years of the middle Maccabees reveals a landscape marked by repeated violent events, unusual even for the Hellenistic world. We propose that the new archaeological evidence converges around a widespread and heretofore unlinked set of destructions and abandonments in the mid- to late 140s BCE. The historical reconstruction elucidates the place of long-term regional developments, reveals the continued importance of direct Ptolemaic interference and distant Roman support, and confirms the devastating and decisive impact of Seleucid civil war. Under Jonathan, Simon, and then John Hyrcanus, the emergent Hasmonean state seized the opportunity to expand into the abandoned areas, beginning in the Samaritan highlands, the Plain of Sharon, and the lower Galilee, and then continuing into northern Idumea and the upper Galilee.

In closing, we acknowledge the assistance and generosity of those who, by time, funding, and organizational skill, made possible our efforts over the past years: Michael Zank, director of the Elie Wiesel Center for Judaic Studies, Boston University; Sarah Leventer, coordinator and assistant for the Maccabees Project at Boston University; and Boston University’s Hillel House for hosting lectures. The 2015–2016 and 2016–2017 colloquia were supported by Boston University’s Jewish Cultural Endowment and Center

for the Humanities and Boston College's Institute for the Liberal Arts. The culminating Gazzada seminar, on which this book is based, was made possible by Gabriele Boccaccini, who hosted us in splendor at the Villa Cagnola, and by Jason Zurawski, whose assistance in planning and running the seminar was unfailingly gracious. Finally, we thank Joe Morgan Currie for indexing and Nicole Tilford, Bob Buller, and the staff of SBL Press for all they have done to usher this volume to print.

Part 1

Material Evidence: The Archaeology of the Regions

The Regions and Material Evidence: Overview

Andrea M. Berlin

In this section are presentations of the current state of archaeological evidence from Israel, by particular region or category of remains. The focus in every case is on the decades to either side of the mid-second century BCE, along with enough information about the years before and after to provide sufficient context and place the evidence within a longer trajectory. Each author is an authority on the archaeology and material culture of that region or category, and in every case writes from an understanding based on years of personal fieldwork and analysis. The result is a prismatic panoply, a faceted set of views that, taken together, offer an unprecedented perspective on one of the most fraught and consequential eras in the history of this land.

The regions as presented conform to a combination of topography and long-standing cultural and/or historical associations that largely arise from that topography's particular character (fig. 1.1). The categories—imported amphorae and coins—merit specific treatment due to their utility in articulating specific dates as well as points of origin and patterns of movement. The views provided range from a tight focus on a single set of constructions (Ayala Zilberstein on the Akra) to a panoptic scale (Uzi Leibner on the Galilee). In all cases, contributors present baseline evidence along with their own considerations of its social, economic, administrative, and historical ramifications. As always, the material remains are uneven, incomplete, exiguous, and ambiguous; “reading” them is an interpretive act, and the individual interpretations offered here do not cohere into a single neat consensus. They do, however, provide a comprehensive overview of the material testimony afforded by survey and excavation.



Fig. 1.1. Israel, relief map, with regions delineated. Regional names added by Andrea Berlin. Source: Eric Gaba/Wikimedia Commons.

Among the pieces of evidence gathered in these pages, three categories in particular reflect differential patterning, which suggests that people may have imbued them with meaning beyond the purely functional. These are, first, the types of dishes used for individual eating and drinking, a category generally termed “table wares”; second, imported wine amphorae, meaning large jars from producers in the Aegean and Mediterranean; and third, small change, meaning local issues of bronze coins. These categories make visible specific behaviors and attitudes, respectively, dining, consumption of imported wine, and a notional sense of political autonomy. This is not to say that any of these behaviors were necessarily and always personally meaningful or communicatively loaded—but that the patterns, spatial and chronological, of their material reflections in the mid-second century BCE may suggest that their ancient users could have seen them in this way.

Here it may be useful to illustrate these remains and, therefore, the material signals they might have afforded. In figure 1.2a are shown glossy slipped dishes, bowls, cups, and serving vessels. Some were imports from Aegean and Mediterranean producers, others locally made versions. Those shown were all found at the site of Maresha, in Idumea; similar decorated table vessels comprised the standard table settings for people living elsewhere in Idumea, as well as the southern coastal plain, Plain of Sharon, cities on the coast and inland (e.g., Samaria, Beth Shean/Scythopolis-Tel Iztabbah), and wealthy enclaves in interior Galilee such as Khirbet el-‘Eika and Kedesh. In contrast, in figure 1.2b are plain, undecorated small saucers and bowls. At the sites where such vessels comprise the standard individual setting, there are usually few to no vessels for group service such as kraters and table jugs, nothing that would suggest entertainments that included group dining. Such assemblages are initially typical of sites in Judea (except for the specific environs of Jerusalem’s southeastern hill), the Bethel Highlands, and southern Samaria. They come to be typical of Judean settlements founded in the course of Hasmonean expansion.

The second category of material remains are Aegean and Mediterranean wine amphorae (fig. 1.3). These vessels are large and bulky, heavy when filled, and therefore their appearance at a site represents, in addition to keen desire, a well-organized supply and market network. The jars themselves are similar in overall contour and bulk but have different details of rims, handles, and toes that indicate their production locale. Imported amphorae are found, often in impressive quantities, at every place where



Fig. 1.2a. Decorated table vessels for eating, drinking, and serving found at Maresha. Courtesy of Ian Stern. Photographs by Mark Letteney.



Fig. 1.2b. Undecorated, plain table vessels for eating and drinking, found at Gamla. Source: Danny Syon, courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 1.3. Imported wine amphorae. Clockwise from upper left, from north Africa, Brindisi and Kos (found at Maresha), and Rhodes (found at Kedesh). Top row and bottom right courtesy of G rald Finkielsztejn, Israel Antiquities Authority; lower left courtesy of the Tel Kedesh Excavations.

decorated table wares occur, including inland sites such as Maresha, Jerusalem (specifically the environs of the Akra), Samaria, Khirbet el-^cEika, and Kedesh. They are initially absent from sites in Judea and the Bethel Highlands, and from later Judean settlements founded in the course of Hasmonean expansion (see further Finkielsztein in this volume).

The third group of identity-signaling objects are local issues of bronze coins, specifically the first Hasmonean coins minted in Jerusalem by John Hyrcanus in the early to mid-120s BCE. In this volume, Donald Ariel discusses the inception of these issues specifically; Danny Syon shows how their distribution in Galilee followed the appearance there of Seleucid issues from the same mint when it was under the authority of Antiochus VII. The archaeological evidence shows that at Hasmonean settlements, these coins essentially displaced contemporary and readily available Seleucid bronze issues, making them a material accompaniment to the expansion of Hasmonean settlement. Worth noting also is that these early Hasmonean settlements were uniformly small, rural, agriculturally based, and likely self-sustaining; no imported goods are found at any of them, suggesting that their inhabitants were probably not engaged in wider market networks. While these first Hasmonean coins surely had some fiduciary utility, a key point was also their ability to convey a sense of political identity and autonomy, as argued here by Ariel.

Jerusalem in the Early Hellenistic Period: New Evidence for Its Nature and Location

*Yiftah Shalev, Efrat Bocher, Helena Roth,
Débora Sandhaus, Nitsan Shalom, and Yuval Gadot*

Introduction

We present new evidence for the location, size, and nature of Jerusalem in the early Hellenistic period, the third and second centuries BCE. The evidence derives from excavations in an area known as the Giv'ati parking lot, which is situated on the western slope of the city's southeastern ridge (fig. 2.1). The entirety of the southeastern ridge is known as the city of David. The Giv'ati parking lot covers the northern portion of the city of David's western side.

Remarkably, even after over 150 years of excavations and archaeological study, the fate of Jerusalem following its destruction by the Babylonians in 586 BCE and until the erection of the first fortification wall by the late Hasmonean rulers is still disputed. Whereas written sources describe Persian and Hellenistic Jerusalem as a fortified city with a temple standing at its heart, at least from the days of Nehemiah (3:1–32; 12:31–40),¹ years of field research have brought very little archaeological information regarding its actual layout (see summaries in Finkelstein 2008, 2009; Lipschits 2009, 2011a; De Groot 2012, 173–75; Ussishkin 2012; Ristau 2016, 15–18). Until the excavations reported on here, the only undisputed built remains

1. Beside the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the only other source that might relate to this period is the description of Jerusalem in Josephus's *Ag. Ap.* 1.183, presumably quoting a text by Hecataeus of Abdera. However, the attribution of this text to Hecataeus of Abdera and its dating to the late fourth century BCE is considered spurious.

from these periods were found in Areas E and G of Yigal Shiloh's excavations (1984, 14, 20–21), located at the central and southern part of the eastern slope of the city of David ridge (Strata IX and VIII; see De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 19–22).

Another possible remain of this period is the so-called Northern Tower excavated by Eilat Mazar (2009; 2015, 189–203) at Area G. Its date to the Persian period is based on material in the fills sealed below it. This dating, however, remains under debate, and many scholars prefer dating the tower to the late Hellenistic period, as a component of the Hasmonean construction of the First Wall (e.g., Steiner 2011, 313; Geva 2012; Finkelstein 2018, 25). Until recently, all other Persian-period finds were found in fills or dumps located along the eastern slopes of the ridge, unrelated to any definable structures.

This gap of over four hundred years, during which we have no clear information regarding Jerusalem's exact size or even location, has led to various reconstructions. The lack of Persian-period remains on the western hill has led most scholars to argue that the city must have been relatively small, restricted to the borders of the southeastern ridge (the city of David). Some scholars have claimed the city covered the entire ridge (e.g., Avi-Yonah 1954; Tsafirir 1977; Avigad 1983, 61–62; Stern 2001, 434–36; Geva 2014; De Groot 2012, 173–76), and was possibly even fortified (Mazar 2015, 189–203), while others restricted it only to certain parts of the ridge, for example, its southern portion or the slopes surrounding the spring (Finkelstein 2008; Lipschits 2009). A few scholars, however, have maintained that the city did extend all the way to the western hill, explaining the absence of remains there by postulating a more spacious or simply sporadic construction there (Ben-Dov 2002, 84–88; Ussishkin 2006, 2012; and to some extent also Zevit 2009). Recently it has even been suggested that in the Persian period the city was restricted to the Temple Mount itself (Finkelstein, Koch, and Lipschits 2011; Finkelstein 2016; 2018, 24), although such a reconstruction has been criticized, as it would disconnect the city from its only natural water source, the Gihon spring (De Groot and Geva 2015). Jerusalem of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods has been even less explored. Architectural remains dating to this period include mainly a partly destroyed building in Area E (Berlin 2012b, 5–29). On the basis of these few and sketchy remains, therefore, most scholars have claimed that the city retained its modest size and character from the Persian period through the Hellenistic period (De Groot 2012, 179–80).

Here we offer a preliminary presentation of newly excavated finds dating to the Hellenistic period and discuss their implications for reconstructing Jerusalem's urban development and sociopolitical history during that era. The new data presented below will enable us to present a new understanding regarding the location and nature of the city, mainly that the center of Jerusalem shifted to the western slopes of the southeastern ridge.

The Finds from the Western Slope

Previous Excavations

Most archaeological excavations conducted in Jerusalem have focused on the eastern slope of the southeastern ridge, leaving the western slope less explored (figs. 2.1–2; see Reich 2011 for the various expeditions). Excavations in this latter area are limited to those of John Crowfoot and George Fitzgerald (1929; Crowfoot 1945) in the early years of the twentieth century; Kathleen Kenyon's Area M (1966, fig. 2), positioned at the southern part of the current excavation of the Giv'ati parking lot; and the current excavations under the Giv'ati parking lot, which have been ongoing now for over fifteen years, first under Eli Shukron and Ronny Reich (2005); continued between 2004 and 2016 by Doron Ben-Ami and Yana Tchekhanovets, who expanded the excavations to the entire parking lot (Ben-Ami 2013); and since 2016 by the current authors (fig. 2.2, Areas 10 and 50).² All of the above-mentioned excavations revealed finds dating between the Iron Age IIA (the ninth century BCE) and the Abbasid period (tenth century CE), thus allowing a better understanding of Jerusalem's layout over the periods.

From these excavations we have learned that the Central Valley (known also as the Tyropoeon Valley) is probably located along the west-

2. The renewed excavations at Giv'ati parking lot were resumed in July 2017 (licenses G-71/17 and G-11/18). They are headed by Yuval Gadot (Tel-Aviv University) and Yiftah Shalev (Israel Antiquities Authority), with Efrat Bocher and Nitsan Shalom, who serve as field directors. Other staff members include David Gellman, Helen Machline, Helena Roth, and Ayala Zilberstein (area supervisors); Rikki Zalut and Shiran Aber (registration); Johanna Regev (C14); Débora Sandhaus and Liora Freud (ceramic specialists); Donald T. Ariel (numismatics); Vadim Assman (surveying); and Assaf Perets (photography). We wish to thank Yuval Baruch, Oded Lipschits, Amit Reem, Yehiel Zelinger, Joe Uziel, and Oriya Dasberg for assisting us during these excavations.

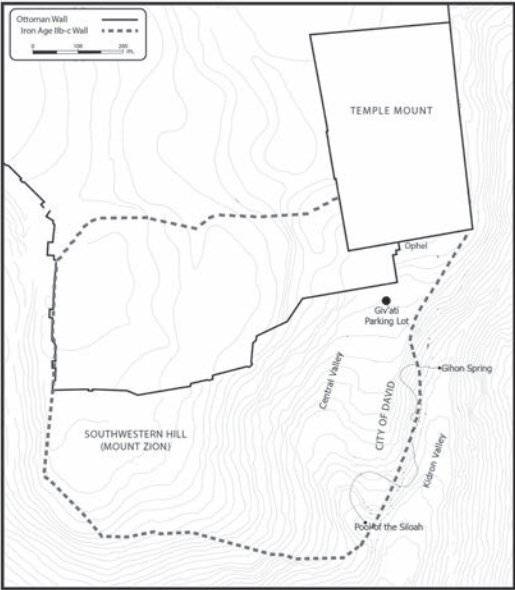


Fig. 2.1. Map of Jerusalem with the location of Giv'ati parking lot.



Fig. 2.2. Aerial view of Giv'ati parking lot excavation and remains dating to the Hellenistic period. Courtesy of City of David Archive. Photograph by Yair Isboutsy.

ern edge of the excavation area (fig. 2.1). Buildings dating between the Iron Age and the Hellenistic period were built in steps along the slope. After the destruction of 70 CE, when builders here were no longer constrained by the valley's topography, new constructions, including a large complex with a peristyle villa, were erected on massive foundation walls with earth-and-stone fills brought in to level the ground (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2013, 164; 2017).

As for the Hellenistic period, Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets dated several groups of remains to this period, assigning them to three different phases (fig. 2.2):

1. One retaining wall and two superimposed floors, with pottery dating to the early second century BCE. All were found at the southwestern sector of the excavation area (Ben-Ami 2013b, 7–8, Area M1; Sandhaus 2013).
2. A fortification wall, projecting tower, and series of fills that slope westward toward the Central Valley, which they called a glacis (fig. 2.2, outlined in black). The excavators regard all of these remains as a linked group, which they propose to identify as the fortress known as the Seleucid Akra (Ben-Ami 2013a, 19–22; Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015b; 2016). According to subsequent study by Ayala Zilberstein, the wall and tower date to the first half of the second century, while these particular sloping fills date to the second half of the second century BCE (in this volume; gravel-system glacis and pottery-system glacis).
3. A massive structure located in the northern part of the excavation area (Ashlar Building 4001), dating to the later second or early first century BCE (fig. 2.2; Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015a; Zilberstein, this volume). The excavators identify this building as a Hasmonean-era construction.

The Renewed Excavations

In the summer of 2017 Tel-Aviv University and the Israel Antiquities Authority renewed the excavations in the Giv'ati parking lot. One of the main goals was to try to expose layers dating to the Persian and early Hellenistic (pre-Hasmonean) periods. We started therefore in Areas 10 and 50, where previous excavations had already removed most of the later

layers (figs. 2.2–3; Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015b, 69–71; Ben-Ami and Misgav 2016, 104*, their Area M2). We exposed a series of remains here, dating from the early Hellenistic period to the late Iron Age. All of these remains were found *under* the massive sloping glacis fills found by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets.

Late Iron Age and Persian Construction (Phases 10/IX–VIII)

The earliest construction exposed so far, in Area 10, is a large ashlar structure: Building 100, most probably a public building. Its walls and floors had been laid directly above bedrock that was deliberately hewn and flattened into wide steps. It is not yet clear whether this hewing was done in order to accommodate the construction of the ashlar structure or of an earlier one.

Building 100, currently exposed only in its southern half, contains a row of three large rooms. The rooms were found filled with debris, including many collapsed stones, ash, and even burnt beams, indicating it was destroyed in a large conflagration (Zilberstein in this volume). Pottery found crushed on its floor dates its destruction to the Iron Age IIC, most probably the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem at 586 BCE (for further details see Shalev et al. 2020).

There may have been a period of abandonment following the destruction, but if so it did not last long. A few of the building's walls were reused and new ones added, creating a kind of chamber. A large area was cleared of earlier debris in the building's northern part (fig. 2.3, circled in purple). Pottery found in fills as well as in the chamber created by the newly added walls dates to the early Persian period (fifth century BCE; see Shalev et al. 2020).³ The sequence suggests that the reused and new constructions date to the early Persian period, meaning that parts of Building 100 remained in use, even if only for some small-scale settlement or casual activities. Similar Persian-period reuse of a partly destroyed Iron Age structure was also noted in the Ashlar House of Shiloh's Area E (De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 21–22). It seems therefore that the Persian-period town was neither newly rebuilt altogether nor limited only to the uppermost part of the eastern hill, and further that some areas in the west remained occupied and/or in use (and see further below).

3. We would like to thank Liora Freud for identifying and dating the pottery.



Fig. 2.3. Area 10, plan of architectural remains from Iron IIC, Persian, and Hellenistic periods. (updated May 2019)

Building 110 of the Early Hellenistic Period (Phases 10/VIIb and 10/VIIa)

After a period of settling in the partly destroyed ruins, a new structure, Building 110, was erected above the remains of the Iron Age one (figs. 2.3–5). This new structure, also located in Area 10, went through a number of architectural changes (phases 10/VIIb and 10/VIIa) and, eventually, a collapse.

The façade of Building 110 is a long east-west wall, over 10 m (W1209), with foundations built of large field stones and a superstructure of well-dressed ashlar. A wide entrance, with a monumental threshold made of one ashlar stone, was incorporated into the upper ashlar course. The monumental entrance and the superstructure's ashlar courses were already exposed during the previous excavation. Based on pottery and other finds found next to but not immediately abutting the wall, it had been dated to the Iron Age IIB–C (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015a; Ben Ami and Misgav 2016). Exposing the wall's foundations proved that this date was too early; instead, it should be dated to the early Hellenistic period (third to early

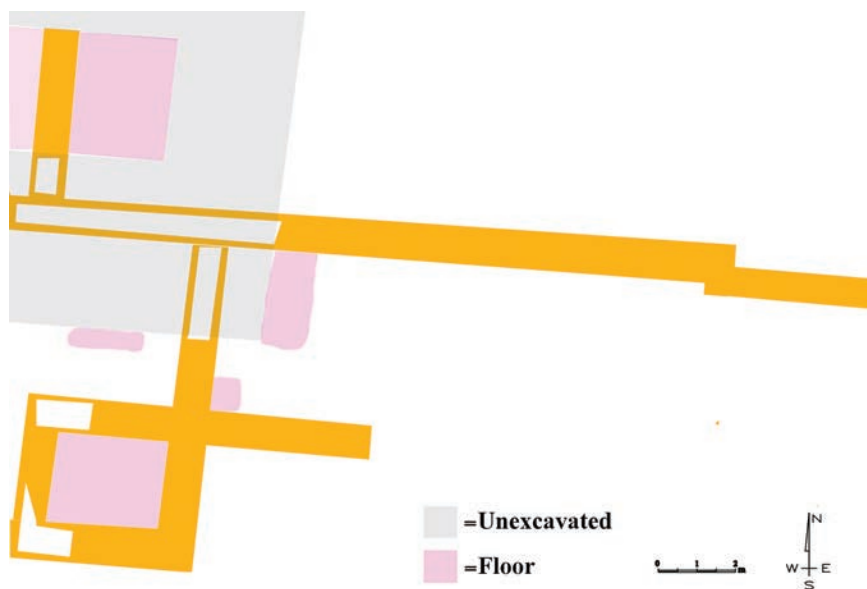


Fig. 2.4. Area 10. Schematic plan of Building 110.



Fig. 2.5. Area 10. Wall of Building 110 built above the collapse of Building 100, looking south.

second century BCE). Building 110 should be interpreted as an administrative structure, one of the largest ever found in Jerusalem. This is indicated by its sheer size, the use of ashlar blocks in its construction, the monumentality of its floors, and also by some of the small finds recovered inside.

The new builders were clearly aware of the previous Iron Age structure, as they laid some of the walls, for example the southern wall (W1088), right over previous ones, using them as foundations (fig. 2.3). Other walls, mostly the inner ones, were built directly over heaps of debris left from the destroyed earlier structure. This can be vividly observed in the case of a wall (W1072) that is positioned directly above collapse that is itself above a monolithic pier (Pier 1395) belonging to Building 100 (fig. 2.5).

At the southwestern side of the excavation area, south of the façade, we were able to define one large room with a yellowish plaster floor, 10 cm thick (L. 1051, fig. 2.6), that had been cut from three sides by robbing trenches of walls. The floor was laid over a 40-cm-thick rubble foundation intentionally placed over earlier remains in an effort to level the area. This plaster floor was found covered by a large collapse of stones. The northern portion of this room was severely disturbed by Roman-period construction. Nevertheless, several more patches of similarly made floor along with remains of two walls and another such floor to the north of the façade seem to indicate the continuation of the entire structure in that direction.

The pottery from the accumulation above the floor (L.1035) offers evidence for the date of the building's collapse. Except for one fragment of an amphora of Greek manufacture (unillustrated), all the material is of local Jerusalem production. This includes fragments of both utility and table-serving vessels. Of the former, there are storage jars with thick, rounded rims, either straight or turned outward (fig. 2.7:1–3), jugs characterized by out-turned rims and a strap handle drawn from the rim (fig. 2.7:4), and a flask with a thickened rounded rim (fig. 2.7:5). The table forms include a krater with an out-turned rim creating a shelf (fig. 2.7:6) and a shallow plate with relatively thick walls and an in-folded thick rim (fig. 2.7:7). The appearance of forms most typical of the third and second century BCE (e.g., the thickened-rim storage jars), the occurrence of other forms that are clear predecessors of forms that appear late in the second century BCE (e.g., shallow plates with thickened walls), and also the absence of any of those later forms (e.g., shallow plates with thin walls, storage jars with thin walls and collared rims) point to a date in the middle of the second century BCE for the building's collapse.



Fig. 2.6. Area 10, Building 110, Floor 1051, and a layer of collapsed stones on top of it, looking south.

Additional dating evidence comes from material retrieved from the floor makeup itself as well as from a fill placed intentionally below it (L.1178) and so contemporary with its original construction. In the fill beneath the floor was found a coin dating to Antiochus III (198–187 BCE), providing a *terminus post quem* of the early second century BCE for the construction of the floor.⁴ Pottery found with the coin includes fragments of storage jars with thickened rims (fig. 2.7:8–9), cooking pots with slightly thick, tall necks ending in a simple rim (fig. 2.7:10–12) and shallow, thick-walled plates with an in-folded rim (fig. 2.7:13–14). This assemblage is worthy of note; few stratified loci of this date were known until now, so it had been difficult to assign a precise date to these specific forms. The plates had been generally dated to the late second to early first century BCE due to their resemblance to later thin-walled forms (Berlin 2015, 634, pl. 6.1.2:21–22). The larger and coarser versions of the form, however, were already found at the Jewish Quarter excavations, sealed below a Stratum 6 floor, and dated to the middle of the second century

4. We would like to thank Donald T. Ariel for this information. Ariel will publish the entire corpus of coins from the Giv'ati excavations.

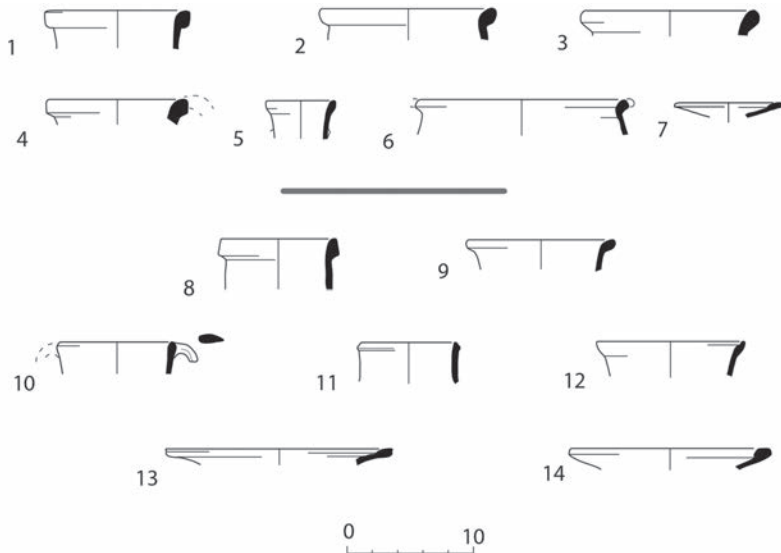


Fig. 2.7. A selection of pottery found within the collapse on Floor 1051 and in the fill below the floor (L.1178).

BCE (Geva and Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2003, 188, pl. 6.1:16). In other hill sites these were also attested throughout the second century BCE (Bar-Nathan 2012, 95, type J-PL1A; see discussion therein).

Excavating the fills below the floor revealed that the floor itself had been relaid or renovated at some point after Building 110's original construction (fig. 2.10). The evidence for this is that the floor seals a robber trench that continues the line of interior wall W1072 farther to the west (fig. 2.9). It seems, therefore, that in the building's initial plan (Phase 10/VIIb) the wall was longer and divided the western part of the structure into two square rooms. At some later point (Phase 10/VIIa), this part of the wall was removed and the two rooms were combined into one oblong room. The only indication of the original floor was found farther to the east, in the form of a small patch of crushed lime circa 1 m below the elevation of the later floor.

From sealed fills below the floor (L.1070 and L.1084) came pottery fragments dating from the late Iron Age (seventh to early sixth century BCE) to the middle of the second century. A great deal of this material seems to be third century in date. Among these forms we can note storage jars with thickened rims (fig. 2.8:1–4), cooking pots with a vertical, thick, tall neck ending in a simple rim (fig. 2.8:11–13), and small carinated

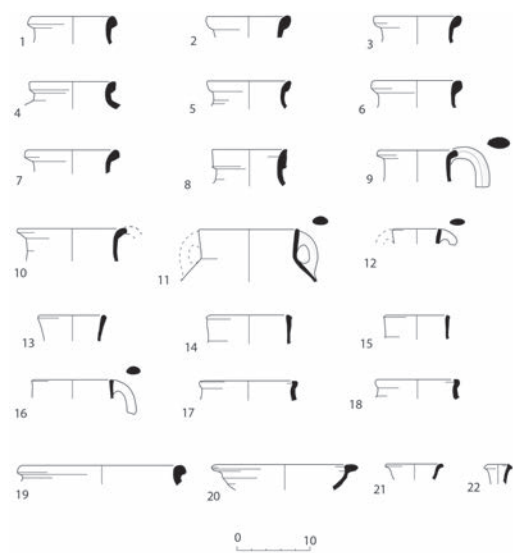


Fig. 2.8. A selection of pottery found in the fills below Floor 1051.

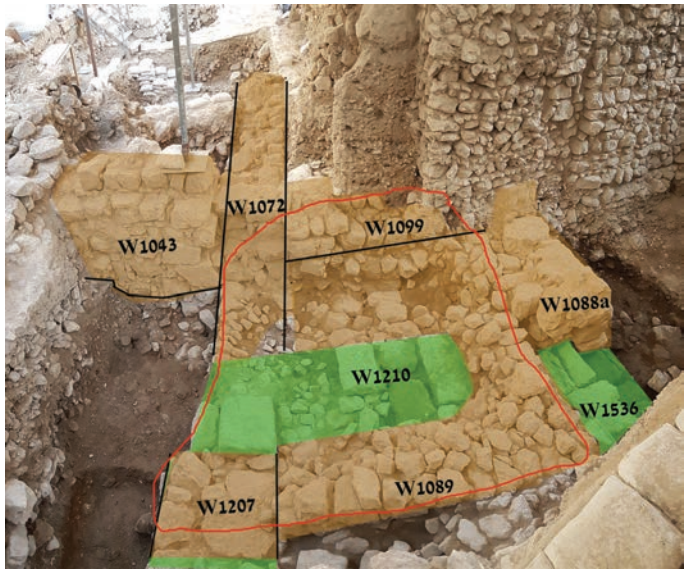


Fig. 2.9. Area 10, the western portion of Building 110 after the removal of Floor 1051 and the fill below it, looking east. The red outline indicates the extent of the Hellenistic floor. Walls in green are Iron Age IIC that were integrated into this later Hellenistic building. Wall 1072 originally continued to the west but was robbed out in a subsequent phase.



Fig. 2.10. A golden earring and a bead. Photograph by Clara Amit.

bowls with out-turned rims (fig. 2.8:20–21). Other vessels include jars and jugs with the out-turned, out-folded rims common through the third and second centuries BCE (fig. 2.8:5–7; 9–10); cooking pots with vertical, tall necks thinner than the former type (fig. 2.8:14–16) or with a short, thick neck with a flat rim and an inner groove (fig. 2.8:17–18); kraters with thickened, rounded rims (fig. 2.8:19); and some small containers for personal use such as one unguentarium (fig. 2.8:22). Last are some sherds of jars with thick walls and out-folded rims (fig. 2.8:8). Until recently, these were dated generally to the late second century BCE through the first half of the first century BCE (Berlin 2015, 637, 6.1.14:2, thin-walled version 6.1.15:1–2; Bar-Nathan 2012, 28–31, Type S-SJ4a). Hillel Geva and Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom (2003, 176–77, pl. 6.1:23–24; see therein parallels for the middle of the second century BCE), however, already suggested that the coarser and wide-walled jars should be dated at least as early as the middle of the second century BCE, as they appeared already in the Jewish Quarter at Jerusalem, in Stratum 6. Their appearance in the Giv‘ati excavations’ assemblage in the sealed context described above seemed to corroborate Geva’s date.

Taken together, the finds and stratigraphy indicate that Building 110 was initially constructed in the third century BCE (Phase 10/VIIb) and underwent a remodeling in the early second century BCE (Phase 10/VIIa).

The importance of Building 110—and the high status of those who used it—is reflected by several small finds found in its fills, especially almost twenty clay bullae and two items of gold jewelry: a golden bead and an earring (fig. 2.10). The bead was found sealed in the floor makeup,

while the earring came from fills against the southern wall. Both items are of high quality and workmanship, made using the filigree technique, a delicate process using tiny beads or twisted threads. The bead is decorated with fine spirals; the earring is adorned with a detailed head of a horned animal, either an antelope or gazelle, featuring eyes, mouth, ears, and other details. No exact parallel to the bead has yet been found, but similar objects are known from several collections, dated from the fifth to third century BCE. The earring has several close parallels from sites around the Mediterranean, especially in Greece and its surroundings, usually dating to the third century BCE. Several similar earrings have been found at Hellenistic sites at Israel, including Ashdod, Maresha, and Khirbet Za'akuka, and in Jerusalem at the Ketef Hinnom burial site (see Shalev, Ariel, and Gadot 2018).

The clay bullae, all fragmented, were found throughout: in fills above the floor, in fills against the walls, and even one from inside the floor makeup. Half of them are small, unstamped fragments, but ten carry motifs derived from Greek myth (fig. 2.11): male and female figures, animals, objects, and vegetal elements. These include for example a bulla with the image of Athena Promachos (the Warrior), one with a figure of an athlete, and one carrying off-center stars, probably the representations of the *pyloi* of the Dioscuri. Bullae bearing such depictions are common during the Seleucid period, and similar ones have been found elsewhere in Israel, in both administrative and domestic contexts, for example, Tel Kedesh (Herbert and Berlin 2003, 50–52) and Tel Iztabbah (Mazor and Atrash 2018, 127–30).⁵

Other Early Hellenistic Remains at Giv'ati Parking Lot

During the excavation at her Area M, Kenyon (1966, 84) revealed several walls, which she dated to the second–first century BCE. At their excavation Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets reexposed Kenyon's trench and expanded it to the south (their Area M5), revealing fills and surfaces relating to these walls. Although the final report of this area has not yet been published, the preliminary publications date these remains to the third to early second century BCE (fig. 2.2, Structure A; see Zilberstein in this volume). In terms of the stratigraphy, these walls are below, and therefore

5. We thank Sharon Herbert for this information. Herbert will publish the corpus of bullae dating to the Hellenistic period found in the Giv'ati parking lot excavations.

Fig. 2.11. Hellenistic bulla from Building 110.
Photograph by Sasha Flit.



clearly earlier than, the fortress and tower that were built above them and cut their eastern side.

Other remains from this period were found farther to the south, some by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets (their Area M4) and some by us (Area 50). These include more walls, floors, and an installation, forming four rooms of a single large, apparently residential structure (fig. 2.2, Area 50, Structure B). Several phases were identified, in which floor levels were raised and new installations built above older ones (fig. 2.12). Pottery from these floors provides a date of the third to early second century BCE. The structure was put out of use by the early to mid-second century BCE, when it was covered by the sloping fills related to the construction of the wall and tower to its east (see below and also Zilberstein in this volume).

The remains described above seem to be domestic in character rather than public, as is the case with Building 110. Nonetheless, they were built on the same orientation as that structure (fig. 2.2), an indication that they formed part of an ordered plan, one constructed according to an already existing layout, most probably based on the street that follows the Central Valley (Shalev et al. 2020).

Late Hellenistic Construction (Phases 10/VI–10/IV)

Remains of the late Hellenistic period, meaning the time of the Hasmonean rulers, are represented in three superimposed layers in Area 10. These are described here only briefly. The first set of these remains consists of the slanting layers of stone, soil, gravel, and rubble that Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets (2016) identified as the glacis of the Akra fortress, the eastern part of which they excavated (Phase 10/VI; see Zilberstein in this volume: “gravel system” glacis and “pottery system” glacis). The western edge of the second of these fill systems was heavily damaged in the first



Fig. 2.12. Area 50, Domestic Structure B. Two phases of two rooms, looking south. In the room to the right (west), there is a circular stone installation against the wall. In the room to the left (east) is a tabun, resting on a higher floor level.

century CE by the insertion of a Jewish ritual bath (Phase 10/II), which severed the connection between the fill and other features dug by us further to the west.

The second set of late Hellenistic remains (Phase 10/V) consists of several features cut into the uppermost stone layer of the glacis, along with layers of dark ash, possible evidence for industrial activities, covering a large portion of the area. In the ash layers, we identified several concentrations of clay oven pieces mixed with semicomplete pottery vessels. Only a small part of the northernmost oven was found in situ, but the large amount of ash and many other clay-oven fragments seem to belong to at least two or more large industrial ovens that stood somewhere nearby. The pottery found in this layer can be dated between the late second to mid-first century BCE, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the final set of glacis fill systems.

A third late Hellenistic phase is attested by a wide fieldstone wall (W1042, Phase 10/IV) that cuts the ovens and ash layers on the eastern side of the excavation area. The wall was first interpreted as a retaining

wall of the glacis, but further excavation proved that it was built above the glacis and even cuts into it. The wall itself is cut by the first century CE *miqveh* to the south and also by the walls of the late Roman villa to the north, which means that it has no clear relation to any other architectural feature. We tentatively propose to associate it with Building 4001, a massive, well-dressed ashlar structure that Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets exposed and that also covered the glacis systems (see Zilberstein in this volume). This structure was dated to the late second to mid-first century BCE (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015a).

The Urban Layout of Jerusalem during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods

Mapping all the architectural remains revealed in the Giv'ati parking lot excavations shows that the area was extensively built up prior to the period of Hasmonean control. It already included a large public structure, Building 110, in the north, and smaller domestic structures farther to the south (fig. 2.2, Areas 10 and 50). The size of Building 110 and the nature of some of the finds suggest that this area served an affluent sector of society. These discoveries strongly indicate that early Hellenistic Jerusalem was larger than previously thought, expanding beyond the top of the southeastern ridge. The finds from the Persian period, although meager and reflecting resettlement within older Iron Age structures rather than new construction, raise the possibility that activities along the western slope were part of a long-lived, repeating trend.

The new finds challenge previous reconstructions of the city's extent in Persian and early Hellenistic times. They are located farther west and downslope from the accepted limits of the southeastern ridge (Geva 2012, 2014), farther north than the area defined as the city limits to the south (Finkelstein 2008; Lipschits 2009), and definitely farther south than the Temple Mount itself, the area recently suggested to be the ancient mound (Finkelstein, Koch, and Lipschits 2011; Finkelstein 2016). These reconstructions were all based on the presence or absence of artifacts (mostly pottery sherds, stamped jar handles, and coins) on various parts of the hill. They were also based on the assumption that access to the Gihon spring, located at the bottom of the eastern slope of the city of David ridge, was essential for the city's existence.

We believe that the new finds presented here are fundamental to this discussion for two reasons. First, our discoveries include architec-

tural remains that definitively show that the slope was inhabited to some extent in the Persian period and more intensively in early Hellenistic times. Second, these discoveries lead to a new understanding regarding the importance of the Gihon spring, one that was not fully appreciated before. In the early periods (pre-Iron Age IIB), most scholars agree that the city's inhabitants would have relied on access to the spring, whose source lay on the eastern slope. That access became less critical in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, however, with the cutting of Tunnel VIII (known familiarly as Hezekiah's Tunnel; Reich and Shukron 2004; but see also Ussishkin 1995). This conduit transferred the water from the Kidron to the Shiloah Pool, located at the southwestern corner of the city of David ridge and the southern edge of the Central Valley. It was at this same time that occupation spread to neighboring hills to the north and west of the city of David ridge (fig. 2.1; Geva 2006; 2014, 138–41; Reich 2011 and earlier literature). Consequently, when considering where people lived in the aftermath of the Babylonian destruction, we need not automatically begin with the spring and the slope above it. Instead we should take into account the location of the pool and the impact it must have had on Jerusalem's layout in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

The location of the town's main water source within the Central Valley meant that people no longer needed to make their way toward the spring's source on the eastern slope. This is very likely why, except for a few possible reused buildings in the southeast (Shiloh's Areas E and D), most of this eastern slope was left unbuilt all the way down to the nineteenth century CE. This area was instead used variously as a burial ground, for agriculture terraces, and as a landfill for garbage (De Groot 2012, 179–84; Gadot 2014). The easiest access to water now passes on the western slope, along the same route used by the early Roman-period Stepped Street (Szanton et al. 2016; fig. 2.1 above). While remains of an even earlier street dating to the Iron Age or Hellenistic period have not yet been found here, it is plausible to reconstruct such a thoroughfare running from the pool toward the Temple Mount, these being the two most important points in the city's layout throughout its history. While we lack firm archaeological evidence that the pool was utilized during the Persian and Hellenistic periods, it is nevertheless plausible to imagine a reservoir of some kind at that location. Tunnel VIII was still in use in the first century CE, when a new pool was constructed at its southern edge, at the same location as the Iron Age one. It is likely that the pool continued to serve as a water source for the

inhabitants of Jerusalem between those times as well (De Groot and Weksler-Bdolah 2014).⁶

When considering the topographical situation of the finds described here and other discoveries along the route connecting the Temple Mount and the Shiloah Pool, the choice to rebuild the city along the western slope is readily understandable. The western slope offered a more moderate topography (perhaps, as suggested above, due to earlier Iron Age modifications to the slope) and so allowed easier passage between these two key points. This situation also helps explain the architectural finds unearthed by our expedition. It seems that the utilization of the western slope, especially our Area 10, for public construction was part of a long tradition, beginning with our Building 100 and followed by Building 110.

The destruction of Building 100, the earliest structure so far revealed, dates to the Iron Age IIC. It held public functions and was violently destroyed in 586 BCE. Parts of the building were reused soon afterward. Building 110 was built along the same lines as the earlier building, reusing some of its walls. The positioning of a massive fortification at this spot (whether identified as the Akra or not) indicates a structure purposely built to control the summit of the city of David ridge, while allowing those inside to watch over buildings to its west and northwest. Although the construction of the huge glacis buried the buildings below it, the long-standing character and use of this area was retained, probably in part, at least, because of topographical logic. Following the destruction of the fortress and glacis, the Hasmoneans also constructed buildings of a similar nature here.

Jerusalem's urban layout, as in most ancient urban settlements, was probably ordered not on some preplanned idea but rather on adjusting newer construction to topographic reality and already existing monumental architectural features.⁷ Such features will have included fortification walls, monumental structures such as a temple, the location of the city gates, and the main streets leading from them into town. These functioned as architectural anchors, influencing the layout of the street

6. That the Temple Mount served for the location of a temple during the entire period is hardly disputed, despite the lack of archaeological evidence (Lipschits 2009, 19–20; De Groot and Geva 2015, 16). The rebuilding of the temple is described in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 3; 5:16; 6:14–18; Neh 2:13–15; 3:1–32), and there is a broad scholarly consensus about their essential historicity.

7. For the distinction between ancient ordered towns and the modern concept of urban planning see Owens 1991, 149–63, and especially Laurence 2007, 12–13.

network and the orientation of structures along them. The continuous use of the same layout throughout several periods indicates the continued relevance of its constituent physical elements—walls, gates, and main thoroughfares (MacDonald 1986, 15–20; Smith 2007, 16–17). Here on the western slope of the central city, the similar orientation of the early Hellenistic and late Iron Age buildings seems to indicate that both were arranged along and respected at least one such element from the late sixth to the third century BCE. The likeliest candidate would have been the street layout, especially the main street leading from the Shiloah Pool toward the Temple Mount.

Conclusions

The architectural remains, described here for the first time, are an important contribution to the debate over the location, size, and nature of Jerusalem in Ptolemaic and Seleucid times. Coupled with the new understanding of major changes occurring in Jerusalem's geography following the diversion of water to the Shiloah Pool, they testify to the importance of the western slope of the city of David ridge during the early Hellenistic period. The area remained important also during the second century BCE with the construction of the Akra and during the first century BCE with the building of a large ashlar building, as was shown by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets (2015a, 2016). When the city began to grow again in the late Hellenistic period, it naturally expanded from this point westward and northward (Geva 2013).

Hellenistic Military Architecture from the Giv'ati Parking Lot Excavations, Jerusalem

Ayala Zilberstein

Introduction

The study of Jerusalem during the Hellenistic period has relied largely, until recently, on historical sources. The plethora of written descriptions contrasts starkly with the limited evidence of material remains dated to this period. The lack of archaeological evidence related to the daily realities and events in Jerusalem has limited the discussion and led to the development of two separate research fields with few points of intersection. The excavations of the past decade on the western slope of the city's southeastern hill, in the zone known as the Giv'ati parking lot, initially directed by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets and since 2016 by Gadot and Shalev,¹ have contributed new

1. The excavation was carried out under the auspices of the IAA and was directed by Doron Ben-Ami and Yana Tchekhanovets and Salome Cohen, co-director in the excavation areas discussed here. My grateful thanks to the directors for their permission and guidance regarding the work on the findings. In addition, I would like also to thank Guy D. Stiebel and Doron Ben-Ami, the advisors for my PhD dissertation, Debora Sandhaus (pottery) and Donald.T. Ariel (numismatics) for their crucial contribution and their permission to cite here the preliminary results of their analyses, as well as Vadim Essman and Ya'akov Shmidov (surveyors) and Assaf Peretz (field photographer) and the staff and colleagues and supervisors Oskar Bejarno, Hagar Ben-Dov, Sara Tal, Dorit Gutreich, Salome Cohen, Federiko Kobrin, Na'ama Sharabi, Ariel Shatil, David Tanami.

As part of the Gadot-Shalev excavations short season in 2018, conducted in collaboration with Manfred Oeming (Heidelberg University), Axel Graupner, and Andrzej Piotr Kluczyński (Bonn University), I oversaw the excavation of an additional small area to the west of the salient, which consisted of the continuation

archaeological insights, enabling a fresh examination of unsolved issues related to the urban development of Hellenistic Jerusalem and a better-informed discussion of events in this period. This paper will focus on the military architectural remains primarily found in the Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets excavations.

This discussion is divided into three parts. First, I present the excavation results and the preliminary stratigraphic conclusions with regard to the phases of the military architecture. Second, I discuss the contribution of these remains to our understanding of the development of the city's southeastern hill and the reconstruction of its overall urban development. Finally, I offer an interpretation that links the phases of military architecture with the historical descriptions of the Seleucid Akra as well as with other military events and building projects described in 1 and 2 Maccabees and by Josephus.

The Military Architectural Components and Their Development

The military architectural remains from the excavations of Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets (2016) consist of a massive fortification wall, a salient, and a series of sloping layers that seem to be construction fills, all located at the bottom of a deep cliff at the edge of the western slope of the hill. The salient was built above an earlier structure, whose final use has been dated preliminarily by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets to the later third to early second century BCE on the basis of pottery, including complete vessels found on floors (see Shalev et al. in this volume, fig. 2.2, Area 50, Structure A). The complete vessels may date earlier in this range and also suggest that the building was abandoned. This structure and its latest pottery provide a *terminus post quem* for the salient's foundation.²

of the fill layers of the glacis further described below. Preliminary analysis of the finds affirms the existence of two distinct phases of the glacis and their dating (see further below). For further discussion regarding previous archaeological finds from the western slope of the hill, see Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016; Zilberstein 2019.

2. It is worth mentioning that Kathleen Kenyon (1966, 83; 1967, 69; 1974, 195) also found parts of this building in her excavations in the 1960s; this is her Area M, located in the center of the parking lot. She dated the remains to the second and first centuries BCE.

Stages 1 and 2: Wall and Salient Construction and Collapse

The fortification wall is wide, made of huge uncarved rocks with a core of medium to large field stones (fig. 3.1). In some parts the wall includes two lines of huge uncarved or roughly hewn rocks (maximal width 3.5 m). Where the wall lay closer to the cliff there is only one external line, since the builders probably used the deep cliff as an inner line. The central section of this wide wall was first exposed by Kenyon, and the connection between the two excavated parts could be identified. The scale of stones, double line of construction, and length secure its identification as a fortification.



Fig. 3.1. Aerial view of Giv'ati parking lot excavations, looking north (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016, Areas M4 and M5; fig. 2.2 in this volume, Areas 10 and 50). 1. Lower layers of soil and stone (construction fills for the wall and salient) + ashlar collapse. 2. The “gravel fill” glacis system. (Beneath this fill lies Area 50 Domestic Structure B; fig. 2.2 in this volume.) 3. The “pottery fill” glacis system. A great portion of these fills was also found to the north of section 21. 4. The uppermost layer of fieldstones. 5. Building 4001 (fig. 2.2 in this volume, Area 10). 6. The location of the third- to early second-century BCE domestic structure (fig. 2.2 in this volume, Area 50, Domestic Structure A). Photograph by Skyview.

To the west of the fortification wall is a rectangular construction, built of elongated ashlar stones with flat faces without margins. This is identified as a salient.³ It is 4 m wide and was exposed for more than 20 m (fig. 3.1). On the upper front courses an orderly rhythm can be seen, in which a stretcher stone was laid between groups of about seven headers or narrow stones.

In a large area to the west of the fortification wall lay a huge mass of sloping fill layers (fig. 3.1:1–3). The spatial distribution of finds within these fills, along with the composition and angle of remains within the layers themselves, strongly suggests that these originally belonged to different fill systems that were deposited at separate stages within the second century (see further below, stages 3 and 4). Based on this, it may be cautiously suggested that at the original stage the fortification was built without a glacis.

The lowest stratigraphic fills consist of concentrated mounds of soil that directly abut and run along the western front of the salient, dipping down toward the west-northwest (fig. 3.1:1). At one point these soil fills cover the remains of the late third- to early second-century BCE structure (see Shalev et al. in this volume, Area 50, Structure A). At another point they abut and seem to support the vertical walls of an installation (probably a drainage shaft) built next to the front of the salient (visible in fig. 3.2b:4). Together this evidence suggests that this soil phase relates to the salient's initial construction. The pottery within these soil fills dates to the first half of the second century, which therefore suggests a date for the construction phase of the fortification wall and salient.

Immediately atop these fills lay a pile of elongated ashlar stones, some directly abutting the salient (figs. 3.2–3). The stones were themselves sealed by gravel layers of the next stratigraphic phase. The ashlar stones are identical in size, shape, and material to the elongated stones of the salient itself. This, combined with their location in the stratigraphic sequence, makes it probable that they are the result of a collapse of an early stage of the salient.

Stages 3 and 4: Two Episodes of Glacis Construction

West of the salient, along a wide strip of the excavation area, a huge set of massive sloping fill layers were excavated (figs. 3.3, 3.4; see also fig. 2.2 in this volume). These turned out to comprise two distinct systems, laid down

3. Further research on the typology of the towers and other tactical fortification components throughout the area of the city of David will allow refinement of terminology. For this discussion, this structure is referred to as a salient.



Fig. 3.2. Remains against the northern portion of the salient, looking north. Along the right is the salient (1). In the middle are collapsed elongated ashlars (2, 3). Figure 3.2a illustrates the very top of the ashlar collapse (2), with some blocks directly abutting the salient. Figure 3.2b shows the situation further below, with more ashlars (3). These covered the opening of the drainage shaft (4). Laid over these remains were the fills of the gravel-system glacis (5), seen here at the eastern side of Section 28. At the rear of figure 2a stand the remains of Building 4001 (fig. 2.2 in this volume, Area 10). Photographs by Assaf Peretz.



Fig. 3.3. View of the salient and the gravel-system glacis, looking northeast. The black box outlines the eastern side of Section 28. At the top are the layers of the gravel-system glacis (1). These cover one edge of the lower fills (2, most of which were exposed farther south) and the lower remains of the drainage shaft (3). At the bottom can be seen the walls of the third- to early second-century BCE domestic structure (4; see fig. 2.2 in this volume, Area 50, Domestic Structure A). Photograph by Assaf Peretz.

in different directions and composed mainly of different materials. The first group, which was primarily found in the area south of Section 21, consisted of layers of gravel worked into different sizes, all sloping down toward the northwest. The second group, which was primarily dug in the area north to Section 21, was made up of layers filled with enormous amounts of broken pottery, all sloping in the opposite direction, toward the southwest (figs. 3.3, 3.4). While in both systems a deliberate selection of materials and an arranged layering were evident, differences in composition coupled with a marked difference in their latest coins indicate that they are remnants of two distinct operations, here termed “the gravel system” and “the pottery system” for the dominant materials that compose them.⁴

4. The results reported here are based on the analysis of more than two hundred loci excavated in an area of more than 650 m² in the western and northern vicinity



Fig. 3.4. The eastern edge of Section 21, looking south. At the top is the final collapse of huge ashlars, which lay above both the gravel-system and the pottery-system sloping glacis fills. Photograph by Assaf Peretz.

Regarding the function of these systems, the evidence suggests they were both purposeful constructions associated with the earlier fortification wall. The gravel system had a quite solid makeup, and was well engineered and built of high-quality components. The layers were piled up from the salient line outward and are consistent with an identification of a defensive construction. The arrangement of the pottery-system layers, which also followed the line of the fortification wall albeit sloping in a different direction, reflects the implementation of a similar plan. Here, the consistent size of the pottery fragments that provide the pri-

of the salient. The gravel layers of the southern glacis were excavated by both expeditions (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets, and Gadot and Shalev); both yielded similar pottery assemblages dating to the second half of the second century BCE.

mary makeup indicate that these fills were purposefully designed (as opposed to dumps or ruin deposits). The massive character of both systems, coupled with their connection to the fortification wall and their sloping arrangement, suggests that they were each built as part of a defensive glacis.

The gravel-system glacis, in the southern portion of the excavation area, lay directly on top of the elongated-ashlars collapse of the preceding phase, as well as on top of the western edge of the third- to early second-century BCE domestic structure (see fig. 2.2 in this volume, Area 50, Structure A) meaning that this system necessarily postdates the collapse of the salient (fig. 3.3). Additional dating evidence for both systems comes from pottery and coins found within. Both contained pottery dated within the second half of the second century BCE. Both also contained many coins of Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE) and Demetrius I (162–150 BCE), which appeared throughout the layers. However, in the pottery system only there were also found some dozen or so coins of Antiochus VII (138–129 BCE), most of the lily type issued locally in Jerusalem and dating 132/131 to 131/130 BCE, as they were issued only after his siege (see Ariel in this volume). That assemblage includes twenty-four coins from the most sealed loci within the pottery-system glacis and more than seventy additional coins found in other layers related to this specific system. In contrast, these coins were totally absent from all the layers of the gravel-system glacis. An additional important aspect of the numismatic evidence is the total absence from both glacis systems of any coins associated with the autonomous minting by John Hyrcanus later than 132/131 to 131/130 BCE (see Ariel in this volume).

Based on their different components, the different directions of the inclines, and the spatial distribution of the coins, it is reasonable to reconstruct two distinct chronological episodes for these sloping layers. On the evidence of the *absence* of coins of Antiochus VII, the gravel-system glacis seems to be the earlier construction. As for the pottery-system glacis, the significant presence of local issues of Antiochus VII (132/131 to 131/130 BCE), coupled with the absence of coins minted thereafter by Hyrcanus I, strongly suggests a quite narrow chronological range for its foundation, in the end of the 130s to early 120s BCE.

If the interpretation suggested above is correct, that the salient was originally built without a glacis, then the two later glacis systems may be understood as strengthening projects during the second half of the second century BCE.

Destruction of the Glacis Systems and Later Activity

Above both systems, piled up in various spots at the foot of the salient as well as at other points along the slope, were huge, well-hewn blocks—tangible evidence of intensive demolition (fig. 3.4). In some cases the stones had been incorporated into the foundations of later structures (Ben-Ami 2013b, 20–21). Various other remains, all situated above the fallen blocks, seem to be connected to a later project intended to level and prepare the area for new construction. These other remains include, first, a great mass of medium-sized fieldstones, whose consistent size suggests that they were originally filler stones from the fortification wall (fig. 3.1:4). In the aftermath of that wall's collapse, it appears that these fieldstones were arranged as a foundation level. Next, above the fieldstone level, there was a thick, sloping fill of soil and pottery found in the eastern portion of the excavation area (fig. 3.5). This upper-sloping fill differed from the gravel-system and pottery-system fills described above, which lay beneath the stones of the demolished salient. The upper fill sloped in a different direction, and the individual layers were both rougher and thicker, with a noticeably less organized internal arrangement.⁵ This upper-sloping fill sealed the top of the salient and also covered one edge of the fieldstone layer. All of these remains—the upper-sloping fill, the leveled fieldstones—seem to be part of a single leveling phase carried out at some point after the salient's demolition.

The date of these activities can be deduced from the numerous amount of post-132/131 to 131/130 BCE coins, including many of the Hasmonean series found in these fills. The appearance of such coins is in marked contrast to the absence of such coins in either the gravel- or pottery-glacis systems, where no Hasmonean coins were recovered. These constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the salient's destruction, and a *terminus post quem* for the leveling project represented by the adjacent sherd and soil fills.⁶

5. It is also worth noting a hard mortar layer, which was exposed next to the front of the salient, above all of the fill and stone remains. However, in this stage of the study it is difficult to determine the exact phase of this layer and to determine whether it actually was related to the leveling project or to a later building project.

6. It should be noted that six coins dating to the Roman period were discovered in the westernmost edge of the sherd and soil fills. Considering the characteristics of the ceramic and numismatic collection together with the topographic data, these should



Fig. 3.5. Section 21, looking south. Visible is the sequence of fill systems. The final collapse of the tower's huge ashlars is visible at the top. These were covered over by the last set of sloping soil and pottery layers, seen to the upper right. Photograph by Assaf Peretz.

Summary and Reconstruction of the Southeastern Hill during the Second Century BCE

The construction sequence described above is one part of a series of building projects carried out on the northwestern slope of Jerusalem's southeastern hill during the Hellenistic period (see also Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015a; Shalev et al. in this volume). For the second century in particular, this evidence allows us to propose four main episodes, whose nature and arc are pertinent to considering the city's overall settlement processes.

1. Monumental military construction: In the late third to early second century, the structure situated just below the upper cliff of the western slope (fig. 2.2 in this volume, Area 50, Domestic Structure A) was abandoned. In its place on the top of the hill, there was built a monumental military complex including a salient and a wide fortification wall. The lowest phase is characterized by soil layers that abut the salient and cover parts of the earlier buildings, and is dated according to the latest pottery found inside to the first half of the second century BCE. The fact that the soil that supports the drainage shaft abuts the salient suggests that these fills were an integral part of the original construction. In addition, the fact

be explained as a later intrusion or a result of later local building activity in the vicinity of the Roman walls.

that they contain a high percentage of residual Iron Age pottery suggests that this was a fill purposefully brought from elsewhere rather than being a series of undisturbed accumulations in this spot. All of this suggests that the soil was part of a deliberate construction operation for the salient, and the date of the latest material inside therefore suggests a date for the salient's initial construction.⁷

2. Salient collapse: The pile of elongated ashlar, whose measurements are similar to those of the ashlar of the salient itself, seem to represent an early destruction stage of the salient.

3. Two phases of fortification repair and rebuilding: The discovery of two enormous sloping fills, both dated in the second half of the second century BCE according to ceramic and numismatic evidence, testify to the continued existence of this fortification line into this time. The spatial distribution of the material remains allows the two phases to be dated, respectively, to early in the second half of the century and to the later 130s–120s BCE. The orientation of the slopes, outward from the salient, along with the high degree of planning reflected in both systems indicate that both represent defensive glacis constructions.

4. Dismantling and leveling the area: The concentrations of collapsed stones and the sloping layers above them reflect first the destruction and then the leveling of this fortification line. Pottery and coins of the second or early first century BCE found beneath the mass of stones provide evidence for dating these actions to this time.

These findings improve our understanding of the changing urban landscape of Jerusalem during the Hellenistic period. Previously, both the date and the character of the city's expansion westward were debated (Geva 2003, 524–27; Ariel 2000, 267–68). The third-century buildings found at Giv'ati reveal this area's high standing in the period's early years (especially Building 110, on which see Shalev et al. in this volume). This same stature is also reflected by the well-dressed ashlar Building 4001, preliminarily

7. It is interesting to note the similar situation identified by Kenyon in the salient area of her trench. Based on her interpretation of the fortification wall, which she dated to the early Roman period, Kenyon (1966, 83; 1967, 69; 1974, 195) dated these fills as earlier fills of the Iron Age period that were cut by the wall. The recent dating of the building located below these fills to the third century, and of the gravel layers located above them to the second half of the second century, refutes her interpretation. However, her report is still relevant and important as evidence for the high percentage of Iron Age pottery in the fills discussed here.

dated to the end of the second to first century BCE (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2015a; Shalev et al. in this volume, “Previous Excavations,” and their fig. 2.2)⁸ and the fine buildings of the early Roman period found here (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2011, 2013). In this regard, the early second-century BCE military architecture reflects a significant change in the nature and design of the western slope of the southeastern hill.

A similar picture, of the abandonment of a settled area and its buildings and its reallocation for other uses, is seen also on the eastern side of the hill. On this side’s southern portions (Area E of Shiloh’s excavations), a building was found that had been destroyed at the end of the third century. The next phase in this area comprised a cemetery dating to the first half of the second century, followed by a large terrace system built above the earlier building (Berlin 2012b, 5–16; De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 17–19; De De Groot and Bernick-Greenberg 2012, 17–19, 134–35).

Despite the difference between the peripheral characteristics of the eastern side (De Groot 2012, 176–79) and the centrality of the western slope area, as seen from the Giv’ati excavations, the fact that no later domestic building was found on the entire eastern slope, together with the discovery of the cemetery there, is indicative of a process of reducing the available settlement area in this sector of the city in the first half of the second century.

Historical Events in Jerusalem during the Second Century in Light of the Archaeological Findings

The archaeological evidence indicates a monumental military construction dated to the the second century. The material in the lowest soil fills, which dates to the first half of the century, that is, the period of Seleucid rule in Jerusalem, offers support for reconstructing the original building of the fortification to this period. The glacis systems, which were added during the second half of the century, could then be interpreted as providing additional support to the fortification in the time when the Hasmonians were in charge of the city. Around the end of the second century, or more likely in the first half of the first century, this military architecture

8. Further analysis of this building will help clarify the later construction phases in this zone and perhaps also reveal connections with the sherd and soil fill described above.

was no longer intact. With this sequence established, we can turn to the historical discussion.

The sources, primarily 1 Maccabees and Flavius Josephus's *Bellum judaicum* and *Antiquitates judaicae*, describe some major military events that occurred in Jerusalem in these years. The main construction project is the building by Antiochus IV of a huge citadel named the Akra. After the Maccabean Revolt, this citadel continued to stand for twenty-seven more years, until Simon is reported to have captured it in 141 BCE. In 135/134 to 132/131 BCE, according to Josephus, Antiochus VII carried out a siege of the city, which was then under the rule of John Hyrcanus.

Despite over a century of excavation in Jerusalem, until now no clear remains of the huge complex of the Akra had been found. The lack of evidence led to a long-standing controversy among researchers regarding the location of the Akra and its implications for the layout of the city.⁹

The remains discussed above have many aspects that can suggest an identification with the famous Seleucid Akra. First, the lowest fills point to the fortification's original building and foundation precisely in the early second century BCE, which fits the historical evidence. Second, the architectural features correspond to the characteristics of monumental military architecture as expected from such a citadel. Third, at this same time, there was a significant change in the city's urban plan. The building of a fortification on the top of the western slope is a precedent activity that indicates a change from the area's traditional use. Such a pronounced shift suggests instigation by an outside foreign authority. Finally, all this archaeological

9. For a comprehensive review of the various proposals see Tsafrir 1975, 501–7 and n. 7; Sievers 1994, 196. Since then, there has been some general consensus on the possibility of the Akra's location in the city of David, although even the proponents of this school do not agree on its precise location. Some scholars suggested that the Akra spread throughout the entire city of David/southeastern hill (Rappaport 2004, 109–10; Simons 1952, 146–47; Shotwell 1964), while others thought it lay on the top of the hill only (Bar-Kochva 1989, 445–62; Dequeker 1985, 209–10). Based on archaeological findings, Crowfoot (1929) was the first to reconstruct the western architectural remains as evidence for the Akra's location in the current excavation area. This suggestion, long ignored or not accepted, was raised again by Constantinou (1972, 99), De Groot (2005, 68–69; 2012, 176–79), and, more recently, Geva (2015, 61). Following the new findings from their excavation, it was discussed with more evidence by Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016.

evidence fits the assertion by ancient authors that the Akra was situated in the city of David as a specific area within the city.¹⁰

There remain a few discrepancies between the sources and the remains that require further discussion. These relate to the Akra's overseeing function and to its ultimate fate.

The Overseeing Function of the Akra

As is now clear from the new excavations on the southeastern hill, there was a long settlement sequence on the western slope overlooking the Central Valley (see Shalev et al. in this volume), and it is reasonable to reconstruct a well-trod pathway along the route of the valley, on the same course as that of the early Roman paved street. The fortification described here would have dominated this main route to the temple and allowed those inside to keep an eye on those coming and going. This is consistent with the suggestion made by Bezalel Bar-Kochva (1989, 456 n. 2) that the Akra should be located at the top of the city of David hill, where it could control the Ophel neighborhood.

It is true that Josephus describes the Akra as overseeing the temple, a phrasing that some scholars have understood as giving those inside a view into the courtyards of the temple itself.¹¹ Yet, notably, there is no such reference in 1–2 Maccabees. It seems, as a logical continuation of Bar-Kochva's suggestion, that the Akra allowed soldiers to keep watch over the main route to the temple.

The Akra's Last Days and Its Destruction

An additional issue relates to the fortification's final days and its destruction. Here we have a discrepancy between 1 Maccabees and Josephus. According to 1 Maccabees (14:36–37), Simon captured the Akra, and after the conquest he settled his garrison within it and even strengthened it. Josephus, on the other hand, says that Simon destroyed and leveled both the Akra and the hill (*Ant.* 13.215–217; *B.J.* 5.139).

10. For examples, see 1 Macc 14:36; Josephus, *B.J.* 5.136–140. For extensive discussion, see Bar-Kochva 1989, 447–51.

11. For examples, see *Ant.* 12.252, 318, 362; *B.J.* 1.50, 5.139. For extensive discussion about the difficulties raised from these descriptions, see Bar-Kochva 1989, 452–58.

Bar-Kochva (1989, 451–53) and Dequeker (1985, 209–10) both suggested that while the story of the leveling of the hill is exaggerated, the destruction of the citadel did indeed take place either in Simon's last days or under one of his successors. In this case, the archaeological findings contribute to a reasonable explanation for the discrepancy between the sources. On the evidence of the sequence offered above, they testify to two or three episodes in the time of the Hasmoneans: first, the building of what seem to be two glacis systems in the second half of the second century BCE, and second, to the fortification's final destruction and leveling at the end of the second or early first century. As the glacis constructions in the second half of the second century each seem to have had a fairly limited chronological range, it is possible that they should be connected to one of the military events related to Simon and/or John Hyrcanus. However, as the pottery from within the gravel system, which is the earlier of the two, is on current understanding dated well past the middle of the century, it seems more likely that this project dates to the time of John Hyrcanus, perhaps as initial preparation for the siege of Antiochus VII. Since we interpret the later pottery system construction also as a defensive glacis, and since the coins of Antiochus VII appear only in this stage, we may identify the pottery system as an additional episode of defensive construction by John Hyrcanus after the siege was over. All of this is consistent with the author of 1 Maccabees' description of the holding of the Akra after its conquest by the Hasmoneans (e.g., 14:36–37).

On the other hand, Josephus refers to an episode of real leveling of the area. Such an activity, we now see, did occur in the later days of Hasmonean rule. It seems that Josephus was referring to something that actually occurred—albeit many years after Simon. The new archaeological findings support the possibility that different versions of the Akra's fate circulated, or that the story of the famous citadel's "day after" itself acquired different layers, as historical memories continued to develop. Considering this chronological conclusion, Josephus's attribution of the leveling project to Simon is interesting in light of the tendency of 1 Maccabees to glorify Simon (as discussed by Eckhardt in this volume).

Conclusions

The reconstruction offered here should be understood as a preliminary suggestion within the larger context of the excavations on the western slope of the southeastern hill. The particular sequence of remains found

here provides for the first time clear evidence regarding the character of settlement during the Hellenistic period. This sequence hints at a dramatic change in the second century, namely, building a fortification in what had been an area of domestic occupation and thereby reducing the edge and/or size of the settlement. This significant change in urban planning may fit the descriptions of the foundation of the Akra. A full understanding of these new findings will also require a reexamination of the remains on the western hill wall and a reconsideration of that area's fortification lines. Beyond discussion of the existence of the city's fortifications under the Seleucids, it is, finally, worth remarking that the subsequent glacis systems also reflect extensive engineering knowledge, ability, and resources that were available to the rulers of the city in the middle Hasmonean period.

Settlement and History of the Northern Judean Hills and Southern Samaria during the Early Hasmonean Period

Dvir Raviv

Introduction

This essay deals with the settlement history of the northern Judean hills and southern Samaria during the Hellenistic period, with particular attention to the datable changes in the second half of the second century BCE (hereafter called the early Hasmonean period). The territory extends from the Bethel Highlands in the south to the Shechem Valley in the north. From the beginning of the Second Temple period, this area was a seam zone between the governorate (*paḥvah*) of Samaria and the governorate of Judea, but the information available does not allow us to precisely define a boundary between the two.¹ As we shall see below, these separate administrative regions could be political artifacts, rather than reflections of a demographic reality.² During the Hasmonean period, southern Samaria

This essay is based on a chapter of my doctoral dissertation, recently written in the Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology at Bar-Ilan University, under the supervision of Prof. Boaz Zissu. It deals with the settlement in what is currently known as southern Samaria during the Second Temple period. The preparation of this essay was supported by the Koschitzky Fund and the Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History at the Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar-Ilan University.

1. For a summary of the current research and a bibliography on the topic, see Tavger 2012, 73–75, 112–21.

2. A clear example of this from the early Second Temple period is the reference to the “the Jews living near them” (Neh 4:6 NJPS). This is part of the broader question of Jewish/Judean settlement in Palestine outside the boundaries of Judea from the return to Zion through the beginning of the Hasmonean period. For a discussion, see Rappaport 2004, 166–67.

became an integral part of Judea, both ethnically and administratively. This process was accompanied by military and settlement activity involving Judeans (Jews), Samaritans, and gentiles. The decisive stage in this process occurred during the period under study.

In the literary sources, two major events are associated with the history discussed here. The first is the transfer of three toparchies from Samaria to Judea (Ephraim-Aphairema, Ramathaim, and Lydda) as part of an agreement between Jonathan the Hasmonean and Demetrius II in the mid-second century BCE. The second is the occupation of central Samaria by John Hyrcanus I in the late second century BCE. Both events have been discussed extensively, mainly from an historical-literary aspect but more recently also from an archaeological aspect.³ In what follows I will try to reconstruct the settlement-ethnic-political picture of north Judea and south Samaria using both literary sources and the latest archaeological evidence, with emphasis on demographic changes that took place in the early stages of the Hasmonean period. As will be seen below, one challenge is that relatively few literary sources refer to events in south Samaria during these years, and the archaeological finds do not permit a clear distinction between Jewish/Judean and Samaritan settlements.⁴ Nonetheless, the available information does allow us to divide the region into two main areas of settlement: the southern part, the Bethel Highlands, which were settled mainly by Jews/Judeans, and the northern part, where Samaritans made up the bulk of the population.

The Bethel Highlands during the Hellenistic and Early Hasmonean Periods

Jewish settlement in the Bethel Highlands began in the early Second Temple period. Many scholars have written about the northern border of the Judea governorate (*paḥvah*) during the Persian period, and I will not

3. For a summary of the bibliography on the topic, see Bourgel 2016; Raviv 2018b, 18–59; 2019a; 2019b.

4. Ethnic “Jewish” artifacts such as ritual baths, stone vessels, ossuaries, and hiding complexes do not appear from before the late Hasmonean period. What we do have are finds that may indicate a Judean administration during the Persian and early Hellenistic period, such as bullae and coins bearing the inscriptions *yhd/yhwd/yrshlm* (ירושלם/יהודה/יהד).

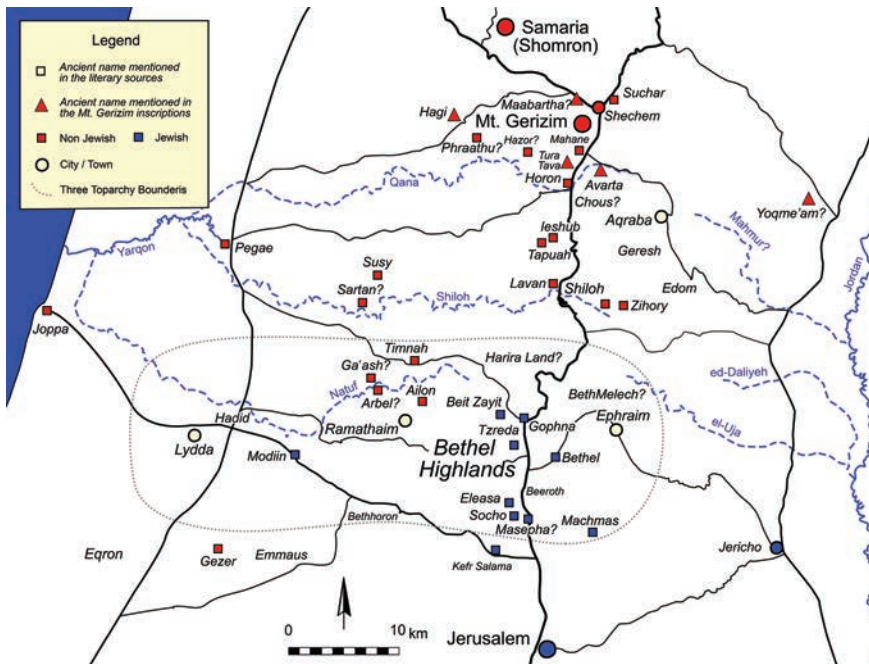


Fig. 4.1. Settlement map of southern Samaria and the northern Judean hills at the beginning of the Hasmonean period (mid-second century BCE), in light of the literary sources.

add to that discussion here. The general assumption is that the border cut across the Bethel Highlands, passing between Tel en-Naşbeh and Bethel.

The clearest literary sources about Jewish settlements in the Bethel Highlands during the second century BCE are those that refer to the Hasmonean revolt. These sources are discussed extensively elsewhere (Raviv 2019b, 7–28); hence we will settle for a presentation of the data on a map (fig. 4.1) and discuss the archaeological finds.

Excavations conducted throughout this region have revealed a fairly uniform picture of Jewish settlement during the Hellenistic period, including in its early stages. The identification of sites as Jewish in these years is based on the absence of imported vessels as well as the discovery, in places where there is continuous settlement, of identifiably Jewish material goods from the later Hasmonean and Herodian periods—such as ritual baths, stone vessels, and ossuaries—alongside artifacts from the early Hellenistic period. Such continuity has been found in several sites in the Bethel Highlands, including (fig. 4.2): Bad 'Isa, Bethel, Khirbet el-

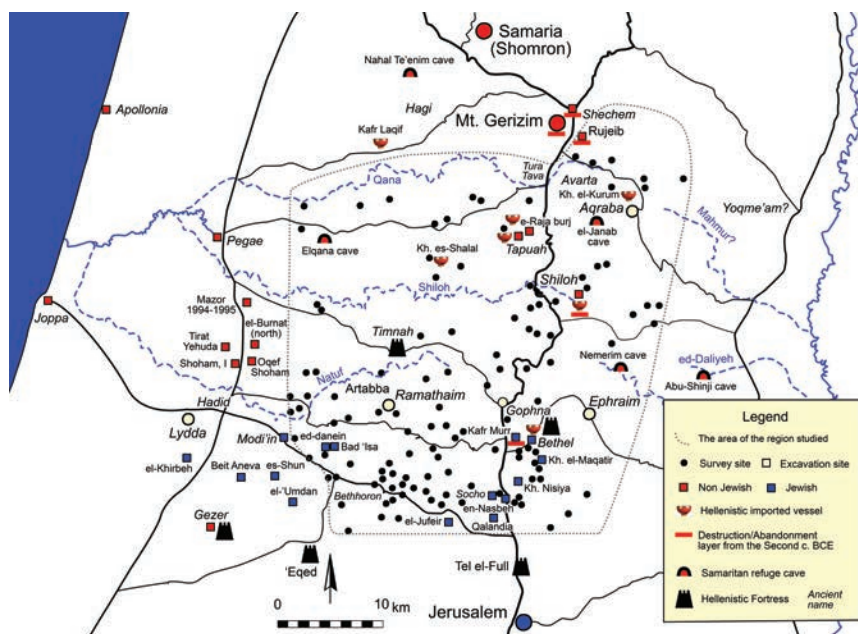


Fig. 4.2. Settlement map of southern Samaria and the northern Judean hills at the beginning of the Hasmonean period (mid-second century BCE), according to the archaeological findings.

Jufeir, Khirbet el-Maqatir, Khirbet Kafr Murr, Tel en-Naşbeh, Khirbet Nisieh, and Qalandia.⁵

Another indication regarding the identity of the population of the Bethel Highlands during the Hellenistic and early Hasmonean periods is the distribution of Judean-style shelf tombs (Raviv 2019a, 274–77). The prominence of these tombs in this region stands in marked contrast to their absence from the area north of it, that is, Samaria. The presence of such tombs suggests a population that adhered to Judean burial traditions even before the expansion of Jewish settlement northward during the late Hasmonean period.

It should be noted that in addition to the Jewish population in the Bethel Highlands there is also some possible literary and archaeological evidence of a non-Jewish and/or hellenizing population (such as Judean

5. For a bibliography of these sites and an up-to-date discussion of their findings, see Raviv 2018b.

priestly families) in the northern part of Bethel Highlands and the southern Naḥal Shiloh basin (Raviv 2018b, 30–31). Such evidence comprises imported pottery such as Mediterranean wine amphorae, burial inscriptions, and, perhaps, the two elaborated rock-cut display tombs at Khirbet Tarfein and Qalandiya.

South Samaria during the Hellenistic and Early Hasmonean Periods: Evidence from Literary Sources and Excavations

Archaeological finds do not permit a clear distinction between Jewish/Judean and Samaritan settlements in the third and second centuries BCE. The Mount Gerizim excavations reveal that Samaritans also avoided using imported vessels, just as the Jews (Magen 2008, 183–84). In 1 Maccabees 11:34, some residents of southern Samaria are classified as “those who offer sacrifice in Jerusalem” (RSV). A similar classification of the Samaritans as “Israelites who offer tribute to Mt. Gerizim” is found in inscriptions on the island of Delos (Bruneau 1982, 469–74). Because of the religious similarity between the Jews and the Samaritans, their allegiance to the temple seems to have become a convenient and maybe even the only way to distinguish between the two groups (Alon 1967, 157; Rappaport 1990, 387).

At the start of the Hellenistic period, the heart of Samaritan settlement shifted from the city of Samaria to the area of Shechem. This relocation followed the Samaritan rebellion against Alexander the Great, which accelerated the transformation of Mount Gerizim into the Samaritans’ religious center, and possibly their administrative center as well.⁶ Shimon Applebaum (1980, 165–66; 1986, 259) suggests that the suppression of the Samaritan rebellion included expropriation to the royal domain of land in many parts of Samaria. This proposal may be supported by the evidence of royal estates in south Samaria that were owned by Greeks or hellenizers (see below) and later came under the control of the Hasmonean rulers (Raviv 2018b, 47–59, 67–73).

Samaritan, or other non-Jewish entity, settlements from that period are apparently mentioned in Midrash Va-yissa’u and parallel texts (T.Jud. 3–7, Jub. 34.4–8). This source describes wars that were ostensibly waged by Jacob’s sons against the Amorites in south Samaria and against the

6. For the historical aspect, see Eshel 2002, 192–209; Mor 2003, 69–149. For the summary of the bibliography regarding the results of Mount Gerizim excavations, see Magen 2009, 295 n. 1.

sons of Esau in the Hebron Hills. It mentions about twenty sites, most of them settled, in south Samaria (fig. 4.1).⁷ The reigning hypothesis is that this reflects the conflict between Jews and Samaritans during the early Second Temple period.⁸ Based on the suggestion by Yoel Elitsur (2013) and Cana Werman (2015, 27–30) that the midrash is a late version of an ancient text that was a source for the apocryphal books,⁹ it seems that it is best dated to the mid-second century BCE at the latest. The vast majority of the sites mentioned are in the area north of the Bethel Highlands. It bears note that Midrash Va-yissa'u does not mention major settlements in the eastern part of the Aqraba district, such as Aqraba, Geresh (Jurish), Jib'it, and Edom (ed-Duma). As several scholars have pointed out, the distribution of the sites does not suit the time of Judas Maccabeus, whose battles were waged primarily in the Bethel Highlands and possibly around Aqraba (1 Macc 5:3). On the other hand, the omission of the city of Samaria and Mount Gerizim from the list of sites conquered does not match John Hyrcanus's conquests as described by Josephus. Instead, the distribution of the sites in Midrash Va-yissa'u, in the Naḥal Shiloh basin from the northern edges of the Bethel Highlands to the Shechem Valley, coupled with the pattern and date of destructions as corroborated by archaeological finds, corresponds well to the time of Jonathan and Simon. For example, at Tel Shiloh, a site mentioned in the midrash, the remains of a non-Jewish settlement destroyed in the middle of the second century BCE have been found (Livyatan-Ben Arie and Hizmi 2017, 36–53).¹⁰ At Tell Balaṭah (Shechem), also mentioned in the midrash, there were two destruction layers from the early Hellenistic period and still another destruction layer dated to the late second century BCE (Campbell 1993, 1354; Lapp 2008, 1–4; Campbell 2002, 311–43).

7. For the identification of the sites' locations, see Lurie 1948; 1976, 371–73; Safrai 1987, 616–17; Eshel 1994, 110–17; Raviv 2018b, 39–40.

8. For the bibliography of the previous suggestions regarding the date and the historical background of this source, see Eshel and Eshel 2002, 126–30; Raviv 2018b, 35–36; forthcoming.

9. Elitsur made this proposal in a lecture at the “In the Highland's Depth the Fourth” conference (29 September 2013) (Elitsur 2013). It is his opinion that the closest version to the ancient source of Midrash Va-yissa'u is the Chronicle of Jerahme'el (for a critical edition of this source, see Yassif 2001, 137–40).

10. The dating of the destruction layer is based primarily on the finding of Rhodian amphorae with stamps, dated to 159–147 BCE, in one of the rooms of the Hellenistic structure destroyed by fire.

Other sites destroyed in the mid-second century BCE have been discovered in the northern Lydda plain (Zelinger 2009, 164–65; see Zelinger in this volume).¹¹ These sites are clustered near the modern Israeli towns of Elʿad and Shoham and run parallel to Naḥal Shiloh, which is where most of the places mentioned in the midrash are located. The dating of Midrash Va-yissaʿu to the time of Jonathan and Simon is further supported by its description of the cession of Timnah and the land of Harira to Jacob and his sons at the end of the war, when the Amorites surrendered (Midr. Va-yissaʿu 2:60–65; Jub. 34.8; T.Jud. 79), inasmuch as this seems to echo the transfer of the three toparchies to the Hasmoneans in the time of Jonathan (see further below). In addition, it is worth noting the reference to the construction of Timnah and Arbel at the end of the war; this may reflect the fortification of Timnah and its environs as part of the fortification of the northern border of the three toparchies by Jonathan and Simon (for more see Raviv 2018a).

Aramaic inscriptions discovered in the Mount Gerizim temple complex point to the existence of Samaritan settlements near Shechem and possibly also in the Aqraba district in the second century BCE (Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania 2004; Dušek 2012, 59). The inscriptions, which date from the second century BCE, mention at least six settlements from which pilgrims came to the Samaritan temple: Shechem, the town of Samaria, Hagi, Yoqmeʿam, Avarta, and Tura Tava.¹² This list is, of course, random, and cannot be used to determine the boundaries of Samaritan settlement during this period. It is worth noting, however, that all six places mentioned in the inscriptions are in and around Shechem (fig. 4.1).

Finds from Wadi ed-Daliyeh, southeast of the Aqraba district, may indicate that the Samaritan leaders fled there during the rebellion against Alexander the Great (Lapp and Lapp 1974). The choice of Wadi ed-Daliyeh as a hiding place suggests sparse settlement in south Samaria and perhaps

11. Those sites are the Elʿad (Mazor) farmstead (S2–3), which was destroyed ca. 145 BCE (Zelinger, in this volume), and Tirat Yehuda, which was destroyed between 145 and 140 BCE or slightly later (Yeivin and Edelstein 1970, 69).

12. For the identification of these sites, see Magen, Misgav and Tsfania 2004, 28–30. Another settlement mentioned in one of the inscriptions is *mʾa/s* (101). Magen and others proposed completing this as Maʿabaratah, an ancient settlement on the northern slopes of Mount Gerizim (*B.J.* 4.449; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 5.14.69).

the presence of a supportive Samaritan population there at the end of the Persian period (Safrai 1980, 228 n. 5).¹³

In the Aqraba district, the archaeological evidence attests to the presence of non-Jews during the pre-Hasmonean Hellenistic period. The material record is distinctive: imported vessels in the Hellenistic period, followed by destruction or abandonment layers in the Hasmonean period. The imported vessels have been found at several sites in and around the Aqraba district: Greek amphorae at Kafr Laqif, Khirbet el-Kurum, er-Raja Burj, Khirbet es-Shalal, and Tel Shiloh, and imported kylikes at Tel Tapuah.¹⁴ At Rujeib, there is evidence of abandonment during the second century BCE (Peleg 2009); at Shiloh, a monumental Hellenistic structure was destroyed in the middle of the second century BCE (Liviyatan-Ben Arie and Hizmi 2017, 45).

Those living here are unlikely to have been Samaritans, since (as noted above), Samaritans, like Jews, avoided using imported vessels (Magen 2008, 183–84). Instead, the material remains are similar to those of the Greek and hellenizing populations living in the cities of Samaria and Shechem, and in the many farmsteads in the Samaritan foothills (Shadman 2016, 313–17), and in other parts of western Samaria where fortified structures (towers, forts, and compounds) dated to the pre-Hasmonean period have been documented.¹⁵ They may have been gentiles, or Idumeans who,

13. It is noteworthy that four other caves with artifacts from the late Persian/early Hellenistic period have recently been discovered in southern Samaria (all north of the Bethel Highlands)—the Elqana cave (Zissu, Langford, Raviv, Davidovich, Porat, and Frumkin 2011–2014), the Nemerim cave, the Nahal Te'anim cave, and the el-Janeb cave (for the last three, see Raviv 2018b, 254, 257–58, 270).

14. For the bibliography, see Raviv 2018b, 19. For a summary of bibliography regarding the lack of imported vessels during the Second Temple era as an ethnic indicator for a Jewish population, see Adler 2011, 221–80; Berlin 2012a, 2013. Note that in most cases, it is impossible to date the vessels precisely; some of them may have been used during the Hasmonean period. In addition, we should mention three Rhodian stamps discovered in the village of Beitin, the location of ancient Bethel (see Albright and Kelso 1968, 77 n. 6). These are dated to the first half of the second century BCE and may indicate the presence of a non-Jewish or hellenizing population there during the pre-Hasmonean period, perhaps during the reign of Bacchides.

15. Dar 1986; Applebaum 1986, 260. Among the findings, an unpublished Hellenistic pottery assemblage that was uncovered in a field tower at Khirbet el-Buraq is noteworthy. This assemblage includes fragments of Hellenistic mold-made lamps, imported amphora handles, jars, a fish plate, and slipped fine ware bowls.

according to 1 Macc 5:3 and Jdt 7:18, were located in the Aqraba region at the beginning of the Hasmonean revolt.¹⁶

Another possibility is that these finds attest to the presence of hellenizing Samaritans, similar to the faction in Jerusalem, as highlighted by Menahem Stern (1972, 53; 1981, 123, 162) and Menachem Mor (2003, 121–22).¹⁷ This proposal is based mainly on finds from Shechem and the city of Samaria, on 2 Macc 6:2, and on the “Sidonites in Shechem” letter from the time of Antiochus IV (*Ant.* 12:257–264).¹⁸ Given this proposal, it is possible that the presence of imported Hellenistic vessels reflects the presence of a hellenizing Samaritan population. Notable among the sites where imported Hellenistic vessels have been discovered are Shiloh, Shechem, and Tappuah, which are apparently mentioned in Midrash Va-yissa’u as non-Jewish (hellenizing Samaritan?) towns. This may indicate that the other settlements mentioned in the midrash, or at least some of them, were also home to hellenizing Samaritans. This could explain why the Hasmoneans attacked these places in particular. Their good locations, and the remains of some of the sites where imported vessels were found, may indicate that they were agricultural estates owned by the wealthy, which accords with the hellenizers’ status.¹⁹ This picture may also be

16. For discussion on these sources, see Raviv 2018b, 22–24. Another possible evidence for the presence of Idumeans in the Aqraba region during the early Second Temple period is the mention of Aqraba (or Aqrabat) in Persian-period ostraca of unknown, but likely Idumean, provenance (Yardeni 2016, 488).

17. This distinction between Samaritans who adhered to their tradition and hellenizing Samaritans resembles the situation in Idumean society, which was split into a traditional rural sector and hellenizing urbanites (Rappaport 2013b).

18. According to Stern (1981, 123), the term *Sidonites* employed by the Samaritan residents of Shechem was meant to link them to the country’s Canaanite-Phoenician past and thus distance them from the Jews, a problematic connection at the time of Antiochus’s edicts. A similar use of *Sidonians/Phoenicians* for a group that is not necessarily Sidonian can be seen in Herodotus (Millar 1983, 59), in an inscription from Yavneh-Yam (Isaac 1991, 133–35), and in the Maresha necropolis (Regev 1994, 221–37). According to Regev (235–37), the terms *Sidonians/Sidonian* that appear in Maresha and elsewhere designate hellenizers who aspired to assert a cultural affiliation with the Phoenicians, who were esteemed in the Hellenistic world and in pursuit of economic and political gains. For further discussion of this issue, see Dušek (2012, 101–18); on the polemical nature of 2 Macc 6:2 and *Ant.* 12:257–264, see Kartveit 2009, 98–100.

19. Thus, for example, the finds at Khirbet el-Kurum, er-Raja Burj, and Shiloh include large structures. In addition, er-Raja Burj, Khirbet es-Shalal, Tel Tappuah, and

reflected in the following description (attributed to the time of the high priest Honio II): “At this time the Samaritans, who were flourishing, did much mischief to the Jews by laying waste their land and carrying off slaves” (*Ant.* 12.156 [Marcus]).

The location of some of these sites in the Aqraba region may be linked to the attack by the *Σαμαρεῖσιν* (Samaritans) on the *Μαρισηνοὺς*/*Gerisénous* (the residents of Maresha or Garisa) because they were Jewish *ἀποίκους* (colonists) and *συμμάχους* (allies; *Ant.* 13.275; for a discussion of this text, see Avi-Yonah 1951, 30; 1964, 295–97; Bar-Kochva 2002, 22–23). Although this is understood as referring to the residents of the city of Samaria (who at the time were mostly Greeks and hellenizers), we may presume that there were close relations between the Seleucid administrative center in Samaria and the hellenizing Samaritans. Either way, it is possible that here Josephus’s “Samaritans” does not distinguish between the Samaritan ethno-religious community and the residents of the city of Samaria.

This material evidence for a non-Jewish population in south Samaria at the beginning of the Hasmonean revolt may support the interpretation of the researchers who saw the term *Mount Samaria* or *Samaria*, appearing in the late second century BCE Greek version of Sirach 50:25–26, as a nickname for the inhabitants of the province Samaria, the mountains of Samaria, or the Samaritan people, and not for the city of Samaria in particular (see, e.g., Hanhart 1982, 107*; Kartveit 2009, 141–43; Schorch 2013, 137).

Finally, some literary sources may indicate the presence of Jewish settlements in the Aqraba region early in the Hasmonean period (Raviv 2018b, 22–24). The two main sources are *Ant.* 13.275 and 1 Macc 5:3. The first mentions a Jewish settlement (named Maresha or Garisa) adjacent to the Samaritans. The second is the description in 1 Maccabees of Judas Maccabeus’s military campaigns to Aqraba region in 163 BCE. After the purification of the temple, Judas “made war on the sons of Esau in Idumea, at Akrabattene, because they kept lying in wait for Israel” (1 Macc 5:3 RSV; see also *Ant.* 12.328). If we read the verse as “Edom of/at Aqraba” (Rappaport 2004, 168) and accept the identification of Akrabattene with Aqraba in eastern Samaria (Safrai 1980, 71; Bar-Kochva 2002, 22–23), we can identify “Edom” in this verse with a large settlement near Aqraba.²⁰

possibly even Kafr Laqif served as centers for royal estates or wealthy estates during the Hasmonean-Herodian period (Raviv 2018b, 47–59, 67–73).

20. This town is mentioned in sources from the Roman and Byzantine periods

Nevertheless, as of now, no archaeological findings point clearly to Jewish settlement in the Aqraba region for the period in question.

South Samaria during the Hellenistic and Early Hasmonean Periods: Results from Archaeological Surveys

Using the findings of archaeological surveys, and especially pottery, to shed light on the settlement picture of the early Hasmonean period requires the ability to distinguish among the different stages of the Hellenistic period overall. However, dating pottery to the pre-Hasmonean Hellenistic and the early Hasmonean periods is quite problematic, because there are few items that can be used as index fossils for these periods (e.g., Berlin 2015, 629–793; for a similar issue, see Sandhaus in this volume). The region in question was surveyed by the Benjamin Survey (Magen 2004, 1–28) and by the Ephraim Survey (Finkelstein, Lederman, and Bunimovitz 1997). Neither survey was able to classify Hellenistic pottery by subperiods or to distinguish transitions and patterns in the settlement processes that occurred from the Persian period (fifth/fourth century BCE) to the early Hasmonean period (late second century BCE; Safrai 2000, 74–78; Lipschits and Tal 2007; Lipschits, Shalom, Shatil, and Gadot 2014). As a contrast, based on the finds of his excavations in Qalandia, in the Bethel Highlands, Yitzhak Magen (2004, 7) was able to date the beginnings of Jewish settlement here to the early third century BCE.

In the current study we were able to devise a way to classify pottery vessels, mainly jars, which are the most common artifact uncovered by archaeological surveys, to distinct Hellenistic subperiods. By analyzing dozens of assemblages discovered in recent excavations in Judea and Samaria that could be dated to the early stages of the Hellenistic period on other criteria, such as imported vessels and Mediterranean amphorae, and comparing them to later, undoubtedly Hasmonean material, we were able to define several early Hellenistic jar types (fig. 4.3 with table 4.1).

as “Edom” or “Edom Magna” (*B.J.* 4.509; Freeman-Grenville 2003, 52), and has been identified with the village of ed-Duma (New Israel grid 234/626). Bar-Kochva (2002, 21) notes that the suffix in *Akrabattene*, found in this source, is appropriate to regions and not to individual settlements. Hence, we may see this text as the first known mention of the Aqraba district as it was later known in the Roman and Byzantine periods. For another opinion, which identifies the Edom and Aqraba mentioned here with of Ma‘aleh Aqrabim in the Negev, see Klein 1939, 23, 206; Rappaport 2004, 168.

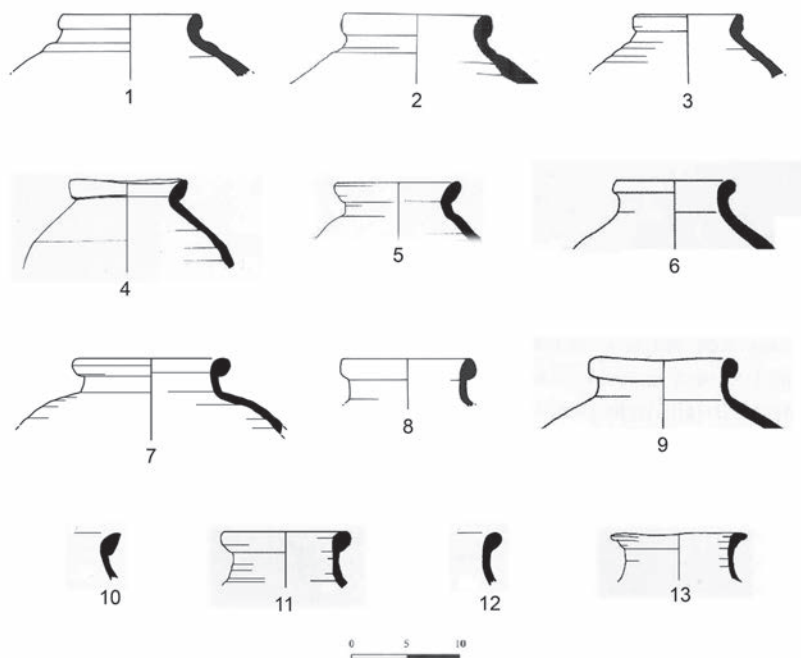


Fig. 4.3. Selected types of jars from the early Hellenistic period that were uncovered at sites in southern Samaria and Judea.

Our data include pottery collected by the New South Samaria Survey and the finds of previous surveys (primarily the Ephraim Survey), which we reexamined.²¹ We classified the Hellenistic artifacts as early Hellenistic (late fourth to mid-second century BCE) or late Hellenistic/Hasmonean (late second to first century BCE). To summarize, we were able to use archaeological and historical evidence to identify 148 early Hellenistic sites in the region under study. Their distribution shows that in the northern part of the region, settlement was relatively light, while in the south it

21. Thanks to the generosity of Prof. Israel Finkelstein. The New South Samaria Survey was conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Archaeology of the Archaeology and Land of Israel Studies Department at Bar-Ilan University and in cooperation with Ariel University and the Staff Officer of Archaeology in Judea and Samaria. The survey began in 2014. It covers selected sites in the area between Nablus and Jerusalem. I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues—Aharon Tavger, Evgeni Aharonovich, and Binyamin Har-Even.

Table 4.1. Selected types of jars from the early Hellenistic period
(late fourth- to mid-second century BCE)

No.	Site	Bibliography	Date (at the latest)
1	Tel Shiloh, Area B2	Livyatan-Ben Arie and Hizmi 2017, 46, fig. 13:5	destruction layer from middle of the second century BCE
2	Rujeib, Tomb	Peleg 2009, 74, pl. 1:4	abandonment from middle/late of second century BCE
3	Tel Shiloh, Area B2	Livyatan-Ben Arie and Hizmi 2017, 46, fig. 13:15	same as above
4	Mazor (El'ad), Area P4	Zilberbod and Amit 2001, 71, fig. 101:13	destruction layer from middle of the second century BCE
5	Mazor (El'ad), Area P4	Zilberbod and Amit 2001, 71, fig. 101:16	same as above
6	Jerusalem, city of David, Area E, St. 8	Berlin 2012b, 14, fig. 2.3:15	dating by stratigraphic position to the late fourth to third century BCE
7	Rosh ha-ʿAyin (A-6209)	Haddad et al. 2015, 60, fig. 9:11	abandonment from the beginning of third century BCE
8	Tel Shiloh, Area B2	Livyatan-Ben Arie and Hizmi 2017, 13, fig. 13:8	same as above
9	Jerusalem, city of David, Area E, St. 8	Berlin 2012, 14, fig. 2.3:14	same as above
10	Tel Balaṭah (Shechem), St. III	Lapp 2008, 247, pl. 3.9:5	dating by stratigraphic position to 250–190 BCE
11	Jerusalem, Giv'ati parking lot	Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovetz 2015a, 33, fig. 3:7	dating by stratigraphic position to first half of second century BCE
12	Tel Balaṭah (Shechem), St. III	Lapp 2008, 235, pl. 3.4:17	same as above
13	Jerusalem, Giv'ati parking lot	Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovetz 2015a, 33, fig. 3:9	same as above

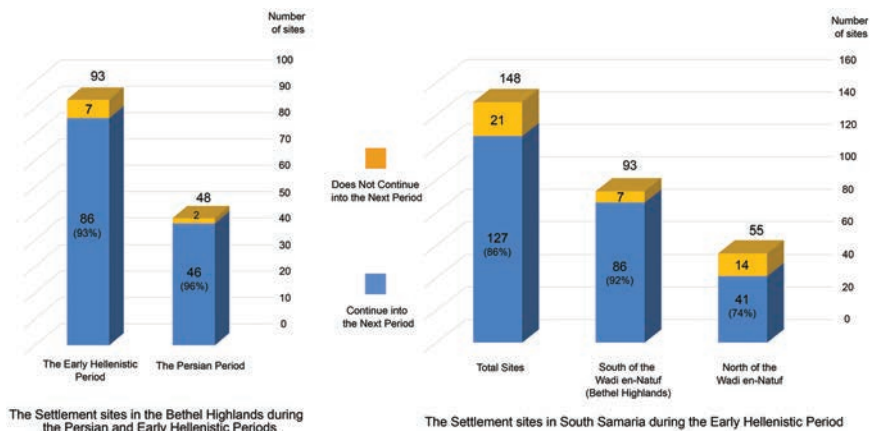


Fig. 4.4. Southern Samaria and the northern Judean hills during the early Second Temple period, according to the archaeological surveys.

was considerably more dense (fig. 4.2). Of the sites, 107 are south of Naḥal Shiloh; of these, 93 are south of the Wadi Haramiya–Naḥal Beit ‘Arif line, in the heart of the Bethel Highlands (fig. 4.4). Most notable is the strong continuity (127 out of 148, or 93 percent, of sites in the Bethel highlands sites remained occupied into the Hasmonean period. This pattern suggests the presence of a Judean/Jewish or pro-Jewish population already during the pre-Hasmonean period. It is also worth pointing out that most of the Bethel Highlands sites already existed during the Persian period. In contrast, most of the sites that were abandoned in the Late Hellenistic period (14 of 21) are north of the Bethel Highlands, a pattern that perhaps reflects the assault on the non-Jewish population at the beginning of the Hasmonean period.

The findings of the surveys and excavations conducted south of the Bethel Highlands reveal a similar settlement picture in the early Hellenistic period: dense settlement that continued into the Hasmonean period (Kloner 2003b, 62; Magen 2004, 6–8).²² This contrasts with the area north

22. Note that the Jerusalem Survey made a systematic distinction between the early and late Hellenistic periods. Its findings supplement those of the survey that Bagatti (1993, 199–235) conducted in the northwestern Jerusalem hills. At several sites he found artifacts from the early Hellenistic period (mainly Ptolemaic and pre-Hasmonean Seleucid coins).

of the Bethel Highlands, where there was relatively sparse settlement during this period. These findings enable us to see the settlement process in the Bethel Highlands as a direct and natural continuation of settlement in Judea, which grew slowly and consistently from the return to Zion through the beginning of the Hasmonean period.

The surveys point to a significant increase in settlement in south Samaria during the late Hellenistic Hasmonean period. Based on these new survey results and a reexamination of some of the finds of the previous surveys, we can define 223 sites in the region where artifacts from the Hasmonean period have been found. These sites are concentrated in the southern parts of the region, with 170 of 223 sites south of Naḥal Shiloh. Among the more than 100 sites that were newly founded during the Hasmonean period in south Samaria, 45 are located in Bethel Highlands and 55 in areas that were conquered by the Hasmoneans, including 25 sites in Aqraba district. This picture may indicate the demographic potential of the migration of settlers from Judea to the area conquered by the Hasmoneans, such as Samaria and Galilee (Bar-Kochva 1977, 167; Rappaport 1986).

The Transfer of the Three Toparchies from Samaria to Judea

First Maccabees (10:30, 38; 11:28, 34, 57) and Josephus (*Ant.* 13.145) both recount the annexation of the three toparchies (Ephraim, Ramathaim, and Lydda) from Samaria to Judea in 145 BCE, as part of the agreement between Jonathan and Demetrius II.²³ The three toparchies were located on the northern margin of the Judea governorate, with two of them (Ephraim and Ramathaim) stretched out in the Bethel Highlands. Drawing on the past-tense phrasing of this document, most scholars regard the annexation as recognition of the reality that Jews were living in this territory before the Hasmonean revolt (for the summary of the bibliography, see Raviv 2019b). Some scholars maintain that the three toparchies were

23. Another document, sent by Antiochus VI to Jonathan in 145 BCE, refers to the transfer of four *nomoi* to Jonathan's control (1 Macc 11:57; *Ant.* 13.145). Scholars have proposed several identifications of the four *nomoi*, including the toparchy of Aqraba (for a summary of bibliography, see Bar-Kochva 2002, 24 n. 40). However, it is clear that the Judean annexation of the Aqraba region took place during the Hasmonean period, and not later, as indicated by the remains of the Hasmonean fortress at Aruma (Khirbet el-ʿUrmeh), 3 km northwest of the village of Aqraba (Raviv and Zissu 2019).

overwhelmingly Jewish; others assert that the population was mixed, with the Jewish element dominant (e.g., Alt, 1953, 346–51; Kasher 1975, 206–8).

No matter the precise demographic breakdown, the archaeological evidence seems to indicate that the 145 BCE agreement led to a significant acceleration and development of Jewish settlement in south Samaria. From this time on, the northern border of Judea coincided with the northern borders of the three toparchies (fig. 4.5). The clearest evidence for this is an impressive line of fortified sites along the northern border of the three toparchies: Hadid, Artabba (fig. 4.6), Timnah, and Isanah (Raviv 2018a, 68). We may conjecture that this line of fortifications was built by Jonathan and/or Simon in order to consolidate their control over territory that had recently been annexed to Judea. Another line of fortifications, farther north, was built after the conquest of Samaria in the late second century BCE by John Hyrcanus I or his son Alexander Jannaeus (fig. 4.7).

The Conquest of Samaria by John Hyrcanus I

In the late second century BCE (112/111–108/107 BCE), John Hyrcanus I launched a military campaign in Samaria. He conquered Shechem, the temple city on Mount Gerizim, and the city of Samaria itself (*Ant.* 13.255–256, 275–281; *B.J.* 1.63–65).²⁴ These conquests should be seen as the final stage in the Judean conquest of the southern Samaria highlands that had begun a generation or two earlier. These places, the last to be conquered, were the largest and most heavily fortified in Samaria at the time. The conquest of central Samaria by Hyrcanus led to a significant redrawing of the northern border of Judea, which henceforth ran near Shechem and Naḥal Qana (fig. 4.5). The shift of the border north toward Shechem involved the annexation of the Aqraba district to Judea, as can be seen from the momentum of settlement in the occupied territory and from the remains of the Hasmonean fortresses Alexandrium and Aruma, located there.

24. Another possible mention of these conquest expeditions appears in Megillat Ta'anit and its scholion (Noam 2002, 8–18; 2003, 96–97; in the book of Jubilees [29.14] (for the date of this source, see Werman 2014, 45–48); and in two contexts in the Babylonian Talmud—the conquest of “Koḥalit in the wilderness” (b. Qidd. 66a; for a discussion of this source, see Stern 1995, 197–99; for the identification of Koḥalit with the southern Samaria wilderness, see Zissu 2001, 145–58), and the Hasmonean settlement of Har ha-melekh (Aramaic *Tur malka*), “the king’s hill-country” (b. Git. 57.1; for the proposed identifications, see Raviv 2018b, 47–59, 67–73).

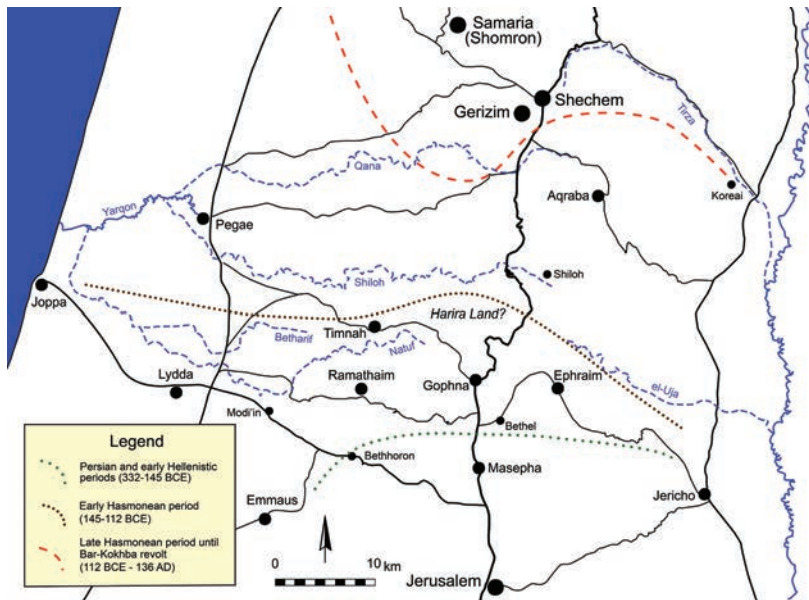


Fig. 4.5. The changes of the border between Judea and Samaria during the Hasmonean period.



Fig. 4.6. Remains of a tower or peripheral wall built of ashlar stones with drafted margins in Hellenistic style, recently uncovered at Artabba Fortress (from the second century BCE). Photograph by Yoram Hofman.

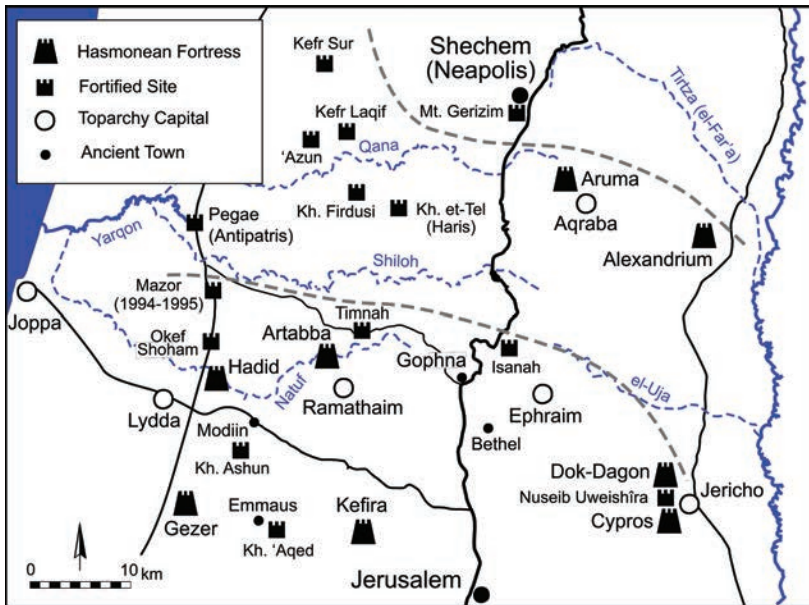


Fig. 4.7. The Hasmonean fortresses in northern Judea—an indication of the gradual expansion of the Hasmonean state. The southern line represents the northern border of Judea during the days of Jonathan and Simon; the northern line represent the days of Hyrcanus and Jannaeus.

Recently, Jonathan Bourgel (2016) has proposed that there was no hostility between the Hasmoneans and the Samaritans and that Hyrcanus's efforts were focused on the destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim and did not target the rural population. Bourgel maintains that the Hasmoneans sought to divert the Samaritans' allegiance toward Jerusalem and incorporate them into the Jewish people. He bases this assertion in part on the results of archaeological surveys conducted around Shechem, which seem to indicate stable settlement from the Hellenistic through the Roman periods. However, in the absence of a detailed look at these surveys' finds, the published data should be treated cautiously; it is possible that the sites classified as Hellenistic were actually built during the Hasmonean period as part of the development of the Jewish presence in the Aqraba region.

The historical and archaeological evidence seems to indicate the destruction of Samaritan towns and villages during the Hasmonean period. The findings of both surveys and excavations point to the aban-

donment of settlements in south Samaria in the early Hasmonean period and to the construction of dozens of new settlements in these now Jewish-controlled areas. A similar impression can be inferred from the account of the conflicts between the Samaritans and the Jews in Midrash Va-yissa'u and its parallels, and the later talmudic sources that describe the conquest of "Koḥalit in the wilderness" and of the settlement of the "king's hill-country," which have been identified as regions in Samaria. In addition, significant acreage in conquered Samaria became "estates of the Hasmonean house"; and a large Hasmonean fortress (Aruma Fortress) was built near Aqraba, dominating the border between the Jewish territory in Aqraba and the Samaritan settlements in the Shechem Valley. The construction of a Hasmonean fortress in this area could have been motivated by the hostility between the two populations, although presumably it was intended also to defend the northern border of Judea from the hostile Seleucid forces (e.g., the army of Demetrius III), and Roman troops who threatened Hasmonean rule (Raviv and Zissu 2019, 214). Finally, if the Hasmoneans did hope to convert the Samaritans, it is strange that we have not found ritual baths, stone vessels, or ossuaries at Samaritan sites of the late Second Temple period (whereas they have been found at Idumean sites).²⁵ Still, in light of the proposed distinction between rural and hellenizing Samaritans and the similarity to the Judean annexation of Idumea, it is possible to accept Bourgel's proposal in part, although not as proven. It is possible that the Hasmonean settlement of the "king's hill-country" was primarily based on land that had belonged to hellenizers and Greeks, whereas the occupation of "Koḥalit in the wilderness" refers to hostile Idumeans rather than rural Samaritans.

Summary and Conclusions

The settlement picture at the start of this period is very complex. It seems to be impossible to draw a clear dividing line between the areas of Samaritan and Jewish settlement. The situation seems to have been as follows: A Samaritan population focused on the Samaritan temple was concentrated in central Samaria (around Mount Gerizim). Hellenizing Samaritans or Greeks inhabited the Aqraba district and its main centers

25. It bears mention that there is no way from archaeological evidence to identify a Samaritan settlement whose residents converted to Judaism during the Hasmonean period.

(such as Shechem, Tappuah, and Shiloh) alongside Idumeans (at the fringe of the wilderness) and perhaps Jews (in Aqraba and Geresh?). In western Samaria (around the city of Samaria) and in the Samaritan foothills, there were gentile Greeks, possibly on land expropriated after the Samaritan rebellion.²⁶ The northern Bethel Highlands were home to a mixed population of Jews and hellenizers (Jewish and maybe Samaritan). But the southern and eastern Bethel Highlands, included in the Ephraim and Ramathaim toparchies, were Jewish. The northern border of the region of Jewish settlement ran as follows: from Wadi el-‘Uja to Mount Hatzor, and from there along the southern tributaries of Naḥal Shiloh to Tel Timnah and along the course of Naḥal Beit ‘Arif down toward the coastal plain (fig. 4.5). This line matches the distribution of imported Hellenistic vessels, the distribution of Hellenistic-era shelf tombs, and the fortifications from the time of Jonathan and/or Simon Maccabee, as well as literary sources and findings that reflect the conquests of John Hyrcanus I and the development of settlement during the late Hasmonean period. The picture that emerges supports the scholars who see the three toparchies as inhabited by a mixed population, in which the Jewish element was dominant. The archaeological data available does not allow us to determine whether there was Jewish settlement in the Aqraba region during the period in question. By the end of the period, following John Hyrcanus’s conquests in central Samaria, the region’s annexation to Judea was complete; thereafter the northern border of Judea passed near Shechem.

26. For a discussion of the remains of the Hellenistic farms in the Samaritan foothills and the identity of their owners, see Shadman 2016, 313–17.

Settlements and Borders in the Shephelah from the Fourth to the First Centuries BCE

Débora Sandhaus

According to the historical record, from the sixth to the first centuries BCE there was a constant flow of people on the move in the southern Levant. In the sixth century BCE political instability and conflict meant widespread deportations within the area and beyond, some to the countryside, others as far away as Babylon and Egypt. Following the Persian conquest of Assyria, many of these people, including the Judeans, were allowed to return. After Alexander's conquest, the Levant experienced a practically unending series of wars between his successors, including the Diadoch Wars and at least six known "Syrian wars," along with local revolts: the Samaritan Revolt and the Maccabean Wars (Briant 2002; Carter 1999; Kosmin 2014a, 16–24; Meyers and Chancey 2012; Stern 1981).

The various imperial regimes, both the Persian and Hellenistic, divided the land into local provinces, usually broadly defined along ethnic lines. In the wide hilly environs of the Shephelah, there were basically two local provinces: Idumea to the south, and Yehud to the north. But whereas the existence of these two different provinces is undisputed, there is less agreement about where the border was between them. Further, new administrations along with their own laws and regulations will have affected the region's settlement patterns, both along the border and farther within each province. Here I analyze the available archaeological evidence in order to identify precisely where and when provincial administrative borders became manifest in the landscape of the Shephelah, and the implications of this evidence for the initial stages of Hasmonean territorial expansion.

Archaeology and the Question of Administrative Borders

The central and southern Shephelah was a fertile narrow area between the coast, the central hill, and the southern arid region. Both topographically and politically, it is a border zone, a crucial throughway, and a junction of several important roads (fig. 5.1). It was characterized by rural settlements focused on agriculture, with the major economic activity being the production of olive oil and wine. The only urban site in the area is Maresha, a city in the formal territory of Idumea.



Fig. 5.1. View of the 'Ela Valley from the top of Tel Azekah, looking east. Source: Wilson44691, Wikimedia Commons.

Many scholars have addressed the issue of administrative borders in this area from the Persian period onward (Avi-Yonah and Saffrai 1966; Berlin 1997a; Lipschits 2005; Stern 2001; Tal 2006; Lipschits and Tal 2007; Finkelstein 2010; Kloner 2015). Most based their arguments on written sources, such as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the works of Diodorus and Josephus Flavius, and papyri such as the Reiner papyrus (for a full list of written sources see Kosmin 2014a, 11–12; Stern 1981, 1993a); on information derived from surveys (Dagan 2006, 2011; Faust 2007; Lipschits et al. 2014); and occasionally on archaeological excavations (Fantalkin and Tal 2012; Bocher and Freud 2017).

The search for administrative boundaries in archaeology is complex, since such borders need not overlap precisely with the sort of cultural,

economic, or religious spheres that are more readily recognized in the archaeological record. A case in point is seen in the spatial distribution of jars whose handles bear *yehud*, *YRSLM*, and other stamps (Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2011; Bocher and Lipschits 2013). The absence or presence of such handles at a certain site does not necessarily mean that the site lay within the official administrative boundary of that province.

Here I deploy an approach based on the specifics of settlement patterns, by analyzing the occupation, abandonment, and destruction of large, multilayered sites that existed over a long period of time—in our case from the fourth to the first centuries BCE. This approach follows that of researchers who use the material expression of abandonment, destruction, and decline processes in the archaeological record (La Motta and Schiefer 1999; Zuckerman 2007; Bocher and Freud 2017; Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2017). The underlying rationale focuses on patterns, and it claims that if we can identify different occupational patterns that repeat in certain areas and differ in a consistent way from that in other areas, these may reflect differences in the administrative system of each area and also allow for the definition of borders between two different administrative units, toparchies, or provinces.

The Archaeological Record

Until recently archaeological details have been elusive, for several reasons. First, most of the data originated in surveys and small salvage excavations. Evidence for dating was generally strictly ceramic, but without extensive stratigraphic excavation, it was difficult to assign a date more specific than generally Hellenistic. This broad dating stood as the most substantial obstacle to more refined historical reconstruction and sometimes led to conclusions that missed the nuances of local settlement transitions. Second, even in those sites with stratified remains, the local habit of founding structures on bedrock and reusing stones from previous buildings made it complicated to reconstruct a stratified sequence. Third, many sites in this region were abandoned rather than destroyed, leaving much less in the way of datable remains on the ground. Finally, the scarcity of excavated multiperiod sites meant that there was no regional ceramic typology to help define pottery horizons.

These problems have been greatly reduced thanks to excavations conducted during the last decade. Today, we can trace the cycles of life, decline, abandonment, and destruction of a site and of the region in

general. Settlement patterns have been analyzed with a *longue durée* perspective (Braudel 1958), extending from the Persian to the late Hellenistic/Hasmonean periods.

Here I present evidence from nine sites, all within a radius of 30 km, which together convey the rhythm and patterns of the region's settlement dynamics. The key topographic feature that determines the patterns seen here is the 'Ela Valley, a notably broad, well-watered expanse, delimited on the west, south, and north by large ancient mounds, each with a substantial viewshed in all directions. This valley was a topographic landmark and, as the evidence presented here shows, also a key administrative border. Sites to the north of the valley share one type of occupation pattern, while sites to the site share a very different one.

Sites to the north of the 'Ela Valley are Naḥal Zanoaḥ, Naḥal Yarmut, Tel 'Azekah, and Khirbet Qeiyafa. Sites south of the valley are Khirbet er-Rasm, Aderet, Amaziah, Maresha, and Tel 'Eton (fig. 5.2). The patterns identified in these sites seem also to be repeated at additional, smaller-scale excavations within this region: in the area of Harel forest (Irina Zilberbod, personal communication); Khirbet el-Keikh (Kogan-Zehavi 2009); Ḥorvat Shumeila (Kogan-Zehavi 2014a, 2014b); Ḥorvat 'Etri (Zissu and Ganor 2002); Beth Lehi (Gutfeld and Kalman 2010); Ḥorvat Midras (Orit Peleg-Barkat, personal communication); Ḥorvat el-Qutt (Benjamin Storch and Elena Kogan-Zehavi, personal communication); and Ḥorvat Burgin (Zissu et al. 2013). The evidence from these sites is still in the preliminary stages of processing and thus was not used as key sites in this study.

Sites to the North of the 'Ela Valley (fig. 5.2)

At Naḥal Zanoaḥ (fig. 5.3), large excavation on the slope unearthed several phases of two buildings with domestic installations such as *zeats* (small seat-baths) and *tabuns* (ovens), and a subterranean plastered facility identified as a ritual bath. In addition, excavated in the surrounding agricultural *chora* were agricultural terraces, olive presses, and a columbarium. Based on the pottery and the numismatic record, the site seems to have been established in the late second century BCE and continued to be inhabited through the first century BCE and into the first century CE.

Inside each building were a series of small modifications, including the laying of new floors and other small changes, that suggest this was a village where each household took care of its own domicile. During the early Roman period, a fence connected the two buildings, transforming

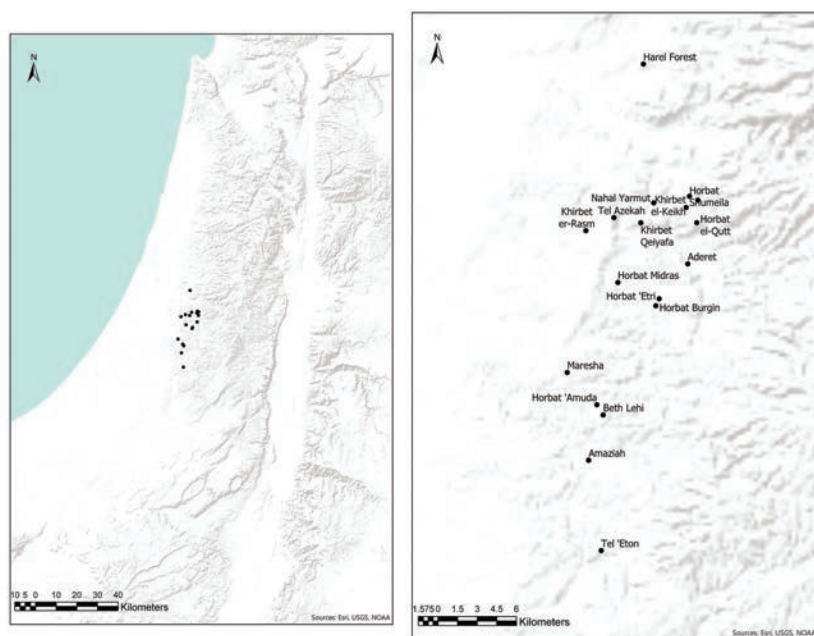


Fig. 5.2. Map of the sites in the 'Ela Valley, with detail on the right. Drawn by Atalya Fadida.

them into one big complex (Pablo Betzer and Omer Shalev, personal communication).

Nahal Yarmut spreads across two terraces in the slope of the Nahal Yarmut, between the bank of the river and the higher part of the ancient tel. A series of buildings, probably farms, were excavated in the northern part, close to an ancient road. The buildings feature several rooms, courtyards, a water cistern, and an olive press. Several phases were identified. The building seems to have been erected by the late second or early first century BCE and continued in use during the first century CE (Yanir Milevski and Izik Paz, personal communication).

At Tel Azekah (fig. 5.4), during Persian and the early Hellenistic times settlement was widespread over the entire site. Most buildings were found in the northern, western, and southern parts of the tel (Lipschits, Gadot, and Oëming 2012; Shatil 2016). The remains include structures of different plans, indicating a range of activities, including one with a silo and another with an oven and kiln, which may have been used for metallurgy. On top of the tel are some pits and pottery sherds. Based on a preliminary analysis of the coins and the pottery, the buildings were erected by the end



Fig. 5.3. Aerial view of Nahal Zanoah excavations from north to south. Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority, Pablo Betzer, and Omer Shalev.

of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century BCE and were abandoned by the middle of the third century BCE (Shatil 2016; Yoav Farhi, personal communication). The evidence overall indicates continuous occupation from the fourth into the third centuries BCE. However, while some buildings showed uninterrupted use, others seemed to have been abandoned in the transition between the Persian and Ptolemaic periods. All the buildings were abandoned by the middle of the third century BCE without any evidence for a violent destruction. Following this, there was a gap in occupation until the late second or early first century BCE, at which time a limited occupation was observed on the site's eastern slope (Oded Lipschits and Yuval Gadot, personal communication; Débora Sandhaus, personal study of the pottery). Frederick Bliss and Robert Macalister (1902, 71–75) reported the presence of a fortress on the summit of the tell, which they dated generally to the Hellenistic period. Though such a fortress seems reasonable, there is no way to associate it with any of the specific stages described above, since the pottery from the excavation was not fully reported or saved.

Khirbet Qeiyafa (figs. 5.5–6) was occupied in the late Persian, early Hellenistic, and late Hellenistic (Hasmonaeen) periods. The Per-



Fig. 5.4. Aerial view of the granary building in Area W1 in Tel Azekah. Courtesy of Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot, and Manfred Oëming.

sian-period occupation is represented mainly in Area C, where several domestic structures were uncovered, one of them very large (Freikman and Garfinkel 2014, 101–28). Some activity also took place in this period near the western gate, where the main entrance to the settlement was probably located (Garfinkel and Ganor 2009, 73–78; Kang 2014, 66–76). According to the numismatic and the ceramic evidence, Area C was abandoned in an organized manner during the late fourth century BCE, most probably in the days of Alexander the Great (Farhi 2016, 251–54; Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2017). After a short occupation gap, the site was resettled in different areas—Areas B, D, and F (Kang 2014, 66–76; Hasel 2014, 241–75; Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2015, 2017), in each of which domestic buildings were found. This occupation phase ended during or shortly after the reign of Ptolemy II (Farhi 2016; Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2015, 251–54; 2017) with an organized abandonment. The site stood abandoned for more than 150 years. In the late second or early first century BCE, a new settlement was established in a new area of the site (Area F). This new settlement continued through the first century BCE and into the first century CE (Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2015, 267–68).



Fig. 5.5. Aerial view of Area D in Khirbet Qeiyafa from south to north. Courtesy of Michael Hasel and Yosef Garfinkel, after Hasel 2014, figure 8.6.



Fig. 5.6. Plan of buildings in Area D in Khirbet Qeiyafa. Courtesy of Michael Hasel and Yosef Garfinkel, after Hasel 2014, figure 8.2.

Other excavations in the area north of the 'Ela Valley are currently under study. However, preliminary analysis of the stratigraphy, coins, and pottery appears to corroborate the picture seen above. At Khirbet el-Keikh, Ḥorvat Shumeila, and in the Harel forest, buildings were erected in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. New buildings showing a different plan were built on top of earlier ones in the Harel forest and in a different area in Ḥorvat Shumeila. The main buildings in Ḥorvat Shumeila (Kogan-Zehavi 2014b) and in Khirbet el-Keikh (Kogan-Zehavi 2009, 2014a, 2014b) continued in use until the mid-third century BCE, at which time all of these sites were abandoned. There is no evidence of destruction anywhere. By the late second or early first century BCE, Khirbet el-Keikh and Ḥorvat Shumeila were both reoccupied in new areas of the site. In the Harel forest, the abandoned building was reused with a different interior organization (Zilberbod, personal communication). At Ḥorvat el-Qutt, a large new settlement was established (Storchan, personal communication).

Sites to the South of the 'Ela Valley (fig. 5.2)

On the top of the mound at Khirbet er-Rasm (fig. 5.7) a large structure was excavated, and terraces, cisterns and caves were found nearby (Faust and Erlich 2011). On the floors was recovered a large assemblage of vessels crushed beneath a massive collapse. The assemblage included all sort of vessels, all dating to the first half of the second century BCE (Sandhaus 2011). Evidence of fire was found in some of the rooms. Some arrowheads and slings as well as small stones used as projectiles were found as well. Some of the entrances inside the building had been blocked in advance of the attack, which suggests that the inhabitants intended to return after the violent episode (Faust and Erlich 2011, 209–15). Pottery dated to the Persian and early Hellenistic periods suggest some activity at the site during these periods, perhaps in another area (207–8).

A large building with a big olive press was found at Aderet. The site is dated based on a hoard of coins and the pottery assemblage to the third and second centuries BCE (Seligman 2009, 361–66; Seligman and Yoyev forthcoming). The place was abandoned without any evidence of destruction.

Maresha is the only true urban center in this region; the site includes an upper and a lower city. It was long lived. Remains of the Persian period—including pottery, figurines, and ostraca—were identified in the lower city, in the tower (Area 100) and its vicinity, in Subterranean Cave 75, and in



Fig. 5.7. Aerial view of Khirbet er-Rasm excavations from northwest to southeast. Courtesy of Avraham Faust and Adi Erlich.

Area 940, southeast of the upper city (Kloner and Stern 2007; Kloner 2010, 13–14). Occupation continued through the time of Alexander and into the Ptolemaic era (Arthur Segal, personal communication), when, according to the evidence, the lower city was founded, by 300–280 BCE. At this time, subterranean units started to function as storage rooms, columbaria, olive presses, to hold agricultural production, and so on. The city plan includes *insulae* of houses, a drainage system, public buildings, a temple, and markets. The lower city was surrounded by a wall by the late third or beginning of the second century BCE. Several changes in household organization can be seen, such as the raising of floors, through the second century BCE. It is during this century that the city expanded beyond its walls. According to the excavators, the city was destroyed and or abandoned by 112/111 BCE. The material evidence suggests that inhabitants took steps prior to their abandonment by systematically filling the subterranean facilities with enormous dumps of soil, pottery, and a wide range of domestic goods, probably garbage from the houses above (Stern 2014, 1). As these facilities provided crucial space for the city's economy, this action seems both



Fig. 5.8. Olive press and columbarium system in Amaziah. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority and Vladik Lipschits. Photograph by Assaf Peretz.

purposeful and deliberately antagonistic to the attackers. Except for some coins associated with Hasmonean mints found on the upper city, no other evidence for occupation after the late second century BCE appears until the late first century CE, when some poor remains were found in some of the underground units used as tombs (Kloner 2003a, 5–7).

A few fragments of late fourth-century BCE pottery found in a later columbarium provide evidence for occupation somewhere on the site of Amaziah (fig. 5.8) at this time. A water cistern and granaries were erected in the third century BCE and continued in use through the second century. By the end of the second century, the site had been abandoned, and there were signs of destruction in some areas. In the second half of the first century CE, after a gap of at least fifty years, occupation was renewed in a different location and continued until the beginning of the second century CE (Varga and Israel 2014; Varga et al. 2017; Sandhaus, personal study).

A square building with massive walls, pits, and installations was unearthed at Tel ‘Eton (Faust, Katz, and Eyall 2015). The building was erected and remained in use during the fourth century BCE. A limited number of sherds of the third century BCE suggest that by this time the

site was reduced in size or activities had moved to another area in the site itself. Soon after the site was abandoned.

Current excavations south of the 'Ela Valley reinforce the patterns observed above. At Beth Lehi and in a survey between this site and Maresha, there have been found remains from the fourth, third, and second centuries BCE, reflecting continuous activity and occupation (Oren Gutfeld, Pablo Betzer, and Michal Haber, personal communication). The second century is the most prominent, likely following the expansion of Maresha, the only city in this region. Beth Lehi was abandoned around the middle of the second century BCE and was only resettled in the second half of the first century BCE, after a gap of around a century (Gutfeld, Betzer, and Haber, personal communication). Preliminary results from Ḥorvat Midras are similar, with evidence for occupation in the late fourth, third, and second centuries BCE (Peleg-Barkat, personal communication). The excavators of Ḥorvat Burgin report a settlement erected there in the third century BCE, which continued into the second century (Ganor and Klein 2011; Zissu et al. 2013).

Table 5.1 presents in summary the information detailed above (all dates are centuries BCE).

	fourth	third	second	late second– early first
Sites Located North of the 'Ela Valley				
Naḥal Zanoaḥ	—	—	—	settled for the first time
Naḥal Yarmut	—	—	—	settled for the first time
Tel 'Azekah	settled in all areas	settlement continuity in a limited area, abandoned by mid-century	—	settled in a different part of the site
Khirbet Qeiyafa	short-lived settlement, then a gap?	settled in a different part of the site, abandoned by mid-century	—	settled in a different part of the site
Ḥorvat Shumeila	settled, then a small gap?	settled with a different plan, abandoned by mid-century	—	settled

	fourth	third	second	late second- early first
Khirbet el-Keikh	settled	settlement continuity, abandoned by mid-century	—	settled in a different part of the site
Harel Forest	settled, then a small gap?	settled with a different plan, abandoned by mid-century	—	settled, with a different plan
Ḥorvat el-Qutt	—	—	—	settled for the first time
Beth Natif area building	settled, then brief abandonment	settled with a different plan, abandoned by mid-century	—	settled
Ḥorvat 'Etri	settled	?	—	new settlement
Sites Located South of the 'Ela Valley				
Khirbet er-Rasm	settled	settled in a different part of the site	settlement continuity, abandoned and destroyed by the end of the century	—
Aderet	—	settled for the first time	settlement continuity, abandoned by mid-century	—
Maresha	settled	settled with a new plan, upper city built	settlement continuity and expansion, abandoned by the last decades of the century	—
Amaziah	settled	settled with a new plan	settlement continuity and expansion, abandoned by the last decades of the century	—

	fourth	third	second	late second– early first
Tel ‘Eton	settled	settlement continuity, then abandoned	—	—
Beth Lehi	settled	settlement continuity	settlement continuity and expansion, abandoned by mid-century	—
Survey and excavation between Beth Lehi and Maresha	?	settlement continuity	settlement continuity and expansion, abandoned by mid-century	—
Ḥorvat Burgin	—	settled	settlement continuity and expansion, abandoned by the last decades of the century	—

Discussion

The settlement patterns observed in both areas can be summarized as follows. Isolated farms or small villages characterize settlement across this region in the late fourth and third centuries BCE. The transition from the fourth to the third centuries, meaning the political change from Persian imperial rule to the Diadoch struggles and into the first years of Ptolemaic rule, show a complex picture (see also Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2017; Kreimerman and Sandhaus, forthcoming). At some sites, there is continuity of use in some buildings (e.g., some of the dwellings at Tel ‘Azekah and Beth Lehi). At others there is a shift in location (e.g., Khirbet Qeiyafa), suggestive of a short abandonment at the site. At still others, new buildings are erected in the same location, canceling earlier structures (e.g., Ḥorvat Shumeila, the Harel forest, Beth Natif). No settlement growth is observed from the fourth to the third centuries, and in fact reductions in settlement size can be noticed.

At some point during the third century BCE, settlement patterns between the sites north of the 'Ela Valley and those to the south changed. To the north, sites were abandoned by the mid-third century BCE, without any evidence for violence. The archaeological record indicates a prolonged gap of almost 130 years. Then, by the late second to early first century BCE, a significant number of sites are built anew—as evidenced at Naḥal Zanoaḥ, Naḥal Yarmut, Ḥorvat 'Etri, Ḥorvat el-Qutt, and Beth Natif—or reoccupied, as Khirbet Qeiyafa and Tel 'Azekah.

In marked contrast, from the third through the mid- to later second century BCE, sites to the south of the 'Ela Valley flourished. One city—Maresha—was greatly expanded, while satellite villages, farms, and inns were built, such as Amaziah, Khirbet er-Rasm, Beth Lehi, and Ḥorvat Burgin (this same pattern is seen in the adjacent region of the southern coastal plain, on which see 'Ad's chapter in this volume). During the second century BCE these sites expanded, developed, and witnessed the zenith of their occupation. All were abruptly abandoned and some of them destroyed by the mid-late second century. All remained deserted for the next fifty years.

Reconstructing the Settlement History of the Central and Southern Shephelah

The different occupational patterns identified on both sides of the 'Ela Valley provide a unique opportunity to look at the area's history and to visualize the effects on the ground of historical events and political fluctuations over three hundred years.

The Babylonian conquest that destroyed the urban landscape did not destroy Judea's rural hinterland; here settlement continuity can be observed from the Iron Age through the Persian period (Gadot 2015; Bocher and Freud 2017). In the 'Ela Valley, settlement was meager in the century following the Persian conquest (late sixth–fifth century BCE). It was not until the mid- to late fourth century that a renewal or strengthening can be seen, initially on both sides of the valley, creating a pattern similar to that in the area north and west of Jerusalem (Bocher and Freud 2017, 154–56; Sandhaus and Kreimerman 2017; for a detailed research history, see Langgut and Lipschits 2017).

The unstable transition between the fourth and third centuries, when Persian domination ended and Alexander's heirs fought each other, is evidenced in the brief abandonments and shifting occupations inside some sites on both sides of the valley.

For the Ptolemaic kings, the entirety of the southernmost Levant was a strategic economic area, a junction for funneling trade across the Spice Road from India to Gaza, and an agricultural resource for wheat, oil, and *apharsemon* (Stern 1981; Berlin et al. 2003). The common opinion regarding their administration is that their main goal was to collect taxes (Stern 1981).

At the beginning of Ptolemaic rule, settlement continued both north and south of the ‘Ela Valley. While northern sites remained modest in size, as previously, meaning agricultural farms or small villages, sites south of the valley present a more varied pattern, with one large city, satellite sites, and inns all part of the scene. These differences hint at two different modes of administration in each area, a phenomenon observed in other areas of Seleucid domination (Kosmin 2014a, 26, 196–99).

At some point, either late in the reign of Ptolemy II or in the early years of Ptolemy III, something happened that caused the abandonment of sites north of the ‘Ela Valley. This pattern stands in clear opposition to that south of the valley, where continuity is seen. The abandonment may be related to economic reforms of Ptolemy II (Gorre and Honigman 2013) or the result of one of the Syrian wars, when local forces stood to the side of different kings. In the aftermath, perhaps in connection with the erection of the expanded urban center of Maresha, land might have been reallocated. Following this rearrangement, people living north of the valley may have moved to the new city or to some of its surrounding villages, others to the Judean hinterland, and still others as far as Egypt, as Sylvie Honigman (personal communication) has suggested. The widespread shift may be reflected in the story of Josephus (*Ant.* 12.156–222) the son of Tobiah (see Stern 1981, 45, 102; Gera 1993, 126), which seems to describe the creation of a new regional order, what Kosmin (2014a, 199) calls “recoding the regional landscape.”

Throughout the years of Seleucid control, the area north of the valley remained unsettled, while to the south settlement continued and expanded, reaching a peak by the middle of the second century—at which point this period of calm came to an end. By the end of the century almost all settlements in this area had been abandoned, and some destroyed—certainly the result of the campaigns of the Hasmoneans.

By the late second/early first century BCE, the regional picture was completely reversed. New villages and settlements arose north of the ‘Ela Valley, while the area to the south remained unsettled until the mid-first century BCE. The increase of settlements that began in what had been

Yehud, meaning the environs of Jerusalem plus the northern and central Shephelah, during the mid-later second century BCE, now expanded to the immediately neighboring areas. Idumea did not return to settled life until the last years of Hasmonean rule or perhaps only in the time of Herod.

6

Settlement in the Southern Coastal Plain ("Philistia") during the Early Hellenistic Periods (Third through Mid-Second Centuries BCE)

Uzi 'Ad

The southern coastal plain, ancient Philistia, is bounded by the Yarkon River to the north, the Shiqma Stream to the south, the Mediterranean Sea to the west, and the Samaritan and Judean foothills (Shephelah) to the east (fig. 6.1). At 27 km wide at the south and 15 km wide at the north, it is a zone that is compact, easily traversed, and highly conducive to settlement, an aspect borne out by the more than 85 excavated sites and 105 surveyed sites discovered here. From the third century until the mid-second century BCE, these sites comprised coastal cities and towns, as well as inland villages and agricultural/industrial installations. The layout and settlement history of two type sites are presented in detail below: Jaffa as an example of a regional urban center and the group of Gan Soreq sites as exemplary of rural settlements. The rural and agricultural setting of Aphek, Jaffa, Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam, and Ashkelon are also described.

History of Research

Beginning in the 1950s, and more extensively in the 1960s and 1970s, excavations and surveys by Jacob Kaplan and Haya Ritter-Kaplan (1993a, 1993b) in the Tel Aviv–Jaffa region as well as in Gedera, Yavneh, and Lod (Kaplan 1953, 1957, 1993) contributed much to our knowledge of Hellenistic-period settlement patterns in the northern part of the region. Several studies since the 1980s addressed the subject through archaeological, historical, and epigraphic data, the most comprehensive being that of Oren Tal (2006, with further references there). Beginning in 2002, large-

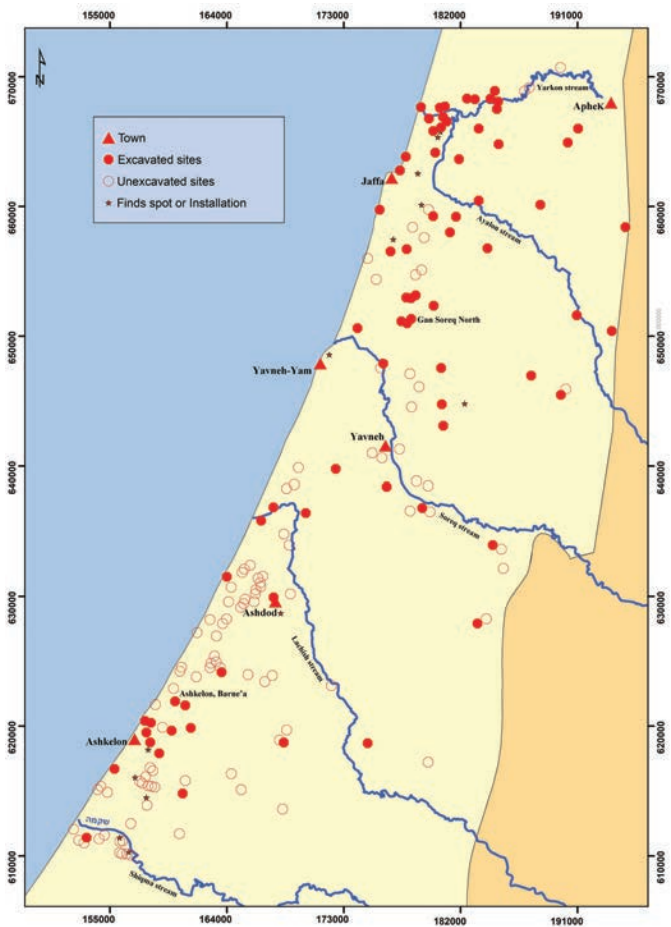


Fig. 6.1. Southern coastal plain. Map of Hellenistic sites known from survey and excavation.

scale excavations at the sites of Gan Soreq and the Barnea neighborhood of Ashkelon provided a new and detailed picture of the region’s extra-urban and rural settlements and their connections to the larger coastal cities.

Textual and Epigraphic Sources, and Administration

From the third century BCE, this region figures in the papyri of Zenon, the Ptolemaic official who visited the land in 259–258 BCE. One papyrus mentions Jaffa’s harbor and Pegae (Aphek), where the “border guard” was

stationed (PSI 4.406; Tcherikover 1937; Durand 1997). Another papyrus mentions trade in scrolls and barley at Ashkelon (P.Cair.Zen. 1.59010). In addition, the Aristeas Letter (para. 115), which describes the land under Ptolemy II, numbers Jaffa and Ashkelon among its harbors (Rappaport 2013a, 32).

Memorial inscriptions (*epistolary prostagma*) from Yavneh-Yam dating to 163 BCE document an exchange of letters between Antiochus V and the town's residents (Isaac 1991; Ameling et al. 2014, 161–65). The letters include a petition by the “Sidonians at the Yavneh harbor” and the king's reply, in which their rights are confirmed. The dates of the letters fall in the days of Judas Maccabeus, who is reported to have raided Yavneh's harbor (2 Macc 12:8–9).

The most detailed historical sources for this period are 1 Maccabees and the works of Josephus. First Maccabees chronicles battles of Jonathan and Simon in the southern coastal plain, including conflicts with key cities such as Ashkelon and Ashdod (5:68; 10:83–86; 11:4, 60) and several conquests of Jaffa (10:76; 12:33–34; 13:11; 14:5).

As for the region's administrative organization, most of the little information we possess relates to the Seleucid period (Tal 2006, 11–12). Based on Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.4) and 2 Maccabees 13:24, Stern (1981, 69) argued that from the second quarter of the second century BCE Coele Syria and Phoenicia were divided into four administrative units. One of them, Paralia, sprawled from “the Ladder of Tyre to the frontiers of Egypt” (1 Macc 11:59) and was ruled by a *strategos*. The first to be appointed to this post was Hegemondes, followed by Simon in 145 (1 Macc 11:59).

The Regional Economy: Goods, Roads, Anchorages, and Harbors

The written sources, settlement patterns, and archaeological finds all reflect a robust economy with a diverse base: agriculture in the form of wine production and wheat cultivation; harbor and docking services; fishing, as evidenced by net hooks and weights from excavations and anchors discovered in the sea; dove raising; and pottery production. Additional sources of income such as the slave trade have left no archaeological traces but are noted in textual sources.

The region's coinage reflects the importance of the coastal cities. Ashdod and Ashkelon were authorized to mint their own coins (Gitler and Tal 2006). Ptolemaic mints in Jaffa and Ashkelon and, from the Seleucid period, Ashkelon signal the prominence of these cities and their strate-

gic value to the central government (Tal 2006, 299–311). Coins from as far away as Alexandria and Antioch reflect commercial and other links between the cities of the southern coast and the wider region.

Stamps impressed on imported wine amphorae reveal the regular appearance of Mediterranean goods. The most numerous of such stamps originated in Rhodes (Finkielsztejn 2001a), but there are also significant numbers from elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, including other Aegean islands, Cyprus, Egypt, Sicily, and Italy. Imported ceramic wares, figurines, and other types of foreign-made goods make the region's maritime and land trade tangible.

Information on transportation routes is limited (Roll 1996; Kloner 2015). While no Hellenistic roads have been discerned so far in this zone, routes may be proposed based on the locations of urban and administrative centers, topographic conditions, and later Roman roads. The main road in the period was the ancient *Via Maris*, which ran up the coast to Ashdod, then turned northeast toward Yavneh, Lod, and Aphek, near the sources of the Yarkon River. A secondary route followed the coast up to Jaffa. East-west routes linked the two branches and the cities. At least two of these roads led to Jaffa: from Aphek in the east, and from Emmaus, Gezer, and Lod in the southeast. Yavneh and Yavneh-Yam could be reached from the east through a road from Gezer. Another route may have reached Yavneh from Tel Qatra to the southeast. At least one road led to Ashdod from the east, out of Tell es-Şafi (Kloner 2015, fig. 1). At least two roads linked to Ashkelon: one from Tell es-Şafi and the second from Maresha.

There were no true harbors along the southern coastal plain during this period. Instead, kurkar-lined natural bays served as anchorages. Reefs prevented large and medium-sized vessels from approaching the beach, forcing them to anchor a few hundred meters away. Small boats would have transported passengers and cargo to and from the vessels. Historical sources and archaeological discoveries (Galili 2009) indicate such anchorages in Jaffa, Yavneh-Yam, and, according to Lawrence E. Stager (1993) also in Ashkelon. According to 2 Maccabees (12:3–9), Jaffa and Yavneh-Yam were targeted in retaliation raids by Judas Maccabeus, who damaged the anchorages and sunk the ships therein.

Settlement Types

The southern coastal plain was densely inhabited during the early Hellenistic period; more than 190 sites have been identified. There are

eight categories: central settlement or town, some of which were main or secondary administrative centers; large village (10–30 dunams); village (3–9 dunams); farmhouse (usually less than 3 dunams), fortress; finds spot (survey site where only small finds and building stones were discovered); installation or tomb; and shrine. Only a few have been extensively excavated; of these, Jaffa, Gan Soreq, and Barnea at Ashkelon are described below.

Cities: Jaffa

According to Aaron Burke, Martin Peilstöcker, and George Pierce (2014, 44), Jaffa was a walled city with an orthogonal plan already in the Persian period. Historical data and rich archaeological assemblages indicate major development beginning in the late fourth century BCE, including for the first time the formation of a lower city. Prior to this period, and again afterward, from the second half of the second century BCE and throughout the Roman period, these grounds were used for farming and sporadic burials (the main cemetery was to the south of the mound). Only now, in the late fourth/early third century BCE, did residences spread to the east up to 250 m from the mound.

One lower-city dwelling from this period has been largely excavated (Arbel 2008; Segal forthcoming). The house had a courtyard surrounded by rooms, similar in plan to other “central courtyard” buildings of the period. The plan is common for all sorts of structures—public, private, and military. They include a courtyard (two in some cases) fully or partly surrounded by a single or double row of rooms. In some cases, one of the surrounding sections carried an upper floor.

Remains of buildings dating to the third century BCE discovered between 550 and 700 m to the east of the mound hint at the existence of farmsteads close to Jaffa beginning at this time. Four of these buildings have been excavated (Kaplan 1966; Jakoel 2011; Arbel 2012; Haddad 2010). The rich artifact assemblage includes a large number of amphorae from the Greek islands, such as Rhodes (Finkielsztejn, this volume). The finds indicate how essential the harbor and maritime trade were to the city’s economy. They were responsible for Jaffa’s political and economic rise during this period, and probably the reason why the city was charged by the Ptolemaic court to mint its own coins on their behalf (Tal 2006, 302–3, 310–11).

Rural Settlements

Gan Soreq North

Gan Soreq North (fig. 6.2) was a large village over 30 dunams in size, 12 km south of Jaffa and 7.5 km northeast of Yavneh-Yam (fig. 6.1; 'Ad 2016). The settlement reached its greatest extent in the early second century BCE. Up to seventeen structures of unequal size have been excavated, most of the central-courtyard plan. Here as elsewhere in the region, there is thick soil cover but hardly any bare rock, so the walls were built of mudbrick,¹ in some cases with stone foundations. Some buildings were dwellings or stores. The function of others remains unclear.

No streets or public structures were discerned, and there was no organized settlement plan other than a rough functional setting: dwellings at the center, a production area to the east and northeast (so that winds could help dispel heat, smoke, and odors away from dwellings), and the cemetery to the south. The rich and diverse array of artifacts includes imported table vessels, Mediterranean amphorae, glass beads, and over 420 Hellenistic coins of various types and mints. The numerous Rhodian amphorae especially are evidence of residents' taste for imported wine, although much local wine was produced in the adjacent farmstead (see below). While all of these finds are testimony to the residents' generally high standard of living, a degree of social stratification is evidenced by the larger size of Structure B.1 (fig. 6.2), the superior quality of construction of Structure B.7, and the higher volume of glass and imported ceramic vessels from Structure B.7 and from a structure at Area M.

A particularly striking group of finds is a large number of coins from Side in Pamphylia, the largest quantity yet discovered in Israel after Maresha and a possible indication of the inhabitants' foreign origin. If so, this may have been a military colony, probably a *katoikia* settled by Greek and/or Anatolian veterans and their families (Stern 1981, 21–22), as also proposed here for the Barnea site in Ashkelon (see below), and by Zeev Yeivin and Gershon Edelstein (1970, 67) for the farmstead at Tirat Yehuda, in southern Samaria. The *katoikia* were colonies of veterans established by the imperial administration in order to assure the presence of loyal sol-

1. The prevalence of soil cover and lack of available stone except in settlements closer to the kurkar ridges explain the use of mudbrick in dwellings, public structures, and fortifications during this and other occupations.

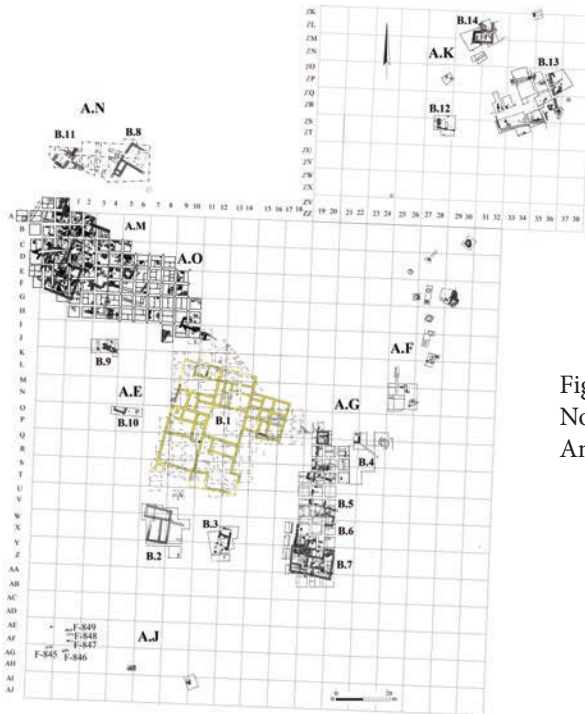


Fig. 6.2. Plan of Gan Soreq North. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

diers in strategic points throughout the empire, especially along major routes, frontier zones, and contested territories (Stern 1981, 74; Rappaport 2013a, 343). These settlements were often located in elevated spots that provided good observation points and some natural protection, along with adjacent fertile land, water sources, and space for expansion (Cohen 1978, 54–55; Bar-Kochva 1979, 31, 44–45). The government awarded the settlers farming plots and may also have facilitated their supply of foreign and luxury foodstuffs and other commodities. In return, the settlers could be drafted for military service upon necessity. The Reiner papyrus, dated 261 BCE, confirms the presence of Greek settlers elsewhere in the country (Westermann 1938), as does the Hefzibah inscription, which documents an exchange of letters between Antiochus III and Ptolemy son of Tharseias, governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and other Seleucid officials from 199–195 BCE (Landau 1966). Among their contents is a record of veterans moving to villages in the Jezreel Valley and area around Scythopolis/Beit Shean and expelling local inhabitants.

Two additional factors further support the identification of the village at Gan Soreq North as a *katoikia*. The first is the discovery here of fifteen

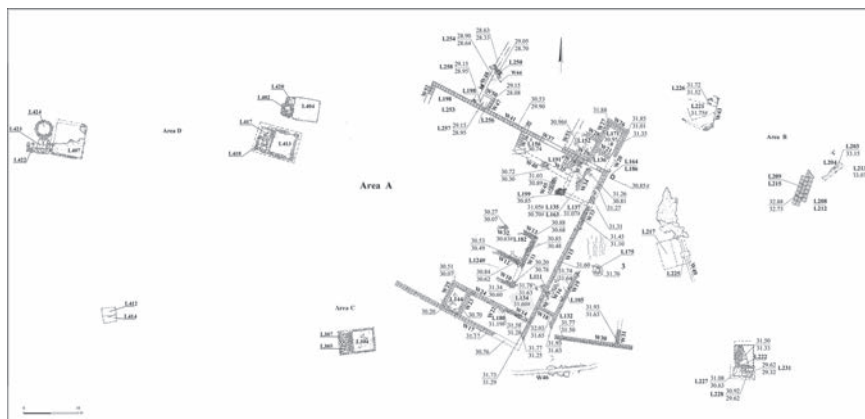


Fig. 6.3. Plan of Gan Soreq South. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Hellenistic arrowheads and other weapons, attesting to the presence of military personnel. The second is the orderly and planned abandonment of the village in the mid-second century BCE (see below).

Gan Soreq South

Gan Soreq South (fig. 6.3) is a single large farmstead, established in the last third of the third century and inhabited through the first half of the second century BCE, according to the coin evidence. It was built on a hilltop approximately 400 m to the southwest of the main village of Gan Soreq. The main house, built mostly of mudbrick, has three or four wings of rooms and halls (the western was not preserved) arranged around a central courtyard. Rooms with thicker walls protruded from the corners of the northern wing, possibly two-storied guard towers. A full complement of agricultural tools and installations was found here. In the rooms of the main house were clay ovens and grinding stones. A pottery kiln, a storage building, and hearths were found to the east of the structure, and to the west, south, and east were five winepresses, with a seasonal production potential of circa eighty thousand liters.

Ashkelon-Barnea

Ashkelon-Barnea (fig.6.4) comprises a mostly single-period Hellenistic settlement covering circa twenty dunams, located within a modern neigh-

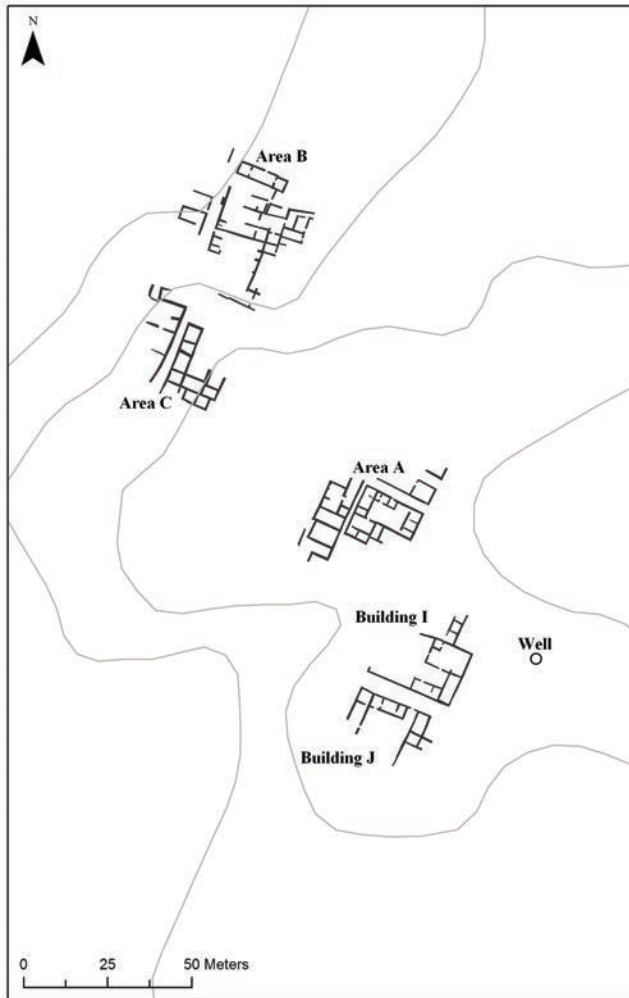


Fig. 6.4. Plan of Ashkelon-Barnea. Source: Peretz et al. 2018, figure 2, prepared by Michal Birkenfeld.

borhood circa 4 km to the northeast of Tel Ashkelon (fig. 6.1; Peretz et al. 2018). The settlement was built on an orthogonal plan and consists of intersecting streets and alleys, some with drain channels, and buildings in between. The streets facing the sea were broader, so that sea breezes could flow through them. Up to eight structures and a well were partially exposed. While the structures, some of which with two units, followed the central courtyard plan, construction was not always straight-angled

and meticulous. Most buildings had a central courtyard and two or three surrounding wings of mudbrick walls with one or two rows of rooms. Partitions in the courtyards enclosed roofless niches, some of which contained ovens. There were no signs of upper stories. There was probably a cemetery at the northeastern part of the site (Sion 2008).

The orthogonal pattern implies prior planning, despite the non-uniform house sizes and street directions. Most structures seem to be residential, with sizes and style largely similar and indicating inhabitants from the same social class. Peretz et al. (2018, 76–78) suggest that two somewhat larger structures on the southern outskirts of the settlement (I and J) served as an inn and for medical or customs functions. Their proposal is based on the marginal location, multiple ovens, and certain finds such as lead weights. Yoram Haimi (forthcoming) and Peretz et al. (2018, 79) hold that the settlement postdates the Seleucid conquest and was abandoned early in the second half of the second century BCE. The few ceramic vessels left in the rooms and the blocking of some of the entrances suggest methodical abandonment. Following Haimi, the orthogonal arrangement, the orderly abandonment, and the high percentage of imported ceramics suggest a veterans’ *katoikia*.

Industrial and Agricultural Installations

Sixteen winepresses were discovered in the research zone, all of the “four squares” type (fig. 6.5; Frankel 1999, 149–50). Thirteen of the winepresses lay between Tel Michal in the north and Yavneh-Yam in the south. Wine is the only large-scale agricultural industry attested here; olive oil presses are absent from the region.

Fifteen pottery kilns were also found here, all of the updraft kiln type (Baumgarten 2001). A concentration of eight kilns found at Tel Ashdod (north; Varga 2012) and in the village at Gan Soreq merit special attention. All date to the second century BCE and were apparently large regional production centers, similar to those of the Roman period found at Kefar H̄ananyah and Kefar Shihin, both in the lower Galilee (Adan-Bayewitz 1993).

Other evidence of industrial activity is an installation from Tel Mor (Barako 2007), which may have been used for the production of purple dye or for actual cloth dyeing, and, finally, a columbarium found south of Ziqim (Zissu and Rokach 1999).

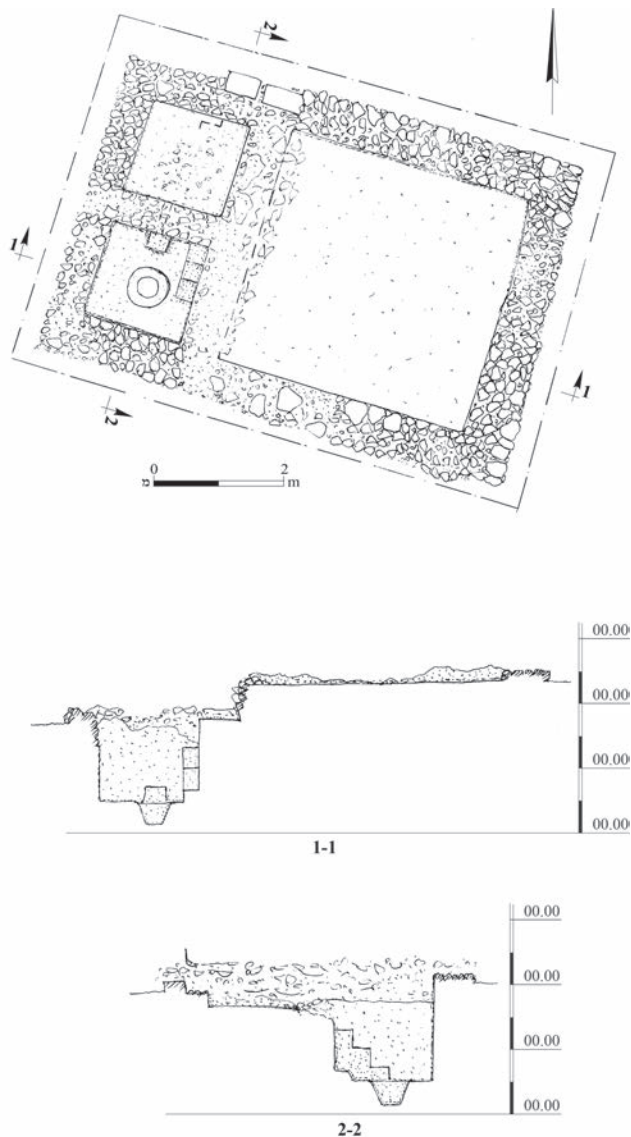


Fig. 6.5. Winepress. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Settlement Patterns (Tables 6.1 and 6.2)

Settlement patterns in the southern coastal plain generally conform to the central-city model, which maps distances between main cities and sur-

Table 6.1: Number of sites by period

Central city	Persian	Hellenistic	new (total)	new (percent)
Jaffa	22	45	27	60
Apheq	10	8	2	20
Yavneh and Yavneh-Yam	26	28	7	25
Ashdod	54	41	10	24
Ashkelon	44	56	30	54
Gezer? or no central city		12		

Table 6.2: Types of sites in the Hellenistic period

Central city	large village	village	farm- house	total set- tlements	nonset- tlement	excavated
Jaffa		5	34	40	5	38
Apheq	1	3	3	8		5
Yavneh and Yavneh-Yam	2	9	12	26	2	15
Ashdod	2	11	17	31	10	7
Ashkelon	3	12	31	47	9	14
Total				152	26	79

rounding settlements. This model is partly based on central-place theory, combined with a regional division to river basins (Yarkon, Ayalon, Soreq, Lachish, and Shiqma). Some exceptions to the central-city arrangement appear in the eastern, inland portion of this region. In four cases the reason is technical: for them, the logically related central city was Gezer, which lies outside the coastal plain, in the adjacent hilly Shephelah. Another eight settlements were situated far enough away from the nearest city that the distance may have kept them out of their sphere of control and influence.

Jaffa

Forty-five Hellenistic sites were discovered in Jaffa's surroundings, doubling the number of sites from the preceding Persian period. In twenty-seven sites there was no prior occupation. The establishment of new settlements increased the demand for food, wine, and other commodities, boosting maritime-based import and export activity. A telling example of this activity is wine. While Aegean amphorae attest to importation, the large number of winepresses uncovered in the region may also suggest that local wine was exported to foreign destinations.

Unlike other regional cities in the region, Jaffa's settlement arrangement lacked larger villages serving as intermediaries between the small villages and the cities. Two factors, or their combination, may explain it. First, the low quality of the local grounds (*ḥamra*, swamps and kurkar ridges), which could only sustain small villages and farms. Second, Aphek (Pegae), as a secondary government center, may have satisfactorily assumed the larger villages' intermediary role.²

Aphek

There were seven settlements in the surroundings of Aphek, two fewer than under Persian rule. The main development in the region under the Hellenistic government was the founding of Pegae on the mound of Aphek. As mentioned above, Pegae may have been a subsidiary administrative center under Jaffa (Tal 2006, 205). Surveys by Israel Roll and Etan Ayalon (1989, fig. 141) recorded many Hellenistic sites in the trough (Marzeva Valley) to the north of Pegae and in the Samaritan foothills to the east of it. Both regions are within a radius of 6–7 km from Aphek. All or some of these settlements may have been associated with Pegae.

2. According to Tal (2006, 204), Apollonia/Arshaf, Tel Ya'oz, Yavneh-Yam, and Yavneh were secondary administrative centers to Jaffa, in addition to Tell Qasile and Aphek. Conversely, Roll and Ayalon (1989, 128–29) propose that starting in the Hellenistic period the central city in the southern Sharon coast was Apollonia, and that Tell Qasile and its sites were administratively related to it.

Yavneh and Yavneh-Yam

Twenty-eight sites stood around Yavneh/Yavneh-Yam, two more than in the Persian period. Seven sites showed no prior occupation. Tel Ya'oz was probably a subsidiary government center to Yavneh/Yavneh-Yam, at least by the middle of the second century.

Ashdod

The forty-one sites affiliated with Ashdod reflect a 25 percent reduction in the total number during the Persian period. Ten of them were new, with no prior occupation. The drastic decline in the number of sites may have been the result of Ashdod's declining status, from an autonomous city with its own coinage under Persian rule to a secondary administrative town under Ashkelon's supremacy, with no minting rights.

Ashkelon

The settlement arrangement around Ashkelon included fifty-six sites, ten more than in the previous period, and almost four times more than in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. Of this total, twenty-six sites were not occupied in the Persian period. This is twice the number of sites of Yavneh/Yavneh-Yam and fifteen more than around Ashdod, immediately to the north, which, as mentioned, experienced a significant decline in settlements during that period. Some of these sites may also be some of the fortresses mentioned in the city's environs (1 Macc 12:33–34).

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, the southern coastal plain exhibits two types of settlement pattern. Along the coast, where there existed a string of established towns and cities, we see a cluster model, with groups of smaller sites arrayed around a city that served as an administrative and economic center. The cities served both land and maritime trade routes; surrounding them, smaller settlements of various sizes formed an agricultural backdrop. The number of settlements and their dimensions were affected by the importance and success of their affiliated central city.

Slightly inland, in the eastern portion of this zone, we see a linear model, with settlements developing along roads and near main junctions.

Some rural settlements did not evolve naturally but were built under government initiative for veterans and their families, as were also fortresses, for example those described around Ashkelon in 1 Macc 12:33–34.

These patterns largely evolved through natural economic processes, perhaps with some encouragement and guidance by the local government officials, as opposed to broader and long-run royal programs.

It is hard to determine precisely when the area came under full Hasmonean rule—other than Ashkelon, which maintained its autonomy. The available archaeological testimony shows that the settlements at Gan Soreq and Barnea were abandoned—rather than conquered by force. The date of the abandonment may be the military campaigns of Jonathan and Simon in this region (1 Macc 13:43–48; 14:4–7) and/or the appointment of Simon as *strategos* of Paralia in 145 BCE (Stern 1981; 1 Macc 11:59; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.146). The abandonment of such large settlements may be explained by the fact that the presence of military settlers placed in strategic locations by the Seleucid government either was no longer relevant or could not be tolerated. Jaffa and its surroundings were captured in the early days of Simon (1 Macc 14:5), Yavneh-Yam in the second half of John Hyrcanus's reign (Fischer 2008, 2075), and Ashdod in 114 BCE (Dothan 1971, 64).

Based on the present data we may conclude that it took the Hasmoneans between thirty and forty-five years to gain control over this region. The relatively long process may be due both to imperial, largely Seleucid political developments as well as changes in the Hasmoneans' own perceptions of the region and its population (Rappaport 1980). On the other hand, where economic motives were greater, the process was far swifter. Jaffa and its environs, for example, were taken in the early days of Simon's rule because the Hasmoneans desired a harbor and a corridor accessing it from the foothills. Jonathan and Simon carried out military campaigns in other parts of the southern coast at about the same time. This generated restlessness in the population (as suggested by the memorial inscriptions from Yavneh-Yam), yet the two Hasmonean rulers refrained from conquering them. They could have taken advantage of the inner rivalries and conflicts that weakened the Seleucid government but chose instead to form political alliances with Seleucid rulers as well as with their rivals, including the Romans. Significantly, the salient Hellenistic cultural center of Ashkelon was allowed to maintain its independence even after the entire region was occupied, probably because the Hasmoneans wished to benefit from that city's long-established contacts with Ptolemaic Egypt (Fuks 2000, 43–44). The Hasmonean approach to Ashkelon exemplifies the pragmatic think-

ing that the new ruling family in Jerusalem developed to survive in the dynamic political realities of their day, quite different from their portrayal as religious-ideological zealots in the books of Maccabees.

Go West:

Archaeological Evidence for Hasmonean Expansion toward the Mediterranean Coast

Yehiel Zelinger

The Lod foothills and the Plain of Sharon are both fertile territory and crucial geographic bridges in Israel. The soils and climate support a variety of agricultural options, allowing especially for plantations and pastures. Comfortable areas for grain crops can be found in the valleys, at the outlets of the wadis and in the plains west of the low hills. The zone is framed by four cities, two on the coast and two at its eastern edges. The coastal cities are the ports of Jaffa, just south of the outlet of the Yarkon River, and the smaller anchorage of Strato's Tower (later Caesarea), around 50 km to the north. At the plain's eastern edge are two cities: Lydda/Lod at the southern end and Pegae (Tel Aphek/Antipatris) at the north. Thus, by virtue of topography and situation, these plains lie at the juncture of all important routes through the land (fig. 7.1). They link the wider southern coastal plain, with its important ports of Gaza and Ashkelon, to the more narrow northern coast above the Carmel Mountains. They funnel travelers toward the pass that runs just south of the Carmel into the Jezreel Valley. The Plain of Sharon is also the transit zone for two key routes that run from the coast to the interior foothills of northern Judea and southern Samaria (see Raviv in this volume and his fig. 4.1). The first begins at Jaffa, runs southeast to Lydda/Lod, and then on to Jerusalem via Beit Horon. The second begins at Strato's Tower, comes south to Antipatris/Pegae, runs south of the Nahal Shiloh through Timnah and Gophna, and then turns south to Jerusalem. This was likely the route taken by Zenon in 259 BCE, as reflected by a papyrus that records his landing at Strato's Tower, with the second stop in Jerusalem (P.Cair.Zen. 1.59004).

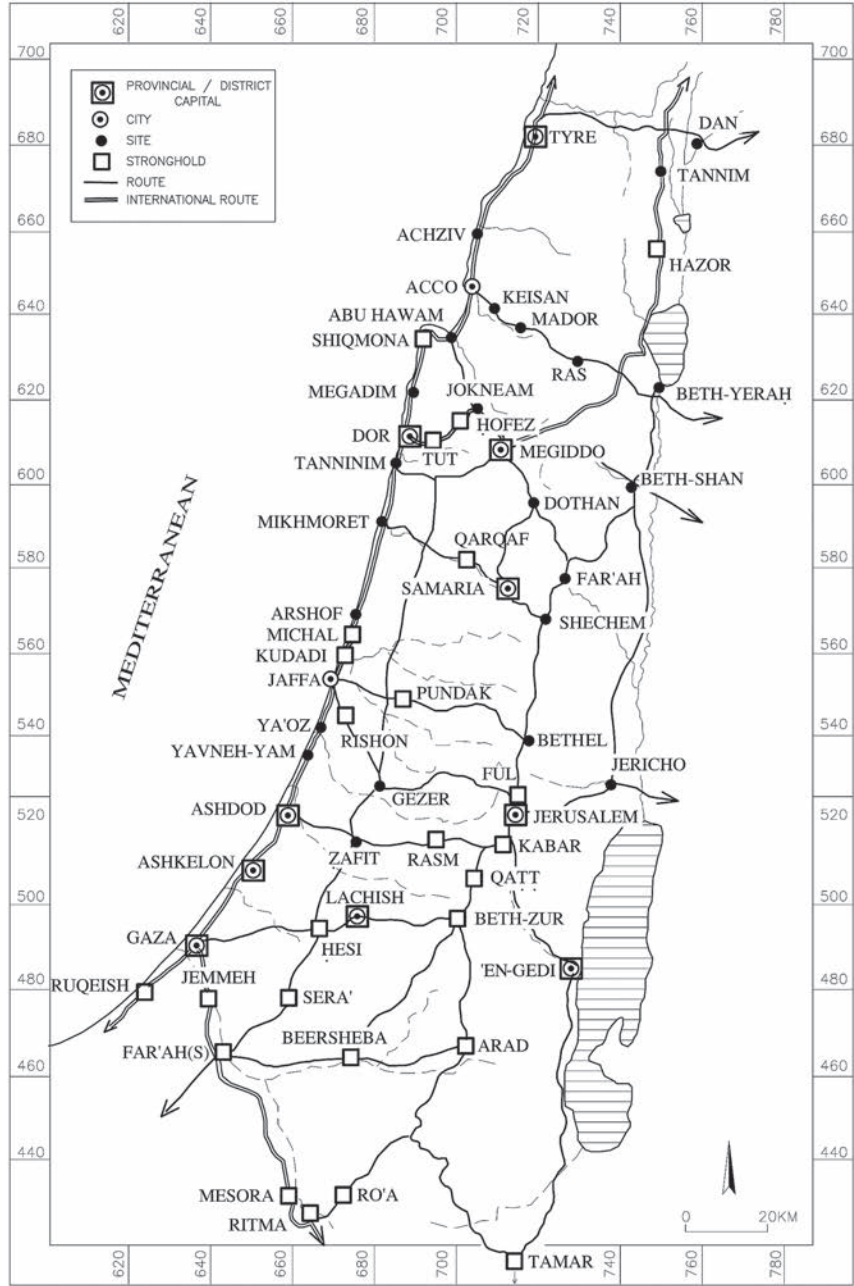


Fig. 7.1. Suggested routes in Persian-period Palestine.

Settlement Patterns before the Hellenistic Period

Several archaeological surveys were carried out in these zones, especially the Lod-Modi'in area, during the 1970s and 1980s. Ram Gophna and Yoseph Porat (1972) published information on the eastern part of this area as part of the emergency survey done after the 1967 war, and Israel Finkelstein and Yitzhak Magen (1993) published some of their results from the Archaeological Surveys in the Hill Country of Benjamin, especially from the southern part of the region. More information was gathered as part of the Ayalon Valley Survey, published in Alon Shavit's 1992 master's thesis.

These surveys indicate several patterns. First, during all periods, most of the settlement was situated on the westernmost ridge of the hills, just above the lowland plains. Second, settlement patterns differed north and south of the Naḥal Shiloh. In the Plain of Sharon, this watercourse defines the second of the east-west routes described above, through Antipatris/Pegae. In the interior, its path separates the Bethel Highlands of northern Judea from the highlands of southern Samaria (see Raviv in this volume). North of the Naḥal Shiloh, there had been relatively dense settlement during the Persian period (fifth–fourth centuries BCE). This dense settlement continued into the third century but soon fell off dramatically, with little evidence for settlement here in the second century (Shadman 2016, 264–68).

South of the Naḥal Shiloh, the situation is different. Here settlement numbers had declined dramatically already in Persian times: from thirty-eight settlements in the centuries prior to the Babylonian conquests of the early sixth century BCE to twenty-five settlements in the subsequent Persian period, a decline of about 35 percent. The pattern is particularly prominent in the central and western part of the region, where the number of settlements declined from thirty-three to fifteen, a decrease of 55 percent. In these years the center of settlement moved east, from the western foothills to the slightly more inland parts of this area. It is worth noting that none of these Persian-period settlements were new. Rather, every site with Persian-period occupation had also been inhabited in the preceding period. Thus, while there was clearly an overall decrease in population in this region, there was some degree of demographic continuity at the smaller number of sites occupied during these centuries. It should be said that, as the survey data consists almost exclusively of ceramics, which cannot be dated more specifically than Persian, the evidence cannot be used to identify subdivisions within the two centuries of the Persian period, for example, occupation in the later sixth or early fourth centuries

BCE (the same situation pertains in Idumea, as noted by Sandhaus in this volume, and the hills of northern Judea and southern Samaria, as noted by Raviv in this volume).

The Persian-era settlement pattern south of the Nahal Shiloh may be relevant to events connected with the rise of the Hasmonean state. This area is congruent with the later Hellenistic-era toparchy of Lydda (Lod), one of the three toparchies at the heart of the agreement that Jonathan made with Demetrius II in 145 BCE (1 Macc 10:30, 38; 11:28, 34, 57; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.145; fig. 5.1 in this volume). As Raviv (67) discusses in this volume, “the past-tense phrasing of this document has led some scholars to suggest that the annexation of these toparchies by Jonathan may reflect the reality that Jews were living in this territory before the Hasmonean revolt.” The demographic continuities and eastward tilt of the settlement patterns suggested by the archaeological evidence described above might be seen as supporting a stable, Judean-affiliated population here in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

Settlement Patterns during the Hellenistic Period

Before the 1990s, little was known about the settlement history of this region in the Hellenistic period. The best-known site of this era was the rural estate of Tirat Yehuda, excavated in 1960 and 1961 by Zeev Yeivin and Gershon Edelstein (1970) but published only in a brief report. The first major excavations were carried out in the early 1990s in conjunction with the building of the new city of El‘ad, in the foothills of Samaria. This project led to a few dozen salvage excavations, mostly carried out by the Israel Antiquities Authority. Further excavation came with the decision to build a new north-south highway through this area, Highway 6, whose path follows that of the ancient routes that have always been part of this area’s geographic DNA. The salvage work done in conjunction with the new housing developments and the highway revealed about eighteen settlements of various sizes dating from the third–second centuries BCE into the early second century CE. Of these, about twelve date specifically to the Hellenistic and Hasmonean eras (fig. 7.2). The appearance of Ptolemaic coins at seven of these sites suggests that at least some were established in the third century BCE. The evidence of both structures and datable remains suggest that all were farmsteads, comprising areas for production and storage, similar to Tirat Yehuda.

Here I report on the remains from the largest and best preserved of these, excavated in the vicinity of the new settlement of El‘ad. This com-

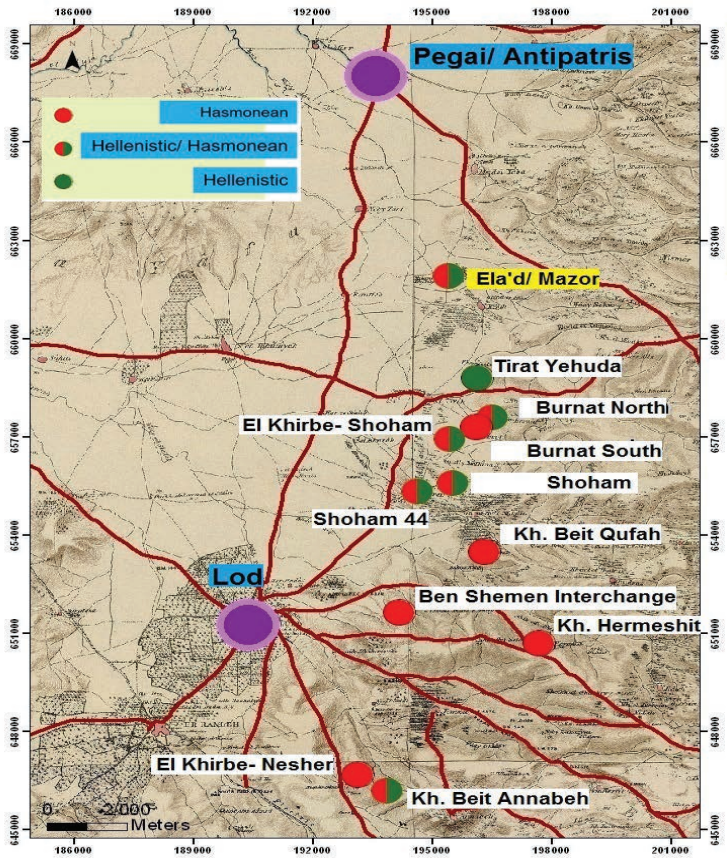


Fig. 7.2. The rural settlements in the Lod Plain.

prised a large complex with a manor farmstead, along with three small satellite farms that seem likely to have been inhabited by tenant farmers (Amit and Zilberbod 1996b, 1998b; Zelinger and Amit 2001; Zilberbod and Amit 2001). It should be said here that the overall picture we see at El'ad—the local pottery forms, datable coins, destruction and abandonment, and selective Hasmonean-era reoccupation—is replicated at almost all of the other Hellenistic-era farmsteads in this area.

El'ad: The Manor Farmstead

The manor farmstead (fig. 7.3) consisted of a sizable compound with a large, free-standing square building (18 m²) at the northeastern edge (A1,

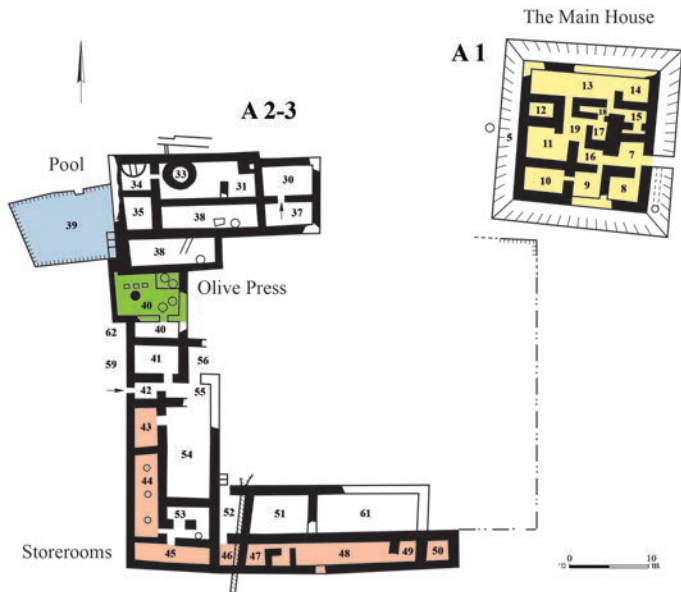


Fig. 7.3. El'ad—the manor farmstead from the Hellenistic period.



Fig. 7.4. El'ad, Area A1. Remains of the estate owner's house. Photo: Tzia Sagiv. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 7.5. El'ad, Area A1. Masonry style stucco. Photo: Tzia Sagiv. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.



Fig. 7.6. El'ad, Area A2-3. Storage room (U-44). Photo: Tzia Sagiv. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

fig. 7.4), likely the residence of the owner of the estate, and a multiroom service compound to the southwest (A2–3; Amit and Zilberbod 1996a, 1998a). The service compound consisted of two long banks of rooms, 11 m wide along the west and south, that delimited a very large inner courtyard (52 × 41 m). At the courtyard's northeast corner, the bedrock had been hewn to create a wall; the wall's inside face was covered with masonry-style stucco (fig. 7.5). This may represent the sole remains of a large hall that was originally connected to the free-standing square structure. Just to the west of the courtyard lay an open water pool (9 × 12 m, 4 m deep; 430 m²), hewn from the bedrock. The banks of rooms were arranged in pairs, with long rooms on the outside linked to narrower chambers facing the inner courtyard. Both the longer and narrow rooms were used for storage and also production (A 2–3, fig. 7.6). One room (Unit 40) contained a complete olive-press installation (Amit 2009).

Altogether 130 coins were found at the El'ad sites, of which more than two-thirds (eighty-five) came from the manor farmstead.¹ The earliest is a very small (1.44 g) worn bronze of Ptolemy I, which seems to be an outlier, and unrelated to any occupation at the site. Almost all the remaining coins come from the first half of the second century BCE. They fall into two groups. The first group consists of a sizable number of common Seleucid types, almost all dating to the reigns of Antiochus III (eleven issues; 222–198 BCE) and Antiochus IV (thirty-eight issues; 175–164 BCE). These constitute the prevailing low-value currency of the entire region in the first half of the second century BCE, and apparently represent some minor wherewithal of the site's inhabitants. The latest coin of this group is a Seleucid bronze of Alexander I Balas (150–145 BCE).

The second group comprises two small hoards of Ptolemaic tetradrachms. All were struck by Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI, shortly after 165 BCE (see Lorber in this volume). One hoard consists of five coins from a room in the service building (Area A2–3, Unit 40). The second consists of four coins from one of the small satellite farms (Area F). The issues of both hoards are related through die links, which suggests a common source and reinforces the interconnectedness of the small sites with the main farmstead.

1. My thanks to Donald T. Ariel, of the Israel Antiquities Authority, who identified the coins.

Also recovered from Unit 40 of the service building was a luxury silver drinking set including a small pitcher, two bowls, and a ladle (fig. 7.7).² Many similar sets are known from the Hellenistic East, but few have been found in datable archaeological contexts. The all-silver set is exceptional; examples of bronze ladles are known from other Hellenistic sites in the wider region—Tel Anafa, in the upper Galilee; Qalandia, in the northern Judean foothills; and ‘Ein-Gedi, by the Dead Sea—but no other silver ver-

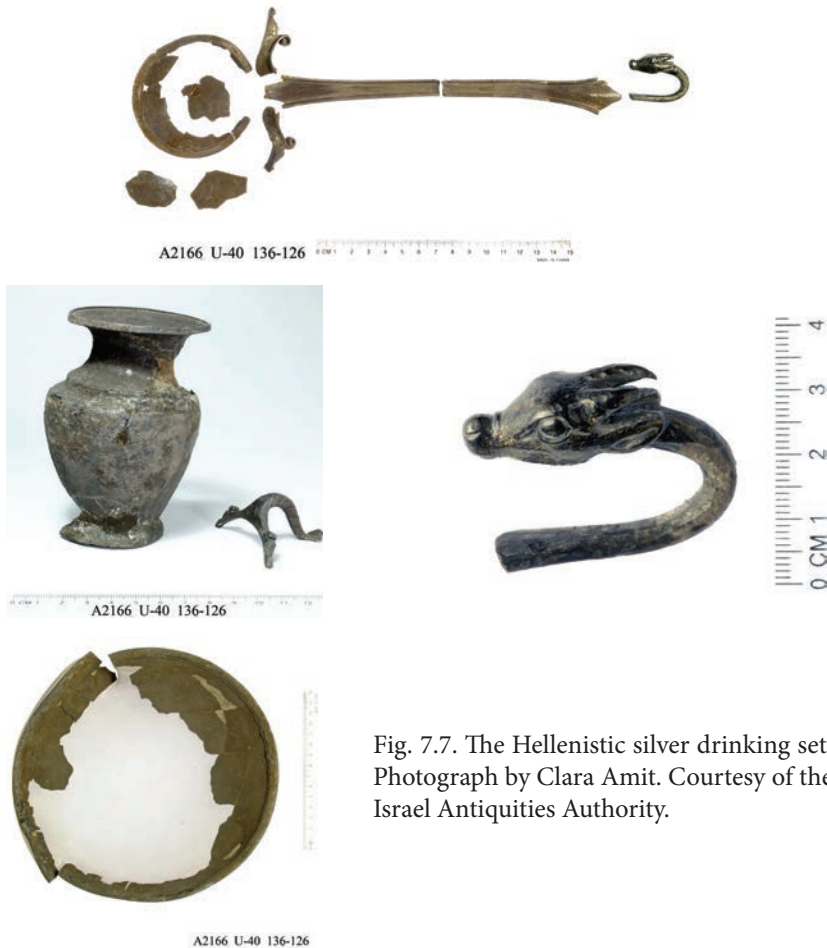


Fig. 7.7. The Hellenistic silver drinking set. Photograph by Clara Amit. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

2. My thanks to Sylvie Rozenberg, of the Israel Museum, who studied and will publish this material.

sions. This remarkable group was surely a prized possession of the owner of the estate. Considering its findspot in the service building, where one of the small hoards of Ptolemaic silver coins was also found, it seems very likely that the owner had hidden both before hastily abandoning the premises, surely intending to return and retrieve them. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that there were three more silver objects—a ring and two heavy silver bracelets—found in nearby rooms.

In some of the rooms of the service compound, we found thousands of fragments of pottery, which we were eventually able to restore into about two hundred large jars, including at least 183 imported amphorae from Rhodes, Kos, Asia Minor, Brindisi (Italy), and other western Mediterra-



Fig. 7.8. Restored amphorae and jars from the storage rooms. Photograph by Clara Amit. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

nean sources (fig. 7.8).³ The chronological evidence afforded by these jars affirms the picture provided by the coins: they included sixty-six stamped handles that could be dated from the last quarter of the third century to 150–147 BCE.

The discovery of imported amphorae is unsurprising in a site so close to the Mediterranean coast. Most of the amphorae found at Elʿad likely came from Jaffa, but some may also have originated at another of the anchorages along the central and southern coast. Amphorae are a common find in the port cities of the southern Levant, and also further inland, for example, at Maresha, Jerusalem, Samaria, and Tel Iztabbah (Bet Sheʿan). In the general vicinity of Elʿad, Hellenistic amphorae have been reported from Tirat Yehuda (Yeivin and Edelstein 1970), the Hadar Yosef quarter of Tel Aviv (Buchennino 2006), Tell Qasile (Ariel 2006a), Ramat Aviv (Dagot 2007), Kefar Shemaryahu (Buchennino 2008), and Tel Michal (Ariel 2006b). The largest assemblage close to Elʿad is from Tell Gezer, about 20 km to the south (Macalister 1912, 351–63; Finkielsztejn 1998a, 46, 52–54; 2001a, 169–70; Ariel 2013).

Nonetheless, compared to these other sites, both the quantity and variety of the amphorae found at Elʿad stand out. The owners here received wine from many sectors of the Mediterranean, including Rhodes, Kos, North Africa, western Asia Minor, Brindisi, Ephesus, Pamphylia, western Italy, and Egypt. The variety and the amount of the imported jars leads to the question of why such an array exists at this location, slightly inland from the coast and well situated along several regional roads. Was the Elʿad estate a distribution center for points farther in the interior such as Shechem (Neapolis) or Samaria? Did this farmstead belong to a wealthy person living at the nearby city Pegae (Tel Aphek/Antipatris), someone who wanted to show off his wealth via his extensive collection of foreign wine? The discovery of the silver drinking set and jewelry certainly reflect the owner's affluence and cultural affectations, but it is hard to pinpoint the source of his wealth. It may have derived from acting as a middleman for local exchange networks, from the agricultural output of his estate, from wider political connections—or from a combination of these and other factors.

3. Donald T. Ariel identified the stamped amphora handles, and Gérald Finkielsztejn identified the unstamped amphora material.

The Nearby Farmsteads

Three smaller farms lay in the immediate vicinity of the large compound at Elʿad. In each, the plan is not well designed, and the household goods are modest, all oriented to agricultural work or weaving (figs. 7.9–10). In one there were found about twenty loom weights; in another a metal plow was recovered. The coins and the pottery all date to the same time as the large farmstead, but no fragments of imported amphorae were found. These places were probably inhabited by tenant farmers working on behalf of the master of the manor farmstead.

Destruction and Reoccupation

The evidence of the hoards and hidden silver set attest to the fears of the estate's owner and his actions in response. The latest datable coins and amphorae indicate that residents fled sometime in the 140s. At some point after their departure the entire estate, including both the manor house and service compound, along with the surrounding farmsteads, was destroyed by fire. The evidence suggests that the attack happened soon after the abandonment, because in some of the rooms where amphorae had been stored, they were covered by a thick layer of oily ash, indicating that at least some of the jars still held oil.

Following the destruction, only the main house was reoccupied. The new inhabitants built a kind of fortified embankment, or glacis, around the entire structure, the top of which reached to the second floor of the exterior walls (23 m²). Within the main house were found four coins of John Hyrcanus I (ca. 125–104 BCE), along with two Hasmonean coins of an unclear ruler. Two more coins of Hyrcanus were found near the area of the storerooms. These finds indicate both the date and character of the residents: the main house seems now to have been a garrison of Hasmonean soldiers—although it is impossible to pinpoint the timing. There may have been some fifteen to twenty years of abandonment, from the later 140s down to the early years of Hyrcanus, or a reoccupation already in the time of Simon (143–135 BCE). This latter is the scenario suggested by the author of 1 Maccabees, who described Simon's seizure of Gezer and its repopulation by Jews (13:43–48). Ronny Reich (1981, 50) long ago proposed identifying the remains of rock-cut pools found by Macalister's excavations here as *mikvaot*, and therefore evidence for Jewish inhabitants here, although it should be noted that since the pools are cut into

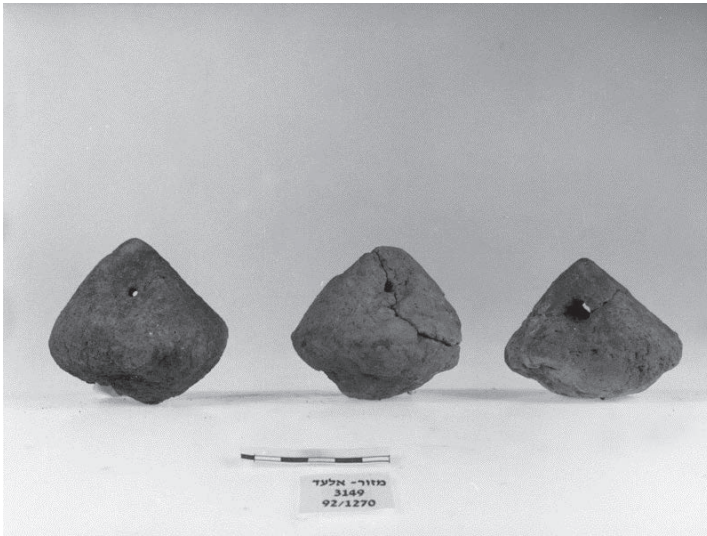


Fig. 7.9. Loom weights from the small farm on the outskirts of the main farmstead at El'ad. Photograph: Clara Amit. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

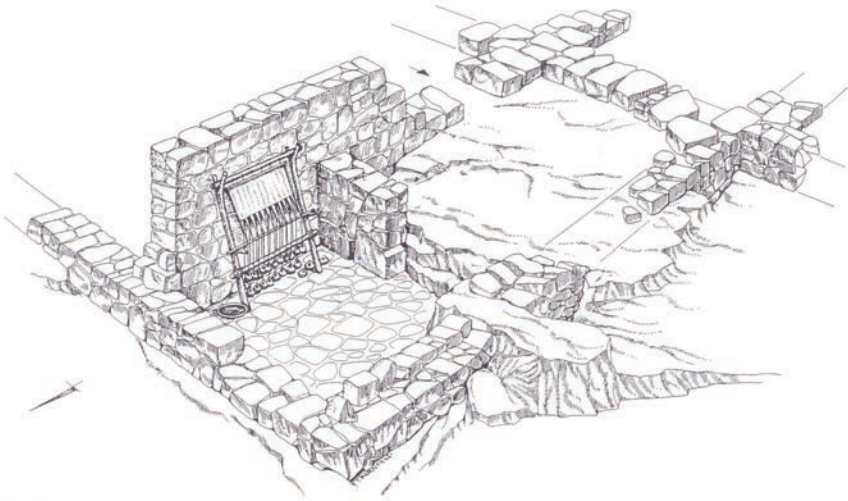


Fig. 7.10. Reconstruction of the weaving room at the small farmstead. Drawing: Tania Korenfeld. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

stone there is no way to securely date them. Overall the archaeological ambiguity is due to the fact that the earliest Hasmonean coins are those of Hyrcanus, meaning that there are no objective chronological markers that can testify specifically to occupation in the time of Simon.

Occupation continued into the time of Jannaeus, as attested by three of his coins found in the ruined storerooms near the fortified building. All the issues date from the mid- to late 80s until 80/79 BCE; the later, post-80/79 issues are missing. The Hasmonean coin finds from El'ad, albeit small in number, seem to offer good synchronisms to the general historical situation described by Josephus for the region at that time. Worth noting also is the absence of Jannaeus's post-80/79 coins, perhaps the most common Hasmonean coins found in the country. This strongly suggests that occupation here ended in the first quarter of the first century BCE.

Summary

The discoveries at El'ad are mirrored by the sequence of remains at all of the Hellenistic farmsteads in this area. At every place, we see groups of farms, some attesting to the comfortable lives of well-connected inhabitants, all reflecting a dense pattern of settlement throughout the plain in the first half of the second century BCE. At some places, we also see a combination of purposeful, widespread destruction followed by reoccupation that may be connected with the Hasmoneans (Zelinger 2009, 164–66). The outstanding question posed here is: Who is responsible for the attacks, and what are their larger circumstances? The events in the Lod Plain come to a head in the 140s, the very years of multiple instances of abandonments and destructions elsewhere, including the southern coastal plain, Jerusalem, and both lower and upper Galilee. This is also the precise time of the textual attestation of the transfer of the three Judean toparchies of Ephraim, Ramathaim, and Lydda from Demetrius II to Jonathan. In the Lod foothills and the Plain of Sharon specifically, a confluence of factors—including geographic overlap with newly acquired Hasmonean land, purposeful destructions, and the defensive character of reoccupation—combine to suggest that here in particular it was the Hasmoneans themselves who were responsible, acting on their own behalf.

The archaeological finds provide material contours for the earliest phases of Hasmonean expansion into the Lod foothills and the Plain of Sharon and allow us to connect those phases with the finds from the southern Samaria hills (see Raviv in this volume). The remains support

the account in 1 Maccabees, beginning with Simon's seizure of Gezer, the transformation of that mound into a small Jewish stronghold (13:43–48), and the extension of Hasmonean territory to Jaffa, in the west and Adida in the north (1 Macc 12:38). The identification of this fortress with a site located at the foot of Tel Hadid, northeast of Lod, has been proposed by the excavators of a salvage excavation here (Dahari 1999; Dahari and 'Ad 2008). The evidence suggests that under Simon, the Hasmoneans destroyed and took over Hellenistic farmsteads surrounding Lydda and Pegae, and established a dense network of Jewish villages in their stead. Their next moves seem to have been to the southern Shephelah (Idumea and Maresha, as discussed by Sandhaus in this volume) and the southern coastal plains (see 'Ad in this volume)—a series of opportunistic military actions from circa 140–130 BCE radiating out from Judea. Each region's pattern can be fitted into a larger picture of successive phases of Hasmonean conquest, a story embedded in the dynastic spiral of the Seleucids and the machinations of the Ptolemies.

Galilee in the Second Century BCE: Material Culture and Ethnic Identity

Uzi Leibner

Introduction

The Hellenistic era is one of the least-known periods in the history of the Galilee. Except for vague hints in the books of Chronicles, Judith, and Tobit (whose historicity is uncertain), and two or three sites mentioned by Polybius and the Zenon papyri, we have no sources referring to the Galilee from the Assyrian conquest, in the eighth century BCE, until the Hasmonean revolt in the second century BCE (e.g., Freyne 1980, 23–29). Our information remains scant until the first century BCE, for which we have ample evidence indicating that the Galilee was densely settled, mainly by Jews.¹ The origin of this Jewish population, however, is an enigma, since both the historical sources and archaeological data point to a wide depopulation of the northern kingdom of Israel following the Assyrian campaigns in the eighth century BCE (e.g., 2 Kgs 15:29; Tadmor 1994, 81–82).² This question is particularly important for understanding the ethnic and cultural

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1. This can be seen, for example, in the fact that after the Roman conquest of Judea, the Galilee was included in the Jewish territory controlled by Hyrcanus the *ethnarchos* (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.74, 91).

2. For a summary of the archaeological record, see Gal 1992, 108–9; Reed 2000, 28–35.

background against which early Christianity developed in early Roman Galilee. Indeed, the ethnic identity of the Galilean population prior to the Roman period has been a subject of interest since the initial quest for the historical Jesus in the nineteenth century. The absence of historical sources has resulted in various contradictory answers to this question, including Israelites, Phoenicians, Itureans, or Jews returning from the Babylonian exile (for surveys of the various opinions, see Reed 2000, 23–28; Chancey 2002, 11–16; Leibner 2012, 437–69).

A related subject that has been widely debated is the dating and nature of the Hasmonean takeover of the region. While it is clear that at the end of the second century BCE at least part of the Galilee was controlled by the Hasmonean kingdom, the sources fail to inform us when and how this happened. Some scholars have maintained that the region was absorbed into the kingdom by peaceful means, due to its Jewish (or “pro-Jewish”) population (Stern 1974, 225; 1993b, 8–10; Kashner 1988, 79–85; Rappaport 1993, 29). Others rely on an ambiguous account of Timagenes of Alexandria cited by Josephus (*Ant.* 13.319) regarding the occupation of Iturean territory and the forced conversion of its population to Judaism by Judas Aristobulus. Although the Iturean domain was located in the Beqaa Valley, these scholars have suggested that during the Hellenistic period their settlements spread to the Galilee and that Josephus’s account reflects the Hasmonean takeover of the region, which must have therefore taken place during this king’s reign around 104 BCE (most influential in this opinion was Schürer 1973–1987, 1:217–18, 2:9–10). Others still have argued for a military conquest of the Galilee followed by the replacement of its gentile population by settlers from Judea (Bar-Kochva 1977, 191–96).

Hellenistic Galilee: The Current State of Research

The scarcity of contemporaneous historical sources requires us to focus on the material remains in order to shed light on this period. However, our knowledge of life in the Galilee in the Hellenistic period is extremely limited, since almost no archaeological research has been devoted to remains of this period from the Galilean interior. The only available data come from surveys, restricted salvage excavations (largely unpublished), or sparse finds buried beneath massive Roman or Byzantine layers at sites such as Sepphoris or Capernaum.

In fact, the only substantial data used these days to portray the Hellenistic Galilee come from sites excavated outside the region or on its

borders. These include Tel Anafa and Tel Kedesh in the northern upper Galilee, where the rich Hellenistic finds from both sites point to strong ties with the Phoenician coast, especially Tyre (Herbert 1994; Berlin and Warner Slane 1997; Berlin and Herbert 2012b; for Tel Kedesh, see Herbert and Berlin 2003, 13–59); the coastal sites of Shiqmona, Akko/Ptolemais, and Tel Dor, where the substantial Hellenistic remains also belong to the Phoenician realm of material culture (Elgavish 1974; for Hellenistic Akko/Ptolemais, see Dothan 1976; Moshe Hartal et al. 2016; for Tel Dor, see Stern 1995); Tel Beit Shean (Scythopolis) and the adjacent Tel Iztabbah (Mazar 2006; for Tel Iztabbah, see Bar-Nathan and Mazor 1994), Hippos/Sussita (Segal et al. 2013), and Et-Tell (Bethsaida; Arav and Freund 1995–2009). The distance of these sites from the interior of the Galilee prevents us from relying on them for conclusions about that interior and its material culture. All these sites lie outside the area that Josephus (*B.J.* 3.35–43) described as Galilee (i.e., Jewish Galilee) of the early Roman period, and some, such as Tel Kedesh and Beit Shean, are explicitly mentioned as gentile strongholds bordering the Galilee. Hence, they do not facilitate an understanding of the ethnic, demographic, and settlement dynamics of the Galilee in the centuries under question.

Among the sites in the Galilean interior that yielded Hellenistic finds one should mention Beth-Yerah/Philoteria on the southern edge of the Sea of Galilee, where substantial remains of this period were uncovered (Greenberg, Tal, and Da'adli 2017). Other sites worth mentioning are Capernaum, Yodfat, Karm el-Ras, and the upper city of Sepphoris (Lofreda 2008; Adan-Bayewitz and Aviam, 1997; Yardenna Alexandre 2008; Meyers, Meyers, and Gordon 2018). The sparse (and largely unpublished) Hellenistic finds from these four sites were revealed beneath massive Roman or Byzantine layers, and due to their restricted state of preservation, it is hard to understand the nature of these remains.

The poor archaeological data leave key questions regarding Hellenistic Galilee unanswered, and in most of the region the basic picture of settlement patterns, hierarchy, and dynamics is far from clear.

The Upper Galilee Survey team, directed by Raphael Frankel, has documented many Hellenistic-period sites that did not continue into the early Roman period. This led this team to suggest that they were settled by a non-Jewish population and were abandoned as a result of the Hasmonean takeover of the region (Frankel, Getzov, and Degani 2001, 109–10).

The findings from the Eastern Galilee Survey, conducted by the author, also pointed to remarkable changes in settlement patterns in the

region during the late second and first centuries BCE. The area seems to have been only sparsely settled in the Hellenistic period, including mainly medium-to-large sites located in naturally secure areas above the valleys (twenty-one settlements in an area of ca. 300 km²). Remains of fortifications were noticed at several of these sites. The early Roman period showed a totally different settlement pattern: numerous new settlements, including small farmsteads, were found in locations with no topographical or agricultural advantages and were usually not fortified (a total of thirty-six settlements); many of these sites seem to have been established in the Hasmonean period (Leibner 2009, 315–37). Our excavations at Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam, for example, revealed that the site was first settled in the early first century BCE (Leibner 2018b, 620–21). Many sites, however, were settled in both the Hellenistic and the early Roman periods, and thus the transition between the two is unclear. For example, while we have historical and archaeological evidence of the Jewish identity of Sepphoris's population from the Hasmonean era, we know nothing about its identity earlier in the Hellenistic period. Besides some coins and sherds, almost no pre-Hasmonean remains have been found at the site, although it has been excavated for over thirty years (e.g., Meyers, Meyers, and Gordon 2018, 41). Yodefat may serve as a better example in this regard. Based on their excavations at the site, David Adan-Bayewitz and Mordechai Aviam (1997, 161) have suggested that although it was settled continuously from the Hellenistic through early Roman periods, there was at some point an ethnic replacement of the population from gentiles oriented toward the Phoenician coast in the third–second centuries to Jews associated with the Hasmonean kingdom from the late second century BCE on.

Similarly, very little is known about the Galilee under the Hasmonean regime.³ While it seems that quite a few new sites were first settled in this period, very few remains of this era have been unearthed. Unlike the south of the country, where royal involvement was detected in the construction of sites such as the Judean Desert fortresses or the fortifications and aqueduct of Jerusalem, no such remains have been clearly found in the Galilee. A fort at Sha'ar-ha-ʿAmakim and a harbor with a tower at Magdala may be interpreted as examples of Hasmonean constructions, but this is far from clear (Segal, Młynarczyk, and Burdajewicz 2014; De Luca and Lena 2014,

3. For a discussion of the Hasmonean takeover of the Galilee in light of new archaeological evidence, see Leibner 2012.

128–35, respectively). At this stage of research, our knowledge about this period in the Galilee is largely based on small, mainly numismatic finds.

A major contribution to the research of the Hellenistic period is Danny Syon's work that analyzed and mapped all the available numismatic data from Hellenistic and Roman Galilee. The findings indicate that the currency of the Phoenician cities of Akko-Ptolemais, Tyre, and, to a lesser degree, Sidon dominated the region in the Hellenistic period (Syon 2015, 134–50). The nature of the ties between Phoenicia and the Galilee in this period, however, is not entirely clear. Is this monetary domination evidence of political hegemony or extensive trade relations, or is it simply an outcome of the large-scale minting and strong currency of the Phoenician cities? Since we have no historical sources on the administrative division of the region in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods, we do not know whether the Galilee was a separate administrative unit (eparchy), as some scholars have suggested, or divided among the coastal cities, as others believe (e.g., Avi-Yonah 1966, 36; Sartre 1989, 122). The exposure of a Persian and Hellenistic administrative center and the evidence of strong Tyrian influence at Tel Kedesh, some 35 km southeast of Tyre, may indeed indicate that the territory of the former extended deep into the upper Galilee, as the excavators have proposed (Herbert and Berlin 2003). Interestingly, Kedesh is explicitly mentioned by Josephus (*War* 2.459; 4.105) as belonging to Tyre in the early Roman period. Syon's (2015, 151–70) research has shown that from the late second century BCE a kind of numismatic borderline divided the region: to the east and south, Hasmonean currency dominated and Phoenician coins were almost entirely absent, and to the west and north, it was the opposite. Thus, whether or not the Phoenician cities controlled the Galilean interior in the earlier generations, it seems that with the weakening of the Seleucid Empire in the late second century they struggled over this region with the Hasmonean kingdom in the south.

Apart from a few agricultural products mentioned in the Zenon papyri in relation to the supposed Galilean site of Beit 'Anat,⁴ we know almost nothing about the means of livelihood of Hellenistic Galilee. An agriculturally based economy should obviously be assumed, but the nearly complete absence of agricultural installations known in the region during this time period prevents us from reconstructing the local means of subsis-

4. These include wine, raisins, figs, wheat, and perhaps perfumes. See Tcherikover 1933, 235–36, 356, 364. The location of Beit 'Anat is long debated. See, e.g., Abel 1938, 1:256–66.

tence. Some scholars have suggested that the Galilee served as the granary for the coastal cities, which lacked sufficient farmland to meet their needs (e.g., Abel 1938, 2:134; Syon 2015, 79). To date, however, this theory lacks historical and archaeological corroboration.

The Hellenistic Galilee Project: Goals and Methodology

In an attempt to further examine the previous questions, a new archaeological project was initiated under the auspices of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The project's goals are to study the material culture, settlement patterns, and means of livelihood and, above all, to try to shed light on the identity of the local population of the Galilee during the Hellenistic period. The project is based on two complementary field studies: (1) a wide-scale excavation at a key site of the Hellenistic period, located in the interior part of the Galilee; and (2) an intensive survey of Hellenistic sites in a strip across the lower Galilee—from the hinterland of Akko-Ptolemais on the Phoenician coast in the west to the Sea of Galilee in the east. The survey results should allow us to investigate the key site in its wider context and to examine similarities and differences in the material culture across the Galilee. The results will also enable us to determine the patterns and dynamics of settlement in the region and a subsequent comparison to those of the early Roman period.

Our first challenge was to find a key site for excavation that has the potential to answer our research questions and where Hellenistic remains are neither disturbed nor inaccessible. Fortunately, in the Eastern Galilee Survey, a site named Khirbet el-ʿEika was documented, approximately midway between Tiberias and Sepphoris. The site is situated in a strategic location on a high, isolated mountain that overlooks large portions of the eastern Galilee and dominates the rich Arbel Valley and the large spring of ʿEin Ḥittin right below it (fig. 8.1). In the course of the survey, remains of what seemed to be a fortification were documented along a saddle in the south, the only accessible approach to the site. The large pottery assemblage collected on the surface was composed entirely of Hellenistic-period vessels, leading us to suggest that the site was abandoned in the second century BCE and never resettled (Leibner 2009, 273–76). On the opposite nearby hill stands a small site named Khirbet el-ʿAiteh, which yielded similar rich Hellenistic finds with no later pottery. A large village called Kefar Ḥittaya (Ḥittin), situated near the spring just beneath the site, was settled by Jews at least from the early Roman period, as is evident from burial in



Fig. 8.1. Aerial view of Khirbet el-ʿEika, looking east. Photograph by DPS Images.

ossuaries and other indications (Aviam and Syon 2002, 169; Hartal 2011; Leibner 2009, 269–70). The settlement dynamics seemed to suggest that following the abandonment of the Hellenistic sites, a Jewish population settled nearby, occupying the former's water source and catchment area (Leibner 2009, 265–72).

A small salvage excavation, conducted by the author at the site in 2012, yielded homogenous Hellenistic assemblages and evidence for a massive destruction around the mid-second century BCE. Since it was now clear that the site contained no post-Hellenistic remains, it was chosen as our key site for excavations.

Khirbet el-ʿEika: Results of Excavations 2015–2018

Based on the dispersal of building remains and pottery, the site seems to have occupied the summit and the upper parts of the mountain, and its size is estimated at 15–20 dunams (1.5–2 ha). Our excavations have concentrated mainly on and around the summit (fig. 8.2).

The excavations revealed that the summit was surrounded by a fortification wall (1.2 m thick). A large structure, measuring over 700 m², occupied the southern part of the enclosure. Its main part was rectangu-



Fig. 8.2. General plan of Khirbet el-ʿEika excavations at the end of the 2018 season. Source: Marcos Edelcopp.

lar, built around an open courtyard, and another wing extended to the north. Some of the rooms yielded finds pointing to domestic activity such as grinding and cooking, while others functioned as storerooms and contained many storage vessels, some with agricultural produce such as grains and beans (figs. 8.4–5). The northern part of the enclosure was occupied by a large building. Based on its partially preserved plan and design and on the unique objects found within, it seems to have been a public structure. The building was canceled and partially dismantled when a massive structure (7×7 m), apparently functioning as a watchtower, was built in its center (fig. 8.3). The questions of exactly why and when the early structure was replaced by the later one and by whom still remain unanswered. The small finds indicate that both stages belong to the Hellenistic period and are fairly close in date.

As for the overall picture, all the excavated areas yielded only Hellenistic-period remains and, with the exception of the above mentioned tower, also only one single layer. It therefore seems that occupation at the



Fig. 8.3. Aerial view of the tower in the northern part of the summit, looking north. Photograph by DPS Images.

site was restricted to only a few generations.⁵ Based on coins revealed in the foundation of structures, the settlement was apparently established in the early second century BCE. The site was abandoned in haste and never resettled, and evidence of fire in a few rooms indicates this was a result of a violent event. Based on the rich numismatic finds and stamped handles, the abandonment can be dated to circa 145–144 BCE.

Material Culture, Economy, and Identity

Of the various aspects of material culture, I survey here a few that seem relevant for economic, cultural, or ethnic questions.

Pottery

Over 150 *restorable* vessels have been unearthed, which help us assess the commercial ties, economy, lifestyle, and even the agricultural products

5. A few Persian-period sherds and coins were found on the surface in the site but could not be assigned to any structural remains.

grown in the region.⁶ Alongside local plain-ware, such as cooking pots and jars, the assemblage contains a high proportion of imports (fig. 8.4). These include table vessels that belong to ware groups labeled as Phoenician semifine, southern Phoenician Persian-Hellenistic fineware, and Cilician Hellenistic slipped fineware, all probably originating from the central and northern Levantine coast.⁷ Similarly, the vast majority of oil lamps are mold-made lamps with radiating lines in relief, also probably originating from the Phoenician coast (compare Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995, fig. 5.16:3; Elgavish 1974, pl. 28:273; Dobbins 2012, 142). Most outstanding, however, are dozens of imported wine amphorae, mainly from the islands of Rhodes and Kos in the Aegean Sea but also from Brindisi and North Africa (fig. 8.5). Over forty of these were retrieved from a single room located in the northern part of the rectangular structure.

Metal Objects

The most interesting of the many metal objects found during the excavations are a hemispheric copper bowl and a bronze mirror found in the rectangular structure, and a bronze incense shovel found in the remains of the earlier of the two structures that stood on the summit (fig. 8.6). Its handle is in the shape of a duck's head, a design known from two late Hellenistic ladles from Israel (Merker 2012, 246, pl. 29: M140; Hadas 1994, 31, fig. 50:27).

Building Technique

In most of the structures, the rock layer was not leveled prior to construction, and the walls are combined with projecting segments of bedrock. Most of the excavated structures were built of mud bricks above a foundation wall, a few courses high, usually built of piers of single limestone ashlar set at intervals and filled with basalt fieldstones and rubble between

6. I wish to thank Débora Sandhaus, our pottery specialist, for the following initial observations.

7. These wares were originally called semifine, central coastal fine, and northern coastal fineware: see Berlin, Herbert, and Stone 2014, 313–20. For updated descriptions of these wares, see Berlin, Monnickendam-Givon, Shapiro, and Stone 2019; Berlin, Monnickendam-Givon, and Stone 2019; Berlin, Bes, Langenegger, and Stone 2019.



Fig. 8.4. Assemblage of restored vessels from a storeroom in the rectangular structure. Photograph by Tal Rogovski.



Fig. 8.5. Corner of a storeroom in the rectangular structure during excavations. Photograph by Tal Rogovski.

them. This “pier and rubble” building technique is known from Persian and Hellenistic sites mainly on the Phoenician coast, but also from sites inland such as Tel Anafa and Tel Kedesh (Sharon 1987, 27–29 [Tel Dor]; for Tel Anafa, see Herbert 1994, 14, 18; for Tel Kedesh, see Herbert and Berlin 2003, 20; Berlin, Herbert, and Stone 2014, 313, fig. 6). The entrances to structures were also usually built of limestone ashlars.

Diet

Initial analysis of the archaeozoological remains points to substantial quantities of sheep, goats, and cattle in the diet of the local populations. Interestingly, chicken and pork, both of which were traditionally raised at the domestic level and did not travel far, also seem to have been plentiful.⁸

Numismatics

The numismatic finds include 218 coins, 195 of which span the late fifth to mid-second centuries BCE (fig. 8.7). Many of these were found in situ in primary contexts and narrow the dating of other objects found in the same loci. The vast majority of coins are from the mints of Akko-Ptolemais, Tyre, and Antioch. Most important are the many mid-second century BCE coins found on the floors beneath the destruction layer. The sequence of coins is cut abruptly with those of Demetrius II, around 145–143 BCE.⁹ A coin of Antiochus VII and three Hasmonean coins were surface finds and apparently attest to sporadic visits to the site, as do the remaining twenty coins spanning the late Roman to the Ottoman periods.



Fig. 8.6. Bronze incense shovel from the public structure in the northern part of the summit. Photograph by Tal Rogovski.

8. I wish to thank Nimrod Marom, who is studying the archaeozoological remains, for these initial observations.

9. I wish to thank our numismatist, Yoav Farhi, for these initial observations. Thanks are also due to Yehoshua Dray, who assisted with metal detecting.

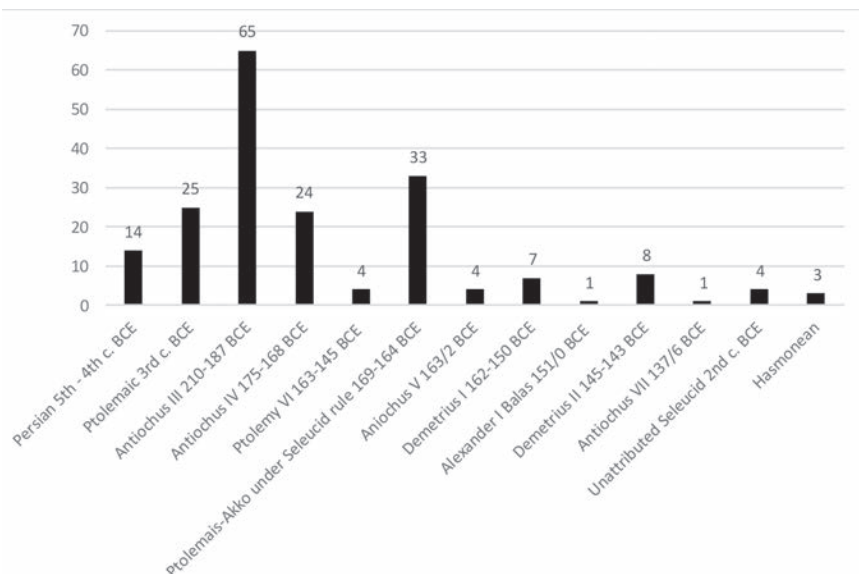


Fig. 8.7. Graph showing the distribution of 199 Persian and Hellenistic coins found at Khirbet el-ʿEika during the 2012–2018 seasons.

Khirbet el-ʿEika: Discussion

The material culture revealed at Khirbet el-ʿEika points to close ties with the Phoenician coast. A large proportion of the pottery vessels and oil lamps seem to have originated in coastal workshops. Many other vessels arrived from the Mediterranean Sea, most likely via Akko-Ptolemais, which is the closest port. The quantity of amphorae is of particular importance, since they point to strong commercial connections with the Mediterranean coast, although we are dealing with a rural site in mountainous Galilee, around 40 km from the shore. In addition, they shed light on the lifestyle of the inhabitants, since they were initially transported with their original contents, that is, precious wine. Most importantly, the stamped handles on those from Rhodes provide us with dates according to the year for each vessel. The assemblage as a whole points to a sequence in the import of this commodity, starting in the early second century and ending abruptly around 145/144 BCE.¹⁰

10. I wish to thank Gerald Finkielsztein, who is studying the amphorae from Khirbet el-ʿEika, for providing me with these chronological data.

The rarity in Hellenistic-period local assemblages of metal objects similar to those described above seems to indicate they were imported from afar and strengthens the notion of a site with strong commercial connections.

As for the construction techniques, namely, building with the pier-and-rubble technique and brick walls, these seem to have disappeared from the region after the Hellenistic period and are not found in Galilean structures dated from around the first century BCE on. While these changes seem to be clear chronologically, it is not apparent whether they also reflect cultural or ethnic changes.

The preliminary observations of the archaeozoological remains that point to a large amount of pork in the inhabitants' diet suggest that the population was not Jewish. The substantial consumption of foreign foodstuffs (mainly wine) may also support this conclusion, although it is debatable whether the avoidance of wine or pottery produced by gentiles was an accepted practice among Jews in the early second century BCE (see Ariel and Strikovsky 1990, 25–28, versus Finkielsztejn 1999, 21–36). The evidence overall seems to indicate a non-Jewish population with close ties to the Phoenician coast, perhaps even a genuine Phoenician population.

Another major question is what kind of site Khirbet el-ʿEika is, and whether it is typical of Hellenistic-period sites in the mountainous Galilee. The integral plan of the large structures on the summit suggests single ownership—perhaps an administrative center for collecting agricultural products or a large private estate. If the site were an administrative center, it would be questionable whether it can serve as an example of the material culture and of the identity of the local population. The large percentage of storage vessels, which constitutes over a third of the pottery types collected, can support either of these interpretations. However, the archaeozoological remains of pork and chicken, which, as mentioned, were usually raised at the domestic level and did not travel far, seem to better support the latter interpretation. The plan of the structures on the summit of Khirbet el-ʿEika resembles that of the wealthy Hellenistic-period estate near Mazor in the Judean lowlands, excavated by the late David Amit, which was also rich with imported finds such as wine amphorae and red-slipped fineware. As detailed by Zelinger in this volume, Mazor was also violently destroyed around 145–142 BCE, and there too a tower was built on top of the prominent structure of the earlier site, actions that the excavators interpret as a Hasmonean conquest and

a positioning of a garrison on the site (see also 'Ad in this volume for a similar scenario in the southern coastal plain).¹¹

As noted above, it is hard to determine how the Galilee was controlled administratively during this period. Nonetheless, the strong influence of the Phoenician coastal cities inland, manifested in the material culture and the numismatic finds from Khirbet el-ʿEika in the lower Galilee and Tel Anafa and Tel Kedesh in the upper Galilee (demonstrated in the latter also by epigraphic finds; see also Berlin in this volume), strengthens the impression that the region was governed by the coastal cities. If, indeed, this was the case, we may assume that Khirbet el-ʿEika, and the lower Galilee in general, belonged to the *chora* of Akko-Ptolemais, which is the nearest city. The region and especially its large, fertile valleys were perfectly suitable to serve as the city's breadbasket, as they were easily accessible from it and, geographically speaking, constituted its hinterland. This would also help explain the hostility of Akko-Ptolemais toward the Jews from the beginning of the territorial expansion of the Hasmoneans, since this expansion was perceived as a direct threat on the city's *chora*, or at least on a territory in which it had great interest (e.g., 1 Macc 5:21–23; 12:48). It would, in addition, explain the attempt of the Hasmoneans to conquer the city (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.324–352; Rappaport 1988). Indeed, a series of fortified sites in the hinterland of Akko-Ptolemais, some of which most likely date to the Hellenistic period, were interpreted by Aviam (2004b, 22–30) as a military array of the city against the rising threat of the Hasmonean expansion.

Elsewhere in Galilee

The settlement dynamics in the immediate vicinity of Khirbet el-ʿEika seem to support the interpretation of a Hasmonean campaign followed by an ethnic replacement of the population. As noted above, sometime after the abandonment of Khirbet el-ʿEika and the nearby Khirbet el-ʿAiteh, the Jewish village of Kefar Hittaya (Hittin) was established on their water source and catchment area. If these changes are connected to Jonathan's activities (on which see further below), they move the initial Hasmonean expansion into Galilee up by a full generation in comparison with the

11. I wish to thank Yehiel Zelinger for this yet unpublished information. See, meanwhile, Amit and Zilberbod 1996a, 1996b.

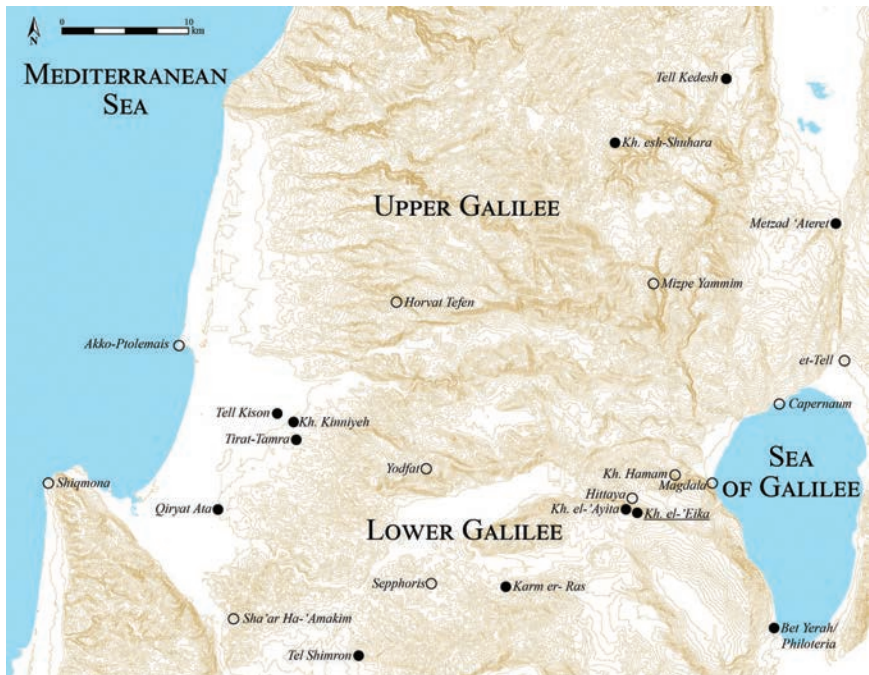


Fig. 8.8. Map showing sites discussed in the paper. Sites with evidence of mid-second century BCE destruction or abandonment are marked with a black dot. Source: Roi Sabar.

accepted view that places it toward the end of the second century BCE (e.g., Rappaport 1993, 23). However, this suggestion cannot be currently proved, since the indication for Hasmonean presence is still based mainly on numismatic evidence, and these appear only in the days of John Hyrcanus (see Syon in this volume; for Jewish settlements in Galilee from the days of John Hyrcanus see Syon 2015, 151–69).

Newly published archaeological data from additional Galilean sites indicate that destructions or abandonments around the mid-second century BCE were not restricted to the two aforementioned sites. Here I present brief summations of this new data, moving from southeast to northwest (fig. 8.8).

Beth-Yerah/Philoteria was a prominent Hellenistic site on the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Based on the Byzantine chronicler Georgius Syncellus (1829, 558–59; Adler and Tuffin 2002, 355), it was destroyed by Alexander Jannaeus during his campaign to Transjordan (ca. early first

century BCE). The many stamped Rhodian amphorae revealed in the excavations at the site, however, led the publishers to suggest that at least Areas BS and GB, the two major excavation areas, were abandoned around 145 BCE and to point specifically to the campaign of Jonathan as an apparent reason (Tal 2017, 116).

Excavations at Karm el-Ras in the central lower Galilee have unearthed large buildings of the early Hellenistic period, including what seems to be a public structure. The material culture led the excavator to interpret the site as a “Phoenician-affiliated, agricultural storage complex” (Alexandre 2015, 148; Alexandre 2008). The building remains exhibited a thick, burnt destruction layer that, based on pottery and coins, was dated to sometime between 164 and 140 BCE. After a short gap, the site was resettled, this time by a population with clear connections to Judea and the Hasmonean kingdom (Alexandre forthcoming, ch. 9).¹²

Tel Shimron is a large, multiperiod site located in western lower Galilee, on the margins of the Jezreel Valley. The occupation of the Hellenistic stratum, uncovered in two distinct areas, came to an end in the middle of the second century BCE. Whole vessels, left on the floors in both areas, point to a sudden departure of the inhabitants; the latest coins from these contexts date to the reign of Demetrius II. After an apparent gap, the site was resettled in the early Roman period, and the finds and historical sources indicate it was occupied now by a Jewish population.¹³

Farther to the west, the ancient site of Qiryat Ata is located some 12 km south of Akko-Ptolemais. A large salvage excavation conducted here (70 squares) revealed a significant Hellenistic site of the third–second centuries BCE with walls of structures built using the pier-and-rubble technique and small finds typical of Phoenician coastal sites. A burnt ash layer suggests that the Hellenistic settlement came to an end in a violent event. Based on the small finds, especially the stamped amphorae handles, the abandonment is dated to around the mid-second century BCE. After a gap of a few generations, the site was resettled around the late first century BCE, and the presence of chalkstone vessels indicates that it was now

12. I wish to thank Yardenna Alexandre for her permission to cite this yet-unpublished information.

13. I wish to thank Daniel Master and Mario Martin, directors of the Tel Shimron Excavations, for their permission to cite this yet-unpublished information. On Tel Shimron in the historical sources, see Tsafir, Di Segni, and Green 1994, 232.

occupied by a Jewish population (Torgë, Toueg, Hater, and a-Salam Sa'id forthcoming).¹⁴

Tirat Tamra is a large site located 12 km southeast of Akko-Ptolemais. The site was surveyed by the French excavation team of Tel Keisan (see below), who concluded that the Persian/Hellenistic-period site was abandoned in the second century BCE. Based on two stamped amphora handles, they suggested that the abandonment occurred around the middle of the second century BCE (Briend and Humbert 1980, 115, 245, 249, 254 n. 6). The site was studied again by Gunnar Lehmann and Martin Peilstöcker, using advanced surveying techniques. Their nuanced results indicated that following the abandonment of the large Hellenistic site (ca. 30 dunams) and a chronological gap, the settlement was renewed in the Roman period, but only in a restricted area in its eastern part (Lehmann and Peilstöcker 2012, site 59). The site was surveyed yet again by our team and was divided into nineteen collecting units. Hellenistic-period remains were documented on a much larger area than in the previous survey (over 60 dunams). Numerous amphorae handles were collected from the surface, including thirteen with datable stamps extending from the mid-third to the mid-second century BCE. The two latest are dated to 150–130 BCE and 145 or 136–133 BCE, reinforcing the conclusion of the French team regarding the abandonment of the site in the mid-second century BCE.¹⁵

Two kilometers to the northwest is the site of Khirbet Kinniyeh (ca. 20 dunams), also surveyed by the Tel Keisan expedition and later by Lehmann and Peilstöcker. The site contained only Persian and Hellenistic pottery, and the finds brought these teams to conclude that it was also abandoned during the second century BCE and was never resettled (Briend and Humbert 1980, 113–15; see also Lehmann and Peilstöcker 2012, site 45). Of the six stamped amphorae handles collected by the French team, three were eligible and date between 200 and 150 BCE, suggesting here too an abandonment around the middle of the second century BCE (Halpern-Zylberstein 1980 [amphorae catalogue nos. 50, 52, 68, 96, 104–5]).

One kilometer to the west, Tel Keisan is a large and prominent mound in the plain, located some 9 km southeast of Akko-Ptolemais. An intensive surface survey documented Hellenistic-period finds covering an area of

14. I wish to thank Hagit Torgë for the permission to cite this yet-unpublished paper. See also Torgë and a-Salam Sa'id 2015.

15. I wish to thank Gérald Finkielsztejn, who is working on our stamped amphorae handles, for the permission to publish this information.

circa 130 dunams, suggesting that in this period the settlement expanded also to the plateau around the mound (Lehmann and Peilstöcker 2012, site 24). Large-scale excavations were conducted at the site by the École Biblique in the 1970s, revealing a sequence of strata from the Early Bronze Age down to the Hellenistic period. The material culture of the affluent Hellenistic settlement is typical of Phoenician coastal sites, including numerous Aegean wine amphorae. The site was abandoned abruptly around the mid-second century BCE (Briend and Humbert 1980, 112–13; Halpern-Zylberstein 1980, 244). A renewed examination of the stamped amphorae handles by Finkielsztein has pinpointed the abandonment to circa 145 BCE, similar to Tel Kedesh and Khirbet el-‘Eika.¹⁶ Comparable chronological findings were revealed in a few salvage excavations conducted lately at the foot of the mound (Tepper 2007; Feig 2012).

Meşad ‘Ateret, known for its Crusader fortress (Chastellet), is located on a crossing point of the Jordan River at the southern edge of the Hula Valley. Excavations here revealed that the site is in fact a tell, occupied intermittently since at least the Iron Age. The Hellenistic remains are divided into two distinct phases. The first phase came to an end in a destruction, which based on a hoard of forty-five coins was dated to circa 143/142 BCE. The excavators attributed this destruction to an earthquake (Ellenblum et al. 2015, 2106–10). The second phase was generally dated from the late second century BCE on, and the site seems to have been abandoned around the mid-first century BCE, this time for over a millennium (2106–10). An alternative interpretation may infer that the early Hellenistic stage came to an end in military activity rather than an earthquake.

The last site discussed here is Khirbet esh-Shuhara, a small site in the mountainous upper Galilee, some 10 km southwest of Tel Kedesh. A small salvage excavation here revealed a farmstead with two Hellenistic layers, each ending in destruction (Aviam and Amitai 2002, 119–33). Here too the finds indicate connections with the Phoenician coast. While the excavators attributed the first destruction (ca. 139 BCE) to internal strife within the Selenide Empire, they suggested that the second destruction, which ended the settlement at the site, was a result of a campaign by Alexander Janinaeus, after which a Hasmonean garrison was stationed here. This proposal is supported by arrowheads and Hasmonean coins found in the destruction

16. I wish to thank Gérald Finkielsztein for the permission to publish this yet-unpublished information.

layer. Syon, who published the coins, however, suggests that the site was first destroyed in the struggle between Antiochus VII Sidetes and Tryphon but soon resettled by a Jewish population around 125 BCE. This Jewish settlement existed for a few generations until its destruction around the mid-first century BCE by, perhaps, the neighboring Phoenician population of Tel Kedesh (Syon 2002, 122*–34*). In light of the new data presented here, we suggest that the early destruction at Khirbet esh-Shuhara may be connected to an early Hasmonean campaign to the upper Galilee.

Summary and Conclusions

The abundant archaeological data presented above is directly relevant to two issues of historical significance. One is the circumstances of the violent destruction of Khirbet el-ʿEika itself around 145/144 BCE. The second pertains to the broader issue of Hasmonean activity in Galilee at, and after, this time. First Maccabees (11:63–74) explicitly mentions a campaign of Jonathan at this time that ends with the capture of Kedesh. Excavations at this site have shown that this is the precise year when the large administrative building there was hastily abandoned (see Berlin in this volume; Berlin and Herbert 2015, 433–34). While Kedesh is the only site mentioned in the text, it appears that this event is just one of a much wider series of actions that took place across Galilee at this time. These events must have been well-known; after all, we are dealing here with a composition that was written only some ten to thirty years after these events, when the people who had taken part or witnessed them were still alive.¹⁷

In this context, we may also note that Jonathan is not presented as operating as a sovereign ruler but rather as a *strategos* of Antiochus VI, clashing with the *strategoi* of his rival contender Demetrius II. No doubt the author of 1 Maccabees is creating here a heroic persona for Jonathan, but he is using an episode that properly belongs to *Seleucid* history, where Jonathan is indeed a player (even if of secondary level). Antiochus VI appointed Jonathan as a *strategos* apparently because he wanted the Jews on his side in his struggle for the throne. Jonathan accepted this role in order to serve his own interests, such as power, self-governing, and most likely territory, as can be seen from the promises the various contenders

17. Most authoritative scholars date 1 Maccabees to the days of John Hyrcanus I, sometime between 134 and 115 BCE. See Rappaport 2004, 60–61, and the bibliography cited there.

gave him over the years (1 Macc 10:30, 89; 11:34, 57). Therefore, when Jonathan captured Kedesh, he clearly served as a *strategos* of Antiochus VI, but we can easily understand why the author of 1 Maccabees depicts this as serving his own people's interests.

The settlement dynamics in the immediate vicinity of Khirbet el-ʿEika and throughout all of Galilee seem to support the interpretation of a Hasmonean campaign followed by an ethnic replacement of the population. The correlation between new archaeological data and literary accounts regarding other Hasmonean campaigns—such as in the cases of the Akra in Jerusalem in the days of Simon and John Hyrcanus (1 Macc 1:33; 13:49–52; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.215–217), Beit Shean in the days of John Hyrcanus (Josephus, *B.J.* 1.66), or the campaign of Alexander Jannaeus against Ptolemy Lathyros (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.320–355)—strengthens the historical credibility of these sources.¹⁸

Returning to the overall picture, there is no way of knowing whether all these abandonments resulted from early Hasmonean campaigns to the Galilee such as that of Jonathan. Some of them, especially those in the vicinity of Akko-Ptolemais, may have stemmed from clashes between other players in the Seleucid Empire who operated in the region, such as Alexander I Balas's (reigning in Akko-Ptolemais) struggle first against Demetrius I and later against Ptolemy VI (1 Macc 10:51–58; 11:1–19). Whatever the reason for these abandonments, however, they no doubt eased the process in the coming years in which the region came under Hasmonean control and was resettled by a Jewish population probably emigrating from Judea. Nevertheless, at least regarding sites in the eastern Galilee harmed around 145 BCE (i.e., Philoteria, Khirbet el-ʿEika, and Tel Kedesh), Jonathan's campaign along this route seems to be the most plausible reason for their abandonment. The archaeological data from these sites, as well as other sites such as Beit Shean and Yodfat discussed above, seem to indicate that the Hasmonean annexation of the Galilee was not a singular event but rather comprised a few campaigns and a continued progression of settlement. Due to the scarcity of archaeological remains from the Hasmonean period in the region, it is difficult to gain a clear picture of the course of events, and many sites are attributed to the Hasmonean period solely on the basis of Hasmonean coins. We should remember,

18. For the Akra in Jerusalem, see Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016, 19*–29*. For evidence from Beit Shean, see Bar-Nathan and Mazor 1994; Finkielstzajn 1998a, 50–54. For evidence for Ptolemy Lathyros's campaign, see Syon 2015, 165–68.

however, that this can be somewhat misleading, since these coins were first issued only around 125 BCE.

The Upper Galilee and the Northern Coast

Andrea M. Berlin

The northernmost of all the regions treated in this volume may be called, for simplicity, the upper Galilee. Although today this name is used only in modern-day Israel, in topographic terms it forms a single, well-delineated, continuous mountainous massif extending across southern Lebanon and northern Israel (fig. 9.1). On the west, the mountains come straight down to the sea, with the city of Tyre occupying a narrow strip of land at roughly the midpoint. On the north is the Litani River, whose course runs from the interior Beqaa Valley out to the coast. On the east the formation sheers off dramatically at the Hula Valley, a wide marshy zone crisscrossed by streams fed by the Jordan River. The massif's highest points are at the inland corners: in the northeast at Rabb ath Thalathin, in Lebanon (719 m/2359 ft asl), and in the southeast at Mount Meiron, in Israel (1208 m/3963 ft asl).¹ The southern edge is delineated by the drop in elevation just south of the Meiron formation, as well as by a substantial water course, the Naḥal Keziv, which issues from the mountain's western side and comes out at Akhziv, immediately south of modern Rosh HaNiqra, the ancient Ladder of Tyre. To the south of this line is the lower Galilee, a gentler topography with lower hills and wider valleys (see Leibner in this volume).

Throughout much of the first millennium BCE and into the first few centuries CE, the upper Galilee comprised the *chora* of Tyre. Regularly in this long span of time, the city's rulers (whether kings or councils) installed structures at key points on the east and south that demonstrated their city's wider geographical sphere. In the early first millennium BCE,

1. For a topographic map of southern Lebanon, see <https://tinyurl.com/SBLPress1734a1>.



Fig. 9.1. Upper Galilee. Detail of relief map of Israel and southern Lebanon. Source: Eric Gaba/Wikimedia Commons. Place names added by Andrea Berlin.

when native Iron Age polities controlled their own respective territories, the border structures were forts.² From the mid-first millennium through the early centuries CE, when the region was under outside imperial rule—Achaemenid, Ptolemaic/Seleucid, Roman—it was sanctuaries that demonstrated the extent, or diminution, of the city’s authority. Under the Achaemenids, there rose a watch tower and shrine to Astarte, the city’s primary female deity, atop Mount Mizpe Yammim, a strategic height at the southeastern corner of the Mount Meiron formation, from whose summit can be seen the Sea of Galilee to the southeast and the Mediterranean to the west (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 25–78). Under the Ptolemies, that facility was abandoned and a sanctuary to Astarte established above a pass on the southern edge of the Ladder of Tyre ridge, at a site known today as Khirbet Ma’sub (Ḥorvat Pi-Mazzuva; Friedman and Ecker 2019, 60–72).

2. Almost as soon as Tyrians and Israelites can be recognized in the archaeological record as distinct entities, around the end of the second millennium BCE, material remains indicate that both staked a claim to the upper Galilee via authoritative physical constructions such as forts, administrative centers, and shrines. On Phoenicians in Galilee in the early first millennium BCE see Lehmann 2001; Gal 1988, 79–84; 1992, 36–53. A similar back-and-forth ensued around the Sea of Galilee basin: from ca. 1200 down through the eighth century BCE, control passed back and forth between Israel and Aram-Damascus; on the pattern of expansion and retreat, see Sergi and Kleiman 2018.

The retreat from Mizpe Yammim, so far inland that it overlooked the Sea of Galilee, to Khirbet Maʿsub, which marked a coastal pass, reveals the radical truncation of Tyrian territorial extent by—and on behalf of—the Ptolemies. Under Roman rule, in the first and second centuries CE, Tyre was again allowed a more expansive domain. The city marked its eastern extent with the construction of a sanctuary to Baal-Shamin at the foot of the mound of Kedesh, where a temple and elaborated forecourt overlooked the Hula Valley and indicated entry into “greater Tyre.”³ These structures were signposts, material adjuncts to topography, illustrations of Giles de Rapper’s (2010, 259) observation that shrines are “places where the social production of the border takes place.”

That border, and the resumption of local Tyrian authority over inland upper Galilee in the first century CE, demonstrates that years of Greek imperial rule neither overwrote the region’s geographic logic nor erased its cultural memory. What Ptolemaic and Seleucid control did do was create new spheres of interaction—political, administrative, and military—and also new colonial relationships, ones that will have acted on local Tyrian consciousness. Absent firsthand accounts by native historians, we must look to the material world for a sense of their tenor and impact. Remains from sites on the southeastern outskirts of the upper Galilee—the placement and type of sites, dates of their settlement and abandonment, and the specific types of goods acquired by their inhabitants—illustrate at least some aspects of the new dynamic.

From the Achaemenids to Seleucus IV: A Shifting Colonial Landscape

Under the Achaemenids, the Tyrian royal house had been not only maintained but favored. The kings were important allies and the fleet a critical addition to the Persian military force.⁴ In what seems to have been a mutually advantageous *quid pro quo*, in exchange for naval assistance and political compliance, Tyre was granted control over all of inland upper

3. On the temple see Fischer, Ovadiah, and Roll 1984, 146–72. For discussion of its function within the *longue durée* of Tyrian territorial control, see Berlin and Herbert 2015, esp. 432–33; Sabar 2018, esp. 17–18.

4. Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.98; 8.67) cites the presence of Matten, king of Tyre, with Xerxes at Phalerum, in the preparations for the battle of Salamis and also at the battle. For full discussion see Elayi 2006a. On the Tyrian royal line throughout the Achaemenid era, see Elayi 2006b, esp. 21–25; Kokkinos 2013, esp. 45–49, 60–61.

Galilee, as seen by a series of settlements along the eastern edge of the plateau.⁵ At the southeastern corner stood the fortified shrine of Mount Mizpe Yammim, where the offerings included over one hundred small perfume juglets made in Tyre, reflections of multiple journeys from the coast to this spot (Berlin and Frankel 2012). About 10 km due north was a reoccupied Assyrian-era building at Ayelet ha-Shachar (Kletter and Zwickel 2006, 179), and another 10 km north was the large village of Kerem Ben Zimra.⁶ Finally about 10 km north of that was Kedesh, a high, ancient, double mound where, circa 500 BCE, the Tyrian royal house built an enormous compound (about 2,400 m²/20,000 ft²) at the southern end of the lower mound (Herbert and Berlin 2003; Berlin and Herbert 2013).

The plan and finds of the Kedesh compound show that it functioned as both a ceremonial reception center and a depot for the collection and disbursement of agricultural commodities. Facing east was a grand entry court, with π -shaped colonnade that led into a long, narrow hall where two larger columns framed the entrance into a second open-air courtyard in the building's western half. Small luxuries testify to the occupants' economic and social position: stone dishes, perfume bottles of glass and alabaster, small lumps of kohl, bracelets, earrings, a faience amulet of Horus, a green jasper scarab with a fine male profile carved on the underside, a glass seal of the Persian king dominating two lions, and another with Tyrian Melqart in a similar pose. The scarab and seals are Phoenician in material, technique, and style—and in the case of the seal with Melqart smiting two lions, specifically Tyrian. A final item reflecting a connection between Tyre

5. A fresh review of archaeological evidence from Dor suggests that it was also at the end of the sixth/early fifth century BCE that the Sidonians received their own award of expanded territory: see Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, esp. 141. The land grants to the kings of Tyre and Sidon reflect an imperial approach that balanced remediation of the more severe effects of Babylonian deportations, a strategic need to balance the power bases of local elites, and the particular assistance that each group could make toward larger Achaemenid interests (Kuhrt 1983, esp. 93–94 and n. 49). Elspeth Dusingher's (2013) authority-autonomy model of empire, in which different aspects of interaction reveal a particular power's priorities, impulses, and organizing principles, offers a useful explanatory construct.

6. This building may have formed the center of an extended settlement whose residents used the ancient citadel mound at Hazor as their necropolis (Bonfil and Greenberg 1997, 161). For information on Kerem Ben Zimra, I thank the site's excavators, Emmanuel Eisenberg and Alon de Groot, for showing me the site and engaging in a helpful discussion of the area's topography.



Fig. 9.2. View of the compound at the southern end of the lower mound of Kedesh, looking southeast. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition. Photograph by Sky-View Photography.

and Kedesh is a clay bulla that had sealed a papyrus document at Kedesh. The seal used to impress the bulla was Neo-Babylonian in origin, likely made in Nippur and owned by a member of the Tyrian diaspora who had once lived there and returned to Tyre (Brandl et al. 2019, 211–41).

As at Mizpe Yammim, at Kedesh also a great deal of the pottery was Tyrian in origin. This included most of the utilitarian vessels, such as cooking pots, dishes, and juglets. Yet the compound's primary intent is seen by the largest single component of the ceramic corpus: locally made large jars, some with wide mouths for dry goods and others with narrow mouths for liquids. These will have transported agricultural produce—grain and grapes (or wine)—back to the coast, and perhaps even specifically to the court.

Ptolemy I (or II) transformed the whole of the upper Galilee (recoded it, in Kosmin's formulation) from local and Tyrian to foreign and imperial, instantiated in terms both cosmic and quotidian.⁷ To begin, new sanctuar-

7. For a full discussion of this transition see Berlin and Herbert forthcoming; see also Berlin 2019, esp. 411–14; Kosmin 2014a.

ies reflected the new order. At the northeastern corner of the Hula Valley, in a cave in the face of Mount Hermon that also marked one of the headwaters of the Jordan River, the Ptolemies established a sanctuary to the Greek god Pan, a special protector of the new royal house (Berlin 1999). At this same time, the Astarte shrine at inland Mizpe Yammim was abandoned. To compensate, the Tyrians expanded the old Astarte sanctuary at Umm el-‘Amed, located on the city’s outskirts and at the northern edge of the narrow pass at the Ladder of Tyre, and also established a new sister sanctuary to Astarte at Ma’sub, at the corresponding southern side of the pass (Friedman and Ecker 2019, 67).⁸

Second, various fertile tracts in both upper and lower Galilee were appropriated as “King’s Land.” Throughout these areas there now appear a series of small, poor settlements, likely homesteads for tenant farmers whose output fed Ptolemaic supply chains (Frankel, Getzov, and Degani 2001, 61–62; Aviam 2007). At the most thoroughly excavated of these settlements, Tel Anafa in the Hula Valley, finds indicate that residents engaged in farming, raising sheep, and textile production (Berlin 1997b, 18–19; Herbert 1994, 12–14). They likely worked under the eye, and on behalf of, various Ptolemaic officials, some settled here and others periodically traveling through—as, most famously, Zenon—all of whom put a human face onto the abstraction of the new governing authority.

The sharpest bite to Tyrian sensibilities may have been the takeover and refurbishing of their palatial compound at Kedesh. On the evidence of a gap in the datable imported pottery, the building itself seems to have been abandoned in the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. John Grainger’s (1991, 35–36) reconstruction of events offers a likely context: Alexander’s rapid approach down the Levantine coast; the Persian king’s demand that Tyre put up a stout resistance; the resultant seven-month siege and eventual capture of the city; and, last, the erasure of the Achaemenid-compliant Tyrian royal line. The excavations show that the building was extensively modified. The columns were taken down and disassembled, their drums used as building blocks for walls. The once-grand entry court was closed off and subdivided into a series of small chambers. The main entrance was

8. An inscription found at the latter site records the dedication of a portico in the temple to Astarte; it is dated to the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy III Euergetes and the fifty-third year of the Era of Tyre (222/221 BCE). On the adjacent hill of Khirbet el-‘Abbasiyah, M. Prausnitz (1976) excavated a structure built “in the Phoenician style,” which he identified as a likely temple.

now through a modest single opening on the north, which led to a large reception room.

The most radical alterations were those meant to enlarge the building's capacities as a depot for the collection and shipment of agricultural commodities. In the southern wing were built rooms with heavy plastered floors and large plastered bins of various sizes and shapes, seemingly for the collection and measurement of dry goods such as grain (fig. 9.3 bottom). Storerooms were inserted on the north and west; here stood large jars, each with a capacity of about 130 liters (fig. 9.4; Stone 2012, figs. 3.13–14). Residue analysis of two jars showed that they had held bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), an unusual grain for this time and place; this was likely the strain known from Ptolemaic papyri as Syrian wheat, whose cultivation began during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Berlin et al. 2002, 115–21). It is probable that under that ruler the Hula Valley was drained and turned into a laboratory for agricultural experimentation, carried out by tenant farmers at sites such as Tel Anafa and overseen by officials at Kedesh.

With the transfer of Coele Syria and Palestine into Seleucid hands at the beginning of the second century, several aspects of the colonial landscape remained intact. Officers and officials who had transferred their allegiance were kept in place and allowed to retain their agricultural holdings. The most well-known of these was Ptolemais, son of Thraseas, who served now as both governor and high priest, as documented in the Hefzibah inscription (Honigman et al. 2017, 165).⁹ Another indication of official continuity was the maintenance throughout this broad area of the Ptolemaic monetary zone (see Lorber and Fischer-Bovet in this volume). An extraordinary material reflection of close Ptolemaic-Seleucid relations was the gift, in 190 BCE or shortly thereafter, of a Ptolemaic gold *mnaeion*, the largest regularly minted gold issue in the Greek world, conveyed by some high Ptolemaic official to a similarly situated Seleucid counterpart, which was discovered in the now-Seleucid-controlled compound at Kedesh (and which had at some point been secreted in a nook inside a wall in a rear storage room; Lorber 2010, esp. 50–52).

Antiochus III did introduce one crucial change: a new and generous set of endowments for native cults and their local sanctuaries. The most famous, because it is recounted in Josephus (*Ant.* 12.138–144), were the

9. This Ptolemais was succeeded in turn by two brothers, so that the same family maintained authority in this area at least into the time of Seleucus IV (Lorber 2010, 50–52; 2 Macc 3:5).



Fig. 9.3. Kedesh compound, bin rooms in the southern wing. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

financial dispensations for Judeans and their temple in Jerusalem; but a few key epigraphic finds allow us to recognize the pattern elsewhere, including to an expatriate Sidonian community at Yavneh-Yam, as explained in a series of documents preserved in a detailed inscription (CIIP 3.2267) and to both the people of Byblos and the Idumeans at Maresha, as can now be understood from consideration of what Hannah Cotton-Paltiel, Avner Ecker, and Dov Gera (2017, esp. 11–14) term the “apologetic preamble” of the Heliodorus inscription, of which one copy was found at the former site and two at the latter. While no discoveries so far involve the city of Tyre or any Tyrian sanctuary, it would stand to reason that they too benefited from some encouraging benefaction, just as the Byblians, Sidonians, Idumeans, and Judeans.

From the two native accounts that are preserved to us, that of Josephus regarding the Judeans and that of the Sidonians at Yavneh-Yam, we can recognize each party’s deep cultural pride in being (as they represent it) singled out for royal favor and concomitant financial largesse—and also their respective feelings of betrayal when that favor was taken away, as it was by Seleucus IV, the son and successor of Antiochus III.¹⁰ That monarch imposed a fresh round of apparently punitive temple taxes, for whose need a variety of reasons may be generated, beginning with the huge war indemnity resulting from the loss at Magnesia (and likely other obligations as well). The discovery of three identical copies of the so-called Heliodorus inscription from cities as far removed from one another as Maresha and Byblos reveals the measure’s breadth: it will have touched every sanctu-



Fig. 9.4. Large storage jar from the northwest storeroom of the Kedesh compound. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

10. So Cotton-Paltiel, Ecker, and Gera (2017, 12), who write that it was likely “the creation of some new tax on temples ... that may be taken to lie behind the fantastic and grossly exaggerated ‘robbery of the Temple’ by no other than the king’s vice-roy, Heliodoros, in the Second Book of Maccabees.” Honigman (2014, esp. 321–27) reaches a similar conclusion.

ary and every community of Coele Syria and Palestine—including also the Tyrians, even if we lack the direct evidence (Cotton-Paltiel, Ecker, and Gera 2017, 12).

From Antiochus IV to Demetrius II: Tyrian Revival and Reaction

The new tax regime squeezed sanctuaries of some of their assets and impinged on ethnic pride, yet it represents only one aspect of life in the years following its imposition. The other was a world of material comforts, enjoyed by residents of northern cities and towns, those along the coast and also inland throughout Galilee and as well as the Jezreel and Beth Shean Valleys: fine slipped table vessels from Cyprus, Cilicia, and Asia Minor; unguents and perfumes; bone pins and silver jewelry; wine from an array of Aegean and Mediterranean producers.¹¹ The wide variety is everywhere, testifying to a robust supply chain and market network.

During these years there is one critical new body of evidence that indicates change in the upper Galilee, one that bears on both Tyrian interests and also their relationship to Seleucid officialdom. That evidence comes from the compound at Kedesh, which on archaeological evidence was extensively remodeled in the time of Antiochus IV. During these years the building continued to be used for the bulk collection and storage of agricultural commodities; in fact, new facilities were built in the southern wing, including two new bins (fig. 9.3 top), and a third very large one that was given its own room. This latter large bin had a drainage hole, which indicates that it was used for liquid, perhaps wine. New rooms for entertaining were added in the central reception area, nicely decorated with plastered, painted walls, and mosaic floors.

The final and most substantial addition was in the northwestern corner, where a three-room archive complex was installed, its use revealed by the discovery here of 2,043 clay sealings. Despite the absence of a single document, the nature of the archive, and by extension the functioning of the compound in these years, can be understood thanks to close study of the sealings themselves by Donald Ariel, Anastasia Shapiro, and most of all Sharon Herbert.¹² The critical insight, based on a combination of

11. For 'Akko, see Berlin and Stone 2016; for Dor see Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011; for Philoteria see Greenberg, Tal, and Da'adli 2017; for Tel Iztabbah and Beth Shean, see Ariel 2005.

12. All of the information in the next paragraphs about the sealings derives from



Fig. 9.5. Kedesh compound, archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

clay analysis, iconographic study, and a calculation of the number of seals represented versus the number of impressions made, is that, with two key exceptions detailed below, the archive was almost completely unofficial and its individual users overwhelmingly locals.

Petrological analysis shows that most of the sealings were formed of clay available in the immediate vicinity, indicating that almost all of the documents themselves were written and sealed at the site.¹³ All of the impressions were made from signet rings whose iconography was almost uniformly Hellenic in subjects and styles: 50 percent depict Greek gods, 20 percent epic and mythic heroes, 16.5 percent naturalistic portrait heads, 11 percent realistic images of symbols, animals, or plants. These examples account for 97.5 percent of the corpus. Fantastic animals comprise another 2 percent, and non-Greek deities such as Ashtarte and Harpocrates a mere 0.2 percent.

the research of Herbert and Ariel and will form part of their forthcoming volume. I thank them both for sharing their ideas and results with me. For now see Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24; Ariel and Naveh 2003; Herbert 2005, 2008.

13. With thanks to Shapiro for sharing the results of her petrological study.

The conclusion that the vast majority of the archive's users were private individuals as opposed to administrative officials is based on the ratio of seal rings used one time versus those used multiple times, as represented via the sealings themselves.¹⁴ Of the total number of individual seal rings that can be accounted for from the 1,713 readable impressions, 1,309 (76 percent) were used only once. Since it is generally presumed that an individual regularly owned and used a single seal ring to represent him- or herself, these figures suggest that the Kedesh archive contained documents written and/or witnessed by over thirteen hundred people. In marked contrast, of the twenty-two thousand impressions found in the imperial tax archive at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, just 22 percent derive from seals used only once, while 78 percent were made from seals used multiple times (some as many as eight hundred or so). The low percentage of single-use seals at Seleucia seems to correlate with that archive's more controlled character; there the majority of items will have been sealed by officials repeatedly using the same seal. The Kedesh archive presents an almost exactly opposite picture: the large number of single-use seals reflects regular visits by private individuals acting on their own behalf. Indeed, of all the individual seals represented by the impressions found at Kedesh, fewer than ten definitely derive from official and/or imperial communications, a scant 0.3 percent of the total. Most of these were singletons, such as a large impression of the Seleucid anchor and one from the *koinon* of Tyre, double-dated to both the Tyrian and Seleucid eras (Ariel and Naveh 2003, 64–70). Overall, the archive seems to have been an essentially low-level records office used primarily by locals with a strong affinity for Greek culture.

The two key exceptions, referred to above, are groups of multiple impressions whose subject and quantity reflect the existence of an administrative official, whether in person at the site or represented via documentary communication. The first group depict a nude Apollo with bow. Some eighty impressions of this same image were made from four essentially identical seals. The combination of quantity, careful replication, and the image itself—Apollo was an adopted patron of the Seleucids and often appears on coins—suggests that this seal represented a Seleucid

14. I am indebted to Herbert, who made the original identifications of all of the sealings found at Kedesh, developed the idea briefly presented here, and shared her results. A full presentation and explanation will appear in her and Ariel's forthcoming volume on the Kedesh archive.



Fig. 9.6a–b. Apollo and Tanit seal impressions from the Kedesh compound archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

office, perhaps that of the provincial governor or the newly delineated high priest of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, as specified in the so-called Heliodorus inscriptions.

The second group of multiple impressions depicts the Phoenician lunar deity Tanit floating above the phrase “אש על ארץ” (he who is over the land), written in Aramaic or Phoenician. There are nine impressions made from one seal, and a tenth made from an almost identical second seal (Ariel and Naveh 2003, 63). In their 2003 publication, Ariel and Joseph Naveh noted that while the specific title is unique, the first part of the inscription, “אש על” (he who is over), is known from other Phoenician inscriptions at Larnax Lapithos, on Cyprus, the Athenian Piraeus, and Carthage, thus situating the formulation within a Phoenician milieu. As for the image of Tanit, it was stylistically tenacious, being virtually identical to ones known throughout the wider Phoenician world beginning in the eleventh century BCE.¹⁵ In the third and second centuries

15. See Arie 2017 for a study of the now earliest known example of this image, in the form of a small copper alloy charm from Megiddo. For earlier studies of the Tanit symbol see Bertrand 1992; Avaliani 1999. For the Tanit symbol in the Levant see

BCE, Tanit became common on items with official and administrative functions, such as lead weights, coins, and seals, primarily from the cities of Aradus, Berytus, and Tyre (Arie 2017, 67; for Tanit on city weights of Tyre, see Finkielsztein 2014).

The language, text, and image of the two Tanit seals send a clear, even assertive message. Unlike the other 98 percent of the seals represented by the impressions found in the archive, these were not Greek in language or style, nor did they reflect Seleucid spheres. They testify instead to a Tyrian office, possibly one newly created, one whose dominion over the land indicates an expansive territorial authority. The holder of such an office would have been a member of a wealthy, well-connected family, likely one with close ties to Tyre. In exchange for control of a broad, agriculturally productive landscape, they will have maintained the security of a large, potentially strategic outpost—a standard *quid pro quo* between a Seleucid ruler and a member of the local elite. Most notably, however, the message of the seals' design and language was aimed not at the royal patron but rather an audience of locals, including native Tyrians who may have understood it as evoking and also reifying older histories and claims.

The compound's life came to an end in two dramatic steps, both reflected in the archaeological remains. The first step was an abrupt, seemingly hasty abandonment, shown by quantities of goods left behind in almost every room. A plethora of evidence—coins, imported amphorae, a few dated sealings from the archive—provide the date. Most specific are fourteen largely complete Rhodian amphorae found inside the archive complex and in the storeroom next door, of which the three latest dates are 146, 145, and 144 BCE. The chronological congruence with the account in 1 Maccabees of Jonathan's victory over the forces of Demetrius at Kedesh (1 Macc 11:63–73) provides one take on this event (on which see further below), but from what has already been pieced together about the site coupled with what happened here next, it is clear that there is more to the story—or, perhaps more accurately, that what happened here indicates another, very different story.

Dothan 1974, updated in Bordreuil 1987. Additional inscriptions and archaeological finds with the Tanit symbol are noted in Bordreuil 1987, 81–82. The Tanit symbol appears on lead scale weights produced in Aradus as well as Tyre: Finkielsztein 2015, Aradus: pp. 60–63, nos. 1–2, 5, 10–15, 17–41, 43–54; Tyre: pp. 89–91, nos. 129–46, 150–53. Finkielsztein (2010, 88) notes that these weights are attributed to Tyre only because of the Tanit symbol found on them.

With the exception of some burning on the walls of a single small room in the southeastern corner, which could be the result simply of an open cooking or watch fire, there is no evidence for damage or destruction at the time of abandonment. But some time later there occurred the second dramatic step. Two infants were placed inside the rear room of the archive complex, one in the center of the room and a second against the back wall within a semicircle of stones. The room's entrance was roughly blocked by a few large stones set within the doorway; and the room was set on fire. The fire brought down the wooden beams of the roof, which in turn brought down the mudbricks of the upper wall portions, which buried the infants along with everything else inside, including about forty small oil flasks lying in a heap in a corner and, of course, all of the documents stored here (Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24–27). The fire was extremely hot, so much so that the inner row of stones of the walls cracked from the heat. No other rooms were affected. The fire was deliberate, the archive room a target. The episode reflects fraught circumstances, a highly emotional state, and a dramatic response.



Fig. 9.7. Infant burial, in situ against north wall of rear room of the Kedesh compound archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

Two key questions arise: When did this happen, and who was responsible? As to date, the evidence is minimal. Immediately beneath the burned mudbrick, and covering at least the oil flasks found fallen in one corner, was a thin layer of loose, seemingly wind-blown soil, just enough to suggest that some time had elapsed for it to collect. As the oil flasks were themselves unburned, it may be that there had also been enough time for their contents to largely evaporate. These scant clues suggest a short lag between the abandonment, on the one hand, and the infant burials and destructive fire, on the other.¹⁶

As to those responsible, there are multiple possibilities: (1) Jonathan's soldiers, (2) Seleucid troops, and (3) returning residents, workers, and/or officials. The first option is unlikely on account of the probable time lag; the second unlikely due to lack of motivation (why specifically and only target a local archive?). That leaves returning residents and/or officials as the most plausible agents. Whoever they were, they would have needed a very good reason to conceive and carry out what looks to be both a targeted destruction and a kind of sacrifice. It was not enough to burn the documents; the aim was to ensure that the archive itself could not be returned to official use.

Kosmin has pointed out that the actions at Kedesh fit into a pattern of archive-centered violence. At this same moment, two domestic archives at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris were also deliberately destroyed; in one, before burning, several of the date seal impressions had been gouged out of their clay bullae (Kosmin 2018b, 60–61). At both Seleucia and Kedesh these are acts of intentional erasure, what Kosmin (64) calls “on-the-ground gestures of termination.” They reflect the enlarged role of these record-keeping facilities not only in their users’ lives but even more so in their minds. As many of the documents in these archives will have been dated according to the new Seleucid era, these actions reveal the emotional impact of the imposition of that system—an alien, relentlessly linearized, and open-ended mode of keeping time—on the

16. Residue analysis indicates that the flasks had contained cedar oil, a preservative for papyrus—yet despite their flammable contents, the flasks showed no signs of burning. They may have been empty at the time the fire was set, either because they were stored empty or because they had already fallen and their contents had leaked out. Danny Syon has noted that if the flasks had been in the active fire, it would show on them, even if empty, and suggests that they were quickly buried in the mudbrick collapse at the initial stages of the fire.

sensibilities of local communities and their own native chronologies (11–13, 19–76).

There is other evidence that this was a charged moment for Tyrians. In 141 BCE the city was granted the status of *hiera* and *asylos*, testament from the current imperial power of what many citizens may have felt to be their natural birthright. We know from Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 1.107; Kokkinos 2013; see also *Ap.* 1.8, 28, 70) that the Tyrians kept annals, which will have affirmed a sense of their own past and its key events: “For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations” (Thackeray). The evidence combines to suggest, first, a kind of revival of Tyrian identity and empowerment, both territorial and psychological; and, second, a reaction to assert and/or protect it.

From Demetrius II to Antiochus VII: Galilee, Unsettled

In the later 140s BCE, Kedesh was one of many places in both upper and lower Galilee where the evidence reflects trouble and abrupt abandonment. Most similar to Kedesh in size and status is Khirbet el-‘Eika, a fortified compound on a strategic height in the lower Galilee, also completely vacated circa 144 BCE—although here the evidence also indicates deliberate destruction (Leibner in this volume). Beyond Kedesh and ‘Eika, both places with official administrative and/or military roles, many settlements large and small were suddenly evacuated and not reoccupied. Leibner (in this volume) details the evidence from the lower Galilee and Jezreel Valley. The geographic sweep is impressive: from Philoteria-Beth-Yerah, at the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee to Tel Keisan, just southeast of Akko/Ptolemais.¹⁷

In upper Galilee, in addition to Kedesh, there are two more places where remains show the effects of these unsettled years. The first is Khir-

17. Among the finds from two large residential *insulae* at Philoteria-Beth-Yerah were forty-six imported stamped amphorae dating down to 145 BCE (Tal 2017, 116). Excavations at Tel Keisan uncovered structures, much imported pottery, and “numerous” stamped Aegean amphorae dating down to ca. 150 BCE, followed by a gap in datable remains until the end of the century, suggesting a prolonged hiatus (Briend and Humbert 1980, 113 on amphorae and pls. 13–14 for imported pottery; Halpern-Zylberstein 1980).

bet esh-Shuhara, a small village or perhaps only rural farmstead about 8 km to the southwest of Kedesh. Here excavators found portions of two small houses, much utilitarian pottery, and a hoard of twenty-two Seleucid silver coins in an unbroken sequence from 148/147–140/139: two issues of Alexander Balas, one of Tryphon, and nineteen of Demetrius II (Aviam and Amitai 2002; Syon 2002, 123*–26*). Because the latest issue was in essentially mint condition, Syon (2002, 125*), who published this hoard, believes that they were buried in or immediately after 139 BCE. The hoard's owners were right to be worried, as conditions did indeed prevent their return. The settlement remained abandoned for about a decade (see further below).

The second place is a small cave, one among several of a group known as the Kokhim Caves, all situated high on a cliff face and accessible only by ropes, in a steep area not too far from the coast, just east of the southern end of the Ladder of Tyre pass. Explorers in 2018 discovered that one of these caves had served as a hideout in antiquity; the date, based on the array of vessels found inside, is mid-second century BCE (Shivtiel, Syon, and Berlin forthcoming). Most of finds were large jars: three imported amphorae—one from Italy, one from Ephesus, and a third from a producer elsewhere in western Asia Minor—and ten Tyrian-made baggy jars, of which four were intact or essentially so.¹⁸ Whereas the amphorae likely held their original contents of wine, the baggy jars were probably for water. Four more intact vessels consist of two small juglets, of which one was wide mouthed and probably used as a dipper; one cooking pot; and one small plate that may have served as a lid for whichever jar was currently in use. The cave's extreme difficulty of access is reflected in the largely intact condition of the finds, which suggests few or no visitors since their original owners managed to secrete them here. That they managed to maneuver into place so many jars of such size indicates both ability and desperation; that everything was left behind suggests that their desperation was warranted.

The material reflections of turmoil across both lower and upper Galilee in the years just after the mid-second century BCE are overwhelming.

18. The jars are made of Phoenician semifine, a ware manufactured in the vicinity of Tyre. For petrographic analysis I thank Anastasia Shapiro, whose report is forthcoming in Shivtiel, Syon, and Berlin (n. 45). For description of the ware, see Berlin, Monnickendam-Givon, Shapiro, and Stone 2019. For description of the petro-fabric, see Shapiro and Waiman Barak 2020. For identifications of the amphorae I thank Gerald Finkielsztein, whose report is forthcoming in Shivtiel, Syon, and Berlin.

While the archaeological evidence from Kedesh, Khirbet el-ʿEika, and a few other sites indicates a desertion date of circa 144 BCE, at others the timing can be given only as around or shortly after the middle of the century. Not everything need relate to a single moment or a specific campaign; indeed, the evidence from Khirbet esh-Shuhara shows occupation there until 139 BCE. As the regions of upper and lower Galilee comprised the *choras*, respectively, of Tyre and Akko-Ptolemais, and as these cities in particular, and southern Phoenicia in general, were the theater for particularly intense conflict from circa 145–138 BCE (on which see Lorber, Fischer-Bovet, and Coşkun in this volume), there must have been many moments, one after another in quick succession, that could have persuaded locals to leave undefended rural villages and towns. To begin, the death of Ptolemy VI Philometor at Antioch, in battle against Alexander Balas, set off a wave of brutality; the latter's first act was to assert his control over the coastal cities by massacring the garrisons that Ptolemy had recently placed there (1 Macc 11:18; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.4.9). This may be the event that lay behind the supply cache hidden in the Kokhim cave complex—but there are also several more possibilities.

The convolutions of minting patterns in the coastal cities during this precise stretch of time show that all were sites of military preparations. The contestations were first between Alexander Balas and then his son Antiochus VI Dionysus (or more properly, his guardian Diodotus Tryphon), who controlled Akko-Ptolemais, and Demetrius II, who held Sidon and Tyre (SC 2.1:26). Fighting continued for six years, by which time Tryphon had claimed authority on his own; yet no one contender could prevail. By 139 BCE Tryphon controlled Antioch, Byblos, Akko-Ptolemais, Dor, and Ashkelon; while Demetrius controlled Cilicia, Tyre, Strato's Tower (also known as Demetrias-by-the-Sea), and Gaza.¹⁹ It is this phase of the conflict that provides the most likely context for the hoard and abandonment at Khirbet esh-Shuhara, shortly after 139 BCE (Aviam and Amitai 2002; Syon 2002, 123*–26*).

By later 139 it was Demetrius's brother Antiochus VII who was fighting for control here. He held Tyre—but he and Tryphon continued to contest the coast city by city. In 138/137 Arados issued an autonomous series that indicated a dispensation by Antiochus in exchange for naval assistance

19. On Tryphon see Houghton 1992. On Demetrius at Tyre see Sawaya 2004, 117–18; Seyrig 1950, 19–20. On Demetrias-by-the-Sea, see Hoover 2007b. Danny Syon reminds me that this identification is not universally accepted.

(Seyrig 1950, 18–19). Meanwhile Akko-Ptolemais and other southern coastal cities continued to mint for Tryphon.²⁰ All of this provides a vividly enlarged context for Appian's (*Syr.* 68) statement that Antiochus VII's eventual defeat of Tryphon took "great effort."

It must be the case that Tryphon and Demetrius were jockeying for supporters among several factions and local powerbrokers; as Christelle Fischer-Bovet notes (in this volume): "when rulers—or rulers and usurpers—were at war ... then the local elites could take full advantage of their position." Yet in the case of a full list of the cast of actors on the stage in Galilee, our only source is 1 Maccabees. As Eckhardt (2016a, 58–59) has written, in the context of contemporary maneuverings solely in Judea:

We should not assume that the Seleucids placed all their hopes ... in the hands of the Hasmoneans. Even in light of 1 Maccabees, this would be entirely implausible, simply because "the Seleucids" were not a stable entity. The Hasmoneans closely observed the development of the Seleucid throne wars in order to seize opportunities that might arise. They acted on the assumption that the main source of legitimacy was a Seleucid king, but reacted to the fact that there was a certain inflation of them. It would be very unlikely if others in Judea had not done the same thing. Due to the peculiar interests of our main source, we only get to know one group's diplomatic maneuvers—but what happened, e.g., when Jonathan decided to dump Demetrius I for Alexander Balas, or Demetrius II for Antiochus VI? Did the respective Demetriuses give up their Judean ambitions, or did they try to find other partners to work with?²¹

In light of the finds from Kedesh—the presence there of a broadly empowered Phoenician official, the long association of place and region with Tyrian identity and hegemony, the dramatic targeting specifically of what was a local archive—we might reasonably postulate players other than Jonathan and his Judean fighters engaged in Galilee. In light of the widespread pattern of conflict and desertion across both upper and lower Galilee, we might also suppose that some of this will have been the result of a reversal

20. His hold in this area is further illustrated by a sling bullet from Dor that attests to a fifth year of his rule, meaning 137 BCE, on which see Gera (1985); on 159–61 he provides a clear explanation of events.

21. For some specific examples of other Judean power brokers contemporary with the Hasmoneans, see Eckhardt 2016a, 62–70. For a discussion of the model in general see Honigman 2014, 297–99, 304–11.

of fortune and/or clashes between some of these other players, since it is likely that more people were involved than those named and more happened than was recorded in our surviving, Judean-focused sources. Such considerations allow archaeological evidence to make its own contribution to historical reconstruction, to be a corrective lens rather than deployed primarily as illustrations of the particular accounts preserved to us. As historian David Lowenthal (1975, 28) reminds us, what written accounts preserve is “a more emphatic landscape ... [one in which] we forget or elide scenes that failed to strike us [and] exaggerate those that did.”

Antiochus VII and After: The Upper Galilee, Contested

From the later 140s into the 130s, the Seleucid dynastic conflict, ongoing and closely fought, explains not only the settlement disruption throughout Galilee but more pointedly why so many places remained unoccupied. The many coastal fronts will have meant redeployment away from inland strongholds, such as Khirbet el-‘Eika, or administrative centers, such as Kedesh. The combination of more forces at coastal sites and a depleted inland population in turn will have meant fewer inland markets as well as less protection for small settlements here. In these years, the rural interior will have been a more uncomfortable and possibly also dangerous place to live.

By the later 130s, the overheated Seleucid dynastic contest had cooled down. Antiochus VII had dispatched Tryphon, reasserted Seleucid imperial hierarchies with a siege of Jerusalem and the receipt of five hundred talents from John Hyrcanus, and reunited the imperial core west of the Tigris, from Rough Cilicia to southern Palestine (Coşkun in this volume). That ruler then turned his attention east, to the retaking of Armenia and a confrontation with Parthia. This in turn created an opening for those natives of Coele Syria with territorial interests and needs, of whom the two most motivated were Judeans and Tyrians. The immediately preceding years of turmoil had left large inland areas vacant, including most of Galilee, both lower and upper. On the evidence of scattered finds of small bronzes from the Seleucid mint in Jerusalem (Syon in this volume), Judeans began moving into lower Galilee in the 130s, a process that seems to have been straightforward (Leibner in this volume).²² There is evidence

22. By the end of the second century, the evidence for Judean settlement in lower Galilee and also central Gaulanitis is even more robust, with new settlements whose

for Judean movement also into the upper Galilee in these same years—but also evidence for equally entitled Tyrians. Two abandoned sites were reoccupied: Kedesh and Khirbet esh-Shuhara; and two new ones built: Tel Anafa and Qeren Naftali. In the first of each of these pairs, the new residents were Tyrians; in the second, they were Judeans. In terms of distance, all four sites are very close—but in terms of lifestyle, cultural outlook, and orientation, their occupants lived in different worlds.

At Kedesh, the northern portion of the compound was reoccupied from the mid- to later 130s through the mid-120s. The new residents built flimsy walls to subdivide formerly large rooms and installed small ovens in corners and corridors. They hauled two of the huge grain jars out of one of the storerooms, placed them upside down within the long entrance corridor, and fashioned them into enormous ovens (fig. 9.8). Their accommodations may have been more comfortable than these sketchy constructions make them sound, however; after all, they were living inside what had been a luxurious administrative compound, with a grand courtyard and decorated reception rooms. In keeping with such surroundings, the new residents owned high-quality household goods, including cast glass drinking cups and red-slipped Eastern Sigillata A plates and bowls, a fashionable luxury tableware made in Cilicia. They had at least two imported Rhodian wine amphorae and used bronze coins from the mints of Akko-Ptolemais and Tyre. While nothing in these remains conclusively identifies the compound's new occupants as Tyrian, a comparison with the goods owned by the people who moved in down the road, at Khirbet esh-Shuhara, offers a suggestively marked contrast.

The reoccupation of Khirbet esh-Shuhara began some five to seven years after that at Kedesh. Its inception can be dated by a near-mint-condition Tyrian shekel of 125 BCE, its duration by fourteen small bronze coins of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus, indicating that people stayed here into the early first century BCE. The Hasmonean coins are common at Judean/Jewish sites but rarely appear at non-Jewish sites (Syon 2002, 126*).²³ Unlike at Kedesh, the new residents of Khirbet esh-Shuhara lived in the most simple, basic circumstances. Except for the single Tyrian

residents use Hasmonean coins and Judean-style household goods (Berlin 2012a, 2013; Syon 2006, 2015; Elgvin 2016, 320–33, provides an up-to-date summary).

23. In his original study Syon had identified some coins also of Hyrcanus II, but since then has reidentified those as being of Alexander Jannaeus (personal communication).



Fig. 9.8. Kedesh compound, two storage jars reused as ovens, circa 130 BCE. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.



Fig. 9.9. Hemispherical drinking bowl, Eastern Sigillata A, from the Kedesh compound, circa 130 BCE. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

shekel, they had no other “foreign” coinage. Their household goods comprised only cooking pots, small plain dishes, and storage jars, all made of rough local clay from the immediate vicinity.

The reoccupation at Kedesh was short-lived; by around 125 BCE or so, the temporary residents had moved out. Perhaps not coincidentally, also right around 125 BCE, an indisputably Tyrian settlement was established at the small, low mound of Tel Anafa, down in the Hula Valley. The northern half of the mound was taken up by peristyle courtyard villa, of a size and style commensurate with the houses built by wealthy merchants on the Aegean island of Delos. Amenities included a three-room bathing facility with mosaic floor and large heated tub, and a spectacular upstairs dining room with painted and molded stucco walls and gilded Corinthian pilasters (Herbert 1994, 14–19; Kidd 2018). The occupants enjoyed

a steady supply of imported wine and must have entertained often, as they owned enormous numbers of luxurious imported ceramic and glass table vessels (fig. 9.10a, b; Slane 1997; Grose 2012). Much of their more mundane household pottery was made locally, in the Hula Valley; but a significant share of the serving vessels as well as quantities of unguent and perfume bottles came from Tyre (Berlin 1997b, 20–29). The residents seem to have been a well-off family with servants (whose quarters lay on the southern half of the mound).

The Tyrian foothold at Tel Anafa lasted about two generations. Sometime after about 80 BCE the entire place was abandoned, without indication of battle or destruction. Yet the cause may have been hostility all the same. On the edge of the upper Galilee plateau, just across the valley from Kedesh and immediately overlooking the Hula, stood the site of Qeren Naftali, the location of a long-abandoned Seleucid watchtower. In the early first century BCE, the Hasmoneans built a fortified enclave here (Aviam 2004b, 59–88). The evidence comprises five coins of Alexander Jannaeus, plain local utilitarian pottery identical to that found at Khirbet esh-Shuhara, and a *miqveh* built into the fortress' western wall. The date in the first century BCE, probably toward the end of the rule of Jannaeus, coincides with the abandonment of the villa at Anafa; perhaps a too-proximate antagonist inclined the Tyrians here to pack up and leave.

The Judean toehold in the upper Galilee was also short-lived. By the mid-first century CE possession of Kedesh had returned to Tyre, which Josephus describes on the eve of the revolt as “a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews” (*B.J.* 4.105, trans. Whiston 1895). As noted above, Tyre asserted its interests here even more authoritatively in the second century CE with the construction of a monumental temple complex to Baal-shamin (Ovadiah, Fischer, and Roll 1982, 1985, 1986–1987, 1987; Fischer, Ovadiah, and Roll 1984; Berlin and Herbert 2015, 432–33).²⁴

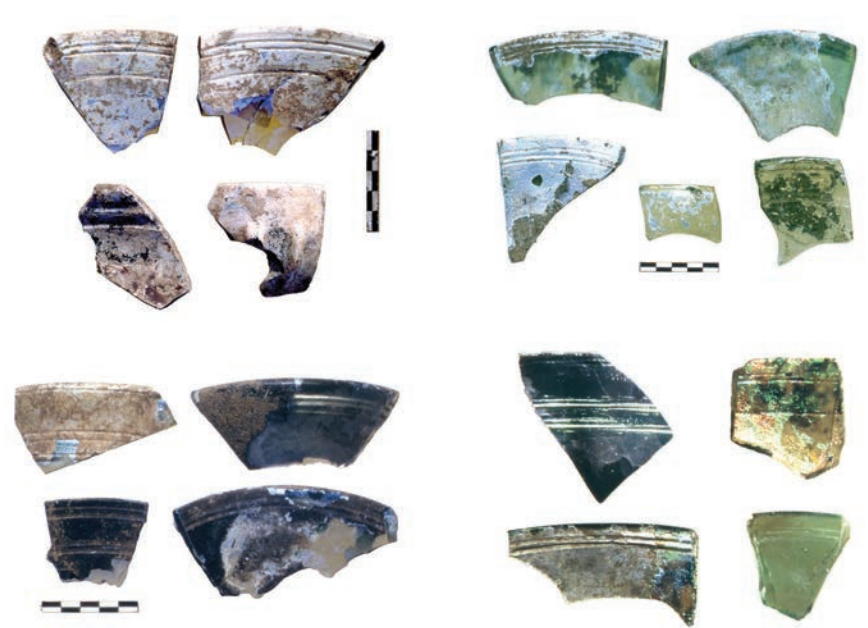
From Ground to Page: Galilee as Proof-text

Sites share with stories a critical feature: the ability to be reinvoked, reframed, reenlisted as proof-texts for current needs. Situated side by side,

24. Magness (1990) suggested that the temple functioned as an oracular shrine, a hypothesis rejected by Ovadiah, Roll, and Fischer 1993.



Fig. 9.10a–b. Dishes, Eastern Sigillata A, and glass drinking cups, Tel Anafa, circa 120 BCE. Courtesy of the Tel Anafa Expedition.



they become reciprocal signifiers, each elevating the power of the other.²⁵ In this relationship, place works both as physical testimony of the past as well as the meaning we seek to cull from it, standing (to borrow an evocative phrase from Vered Noam [2018, 1]) “at the charged interface between ... memory and historiography.”²⁶

At this interface, the questions are not so much about “what happened here” or even “did this event actually happen here.” They spring instead from other interests and desires: to stimulate a sense of connection, to restore a sense of community, to strengthen the field of force between history and memory and reconfigure the space between.²⁷ At this interface sites and the stories about them function, singly or in tandem, in Pierre Nora’s (1989, 12) beautiful formulation, as *created memories*, “moments of history torn from the movement of history—like shells on the shore when the sea has receded.”

In closing, below I look in brief at two literary moments vis-à-vis the contemporary material testimony described above, in hopes that their juxtaposition deepens our understanding of the larger meaning of Galilee.²⁸

The Chronicler

The first literary moment comes (probably) from the Achaemenid era, during which the Chronicler wrote (at least initially). As we now know, at this time all of upper Galilee was part of the territory of Tyre; Tyrian control was part of the Chronicler’s real-world backdrop. That fact seems

25. For another phrasing of this concept, see Simpson and Corbridge 2006, 566.

26. Eckhardt (2015a) provides several examples of manufactured evocations of Achaemenid religious policy in the post-Seleucid era.

27. For discussion of these ideas within the context of physical memorials, see Winter 2008, 9–12. For an enlightening analysis of another biblical battle—that of David and Goliath—from this same vantage point of “literature as response,” see Yadin 2004.

28. In this approach I acknowledge the work of historian and geographer David Lowenthal (1975, 9), who has written with great insight and sensitivity about “the pull of the past in the present” and the ways in which we deploy objects and landscapes in the service of our selective perceptions of history, rooting ourselves in the past’s tangible ground by building preservation, creation of historic sites and trails, manufacture of memorabilia, etc., efforts that allow us to pin down a shifting, often insecure, present: “Buffeted by change, we retain traces of our past to be sure of our enduring identity.” See also Lowenthal 1985, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2015.

germane to one particular set of authorial interventions, those having to do with the relationship between Kings David and Solomon and Hiram/Huram of Tyre. The Chronicler followed closely the specific events and exchanges as recounted in 1 Kings, but he regularly, systematically, and deliberately reversed the tone, details, and meaning of every interaction. One proximate example is the exchange of cities in Galilee. First Kings 9:10, 12 reads: “At the end of twenty years, in which Solomon had built the two houses ... *King Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee.*”²⁹ Second Chronicles 8:1–2 simply reverses this: “At the end of twenty years ... *Solomon rebuilt the cities which Hiram had given to him, and settled the people of Israel in them.*” As this and the other parallel texts of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles show, the Chronicler appropriated and inverted the places and claims of another culture,³⁰ neatly crafting what Michel Foucault (1986, 24) calls “a counter site, an enacted utopia in which the real sites ... are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.”

29. Unless otherwise stated, all biblical translations follow the NRSV.

30. Other examples include:

(1) In 1 Kgs 5:9, 11 Hiram sends lumber and workers for the temple, and in return demands “‘food for my household.’ ... Twenty thousand cors of wheat ... and twenty cors of fine oil. Solomon gave this to Hiram year by year.” The Chronicler reframes Solomon’s annual tribute as a one-time exchange of goods for services, with Solomon dictating terms, suggesting that the two were equals (2 Chr 2:3–16).

(2) In 1 Kgs 5:26 Solomon’s wisdom is demonstrated by his execution of a treaty with Hiram; in Chronicles, Solomon’s wisdom is manifested by his building of the temple.

(3) In Chronicles Hiram acknowledges the supremacy of YHWH by saying “Blessed is the LORD God of Israel, who made heaven and earth” (2 Chr 2:12, a claim repeated by the Queen of Sheba in 2 Chr 9:8). No such admission appears anywhere in Kings.

(4) In Chronicles Solomon is presented as the most powerful and wealthy monarch in the region, and Hiram addresses him as “my lord” (2 Chr 2:14). No such address appears anywhere in Kings.

Vadim Jigoulov (2010, 132–61) devotes a full chapter to the varying treatments of Phoenicia in biblical texts, including a discussion of the discrepant treatments by the authors of Kings and Chronicles of the relationship between Hiram of Tyre and Solomon (134–38). He explains the Chronicler’s reversals as in line with his “intent to promote his theological agenda and ... to reflect the amicable relationship of Tyre and Judah in his own time,” an interpretation that strikes me as overly conciliatory (137–38). Jigoulov (138) further points out that, in the case of the episode of the twenty cities in Galilee, the Chronicler’s reversal “still reflects the fact that the cities were under the control of Tyre.”

In so doing, the Chronicler inverted Galilee from Tyrian into Judean territory, undoing a discomfiting facet of contemporary reality.³¹

First Maccabees

Among the many ways that we might classify 1 Maccabees, one that is particularly relevant for this discussion is what sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel (2003) calls a time map, a rendition of how a present moment comes to be. By the time the author of 1 Maccabees was writing, the Hasmoneans were in control of territory from Idumea to lower Galilee, and, significantly, were actively contesting upper Galilee, making the account of past events here especially pertinent. The key passage is in chapter 11 of what Eckhardt (in this volume) terms “the Jonathan narrative” (chs. 9–12). It is worth laying out the relevant text in full:

Jonathan marched out and made a tour of the Trans-Euphrates province, passing through the cities. All the troops of Syria rallied to him as allies.... He marched through the country all the way to Damascus. There word came to Jonathan that Demetrius’ commanders had come to Kedesh in Galilee [εἰς κηδες τὴν ἐν τῇ γαλιλαίᾳ] with a large force, intending to divert him from his mission. Jonathan marched to meet them.... Jonathan and his army ... encamped by Lake Gennesar [ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ γεννησαρ] and then made an early morning march to the plain of Hazor [εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ασωρ]. An army of foreigners confronted him in the plain. The foreigners had detached a party to lie in ambush against Jonathan in the mountains while the main body met him face to face. When the ambush party emerged from their hiding place and joined battle, all Jonathan’s men fled. Not one of them remained, except

31. It may be pertinent to note that there was another Hiram on the throne of Tyre in the mid-sixth century BCE, and indeed that the Tyrians, just as the Judeans, had lists of kings and their accomplishments going back several hundred years before that (Kokkinos 2013, 46–49). Note that it is also possible that this section of 2 Chronicles was written much later. For such an argument about another portion of the book, see Finkelstein (2015, 670), who argues that the portions of 2 Chronicles that describe the growth of Judah from the days of Rehoboam to the reign of Hezekiah were written “against the background of realities of his own time,” which in this case was much later: they were composed to affirm “the expansion of the Hasmoneans, with the actual compilation in the days of John Hyrcanus, ... [with] each of the conquests achieved by Judah [finding] expression in the history of the Hasmoneans as described in 1 Maccabees” (672).

Mattathias son of Absalom and Judas son of Chalphi, commanders of the elite troops. Thereupon, Jonathan rent his garments, put earth on his head, and prayed. On returning to do battle against the enemy, he defeated them and put them to flight. When his own fleeing men perceived what had happened, they turned back and joined him in pursuit all the way to the enemy camp at Kedesh [κεδεσ], where they themselves then encamped. The number of foreigners killed on that day reached three thousand. Jonathan returned to Jerusalem. (1 Macc 11:60–74, trans. Goldstein 1976)

As has been demonstrated above, the essential historical nugget—a battle between Jonathan, in his role as a Seleucid general, and the forces of Demetrius, occurring circa 144 BCE and ending with a temporary take-over of Kedesh—is well illustrated by abundant material evidence. Also fairly conveyed are the wider circumstances suggested by this account: at this moment Jonathan was in the employ of Tryphon, who controlled Akko-Ptolemais, while Demetrius controlled Tyre, thus making Kedesh the logical place for the latter’s army to encamp. Yet the account is quite peculiar nonetheless—for what the author elaborates, for the specific places that he names, and for those he omits—all aspects illustrative of Lowenthal’s (1975, 28) “more emphatic landscape.”

In a recent article that uses this account as a jumping-off point, Elhanan Reiner (2017) details its many oddities.³² Two of Jonathan’s commanders are cited by name. The battle is described at length, as is Jonathan’s dramatic behavior: he rends his garments, puts ashes on his head, and prays, and his prayers turn the tide of battle. He sees the rhetorical flourishes as “clear analogies to the story of Joshua’s conquest of Canaan and to Joshua himself, especially Joshua’s response to his defeat at Ai (Joshua 7:6).” By creating a similar dramatic circumstance and describing Jonathan’s response with identical language, Reiner (2017, 503) argues that the author of 1 Maccabees “sought to indicate a linkage,

32. Reiner understands the animating event as being a battle directly between Demetrius and Jonathan, in which Demetrius marched from Tyre, “the margin of his dominion, in order to halt Jonathan’s advance and prevent him from taking control of this territory.” As Eckhardt explains in this volume, these are rhetorical choices of the author rather than the real circumstances, but the distinction is irrelevant to Reiner’s argument. I thank Uzi Leibner for bringing this article to my notice.

almost an identity, between Jonathan the Hasmonean and Joshua, to put Jonathan on Joshua's pedestal."³³

Archaeological evidence shows that at this time both lower and upper Galilee were battlegrounds and that locales other than Kedesh were sites of engagement. Yet the author rendered this landscape of turmoil via only three places: "Kedesh in Galilee," "Lake Gennesar," and "the plain of Hazor." The last is the most arresting choice, because by this time the site of Hazor itself had been deserted for at least several centuries. As Reiner (2017, 503) notes, in locating the battle in "the plain of Hazor" the author created a direct link to the final battle of Joshua, that which set the stage for the Israelite settlement of Galilee. In so doing, he "rewrite[es] a biblical story as if it were a contemporary one, as if the new story were in fact the old one." By infusing his account with the uniquely persuasive physicality of place, he elevates this episode into Noam's "charged interface between memory and historiography."

Recalling the rapid back-and-forth of inhabitants and interests in and around Kedesh during the years when the author was writing, one might wonder at which precise point he composed this overdramatized account. When Tyrians reoccupied Kedesh itself? When a small Judean foothold was inserted at Khirbet esh-Shuhara? When the grand Tyrian villa was erected in the Hula Valley (the author's "plain of Hazor")? Or when the fortified Judean presence at Qeren Naftali dominated both the Kedesh valley and the lower plain? Whichever circumstance prevailed, this account certainly succeeded in advancing its author's interests: by telling this story, in this way, he obscured other versions, other actors, and even other stories—at least some of which archaeology has now revealed.

33. Reiner goes on to claim that the author also sought to link Jonathan's campaign to conquer the land with Joshua's war of conquest. Katell Berthelot (2018a) has vigorously challenged this linkage in her book *In Search of the Promised Land?* Berthelot (2018b, 9) has raised doubts about this precise linkage, but she did agree that "we may nevertheless conclude from the biblical tone used in these ... verses that [the author of 1 Maccabees] wanted to associate Jonathan with heroic memories of the biblical past, including some of the battles of Joshua, maybe in order to reduce the impression that Jonathan was acting at Antiochus' command." At the same conference Eckhardt also raised doubts; as he pointed out, "Does the Joshua analogy not break down when Jonathan does not take the country for himself or settle people there, but merely encamps for one night, never to return?"

The Hasmonean Settlement in Galilee: A Numismatic Perspective

Danny Syon

Introduction

There is a consensus among scholars that Galilee and Golan were part of the Judean state in the latter part of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 BCE),¹ following his last campaign in the north circa 80 BCE. However, there is no consensus at all about what happened in these regions between the Maccabean revolt and the reign of Jannaeus: Were there Jews in Galilee at the time of the Maccabean Revolt? If not, when did they arrive? Was the process of becoming part of the Judean state peaceful or violent? Was it an annexation event or a gradual process?

Scholars, especially archaeologists, have been considering recently Hasmonean presence in lower Galilee as early as the time of Hyrcanus I, while the upper Galilee is still considered to have been taken by Aristobulus I (see Leibner and Berlin in this volume). Central Golan—ancient Gaulanitis—is included in this discussion because in the Roman period

This paper includes parts of my earlier works (Syon 2014b, 2015). The quantitative data is from Syon 2015, with minor updates.

1. This revised reign (rather than 103–76) derives from information concerning Jannaeus's first campaign against 'Akko-Ptolemais. Papyrological evidence proves that Cleopatra III was in possession of 'Akko-Ptolemais already in September 103 (Van 't Dack et al. 1989, 50–61, 109). Jannaeus could not have laid siege to the city earlier than the spring of 103 BCE because military campaigns were not conducted in winter, and we are told that he first consolidated his rule (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.234). It follows that he had already become king in 104 BCE, as suggested also by Van 't Dack et al. 1989, 118–21.

it was certainly part of Jewish Galilee culturally.² I argue below that this affinity started in the second century BCE.

In this paper I present numismatic evidence that adds some insights regarding the questions posed above. I argue that the distribution of coin finds from a range of sites as well as the presence of three types at specific sites suggest a Jewish or Judean presence in Galilee and Golan already in the second century BCE. In support of this I also bring in additional archaeological and textual information. Regarding the latter, I should say that I relate to the book of Maccabees and to Josephus in the consensual way, that is, that their basic chronology is reliable. Ultimately, my overall argument is based on varying degrees of speculation—as is most archaeological reasoning—but I think that taken together it adds up to a statement.

The period under discussion ranges from the days of the Maccabean Revolt (ca. 167 BCE) to the early days of Alexander Jannaeus (ca. 100 BCE), but I will look separately at events before and after 125 BCE, a date that has political and numismatic significance on two counts: (1) Demetrius II was murdered in Tyre in March of that year, precipitating the autonomy of Tyre and accelerating the demise of the Seleucid state. (2) For convenience, I also place in this year the beginning of Hasmonean coinage, all of it minted in Jerusalem and introduced by Hyrcanus I. The actual year in which he started striking coins cannot yet be fixed, but this cannot have been before the death of Antiochus VII in 129 BCE and was likely shortly after the death of Demetrius II.

Matters are complicated by the fact that at this time the political interests of different players in the southern Levant clashed. Apart from the struggles of the Maccabees to forge an independent state, from the reign of Alexander Balas (150–146 BCE) until the end of the period and well beyond, the region was also stage to incessant conflict between various claimants to the Seleucid throne, with a generous helping of Ptolemaic interference (see Lorber, Fischer-Bovet, and Coşkun in this volume). Therefore, when examining archaeological (including numismatic) evidence of disruptions in this period, more than one candidate should be considered as a potential perpetrator.

My argument depends on understanding one concept and one limitation of numismatic studies. First, in antiquity in general there were two

2. For a slightly extended discussion on this affinity, focused on the early Roman period, see Ben-David 1995; Syon 2015, 21–23.

Fig. 10.1. Coin of Antiochus VII from the mint of Jerusalem. Not to scale. Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, www.CNGcoins.com.



kinds of coinages: coins of a central authority that circulated throughout the realm, and local coinages that served local commerce and normally circulated only in a certain radius surrounding the mint. If local coinages are found in an unusual concentration far from their natural circulation area, it must be for a reason. Second, while we can know when a coin was minted, we usually cannot know how long it circulated before it became useless.

Before 125 BCE

Textual Evidence

The question of a Jewish presence in Galilee before the Hasmonean annexation has received much attention. The unfiltered textual evidence implies a small and distressed Jewish population in Galilee and Gilead (1 Macc 5:14–23) and a confident Jewish population in Scythopolis (2 Macc 12:29–31) as early as the time of Judas Maccabeus. Scholarly opinion varies on a scale from suggesting a residual Israelite population remaining after the Assyrian exile to bands of Judeans arriving to settle Galilee (see Leibner in this volume).

The Numismatic Evidence

The numismatic evidence does not settle the question but suggests a point in time early in the reign of Hyrcanus I when there was already a certain Jewish component in Galilee.³ The evidence consists of a fair number of coins of Antiochus VII minted in Jerusalem in the years 132/131 and 131/130 BCE (fig. 10.1).⁴

3. I present the evidence in full in Syon 2006; 2015, 146–48.

4. See Ariel 2019 for the circumstance of its minting. I do not subscribe to the view that this is a Hasmonean coin, contra Ariel. Though it was struck in Jerusalem, ruled by Hyrcanus I, the coin carries the name of Antiochus and is thus a Seleucid coin.

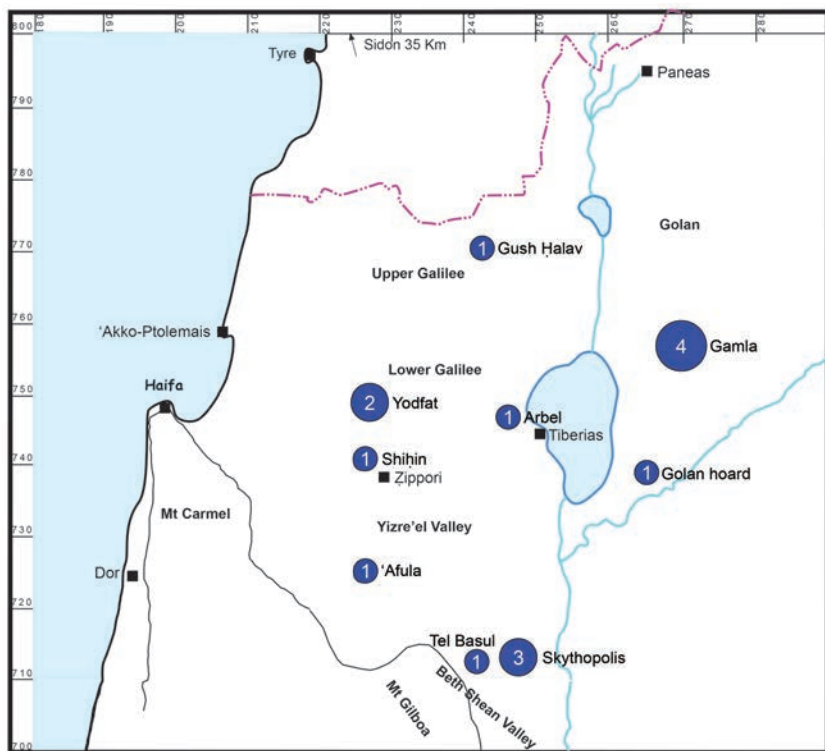


Fig. 10.2 The distribution of the coins of Antiochus VII in Galilee.

This coin is a local coin of Jerusalem. There are altogether 234 provenanced coins of this type, the majority (183) from Jerusalem (Ariel 2019, table 1); yet a surprising number have been found in Galilee (fig. 10.2). What are these issues of insignificant value doing so far north from their mint? The sites of Gush Ḥalav, Yodfat, Arbel, Shihin, and Gamla were unquestionably Jewish sites in the early Roman period, explicitly mentioned as such by Josephus. Tel Baṣul was most probably a Jewish site as well, which was destroyed or abandoned in the First Jewish Revolt (Syon 2015, 180). Scythopolis is known to have been conquered by Hyrcanus I and to have had a sizable Jewish population down to the First Jewish Revolt.

The presence of these coins in Galilee, some in what are clearly Jewish settlements in later periods, might suggest they arrived by way of Jews who lived in Galilee and brought these coins when returning from the yearly pilgrimages to the temple in Jerusalem. Scholars who support a pre-Hasmonean Jewish presence in Galilee on textual evidence place it in western

lower Galilee around Shihin, Zippori, and Yodfat (Rappaport 1993, 28; Aviam 2004a, 41–42). The numismatic evidence suggests that this presence may have been more widespread.

After 125 BCE

Textual Evidence

The textual evidence for this period includes two anecdotes by Josephus that could imply a Jewish presence in Galilee late in the second century BCE. The first relates that Hyrcanus hated the child Jannaeus on account of a dream in which God predicted that Jannaeus would become king, so Hyrcanus had the child raised in Galilee (*Ant.* 13.321–322). It is worth noting that this same anecdote also serves those who see no Jews in Galilee at the time, the argument being that because Hyrcanus hated the child, he sent him to be raised in a foreign land (e.g., Bar Kochva 1977, 193; Rappaport 1993, 28). The second anecdote (*B.J.* 1.76) recounts how Antigonus was tricked into presenting himself before his brother Aristobulus in his very fine suit of armor, *made in Galilee*.⁵

Archaeological Evidence

Based on pottery studies, Berlin (2012a) argues for a slow but visible change in pottery use in Galilee and Golan beginning in the late second century BCE, culminating in the early first century BCE, with the appearance of Galilean pottery workshops producing Judean-style pottery from local clay. She concludes that immigrants from Judea settled here and preferred to use pottery other than the Phoenician wares in use until then. This evidence too suggests an ethnic change that took place earlier than 80 BCE.

The Numismatic Evidence

Coin finds suggest that after circa 125 but before circa 80 BCE there was already a considerable Jewish presence in Galilee. The evidence consists of a large number of coins of Hyrcanus I and Aristobulus I found in Gali-

5. I leave out the story of the conquest and conversion of the Itureans by Aristobulus I (*Ant.* 13.319), because its connection to Galilee is speculative, but see below.

lee. These coins were not local; they were issued by the Judean priestly authority in Jerusalem and were intended to circulate within all Judean territories. For these coins to serve as evidence, it is necessary to demonstrate two conditions: (1) to a very great degree, the coins were used only by Jews, thus turning them into a kind of ethnic marker; (2) some number of these coins arrived in Galilee during the lifetime of Hyrcanus I and Aristobulus I, even though they continued circulating after their death.

Hasmonean Coins as an Ethnic Marker

The introduction of the consistently nonfigurative Hasmonean coinage created an interesting situation. This coinage was a radical departure from what was customary in the period, featuring the head of the king or some deity on the obverse. The population in Judea embraced this coinage (though continued to use other coins as well, especially silver), and by the first century BCE this was the case in Galilee as well.⁶ Coin distribution patterns in first-century BCE Galilee (fig. 10.3) show a clear boundary between those areas that used mainly Hasmonean coinage and between those areas that did not have a use for Hasmonean coins—for economic reasons or because they found these coins strange. While the separation was not hermetic—coins of Alexander Jannaeus were very plentiful and are found occasionally west of the line—nonetheless, the distribution map makes clear that in the first century BCE Hasmonean coinage in Galilee acted not only as a Jewish ethnic marker but also as a kind of boundary marker between Jewish Galilee and Phoenicia.⁷

Hasmonean and Other Coins in Second-Century Galilee

When did Galilee and Golan become part of the Judean state? Coin finds at certain well-studied sites offer several pieces of evidence that suggest a substantial Jewish presence already in the time of Hyrcanus I. Since the

6. No distribution pattern is available for Judea, but the quantity of Hasmonean coins found there is huge.

7. This trend continued in the early Roman period, when there was a definite preference among Galilean Jews to use the nonfigurative coins from Jerusalem, although most of the time they were not administratively part of Judea (Syon 2105, 174–77). This ethnic boundary was solidified by the Romans into the provincial boundary between Judea and Syria.

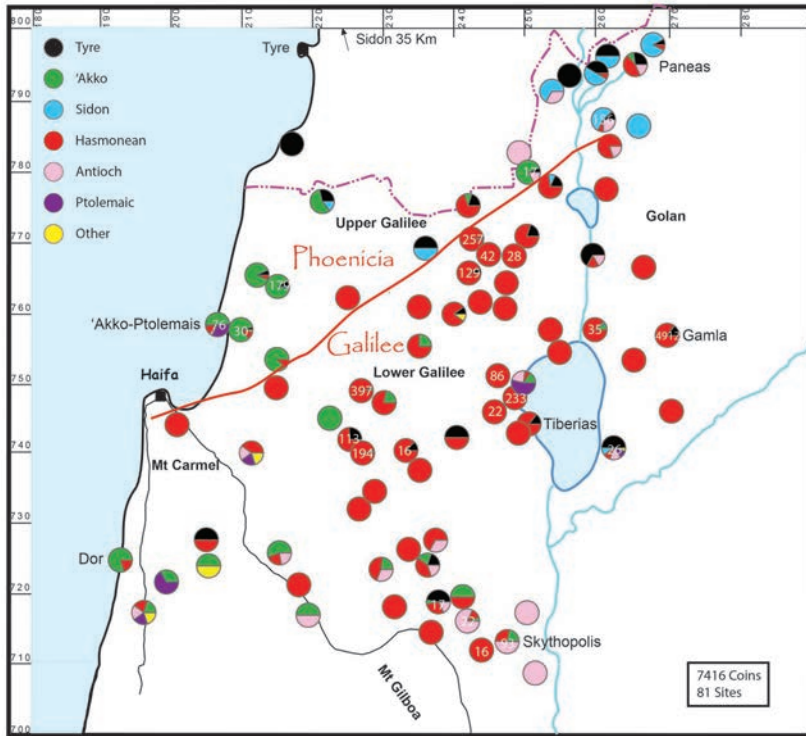


Fig. 10.3. Coin distribution in Galilee, 125–63 BCE. Numbers denote quantities (over fifteen). Only sites with more than one coin are shown. The red line marks the boundary between Judea and Phoenician territories.

internal chronology of the coins of Hyrcanus is unknown, the dates cannot be refined beyond sometime between 125 and 105 BCE.

Gamla

Based mostly on the account of Josephus, it is generally accepted that Gaulanitis (modern central Golan) became populated by Jews and became part of the Judean state *following* the capture of Gamla by Jannaeus in his last campaign, circa 83–79 BCE. However, the numismatic evidence suggests a substantial Jewish population there *before* Jannaeus's arrival.

My interpretation also enables a different reading of Josephus's account, which fits the physical evidence. The passages in Josephus (*B.J.* 1.103–106; *Ant.* 13.394) concern Jannaeus's campaign to the north in 83–79 BCE in



Fig. 10.4. Coin of Hyrcanus I, Israel Antiquities Authority 50047. Photograph by Clara Amit.

which he took, among others, the “strong fortress” of Gamla. Here Jannaeus deposed its governor Demetrius, because he had heard complaints about him.⁸ Based on the numismatic evidence, I suggest that there was already a considerable Jewish component in the town at this time and Jannaeus acted on their request.⁹

The evidence is as follows:

1. At least 316 coins of Hyrcanus I were found at Gamla—and probably more, assuming that some of the 360 illegible “inscription in wreath/joined cornucopia” type (fig. 10.4) coins are his. These cannot be dismissed as having *all* arrived at Gamla after circa 80 BCE, some twenty-five years after his death.

2. Thirty coins of Aristobulus I (105–104 BCE) were found at Gamla, the largest number of his coins ever found at one place. They too cannot *all* have arrived some twenty-five years after they were minted. In fact, more provenanced coins of Aristobulus I originate in Galilee and the Golan than in Judea (see below, fig. 10.7). This numismatic picture corroborates the claims of Josephus (*Ant.* 13.318–319) that during his short reign Aristobulus acted mainly in the north.¹⁰

3. The sudden and very dramatic drop in the quantity of Tyrian coins found at Gamla in or around 98 BCE (fig. 10.5). No less than 694 Tyrian

8. Thus in *Bellum judaicum*. In the parallel passage in *Antiquities* Josephus has Jannaeus himself complaining about Demetrius.

9. My thanks to Sylvie Honigman and David Friedman, who pointed out that the alleged complaints seem to be an insertion by Josephus to round out the story, because his source was not clear on the reason why Jannaeus would take Gamla. However, Stern (1995, 193, esp. n. 42) accepted the complaint part. In fact, apart from Geresh, the reason for taking any of the places mentioned in this passage is not given, so the fact that at Gamla a reason is given at all seems meaningful. See also Berlin (2006, 133–35), who also postulated an existing Jewish population here prior to Jannaeus.

10. The exact range of his military activities and against whom they were directed are subject to much debate. For a summary, see Hartal 2005, 373, 375, 392, 437. See also note 5.

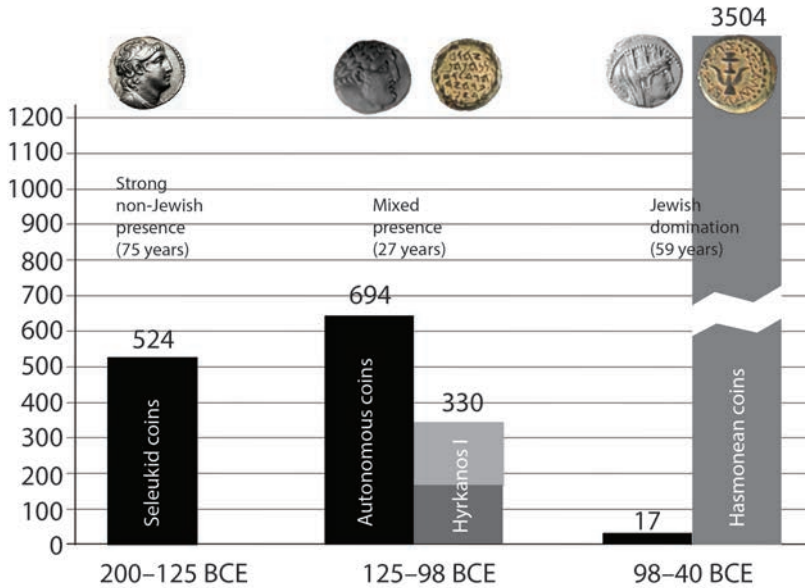


Fig. 10.5. Gamla: A demographic change. Black: coins of Tyre; gray: Hasmonean coins.

coins dated between 125 and 98 BCE were found, as opposed to only 17 Tyrian coins dated between 98 and 40 BCE. The period 125–98 BCE is when I suggest that coins of Hyrcanus appear at Gamla, reflecting a gradual demographic shift toward a Jewish majority and the use of Hasmonean coins at the expense of Tyrian coins.

Khirbet esh-Shuhara

In the course of cable-laying works in the 1980s, a hoard of twenty-two silver coins was found at this small site, situated about 8 km southwest of Kedesh (for the location, see fig. 10.6). Based on the near-mint condition of the latest coin, the hoard was probably buried in 140/139 BCE or at most a year or two later. A salvage excavation carried out at the site in 1996 exposed a few well-preserved rooms of a farm or hamlet dating to the Hellenistic period, with two destruction layers identified in one of the rooms (Aviam and Amitai 2002). The excavation yielded twenty-six coins, a rather high count for such a small excavation.¹¹ The hoard is

11. For the full data and the reasoning of what follows, see Syon 2002.

probably associated with the first destruction layer, likely caused by an incident related to the struggle of Demetrius II and later Antiochus VII against the usurper Tryphon (142–138 BCE).

After a gap of about a decade, the settlement was renewed, on the evidence of two Tyrian coins dated 126/125 and 108/107 BCE. Both were in near-mint condition, which suggests that each coin reached the site and was lost very soon after it was minted. Fourteen Hasmonean coins were found, five of Hyrcanus I and nine of Jannaeus. Six of these were either in the context of the last occupation phase or in the ash layer marking the second and final destruction of the site, together with two bronze arrowheads. Following the arguments presented for Gamla, the ratio of the coins of Hyrcanus to those of Jannaeus alone is sufficient to suggest that the coins of Hyrcanus arrived during his reign. Further support for this comes from the fact that four of the five coins of Hyrcanus are of the same subtype by letter shapes (*AJC* 2, type La), which suggests that this group traveled from the mint to the site in one batch. The latest coin of Jannaeus (a stray find) is of a type minted not earlier than circa 80 BCE.

Ḥorvat ‘Aqrav

Mechanical equipment cutting a new road in 1970 exposed a silver hoard at Ḥorvat ‘Aqrav, near the village of Fassuta in upper Galilee (Syon 2014b; for the location, see fig. 10.6). The twenty coins that reached the Department of Antiquities form less than half of the original hoard. The coins are of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VII, and Demetrius II minted in Tyre, as well as autonomous shekels of Tyre. The coins span twenty-eight years, from 147/146 to 120/119 BCE. The latest coin is worn. The hoard appears to be an emergency hoard, buried around 110 BCE at the earliest.

The Larger Picture

The assertion that most coins of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus are not likely to have arrived at Gamla and Khirbet esh-Shuhara later than their respective reigns can be assessed against the situation at other sites, within and outside Galilee (table 10.1).

Josephus (*Ant.* 13.337) recounts the foray of Ptolemy IX (Lathyros) into Galilee in 103 BCE, during which he attacked Shihin (Asochis) on a Sabbath. This episode suggests a considerable Jewish population there

at this time (Rappaport 1993, 28; Goodman 1999, 600), supported by the evidence of the coins of Hyrcanus I.

At Shiḥin the latest Tyrian coin found is dated 112 BCE.

10.1. Relative abundance of coins of Hyrcanus I. Numbers indicate quantity

Site	Textual evidence	Coins of Hyrcanus I	Coins of Jannaeus	Ratio H/J
Gamla (all site)	Jannaeus deposited its ruler ca. 80 BCE	316	3,142	0.10
Gamla (Hasmonean area only)		121	800	0.15
Khirbet esh-Shuhara		5	9	0.55
Shiḥin	Attacked in 103 BCE	27	39	0.69
Bet-Zur	Conquered by Hyrcanus I	16	2	8
Mount Gerizim		52	480	0.11
Pella	Conquered by Jannaeus	0	17	0
Magdala		4	854	0.004

Bet-Zur was a permanent Hasmonean possession from the time of Shim'on (Simon) onward (1 Macc 14:25), and Mount Gerizim was captured by Hyrcanus I (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.255–256). At Pella, the only site that has a numismatic record among those known to have been taken by Jannaeus outside the borders of present-day Israel, no coins of Hyrcanus I have been found at all, and Magdala has only two to show. The finds at these last two sites, but especially Magdala, suggest that coins of Hyrcanus I were no longer circulating in appreciable numbers during Jannaeus's reign, who minted huge numbers of coins. This in turn implies that sites where coins of Hyrcanus I number more than one were probably inhabited by Jews at least as early as the latter part of his reign. Samaria and Scythopolis are anomalous, because in spite of having been taken by Hyrcanus (at least according to Josephus), no coins of his were found there at all.

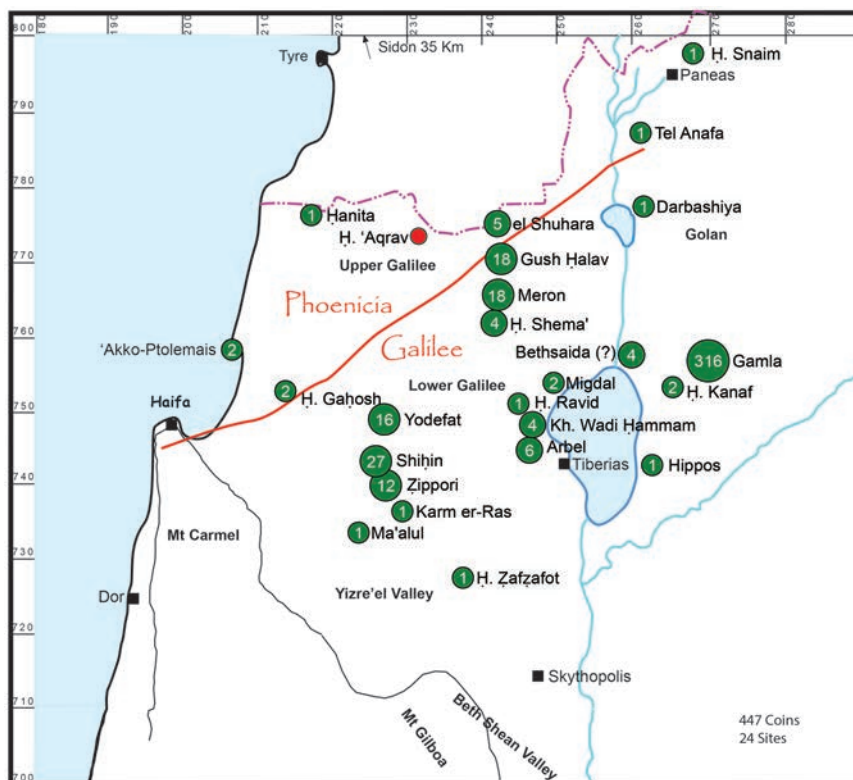


Fig. 10.6. Coins of Hyrcanus I in Galilee and Golan.

Looking at the distribution of coins of Hyrcanus I (fig. 10.6) and Aristobulus I (fig. 10.7) in the entire Galilee, there is more food for thought. At least ten of the sites in figure 10.6 can be identified as Jewish through text, excavation, or both. At least two exemplars of an extremely rare type of Hyrcanus showing a helmet and two parallel cornucopias (*TJC*, type H) have been found in Galilee—one at Gamla and one as a stray find near Kefar Shammai. It is unlikely that these arrived after his death.

Discussion

Based on the adduced numismatic evidence, I propose the following developments in Galilee in the later second century BCE.

The distribution of coins of Antiochus VII from the mint of Jerusalem is suggestive of Galilean Jews traveling to Jerusalem and back around 130

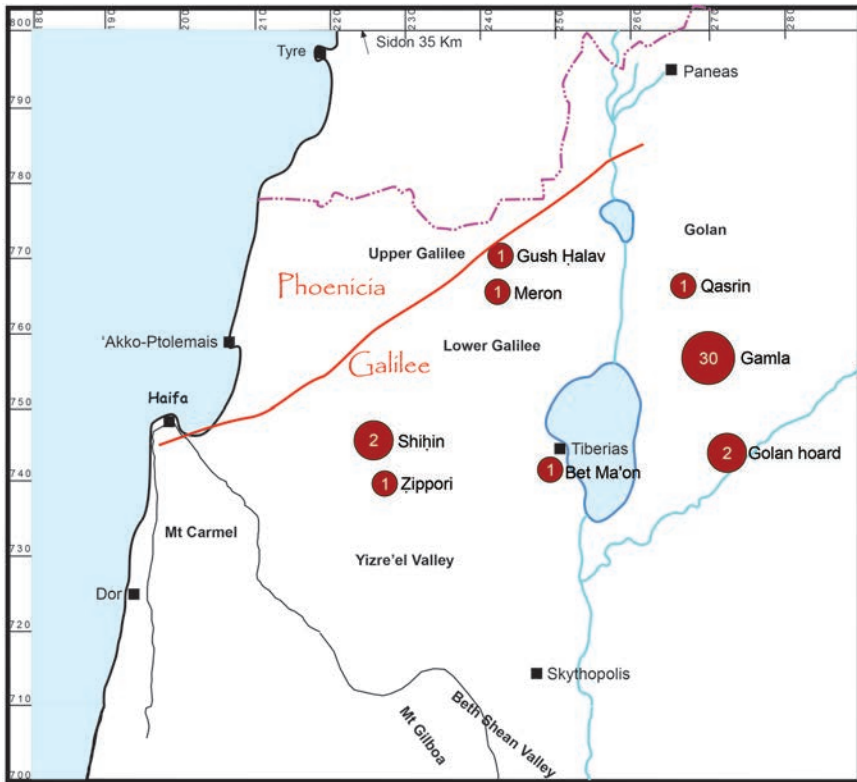


Fig. 10.7. Coins of Yehuda (Aristobulus I) in Galilee and Golan.

BCE, which was early in the rule of Hyrcanus I. Five of the sites where these coins were found are confirmed Jewish sites a few generations later, a fact that supports identifying them as Jewish in this earlier stage as well. The identity of these Jews or the scale of the settlement at this time cannot be determined.

The distribution of Hasmonean coins, beginning sometime after circa 125 BCE, suggests that Galilee and the Golan became inhabited by Jews to a considerable extent. Since coins of Hyrcanus I apparently no longer circulated in appreciable numbers during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, and since Galilee has the largest concentration of coins of Aristobulus I—a king who ruled for only one year—it follows that sites where coins of Hyrcanus appear were probably settled by Jews already during Hyrcanus's reign. Comparing the number of sites with coins of Antiochus VII (fig. 10.2) with sites with coins of Hyrcanus I (fig. 10.6) reveals a striking

increase in the number of settlements. It is my opinion that this difference reflects the process of Judeans penetrating and settling Galilee and the Golan between 130 and 104 BCE.

There remains the linked questions of exactly how and why some Judeans moved north. The evidence does not rule out—but also need not indicate—a military event that would have led to a full or partial annexation of Galilee to the Judean state during the reign of Jannaeus. I prefer to follow Bar-Kochva (1977, 170–73), who argued that one of the major problems facing the early Hasmoneans was the shortage of land in Judea. According to such reasoning, the early campaigns were, at least in part, for the acquisition of land for settlement (see also Root 2014, 113 n. 6). In this scenario, groups of Judeans penetrated into Galilee and took over existing villages or founded new ones. In the Golan, which was largely empty in the late second century, the process of establishing Judean settlement is even easier to visualize, although in the case of Gamla, the choice to settle in a non-Jewish settlement is puzzling.¹²

Not all attempts succeeded. My interpretation of the data at Khirbet esh-Shuhara is that sometime after the first disruption in circa 139, probably shortly after 125 BCE, a group of Judeans settled the abandoned village, and in turn the same Judean settlers were expelled sometime around 80 BCE. The most likely perpetrators of the last destruction would have been Tyrian villagers from nearby settlements.¹³

If I could place the date of the Ḥorvat 'Aqrav hoard confidently around 104 BCE, then the event that caused the deposit might fit nicely with the traditional view of a conquest of Galilee by either Aristobulus I or Alexander Jannaeus, but this is not possible because the hoard is incomplete. To add to the frustration of studying an incomplete hoard, a survey at Ḥorvat 'Aqrav yielded pottery from most periods from the Iron Age to the Mamluk period, *except* for the Hellenistic period (Frankel, Getzov, and Degani 2001, 31, site 234). One possibility is that the hoard reflects a Hasmonean attempt to take over a nearby village. Yet another possibility is

12. I discuss this scenario in detail in Syon 2014b.

13. The site's excavators offer a different explanation: they suggest that the second destruction was carried out by the Hasmoneans (Aviam and Amitai 2002). This would imply that the Hasmoneans who destroyed the site lost no fewer than fourteen coins—more than half of all coins found—in the course of the few hours it would have taken to capture and burn the site. I find this scenario unlikely.

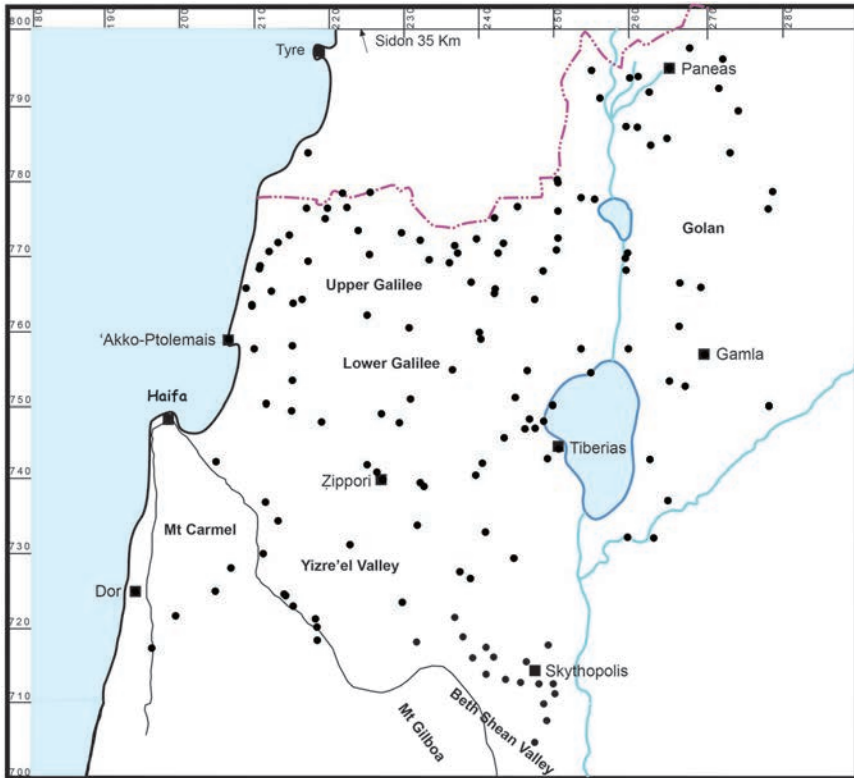


Fig. 10.8. Sites in Galilee and Golan with coins from the second century BCE.

that the hoard is connected with an event related to the struggle between Antiochus VIII and IX.

A final piece of supporting evidence for early Jewish presence in the Galilee and central Golan can be found by considering the territorial reorganizations by Pompey and Gabinius following the introduction of Roman rule in 63 BCE. They chose to leave areas with a well-established Jewish population within the Judean state. Had the Jewish settlements in Galilee and Golan all been established only after 80 BCE, giving at most seventeen years before Pompey's arrival in 63, it is unlikely that these areas would have been left under Jewish control. Taken in conjunction with the breadth of numismatic data presented above, the evidence points strongly to the conclusion that Judeans began settling Galilee and the Golan between 130 and 104 BCE.

As noted in the introduction, historical research is beginning to consider the possibility of such an early presence. The numismatic evidence seems to point the direction, and the map in figure 10.8 shows the potential material evidence waiting to be tapped through archaeological excavations.

Contribution of the Rhodian Eponyms Amphora Stamps to the History of the Maccabees: The Data

Gerald Finkielsztein

This contribution gathers and updates the data on the stamped handles of Rhodian wine amphorae found in Israel in the second century BCE.¹ Two groups of such handles exist: eponym stamps and fabricant stamps. Both groups have long been used to characterize and date commercial activity at sites where these imported vessels are found. Both groups comprise names, but of two different sorts of people: the eponym stamps name the holder of the yearly Rhodian religious position of “priest of Helios,” all documents of the city being dated by his name; the fabricant stamps name a person involved in the production of the vessels themselves. The careers of the fabricants are quite widely dated (see appendix 2), but names in the former eponym group can be dated fairly narrowly, usually within a span of about one to three years, thanks to considerable detailed research in the past two and a half decades. Here I use only these well-dated eponym stamps to build graphs of chronological distribution for specific sites, which may thereby make a significant contribution to a better understanding of the dating of events that involved

1. Although still not analyzed, some fractional amphorae may have carried the honey known to have been produced in the island, such as, most probably, the “amphorettes” and also some half-capacity amphorae (see Monachov 2005, 78, figs. 6.3–5, 7.4, amphorettes; fig. 5.4, half-capacity). Both categories bear anepigraphic stamps, thus not precisely dated: the amphorettes, either head of Helios in minute round stamps or rose in minute square stamps; the half-capacity, either a circular stamp with framed rose or a rectangular stamp with head of Helios between to bands of zigzags. The latter half-capacity amphorae so stamped seem to date in the early second century BCE.

the Maccabees.² Following this updated presentation of data, I discuss briefly the events to which they may be related, with few refinements. It will be seen that the evidence allows us to focus in particular on the years of one event connected to Judas Maccabee and the activities of Jonathan Apphus, Antiochus VII Sidetes (and Simon Thassi in passing), and John I Hyrcanus (Caddis).

Two key appendixes follow this chapter: appendix 1 presents a recent update of details regarding the chronology of several eponyms (with table 1); appendix 2 provides corrigenda for the identifications of the Rhodian stamps from Beth Yerah/Philoteria.³ In order to facilitate the reading of the graphs, a table at the end of the essay displays a concordance of the eponym names, the years, the names of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans leaders, as well as those of the Seleucid kings (table 2).

Judas Maccabee and Maresha

In 2002 I published a graph of the distribution of the Rhodian eponym amphora stamps found in Maresha that showed a very low decrease between circa 165 and circa 156 BCE. I suggested that it could be the consequence of the beginning of the Maccabean Revolt, in the wake of which Judas Maccabee crossed Idumea en route to “the land of the Philistines” in order to help the Jews residing there (1 Macc 5:66–67).⁴ It is noted that there were casualties among imprudent Jewish priests who went to fight, probably evidence for some military “clash” of unknown importance having occurred. Since then, many more stamped handles were uncovered (total in 2000, 91 eponym stamps; in 2020, 249), mainly among the refuse thrown in the subterranean complexes quarried below the houses of the lower city. Figure 11.1 displays the graphs of the Rhodian eponym amphora stamps found inside the buildings of the tel (upper city/acropolis), inside the excavated lower city buildings (including also three tombs), inside the excavated subterranean complexes.⁵

2. Some updates occurred since previously published graphs (e.g., Finkielsztejn 1995, *passim*; 2001a, 186–90; 2001b, 188, 191–93, 195, 203, fig. 2; 2002, 230, fig. 1; 2007, 60, fig. 8; 2018 Tel Iṣṭabah, 16–17), in the chronology and in the sources of the data.

3. Fischer and Tal 2017.

4. Finkielsztejn 2002, 230, fig. 1, 231; 1 Macc 5:66–67, correct “Samaria” to “Marisa.”

5. Sources of the data: upper city/acropolis (Macalister 1901); lower city (Finkielsztejn forthcoming a) and tombs (Finkielsztejn 2019a, plus Tomb 559); subterranean

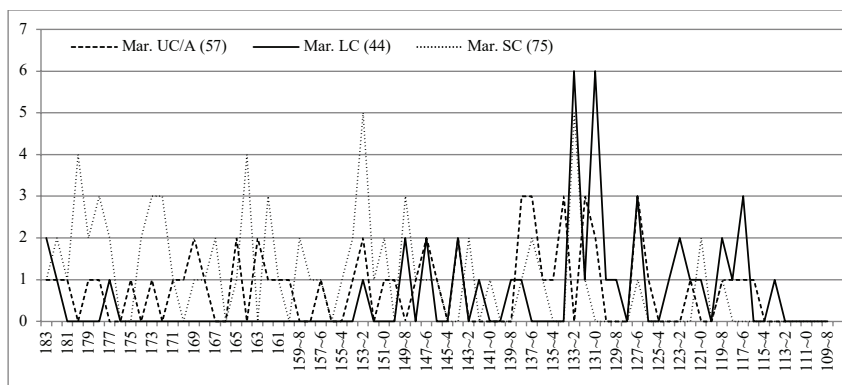


Fig. 11.1. Maresha (183/182–109~108 BCE)

Despite the unavoidable zigzags, it is possible to evaluate the imports by historical periods. The most important point concerns events in the 160s, as the abundance of new evidence shows that the decrease between circa 167 and 143 BCE seen in the previous graphs is indeed present but less dramatic. The evidence does show that between circa 160 and circa 154~153 BCE imports were quite low, especially in the lower city, the main dwelling area, but then the year circa 153~152 BCE shows one of the highest peaks. That most of the stamps of the period were found dumped in the subterranean complexes may be evidence of some cleaning, perhaps following a raid.

Jonathan Apphus and the Akra

The Rhodian amphora stamps from Jerusalem's southeastern hill (i.e., the city of David) reflect (1) the supply of imported wine to residents in the area now likely identified as the Akra (see Zilberstein in this volume) and

complexes (e.g., Finkielsztein 2019b; the catalogues of the other subterranean complex shall be published as part of their respective final reports). For all graphs, the dates are displayed on the x axis, by the year, and the absolute numbers of stamps on the y axis. The chronological period covered in the graphs varies according to the period of the event(s) considered. Year 166 BCE was not represented by amphora stamps (see appendix 1; note already that the symbol ~ between two years means *or*), so it appears as 0 in all graphs. For sake of comparison, it should be born in mind that all the previous graphs I published were based on spans of five years, as, here, each quantity is according to the year.

(2) the date at which that supply ceased.⁶ The last year represented from the city of David (so far) is circa 150~149 BCE. This date may coincide with the beginning of the siege of the Akra by Jonathan, which according to 1 Maccabees may be dated to 146~145 BCE (1 Macc 12:36). On the other hand, that date may be the accurate one, as two of the last three names until circa 146~145 BCE have been found on the city's western hill, next to the "First Wall" of Josephus (eponyms Πυθoγένης, ca. 149~148 BCE; and Αὐτοκράτης I, ca. 147~146 BCE). The evidence suggests the effectiveness of the siege, as the amphora stamps cease a few years before Simon's conquest of the Akra in circa 142 BCE (1 Macc 13:49–52).

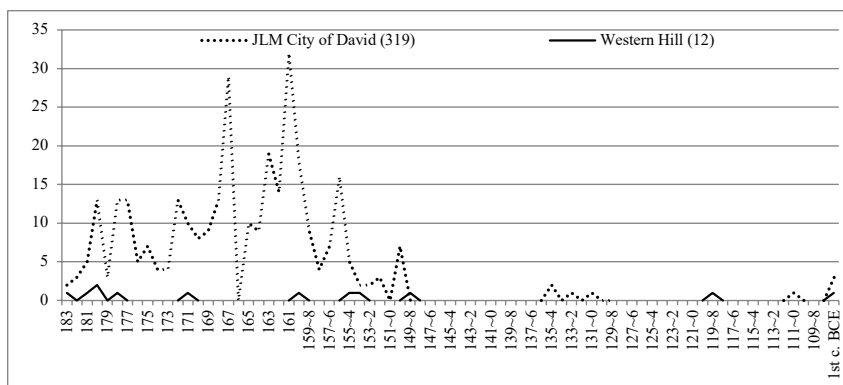


Fig. 11.2. Jerusalem (183/182–108~107 BCE): Jonathan's siege of the Akra in the city of David

6. Fig. 11.2 updates the graph published in Finkielsztein 1999 (in which the years on the x axis were lost in the editing process; this is corrected in the copy uploaded to my Academia.edu page). Sources: city of David: Macalister and Duncan 1926 (Ophel); Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929 (Tyropoeon Valley); Ben-Dov 1985, 71 (Mazar–Ben-Dov excavations); Ariel 1990 (Yigal Shiloh excavations); Ariel forthcoming (Ronny Reich and Eli Shukrun excavations; catalog kindly provided by Donald T. Ariel); Snow and Prag 2008 (Kathleen Kenyon's excavations); the stamps of Doron Ben-Ami's excavations (Giv'ati parking lot, Tyropoeon Valley) are missing (to be published by Ariel; see Ben-Ami 2013); western hill: Ariel 2000 (Jewish Quarter); and the Renée Sivan and Giora Solar excavations in the David Citadel at Jaffa Gate (Ariel forthcoming).

Jonathan Apphus's Expedition to Kedesh

According to 1 Macc 11:63–74, Jonathan led an expedition toward Kedesh, in Tyrian territory, in or just after 145 BCE. The graphs below show the chronological distribution of Rhodian eponym stamps from one site in the Plain of Sharon, the estate at El'ad (fig. 11.3; Zelinger in this volume), and four in the north: Beth Yerah/Philoteria (fig. 11.4, after corrections in appendix 2, below), Khirbet el-^cEika (fig. 11.5; Leibner in this volume), Kedesh (fig. 11.6; Berlin in this volume), Tel Keisan (fig. 11.7; further southwest, that seems related to other contemporary events). Together these offer evidence for final interruptions—abandonments or destruction—in or just after 145 BCE. The graphs of each site are presented from south to north with a short comment.

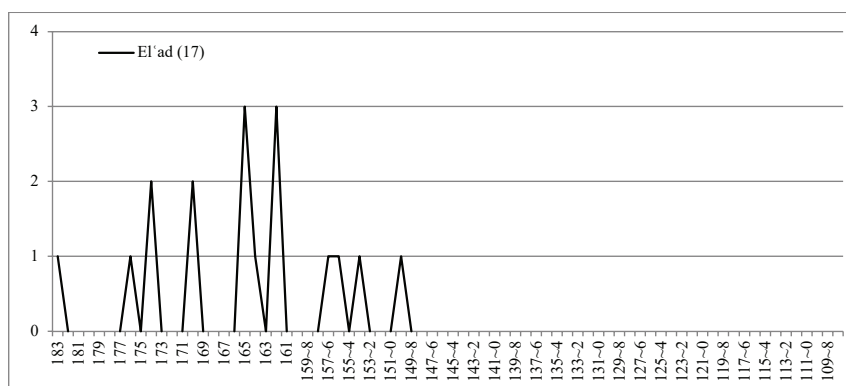


Fig. 11.3. El'ad (183/182–108~107 BCE)

El'ad was probably not only a large estate but also a redistribution center between Jaffa and the hinterland (a business explaining the luxury of the house). The amphora imports include an unusual large number from the central and western Mediterranean. The last year represented here by the Rhodian stamps is circa 150~149 BCE, which conforms to the last year represented from the Akra in Jerusalem. If El'ad was indeed a redistribution center, it would have been a good target to destroy, in order to stop the supply to the “heathens.”

The import of Rhodian wine was relatively poor in Philoteria, at least as seen in the excavated areas. After 160~159 BCE, there is a gap of several years; a single last stamp dating to circa 146~145 BCE, coupled with the

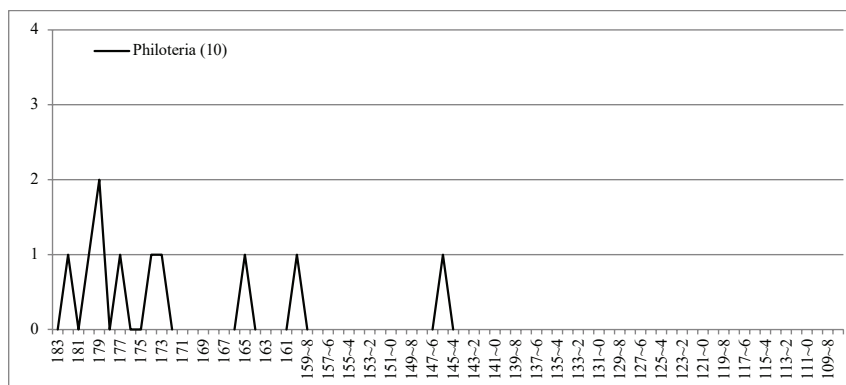


Fig. 11.4. Philoteria (Bet Yerah; 183/182–108~107 BCE)

site's location at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee, suggests a connection to the actions of Jonathan. As the textual account specifies that the army stopped near the water of Gennesar (the Sea of Galilee; 1 Macc 11:67) before marching northward, the cessation of activity at Philoteria is intriguing. Perhaps the "bivouac" at the Sea of Galilee involved some attack against Philoteria.

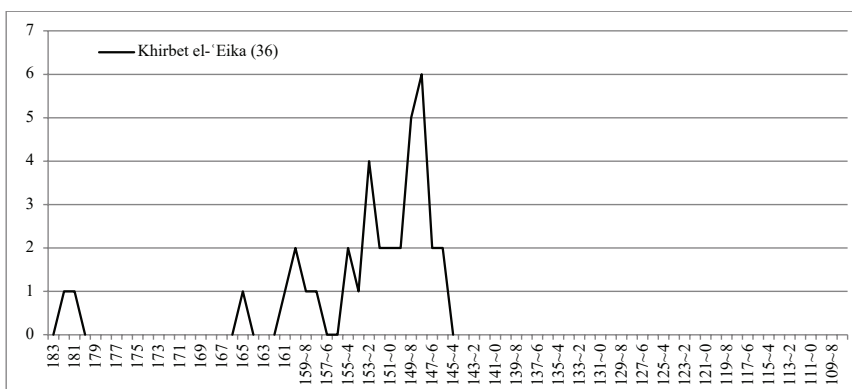


Fig. 11.5. Khirbet el-'Eika (183/182–108~107 BCE)

The estate of Khirbet el-'Eika is built on a notably high position overlooking the lower Galilee and its sea. Compared to the wide array of jars found at El'ad, this assemblage of imported amphorae, found mainly in situ in a large storeroom, is quite basic for the period in the Levant; it

comprises standard proportions of jars from Rhodes, Kos (stamped and not), and few Knidian as known from many sites in the region, along with one North African ovoid amphora and one unidentified vessel. Supply here stopped after circa 146~145 BCE. According to 1 Macc 11:68–74, after their bivouac at the lake, the troops marched northward and reached a large valley where they were caught in an ambush from the mountains above them, which eventually ended in the victory of the Jews. Khirbet el-‘Eika appears a perfect location for organizing such an ambush, which may have eventually suffered retaliation.

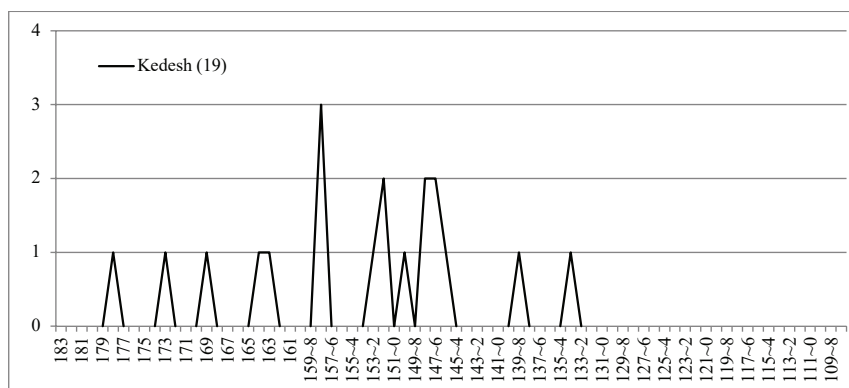


Fig. 11.6. Kedesh (183/182–108~107 BCE)

The general profile of Kedesh is similar to those of the estates at El‘ad and Khirbet el-‘Eika: one or two Rhodian amphorae dating to the 180s BCE, then a reasonably steady supply, followed by a curtailment in 146~145 BCE. Perhaps earlier jars were disposed of elsewhere, or perhaps a date in the 180s reflects a new organizational beginning in territories now controlled by the Seleucids. While the number of vessels found in these northern locations is small, there might be discerned in the appearance of jars dating to the later 170s and 160s suggestions of increased administrative and management activities under Antiochus IV. Perhaps the last two amphorae found at Kedesh are evidence for bivouacs here in connection with Antiochus VII Sidetes’ plan to take over a well-located administrative center.

Similar evidence as for Philoteria applies to Tel Keisan, except that commercial activity seems to have been rather steady at Tel Keisan, which is not surprising considering its proximity to the busy city of Akko-Ptolemais. Yet imports, and probably occupation, cease after 146~145 BCE.

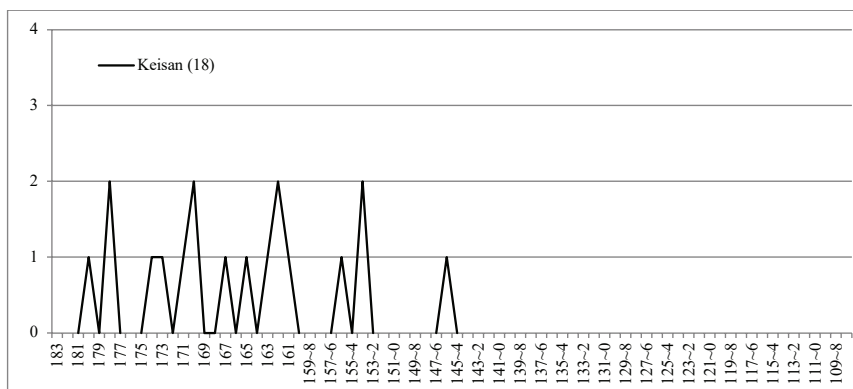


Fig. 11.7. Tel Keisan (183/182–108~107 BCE)

There is no obvious link with Jonathan's line of march, as the site lies considerably to the west of his likely route through the Jordan Valley northward. However, it is quite possible that some event may have occurred there, such as an attack by the forces of Demetrius II in his fight to retrieve his kingdom conquered by Ptolemy VI, who had left Egyptian garrisons in the cities (1 Macc 11:1, 3–5, 6–7; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.103–105), which Demetrius II massacred, from late 145 BCE (1 Macc 11:18–19; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.120–121).⁷ Alternatively, turmoil further inland may have reduced the number of available markets and led to abandonment.

Antiochus VII in Judea

Antiochus VII's reign started in 138 BCE, by a war against the usurper Diodotus Tryphon in upper Galilee and on the coast. He then turned against Judea, which by this time was led by Simon and John I Hyrcanus.⁸ He is said to have ravaged Judea and besieged Jerusalem. The amphora evidence from three sites may reflect either his activities or reactions to them. These are Gezer, Jerusalem, and Shiqmona.⁹

According to 1 Maccabees, after gaining control of Jerusalem in circa 142 BCE, Simon occupied Gezer as a residence for John Hyrcanus (1 Macc

7. See Shvittiel, Syon, and Berlin forthcoming.

8. For a detailed presentation of Antiochus VII's invasion, see Finkielsztejn forthcoming 2; for the siege of Jerusalem, see Ariel forthcoming.

9. Sources for fig. 11.8 are, for Gezer: Macalister 1912, 350–64; Ariel 2014; for Jerusalem, see note 6, above.

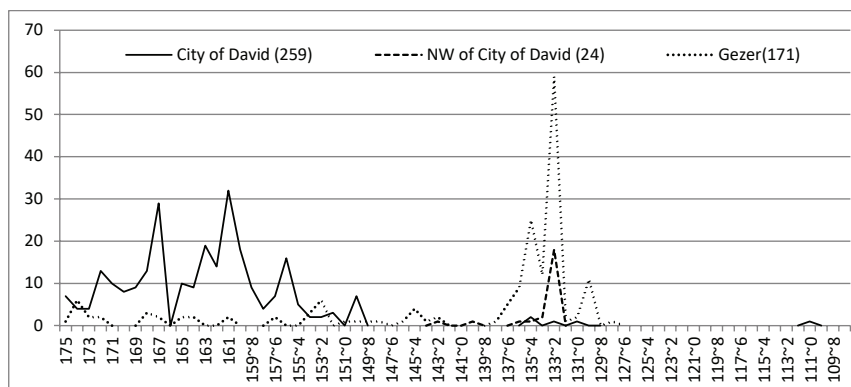


Fig. 11.8. Gezer and Jerusalem (175–108~107 BCE)

13:53; 14:7; 16:1, 19, 21). The evidence for imported amphorae is minimal through the first half of the second century BCE, although Bacchides fortified it in 161 BCE (1 Macc 9:52). On the other hand, Rhodian amphorae do disappear completely from 142~141 to 139~138 BCE, a period of five years, which may indicate that the Hasmoneans occupied the town. In 135~134 BCE, the fourth year of Antiochus VII and the first of John Hyrcanus, the Seleucid king invaded Judea (*Ant.* 13.236). The graph shows a dramatic spike beginning in circa 137~136, with a peak in 133~132 BCE, which suggests that Antiochus VII installed soldiers at Gezer in these years; this indicates that the Seleucid king regained it from the Hasmoneans.¹⁰

After the conquest of Gezer, Antiochus VII rushed to Jerusalem and besieged it. The king may have used Gezer as a supply link for his forces from circa 134 to 132 BCE; the eleven amphorae dating to 130~129 BCE suggest that he may have maintained a garrison here in the first years after the siege, during which he was occupied in Parthia. One year after he was killed in Parthia, only a single amphora reached Gezer, and after that none, reflecting the cessation of Seleucid authority here.

10. The year 133~132 BCE peak is represented by the eponym Νικασαγόρας II. There is also attested a Νικασαγόρας I. Unfortunately, the two cannot be securely distinguished from the list of names in Macalister's publication lacking illustrations (Macalister 2012, 359–60). But considering that in the period of Νικασαγόρας I (ca. 171 BCE) the imports were low in Gezer, the general picture for the year ca. 133~132 BCE will not be modified if two to three stamps belonged to Νικασαγόρας I. While none of the descriptions allows identifying Νικασαγόρας I, five stamps are definitely dated by Νικασαγόρας II: nos. 336, 347, 350, 359, and 360.

In the later 130s BCE a significant number of amphorae holding wine and other goods appear in the vicinity of Jerusalem. In 2017 a pile of refuse of imported and local amphorae was uncovered in Yeshayahu Street, about 2 km north of the city of David and the western hill, near the modern-day orthodox quarter of Mea She'arim.¹¹ The imported jars comprise mainly Rhodian and Koan amphorae, mixed with other imported classes. The assemblage includes forty-one Rhodian handles, of which at least seventeen were stamped by Νίκασαγόρας II and date to circa 133~132 BCE, replicating (albeit more modestly) the peak at Gezer. Two date circa 143~142 BCE and circa 140~139 BCE, perhaps brought along as reused jars with more recent ones. Two others date, respectively, to circa 135~134 BCE (a year represented by twenty-five specimens in Gezer), and either circa 136~135 BCE or circa 134~133 BCE¹² (only the beginning of the name is legible).

A final body of datable evidence likely connected to the activities of Antiochus VII comes from Shiqmona, a coastal site south of Akko-Ptolemais. In the 1970s, Joseph Elgavish (1976) excavated several rooms here with evidence of destruction. Coins of Antiochus VII dated 137/136 and 136/135 BCE were found on and under the floor, attesting to a few compressed years of occupation. The latest date comes from a locally made jar bearing two stamps on each handle, one of which names an *agoranomos* and the Seleucid era date of 180, that is, 133/132 BCE, that may be linked to an administration organized by the Seleucids.¹³ Marisa seems also to

11. Located at 13 Yeshayahu Street, excavated by Kfir Arviv and Alex Wiegmann in 2017, on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority, as a rescue excavation before building. I thank the excavators for allowing me to present these data in advance of my publication of the amphorae.

12. In the course of rescue excavations located a few hundred meters from Yeshayahu Street as the birds fly, some Rhodian stamped handles were found dated by Νίκασαγόρας II and Ἀνδρόνικος, his yearly predecessor (Finkielsztein 2008, fig. 7). Their historical context is most likely the same as the refuse.

13. Finkielsztein 1998a, 87–89, Die A1. Since Antiochus VII was still in Jerusalem in 133/132 BCE and the *agoranomos* was using the Seleucid era, it is not likely that soldiers of the king were responsible for the destruction of the building. Based on the latest Rhodian stamp found, dated to 126~125 BCE, the struggle between Demetrius II and Alexander II Zabinas along the coast ca. 128–125 BCE seems the best occasion. Since three *agoranomos* stamps of this type were found, all in harbors—Shiqmona, Yavneh-Yam (from the same eponym die), and Jaffa (with a different eponym name and dated to 130/129 BCE, Die A2)—it may be suggested that the vessels were a measure, perhaps for the delivery of wine to the soldiers. Therefore, the building in Shiqmona may possibly have comprised the *agoranomion*, or office of the *agoranomos*.

have seen some activity during the occupation of Antiochus VII (see the contemporary spike in fig. 11.1).

The Conquests of John Hyrcanus I

Imported stamped amphora handles, in conjunction with coins and inscribed weights, provide a clear picture of the order and dates of the territorial conquests of John Hyrcanus I.¹⁴ The material evidence allows us to pinpoint when Hyrcanus moved against specific places and also creates a baseline by which to better understand the descriptive narrative of Josephus (Finkielsztein 1998b, 43–52). Idumea was the first area to be targeted, followed by the Samaritan highlands, and then Scythopolis-Nysa (Beth Shean, Tel Iztabbah). The amphora evidence from Maresha, presented above in figure 11.1, indicates an end date of 113~112 BCE, which is the same year as the final issue in a hoard of silver tetradrachms found at the site.¹⁵ The city of Samaria fell in 108 BCE.¹⁶ At Scythopolis-Nysa, the latest handle dates to circa 110~109 BCE, and it was conquered in 108 BCE (fig. 11.9).¹⁷

Appendix 1: The Chronology of the Rhodian Eponyms: An Update

Gonca Cancardeş-Şenol has demonstrated that Φίλωνδας and Φιλωνίδας are two different eponyms.¹⁸ Following Virginia Grace's suggestion, Φίλωνδας is transcribed Φίλων(ι)δας in Finkielsztein 2001a, but on page 106 doubts are expressed with a suggestion to check the known types of stamps for

14. For a full presentation and analysis, see Finkielsztein 1998b.

15. Finkielsztein 1998b, 40–41. The latest coin is an issue of Antiochus IX dated 113/112 BCE (Barkay 1994). However, the last series of lead weights, dated 108/107 BCE, is evidence for a short-lived later Macedonian administration; Finkielsztein 1998b, 33–38.

16. Sources for Samaria: *Register of Antiquities Found at Harvard Archaeological Excavation, Samaria 1908 and Samaria 1908–1910* (unpublished field registration), with drawings and more complete than Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, 18, 310–16; Crowfoot 1957, less detailed but more complete than Finkielsztein 1990. Note that the latest definitely dated coin is an issue of Antiochus IX of 112/111 BCE (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, 263, no. 31; Finkielsztein 1998b, 40, and see the final table, 58–59).

17. Finkielsztein 1998b, 40–41. For a recent analysis of the chronological development of the settlement in Scythopolis, see Finkielsztein 2018, 18–19.

18. Cancardeş-Şenol, Şenol, and Doğer 2004, 354; Cancardeş-Şenol and Canoğlu 2009, 147 n. 125; contra Finkielsztein 2001a, *passim*, see index.

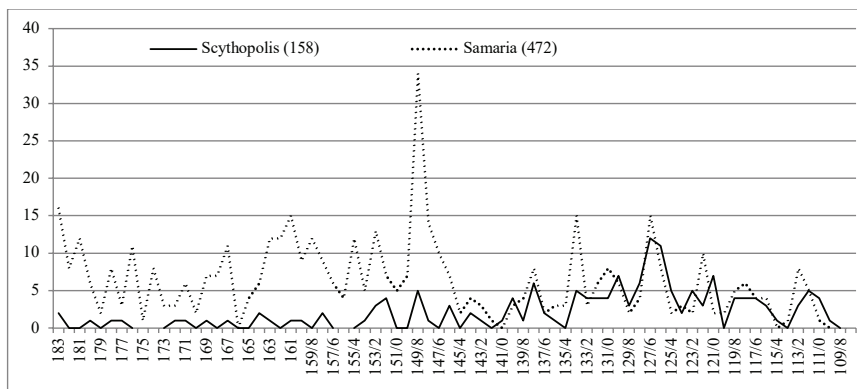


Fig. 11.9. Samaria and Scythopolis-Nysa (183–108–107 BCE)

both names to verify if they are not two different eponyms (contra Badoud 2015, 161 n. 63). Indeed, the name *Φίλωνδας* never appears with the month, but *Φίλωνίδας* does. A button stamp naming the latter is accompanied with an additional stamp with the month.¹⁹ *Φίλωνίδας* dated stamps of the fabricant *Διονύσιος* (II, with rose), who worked in years significantly later than those of *Φίλωνδας*.²⁰ However, a problem remains, since there is no other name that is common to both the list of the eponyms dating button stamps with month on separate stamp and the list of the eponyms dating amphorae endorsed by *Διονύσιος* II (Finkielsztein 2001, 105 table 3 and 113 table 4). Therefore, I tentatively put *Φίλωνίδας* between the two series, circa 219 BCE. A consequence for the periodization of the chronology (together with other factors) is that the date of the beginning of the addition of the month on Rhodian stamps may be lowered from circa 235 to 230 BCE.

In his sum on the Rhodian chronologies of the institutions of Rhodes, Nathan Badoud (2015) analyzed the amphora stamps—in addition to the inscriptions that are the main evidence on which the whole book is based—in order to improve the chronology of the priests of Helios, the eponyms of the city. Two main improvements concern us here. Badoud sets the date of *Θευφάνης* II in 199 BCE, date of a later earthquake than the more famous one in 227 BCE (Badoud 2015, 174–75, correcting

19. Personal examination in the museum of Nessebar, Bulgaria, confirming Finkielsztein 2001a, 76.

20. Cankardeş-Şenol, Şenol and Doğer 2004, 354; Finkielsztein 2001a, 103, with n. 112, correct there *Διονύσιος* I to *Διονύσιος* II

Finkielsztein 2001, 45, 180–81 n. 67, 191 table 18). He demonstrates that only one eponym Φιλόδαμος (II) was in charge in period III, since there was some hesitation on my part for adding another one (Badoud 2015, 178–79). He solves the debated date of an Αὐτοκράτης who could not be identified with any of the two so far identified on stamps—Αὐτοκράτης I (ca. 146 BCE) and Αὐτοκράτης II (first century BCE)—by identifying a third new eponym of that name who should have been in charge close to the date of the declaration of Delos as open harbor by the Romans in 167 BCE. The crisis in Rhodes that followed most probably resulted in temporary interruption of trade from Rhodes and, consequently, that of the production of amphorae and their stamping in the name of Αὐτοκράτης (III). Badoud sets him in 166 BCE (Badoud 2015, 180–83, correcting Finkielsztein 2001a, 173 with n. 44, 190 table 19, 193 table 20). Other drastic suggestions for some eponyms do not seem likely, since they are set too far from their tentative location based on stylistic evidence of their stamps, especially Ξενοφάνης, Πρατοφάνης, and Σώδαμος (Badoud 2015, 177, 178). Besides those improvements, the needed establishment of the rhythm of the succession of the embolismic years, in which the thirteenth intercalary month of Πάναμος δεύτερος was added, is not solved by Badoud (or maybe partly; Thomsen and Finkielsztein 2020).

In the lower chronology (Finkielsztein 2001), empty slots have been kept in the event of new names being strongly evidenced, probably some of the known unclear ones (Finkielsztein 2001, 126–27, period IV, 179, the uncertain eponyms or “*éponymes flottants*”). On the other hand, the unidentified names (if there are any) may either have fallen on a year without stamping (as above but less likely) or been in charge for only a few months, as already evidenced by substitutes (Badoud 2015, 117–18, 173, eponym Ζηγνόδοτος), and therefore the chronology as a year for unit would not be too affected for dating sites of consumption. Two empty slots were kept in period III (ca. 198–161 BCE, between ca. 181 and ca. 162 BCE). With the identification of Φιλωνίδας (set in ca. 219 BCE) as being different from Φίλωνδας, and a new Αὐτοκράτης (III, dated to 166 BCE), the two empty slots in period III disappear. One slot was kept empty in period IV (160–146 BCE), between circa 159 and circa 153 BCE, and one in period V (ca. 145–108 BCE), in order to stick to the *termini* of each of those periods, that is, until the destructions of Carthage and Corinth (146 BCE), until the destructions of Samaria and Scythopolis (108/107 BCE), and the final conquest of Maresha (in two stages, 113/112 and 108/107 BCE). That choice appears now too drastic, since the last amphora uncovered may

have reached a site more than one year before the end of its activity. Therefore, it seems reasonable to still keep only one slot empty for periods IV and V, with the two possible dates written separated by the symbol ~, for *or*, avoiding the confusion with the accepted meaning of /, which indicates that an ancient year overlaps two years of the Common Era, or –, indicating a period between two years.

In table 11.1, here below, are displayed the changes suggested for periods Ic to V, in the relevant portions of the table, to be compared with the tables of the lower chronology (Finkielsztejn 2001a, 191 table 18, 192 table 19, 193 table 20, 195 table 21). The dates remain approximate, however.

Table 11.1. Suggested update for the chronology of the Rhodian eponyms²¹

Period	Eponym	Year (ca.)
Period I		
Ic	Νίκων	235
	Δάμμων	234
	Ἀριστεύς	233
	Νικασαγόρας the Elder	232
	Φιλώνδας	231
	Ἀρετακλῆς	230
Period II		
IIa	Ἐξάκεστος	229
	Εὐκλῆς II	228
	Καλλικράτης I	227
	Φιλοκράτης	226
	Παυσανίας I	225
	Καλλικρατίδας I	224
	Ξενάρετος	223
	Ἀριστείδας I	222
	Ἀγῆσιππος	221
	Τιμοκλείδας	220
IIb	Φιλωνίδας	219
	Σωχάρης	218
	Ὀνάσανδρος	217
IIc	Ἀριστωνίδας	208
	Εὐφράνωρ	207
	Ἀρμοσίλας	206
	Μυτίων	205

21. Cankardeş-Şenol, Şenol, and Doğer 2004; Cankardeş-Şenol and Canoğlu 2009; Badoud 2015, 255-59; Thomsen and Finkielsztejn 2020.

Period	Eponym	Year (ca.)
IIc cont.	Ἀρχοκράτης I	204
	Ἀστυμήδης I	203
	Εὐκρατίδας	202
	Κλέαρχος	201
	Παυσανίας II	200
	Θευφάνης II	199
	Θεύδωρος II	198
Period III		
IIIa	Δορκυλίδας	197
	Ἀγλούμβριτος	196
	Θαρσίπολις	195
	Σώδαμος	194
	Σώστρατος	193
	Κλειτόμαχος	192
	Θέστωρ	191
	Δαμόθεμις	190
	Ἰασικράτης	189
IIIb	Ξενοφάνης	188
	Πρατοφάνης	187
	Κρατίδας	186
	Ἰέρων I	185
	Ἀρχοκράτης II	184
	Τιμασαγόρας	183
	Φιλόδαμος II	182
	Κλεώνυμος II	181
IIIc	Ἀγέμαχος	180
	Ἀρχίδαμος	179
	Αἰνησίδαμος II	178
	Αἰνήτωρ	177
	Καλλικράτης II	176
	Δαμοκλῆς II	175
IIIId	Καλλικρατίδας II	174
	Κλευκράτης I	173
	Σύμμαχος	172
	Νικασαγόρας I	171
	Θεαίδητος	170
	Ἀθανόδοτος	169
Period III (end)		
IIIe	Ἀρατοφάνης I	168
	Ἀριστείδας II	167
	Αὐτοκράτης (III)	166
	Ἀρίστων II	165
	Ἀριστόδαμος II	164
	Ἀρχιλαΐδας	163
	Ξενοφῶν	162
	Ἀγέστρατος II	161

Period	Eponym	Year (ca.)
Period IV		
IVa	Πεισίστρατος	160
	Δαμαίνετος	159~158
	Τιμούρροδος	158~157
	Ἀριστόμαχος I	157~156
	Ἡραγόρας	156~155
	Σωσικλῆς	155~154
	Γόργων	154~153
IVb	Πανσανίας III	153~152
	Ξενοφάντος II	152~151
	Εὐδαμος	151~150
	Πυθόδωρος	150~149
	Πυθογένης	149~148
	Ἀλεξίμαχος	148~147
	Αὐτοκράτης I	147~146
Period V		
Va	Τιμόδικος	146~145
	Ἀστυμήδης II	145~144
	Ἀνάξανδρος	144~143
	Τεισαγόρας I	143~142
	Ἀριστόγειτος	142~141
	Ἀναξίβουλος	141~140
	Λαφείδης	140~139
	Ἀλεξιάδας	139~138
	Θέρσανδρος	138~137
	Ἀρίστακος	137~136
	Ἀνδρίδας	136~135
	Ἀρχέμβροτος I	135~134
Vb	Ἀνδρόνεικος	134~133
	Νικασαγόρας II	133~132
	Τιμόθεος	132~131
	Ἀριστογένης	131~130
	Καλλικράτης III	130~129
	Λεοντίδας	129~128
	Κληνόστρατος	128~127
	Πολύαρατος II	127~126
	Τεισάμενος	126~125
	Ἀρίστρατος	125~124
	Τειμαγόρας	124~123
	Ἴερων	123~122
Vc	Ναύσιππος	115~114
	Ἀριστᾶναξ II	114~113
	Ἀριστείδας III	113~112
	Δάμων	112~111
	Ἀρατοφάνης II	111~110
	Ἀγοράναξ	110~109

In order to facilitate the reading of the graphs, at the end of this essay table 11.2 displays the list of the eponym names, the years, and the names of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans leaders, as well as those of the Seleucid kings.

Appendix 2: Corrigenda to the Amphora Stamps from Philoteria (Bet-Yerah) Published by Moshe Fischer and Oren Tal

The Hellenistic amphora stamps from the excavations at Bet Yerah (Ptolemaic Philoteria) were published or merely mentioned in various reports, but the main catalog of these finds was recently presented (Fischer and Tal 2017, with references to the previously published stamps on 77–78). In the chronological and historical analyses concerning the Hellenistic period, the refoundation of the site under Ptolemy II (Philoteria) in 261/260 BCE, a disturbance in circa 145~144 BCE due to the march in Galilee of Jonathan the Maccabee, and a final abandonment as a consequence of the occupation by the Hasmonean king Jonathan-Alexander Jannaeus-Yanai in the last years of the second century BCE are suggested (Fischer and Tal 2017, 36, 43, 71–73 [coins], 77–78, 116–17). However, considering the poor evidence from the time of the later event (one coin and no amphora stamp, after correction of Delougaz and Haines 1960), it may be suggested that the final days of Philoteria took place during circa 145~144 BCE.

Considering that the amphora stamps are the main dating material, the present appendix lists corrections of the Fischer and Tal catalog, which include several reading and identification mistakes and unread examples, both eponym and fabricant stamps.²² The graph based on the known period of activities of the fabricants is worthy of notice and should be adopted by scholars (something that is not done here, of course; Fischer and Tal 2017, 78, fig. 5.3). Practically here, the published catalog number is followed by restored or suggested readings or corrected identification of the person and a dating. In addition, a few stamps not listed but recorded in the IAA archives as originating from Bet Yerah are also added at the end, with their IAA numbers. The dates are based on Finkielsztejn 2001,

22. I actually examined the collection in 1998 and made paper rubbings in preparation for their planned publication that could not be implemented. The present list is not an exhaustive review of the catalogue, due to lack of time to re-examine the objects and their registration numbers (when the later appeared wrong).

with a few updated ones based on recent development in the study of the chronology, presented in the introduction of the present essay.

Catalog

3. Ἐπὶ Πολυ / χάρμου / [Device?]. No month. Same eponym as 72. Circa 244–236 BCE.
12. Amphora endorsed by the fabricant Σωκράτης I (see below).
13. Θ[εύδ]ωρος / [Παν]άμου probably. Fabricant Θεύδωρος II, same as 26, 27, and 59.
19. [Ἐπὶ] Κ[αλλι] / κράτευσ is a possible alternative, same eponym as 6.
26. Fabricant Θεύδωρος II, the same as 13 (?), 27, and 59.
27. Fabricant Θεύδωρος II, the same as 13 (?), 26, and 59.
30. Ζήνων[ος Π]ανάμου / Rose. Fabricant Ζήνων I. Circa 229–216 BCE.
32. Μένω[νο]ς Ὑακίνθιος / Rose, retrograde. Fabricant Μένων I (see 78, 89, and 91). Circa 221–199 BCE.
38. Ἀγοράνα / κτος / Ὑακινθίου. Fabricant Ἀγορᾶναξ. Circa 198–186 BCE.
39. Ἀριστείδας I. Eponym, the same as 40. Circa 225–222 BCE.
40. Ἀριστείδας I. Eponym, the same as 39.
42. The eponym Ἀρχέμβροτος I is not likely. Rather, maybe, the fabricant Ἀρχέλας.
49. Same reg. no. as 50, same die, but not same stamp as 50. Same amphora stamped twice with the same die?
50. Same reg. no. as 49, same die, but not same stamp as 49. Same amphora stamped twice with the same die?
53. Fabricant Πausanίας III. Circa 153–152 BCE.
54. Same fabricant Δαμόνικος as 69.
57. Π[αν]ά(μου) probably. Endorsed by the fabricant Ἐπίγονος I (55 and 56), whose name appeared in the associated stamp with that of the eponym.
58. Fabricant Μενεκράτης I. Circa 210–200 BCE.
62. No secondary stamp.
68. Σ Ω / cap of the Dioscuroi / [T] Α, letters in the four corners of the stamp. Same fabricant as 46 and 47.
69. Same fabricant Δαμόνικος (II?) as 54.
70. [Ἐλλ]αν[ι]χ]ρῶ / Rose. Based on the style of the rose. Same fabricant as 73. Circa 210–205 BCE.
71. Ἐπὶ Ἀρίστωνος Ἀρταμιτίου / Rose. Secondary stamp: P retrograde. Eponym Ἀρίστων II. Circa 165 BCE.

72. Ἐπὶ Πολυ / {χρά}μου / Thyrsos. No month (Cancardeş-Şenol 2016, 283, same die). Same eponym as 3.
73. Probably mistaken writing of [Ἑλλ]ανίκου. Same fabricant as 70.
74. Reference to Gramatopol and Poenaru Bordea is wrong (the stamp reads Ἐπὶ Λεον(/ Ἀπολλο(, maybe not Rhodian or an early one). No. 74 may be a Chian amphora.
75. Knidian handle (profile and fabric). Maybe a rose or a schematic boukranion.
76. Month Ἀγριάνιος. Circa 228–220 BCE.
78. Amphora endorsed by the fabricant Μένων I (same as 32; see 89, 91).
81. Ἐπ'ἱερέως Κλ[εάρχου], retrograde. Most probable restoration of the name, on parallel stylistic appearance. Circa 201 BCE.
83. [Ἐπ'ι]ερέως Σωστράτου / Rose most probably. Circa 194 BCE.
85. Most probably [Ἐπ]ι Ἀ/[ρ]ετα(κλεῦς). Circa 230 BCE.
86. Either [Ἐπὶ Ἀγ]η/[σίπ]π/[ου] or [Ἀγ]ή/[σιππ]/[ος]. Circa 221 BCE.
87. Most probably the name of the eponym Δαήμων (reading very tentative), since the associated stamp (88) seems to bear the name of the fabricant.
88. Ἰεροτέλεως retrograde, very tentative reading; the associated stamp (87) should bear the eponym name. However, Διάνδρος and Δικαῖος are also fabricants using button stamps.
89. Based on the reg. no. 2120.03 and the similarity of the rose type in a thick circle, this stamp may belong to the same amphora as 91, maybe endorsed by the fabricant Μένων I (the same as 32).
91. Based on the reg. no. 2120.02 and the similarity of the rose type in a thick circle, this stamp may belong to the same amphora as 89, maybe endorsed by the fabricant Μένων I (the same as 32).

Comments Page 77

Delougaz and Haines 1960, 31, no. 32: Fabricant Σωκράτης I (who endorsed no. 12 of the Fisher and Tal catalog). Circa 221–219 BCE.

Finkielsztejn 2006, Rh2: fabricant Σωκράτης II. Circa 200–172 BCE.

Not in Catalog

IAA 49.1478.1. Πειθιάδας / Button. Same eponym as 2.

IAA 50.4247. Ἐπὶ [Πεισι] / στράτου / [Month] most probably. Circa 160 BCE.

IAA 55.95. Ἐπὶ Θεόδωρου Βαδρομίου / Rose. Eponym Θεόδωρος II. Circa 198 BCE.

IAA 55.1064. Latin stamp PA/M[-].VS.TOSSI in a linear frame. On base of the amphora?

Table 11.2. Concordance of Rhodian eponyms, Maccabees or Hasmoneans, and Seleucids²³

Rhodian Eponym	Years	Maccabees or Hasmoneans	Seleucid Kings	Seleucid Kings	Seleucid Kings
Παυσανίας II	200		Antiochus III		
Θευφάνης II	199				
Θευδωρος II	198				
Δορκυλίδας	197				
Ἀγλούμβροτος	196				
Θαρσίπολις	195				
Σώδαμος	194				
Σώστρατος	193				
Κλειτόμαχος	192				
Θέστωρ	191				
Δαμόθεμις	190				
Ἰασικράτης	189				
Ξενοφάνης	188				
Πρατοφάνης	187				
Κρατίδας	186		Seleucus IV		
Ἰέρων I	185				
Ἀρχοκράτης II	184				
Τιμασαγόρας	183				
Φιλόδαμος II	182				
Κλεώνυμος II	181				
Ἀγέμαχος	180				
Ἀρχίδαμος	179				
Αἰνησίδαμος II	178				
Αἰνήτωρ	177				
Καλλικράτης II	176				
Δαμοκλῆς II	175		Antiochus IV		
Καλλικρατίδας II	174				
Κλευκράτης I	173				
Σύμμαχος	172				
Νικασαγόρας I	171				
Θεαίδητος	170				

23. A dashed line indicates a change of a Maccabean leader; a solid line marks a change of Seleucid king; a vertical straight line (|) indicates a continued reign of the ruler listed above.

Rhodian Eponym	Years	Maccabees or Hasmoneans	Seleucid Kings	Seleucid Kings	Seleucid Kings
Ἀθανόδοτος	169				
Ἀρατοφάνης I	168				
Ἀριστείδας II	167	Mattathias			
Αὐτοκράτης III	166				
Ἀρίστων II	165	Judas			
Ἀριστόδαμος II	164				
Ἀρχιλαΐδας	163		Antiochus V		
Ξενοφῶν	162				
Ἀγέστρατος II	161		Demetrius I		
Πεισίστρατος	160~159				
Δαμαίνετος	159~158	Jonathan			
Τιμούρροδος	158~157				
Ἀριστόμαχος I	157~156				
Ἡραγόρας	156~155				
Σωσικλῆς	155~154				
Γόργων	154~153				
Παυσανίας III	153~152				
Ξερόφαντος II	152~151				
Εὐδαμος	151~150				
Πυθόδωρος	150~149		Alexander I		
Πυθογένης	149~148		Balas		
Ἀλεξίμαχος	148~147				
Αὐτοκράτης I	147~146				
Τιμόδικος	146~145				
Ἀστυμήδης II	145~144		Demetrius II	Antiochus VI	
Ἀνάξανδρος	144~143				
Τεισαγόρας I	143~142				
Ἀριστόγειτος	142~141	Simon			
Ἀναξίβουλος	141~140				
Λαφείδης	140~139				Tryphon
Ἀλεξιάδας	139~138				
Θέρσανδρος	138~137		Antiochus VII		
Ἀρίστακος	137~136				
Ἀνδρία	136~135				
Ἀρχέμβροτος I	135~134	John Hyrcanus I			
Ἀνδρόνικος	134~133				
Νικασαγόρας II	133~132				
Τιμόθεος	132~131				
Ἀριστογένης	131~130				
Καλλικράτης III	130~129				
Λεοντίδας	129~128				Alexander II Zabinas
Κληνόστρατος	128~127		Demetrius II		
Πολυάρατος II	127~126				
Τεισάμενος	126~125			Seleucus V	
Ἀρίστρατος	125~124		Antiochus VIII		

Rhodian Eponym	Years	Maccabees or Hasmoneans	Seleucid Kings	Seleucid Kings	Seleucid Kings
Τειμαγόρας I	124~123				
Ίέρων II	123~122				
Ἀρχῖνος	122~121				
Εὐάνωρ	121~120				
Ἀριστόπολις	120~119				
Ἀριστομβροτίδας	119~118				
Αἰσχίνας	118~117				
Ἀρχίβιος	117~116				
Ἑστιεῖος	116~115				
Ναύσιππος	115~114				
Ἀριστᾶναξ II	114~113			Antiochus IX	
Ἀριστείδας III	113~112				
Δάμων	112~111				
Ἀρατοφάνης II	111~110				
Ἀγορᾶναξ	110~109				
	109~108				
	108~107				
	107~106				
	106~105				
	105~104				
	104~103				

John Hyrcanus I's First Autonomous Coins

Donald T. Ariel

Introduction

In this chapter, I investigate the output of the Jerusalem mint in the time of Antiochus VII Sidetes and John Hyrcanus I. Until recently, one bronze issue was identified as coming from the Jerusalem mint under Sidetes, depicting a lily and an anchor (SC 2123). In 2019 I presented arguments for a second Seleucid issue from this mint, portraying a helmet to right on the obverse and an aphlaston on the reverse (Ariel 2019, 41–72; the second issue is SC 2.1:392, no. 2122). The attribution was based primarily on the disproportionate distribution of provenanced finds of the type in Jerusalem, but also on the striking similarity of the Seleucid helmet type and the obverse of a large but very rare coin issued by the high priest at the Jerusalem temple, John Hyrcanus I. I also argued that although both Seleucid coin types name Antiochus VII as the minting authority, the de facto mintmaster was Sidetes's vassal in Judea, John Hyrcanus himself.

In this paper I further develop the case that the Hyrcanus-directed Seleucid minting was the first of two phases in the numismatic transition from imperial hegemony to autonomy in Judea. That minting began at the end of the king's siege of Jerusalem with his rapprochement with Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.250) and his choice of the high priest as his vassal. This transition was part of the larger political developments over a half-century in Judea: from heroic, theocratic Maccabean insurrection, through a phase

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of Jewish ethnarchy with fluctuating periods of effective self-rule, to full autonomy under Hyrcanus after Antiochus VII's death.

In what follows, I describe the numerous connections between the two coins struck in the name of Antiochus VII, SC 2123 and SC 2122, and the first Hasmonean coins naming John Hyrcanus I. The Antiochus VII denominational series aids in the understanding of the high priest's coinage and points the way to a seriation, and also to an absolute chronology, for the coins naming Yehoḥanan.

Iconographic Connections between the Jerusalem Coins Naming Antiochus VII and Those Naming Yehoḥanan

The iconography of the two Seleucid coins issued in Jerusalem, SC 2123 (lily/anchor; fig. 12.1a) and SC 2122 (helmet/aphlaston; fig. 12.1b), symbolizes victory.¹ In the case of the aphlaston—the ornamental curving finial of a ship's sternpost—the victory symbolism may be less obvious. Essentially, the aphlaston is an abbreviated version of the standard image of Nike holding an aphlaston torn from a captured enemy's ship. Here, probably in respect to Jewish concerns regarding idolatrous depictions, only the aphlaston is shown. The chronology of events that preceded the opening of the mint supports identifying Hyrcanus, Antiochus VII's newly appointed vassal, as the nascent mint's responsible party. This is suggested by Sidetes's acquiescence to Hyrcanus's demand that no garrison be left in the subdued city of Jerusalem; and the king's likely abrupt departure from the city, in order to prepare for his Parthian campaign(s). As tantamount to mintmaster, then, it will have been Hyrcanus himself who selected the images appearing on SC 2123 and SC 2122. As I demonstrate below, the relationship between the four Seleucid-era symbols—the lily, anchor, helmet, and aphlaston—to the first autonomous issues of Hyrcanus offer further support for these suggestions. I begin by discussing the helmet symbol, that on SC 2122 and the helmet on Hyrcanus's large coin, *TJC* group H. Other connections between Seleucid coin iconography and Hyrcanus's—and later emissions of the Jerusalem mint—follow that analysis, as well as other relevant numismatic considerations.

1. Full iconographic analyses of these coins appear in Ariel 2019, 59–64.



Fig. 12.1. Antiochus VII Sidetes. (a) SC 2.1:392, no. 2123, Heritage 3032, April 10–16, 2014, Lot 30226. 1.5 scale. Obverse: lily on stem; reverse: [B]ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ/ANTIOXOY/[E]ΥΕΠΕΤΟY. Anchor, flukes above pointing downward. Æ, 2.07 g, 14 mm. (b) SC 2.1:391, no. 2122; Heritage 357, September 2004, Lot 12017. 1.5 scale. Obverse: helmet r.; reverse: [B]ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ ANTIOX[OY]. Aphlaston. Æ, 0.98 g, 12 mm.

The Helmet Type

The similarity between the plain crested helmet to right with cheek guards on SC 2122 and *TJC* group H, John Hyrcanus's helmet type, is clear and pronounced. On the other side of the latter crested helmet two parallel cornucopias tied with a fillet (Meshorer: ribbon) are displayed (fig. 12.2).



Fig. 12.2. *TJC*, 207, group H (on no displayed specimens were *alphas* found in the l. obverse fields). (a) Heritage 3003, March 8, 2012, Lot 20082. 1.5 scale. Obverse: crested helmet with cheek pieces r.; reverse: *yhwḥnn hkhn hgd l r's ḥḥbr hyhdym*. Two filleted parallel cornucopias oriented to l. Æ, ↑, 3.38 g, 18 mm. (b) *BMC Pal.* 188, no. 1. 1.5 scale. Obverse: crested helmet with cheek pieces r.; reverse: *yhw[ḥnn hkhn hgd l r']ḥ ḥḥbr hyhdym*. Two filleted parallel cornucopias oriented to l. Æ, ↑, 3.71 g, 18 mm. (c) Hendin 2010, pl. 13:1136 ex. Aba Neeman collection. 1.1 scale. Obverse: crested helmet with cheek pieces r.; reverse: *yhwḥnn hkhn [hgd l r's ḥ]ḥbr hyhdym*. Two filleted parallel cornucopias oriented to l. Æ, ↑, 4.41 g, 17 mm.

Just as the helmet on SC 2122 is the only plain helmet depicted in Seleucid coinage, the helmet on Hyrcanus's coin is unique in Hasmonean coinage.² Neither coin is common. While more specimens of SC 2122 are known, *TJC* group H is particularly rare.³ The coin is known in some twelve to twenty specimens (David Hendin, personal communication) and was thought by Ya'akov Meshorer to have been struck from only two pairs of dies (*AJC* 1:66). The side with the cornucopias bears the Paleo-Hebrew legend. Instead of the more common inscription for the high priest's coins, an important additional word appears: *r's* (head). The complete inscription thus reads *yhwḥnn hkhn hgdl r's hḥbr hyhdym* (יהוחנן הכהן הגדל ראש החבר *hyhdym* היהדים; Yehoḥanan the high priest, *head* of the Council of the Jews). In the Hasmonean series, this uncommon inscription is found only on coins of Hyrcanus, and only on two of the high priest's types (besides group H): the very rare *TJC* group I, a standard two opposing cornucopias/inscription Hasmonean type (fig. 12.3), and the very rare group J (fig. 12.4).⁴ Both the rarity of SC 2122 and *TJC* group H and their chronological proximity reinforce the connection between them. There appears to be no doubt that SC 2122 acted as a prototype for the helmet depicted on *TJC* group H, and therefore that the same mint and person in charge of the minting produced both types.

Sidetes's helmet/aphlaston type was part of a two-coin denominational series (Ariel 2019, 59). The rarity of the inscription on three types of

2. Although the crested helmet—and its reverse type, the two parallel cornucopias types—are unique in Hasmonean coinage, individually as types they both appear later in the Jerusalem mint, one time for each type. The crested helmet to right was minted by Herod as part of his year-three series (*TJC*, 221, no. 47; Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 105, table 10, no. 3; 110). The two-parallel-cornucopias type is found on a coin of Archelaus (*TJC*, 225, no. 70). Neither were struck in the common (*prutah*) denomination. Rather, they each appear in larger denominations.

3. Meshorer called it “the rarest among the Hasmonaeen coins” (*TJC*, 207). According to the criteria in Houghton and Hendin (2018), it is very rare. Citing the only two provenanced specimens, one in a controlled archaeological excavation at Gamla, Syon (2014a, 168, no. 641; 2015, 164), calls it extremely rare. Five were found in Coin Archives (<https://pro.coinarchives.com/>). A new specimen was recently offered for sale: <https://tinyurl.com/SBLPress1734b1>.

4. Two group I coins were found in Coin Archives (as of 28 April 2018). David Hendin (personal communication) has seen over one hundred specimens. In Kaufman's (1995–2004) volumes, there are 137. Eight group J coins were found in Coin Archives (as of 28 April 2018). Hendin (personal communication) has seen 6–8 specimens.



Fig. 12.3. *TJC*, 207–9, group I. (a) American Numismatic Society 2013.63.158. 1.5 scale. Obverse: two opposing cornucopias with pomegranate between them; reverse: *yhw/hnn hkh/n hgd/r's h/hbr hy/m* within wreath. Æ , \uparrow , 2.14 g, 14 mm. *CHL*, 247, no. 159 (this coin). (b) Athena on VCoins, September 26, 2016; SKU z1287. 1.5 scale. Obverse: two opposing cornucopias with pomegranate between them; reverse: *yhw/hnn hkh/n hgd/r's hbr h/yhdy/m* within wreath. Æ , \uparrow , 2.23 g, 15 mm. (c) American Numismatic Society 2013.63.175. 1.5 scale. Obverse: two opposing cornucopias with pomegranate between them; reverse: *yhw/hnn hkh h[g]dl r's [h]hbr hy/hdym* within wreath. Æ , \uparrow , 2.04 g, 15 mm. *CHL*, 248, no. 175 (this coin).



Fig. 12.4. *TJC*, 209, group J. (a) IMJ 2006. 31.25161. 1.5 scale. Obverse: lily between two ears of grain; reverse: *[yhw/hnn/h]khn hg[dl]/r's hh[br h]yhd[ym]*. Filleted palm branch. Æ , \nearrow , 0.89 g, 9×12 mm. Kaufman 2004, 31, no. O-11 left (this coin). (b) IMJ 93.2.14367. 1.5 scale. Obverse: lily between two ears of grain; reverse: *[yhw/hnn/h]khn hgd/r's hh[br hy[h(ydym)]*. Filleted palm branch. Æ , \nearrow , 1.10 g, 10 mm. *TJC*, 209, group J3 (this coin). (c) Hendin 2010, 188, no. 1138. 1.5 scale. Obverse: lily between two ears of grain; reverse: *[yhw/hnn hk]hn hg[dl/r]'s hhb[r/h]yhd[m]*. Filleted palm branch. Æ , 11 mm.

Hyrcanus's coins, with the addition of the word *r's* (head), raises another point of connection between SC 2122 and *TJC* group H: they both belong to small denominational series. Together with *TJC* group I and group J (above), the helmet/two-parallel-cornucopias coin (group H) forms a three-coin series. The three types were ordered consecutively in all of Meshorer's Jewish coin catalogues, being described as double *prutah*, *prutah*, and half *prutah*, respectively (and see below, on denominations).⁵

5. Meshorer did not explicitly describe them as a denominational series, as I do here. In 1976 Rappaport argued that the three types were issued consecutively: *TJC*:

Two other points of connection between the coins with helmets may be added. The first, obvious one is that both types are aniconic and non-figural.⁶ The second is this: unlike the common practice in Seleucid and Hasmonean coins of dividing up long legends into parallel rows, both SC 2122 and *TJC* group H have peripheral inscriptions, appropriately on the reverse sides, where inscriptions are traditionally placed, despite the fact that the other denominations in their series maintain the practice of inscriptions in parallel rows.

To summarize, with the distribution-based reattribution of the Seleucid helmet/aphlaston coin (SC 2122) to the mint of Jerusalem, the iconographic and other connections of that coin to the helmet on *TJC* group H are self-evident. After I survey the three remaining iconographic types, the lily, anchor, and aphilaston, the ultimate relationship of the two helmets will be secured by addressing a number of possible obstacles.⁷

The Lily Type

The lily is universally considered a Jewish symbol of some kind. The flower on Antiochus's coin, SC 2123, is a lily and thus had some Jerusalem connotation, which was not related to the cult carried out in the city (Ariel 2019, 60). It might have symbolized the city itself or its *ethnos*.

There is no consensus, however, that the flowers on the Hasmonean coins are lilies. I accept the view of the botanist Michael Hollunder (personal communication) that the Hasmonean flower types may be irises (Paz 1988, 8, 17–22; 2015), but they are certainly not lilies. Emmanuelle Main

group H was issued first, followed by group J and then, or perhaps concurrently, group I. There is no reason not to accept the contemporaneous minting of the three groups.

6. Besides SC 2123 and SC 2122, the *only* aniconic and nonfigural coin ascribed to a southern Levantine mint, SC 2207 (ship's ram/caduceus), is designated an Unattributed Issue of Southern Coele Syria, not unlike SC 2122's designation (Helmet/Aphilaston Bronze Issue of Southern Coele Syria). Without any provenances for the coin, the nonattribution must remain, unless its generally aniconic, nonfigural character (on the caduceus, see Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 100–106, 110–11) may be used to locate its mint in Judea (or Samaria—as both ethnic groups residing there, the Jews and the Samaritans, were apparently averse to both figural representations and pagan elements during that period of time (103).

7. Rappaport (1976, 183 and n. 56) called the helmet on *TJC* group H a “meaningless” emblem, and at the same time said it was copied from Seleucid coins, including SC 2122.

(2006) proposed an alternative to the Jewishness of the flowers found on Hasmonean coins by associating them with the Rhodian-style rose. David Jacobson (2013, 22) suggested an explanation for this anomaly in a different way from Main, arguing that the later Hasmonean die cutters intended to depict a lily on their coins but carelessly copied the flowers found on contemporary Rhodian coins instead. Thus, Jacobson preserved for himself the uniform iconographic idea that the coins of the Jerusalem mint all intended to depict “Jewish” lilies.⁸

In addition to their nature as blossoms, one numismatic detail connects the lily on SC 2123 with the Hasmonean lilies. Assuming the Seleucid minting tradition, where the reverse bears the inscription (Ariel 2016, 88; 2017, 357), the lily side constitutes the obverses of Hyrcanus's *TJC* groups C and J, while the filleted palm branch side is the reverse.⁹ Thus, the emblem on both groups are found on the obverse sides (without inscription), and both come to replace the minting authority's portrait, which, in the case of *TJC* groups C and J, is Hyrcanus himself.

Meshorer divided the Hyrcanus coins with lilies into group C and group J because of their inscriptions. The shorter and much more common inscription appears on group C: *yhwḥnn hkh̄n hgd̄l wḥbr hyhdym* (יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהדים; Yehoḥanan the high priest and Council of the Jews), while the rarer inscription, with the additional word *r'š*, is on group J, as noted above. Below, in “The Relative Date of Minting of *TJC* Group H,” I explain why the group J is more likely to have been earlier in date to group C, and why the lily on group J may even have had the lily on SC 2123 as its prototype.¹⁰

8. In this essay I am using the moniker *lily* for the flowers depicted on the Hasmonean coins.

9. The “small ribbon tied at top” of the palm branch of *TJC* group C and group J, a fillet, as Jacobson correctly (2013b, 49) noted, and the fillet on the two parallel cornucopias of group H are yet another case of a Seleucid iconographic element copied on Hyrcanus's coins. There is no fillet on the later palm branch coin of Jannaeus (*TJC*, 211, group O). With regard to Hasmonean coins, see Ariel 2017, 357.

10. A postscript to this discussion of the lily type during Hyrcanus's high priesthood is this: In 1974 Meshorer published a minute coin “found near Jerusalem” with a radiate head right obverse and lily reverse and assigned it to Sidetes and the mint of Jerusalem. In 1981, together with the lily/anchor type (SC 2123), Rappaport (1981, 361) reattributed it to Ascalon. In 1982 two more coins of the type were published (*AJC* 1:161, nos. 5–6). If Meshorer's mint and minting authority attributions are correct, these coins would have been contemporary with Hyrcanus's groups C and J lily

The Anchor Type

The anchor was the archetypical emblem of the Seleucid dynasty (Jacobson 2000, 75–76). However, on Jewish coins, the anchor's maritime symbolism, and not its Seleucid-ness, has been stressed more often in discussion of the coins of Alexander Jannaeus and Herod (Lichtenberger 2013, 71; *AJC* 1, 62; Hoover 1995). The maritime connection has not been invoked, to my knowledge, in connection with SC 2123. In order to stress the Seleucid connection of the anchor motif, Jacobson (2000, 79; see Wroth 1899, 112, no. 1) noted an anchor as main type on a 72 CE autonomous copper coin of Commagene and attributed its appearance to a dynastic connection to the Seleucids some 170 years earlier. Certainly, there are anchors as main types on late Hellenistic or early Roman coins that reference the sea and not the Seleucids. A coin of Claudius from Caesarea Maritima (*RPC* 671, no. 4848) could be one example, as can a Roman provincial issue of Trajan from Tiberias (*CHL* 71, nos. 7–9). Jacobson (2013b, 44–45) was the first to draw a connection between the Hasmonean iconographic decoration on the Maccabean mausoleum described in 1 Maccabees and Josephus's *Antiquities* (above), which included elements of ships, and the anchor on Sidetes's coin.

Achim Lichtenberger (2013, 72) viewed the anchor as a Seleucid statement of supremacy, or an inoffensive symbol of the peace between Sidetes and Hyrcanus. I think it is possible that Hyrcanus I, who, as I argue, issued SC 2123, employed a bit of intentional ambiguity regarding the anchor. That symbol on SC 2123 may have been a Seleucid emblem to a representative of Antiochus VII, if any remained behind in Jerusalem, or it may have evoked Maccabean iconography to a local Judean. As Maccabean iconography, the anchor would not have been a mere nautical symbol. Rather, like the ship's aphlaston (and helmet) on SC 2122, the anchor would have been a distilled symbol of victory. The intentional ambiguity idea cannot

coins. Meshorer's 1974 coin (= *AJC* 1:161, no. 7) was later republished with roughly the same identification (except the lily became a rose) in Arthur Houghton and Arnold Spaer (1998, 350, no. 2675). None of these coins were catalogued in *TJC*. In SC 2.1, the type, also not published there, was described as one of the "non-Seleucid issues in earlier literature" (SC 2.1:520). Undoubtedly, the depiction of the radiate head of a Seleucid king on the obverse argues against an attribution to the nonfigural Jerusalem mint despite its purported findspot (Rappaport 1976, 356). So, the coin may safely be removed from the iconographic discussion here.

be proven (Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 101). Consequently, for the anchor type, one must accept the least common denominator, noted above, that the striking of an anchor in the Jerusalem mint was appropriate because it was aniconic and nonfigural.

The Aphlaston Type

The aphlaston symbol does not reappear as a type in the Jerusalem mint until, perhaps, as Ariel and Fontanille (2012, 61, type 4), and others, have argued, it was struck in that mint at the beginning of the reign of Herod (*TJC*, 221, no. 47). In a Herodian/Roman context, the victory symbolism of the aphlaston symbol has been connected to Augustus's naval victory at Actium. Unaware of the iconographic association of the aphlaston with victory, Ariel and Fontanille (2012, 112) found victory symbolism in almost all of Herod's year-three coins except the aphlaston type. This may now be corrected.

Two Possible Obstacles to Drawing an Iconographic Connection between the SC 2122 and Group H Helmets

Despite the obvious connections between the helmet on SC 2122 and that on *TJC* group H, there are two possible obstacles to viewing SC 2122 as the direct prototype for the helmet depicted on *TJC* group H: questions about the place of minting and the relative dating. I address both below.

The Place of Minting of *TJC* Group H

The first possible obstacle to drawing a connection between SC 2122's helmet type and the subsequent Hyrcanus helmet coin is the proposal that *TJC* group H was not minted in Jerusalem. Two alternative mint places have been proposed. The first was proffered by Alla Kushnir-Stein (2001–2002, 81), who remarked that the helmet/two-parallel-cornucopias coins were an “intriguing exception” to her claim that the Jerusalem mint universally issued coins with beveled edges. She wrote that *TJC* group H was struck on a “regular” flan, that is, one that was straight edged—as, in fact, more and more local coins were shaped by the time. Kushnir-Stein also observed a feature of Hyrcanus's coin that was noted above: on group H, the inscription surrounded the central two-cornucopias design, while on the rest of his coins, the inscriptions were oriented in parallel lines.

These two differences between group H and the rest of Hyrcanus's coins prompted Kushnir-Stein (82) to conclude that group H may have been struck in a different mint, that is, outside Jerusalem. She suggested some candidates among "the coastal cities of Palestine or south Phoenicia."¹¹

Another proposal for an alternative to Jerusalem as the mint of group H was raised by Syon. He noted that two group H coins are provenanced to Galilee: from Gamla (note 3), and a stray find near the Galilean *moshav* Kefar Shammai (Syon 2015, 164). Syon (164 n. 129) also cited an unconfirmed report that a large number of these coins were found at Shiḥin. Taking the regular flan datum and Kushnir-Stein's coastal cities or southern Phoenicia suggestion, Syon seemed to imply that Hyrcanus might have struck the coin in Galilee. With so few coins of Hyrcanus's group H known, and the overwhelming evidence for Hasmonean minting in Jerusalem (Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 98), home of the temple where the high priest Hyrcanus officiated, in my view it is premature to locate the mint of Hyrcanus's group H coin outside the capital—despite its apparent striking on a straight-edged flan. Four observations may be posed to counter the points raised by Kushnir-Stein and Syon:

1. Granting that only two group H coins are provenanced, both to Galilee, and none are reported from Judea, it must be recalled that numerous coin types, some as rare as group H, have no recorded findspots (e.g., an extremely rare coin of Herod; Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 78, table 9, no. 14). Nevertheless, because Jerusalem was the only capital of Judea, it could be presumed that Judean rulers issued all their coins in a mint in that city.

2. Assuming the group H coin was the first of Hyrcanus series, I am aware of no recorded event that brought the high priest up to Galilee, or otherwise provides a rationale for the high priest to strike coins there, in the years soon after Sidetes's death. Hyrcanus's more northerly military campaigns only took place much later in his tenure.

3. There is no mint known to have been functioning in Galilee in the second century BCE.

4. The new iconographic connection of the helmet symbol on Hyrcanus's coin to SC 2122 (and other features between the two coins, noted above and below) *itself* points to a Judean and not a Galilean mint place for group H. Furthermore, even if my reattribution of SC 2122 were not to be accepted, based on the coin's known geographic distribution, it would

11. See also Hendin (2010, 188): "Samaria is often mentioned as a possibility."

not be reattributed to a mint in Galilee. Hence, Hyrcanus's coin would not "follow" SC 2122 to a Galilean mint.

The Relative Date of Minting of *TJC* Group H

The case for a prototype-copy relationship between the two coins would be weakened if it were determined that the group H coin was minted late in Hyrcanus's tenure, well after the death of Antiochus VII. Therefore, the second obstacle to my claim of an iconographic connection of the helmet obverse of SC 2122 to the helmet on *TJC* group H is extant arguments for the Hyrcanus group's relatively late minting date.

What, then, is the likelihood of the following seriation: SC 2123 / SC 2122 → *TJC* group H → the remainder of Hyrcanus's coins?

The first discussion known to me on the order of Hyrcanus's coins was by Daniel Sperber in 1965, two years before *Jewish Coins*, Meshorer's (1967) first Jewish coin catalogue, was published. There, Meshorer argued that John Hyrcanus I never minted coins and that the coins naming *yhwḥnn*/Yehoḥanan were issued by Hyrcanus II. Sperber (1965, 86), still considering the Yehoḥanan coins belonged to Hyrcanus I, argued that "since it is difficult to conceive that [Hyrcanus] should have called himself chief of the *heber* at one stage in his career and later relinquished the title and (re?)adopted the less dignified one of 'member' of the council (*heber*), and if he only held the head of the Council of the Jews (*rosh heber ha-yehudim*) title for a very short time,¹² it must have been towards the very end of his reign."

Six years after Sperber's article and four years after *Jewish Coins*, Herbert Hirsch (1971, 3) rejected Meshorer's Hyrcanus II theory and stated, without explanation, that the Hyrcanus I coins naming the head of the Council of the Jews were the first coins struck by Hyrcanus I in his name. A half-decade after that, the order of the Hyrcanus coins was discussed by Uriel Rappaport, who also criticized Meshorer's view. He concluded that "the first coins struck under John Hyrcanus I were the helmet/parallel cornucopias series" (Rappaport 1976, 184). Rappaport came to this by analyzing the development of the two cornucopia types on Hyrcanus's coins and concluding that the parallel cornucopias on the group H coin were the predecessor to the opposing cornucopias on the high priest's coins.

12. Presumably because Sperber was aware of the rarity of the group H coins.

Six years after Rappaport's discussion, in Meshorer's second catalogue (AJC 1), the author maintained his original Hyrcanus II attribution and argued that the high priest, minter of the *yhwḥnn* series, would have been more powerful after he was appointed ethnarch by Julius Caesar (Sharon 2010, 480). In his discussion of the helmet iconography Meshorer stated that when Hyrcanus II was given the title ethnarch, he naturally "struck coins both to commemorate and publicize the event" (AJC 1:66–67). The helmet/two filleted parallel cornucopias (AJC type R), two opposing cornucopias/inscription (AJC type S), and lily/filleted palm branch (AJC type T)—the three *r's* (head) types—were thus placed at the end of Hyrcanus II's other coins in the catalogue. When Meshorer retracted his *yhwḥnn*/Yehoḥanan = Hyrcanus II theory and published *A Treasury of Jewish Coins from the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba*, his third and last Jewish coin catalogue, he did not change the order of presentation of these three coins. The three *r's* (head) types (groups H, I, and J), what we here identify as a three-coin denominational series, remained at the end of what became the catalogue of Hyrcanus I's coins. Meshorer maintained that his continued placement of groups H, I, and J at the end of Hyrcanus's series was "a typological division that is not necessarily chronological" (TJC, 31). While logical, the fact that the placement of those coins was unchanged while their identification as coins of Hyrcanus I had changed was consequential, as coin catalogues are often presumed to have chronological underpinnings in their ordering.

Five years later, the last scholar to weigh in on the seriation of Hyrcanus I's coins was Main. Although it is not certain that Main (2006, 138) was influenced by *Treasury of Jewish Coins*'s unchanged ordering of Hyrcanus's coins, she maintained the *Treasury of Jewish Coins* order as chronologically correct: that groups H, I, and J belonged together at the end of the Hyrcanus series (actually in the order groups J, I, and H). Main, however, attached a new explanation for the arrangement. She argued that Hyrcanus would not have struck coins with the more audacious statement that he was head of the Council of the Jews until he was certain there would be no objections to it. Hyrcanus therefore first issued the smallest coin with that inscription, group J. When he saw that there were no objections ("n'ayant pas suscité des réactions négatives"), he then issued the *prutah* denomination (group I) and finally struck the large group H coin.¹³

13. Main (2006, 138 n. 67) was aware of and noted the iconographic similarity of TJC group H with SC 2122, but at that time SC 2122 was still attributed to the Ascalon mint.

Cogent reasons for arguing that Hyrcanus's first coins bore the legend *yhwḥnnn hkhn hgdl r's ḥḥbr hyhdym* are not difficult to find. From the time of his father Simon Thassi's death, Hyrcanus was made high priest and became de facto political head of the *ethnos*. Consequently, there is every reason to suppose that Hyrcanus headed up a council of the Jews. Not long after Hyrcanus succeeded his father, Simon, Antiochus VII arrived in Judea. Both before and immediately after Hyrcanus's face-saving surrender to the king, the high priest was in no position to make any moves toward local autonomy, no less issue coins, silver or bronze, in his own name. Upon Sidetes's death in 129 BCE, and probably some years after that, when Hyrcanus felt his position more secure, he began striking small bronze coins. His first types all signified his wish to proclaim the autonomy Judea had achieved and his role in it. All of the types had iconographic elements of victory on them: a helmet, fillets on the parallel cornucopias, a wreath, and a filleted palm branch (Noy 2012).¹⁴ With regard to the exact constitution of his leadership, whatever the Council of the Jews was (Sperber [1965, 85–86]: a specific organ evoking the Greek *κοινόδημος*; Rappaport [1974: 66–67; see also Regev 2013, 195–99]: a generic *κοινόδημος*;¹⁵ or the *τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν ιερουσαλημ* as in Simon's day [1 Macc 14:19]), Hyrcanus probably headed it, as his father had.

Sperber's argument that Hyrcanus would not relinquish his title *r's ḥḥbr* without a reason, while logical, assumes that we know a lot about the relations of the high priest to that *ḥbr*. That is not the case. There may have been a reason that he had to drop the title *r's*.¹⁶ The question why *r's* was added to the standard Hasmonean inscriptional formula may not be correct (*TJC*, 32). Perhaps the question should be, What happened during Hyrcanus's priesthood to cause the high priest to remove that epithet from the legends on those coins?

14. Regev (2013, 205), asserted that when cornucopia symbols appear in Jewish contexts, one of their added Jewish meanings is military power and success.

15. See also Ariel and Naveh (2003, 64), for a bilingual inscription from no more than a half-century earlier, citing the *κοινόδημος* (*koinodemos*) of Tyre as קִינֹדְמִין (*kyn-dmyn*) transliterated in Phoenician and *κοινοδήμ[ισ]* in Greek. Interestingly, to my knowledge, no Phoenician inscription provides a *translation* of *koinodemos*—while the scholars cited here believed *ḥbr hyhdym* was such a translation in Hebrew. See also Ariel forthcoming B, no. INS 002.

16. Hoover (1994, 54) opined that the reason *TJC* group H was discontinued was not the *r's* title, but because Hyrcanus was concerned that the employment of the helmet type would “jeopardize his future contacts with Seleucid monarchs.”

In his analysis, Sperber thought group H more appropriate as the last issue, because of Hyrcanus's conquest of Samaria late in his tenure. Sperber did not take into account a feature of ancient coinage that is axiomatic, even if it is not universal: declarative coins such as the large-sized group H issue are most often considered the first issue of a ruler. An example in the Jerusalem mint, according to Ariel and Jean-Philippe Fontanille (2012, 97), is the denominational series of Herod, dated to the summer of 37 BCE, immediately after the king's conquest of Jerusalem. Moreover, as with Herod's first and largest coin, also depicting a helmet and also appearing alongside a series of coins with victory symbolism, the *TJC* group H issue, as we have shown, bears idiosyncratic features that one could consider characteristic of the first issue of a mint.¹⁷ Based on all of the above, it becomes clear that the *TJC* group H issue, together with groups I and J, should be viewed as Hyrcanus's first coins.¹⁸ As the first coins issued by Hyrcanus—quite a few years after his involvement in the Seleucid issues naming Antiochus VII—one could also be comfortable with the presence of numismatic anomalies on these coins, for example, the large module of group H and its lack of beveling.

It is tempting to look at the victory symbols on these coins and conclude that the coins were minted after a military success, as Sperber believed, and try to identify which battle or which conquest the coins were marking. As Hyrcanus's rule was marked by many successes in battle and conquest, this would be difficult to do. It would also probably be wrong to take this approach. Three reasons come to mind. First, with these coins Hyrcanus may have simply been framing his *achievement of autonomy* as a victory. Second is the fact that in appropriating the victory iconography of Sidetes's SC 2123 and SC 2122 types, Hyrcanus may not have been announcing a victory but merely employing familiar and inoffensive symbols for his sensitive Judean audience. Third, today it is becoming clear that most of the Hasmonean coinage bears symbols of victory of Greek iconographic inspiration, mitigating the need to identify specific victory

17. For Herod's large helmet coin (*TJC*, 221, no. 44; Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 61, type 1), these idiosyncratic features are presented in Ariel and Fontanille 2006, 73–86; 2012, 66.

18. This suits Hendin's (personal communication) view that it would not have been logical for Hyrcanus to start without this title, then add it, and subsequently, it not appear on the coins of all his successors.

events.¹⁹ Even the fact that the following series of coins of the high priest, with the shorter inscription *yhwḥnn hkhn hgdł wḥbr hyhdym* on two of the three same types (two opposing cornucopias/inscription [TJC, 201–6, groups A–B, D–G] and lily/filleted palm branch [TJC, 203, group C]), also depict victory iconography suggests that one cannot look to specific events in Hyrcanus's career to associate the coins. Rather, as Jacobson (2013b, 43) has convincingly stressed, “military achievement was one of the defining characteristics of the Hasmonaean dynasty.” This is not only the case in the preserved narratives of historical events composed by the dynasty's supporters but also, if those supporters' descriptions of the dynasty's monuments may be trusted, in their architectural decoration. Jacobson (44–45) analyzed the descriptions of the Maccabaeen mausoleum in 1 Maccabees (13:27–30) and summarized that the mausoleum's decoration included elements of armor and ships. These elements provide additional support for the association of the Seleucid lily/anchor (ships) and helmet (armor) / aphlaston (ships) coins as informing Hasmonaean general iconographic choices, not to speak of their decisions regarding their coin types.

What Were the Denominations of These Coins?

I have argued that the first bronze coins minted in Jerusalem, SC 2123 and SC 2122, were part of a denominational series, with SC 2122 close to half the weight of SC 2123 (Ariel 2019, 59). *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue* designated SC 2123 as denomination C and SC 2122 as denomination D. In Seleucid denominational terms, if SC 2123 was a *dichalkon*, SC 2122 would have been a *chalkous*.

It would be interesting to compare these results to what seems to be the three-coin denominational system of the earliest coins of Hyrcanus, defined as the high priest's coins naming him head of the Council of the Jews: groups H, I, and J. Hendin (2009, 106) did not include group H in his metrological study, because it was among the “coin types [that] are so rare that it was difficult to collect enough samples for meaningful statistics.” I therefore begin with a comparison of SC 2123 with group H, relying on Arie Kindler's (2000, 317) calculation of the weight range of an unknown

19. I owe this idea to Hendin. Rappaport (1981, 363) claimed that Hasmonaean coins adopted “Hellenistic coin types” through their exposure to them from the mint of Ascalon. This is extremely unlikely: in the Israel national collection only one Ascalonian coin contemporary with Hasmonaean coinage is provenanced to Jerusalem.

number of coins of group H. Kindler's range for the group was 2.76–3.71 g. Without a mean or a median weight, it is difficult to be sure whether group H was meant to be the same weight as SC 2123, but it would appear that the answer is no. Group H seems not to follow the Seleucid denominational system. In addition, Kindler (2000, 317), who used a different reconstruction of the Seleucid system, placed group H outside that system, by calling it a *trilepton* (a virtual denomination). In his view, group H was 50 percent heavier than the coin that many call a *prutah*, the standard two-opposing-cornucopias/inscription type, which, in the case of the $\rho\zeta$ (head) coins of Hyrcanus, is *TJC* group I. The possibility that group H is one-and-a-half times the denomination of group I is reasonable. Hendin's average of all (599) of Hyrcanus's two-opposing-cornucopias/inscription types came to 1.92 ± 0.01 g, with a range of 1.12–3.06 g. By averaging the extremes of Kindler's weight range, 2.76 g and 3.71 g, one finds a ballpark average of 3.235 g. That number divided by Hendin's 1.92 g average results in a ratio of 1.68:1, quite close to Kindler's statement of a one-and-a-half-times relationship between group H and group I.

Jacobson (2017, 67, table 2) also produced weight ranges for Hyrcanus's group H: 3.4–4.0 g. If a ballpark average ($[3.4+4.0] \div 2$) is calculated, group H comes out heavier than the ballpark average arrived at using Kindler's weight range. Comparing that to Jacobson's heavier (*dichalkon*) and medium (*chalkous*) denominations of Hyrcanus ($[1.1+3.1] \div 2 = 2.1$) results in a ratio of 1.76:1 between them. This is not far from the 1.68:1 ratio arrived at above. Jacobson, however, argued for a 2:1 denominational relationship between the two types (*dichalkon* to *chalkous*). This follows Meshorer's view: because Meshorer believed that the two-parallel-cornucopias reverse signified its double denominational status (*AJC* 1:67), *TJC* group H was designated by him as a double *prutah* (also in *AJC* 1:66, 150, type R).²⁰

20. The denominational term *prutah* first appears in rabbinic literature (Hendin 2009, 106), beginning with the Mishnah, redacted in the middle of the third century CE. Hendin (106) has discussed the later application of this term to the standard denomination issued in the Jerusalem mint, but ultimately he could only *assume* that the name of the standard Jerusalem denomination was a *prutah*. The root of the word, PRT , to break off, to divide, suggests that double *prutah* and half *prutah* are not natural derivatives of the term, and therefore, it may be best to use the term *prutah* generically as a small Judean bronze coin and not view it as the actual name of the denomination of the coins minted in Jerusalem—or at least not as double and half-denominational terms.

For the third, smallest denomination of Hyrcanus's first series, *TJC* group J, Jacobson calculated the weight range to be 0.6–1.1 g. He designated the denomination as *hemichalkous* (denomination E in SC terms). Kindler also accepted that *TJC* group J was half the denomination of *TJC* group I.

To sum up the results regarding the denominations of the two Seleucid minted coins and Hyrcanus's first autonomous coin types, the following can be said: (1) the two Seleucid coins constituting the first coins of the Jerusalem mint, SC 2123 and SC 2122, are in a 2:1 relationship; (2) in the series naming Hyrcanus as head of the Council of the Jews, the largest coin, *TJC* group H, is either an equivalent to a *dichalkon* (Jacobson) or, according to Kindler, a one-and-a-half *prutah*—a non-Seleucid denomination (*trilepton*) akin to a one-and-a-half *chalkous*; and (3) the three-coin denominational series of Hyrcanus had the relationship of either 3:2:1 (Kindler) or 2:1:½ (Jacobson).

Ariel and Fontanille (2012, 47–52) analyzed the denominational series of Mattathias Antigonus and Herod and came up with reasonable alternatives to Meshorer's determinations for Herod's year-three coins. For the tripartite series of Mattathias Antigonus, Kindler's (1967, 187–88) and Meshorer's more conservative terms, large bronze, medium bronze, and *prutah* described Kindler's 8:4:1 proposed relationship, based on the Seleucid denominations as the latter understood them (Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 48). I later employed Meshorer's terminology (Ariel 2017, 352). For other Herodian denominational pairs, such as the anchor/two-opposing-cornucopias type and the single-cornucopia/eagle type of Herod (*TJC*, 223, no. 59; 224, no. 66, respectively), Ariel and Fontanille (2012, 175) were unable to say what the names of the denominations were.

If and when more of the rarest coins among the four summarized here are found and weighed, closure on the main unsettled datum addressed here, the denominational status of group H, will be possible.

Was the Striking of the Three-Coin Denominational Series Tantamount to a Proclamation of Autonomy?

It is highly unlikely that John Hyrcanus I's first emission in his name was the first coins in the southern Levant to announce autonomy from Seleucid rule.²¹ As noted when discussing the various Seleucid promises to Hyrcanus,

21. Or could it be described as independence? See Kosmin 2018b, 220.

canus's uncle (Jonathan) and father (Simon), the perquisite of silver coin minting was the real prize. Consequently, when a city or ethnos would have wished to announce its own independence, it would have accomplished it through a silver emission (Rappaport 1976, 173), as Tyre had done in its first year of autonomy in 125 BCE (de Callataÿ 2002, 81),²² as Sidon did in its fifth year (107/106 BCE; era of 111/110 [de Callataÿ 2002, 71–91]), and Ascalon in its sixth year (98 BCE; era of 103 [de Callataÿ 2002, 81]). The assertion made by Hyrcanus was carried out in bronze coin and in the local language. It was strictly for internal consumption. As Rappaport (1976, 173) has said, "Very rarely, if at all, was the attempt at political self-assertion made through bronze coins only." For a declaration of autonomy akin to the above-mentioned cities, Judea would have to wait another 180 or so years until the first Jewish revolt *sheqel* was issued. I do not wish to underplay the striking of *TJC* groups H, I, and J (implied by Rappaport 1976, 174), but it must be realized that those issues were not on par with the striking of silver coinage. And this is not because Hyrcanus did not have enough silver at his disposal. The high priest had paid three hundred talents of a five-hundred-talent indemnity to Antiochus VII some years before (173 n. 10).

Why, then, did Hyrcanus mint these first coins? Local politics *are* important, even if they do not reverberate in the international arena. Hyrcanus's declaration of victory—whether indicative of a military achievement or a refashioning of his luck in maintaining his rule as Seleucid power declined after the death of Antiochus VII—was something he would have wanted to advertise to his people. The three-coin denominational series was a declarative issue. In addition, it came with the usual secondary advantages of striking one's own coins, the ability to make one's payments efficiently—and cheaply—using an in-house mint (Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 23–24).²³

Toward an Absolute Dating of Hyrcanus's Coins

Having made the case for an earlier small-scale coin issue of John Hyrcanus I, characterized by the high priest's self-presentation as head of

22. I am excluding Aradus, which struck its first autonomous silver coin in the 122 year (=138/137 BCE) of an era starting in 259/258 BCE (de Callataÿ 2002, 80).

23. *Making* one's own payments were important, not facilitating one's subjects' payments. Hyrcanus lived in a period when concern for the absence of coinage in the retail marketplace was not yet a critical concern of most heads of state (contra Rappaport 1976, 174–75).

the Council of the Jews, and the coins without the word $r\text{'}\text{š}$ (head) issued subsequently, we may speculate about the periods within Hyrcanus's rule that these mintings may have taken place. Our starting point has been that the three types reading "head of the Council of the Jews" were struck after Sidetes's death, as before then, the two types naming the Seleucid king were issued and Hyrcanus remained Antiochus VII's vassal (and see Josephus, *Ant.* 13.273). Soon thereafter (128 BCE), Sidetes's successor and brother, Demetrius II, traversed the fringes of Judea on his way to and from a campaign to Egypt, truncated by Alexander Zabinas's appearance in Antioch as a force backed by Ptolemy VIII. It seems reasonable not to ascribe the first autonomous striking of Hyrcanus until after the murder of Demetrius II, even though that king's reign had also been marked by further creeping disintegration of imperial cohesion (Grainger 2010, 373). His reign had been marked by the de facto secession of Aradus from the empire, and his death triggered a full declaration of a new autonomous era by the city of Tyre (125 BCE)—a watershed event for the decline of the Seleucid Empire's hold on this part of the empire. Even though Hyrcanus's proclamation of autonomy in bronze coinage cannot be compared to the new Tyrian era in 125 or the subsequent autonomy of Sidon in 110 BCE, it should probably be bracketed between those two developments. The reported pact between Alexander Zabinas (128–123/2 BCE) and Hyrcanus ("Alexander ... made a league with Hyrcanus"; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.269 [Marcus]), and Zabinas's uncertain fate until Demetrius II's death, point to the second half of the usurper's reign as the best time for Hyrcanus to move toward autonomy.

This is not a new idea (e.g., Hoover 1994, 50; Bar-Kochva 1989, 562; *TJC*, 31; Syon 2014a, 114).²⁴ New or not, dating Hyrcanus's $r\text{'}\text{š}$ coins to the window of circa 125–123/122 BCE ties into the question of the meaning(s) of the minute *alphas* or the other trigonal Greek letters *lambda* and *delta*, or monograms with those three letters. An *alpha* is found to the left of the helmet²⁵ on Hyrcanus's largest $r\text{'}\text{š}$ coin, group H. In group I such trigonal

24. A dating after 125 BCE also accords with the recent analysis of Schwartz (2017, 76), who viewed this period as the chronological frame for the composition of 1 Maccabees, with its "disparaging attitude toward the Seleucids." In other words, it may be no coincidence that the Maccabean author's ability to distance himself from "pre-Hyrcanus" historical events came around the time that Jewish autonomy was declared.

25. Always (Hendin, personal communication), although this was inadvertently not mentioned in Hendin 2010.

letters often appear to the right of the cornucopias, and in group J they can be seen to the left of the lily. It appears to be no coincidence that only trigonal letters are depicted, and we may suppose that despite their appearance sometimes not as *alphas*, the letter *alpha* was always intended (AJC 1:85). This supposition further supports dating the *r*ʿš coins after the reign of Demetrius II, as Zabinas, named Alexander, and his murderer-successor, Antiochus VIII Grypus, both had names beginning with *alpha*.

Thus, a reasonable absolute chronology of Hyrcanus's coins would be as follows. The initial series, reading with the word *r*ʿš, dates to the second half of Zabinas's reign. The next emission would then be *TJC* group A (*TJC*, 201), with its larger *alpha* at the top of the Paleo-Hebrew inscriptions *without* *r*ʿš. The group A coins, which Meshorer called "the most beautiful Hasmonean coins," are appropriate as the first issue *after* Hyrcanus's three-coin denominational series (*TJC*, 42). It may also date during the reign of Zabinas or belong to the period of his successor, Antiochus VIII.²⁶

Although Hyrcanus's proclamation of autonomy would not have been comparable to the announcements from other cities, because his was made in bronze coin and in Paleo-Hebrew, and the others in silver and Greek, it was significant nevertheless, especially locally. This is so even in light of the report in 1 Maccabees of the declaration of Judean autonomy through the establishment of an era in 142 BCE dated by the elevation of Hyrcanus's father Simon (1 Macc 14:43; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 13.214).²⁷ Whether the numismatic declaration of Hyrcanus came before or after Zabinas's assassination is also not relevant to this main point. As ruler in

26. Meshorer thought the *alphas* on group A referenced Zabinas. Hyrcanus's group C (*TJC*, 203), with its *alpha*-like monograms, may have been issued with group A.

27. No archaeological or epigraphic evidence for Simon's era is known to me. However, it stands to reason that the era is not a fiction, as many of the book's audience would have been alive when 1 Maccabees was completed a dozen or more years later and would not have taken kindly to a falsified era. That being said, on Simon's continuing role as agent of Demetrius II, see Hoover 2020, n. 13. If one views Simon's era as a regnal era, then the high priest's untimely death eight years later would have marked the end of its use. Coincidentally, the beginning of the era of Simon roughly coincides with the era of another adversary to the Seleucid dynasty, Diodotus Tryphon, located in Dor, less than 100 km away. Tryphon's regnal era, however, is documented on stamped storage jar handles and lead sling bullets (Kosmin 2018b, 93–94), and two Seleucid-era years later, for the first time, Tyre began styling itself as autonomous on its coins (Τύρου ἑρᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου; SC 2.1:301, no. 1961; 302, no. 1965). Accordingly, there is no doubt that there was freedom in the air around the time of the beginning of Simon's era.

Jerusalem, Hyrcanus was responsible for striking the helmet on the issues of Antiochus VII (SC 2122). He would not have forgotten the symbol and based on the analysis offered here would have employed it on the first large coin in his name. Possible prototypes for the reverse of the group H coin, the two parallel cornucopias tied with a fillet, were readily available during Zabinas's reign, on Antiochene silver (SC 2.1:451–52, nos. 2221, 2223, 2225) and bronze (SC 2.1:457, no. 2237; see fig. 12.5 below). However, if Hyrcanus issued group H after the assassination, another candidate for the two parallel cornucopias type could have been a different Antiochene bronze, of Antiochus VIII; see fig. 12.6; SC 2.1:505, no. 2313).²⁸

The small three-coin denominational series announcing Judean autonomy cannot date much later than circa 125–123/122 BCE and Zabi-



Fig. 12.5. Alexander II Zabinas. SC 2.1:457, no. 2237; Roma 42, January 6, 2018, Lot 250. 1.5 scale. Obverse: radiate and diademed head r.; reverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]/ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ]. Two filleted parallel cornucopias oriented to r.; in fields: Α–Π. Æ, ↑, 6.63 g, 22 mm.



Fig. 12.6. Antiochus VIII Grypus. SC 2.1:505, no. 2313; American Numismatic Society 1944.100.76887. 1.5 scale. Obverse: diademed head r.; reverse: [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ/[Ε]ΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Two filleted parallel cornucopias oriented to r. Æ, ↑, 9.75 g, 20 mm.

28. Another quite unusual proposed prototype for the two-parallel-cornucopias reverse of group H is a gold coin; see Lorber 2015, 187–88. Accepting Lorber's unorthodox idea would require lowering the three-coin denominational series to after 109 BCE.

nas's reign. One needs to allow time for the emission of the remainder of Hyrcanus's coins, those without the title *r's* (head). The current consensus is that Hyrcanus's military campaigns date close to the end of his period of rule (Barag 1992–1993, 10; Finkielsztejn 1998a; Shatzman 2012, 42). As small change is often thought to go hand-in-hand with military activity, the large volume of the non-*r's* (head) coins is likely to belong to that lowered chronology for the high priest's campaigns (fig. 12.7; Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 17–18).²⁹ The small emission of coins with the title *r's* (head), as suggested, are Hyrcanus's most declarative series and should therefore date to the beginning of the last quarter of the second century BCE.



Fig. 12.7. Alexander II Zabinas. SC 2.1:456, no. 2235; Heritage 3032, September 2014, Lot 30154. 1.5 scale. Obverse: radiate head r.; reverse: [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[Α]ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ]. Two filleted opposing cornucopias, intertwined; in fields: Σ–Α. Æ, 7.78 g, 21 mm.

What Is Jewish about the Early Coins of the Jerusalem Mint?

With the realization that all the Hasmonean coinage bears symbols of victory of Greek inspiration (above), deriving directly from the Seleucid iconographic repertoire,³⁰ it becomes clear that the Jewishness of Jewish coinage must be reconsidered. If Hasmonean numismatic imagery was

29. Support for a date after Zabinas's reign for the non-*r's* (head) coins is the change in Hyrcanus's cornucopia type, from two *parallel* cornucopias to two *opposing* cornucopias, whose best coin prototype (first noted by Madden 1864, 59), was issued by Alexander II Zabinas (SC 2.1:456, no. 2235).

30. To reinforce this point, one may look at Schwentzel's study of Hasmonean iconography. In the category of military power he found textual imagery in 1 and 2 Maccabees citing swords, lions, helmets, and palm branches (Schwentzel 2009, 371). Of the four symbols, only two (helmet, palm) appear on Seleucid coins, and those are the two employed by Hyrcanus on his coins. With a much larger perspective, one may place the entire iconographic development of the trend towards local themes on

neither uniquely ethnic nor based on a cultic tradition, what is left? Three answers to these questions may be offered.

One answer is that the symbols on Hasmonean coins issued during almost the entire first century of the post-Seleucid Jerusalem mint *do* have special characteristics. Their vocabulary comprises formerly Seleucid types, albeit in only two categories. First are Hasmonean issues that replicate aniconic and nonfigural Seleucid types, for example, helmets, anchors, and opposing and parallel cornucopias. The second category consists of issues that lack the offending parts of Seleucid compositions, such as the human or mythological portraits or figures, but do depict—as main types—the nonoffensive adornments and attributes that accompanied those compositions.³¹ Examples of this second category, what I call distilled imagery, are wreaths, diadems, cornucopias, palm branches, and, of course, fillets. It is this accommodation to the biblically mandated interdiction against graven images that renders the Hasmonean coinage Jewish. The cornucopia provides a telling illustration. Deriving from Greek mythology as the goat's horn taken by Zeus's foster mother Amalthaea to feed the future king of the gods, it became a Jewish symbol through its selection as a non-offensive object appearing on Seleucid coins.³²

second century coins in the perspective of a transformation which took place earlier in that century (Meadows 2018).

31. Without resorting to a strident aniconic, nonfigural argument, another way to construe the Jews' selection of adornments/attributes of Seleucid coin iconography is to recognize that, *grosso modo*, the types on bronze coinage in this period and later periods often tended to follow practical schemes of depiction, whereby the selected image related directly to available space on the coin. The larger-module coins portrayed compositions that required more space for the amount of detail required; on the middle-sized coins, moderate-sized objects were preferred, and on the smallest-sized coins small-scale objects were depicted. A contemporary example is from the quasi-municipal coinage of Gaza, after Simon Thassi's renewed alliance with the city (142/141 BCE). A standing Apollo appears on the large bronze (denomination B), the god's tripod on the medium coin (denomination C) and his chelys(-lyre) on the small coin (denomination D; SC 2.1:306, nos. 1974–76). The mint of Jerusalem, preferring small-module coins, naturally favored categories of inanimate small objects such as on Gaza's smaller coins, despite their original meanings as attributes of the idolatrous image, which was not adopted, on the large coin.

32. The single exception to this group of Seleucid-derived symbols on Hasmonean coins is the very rare menorah/showbread table type struck by the last Maccabean king, Mattathias Antigonus (*TJC*, 220, nos. 41–42). See Lichtenberger 2013, 74; Ariel and Fontanille 2012, 169.

A second answer to the question what is Jewish about the Hasmonean coins is, simply, that they were struck by Jews. Those who do not regard this as a compelling explanation, or do not agree that the coins' aniconic and nonfigural character is sufficient to define their Jewishness, must wait until the appearance of the last Hasmonean coin type (37 BCE), with its definitely Jewish menorah and showbread table symbols (note 32), to label a coin as Jewish. Besides that type, and the coins issued at the very end of the independent mint (69/70 CE), when the Tabernacles-holiday four-species symbols were issued by Simon Bar Giora, it is arguable that no iconography on the coins of the Jerusalem mint is Jewish (*TJC*, 243–44, nos. 211–14).

A third and last way to answer to the question of the Jewishness of Hasmonean coins is to set aside the coin symbolism and recognize that all coins of the Hasmonean series still have one consensual Jewish feature. It is the appearance of Paleo-Hebrew inscriptions on all of them. This resuscitation of the ancient Hebrew language and its sanctified “neo-paleo-Hebrew” script is without question an innovation of High Priest John Hyrcanus I, after his first involvement with producing a Greek-language coinage as vassal of Antiochus VII less than a decade prior to these autonomous issues (Kosmin 2018b, 227). On this point Kosmin (227) has written that “the Hasmonean deployment of the Hebrew language in general and the paleo-Hebrew script in particular made charged and visible claims for a revived autonomy, legitimacy and deep pre-Seleucid antiquity.”

The first coins of Jerusalem's Hellenistic mint—a two-coin denominational series and no longer a single issue—were minted with an iconographic program proclaiming Antiochus's victory over the Judean capital. The vanquished high priest John Hyrcanus I adopted the Seleucid-based iconographic program in the idiosyncratic way described above in his ensuing autonomous issues. These Seleucid-victory iconographic themes were continued into the terms of Judas Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus, and later still under Mattathias Antigonus.

Conclusions

For over 160 years, since the first attribution of Antiochus VII Sidetes's lily/anchor issue (SC 2123) to the mint of Jerusalem, this type has been absent from most books on Jewish coins. The marginalization of the coin from those early discussions and a focus on understanding the Jewishness of the first Hasmonean coins caused a lag in scholarly retrospection on

the *Sitz im Leben* of the Hasmonean series. With the discovery, published in 2019, that a second Seleucid coin depicting a helmet (SC 2122) was minted alongside Sidetes's lily/anchor coin, the time has come to place early Hasmonean coins, particularly those of John Hyrcanus I, in the context of their Seleucid backdrop (Ariel 2019).

In recent years, some scholars described the lily/anchor coin as a transitional issue, even though it marked the beginning of Hasmonean coin minting (Lykke 2015, 36). In a sense, the addition of the second, sister Seleucid issue to the better-known first coin aids in the rewriting of the early history of Jerusalem's bronze mint. SC 2122, with its helmet obverse, not only provides a prototype for Hyrcanus's own helmet coin (TJC group H). It encourages us to reevaluate the iconographic repertoire of Hasmonean coinage and interrogate the axiomatic view of the images as Jewish symbols.³³

Politically, Hyrcanus's minting of coins in his own name constitutes the second of two phases of the numismatic transition in Judea from imperial hegemony to Judean autonomy. Those Paleo-Hebrew coins not only identify Hyrcanus by his non-Greek name, Yehoḥanan, but also give him the double titles of high priest of the Jerusalem temple and head of the "Council of the Jews." My identification of the *r'š* (head) coins (group H) as the first issue of Hyrcanus's tenure is based both on the iconographic similarity of the helmet on one of the *r'š* coins to Sidetes's SC 2122 and on a compelling convergence of numismatic considerations. Similar to the idea of a two-coin denominational series of Antiochus VII in Jerusalem, Hyrcanus seems to have first issued a small three-coin denominational series, based on the additional word *r'š*. Alongside the helmet type were middle-sized (group I) and small (group J) denominations. The helmet symbol and exceptionally large size of group H, both unique among the first three Hasmonean high priests, together with the inscription with *r'š*, all contribute to the conclusion that through these coins Hyrcanus affirmed that autonomy had come to Judea. The two Jerusalem coins of Antiochus VII have aided in uncovering the roots of the earliest Hasmonean coins.

33. It is also hoped that the connections drawn here between the SC 2122 and TJC group H will contribute some *numismatic* reasons against reopening the question of whether Hyrcanus I or Hyrcanus II was the first to issue Hasmonean coins (see Coşkun 2018d).

Part 2

The Wider Stage: A Small State in a Great Power World

Overview: The Middle Maccabees in Context

Paul J. Kosmin

How do we account for the emergence of the Hasmonean kingdom? Our response, obviously enough, will accord with the wider disciplinary concerns and models we bring to the question. The kind of answer typical of Hellenistic historians understands the middle Maccabees as an epiphenomenon of imperial decline, a political pathology of the late Hellenistic territorial kingdom. The successes of Judas, Jonathan, and, especially, Simon are situated within the Seleucid dynastic competitions of the second century BCE and the consequent frontier dynamics in the Levant that increased the agency of regional stakeholders, opened spaces for indigenous self-assertion, and admitted ever-greater Roman interference. This is the story that, with variation of emphasis, Honigman, Fischer-Bovet, and Coşkun tell so effectively in this book. Another kind of answer, more attuned to the concerns of theologians and Second Temple studies, locates the Hasmonean seizure of political and religious leadership within the more local dramas of Judea: a concern with religious legitimation; a focus on 1 Maccabees' biblical rhetoricity and dynastic agenda; a reconstruction of the diversity of this theologically lively, highly disputatious, and helpfully scribal world, and the place of the Maccabean victors among these other political players and intellectual movements. Scholarship has done salutary and important work in each of these directions, and the archaeological contributions of part 1 hold out the promise of substantial addition and revision.

This introduction to part 2 aims to provide some wider framing for the Hasmonean emergence, zooming out from the battles, compromises, and documents of 1 Maccabees to a scale and tempo that may feel almost tectonic. For the second half of the second century BCE, during which

this Judean family branch was able to embed and then articulate their rule, witnessed three great historical transformations: a breakup, an echo, and an entanglement.

A Breakup: Toward the *Divisio Orbis*

To the inhabitants of Hellenistic west Asia (fig. 13.1), the political geography of the first millennium BCE was experienced as a sequence of territorial empires ruling over a greater Fertile Crescent—Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid Persian, and, finally, Seleucid. However “gappy,” archipelagic, or mediated the wider imperial landscape, these kingdoms succeeded in unifying the Crescent’s Syro-Levantine and Mesopotamian wings. (During most of this millennium Egypt constituted the main external pole and occasional presence in the southern Levant.) The Seleucid kings’ commitment to this spatial unity underwrote the chains of colonies, fortifications, and protected roadways that interlocked their two main governmental hubs in northern Syria and the middle Tigris.

Over the course of the later second century BCE, the period of our middle Maccabees, this territorial unity, a political dispensation that had run for most of a millennium, was in the process of shearing in two, drawn toward two exterior and historically unprecedented centers of gravity. To the east, the Parthian conquest of western Iran and Babylonia—initially in the 140s BCE, and then without contest from the 120s BCE—reoriented the Fertile Crescent’s eastern hemisphere to a new imperial heartland in northern Iran. In turn, the ever-increasing political and economic unification of the Mediterranean around Rome pulled the Levantine seaboard into a new geopolitical logic, for which, as MacRae demonstrates, Italy mattered far more than Babylonia. This was of macrohistorical significance: despite full-hearted attempts to counteract this separation and to bring west and east back together—see, for instance, the *anabaseis* of Demetrius II and Antiochus VII, in the latter of which John Hyrcanus participated—the Seleucid Empire’s decline was, in the long-view, the tearing in two of the greater Fertile Crescent, a *divisio orbis* between Roman and Iranian worlds that would obtain until the Arab conquests of the seventh century CE.

Such a shearing apart of this long-standing territory opened a political crevasse from Armenia, through eastern Anatolia, along the upper Euphrates, and into the inland Levant, within which small-scale polities, headed by local or indigenous ruling families, could emerge. For all its

particularities and distinctive concerns, the incipient Hasmonean state should be situated within this second-century emergence of fault-line local powers. For, in addition to our Judean case, we see, north to south, the autonomy and expansion of Armenia (see below) and Sophene from 188 BCE (Marciaak 2012), the revolt and independence of Commagene, under its governor Ptolemaeus, in 163/162 BCE (Facella 2006, 199–205), the first independent kings of Osroene during or in the aftermath of Antiochus VII's failed *anabasis* (Tubach 2009; Luther 1999, 437–40; Duval 1892, 30–39), and an increasingly assertive Nabatean kingdom (Schwentzel 2005; Sartre 2001, 411–24).

A cursory comparison of the middle Maccabees with another of these fault-line states—Artaxiad Armenia—can bring to the fore certain systemic characteristics of this late Seleucid breakup. After the fall of the kingdom of Urartu in the late seventh century BCE, the region of greater Armenia had been absorbed into the Median and then Achaemenid imperial systems, but hovered on or just beyond the northern horizon of practicable Seleucid control for most of the early Hellenistic period (Kosmin 2018b, 211–13; Khatchadourian 2016, 81–152; Bernard 1999, 37–38, 46–52). The region was absorbed more fully into the Seleucid realm by Antiochus III only at the end of the third century BCE, just a little before the same king's conquest of the southern Levant: we are told that this Seleucid monarch deposed the last of the Orontid dynasts and appointed in their place a certain Artaxias (Strabo, *Geog.* 11.14.5, 15). Artaxias served the Seleucid crown as *strategos* of Armenia until Antiochus III's defeat at the Battle of Magnesia in 189 BCE. Breaking for Rome at this point, Artaxias was rewarded, as the Maccabees would be later, with recognition by the Roman Senate and, much like Simon in 142/141 BCE, introduced a new dating system for his rule.¹ Over the next decades, in a program of territorial expansion and urban settlement, Artaxias extended his dominion toward the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and Media Atropatene, earning a reputation for aggressive rapacity (Strabo, *Geog.* 11.14.5, 15; Polybius, 25.2.12). But in 165 BCE, during Antiochus IV's *anabasis*, Artaxias's domain was reincorporated into the Seleucid imperial structure, not entirely unlike the Judean situation in the good years of Antiochus VII Sidetes (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.17a; Appian, *Syr.* 45, 66; AD -164 B Obv. 15, C Obv. 13–14). Soon after Antiochus Epiphanes's death, Artaxias

1. His regnal dates are found on the stelae erected across Armenia: see, e.g., Périkhian 1971.



Fig. 13.1. Hellenistic west Asia. Source: Kosmin 2018, 4, map 1



allied with Timarchus, the rebel governor of Media, against Demetrius I, and, shortly thereafter, passed onto his son Artavasdes a fully independent kingdom (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.27a). The rise and conquests of Artaxias I were celebrated in an oral epic, the Songs of Artashes and His Sons, that in all likelihood fulfilled a legitimizing function and derived from a court milieu. Many centuries later, when this epic was worked into Moses of Khoren's *Armenian History*, its renarration was modeled in part on 1 Maccabees (Tirats'yan 2003, 139–49; Thomson 1978, 19).²

Mount Ararat and Mount Zion may seem a world apart, linked only by Noah. Yet, the Artaxiad and Hasmonean kingdoms emerged from a shared geopolitical frame—the shearing apart of the Seleucid Fertile Crescent, imperial delegation and withdrawal, support from the Roman Senate, aggressive territorial expansion, and opportunistic alliance with pretenders or cadet branches.

An Echo: The Age of Iron?

The erosion of Seleucid dominance in what remained of their empire was the consequence of defeat at Magnesia and humiliation at Apamea, continuing Ptolemaic intervention, the loss of the upper satrapies and their resources, and spiraling intradynastic conflicts, however we weigh their respective significance (see Lorber, Fischer-Bovet, and Coşkun in this volume). In contrast to earlier periods of crisis, by the later second century BCE the Seleucid empire—the mixed iron feet of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the second chapter of the book of Daniel—was now beyond the capacity of salvation. With the vultures circling, we can speak of a systems collapse in which these independent dynamics became, in combination, ever more aggressive and irreversible. On the ground, within the narrow frame from Cilicia to the Egyptian border, the gradual destabilization, contraction, and disintegration of the kingdom meant the multiplication and equalization of operative political agency: rival Seleucid kings; interveners from without (Ptolemaic Egypt, the Roman Republic, and the house of Arsaces), and the increasingly assertive and ambitious local powers, among them the Hasmoneans. Put another way, the high Hellenistic age's two-level structure of, on the one hand, big kings (Antigonid, Seleucid, Ptolemaic,

2. See, for example, the explicit reference to Antiochus and Mattathias as an example of resistance to oppression in Moses of Khoren, *Arm. Hist.* 3.68. On the Artaxiad epic, see Redgate 1998, 68; Russell 1986–1987.

and, eventually, Attalid), with formalized horizontal relations, and, on the other, clearly subordinated local communities, vertically linked by relations of vassalage, delegation, and tribute, ceased to exist.³

In the broadest strokes, there is a resemblance here to the collapse of Hittite and Egyptian hegemony over the same region at the end of the Bronze Age. In each scenario, the local populations of the Syro-Levantine region experienced an increase in agency, independence, and number of political centers. In the Iron Age, these had been the Neo-Hittite states, Aramean kingdoms, Phoenician and Philistine coastal cities, and the southern Levantine “nations” of Israel, Judah, Ammon, Moab, and Edom (see, e.g., Liverani 2014, 381–457; Herr 1997). In the late Hellenistic period, by the time of Pompey’s provincialization, the political landscape consisted of the last ineffectual Seleucid monarchs, the Hellenistic colonies in northern Syria, the Phoenician coastal cities, the Decapolis and other foundations, various dynasts based in Levantine settlements and forts, the Itureans of the Beqaa, the Idumeans, the Hasmonean and Nabatean kingdoms, and various other Arab *ethnē* (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.38–41, 71–76, with Trampedach 2009, 395, 402–4). More specifically, long-bypassed centers of political gravity, in a reactivation of certain Iron Age logics, reemerged as the court residences of rival Seleucid princes or the bases of quasi-emancipated indigenous populations. The rise to regional prominence of Jerusalem under the middle Maccabees is, in some sense, the topic of this book; but let us take, as another example of the wider trajectories at work, the case of its near neighbor to the north, Damascus (Kosmin 2018a).

The Iron Age kingdom of Aram-Damascus had fallen to Tiglath-pileser III in 732 BCE, but the city remained the main imperial center of the Levant through the succession of Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid Empires.⁴ As was typical, the basic characteristics of Achaemenid political geography were reenunciated by Alexander the Great, and Damascus appears to have continued as the region’s satrapal center and main mint until about 320 BCE. But over the course of the

3. I am employing the language of Liverani 2014, 280–81.

4. For example, it was the only Levantine city in a list of Achaemenid supra-provincial capitals, alongside Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis, Bactra, and Sardis; see Berosus in Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 5.65.3. Its nodal position on the roadways of the Persian Empire is confirmed by one of the Aršāma letters, in which the steward Neḫtiḫōr returned from Arbela to Egypt via Damascus (Grelot 1972, 66–67).

late fourth and third centuries BCE, the city experienced a precipitous marginalization, a consequence of the division of the Levant between a Ptolemaic south and Seleucid north; the devastating Syrian Wars that followed, in which Damascus appears to have changed hands five times; the interruption of north-south trade along the King's Highway; and, perhaps most significantly, the development of new Hellenistic primate cities on the Mediterranean coast, both the Tetrapolis of northern Syria and Ptolemais (Akko). The inland and now frontier city of Damascus was pushed off center. It is diagnostic that it no longer housed a mint and was not visited by the Ptolemaic administrator Zenon in his tour of southern Syrian estates.

While the reunification of the entire Levant by Antiochus III in the Fifth Syrian War seems to have resulted in a slow revival of the city, and there is some evidence of the development of the east-west trading route through the desert from Damascus to Palmyra to Dura-Europus, Damascus reemerged as a major regional capital only in the later second century and as a direct result of the intrafamilial wars of the late Seleucid house. In 138/137 BCE, after almost two centuries, Antiochus VII reopened the city's mint (SC 1:377–79; Newell 1939, 46–107).⁵ In 127/126, Demetrius II was defeated beneath its walls by Alexander Zabinas, and the city was a war prize of Antiochus VIII Grypus, Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, Demetrius III Eucerus, and Antiochus XII Dionysus. Notably, it seems that Demetrius III, who was installed in Damascus by Ptolemy IX Lathyrus in 97/96 BCE and ruled from the city for nine years, appears to have refounded it after himself as Demetrius along Hellenistic lines (Ehling 2008, 240; Cohen 2006, 242–43; Gelin 2008–2009, 106; Burns 2005, 43; Will 1994, 10).

For the first time since before the Assyrian conquest, we have evidence of direct relations between rulers of Jerusalem and Damascus. Jonathan is located there twice in 1 Maccabees and according to Josephus (*Ant.* 13.179) chose Damascus as the market for his Nabatean cattle and captives. Alexander Jannaeus and Aristobulus II, representing his mother, Alexandra Salome, campaigned by the city. And, as we know from the Syrian-Egyptian-Judean (or Ninth Syrian) War of 103–101 BCE, and also from Qumran's Nahum Peshier and Damascus Document, the city would impress ever more heavily on Judean politics and imagination (Josephus,

5. For a possible earlier strike at Damascus, for Antiochus III and Seleucus IV, see SC 1:20–23, 691; note, though, that these so-called wreath coins have more frequently been attributed to Antioch-in-Ptolemais/Akko or Antioch-in-Mygdonia/Nisibis.

Ant. 13.320–364; Justinus, *Epit.* 39.4, with Whitehorne 1995; Van ’t Dack et al. 1989; Eshel 2008, 117–31). It was from Damascus, by now, once more, the natural center of the middle Levant, that Pompey organized the new province of Syria and attempted to settle affairs in Judea and Egypt.

Importantly, this historical revival was visible to and celebrated by the actors themselves. In a kind of feedback loop, the late Hellenistic reemergence to political centrality of old regional centers with glorious Iron Age pasts seems to have produced a kind of echo in the political self-fashioning of these local rulers. So, just as Hasmonean rulers reappropriated certain tokens of the last great age of Judean independence—1 Maccabees’ emplotment and diction according to biblical conquest narratives; the characterization of Jonathan as, among other things, a judge; the use of Paleo-Hebrew on Hasmonean coinage; and so forth—it is noteworthy that the last Seleucid rulers of Damascus employed strictly local, traditional, and nonroyal imagery on the reverse of their precious metal coins minted in the city—the Syrian deity Atargatis for Demetrius III, and the city’s tutelary divinity Hadad for Antiochus XII, each depicted in a non-Hellenistic, rigidly frontal iconography, arrayed with wheat or barley stalks and accompanied by sacred animals (Ehling 2008, 106–7, 246–47; Freyberger 2006, 167–68; Newell 1939, 78–87). These last Seleucid kings wished to be seen as kings of Damascus. A few archaeological traces suggest the active commemoration of Damascus’s Iron Age greatness, such as the ninth- or eighth-century BCE basalt orthostat of a winged sphinx, in Phoenician-Egyptian style, incorporated into the first-century CE Jupiter temple. Josephus (*Ant.* 9.93–94), drawing on Nicolaus of Damascus, reports that the *dēmos* of Damascus honored their former kings Ader and Azaēlos as gods, on account of their benefaction and temple building in the city: “each day they process in honor of the kings and revere their antiquity.”

We find this strategy of indigeneity, a privileging of antiquity and rootedness that contested the foundations of the Seleucid Empire’s own history, present in different ways in several of the emergent, late Hellenistic, fault-line states. Such assertions of the ancient and rooted allow us to complicate historical analyses that adopt the delegating logic of the Seleucid center or marginalize the historical significance of cultural and religious expression.

An Entanglement: The Ptolemaic-Seleucid Complex

The series of third- and second-century Seleucid-Ptolemaic wars over the Levantine middle territory can be placed within a multimillennial history of

great power conflict between Egypt and successive Near Eastern empires. This makes visible the deeply rooted geopolitical logics that conditioned the international relations of the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean. In some sense, this is the force of Dan 11, whose anonymized, timeless ciphers “king of the north” and “king of the south” neatly slot into the polar geography of earlier biblical history: the apocalypse’s reworking of Iron Age prophetic denunciations of pharaonic Egypt and the Neo-Assyrians represents not so much scribal intertextuality as a historical recursivity.

Such a geopolitics of clarity, in which the Syro-Levantine interstice could be pulled either to north or to south, achieves a plausibility for the third and early second centuries BCE, when the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms were relatively stable, centered, and directed. And in turn, the factional local politics of subordinate Levantine communities can be seen as a fractal-like expression of this big power competition, looking to one core or other, not entirely unlike the Cold War politics of the Third World.

Yet, with the political breakup of the Fertile Crescent, discussed above, how appropriate is this model for the period of the middle Maccabees? For as Fischer-Bovet, Lorber, and Coşkun show, from the reign of Antiochus IV right up to the Roman provincialization of Syria, we witness an unprecedented and increasing entanglement of the two dynasties, in terms of territorial ambition, dynastic marriage, and even institutional organization. Accordingly, I would suggest that there is a heuristic gain, for this period and from the Judean vantage, in thinking no longer of two discrete states, Ptolemaic and Seleucid, but rather of a single, if internally fractious, Ptolemaic-Seleucid complex.

Certainly, the unification of the two kingdoms under a single monarch, Seleucid or Ptolemaic, had appeared as a short-lived reality and a feverish vision in the middle decades of the second century BCE. In 168 BCE, in his second invasion of the Sixth Syrian War, Antiochus IV occupied the Egyptian *chōra* and was crowned in the style of the pharaohs at Memphis (Porphyry in Jerome, *Expl. Dan.* 11.24; see Blasius 2007). To the apocalyptic seer of Dan 11:40–43, writing shortly after, Antiochus Epiphanes’s absorption of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia in a predicted third invasion would mark the culminating success of the persecutor king, and the final provocation to divine intervention. In turn, in 145 BCE, Ptolemy VI Philometor’s northward march through Coele Syria and Phoenicia concluded in his coronation at Antioch-by-Daphne with the diadem of Asia alongside that of Egypt. The Ptolemaic monarch inaugurated a new double dating count for this territorial unification (Year 36 = Year 1;

Chauveau 1990, 143–52) and seems to have been entered into the Seleucid dynastic cult (in the peculiar inscription from Teos [OGIS 246 = SEG 32 1207], with Piejko 1982; Mastrocinque 1984). A generation later, in 129 BCE, the Seleucid Demetrius II attempted to invade Egypt in support of his mother-in-law Cleopatra II and with the promise of the Ptolemaic throne (Justinus, *Epit.* 38.9.1; 39.1.2–4; AD -144 Obv. 35–37).

While these acts of union were short-lived, aspirational, and, in the context of a suspicious Roman hegemony, politically unfeasible (already noted by Josephus, *Ant.* 13.114), from Ptolemy VI's reign began the unbroke marital integration of the two royal families. As Daniel Ogden (1999, 147–54) and others have demonstrated, the Ptolemaic princesses Cleopatra Thea, Tryphaena, Cleopatra IV, and Cleopatra Selene became the transferable tokens of legitimacy for successive Seleucid monarchs and a source of semicoherent authority for the splintering kingdom (Muccioli 2003; Bartlett 2016; Dumitru 2016). The multiple marriages of these Egyptian queens so thickly intertwined the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties that, however independent the trunks, the tangle of their branches now made them effectively indistinguishable. Cleopatra Thea, for instance, was married to Alexander I Balas, Demetrius II, and then Antiochus VII, with children from each match. Cleopatra Selene was queen to, in succession, Ptolemy IX, Ptolemy X, Antiochus VIII, Antiochus IX, and, finally, Antiochus X.⁶

To a certain extent, these marriages produced an ideological integration of the kingdoms, as well as a biological mixing of their houses. Take the wedding of Cleopatra Thea to Alexander I Balas, attended by Jonathan Maccabeus (1 Macc 10:54–58; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.80–82). This was celebrated in the symbolically significant Seleucid-Ptolemaic double foundation Antioch-in-Ptolemais (modern 'Akko) and commemorated in gold staters and silver tetradrachms that combined, on their obverse, jugate portraits of Cleopatra Thea and Alexander Balas—the *kalathos*-wearing, diademed Ptolemaic queen in front of her Seleucid husband—with, on the reverse, the Ptolemaic eagle, typical of Ptolemaic-weight coinage from Phoenicia (Ager and Hardiman 2016, 146, 169; Ehling 2008, 155–56). Their son, Antiochus VI, was given the double epithet Epiphanes Dionysus, the former alluding to his supposed Seleucid grandfather Antiochus IV, the latter in likely reference to the Ptolemaic family's divine progenitor (Muccioli 2003, 107). Cleopatra Thea's second husband, Demetrius II, honored

6. For visual reconstructions of the family trees, see McAuley 2016.

his father-in-law, Ptolemy VI Philometor, at the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite on Cyprus, with an inscription that explicitly set out the interlinked familial relationship;⁷ this, a potent symbol of a loving entanglement, may be the first example of a Seleucid monarch erecting a dedication in a Ptolemaic sanctuary.

Institutional and military consequences followed. It seems likely, for example, that Alexander I Balas, sponsored as the opponent of Demetrius I, was supported by Ptolemaic troops, led by Galaestes, and accompanied by a guard of Ptolemaic courtiers; a certain Ammonius, whose name suggests (but does not require) an Egyptian origin, was responsible for a purge of Demetrius I's court, doing away with the defeated king's sister-wife Laodice, son Antigonos, and *philo*i (Ehling 2008, 155; Livy, *Per.* 50.4). Several coastal sites of the southern Levant were garrisoned by Ptolemy VI, in the name of Alexander I Balas, and then by Ptolemy VIII, in the name of Alexander II Zabinas. Cleopatra IV, after breaking with her brother-husband Ptolemy IX in 115 BCE, brought her new husband Antiochus IX an army from Cyprus (Ehling 2008, 219–20). As a whole, the dynastic contests that fatally undermined the Seleucid and Ptolemaic houses were, in fact, integrated conflicts involving multiple players in the entirety of Egypt, the Levant, and Cyprus. For example, Demetrius II invaded Egypt at the urging of his mother-in-law, Cleopatra II, in order to take Alexandria from Ptolemy VIII Euergetes, Cleopatra's full brother and former husband, and Cleopatra III, his younger wife and her own daughter (Justinus, *Epit.* 42.1.4–5; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 34.18, with Ehling 2008, 208). In the so-called War of the Scepters at the very close of the second century, Antiochus VIII joined with Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X against Antiochus IX and Ptolemy IX (see the reconstruction of Van 't Dack et al. 1989). Was there any longer a meaningful distinction between a Seleucid pretender and a Ptolemaic cousin?

It is difficult for us to characterize such a political entity in terms of the bounded states more appropriate to earlier Hellenistic historiography. This situation, the splintering and merging of two once discrete and hostile entities, was a new phenomenon; perhaps the kind of set theory, employed by

7. SEG 6.815: [Βασιλέα Πτ]ολεμαῖον θεδ[ν Φιλομήτορα βασιλεὺς | Δ]ημή τρ<ι>ος θεὸς [Νικάτωρ - - | Φιλᾶδελφ]ος τὸν πατέ[ρα τῆς γυναικὸς (?) εὐνοίας | ἔ]νεκα τῆς εἰς [ἑαυτὸν]. On the location, see Młynarczyk 1985, 289. On the date of the inscription, see Muccioli 2003, 108.

Kirti Chaudhuri (1990) for the Indian Ocean world, could be of use. Like the ancient inhabitants of these Seleucid-Ptolemaic lands, we are without the pole stars that had given direction to actors and shape to historians. No doubt the elimination of the Macedonian kingdom at the end of the Third Macedonian War had already shaken the sense of a Hellenistic order. But, for the later second century Levantine communities, the dizzyingly complex interweaving of the Ptolemaic-Seleucid conflicts that absorbed them must have removed all hope of a political predictability, and so required of local elites talents of maneuver and opportunity quite unlike the political modalities of an earlier generation. If Dan 11's "king of the north" and "king of the south" represented the tidy political geography of the earlier second century BCE, then the hydra-like multiplying of kings in its closing decades is well caught in Constantine Cavafy's late poem *Should Have Taken the Trouble*. In the estrangement, bitter irony, and self-exculpation characteristic of the modern Alexandrian's historical poems, an anonymous Antiochene youth weighs his options between the Seleucid kings Alexander II Zabinas and Antiochus VIII Grypus, the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus, included as an equal alongside these, and with Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in the background: "I stayed six months in Alexandria, last year; | am fairly well acquainted (and this is useful) with what goes on there; | the 'Malefactor's' schemes, the dirty deals, and so forth." It is a situation of disillusioned exhaustion that prompts our Antiochene, in his last stanza that gives the poem its title, to raise and then drop the prospect of a savior king: in the utter demoralization of the land, this is a kind of hopelessness even with messianic yearning (trans. Mendelsohn 2009, 169).

I'll solicit Zabinas first off,
and if that fool doesn't appreciate me
I'll go to his archrival, Grypus.
And if that idiot doesn't take me either,
off I go at once to Hyrcanus.

One of the three, in any case, is bound to want me.

And my conscience isn't troubled by the fact
that I'm so completely indifferent to my choice.
All three of them harm Syria just the same.

But, given what I've come to, am I to blame?
I'm just a wretch who's trying to get by.

The almighty gods should have taken the trouble
to create a fourth man, who was good.
With pleasure I'd have gone along with him.

Before the Spark Ignites the Fire: Structural Instabilities in Southern Syria

Sylvie Honigman

In the fourth century BCE, the inland area in southern Palestine was underurbanized and at a demographic low (Lipschits and Vanderhoof 2007). Written documentary sources, where available, show that this situation was conducive toward “co-operation rather than competition over ... limited resources” between social groups, and hence required “low ethnic boundary maintenance” (Stern 2007, 215). In Idumea, the ostraca from Maresha and the scattered settlements in the Negev Desert indicate mixed populations intermingling and intermarrying (205–38.). Albeit to a lesser extent (because their populations were more homogeneous than in the frontier zone), this social dynamic is also attested in the papyri and ostraca from Samaria (Dušek 2012); furthermore, reading between the lines of the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, it would seem the same applies in Judea (Lipschits 2011b). In the late 140s BCE the Seleucid satrapy of Coele Syria and Phoenicia covering this region experienced widespread turmoil, and layers of destruction datable to the late 140s have been identified in numerous rural sites in Galilee, the northern Paralia (the coast to the south of Phoenicia), and Judea.¹ How did this happen?

1. For Galilee and the Paralia, see Leibner 2012, 450–67. See also Leibner 2019, 269–70 and, on Khirbet el-ʿEika, 273–74, 277. On Khirbet esh-Shuhara, see Syon 2002, 122*–26*. For the present essay I also used the paper “Galilee in the Second Century BCE: Material Culture and Ethnic Identity,” presented by Uzi Leibner during the Ninth Nangeroni Enoch Seminar on June 14, 2018, which listed the sites including layers of destruction, including Qiryat Ata; Tirat Tamra; Tel Keisan; Nahf in the Bet ha-Kerem Valley; Khirbet esh-Shuhara; and Tel Kedesh. For their localization, see the maps in Syon 2015. For Judea, see Berlin 1997a.

Admittedly, the two geographical areas in consideration do not entirely overlap, and it is important to note that in Persian times the coast and the interior region from Phoenicia to the Negev experienced very different economies and social dynamics (Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2007). Notably, the Phoenician cities on the coast thrived, as did the port cities to their south (Dor, Jaffa, and Ascalon) under the control of Tyre and Sidon, respectively (Syon 2015, 53–54). In contrast, the fertile lands of Galilee served as an agricultural hinterland for the cities of Tyre and Akko, Samaria and Judea were exploited by the Persian authorities as farmland for feeding the troops stationed in the Negev, which had been turned into a frontier region in the wake of the Egyptian revolts (Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2007). However, this distinction largely continued into Hellenistic times, and structural demographical and economic changes were minor, with the notable exception of Idumea (Berlin 1997a, 6–8, 15). Urbanization in Judea remained low up until the reign of John Hyrcanus (Lipschits 2011a, 169–75). Therefore, the causes of this deterioration must be sought elsewhere.

For the Maccabean authors, who redate the turmoil to the late 160s, the troubles broke out because of the wrath of the nations around Judea when Judas Maccabee purified the Jerusalem temple (1 Macc 5:1–2).² Modern historians have been more sensitive to the fact that the troubles coincided with the fateful years (ca. 153–138 BCE) during which two claimants to the Seleucid royal title fought in the region (Syon 2002).³

2. Until recently, the notion of widespread upheavals in the days of Judas Maccabee as described in 1 and 2 Maccabees was not supported by the archaeological evidence. See Berlin 1997a, 21. Catharine Lorber's (in this volume) identification of hoards buried in the 160s partially changes this picture, but it remains that the different nature of the evidence—buried hoards versus layers of destruction in numerous sites—suggests that the nature of troubles in the 160s and the 140s was different. Actually, there are reasons to doubt that Judas Maccabeus reconquered Jerusalem and rebuilt the temple at all (Honigman 2014, 511 n. 111). Consequently, we cannot rule out that the Maccabean authors created a narrative doublet based on the troubles that occurred in the mid-140s and which are archaeologically well documented. A comparable gap between the literary account of how Jonathan Maccabeus conquered Kedesh in upper Galilee in 1 Macc 11:63–74 and the archaeological findings was pointed out by Berlin and Herbert. According to them, it seems that the author of 1 Maccabees attributed to Jonathan an event “that properly belonged to Tyrian history” (Berlin and Herbert 2015, 435).

3. Four successive pairs of contenders to the royal title were successively pitched against each other: Demetrius I and Alexander Balas (153–151/150); Demetrius II and Alexander Balas (147–145); Demetrius II and Trypho (144–141); and Trypho and

In this essay I argue that the conflict had been simmering for years due to an underlying structural instability, and the dynastic strife provided the spark that ignited the conflagration. Below I pinpoint some of the structural factors involved and examine how the political contingencies interacted with them.

1. The Demographic Factor

As noted in the introduction, nothing indicates that the region between the fourth and second centuries BCE developed to reach its demographic breaking point. The only region to experience a potentially significant rise in population was Idumea, but this change was triggered by positive environmental and economic changes. Increased rainfall from the fourth century onward created favorable conditions for agricultural development, and with the intensification of the caravan trade from the Arabian peninsula to the coast and Egypt under Ptolemaic domination, Maresha developed into a thriving city (Langgut and Lipschits 2017, 135–65; Berlin 1997a, 6–8, 15). Altogether, the scant archaeological evidence currently available suggests that across its various subregions Galilee retained its agricultural orientation and low demography (Berlin 1997a, 12–14; Berlin and Herbert 2015).

However, continued low demography does not necessarily mean stability. A comprehensive analysis of the patterns of rural settlement in Judah and the bordering parts of Idumea and Samaria between the sixth and second centuries BCE revealed that the most extensive changes in this respect occurred during the century and a half following Alexander's conquest (Shalom et al. forthcoming). The substantial number of migrants from Judea and Samaria settled as cleruchs in the Fayum, Middle Egypt, in the third century BCE buttresses this impression of instability (Stefanou 2013, 113).⁴

Incidentally, the military employment of these migrants confirms that the interior remained economically backward, contrasting with the merchants and traders from the Phoenician cities who established flourishing

Antiochos VII (141–138). Both Balas and Trypho used Akko-Ptolemaïs as their capital. For details, see Will 1982, 365–66, 377–78, 404–11.

4. The Judeans and Samaritans settled in Delos in the second century BCE likely came from Alexandria, not Coele Syria.

associations in the major harbors of the eastern Mediterranean (primarily the Piraeus and Delos).

2. From Demography to the Political Economy: Taxes and Territories

In addition, demography can become a factor of instability when it interplays with social issues, such as restricted access to resources and an efficient system of collecting taxes. Admittedly, grievances against taxation were probably nothing new in Hellenistic times. Nonetheless, several factors may have brought about an increase in the fiscal burden, both effectively and subjectively.

Monetization, Taxes, and Administrative Reforms

First, the increased monetization of the taxation system may either have forced new economic behavior onto peasants compelled to trade part of their production, or else increased their social dependence on patrons who were able to provide them with the needed cash (on marketization, see Aperghis 2001, 69–102; on patronage, see Rowlandson 2001, 145–56). In this respect, an intriguing question is whether the systems of levying successively imposed by the Ptolemies and the Seleucids interacted with the traditional structures of rural patronage to the benefit or detriment of the peasants. Ptolemy II's well-known ordinances for the registration of livestock and slaves of circa 260 BCE (C.Ord.Ptol. 21–22) suggest the deployment of a densely manned administrative network, potentially (in the economically productive areas of the province) reaching out to each individual village, and likewise the subdivision of the internal spaces of the administrative complex at Tel Kedesh into multiple rooms may suggest the installation of several administrators (Berlin and Herbert 2015). However, the actual social significance for peasants of this multiplication of royal officials on the ground is difficult to assess. Powerful newcomers could potentially disrupt traditional relationships of patronage, but we may suspect that in actuality, most administrative positions were fulfilled by local strongmen, further tightening their grip over the peasantry. In sum, while peasants may have had reason to grumble, the administrative changes caused social instability only when they affected the elites themselves.

Conversely, local communities occasionally enjoyed the upper hand when it came to garnering political support for royal concessions. Judean literary sources and the numismatic evidence spotlight several key periods,

including the aftermath of Antiochus III's conquest of the region in 198 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138–144) and the years of dynastic strife in the mid-second century. The Judeans got partial tax exemptions (e.g., 1 Macc 11:34–35), whereas Tyre was granted “holy and inviolable” status (Hoover 2004, 491; Sawaya 2012, 269–84).

Territorial Claims and Administrative Changes

An intriguing question is whether and to what extent the issue of the collective payment of the tribute affected territorial claims advanced by local communities, and the shift of control over districts from one community to its neighbor. Whatever the case, arable land remained the main economic asset for these agricultural societies, and access to the land or the lack thereof was eminently (for individuals and village communities) both a social issue and a political one (for cities and *ethnē*). The ‘Ela Valley in the third century may have been deserted because of a change in the status of the land there (Sandhaus in this volume).

While the circumstances underpinning this reform remain obscure, one episode neatly illustrates the interaction between delicate political and military times and the (temporary?) resolutions of territorial disputes. According to 1 Maccabees (11:34), through a letter to Jonathan Maccabeus, Demetrius II confirmed the annexation to Judea of the three districts of Lydda, Ramathaim and Aphairema formerly belonging to Samaria (Raviv in this volume).

Hellenistic Warfare

One Hellenistic innovation likely to have increased the fiscal burden on peasants and which had a disruptive economic and social impact was the omnipresence of warfare. Following the troubled era of the Diadochi, southern Syria was the arena of six successive Syrian wars. Although the full extent of destruction entailed by Greek warfare—in particular on agricultural production—is unknown (see, e.g., Antiochus III's decree for Jerusalem in Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138), it is undeniable that wars resulted in forced displacements, either to repopulate cities after wide-scale massacres—such as Alexander did in Gaza (Arrian, *Anab.* 2.27.7)—or in long-distance deportations, particularly to Egypt (Let. Aris. 4). Likewise, warfare strained the resources of village communities and even of entire cities, as the common folk were required to feed both the army and their

animals, and the soldiers themselves were invariably billeted to private homes (see the Hefzibah inscription, Document G [Chrubasik 2019, 121]; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138).

Poliadization

The transformation of urban centers into cities of the Greek type, as happened in Jerusalem circa 175/174 BCE, had economic consequences. According to 2 Maccabees 4:8–9, Jason pledged to increase the tribute in exchange for the king's permission to install a gymnasium, and parallel situations indicate that since the citizens of the new polis would have enjoyed (partial?) tax exemption, the relative fiscal burden would have fallen on the rest of the population.⁵

3. Structural Political Instability in Local Affairs

Ultimately, however, these structural factors alone were insufficient to generate wide-scale unrest among the populace. Although acute, the fiscal and economic oppression of peasants and the sundry territorial disputes among neighboring communities were a fairly basic component of ancient agricultural societies, and the structures of domination, including patronage, were there to keep peasants under control. To understand how a major crisis could break out, we need to comprehend how instability came to affect the relations between local elite families on the one hand, and between these and the imperial authorities on the other. When relations deteriorated, the peasants' (and citizens') long-repressed resentments could easily be unleashed: the violence was either channeled in their patrons' interests—whether they were rural or urban elites—or otherwise it would run loose.

Recent studies on the Seleucid system of imperial government have shown that the instability at the top of the society was actually structural in nature and caused by an ever delicate and fundamentally precarious balance of power between the king and local power holders (Chrubasik forthcoming). Because the kings themselves did not have the necessary financial means or sufficient personnel to properly administer the

5. As suggested by Christophe Feyel (personal communication, June 2013). For the different fiscal status of city and countryside, albeit in a different situation, compare Antiochus III's decree for Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.143).

far-flung territories of the empire, they delegated the administration to local rulers. To prevent these dynasts from seeking independence, the kings would deliberately maintain multiple foci of power (such as cities, temple, states, and military colonies) to keep each other in check within a single region and likewise encouraged the competition to power between rival elite families within a given polis or ethnos, thereby ensuring that for each local ruler royal backing was indispensable to remain in power.

In actual fact, this practice of pitting local powers and prominent families against each other was also a structural feature of imperial government under Ptolemaic domination, a fact illustrated in Josephus's *Romance of Joseph the Tobiad*. Joseph was the high priest's nephew and outstripped his own social position at Onias II's expense (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.160–166), activating a personal network of friends against rival ones to this end (12.168–169) and ordering leading men in Ashkelon and Scythopolis to be executed (12.181–183).

Although such tensions among local elites have antecedents under Achaemenid rule, a telling difference is borne out by comparison between Joseph the Tobiad's deeds and how Nehemiah and the governors of neighboring regions handled their mutual conflict by means of letters petitioning their superiors. Given the nature of Achaemenid imperial culture, Alexander the Great may have been the first (and the last) prominent man to shrewdly exploit the ongoing internecine dissensions to truly disruptive effect (Briant 2002, 817–76).

In southern Syria in early to mid-Hellenistic times, several elements of a structural, quasi-structural, and situational nature combined to create a particularly acute potential for political instability of the kind encapsulated in the aforementioned system of government. In what follows I examine how these structural factors and the political and military events interacted.

4. A History of Instability in Southern Syria and Phoenicia

King against King

First, for more than 150 years the region was disputed between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, and as this contest dovetailed with the ongoing rivalry of local elites, instability was amplified in an exponential way. Although Josephus's account of the internecine fights between

pro-Seleucids and pro-Ptolemies in Judea may be overstated as resemblances with the struggles between *optimates* and *populares* in Rome were emphasized, the overlap between royal and local politics in the region at the time is well documented (on Josephus, see Honigman 2014, 310–15). Polybius (*Hist.* 5.86.7–11) claims that the population in Coele Syria favored the Ptolemies, and in the aftermath of the Battle of Raphia in 217, Ptolemy IV was honored with crowns, sacrifices, and altars (Pfeiffer forthcoming). However, on the eve of that battle, Akko-Ptolemais and Tyre had rallied in favor of Antiochus III (Hoover 2004, 487). Based on a revised dating of the dossier recorded in the Hefzibah inscription, it appears that the Ptolemaic governor of Syria and Phoenicia was petitioned by Antiochus III's emissaries before his campaign of 200/198 (Chrubasik 2019). Conversely, in this volume Fischer-Bovet insists that the Ptolemies never gave up their hope of repossessing the region and throughout the second century BCE actively meddled in its affairs.

While these interdynastic quarrels resulted in several wars, the kings controlling the region were able to contain their disruptive effect on local affairs for decades. Then, in the period 153–138 BCE, the rifts and schisms surfaced *internally* within a single dynasty, at which point the systemic instability became paroxysmal, as local rulers played out the claimants to the Seleucid royal title against each other while the rival kings exploited local rivalries (Chrubasik forthcoming).

The Collapse of Local Resilience?

In times of royal weakness, the ability of local elites—high priests, dynasts, and civic elites—to step in to the power vacuum is crucial, above all to make sure peasants and craftsmen remain under the constant pressures from above.⁶ In the mid-second century, however, these same elements of the elite contributed to the chaos before a new order of cities and peoples claiming autonomy emerged.

In this respect, comparisons with the chaotic era of the Diadochi might be telling. Admittedly such comparisons require caution, both because there is scant evidence, archaeological and even literary, for the Diadochi era in southern Syria, and because the region was only one of numerous

6. On high priests assuming the functions of governors in a situation of political vacuum, see Honigman forthcoming.

foci of struggles. That said, while cities and entire areas of southern Syria were gutted by the Diadochi's actions, as far as I am aware the layers of destruction attributable to these years are far less numerous than those datable to the late 140s.⁷ There are indeed hints that when the elites of southern Syria and Phoenicia were faced with two rival kings, they were already in such a state of internal disarray that they were unable to properly channel, let alone contain, popular violence.

Let us first consider the relationship between civic elites and rural populations. In northern Syria and in the regions of Asia Minor caught in the Seleucid dynastic strife, the networks of Greek cities were denser than in Coele Syria.⁸ Urban riots could be channeled and perhaps even circumscribed by the urban elites, and in Asia Minor the native rural populations reduced to the status of *paroikoi* were dominated (and exploited) through a two-tier system. When royal power was strong, the Greek urban elites controlled the *paroikoi* on its behalf and would still be there when political turmoil prevailed (Honigman 2014, 396, with further bibliography). In contrast, the lack of urbanization across the interior of Coele Syria may have exacerbated the political crisis when Seleucid power collapsed. Furthermore, the situation inherited from Persian rule may have been worsened by royal actions in previous generations, as suggested by the history of the administrative complex in Tel Kedesh. In Persian times this was built at the edge of Tyre's agricultural hinterland and was administered by the Tyrian royal family. Subsequently, the Ptolemies transformed it into a center of royal administration, and the Seleucids followed suit. When royal authority collapsed in the mid-second century, it appears that one component of this center (the local archive) was deliberately destroyed, perhaps by local actors (on Tel Kedesh, see Berlin and Herbert 2015; Berlin, in this volume).

In Judea, political and social destabilization had been prevailing for decades. Between 175 and 152 BCE, Jerusalem counted five high priests belonging to four families—Onias III and Jason; Menelaus; Alcimus; and Jonathan Maccabeus—and relationships between the Hasmonean

7. For the period of the Diadochi, see Shalom et al. forthcoming. For the 140s, see Syon 2015 and above, nn. 1 and 3. For a summary of the latter years, see the concluding chapter by Berlin and Kosmin in this volume.

8. This paragraph took its cue from an observation by Chrubasik correlating between the absence of cities in Coele Syria and the general deflagration in the mid-second century during discussions at the 2018 Nangeroni Seminar.

allies and even within the family were anything but harmonious. Military commanders played their own game—and Joseph and Azariah were presumably only two cases that ended well for the Maccabees (1 Macc 5:55–62). Likewise, whereas the author of 1 Maccabees depicts Jonathan and Simon to be leading military campaigns as both independent and coordinated leaders, numerous details in the account suggest instead that they acted with royal mandates, albeit (like Joseph and Azariah) with dubious loyalty (1 Macc 10:88–89; 11:41–59; see Goldstein 1976, notes on 10:69–89, 70–73, 89; 11:59). Édouard Will has suggested that Trypho first sought to play Simon against Jonathan (11:59), before murdering Jonathan (12:24–53). Likewise, Will proposes that Ptolemy son of Aboubos, governor of the plain of Jericho and Simon's son-in-law, murdered Simon at the instigation of Antiochus VII (14:11–17; Will 1982, 405, 411).

The traditional competition between Phoenician cities all but abated under the Seleucids, and the numismatic evidence shows both how each city extorted outstanding concessions from the kings and used its quasi-municipal coinage to claim prominence over the others (see Hoover 2004; Sawaya 2012). That said, the administrative reform of 162 BCE, as interpreted by Syon, illustrates how royal initiatives could, once again, increase disruption.

As noted above, in 218 BCE both Tyre and Akko-Ptolemais had defected to Antiochus III. After Antiochos III's conquest, the Tyrians were the only major city in the satrapy to issue coinage on his behalf, and moreover they were permitted to use civic imagery on the reverses of their bronze coinage, a “unique status” they maintained under Seleucus IV (Hoover 2004, 488). However, after the Apamea Treaty in 188 BCE drastically limited the Seleucid fleet, the strategic importance of the Phoenician navies was enhanced, and their new position may explain why several Phoenician cities were granted the outstanding right to use the Phoenician script alongside the Greek on their quasi-municipal bronze coinage (Hoover 2004, 489–90).

Thus far the various concessions were expanded to new cities, without the privilege to one city coming at the expense of its neighbors. This changed in 162, when, according to Syon (2015, 140–45), Tyrian bronze coinage started to dominate throughout the satrapy, taking over from the Akko-Ptolemais coins that had been flooding through it since 198 BCE. Around the same time, it appears that a narrow strip of land formerly under the control of Tyre was transferred to Akko-Ptolemais, a move that most likely left bad blood between the two cities (Syon 2015, 78–79). Whatever

the case, when Trypho made Akko-Ptolemais his capital, Tyre and Sidon continued to mint coins in the name of Demetrius II (Sawaya 2012).

Although inferring direct linkage between these rivalries and the archaeological evidence remains speculative, the fact remains that a number of villages in which layers of destruction datable to the late 140s were located in what seems to have been the bordering area between the civic territories of Akko-Ptolemais and Tyre. Syon explicitly links the layer of destruction in Khirbet esh-Shuhara in 139/138 BCE to the war between Trypho and Demetrius II; and, given that strongmen like the Maccabees campaigned on orders, it is tempting to hold the Seleucid dynastic wars accountable for other—if not all—destructions belonging to these years, not only in the vicinities of the cities but in inland Galilee as well. Or rather, as the archaeological findings and the accounts in 1 Macc 5 and 2 Macc 12 suggest, when the Seleucid claimants rallied their respective allies, village was pitched against village, and ethnos against city.

Seleucid Throne Wars: Resilience and Disintegration of the Greatest Successor Kingdom from Demetrius I to Antiochus VII

Altay Coşkun

Introduction

Over the past generation, scholars have not tired of contradicting the view that the Seleucid kingdom was weak from early on and have also shown greater appreciation for Antiochus III Megas and his *anabasis*—his eastern campaign from Armenia to Bactria (212–205 BCE). Judgments remain, however, divided on the effect of this king's defeat by the Romans at Magnesia (190 BCE) and the peace terms imposed at Apamea (188 BCE).¹ But, apart from the defection of Armenia, there is no evidence for a deleterious chain reaction (Strabo, *Geog.* 11.14.5, 15; Traina 1999/2000, 59–62;

I would like to thank Andrea Berlin and Paul Kosmin for allowing me to be part of the stimulating Enoch Seminar on the Middle Maccabees and for their patience with me. I am also grateful to Catherine Berzon for her helpful feedback on an earlier draft. Given the limitation of space, my bibliography largely concentrates on the past fifteen years; for completion, see especially Ehling 2008; Grainger 2015a; Chrubasik 2016; Engels 2017a, 2017b; Coşkun and Engels 2019; Coşkun forthcoming A, forthcoming B.

1. Pessimistic views: e.g., Wolski 1999; Dąbrowa 2005, 75; Assar 2006b, 88; Coloru 2009; Plischke 2014; Grainger 2015a, 2015b; Kosmin 2018b, 187–233; Chaniotis 2018, 193–94. Optimistic views: e.g., Aperghis 2004, 198–99; 231–32.; D. Engels 2011; 2017b; Chrubasik 2016, 123; Wenghofer and Houle 2016; Wenghofer 2018; Strootman 2018; Coşkun and Engels 2019; Payen 2019; Coşkun 2019b; also see Eckstein 2008, 334–36, 339–40. *Anabasis*: Feyel and Graslin-Thomé 2017; Engels 2017b, 307–47; also Kosmin 2013, 65–67 (Persian Gulf); Plischke 2014, 265–76; Almagor 2019.

2017; Roller 2018, 679, 683; below, n. 16). His immediate successor Seleucus IV (189/187–175 BCE), once decried for his weakness, has recently been acknowledged for the consolidation of the kingdom (Mileta 2014; Elvidge 2017; see Chaniotis 2018, 194). Considering the achievement of his other son, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, overly negative views do not seem to be warranted: he was the first Seleucid monarch to ravage Ptolemaic Egypt and besiege Alexandria (170–168 BCE). While he is rightfully seen as the mightiest ruler of his time, pessimists point to his humiliation by Gaius Popilius Laenas on the beach of Eleusis: he boldly forced the king to abort the campaign with no more in his hands than a rod and a letter by the Roman Senate. But, contrary to a widespread opinion, proof for the destabilization of the kingdom is not forthcoming (*pace* Chaniotis 2018, 194–95; see Dąbrowa 2005, 75–76; Assar 2006b, 88–89; Plischke 2014, 291–92).²

The Judeans, admittedly, revolted in 168 BCE, but their anger was directed against the undeserving high priest Menelaus. The Seleucid government overreacted in its attempt to eradicate all resistance by normalizing the cult of Jerusalem. An unintended religious war ensued.³ But Antiochus's rule stood firm regardless. Who may be a better witness than the contemporary Judean pamphleteer Daniel? He was keenly awaiting divine intervention but had to concede that the king was invincible for some years to come (Dan 11:40–45; Coşkun 2019a). At any rate, the administration soon rectified its mistake, Jerusalem and the temple were pacified between 165 and 162 BCE, and opposition was undermined with arms and diplomacy by 158 (Nodet 2005; Dąbrowa 2010; Grainger 2012; Regev 2013; Seeman 2013; Schwentzel 2013; Atkinson 2016; Bernhardt 2017; also Wilker 2011; Trampedach 2012; Coşkun 2018b, 2019b).

Epiphanes began his *anabasis* by reconquering Armenia (165 BCE). His main intention was to tighten links with his administrators, priests, satraps, vassal kings and subjects, a project he had inaugurated with the spectacular procession at Daphne (166). Besides, he fostered Seleucid presence in the Persian Gulf, enticed by its high economic potential, a clear indication of his entrepreneurial spirit (Mittag 2006; Feyel and

2. Egyptian campaign: Fischer-Bovet 2014b.

3. Religious motivation: Bernhardt 2017, 222–74; see Gruen 1993; Scolnic 2019. Fiscal: Bringmann 1983, 99; Gruen 1993; Kosmin 2018b, 220. Political: Bickerman 1937; Engels 2014; Plischke 2014, 296–97; Chaniotis 2018, 196–97. Combination of political and fiscal factors: Gorre and Honigman 2014; Coşkun forthcoming A.

Graslin-Thomé 2014; also Coşkun and Engels 2019).⁴ His death in Persian Gabai (164 BCE) came unexpected, but resulted from a revolt neither of Persis nor other subject territories.⁵ His (minor) son Antiochus V Philopator was proclaimed king, though under the guardianship of Lysias, who successfully defended his role against his rival Philip. The Senate denied Demetrius, the twenty-two-year-old son of Seleucus IV, to inherit the throne and dispatched Gaius Octavius as inspector to Syria (163). He had the Apamean elephants hamstrung and the Laodicean fleet burnt. Polybius (*Hist.* 31.2.1–11; see Appian, *Syr.* 46.238–240) claims that this had been his mandate, but the senator probably acted spontaneously under the impression that the accumulated power in the hands of Lysias was too risky.⁶ Leptines, an outraged citizen of Laodicea, killed Octavius, but the Senate was hesitant to take punitive action (Polybius, *Hist.* 31.2.6; 31.11.1–3; 32.3.1–13; see Gera 1998, 291). Demetrius's chance had come.

The Rise of Demetrius I Soter

Despite the turmoil in Syria, the Senate was still reluctant to give Demetrius leave (Polybius, *Hist.* 31.11.9–12; Appian, *Syr.* 46.241–47.24). He fled from Rome in late spring 162 BCE, recruited mercenaries in Lycia, landed in Tripolis, and proclaimed himself king by October. Not much later, he

4. Daphne: Iossif 2011b; Strootman 2019. Coin imagery: Iossif and Lorber 2009; Anokhin 2014; Erickson 2019; see Hoover 2009. *Anabasis*: Coloru 2014 (Media Atropatene); Clancier 2014 (Babylonian sources); Martinez-Sève 2014; Plischke 2014, 312–14 (Elymais, Gulf, Antioch-in-Persis); see Kosmin 2013, 68 (with Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 6.28.147; *ADART* –164 C 13–14; SC 1:110–13. Itinerant court: Capdetrey 2007, 374–83; Iossif 2011b, 150; Kosmin 2014a, 142–80.

5. Combine Polybius, *Hist.* 31.9.1–3, with 2 Macc 1:10–17; 9:1–2; see Mittag 2006, 319–20; Coşkun 2019b, 462–63 n. 22; see also Walbank 1979, 3:474, for *Tabai*; *pace* Plischke 2014, 296–97 (different: 292: Elymais). Persian hostility? Thus (also with Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 6.32.152) Mittag 2006, 305–7; Plischke 2014, 293–95, 311–12; Kosmin 2018b, 203 (see Kosmin 2013, 67); contra Engels 2017b, 253 n. 28, 256, 273–74 (different: 304): dates and ethnic attributions problematic.

6. Polybius's accusation is accepted by Volkmann 1925, 381; McDonald and Walbank 1969; Gera 1998, 289; Scolnic 2019, 220–22, but rejected by Gruen 1984, 664. The terms of the Treaty of Apamea had not been enforced in years (Walbank 1979, 3:466–67; Sekunda 2019) and were no longer legally binding (Coşkun 2019b, 469). Other explanations: fear of Ariarathes: Polybius, *Hist.* 31.7.2–8.8; Lysias was blackmailed with the release of Demetrius: Gera 1998, 290.

took Antioch and executed Lysias together with his little cousin.⁷ Such swiftness may cast doubts on the stability of the kingdom, but unnecessarily so, because many factors contributed to Demetrius's success. Most of all, the previous regime was quite unpopular, not only because of the failure of Lysias to uphold Seleucid sovereignty against Rome but also because sole-ruling child kings had never found wide acceptance, as the barely noticed execution of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus IV (170 BCE), exemplifies.⁸ Besides, Demetrius had influential and skillful friends, including his former tutor Diodorus, the historiographer Polybius, and the Egyptian ambassador Menyllus.⁹ This said, the seeming ease of the transition of power in Syria contrasts with the uproar the coup caused elsewhere in the kingdom.

Demetrius and Judea

The violent succession in Antioch revived the conflict in Judea, but Demetrius's response was based on the two principles that had also led his predecessors to victory: the search for strong allies among the local elite and the staggered allocation of resources, depending on urgency. Lysias had already replaced the compromised high priest Menelaus by Alcimus, a member of the Oniad family who could be expected to enjoy broader support (1 Macc 7:5–25; 9:54–57; 2 Macc 14:3–13, 26; also Ps 79:1–4).¹⁰

7. Senate: Polybius, *Hist.* 31.11.9–12; Appian, *Syr.* 46.241. Flight from Italy: Polybius, *Hist.* 31.12–15. Lycia: Zonaras, *Chron.* 9.25. Syria: Appian, *Syr.* 47.242; Eusebius, *Chron.* 154.3 = 162/161 BCE. Few mercenaries: 1 Macc 7:1, *pace* 2 Macc 14:1; Ehling 2008, 123; see Josephus, *Ant.* 12.389. See Ehling 2008, 122–31; Coşkun forthcoming A; see also Volkmann 1925, 381–89; Walbank 1979, 3:478–84. Arrival in November 162: Bringmann 1983, 17–18. Arrival in 161: Van der Spek 1997/1998, 167–68; Boiy 2004, 162–63; see also Chaniotis 2018, 201.

8. Execution: Van der Spek 2004, *CM* 4; see Del Monte 1997, 208–11. Accusation of Antiochus IV: John of Antioch *FHG* 4:558 F 58. Allusive: Dan 7:8, 20, 24; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 30.7.2. See also, e.g., Mittag 2006, 47–48; SC 2.1:35–39; Scolnic 2014, 2016. Different views: Ogden 1999, 141–42, 145; Boiy 2004, 162; Monerie 2014, 128.

9. Supporters: Polybius, *Hist.* 31.11–15; see also Walbank 1979, 3:478–84; Ehling 2008, 122–24; Primo 2009, 153–57. Menyllus and Egyptian context: Gera 1998, 292–95; Hölbl 2004, 159–69; Grainger 2015a, 43–44. Alleged endorsement of the Senate: Zonaras, *Chron.* 9.25.

10. Different: Josephus, *Ant.* 12.9.7 (387); 12.10.1–6 (389–413); 20.10.1 (237) (Jacimus). See Scolnic 2005; Nodet 2005, 348–59, 384; Ehling 2008, 116; Dąbrowa 2010, 29–31; Bernhardt 2017, 325, 331–33; also Coşkun forthcoming A.

When the latter requested help against Judas, Demetrius miscalculated the strength of the two Judean factions, and the troops under his *strategos* Nicanor were routed at Adasa in March 161 (1 Macc 7:26–50; 2 Macc 14:1–15:37; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.402–412). Only then did the king send a fully fledged army under Bacchides, to destroy Judas for good at Elaza (October 161; 1 Macc 9:1–31; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.420–434).¹¹ Judea remained quiet until the death of Alcimus in 159/158 BCE. When Judas's brother Jonathan rekindled turmoil, Bacchides negotiated new terms: Jonathan was given a small fiefdom around Michmash in northern Judea, where he had free reign for his radical ideals, a small price to pay for leaving Jerusalem and the temple in peace. Since no candidate for the high priesthood had sufficient backing among the deeply divided Judeans, the position remained vacant (1 Macc 9:57–73; Ehling 2008, 135–39; Grainger 2015a, 47–49; Kosmin 2018b, 222–23). Demetrius had thus eliminated a dangerous threat in his rear in 161 BCE. Having boosted the spirits of his soldiers, he was ready to turn against his major enemy, Timarchus.¹²

Timarchus and Artaxias versus the Alliance of Demetrius

As an appointee of Epiphanes, the satrap of Media Timarchus refused to acknowledge Demetrius. He proclaimed himself king of Media and, once the Senate endorsed him, invaded Babylonia (161; see Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.27a; also Pompeius Trogus, *Prol.* 34: *rex Mediae*; Gera 1998, 280–82; Ehling 2008, 124–31; Coşkun 2018c, 99, 103–4 [*pace* Zollschan 2017]; Coşkun forthcoming A; Volkmann 1925, 392).¹³ Eventually, Demetrius defeated him at Zeugma¹⁴ early in 160 (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.27a; Ehling 2008, 126–28; Grainger 2015a, 47).¹⁵ Diodorus names

11. See nn. 5–7 (Maccabean bibliography) and 31 (chronology).

12. Relative chronology; see Coşkun 2018b versus Zollschan 2017.

13. Appian (*Syr.* 45.235) regards Timarchus and his brother Heraclides as satrap and treasurer of Babylon respectively; Boiy (2004, 163–64) suggests a revolt under Antiochus V (see SC 1:141–50), which is incompatible with Van der Spek 2004. On Timarchus and Media, also see Capdetrey 2007, 252–53; Chrubasik 2016, 127, 147–54; Wenghofer 2019, 267.

14. *Pace* SC 1:145, 151: Babylon. But this is not implied in Appian, *Syr.* 47.242; see Ehling 2008, 128–29; Muccioli 2013, 165–66.

15. Undated overstruck coins from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris do not help with the chronology, *pace* SC 1:141, 145 no. 1588. The inscriptions from Babylon do not provide a *terminus* either, *pace* Boiy (2004, 163–65 [May 161]) as well as Van der Spek

Artaxias of Armenia as an ally of Timarchus. The Orontid (or pseudo-Orontid) king, who had dedicated his lifetime to creating a new dynastic identity for his Armenian kingdom, thus embraced his opportunity to return to independence.¹⁶ His son Artavasdes succeeded him around 160, which is compatible with the view that Artaxias died in combat or was eliminated soon thereafter. Further tensions between Demetrius and Artavasdes are not recorded, so that the Battle of Zeugma likely reestablished Seleucid hegemony over Armenia (*pace* Traina 1999/2000, 59–63 [agreement with Artaxias; confused chronology]; Grainger 1997, 40; Payen 2019, 293).

Some scholars regard Ptolemy, the *epistates* of Commagene, as another ally of Timarchus (thus Payen 2019, 294; see Gera 1998, 296–97, 303–4).¹⁷ But if he had openly resisted Demetrius, the victor would certainly have invaded Commagene, which was located just north of Zeugma (Grainger 2015a, 53–54). And the belief that there ever was a dynastic era beginning in 163/162 has recently been shattered (Facella 2016). A Commagenian coin issue imitating Demetrius types from Antioch also implies continued loyalty to the Seleucids (*pace* SC 1:207 [with nos. 1767–70]; see Grainger 2015a, 62–63). Ptolemy hence provided active support to Demetrius. Moreover, Demetrius made an alliance with Pharnaces of Pontus, probably sealing it in 162/161 with the betrothal of his cousin Nysa. An Athenian decree identifies her as a daughter of King Antiochus (IV) and Queen Laodice (IVb), and attests the marriage in winter 160/159 (Durrbach and Jarde 1905, no. 61 = IDelos 1497*bis* = OGIS 771 [171/170 BCE]; also PHI 63933; Ghița

(1997/1998, 164; Chrubasik 2016, 128–29. [September 161]). They rather suggest that Babylon remained loyal to Demetrius (also on 18 January 160 [Boiy 2004]) and thus escaped Timarchus's control. The Babylonians had always been close to the the dynasty: see, e.g., Scharrer 2000; Boiy 2004, 137–66; Capdetrey 2007, 25–252; Graslin-Thomé 2012, 2017; Kosmin 2014b; Plischke 2014, 149–72; 201–4; Pirngruber 2017; Engels 2019; see also Coşkun 2019b, 472–75; Ramsey 2019.

16. Revolt: Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.27a; see Kosmin 2018b, 213; Payen 2019, 292–94; see also Gera 1998, 296; Ehling 2008, 127; Plischke 2014, 292–93. Identity: Khatchadourian 2007; Traina 2017; Kosmin 2018b, 211–18.

17. Others agree that Ptolemy revolted, without specifying his relation to Timarchus: Facella 2006, 199–205; Capdetrey 2007, 245–46; Ehling 2008, 127. I doubt that Ptolemy's attack on Melitene, a possession of Ariarathes V (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.19a), belongs to this context, *pace* Facella 2006, 199, 204.

2011 [160/59 BCE]; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 77–80, no. 37 [160/59]: ll. 14–15, 19).¹⁸

More difficult to understand are the Seleucid-Cappadocian relations, which had been shaped by intermarriage for nearly a century, although Ariarathes IV had to shift his alliance toward Pergamum, constrained by the Treaty of Apamea (McAuley 2019; also Simonetta 1977, 16; Grainger 1997, 40; Capdetrey 2007, 242–43; Michels 2009, 122–25). But blood bonds had long-term implications, and they must have been felt strongly around 163/162 BCE: Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus III, was the widow of Ariarathes IV and mother of Ariarathes V, while also the aunt of the boy king Antiochus V. For unknown reasons, she and her daughter sojourned in Antioch and became victims of infighting at the Seleucid court. Ariarathes (silently) blamed Lysias, so that the general's execution by Demetrius should have been welcomed in Mazaca (Polybius, *Hist.* 31.7).

Diodorus makes a vague reference to a renewed marital alliance between the two royal houses, which was dissolved before Ariarathes dispatched ambassadors to Rome later in 160.¹⁹ The traditional reconstruction goes as follows: Demetrius betrothed his sister Laodice, the widow of King Perseus, to Ariarathes V in 162 or 161, but the latter canceled the arrangement following the advice of Gaius Tiberius Gracchus in 161 (Volkman 1925, 390; Simonetta 1977, 24; Grainger 1997, 49 [different from Grainger 2015, 50]; Ehling 2008, 88, 139, 155; Michels 2009, 125; Payen 2019, 295–96). Diodorus's wording implies, however, that the marriage had been in effect for some time, and Gracchus, a grandson-in-law of Scipio the Elder, is not attested as advising against the marriage; he merely testified for Ariarathes in the Senate (Gruen 1984, 582–83, with Polybius, *Hist.* 31.3.1–5; see Payen 2019, 296).²⁰

This would leave enough time for the alliance to have been in force, so that Ariarathes probably supported Demetrius's fight against Timarchus

18. For 160/159, see also Walbank 1979, 3:318; Rigsby 1980, 241; Grainger 1997, 52; Ehling 2008, 140; Ballesteros Pastor 2013, 248; Strootman 2019, 190. *Pace* Tracy 1992, 307–13, who dates to 196/195 BCE; see Højte 2005, 142–43; Heinen 2005, 40; Michels 2009, 89; Paton, Walbank, and Habicht 2012, 468 n. 19; Avram 2016, 216; Ballesteros Pastor 2007; contra Traill 1994; Coşkun, forthcoming B. Undecided: Engels 2017b, 64 (n. 101), 85.

19. Diodorus Siculus (*Bib. hist.* 31.28, ἀπόρρητον τοῦ γάμου) dates the embassy to the 155th Olympiad (160/159–157/156). Polybius (*Hist.* 32.1) only mentions the embassy to Rome; Justinus (*Epit.* 35.1.2, *fastiditas sororis nuptias*).

20. This removes the ambiguity of Gracchus's actions; see below.

either with soldiers or material resources, before the Attalids urged him to reconsider his allegiance later in 160. Admittedly, the *Prologues* of Pompeius Trogus have been read as proving the opposite, namely, that the Cappadocian was allied with Timarchus. But this interpretation is based on an emendation by Otto Seel.²¹ He failed to see that Polybius's report on Ariarathes's embassy to Rome in 160/159 would have been pointless, had this king fought with Timarchus, a friend of the Romans. It rather seems that a whole line listing the allies of Demetrius is missing.

Further on, Demetrius may have been joined by Mithrobuzanes, a young king of Sophene, whom Ariarathes had saved from Artaxias (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.21–22; see Polybius, *Hist.* 31.16; Walbank 1979, 3:484: 162 BCE or later; Payen 2019, 293; Facella 2006, 204 n. 28: 163 BCE; *pace* Plischke 2014, 293). Another possible ally is the Elymean king Hycnapses (or Oconapses): his capture of Susa harmed Timarchus, if dated to circa 161 BCE (Grainger 2015a, 70; see Le Rider 1965, 346–47; Ehling 2008, 130; Assar 2006a; SC 1:191). We have no sure way of knowing which side the Seleucid vassals in Parthia, Bactria, and Persis took; perhaps they remained neutral. At all events, Demetrius showed himself very capable of renewing bonds of loyalty, owed to him as the only surviving grown-up male descendent of Seleucus I. Diplomatic skills and dynastic prestige did much of the fighting for him (Ehling 2008, 129).

Demetrius and Rome

Throughout the late 160s, Rome played a moderately destructive role in the Near East. The “falcons” among the senators wanted to curb Seleucid power and to punish Demetrius, but his friendship with the Scipio clan fended off the worst.²² Soon after Timarchus and Judas²³ had been recognized by the Senate (161 BCE), the embassy of Gracchus gained the

21. Pompeius Trogus, *Prol.* 34: “Ut mortuo Antiocho rege Syriae Demetrius cognomine Soter, qui Romae fuerat obses, clam fugit occupataque Syria bellum cum Timarcho Medorum rege habuit <et> Ariarathe rege Cappadocum” (Seel 1972). Engels (2008) believes in a confusion with Artaxias.

22. Gruen 1984, 1:42–46 (Senate indifferent); Engels 2008 and Grainger 2015a, 43, 47 (cynical); Wenghofer 2019 (concerned about peaceful dynastic succession); Gera 1998, 292–95 (anti-Attalid; see Volkmann 1925, 383–85, and 373–74: also anti-Seleucid); Chrubasik 2016, 124, 255–60 (inconsistent).

23. 1 Macc 8 is largely authentic; see Coşkun 2018b, 2019b, forthcoming A; see also Gera 1998, 304–11; *pace* Seeman 2013; Zollschan 2017.

impression that Demetrius posed no threat to Roman interests. When he returned to Italy (late 160), Timarchus and Judas had conveniently been eliminated, and no further action was needed.

The way for a polite reception of the king's envoys was paved. In 160/159, they delivered a golden crown and, as a bonus, the abovementioned Leptines for punishment. The Senate received the gift but did not reciprocate it. They also rejected the murderer of Octavius. Demetrius's status as *rex* was thus recognized, but he was not yet welcomed among the *amici populi Romani*.²⁴ On balance, the embassy was a success, considering that Demetrius had defied the Senate and murdered a legitimate king.

Attalus II, Ptolemy VI Philometor, and the Fall of a King

Ariarathes, Attalus, and Balas

Ariarathes V had afterthoughts. The Attalids convinced him that his allegiance to them (and their friends) was exclusive. Since this change of heart happened after the defeat of Timarchus, its immediate negative effect was limited, but the long-term ramifications were nevertheless devastating. The betrayal encouraged Demetrius to interfere in Cappadocia by supporting Holophernes against his brother. The latter's victory was only temporary, albeit, and he was ousted by Ariarathes, when Pergamene forces became available to him (158/157 BCE). Holophernes returned to Antioch and, disappointed by Demetrius's shallow commitment, stirred up a revolt (Polybius, *Hist.* 31.3; 32.10; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.19.7–8; 31.32; Appian, *Syr.* 47.244–45; Justinus, *Epit.* 35.1.3–4; see Ballesteros Pastor 2008, 46–48; Michels 2009, 125–39).

Even worse, Attalus sought out the half-brother of Antiochus V, (Alexander) Balas, in Smyrna and established him in Cilician Olba (158/157 BCE). Initially only a little thorn in Demetrius's skin, the challenge gained

24. Polybius, *Hist.* 31.15.10–12; 31.33 on Gracchus; 32.3 on Demetrius's embassy; Diodorus Siculus *Bib. hist.* 31.28–29 contrasts with Ariarathes, whose gift was reciprocated; 31.30 qualifies the Senate's response as "devious and enigmatic." See Coşkun 2018b; also 2017 and 2019c on *amicitia*. See Gera 1998, 298–300; Engels 2008, with Appian, *Syr.* 47.243. Ehling (2008, 140) doubts "ob Demetrios I. jemals offiziell als König anerkannt war." Chrubasik (2016, 255–56) remains vague. Untenable is the view that friendship pertained to a Seleucid state and thus automatically extended to Demetrius (Zollschan 2017, 187–89, 229; contradicted 177, 188).

momentum when Heraclides, the brother of Timarchus, took him to Rome and the Senate allowed him to seize his inheritance (154/153). His favorable reception meant outright betrayal, even if Demetrius had never been deemed worthy of *amicitia*.²⁵

At any rate, in October 153, an Attalid fleet established Balas in Phoenician Ptolemais.²⁶ Among the first local leaders to go over to him was Jonathan, despite his recent promotion by Demetrius. Alexander Balas was more generous, making him high priest of the Jews and *strategos* of Coele Syria (1 Macc 10:1–12:40; see Ehling 2008, 148–51; Chrubasik 2016, 165–66). But Demetrius maintained the upper hand until Ptolemy doubled the usurper's military strength and royal prestige by offering him his daughter Cleopatra Thea in marriage. Demetrius I was eventually defeated early in July 150.²⁷

Justinus (*Epit.* 35.1.1, 3, 10–11) singles out Demetrius's aggression as ultimate cause for the alliance against him. Josephus (*Ant.* 13.35–36) explains his unpopularity with the neglect of public affairs and a life in seclusion. His reproach of sluggishness matches the sentiment of Livy's *Periochae* (50, 52), which add the stereotyped desire of feasting.²⁸ At least the reproach of negligence may result from the fact that he had tolerated Balas in Ptolemais, instead of eliminating him while still a minor threat. But his major difficulty was to operate without a fleet, a fact that allowed

25. Polybius, *Hist.* 33.18.5–14 (Senate meeting); see 33.15.1–2 (Heraclides driving force; see Grainger 2015a, 54–55; Chrubasik 2016, 130); Justinus, *Epit.* 35.1.6–7 (concerted action of Ptolemy VI, Attalus II, Ariarathes V); see Ehling 2008, 145–48; Primo 2009, 156–57 (Polybius's judgment); Boulay 2018.

26. 1 Macc 10:1: Alexander began ruling as king in Ptolemais in 160 SE, i.e., 153/152 (Macedonian) or 152/151 (Judean-Babylonian) BCE; see n. 31 (calendar). See Coşkun forthcoming A (153 BCE), *pace* Ehling (2008, 147–48 [152 BCE]); Chrubasik 2016, 129–30 (downplays Attalid involvement).

27. BAD (Sachs and Hunger 1996, 3:86: –149 A Rev. 6 = Van der Spek 1997/1998, 168–69) reports Demetrius's last victory (see Just. 35.1.10) on the twenty-third day of month 3 in 163 SE^B = 13 July 150 BCE, a *terminus ante quem*. 1 Macc 10:48–40 and Josephus, *Ant.* 13.2.4 (58–61) only mention the final battle he lost. Porphyry (*FGrHist* 260 F 32 §15) knows Alexander as sole king for Olympiad 157, year 3, beginning in July 150 BCE. Ehling (2008, 152–53) argues for a revolt in Antioch, but see SC 1:152, 209, 257–59. See Grainger 2015a, 63–64; 212 n. 37; Chrubasik 2016, 131 (July). On the wedding, see Ager 2017, 176, and below.

28. On the *topos*, see Ceccarelli 2011; see also Primo 2009, 257–62, also 168–76; 210–12; *pace* Volkmann 1925, 403.

his enemy to extend his strongholds along the coast by the end of 151 (Ehling 2008, 152; Grainger 2015a, 64).

Philometor, Demetrius, and Balas

Of crucial importance is the involvement of Ptolemy VI Philometor, whom Justinus lists among the supporters of the Demetrius's enemies since around 156 BCE. Contrary to this, the detailed account of Diodorus only presents Ariarathes, Attalus, and Heraclides as the protagonists of the plot. Philometor's energy was absorbed by the fierce rivalry with his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes. The conflict escalated when Euergetes began occupying Cyprus with diplomatic support from Rome (154). The brothers were reconciled only by 152 (Justinus, *Epit.* 35.1; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.32–34).²⁹ Most scholars believe that Demetrius lost Philometor's friendship by trying to snatch away Cyprus during this crisis (Walbank 1979, 3:41–42; Hölbl 2004, 167; Ehling 2008, 142–47; Grainger 2015a, 58–59), although our sources on Demetrius's bribery of Philometor's *strategos* Archias do not hint at such a context (Plutarch, *Virt. vit.* 5.2–4).³⁰

First Maccabees, in turn, dates the wedding and alliance to 150/149 BCE, explicitly after the defeat of Demetrius. This skewed chronology results from an erroneous conversion of the Seleucid era (1 Macc 10:48–50, 57; see Josephus, *Ant.* 13.80–85)³¹ but also suits the pro-Maccabean tendency of the work: Jonathan now figures as the only ally of Balas until the defeat of Demetrius. Josephus (*Ant.* 13.103), however, attests that Alexander was already the king's son-in-law before the major offensive in spring 150 (also see Livy, *Per.* 50 for Ammonius). The marriage hence took place early in 162 SE^M, around October 151, within a year after the Ptolemaic conflict had been resolved. Philometor decided that he had less

29. See Hölbl (2004, 159–69) on the Ptolemies.

30. Suda s.v. “Archias,” “*Aulaia*,” and “*Kenoi kena logizontai*,” ascribed to Polybius (*Hist.* 33.5.1–4) on uncertain grounds.

31. The Macedonian year began in Dios (September/October) 151 BCE, the Judean-Babylonian year in Nisan (March/April) 150 BCE. See Kosmin 2018b, esp. 35–36 (general); Coşkun forthcoming A (specific for 1 Maccabees). Hölbl (2004, 170), Ehling (2008, 154–55), and SC (1:209) follow 1 Maccabees for the wedding, but not for the alliance (*pace* Chrubasik 2016, 131, 163, 166–57); Volkmann (1925, 406) assumes an earlier betrothal.

to gain from a strengthened Demetrius, even if friendly, than from a weak Balas, whom he could control. Only in this situation, Demetrius bribed Archias on Cyprus in an act of self-defense, hoping to win a fleet to attack Balas's harbor cities (Volkmann 1925, 401–2, 404–5, *pace* Ehling 2008, 142–43). While the attempt failed, Balas's allies managed to gain a foothold in southern Babylonia in spring 150.³²

Philometor, Mithridates, and the Fall of a Kingdom:
From Alexander Balas to Antiochus Sidetes

Toward the Deaths of Balas and Philometor

Philometor expected to dominate politics in Syria through the courtiers he sent together with his daughter, most prominently Ammonius (Livy, *Per.* 50; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 33.5; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.106–108; Grainger 1997, 76; Ehling 2008, 155, 158, 161–62; *pace* Chrubasik 2016, 167–68) and Hierax (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 32.9c; 33.3; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 6.61 (252e); Grainger 1997, 94; also Ehling 2008, 155, 162). Balas's coins heralded this new political orientation by use of a jugate portrait (with Cleopatra in front position), the Egyptian cornucopia, and the Ptolemaic eagle.³³ Regardless of such concessions, Balas made quite remarkable efforts to build up a royal persona of his own, attempting to prove himself a legitimate and capable ruler. Many of his silver tetradachms display the legend *Basileos Alexandrou Theopatoros Euergetous*. His throne name *Alexander* corresponds with the assimilation of his portrait to that of the great Macedonian conqueror (Chrubasik 2016, 163–65, 168). The title *Theopator* emphasizes descent from his divine father Antiochus “the Manifest God” (Muccioli 2013, 189–90). His coin reverses repeat nearly all themes that had once been popular in the Seleucid dynasty, from Apollo to Nike,

32. Thus possibly implied in BAD of 13 July 150 BCE and a contract from Uruk dated to 1/1/162 SE^B = 23 April 150 BCE under King Alexander. See Van der Spek (1997/1998, 169); Coşkun (forthcoming B) suggests a naval campaign of Philometor, *pace* Del Monte 1997, 91–94. We may soon expect an investigation by Catherine Berzon, Moscow.

33. SC 1:211–12, 242 (jugate portrait and cornucopia; see Ehling 2008, 155–56; Ager 2017, 171–72) and 212 (Ptolemaic eagle; see Hölbl 2004, 170); *pace* Chrubasik 2016, 253–54, 167–68.

from elephants to the anchor (SC 1:211–56, with summary on 212–13).³⁴ Another novelty was his title *Euergetes*, which most likely alludes to privileges granted to Greek cities (Muccioli 2013, 190).³⁵

Inevitably, the interests of the two uneven allies quickly began to drift apart. Philometor needed Balas to be inactive and staying in his proximity, ideally in Ptolemais. In contrast, the violent succession of 150 BCE required that the new Seleucid king appropriate all territories not only with his imagery and titulature but also with his physical presence. The subjects had to be convinced that he had at his disposition the formidable skills and huge resources needed to keep the kingdom together. While central cities in Babylonia and Media acknowledged him soon after Demetrius's death, some places at least escaped his authority.³⁶ We have no evidence that the eastern vassal monarchs ever recognized him in the first place. But it is for sure that the Parthian King Mithridates invaded Media in 148/147 (Justinus, *Epit.* 41.6.7; Dąbrowa 2005; 2018, 74–75; Assar 2006b, 89–90; Ehling 2008, 182; Grainger 2015a, 68–70).

The vicious circle became unstoppable when Balas was also challenged in the west in 165 SE^B (148/147 BCE). Here, his rival was the son of Demetrius I, Demetrius II, then perhaps fourteen years old.³⁷ He came over from Crete with a strong mercenary force under Lasthenes. Things went from bad to worse when Philometor openly shifted his allegiance (and daughter) to the young pretender, while Balas was confronting Demetrius in Cilicia in 146/145. When he rushed south to win back Antioch from Philometor, he was defeated and sought refuge but found murder in Arabia. Ptolemy VI Philometor died a few days later (August

34. Zeus had been the main divinity for Seleucus I, whereas Apollo dominated as of Antiochus I (Erickson 2011, 2013, 2014, 2019; Hoover 2011; Iossif 2011a; Wright 2012, 2018; Ogden 2017).

35. Further indicative could be the “quasi-municipal” coinage in the cities of the Seleucis (SC 1:224, 228–31; see Ehling 2008, 158–59), Phoenicia (SC 1:234–241) and southern Coele Syria (SC 1:245–47). Also see below, nn. 54–55.

36. Identified eastern mints: Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, Antioch-on-the-Persian-Gulf, and Ecbatana, and perhaps Orcha/Uruk: SC 1:248–56, without my negative interpretation; see Grainger (2015a, 68) for a more positive view. The mint in Antioch-in-Persis had issued for the last time under Demetrius I (SC 1:190).

37. Volkmann 1925, 407 (nearly fifteen); Ogden 1999, 148 (about fourteen); Hölbl 2004, 170 (about fifteen); Ehling 2008, 159 (thirteen); Chrubasik 2016, 132 n. 33 (at least sixteen).

145),³⁸ leaving the rule of Egypt to his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes (Physkon) and the throne of Antioch to Demetrius II.

First Maccabees reproaches Philometor for coveting to rule both realms and of achieving this, though only for three days. In contrast, a tradition more favorable to this king lets him get involved as an ally of Balas, before changing sides due to the latter's incompetence or disloyalty. We can still grasp Ptolemaic court propaganda behind those texts: an Egyptian audience was to understand that Philometor reversed the disgrace of Antiochus IV's coronation in Memphis (168); but one may also understand the double diadem as leverage against Demetrius II, forcing him to cede Coele Syria and probably also Phoenicia (1 Macc 10:67–11:19; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 32.9c; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.106–119; Livy, *Per.* 52; Justinus, *Epit.* 35.2; Coşkun forthcoming B; Volkmann 1925, 407–11; Hölbl 2004, 170–71; SC 1:209–10, 257, 259, 261–68; Ehling 2008, 159–64; Grainger 2015a, 70–75; Chrubasik 2016, 133–34). Most probably, however, he had been plotting against Alexander from the beginning, encouraging the usurpation of Demetrius, once news of the Parthian invasion of Media had spread (likewise Chrubasik 2016, 133–34).³⁹ Philometor did not intend to help the teenager but to stay in Antioch until the Romans would ask him to go; having arranged for a *pax Ptolemaica*, he would abide by their wishes, with as much joviality as Antiochus III, the father-in-law of Ptolemy V, had “pleased” the Romans by not occupying Egypt. Philometor's premature death thwarted these plans.

New Hope under Demetrius II

Demetrius's ideological program is encapsulated in his titulature *Theos Philadelphus Nicator*. The first epithet is often related to his wife Cleopatra Thea, the second (vaguely) to one of his brothers, and the third to the founder of the Seleucid dynasty, besides perhaps glorifying his victory over Balas. But the first two titles should better be understood as echoing the dynastic cult Ptolemy II had established, calling his parents

38. Demetrius was acknowledged in Babylon on day 17 in month 6, year 167 SE^B = 8 September 145 BCE (Van der Spek 1997/1998, 170). His first coins are from 167 SE^M, ending in September 145 BCE (SC 1:267).

39. Demetrius did not issue coins before the death of Philometor; see SC 1:263, 267–68 (without the argument).

Ptolemy I and Berenice I *Theoi* and himself and his sister-wife Arsinoe II (*Phil*)*adelphoi*. Ptolemy VI Philometor and Cleopatra II were living a new edition of such a sibling marriage. The titulature *Theos Philadelphos* was thus in all likelihood shared by the royal couple, designed to perpetuate the high status of Cleopatra and the couple's links with both major dynasties of the Hellenistic world.⁴⁰

While this Ptolemaic bequest was acceptable to Demetrius, the garrisons Philometor had established all the way up to Antioch were not. Their removal earned him a reputation of ingratitude and cruelty, but we have already noticed how inept moralizing judgments in the ancient tradition can be. Violence was likely the response of the soldiers told to leave the lands allotted to them. And, while it may be true that the Cretans became the pillar of Demetrius's power, he barely fired all the Macedonian troops, as the negative press has it. More plausibly, he dismissed those who had not declared for him before the final battle, sending them home with neither reward nor punishment. These men included in particular the followers of Diodotus, since he had handed over Antioch to Philometor rather than to Demetrius. Such dismissals also eased the pressure on his strained treasury: soldiers were already complaining about arrears. Demetrius's (or Lasthenes's) actions were politically and financially sound, despite their long-term repercussions (1 Macc 11:31–32, 38–40; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.120–130, 144 on arrears; Livy, *Per.* 52).⁴¹

For the time being, Seleucid authority was reestablished over nearly all the Levant. This even included Judea under Jonathan, who was willing to pay for his local rule the lump sum of three hundred talents, further offering military service on demand. Cretan and Judean forces saved Demetrius when the Antiochenes revolted. Previous warfare had devastated its *chora* and detracted all royal attention from it, so everyday life must have been precarious. Disgruntled veterans would be among the rioters, but they can barely account for the mass mobilization, as Diodorus wants us to believe. Whether Demetrius's response to the insurrection was excessively brutal is a different question, but this

40. *Philadelphus* is normally explained by love for his brother Antigonos (SC 1:266–68) or Antiochus VII (Ehling 2008, 184; Muccioli 2013, 213–15; Chrubasik 2016, 132 n. 33). An earlier nonincestuous “sister”-wife: Grainger 1997, 38.

41. Different views: SC 1:261; Grainger 2015a, 77. Babylonian perspective: Van der Spek 1997/1998, 170, with *ADART* -144 Obv. 35–37, month 7, 167 SE^B = September/October 145 BCE; see Porphyry, *FGrHist* 260 F 32.15 (*Olympiad* 158.4 = 145/144).

cannot be answered easily either, since our sources bluntly exaggerate the facts.⁴²

Meanwhile, Seleucid rule in the east had been limited to Babylonia, but pressure increased due to raids from the Elamite insurgent Camnascires. Demetrius made an impressive move and led the last Seleucid campaign beyond the Tigris that resulted in success. In winter 145/144, the mint of Susa issued coins in his name (Van der Spek 1997/1998, 170–71; SC 1:307–14 for all eastern mints; Grainger 2015a, 78; but also see Plischke 2014, 289–91, 313). On the flip side, disappointed Syrians rallied behind Diodotus, who was well connected not only in Antioch and his hometown, Apamea, but also with the Arab chieftain Jamblichus, the host of Alexander Balas's little son. Proclaiming the boy King Antiochus VI Theos Epiphanes (144 BCE), Diodotus proceeded to rip apart the Seleucid domains once more. Jonathan joined the revolt, and Demetrius was quickly reduced to the coastal areas (1 Macc 11:39–41, 54–56; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.131–186; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 33.4; Justinus, *Epit.* 36.1.7; Ehling 2008, 165–70; SC 1:273–334; Grainger 2015a, 78–81; Chrubasik 2016, 135–38, 154–61; also Van der Spek 1997/1998, 171; Boiy 2004, 166, on Babylonia).

Jonathan resumed his attacks on the royal fortresses in Judea and regularly led his army far beyond, extending his influence up north to Damascus and south to Ascalum. This hurt Demetrius, but was neither in the long-term interests of Diodotus, who arrested the high priest (143 BCE). Demetrius seized the opportunity to make peace with Simon, Jonathan's brother and successor. Simon conquered the last two remaining strongholds (Gezer and the Akra of Jerusalem) and renewed the alliance with Rome—enough to formalize his priestly monarchy in 140 (Ehling 2008, 170–79; Grainger 2015a, 81–82; Chrubasik 2016, 138–40; Coşkun 2018a, 2019c, forthcoming A, forthcoming B; also see n. 7).⁴³ This was an acceptable price for Demetrius to pay in order to keep Diodotus occupied while he was heading east once more. The Elamites had already vindicated their freedom from him in 144/143, and, worst of all, Mithridates had resumed his offensive, invading Babylonia in 142/141.⁴⁴

42. 1 Macc 11:20–37 (agreement with Jonathan), 42–52 (Antioch); Josephus, *Ant.* 13.4.9 (121–128); Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 33.4 (conflict resulted from the refusal of the Antiochenes to disarm); see Ehling 2008, 164–66.

43. Though Ehling (2008, 174–75) unconvincingly suggests that Diodotus's motivation was fear of Jonathan changing sides to Demetrius, again.

44. Mithridates conquered Babylon by 9 July 141 (Van der Spek 1997/1998, 171),

Demetrius knew well enough that there was no chance of reviving the kingdom in the west without the resources of the east. Every further delay would weaken the allegiance that the Babylonians were expected to show the rightful successor of Seleucus. His action lacked neither courage nor foresight and thus belies the stereotyped reproach of *inertia* (Justinus, *Epit.* 36.1.1–2, 9). Justinus (36.1.4) records that he gathered a coalition including the Bactrians, Persians, and Elamites (Grainger 2015a, 85–86; Engels 2017b, 256). Due to these pressures from the east, Mithridates ceded Babylonia to Demetrius by early 140 BCE. But he quickly defeated the Persians and Elamites and returned to Babylonia (139). Demetrius was eventually captured in July 138, whence all possessions east of the Euphrates were lost to the Seleucids.⁴⁵

Mithridates put him on display in Parthian victory parades. The symbolic implication was felt even more strongly so shortly after the death of the rival king Antiochus VI, whence Diodotus assumed the diadem for himself, now under the throne name *Tryphon* (142–137). His request for recognition by the Roman Senate failed, but no one seemed to care very much in those troubled times.⁴⁶ This little failure was outweighed by the news of Demetrius's perils. One might expect that the support for his wife and little children in Seleucia-on-the-Tigris would quickly fade away, and Seleucid kingship would be history.⁴⁷

if not by 13 April 141 (Boiy 2004, 167). See Dąbrowa 2005, 79–80; Assar 2006b, 90–93; Monerie 2014, 128; Ramsey 2019, 436–39.

45. BAD 3 –137 A (dating the defeat ca. July 138 BCE; see Van der Spek 1997/1998, 172; Boiy 2004, 168; Assar 2006b, 93–95). Also see 1 Macc 14:1–3; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.5.11 (184–186); Justinus, *Epit.* 36.1.4–5; Porphyry, *FGrHist* 260 F 32.16; Olympiad 160.2 = 139/138 BCE; Dąbrowa 1999 (also 2005, 79–80); Ehling 2008, 178–90, esp. 185–86; SC 1:262–63; Grainger 2015a, 82–86; Chrubasik 2016, 140; Coşkun forthcoming A.

46. Antiochus died accidentally: Josephus, *Ant.* 13.7.1 (218); see Ehling 2008, 179; Grainger 2015a, 81, *pace* 1 Macc 12:39; 13:31; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 33.28, 28a; Appian, *Syr.* 68.357; Justinus, *Epit.* 36.1.7; Chrubasik 2016, 256 (also 139). Diodotus's revolt and chronology: Ehling 2008, 165–70; 178–82, 190; Grainger 2015a, 78–81. Titulature: SC 1:336–38 (also 318); Muccioli 2013, 303; Chrubasik 2016, 155–61; Ehling 2008, 180–81. See also Coşkun forthcoming B.

47. See Josephus (*Ant.* 13.7.1 [221–222]) for Cleopatra's perspective, Diodorus Siculus (*Bib. hist.* 33.28) for her location. See Grainger 2015a, 83–84; Chrubasik 2016, 140.

Antiochus VII Euergetes Megas (Sidetes), the Shooting Star

The unexpected happened when Demetrius's brother Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetes) showed up on the political stage. Coming from Side in Pamphylia, he gathered forces on Rhodes and arrived in Syria to marry Cleopatra Thea in September 138 BCE. Some have interpreted this amazing speed as betraying that a plot against Demetrius had been underway. But Cleopatra rather appears to have acted swiftly upon hearing of the disaster, for she had been safe only as long as her husband's victories were reported to Syria.⁴⁸ First Maccabees attests diplomatic activities "on the islands," quoting a letter by Antiochus to the high priest and ethnarch Simon. The document contains largely authentic material and further presupposes negotiations with the ruler of Jerusalem, which could have been facilitated through the court of Seleucia (1 Macc 15:1–9, with Coşkun 2018a; see Coşkun 2019c). A few months later, Antiochus was laying siege to Tryphon in Galilean Dora, before chasing him down and killing him in Apamea (137 BCE; 1 Macc 15:10–14, 37; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.223–224; Ehling 2008, 191–92; Grainger 2015a, 88–90; Chrubasik 2016, 140). Shortly before, Antiochus demanded that Simon either return the Akra, Gezer, and Jaffa or pay one thousand talents. War was thus rekindled, but Simon's oldest son, John Hyrcanus, pushed back the *strategos* Cendebaeus (137/136). The high priest was killed by his son-in-law Ptolemaeus, who hoped to gain the king's goodwill (135 BCE; 1 Macc 15:25–16:22; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.225–235; Ehling 2008, 192–95; Atkinson 2016, 49–55; Coşkun 2018a, forthcoming A).⁴⁹

John, however, prevailed but soon had to face a yearlong siege in Jerusalem by royal troops. Peace was negotiated on Yom Kippur (134 BCE): John remained high priest and ethnarch but had to cease most extra-Judean territories. He avoided a garrison in Jerusalem by paying five hundred talents. Antiochus had no interest in eliminating Maccabean rule, which was useful to check chronic infighting among the Judeans and thus to make some of their resources serviceable to himself. Josephus (*Ant.* 13.236–248; see Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 34/35.1 = 35 frag. 36a [Goukowsky 2017])

48. He still minted coins in 174 SE^M: SC 1:267; 2:282–83. Plot by Antiochus: Ehling 2008, 184. Plot by Cleopatra: Grainger 2015a, 86 with n. 32. Cleopatra's invitation after Demetrius's capture: Josephus, *Ant.* 13.7.1 (222), with Coşkun forthcoming B, *pace* SC 1:349; Chrubasik 2016, 140. Political programs and titles: SC 1:354; Muccioli 2013, 190, 549.

49. Different chronology: Grainger 2015a, 93–95.

styles the king as a pious supporter of the Jerusalemite cult, closely following the public-relations version of John.⁵⁰ Bronze coinage minted in Jerusalem during the years 181 and 182 SE (132/131 and 131/130 BCE) is consistent with this image: they display the Judean lily and the Seleucid anchor, omitting the royal portrait, which would have been offensive to Jews (SC 1:391–92, with Coşkun 2018d).⁵¹

Antiochus systematically reestablished control from Rough Cilicia down to Palestine. When he embarked on his *anabasis* in early spring 131, his allies ranged from the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus to Samus of Commagene, the son of the aforementioned Ptolemy (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.250–253; John; Justinus, *Epit.* 38.10.4: *multi orientales reges*; see Grainger 2015a, 98–105).⁵² His first task was to recover Armenia (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.250–252), whence he invaded Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Elymais. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris issued Seleucid coins, again, in summer 130, and Susa followed suit by the end of the year (coins from Seleucia, Uruk, and Susa: SC 1:394–96). Antiochus was billeting his troops in Media for the winter, when King Phraates II asked for peace terms. The conditions offered to him were outrageous, albeit, so that he unexpectedly renewed the war and managed to kill Antiochus in March 129.⁵³

Outlook: The Swansong of an Erstwhile Superpower

With this death, even the last hope of a revival of the Seleucid Empire was extinguished. As of then, Seleucid history was confined to fights for

50. See Coşkun forthcoming A, forthcoming B, *pace* Bar-Kochva 2010, 399–439 (tradition hostile to Antiochus) and Atkinson 2016, 55–58 (ironic). See Primo 2009, 171–74 (positive tradition of Antiochus VII); Kosmin 2014a, 155–56 (ritualized way of enforced reintegration); Coşkun 2018c (Greco-Roman tradition on Judean revolt and defeat). Different views: Ariel, Finkielsztejn, and Syon in this volume.

51. For other views, see *TJC*, 31; Hoover 2003; Hendin 2010, 161; Dąbrowa 2010, 69 n. 10 (under pressure); Gitler 2012, 485; Syon 2015, 146–48; Grainger 2015b, 97; Atkinson 2016, 62. Different views: Ariel, Finkielsztejn, and Syon in this volume.

52. Ballesteros Pastor (2018) argues for cooperation; contra Coşkun (forthcoming B), with SC 1:399–407; Krenzel and Lorber 2009.

53. Inscriptions from Babylon are inconclusive (Boiy 2004, 172–74). Parthians: Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 34/35.15–19. Whole campaign: Justinus, *Epit.* 38.10. See Ehling 2008, 200–208; Grainger 2015b, 109–15; also Fischer 1980; Dąbrowa 2005, 81–84; Coşkun forthcoming B. *Pace* SC 1:391–92: campaign began in 130; Assar 2006b, 99–106; Atkinson 2016, 62–65: Antiochus stayed in Babylon until October 129.

the spoils west of the Euphrates. The case of Judea is symptomatic for the further disintegration of the realm: Hyrcanus's troops were not involved in the rout by the Parthians, and, upon safe return, he shook off Seleucid suzerainty for good. He did not hesitate to invade his Samaritan and Idumean neighbors. Another phase of expansion followed in his final years, and further under his sons Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.250–329; Coşkun forthcoming A, forthcoming B; also 2019c, 377–78; with Ehling 2008, 208–9; Grainger 2015a, 113, 126–27, 129, 132; *pace* Barag 1992/1993; Bar-Kochva 2010; Shatzman 2012; Atkinson 2016, 65–78; Chaniotis 2018, 197, who date the expansion to 115/111). The rulers of Armenia and Commagene likewise reclaimed their independence,⁵⁴ and ever more cities in the Levant obtained privileges or began issuing autonomous coinage (Rigsby 1996; Hoover 2004, 2009 [Syrian cities]; Duyrat 2005; Cohen 2006; SC 1 [including pseudo-municipal coins]; Grainger 2015a, 128–33, 140; Chrubasik 2016, 184–92).

Yet there was no interregnum in 129, since Phraates had released Demetrius II from captivity to undermine the position of Antiochus. Demetrius resumed his position as king and husband of Cleopatra Thea in Syria (Justinus, *Epit.* 38.10.7–11; Ehling 2008, 200–201, 205).⁵⁵ Unfortunately for him, the Ptolemies entangled him in their domestic strife: his mother-in-law Cleopatra II had fled from her brother-husband Euergetes and his younger wife (her own daughter) Cleopatra III. She encouraged Demetrius to seize the throne of Alexandria, but, at the end of the day, Euergetes managed to set up a rival king in the Levant, Alexander II Zabinas, allegedly a son of Balas. Demetrius was defeated by Zabinas, rejected by his own wife in Ptolemais, and slain by the commander of Tyre in 126/125.

By then, Seleucid power was gravitating around the Ptolemaic princess Cleopatra Thea. She appointed as co-ruler Seleucus V, her oldest son from Demetrius II, but was not slow to kill him when he wanted independence (126/25). Instead, she chose her younger son, Antiochus VIII Grypus, and as part of the Ptolemaic reconciliation he was married to Cleopatra Tryphaena, the oldest daughter of Euergetes and Cleopatra III.

54. Samus became king ca. 130 BCE. But he more likely succeeded before 140, since he imitated coins of Antiochus VI; see Facella 2006, 205–8; *pace* Strootman 2016, 215–18. Armenia: n. 16.

55. Different views: SC 1:435–39; Chrubasik 2016, 143; see Grainger 2015b, 116–18. Also see n. 36 for the Parthians.

Cleopatra II returned to Alexandria, and her husband withdrew his support for Alexander Zabinas, whence he was killed in 123. The co-rule of Grypus and his mother was ended by a cup of poison, mixed for him but drunk by her in 121 (Hölbl 2004, 174–83; Ehling 2008, 205–16; Grainger 2015a, 118–35; Chrubasik 2016, 142–45, 169–72).⁵⁶

With Cleopatra's death, Seleucid rule was eventually incumbent on a single king, again, but his realm had downsized to Syria, Cilicia, and fragments of Phoenicia and Coele Syria. When Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, a son of Antiochus VII, revolted against his half-brother (113 BCE), he too was equipped with a Ptolemaic bride, Cleopatra IV. The sisters were chasing each other with as much hatred as the brothers. After the capture of Antioch, Cyzicenus's wife put to death the rival queen. The surviving sister got her turn when Grypus retook the city (112/111 BCE).

The most heated phase of this War of Scepters saw the direct involvement of the brothers and also the mother of the two killed Seleucid queens. King Ptolemy IX Soter II Lathyrus took the side of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus. Having sent an army to support the latter against John Hyrcanus in 108, he was expelled by his mother Cleopatra III from Egypt. Later on, he interfered once more for Cyzicenus: coming from Cyprus, he went against Alexander Jannaeus in Gaza, who in turn enlisted support of Cleopatra III. While her arrival meant relief to Jannaeus, Lathyrus diverted his campaign to reconquer Egypt. Cleopatra's alliance with Grypus, which was sealed by marrying off yet another of her daughters, Cleopatra Selene, prevented this from happening, so that she could safely return to Alexandria—only to be murdered by her younger son, Ptolemy X Alexander I (103–101). Grypus and Cyzicenus soon followed her into the realm of the shades (98/97 and 97/96 BCE respectively; Dumitru 2016; also Hölbl 2004, 183–90; Hoover 2007; Ehling 2008, 215–32; SC 1:483–585; Grainger 2015a, 118–69; Bartlett 2016; Coşkun 2019b). They left behind some six sons and three grandsons, who would fight and mostly die over the spoils of the Seleucid kingdom, before Pompey put an end to this protracted tragedy (64/63).⁵⁷

56. Demetrius II: SC 1:409–34; Zabinas: SC 1:441–64; Cleopatra, alone: SC 1:465–67; co-rule with Grypus: SC 1:469–81.

57. The genealogical table of Ehling (2008) names the following sons of Grypus: Seleucus VI (98/97–94?), Demetrius III (98/97–88), Antiochus XI (94/93?), Philip I (94–83, father of Philip II Philorhomaues, 67–65) and Antiochus XII (87–84/83). Cyzicenus was the father of Antiochus X (97/96–93/92), and through him the grandfather

Concluding Remarks

The preceding narrative has aimed to identify the multiple factors that determined the development of the Seleucid kingdom in the course of the second century BCE. The house of Seleucus showed itself sufficiently resourceful to overcome with relative ease the shock of the Roman victory at Magnesia, the humiliation of Eleusis, and the disruptive embassy of Gaius Octavius. The revolt of Timarchus was triggered by inner-dynastic rifts, but his defeat likewise demonstrated the capability of Demetrius I. Only a combination of negative forces could bring him to his knees, as did the alliance of Attalus II, Ariarathes V, and Ptolemy VI Philometor with Alexander Balas, endowed with the blessing of the Roman Senate. What made this event so critical for the kingdom's history is not only the breadth of the coalition but also the continued damage done by Philometor. His ongoing interference undermined Balas's attempts to establish himself as a legitimate and vigorous heir to the Seleucid throne, and later to defend his realm, when a firm stand was needed in the east against Mithridates and in the west against Demetrius II.

Dynastic prestige apparently eroded between 153 and 145, but not even then was it worn out completely. That the kingdom was not yet doomed to fall is illustrated by the limited though remarkable success of Demetrius II. He led two campaigns into the east, the first falling short of complete victory perhaps only due to the revolt of Tryphon, the latter ending in disaster possibly because of the same usurper, who limited the resources available for warfare in the east. The biggest surprise of all is that yet another highly capable and charismatic member of the dynasty entered the stage in the deepest crisis: Antiochus VII defeated Tryphon within a year, united the territories first on this side of the Euphrates, then west of the Tigris, before successfully crossing this river as well. True enough, his rejection of Phraates's peace offer resulted in his undoing and may thus convey the impression that he gambled away the kingdom. But such a negative view should not obliterate his—and probably also his contemporaries'—confidence that his rule would soon reach as far as Parthia, Bactria, and Persis. This was the kind of boldness that, for nearly two centuries, had been driving Seleucus Nicator and a long line

of Antiochus Philometor (92), Antiochus XIII Philadelphus (69/67–64), and Seleucus Cybiosactes. See above for references.

of tremendously resilient successors to claim and reclaim preeminence as kings of kings.

The Machinations of the Ptolemaic State in Its Relationship with Judea (160–104 BCE)

Christelle Fischer-Bovet

1. Introduction

The question of the machinations of the Ptolemaic state in relationship with Judea between 160 and 104 BCE could at first seem anecdotal—if seen according to the old assumption that all the Ptolemies were still able to do was to support pretenders to the Seleucid throne and be accidentally drawn into Judea's politics.¹ Yet this study aims to argue that the Ptolemies abandoned neither their claim on Syria-Phoenicia nor the idea of unifying the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms into one single polity. From the late 140s on, however, the Hasmonean dynasty emerged as a third party, making the incorporation of Judea more difficult and perhaps no longer desirable. This paper offers an interstate political analysis of the whole region with particular attention to networks of communication between rulers and local elites and to the shifting alliances occurring during the so-called Seventh and Eighth Syrian Wars. Numerous examples of negotiations phrased in the language of euergetism have been recorded, for instance, on inscriptions in the cities of Asia Minor. This chapter shows how the same phenomenon also occurred in Phoenicia and in Judea, though displayed differently outside the political and legal framework of the Greek *poleis*. This phenomenon of local polarization occurred even more when war was threatening or when rulers—or rulers

I thank Cathy Lorber for her comments on earlier drafts of this paper and the organizers for inviting me to participate in this conference.

1. All dates are BCE unless specified otherwise.

and usurpers—were at war, as recently emphasized by Chrubasik (2016) and by Boris Dreyer and François Gerardin (forthcoming; more generally, Dreyer and Mittag 2011), because then the local elites could take full advantage of their position. Because Judea was previously part of a Ptolemaic province, and because Egypt had become the home of many Judean immigrants of various socioeconomic backgrounds, this paper also touches on the possible involvement—or lack of—by Judeans in Egypt in the ongoing warfare.²

2. Overview of Ptolemaic-Seleucid Foreign Relations

The third century had been punctuated by Syrian Wars, which were in fact the outbursts of one single endless conflict that took place mainly in Syria and Anatolia but whose larger stake was in fact, as Rolf Strootman (forthcoming) recently put it, supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean (for an overview of these wars, see Grainger 2010). Each generation of kings since the reign of Ptolemy II fought a war—even two under this ruler. The first three Syrian wars were in fact attempts to expand Ptolemaic rule into Seleucid territory (274–271, 260–253, 246–241), while during the Fourth Syrian War (221–217) the Ptolemies were put at risk to lose territories.³ After the loss of the province to the Seleucids by the (too) young Ptolemy V during the Fifth Syrian War (202–195), Ptolemaic attempts to recover some territories and even to expand continued throughout the second century. Ptolemy VI and his advisers tried to take back Coele Syria at the beginning of the Sixth Syrian War (170–168) and failed, with dramatic consequences, since Antiochus IV temporarily invaded Egypt. Later Ptolemy VI was almost successful in 145 but was killed, ending what can be considered the Seventh Syrian War (150–145), as suggested by Grainger. While the co-reign of Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III may at

2. The role played by Judean settlers in Egyptian society and politics, presented at the Enoch conference, is to be published in other studies in preparation by Fischer-Bovet; the term *Judean* is used here to designate individuals who lived in or emigrated from Judea and displayed a variety of attitudes toward Yahwisms (see Honigman 2016, esp. 29; 2009, esp. 118–19, on Judean immigration to Egypt). The criteria have been debated; see Tcherikover and Fuks 1957–1964, xvii–xx; Bohak 1995. The latter, however, rejects the term *Judean* (111 n. 21).

3. On the Syrian wars, see Heinen (1984) and Grainger (2010); the latter counts nine rather than the traditional six Syrian wars.

first be seen as an exception to the pattern of one war per generation, the support of Ptolemy VIII for a Seleucid pretender is interpreted here as an intervention in Syria and Phoenicia (Eighth Syrian War, 129–124). Finally, his successors fought the so-called War of the Scepters in 103–101 (Ninth Syrian War), which was a sort of reiteration of a Syrian war, by then completely intertwined with the dynastic conflicts of both the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties.

3. The Seventh Syrian War and Judea: Ptolemy VI's Aggressive External Policies and His Influence on Judean Politics (150s–145 BCE)

The 160s were a troubled period not only in Judea but so too in Egypt, and in both cases it was intertwined with Seleucid politics. Antiochus IV had temporarily invaded Egypt, and the Ptolemies faced an usurpation attempt by a courtier, Dionysius Petosarapis, while Ptolemy VI and his brother, the future Ptolemy VIII, were in serious conflict (for a survey, see Grainger 2010, 291–308; Hölbl 2001, 181–84). Once Ptolemy VI's throne was secured again, he organized a series of military reforms, notably by reinforcing some garrisons—some of them manned by new Judean settlers, for instance in Heracleopolis—and adding a new one in Upper Egypt and also in the Delta, his aims being defensive but also, with troops in the Delta, possibly offensive.⁴ In the 150s, Ptolemy VI joined the kings of Pergamum and Cappadocia in support of Alexander I Balas as a rival king to Demetrius I, and by 153/152 BCE Balas had even been acknowledged by the Roman senate as a true heir of Antiochus IV.⁵ Perhaps more importantly in the eyes of Ptolemy VI, Demetrius had tried to buy Cyprus from the Ptolemaic governor around 155/154, a sign of growing tension between the Seleucids and Ptolemies (Polybius, *Hist.* 33.5 with Grainger 2010, 326–30).⁶ Ptolemaic military involvement in Syria started shortly afterward and can be divided in two stages, the first one without

4. The reforms also concern the size of regiments and the composition of the troops, with many local recruits; see Vanderpe 2014; Fischer-Bovet 2014a, 123–55; 2014b, 242–49; Sekunda 2001. On Heracleopolis, see Kruse 2011.

5. The exact date of the agreement (Polybius, *Hist.* 3.5.3) is unknown, probably in the early 150s.

6. Grainger (2010, 326–30) speaks of “cold war” between the two kingdoms, complicated by the attempt of the future Ptolemy VIII to seize the island with the symbolic support of Rome in 154/153 (Chrubasik 2016, 129–35).

Ptolemy VI present on the battlefield (152–150 BCE) and the second one with the king leading his troops (147–145).

The following analysis of the sources suggests that Ptolemy VI's support for Balas betrayed larger expansionist intentions, which indirectly but significantly influenced Judean politics, and that Balas could not have achieved anything without Ptolemaic support. This is clear by the time of the marriage of Ptolemy VI's daughter in 150 to Balas and by Ptolemy's early support in 147. During the first phase (152–150) that led to Balas's victory and the wedding, only one ancient author, Diodorus, possibly attests Ptolemaic forces sent to Balas before 150, but financial support is almost certain, as well as some access to a network of Ptolemaic sympathizers. Indeed, Ptolemais-Akko, the ancient Ptolemaic capital of the province, showed no resistance and Attalus had less to provide, as argued by Grainger.⁷ Diodorus (*Bib. hist.* 33.20) mentions that Galaestes "commanded the forces from Alexandria in the battle against Demetrius" but without specifying which Demetrius was concerned.⁸ Yet none of our sources speak of Ptolemaic forces fighting in a battle against Demetrius II during the Seventh Syrian War. Such a battle would imply one of two very implausible scenarios, that is, that in 147–145 some Ptolemaic forces commanded by Galaestes were sent ahead of Ptolemy's army in order to help Balas against Demetrius II before Ptolemy reached Ptolemais, or that Ptolemaic troops had remained in Syria (with Galaestes?) all along from 150 to 145. It remains more economic to understand that the "battle against Demetrius" was the victory of Balas over Demetrius I in 150 and that Ptolemaic troops were indeed sent as reinforcement to Balas. Josephus (*Ant.* 13.58) says that Balas's forces were made of soldiers who deserted to him

7. For a similar view, see Grainger (2010, 331, 333, 336), who also stressed the hatred for Demetrius I; Hölbl (2001, 193) on the coins struck in Phoenicia as evidence for Ptolemaic support.

8. Diodorus obviously compressed a series of events in this fragment, which is a summary of Galaestes's career and as such does not aim to refer to one specific year, which makes it challenging to use: the next sentence in the fragment narrates Galaestes's fate after Ptolemy VI's death in battle against Balas in 145 and down to ca. 140. Scholars have usually thought that this single battle or strife (μάχη) against Demetrius could refer at the same time to troops from Alexandria sent against Demetrius I in 150 and then against Demetrius II and against Balas in 145 (see Hölbl 2001, 196; Huss 2001, 602, following Mooren 1975, no. 027), but that would be singular to express it this way.

from Syria and of mercenaries,⁹ but Justinus (*Epit.* 35.1) speaks of forces from “almost all the east.”

In any case, during the years 152–150 Balas secured the support of many Phoenician cities, where he established garrisons and minted coins from 151/150 (Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, and Ptolemais). Since the coinage was on the Phoenician standard with the Phoenician/Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse, Houghton and Lorber suggested that it served to pay Ptolemaic troops.¹⁰ Without positive evidence of who was paid, it is more prudent to assume that all sorts of mercenaries and condottieri available in the region were hired by Balas, the eagle indicating the Phoenician (versus Attic) standard. Yet we cannot completely exclude that some were Ptolemaic soldiers, for whom the eagle could also function as evidence of Ptolemy’s support for Balas as well as Ptolemaic agents reviving support for the Ptolemies, especially in Ptolemais (Grainger 2010, 331–32). Chrubasik (2016, 167–69, appendix C) has rejected the interpretation that Balas was a Ptolemaic puppet king, pointing to the facts that his minister’s name, Ammonius, was not sufficient to indicate a Ptolemaic affiliation and that the eagle had been used by Antiochus V to indicate coins minted on the lighter weight standard, and thus was not automatically a reference to the Ptolemies.¹¹ It is true that Balas had benefited from a diversified support and as such was initially less directly a puppet king of the Ptolemies than was Zabinas later (see below), but after his victory in 150 his attachment was clearly displayed by the choice of Ptolemais as his capital and by the jugate portraits of Balas and Cleopatra Thea, placing the queen in the foreground, which is the position of precedence, an innovation but also an insistence on the Ptolemaic connection (SC 1:210, 243, 244–45, 249–50; SC 2, pl. 22, 1840, 1841; pl. 77, 1843–46, 1860–61, exceptionally, with the king in the foreground).

9. Josephus: δύναμιν μεγάλην συναγαγὼν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν προσθεμένων ἐκ τῆς Συρίας αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν.

10. Silver coinage was minted in Phoenician cities for Balas in 151/150 on the Phoenician weight standard (SC 1:217–56, XLI, to pay Ptolemaic troops; SC 1:209–13, esp. 212, about use of mintmarks and annual dates, a Ptolemaic practice, as supportive of their hypothesis).

11. Contra Ehling (2008, 155–56) and Grainger (2010, 333–34), for whom Ptolemy conceived the Seleucid empire as a client kingdom, led by Ammonius and by the lazy and pleasure-loving Balas, whereas such a perception of the king rather reflected anti-Balas propaganda.

The addition of Balas as a new player in the escalating Ptolemaic-Seleucid conflict had indirect positive consequences for the Maccabees in Judea. Indeed, when in 152 Demetrius I was making preparations for the war, he made peace with Jonathan, making him his ally by offering to release hostages and to let him raise his own army (1 Macc 10:2–6; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.37–42). Hearing this, Alexander Balas wrote to Jonathan, offering to appoint him as high priest—after seven years of vacancy—and to grant him the court title of Friend (*Philos*) with the associated insignia (purple robe and golden crown) in order to gain his support, an offer Jonathan was eager to accept (1 Macc 10:15–21; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.44–45).¹² Demetrius then offered to exempt Judea from most tribute, all direct and indirect taxes, to give up control of three districts, to grant religious freedom and to reconstruct the temple, but if really such a proposition was made, the author of 1 Maccabees (10:22–47; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.47–57) makes clear that Jonathan and the people “neither believed nor accepted these words” (οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἐπεδέξαντο) and remained loyal to Balas until the end. In 150, Demetrius I was defeated and killed in the battle by Balas, who became the sole ruler and who immediately asked Ptolemy for his daughter, Cleopatra Thea, and for his friendship, as a way to consolidate his legitimacy.¹³ Ptolemy VI accompanied in person his daughter to Ptolemais. Jonathan was invited to come and meet with both kings there and was even granted the higher title of First Friend by Balas (1 Macc 10:59–66; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.80–85). Though Jonathan brought gifts to both kings, his title indicates direct allegiance to Balas but not to Ptolemy.

The second stage of the conflict (147/146–145), called the Seventh Syrian War by Grainger, started when Demetrius II, son of the former ruler, had gathered sufficient mercenary forces to attack Alexander Balas. This time Ptolemy VI in person led his army to Phoenicia and then Syria, a good pretext for Ptolemy to secure the coastal cities for himself with garrisons. Soon there were two war fronts, one in northern Syria, where Demetrius seized Antioch from Balas, and one in southern Phoenicia/Palestine. Jonathan was fighting Demetrius II’s general Apollonius, seizing

12. At the death of Alcimus in 159 the high priesthood remained vacant (1 Macc 9:54–73). While Collins (1981, 214–15) emphasizes the subsequent peace made between Jonathan and Bacchides after a last battle, Honigman (2014, 360) stresses that Jonathan’s accession to the high priesthood provides evidence of political instability among the Judean elite.

13. According to Justinus (*Epit.* 35.1.10), two battles took place.

Jaffa and burning Azotus farther south (1 Macc 10:74–86). Balas's grants of the highest court title of kinsman and of the town of Ekron to Jonathan were probably not to please Ptolemy, since they reinforced Jonathan's loyalty to Balas, and the pair grew in strength (1 Macc 11:6–7; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.105).¹⁴ First Maccabees then only mentions that Ptolemy and Jonathan spent a night in Jaffa and that Jonathan accompanied the king until the Eleutheros River—in fact possibly only until Ptolemais—but Josephus adds that Jonathan received gifts and honors from Ptolemy.¹⁵ Yet this encounter did not result in an alliance. Ptolemy, pretending that Balas's minister had tried to have him murdered, betrayed Balas and offered his support—and his daughter—to Demetrius II, reaching Antioch in summer 145 (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.105–113).¹⁶ Jonathan remained loyal to Balas all along, showing that his connection to Ptolemy had been indirect through Balas.

Ptolemy's advance suggests excellent communicative skills with local elites, that is, the Ptolemaic partisans among them, best illustrated in Antioch by Hierax and Diodotus, who invited him to rule over Egypt and Asia.¹⁷ Diodorus (*Bib. hist.* 32.9c) claims that Ptolemy refused the double kingship from the Antiochenes but instead made an arrangement with Demetrius to keep Coele Syria. For Josephus (*Ant.* 13.114), the king was forced to accept the diadems but then renounced this double position for fear of Roman envy.¹⁸ We know, in fact, that Ptolemy accepted the kingship of Egypt and Asia, since the new era year 1 equals year 36 appeared on his coinage (Chauveau 1990, 152; see Svoronos 1904–1908,

14. See also Grainger (2010, 343), who suggests that Ptolemy was unhappy at Jonathan's ravaging of the region outside Judea (see, e.g., the destruction of Azotus, 1 Macc 10:84–87).

15. On Ptolemais as a possible endpoint, see Reinach's comment reported in Marcus (1966) about Josephus, *Ant.* 13.105; 1 Macc 11:1–8; the Eleutheros River was the former boundary between the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic empires.

16. As noted by Grainger (2010, 344–45), Philometor waited to control all the coastal cities before betraying Balas and was with his daughter Cleopatra Thea, whom Balas probably left in Ptolemais. Balas had sent his son to an Arab chieftain (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 32.279d), a proof that he had already doubts about Ptolemy's loyalty.

17. The earliest literary source, 1 Macc 11:13, is succinct: it does not comment on Ptolemy's intention in taking himself two diadems and does not mention the role of the Antiochenes, in contrast to Diodorus and Josephus below.

18. For Chauveau (1990, 151–52), Ptolemy VI changed his mind because of the recent Roman military victories in 146 and because he could use Demetrius II as a puppet-king.

vol. 2, no. 1509). That he renounced the unification of the two kingdoms a few months later was probably a momentary measure in order to keep Demetrius (and his supporters) on his side as a unified front so that he could first eliminate Balas. Then he would probably have killed the young Demetrius (ca. fifteen years old), had he not himself died after the battle at the River Oinoparas (northern Syria) against Balas, who was also killed. Demetrius became the sole legitimate Seleucid king, a title he does not seem to have held before (Chrubasik 2016, 134). A few years later, Demetrius was besieging the Akra in Jerusalem, but to put an end to it he had to make territorial concessions to Jonathan in Samaria, which in fact meant that in 142 Judea had a semi-autonomous status. Later, when Demetrius and the usurper Diodotus/Tryphon were at war, Diodotus made further concessions to Jonathan's brother Simon.¹⁹

Ptolemy VI's expansionist intentions, at best the unification of the two empires, at worst only the seizure of Coele Syria, again had an indirect impact on Judean politics. By exacerbating the potential of a dynastic war within the Seleucid Empire, Ptolemy VI influenced Judean politics because he was weakening the Seleucids. By multiplying the number of competitors, he created opportunities for the Maccabees to establish themselves as the winning political group in Judea. Ptolemy VI's support for Seleucid opponents in fact goes back to soon after he regained power in 163, as a new analysis of the so-called Ptolemaic didrachms of an uncertain era by Julien Olivier (2012, 559, 571–78, 751–56) shows. Since the didrachms, dated to 162/161–146/145, were only found in Judea until the issue of 152/151, Olivier argues that it is evidence for the Ptolemies helping the Maccabees.²⁰ Since we cannot be certain of who really used the money, it may be that the Ptolemies were bringing financial support to any potentially anti-Seleucid groups, the Maccabees being only one group among others at such an early date. Yet the interruption of production in 160/159, the year of Judas's death, and then again in 152/151, when Jonathan and Bacchides made peace, is striking and supports the proposal that

19. Lydda, Aphairema, and Ramathaim in Samaria; see the letter of Demetrius in Josephus, *Ant.* 13.125–128; 1 Macc 11:28–37; on Diodotus's concessions, see 1 Macc 11:54–59, Josephus, *Ant.* 13.145–148, though Grainger (2010, 359) doubts that the Maccabees actually controlled territories as far as the Ladder of Tyre to the border of Egypt.

20. The paper was presented at the Enoch Seminar and is forthcoming in *Israel Numismatic Research*.

the Maccabees received Ptolemaic money.²¹ Afterwards, the circulation and production moved north to Phoenicia. This pattern seems to indicate Ptolemy's broader expansionist plan and the absence of a direct Ptolemaic alliance with Jonathan after 152/151, as stressed above, and later even a rupture, when Jonathan remained on Balas's side. Moreover, by 150 the Judeans who opposed Jonathan seemed to have hoped to obtain some support from Ptolemy, since when the king met Jonathan after the wedding of Balas and Cleopatra Thea, Jonathan was accused by the "pestilent men from Israel, lawless men" in the words of 1 Maccabees (RSV).²² In 147 Ptolemy was shown, presumably by locals, the destruction and corpses left after Jonathan's burning of Azotus's temple while fighting Apollonius's troops, but the king said nothing and then met Jonathan in Jaffa (1 Macc 11:4–6). Too little is preserved to reconstruct Ptolemy's intentions, but the outcome, that is, his betrayal of Balas, to whom Jonathan remained loyal, suggests the absence of a direct alliance between Ptolemy and Jonathan or of any particular commitment to the Maccabean side at that point.

The little information preserved about the composition of the Ptolemaic army says nothing about the role of Judean soldiers in the fights in Syria and Phoenicia. Only Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 2.49–57) claims that Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra entrusted the whole army to Onias and Dositheos in a rather unreliable passage of *Against Apion*.²³ Though it is not impossible that some of Ptolemy VI's commanders were actually Judean, the main commander in 145 seems to have been Galaestes (see above). The only papyrus informing us on troops sent during the Seventh Syrian War, dated to 29 May 146 BCE, contains a message from the intendant of the

21. Olivier (2012, 755) evaluates a total of 150–250 talents in ten years. Based on this figure, one can calculate the equivalent of about 250–330 drachmas per day during ten years, i.e., the payment for a few hundred men. Note that descriptions of the number of Judean troops are rare and perhaps not reliable: in 147–145 Jonathan chose ten thousand of his soldiers for his campaign against Apollonius Taos (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.91), which suggests moderate-size armies (compare with seventy thousand infantry on the Ptolemaic side at Raphia [Polybius, *Hist.* 5.65]).

22. The content is not reported. First Maccabees 10:59–66: ἄνδρες λοιμοὶ ἐξ Ἰσραηλ ἄνδρες παράνομοι; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.83–85: οἱ κατηγορεῖν παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες, "those men who had been prepared to accuse [Jonathan] and were hostile to him." We find them again complaining this time to Demetrius II after his victory in 1 Macc 11:20–25, when Jonathan tries to seize the Akra.

23. I have another study in progress on the unreliability of this passage and its consequence for understanding the status of Judeans in Egypt.

military forces (γραμματεὺς δυνάμεων) named Demetrius to a high local official of the Heracleopolite nome (probably the *nome-strategos*): the king orders him to ship troops called “Mysians” as well as forty-one selected men to Ptolemais-Akko (P.Gen. 3.131 = SB 20.15513).²⁴ The term *Mysian* no longer refers to ethnic troops, as the cavalry regiment of the Mysians had merged with other (numbered) cavalry regiments by the 170s.²⁵ There are no allusions to Judean soldiers, but since many were garrisoned in Heracleopolis (and in the Delta), they certainly contributed to the war effort.²⁶ Yet nothing is known about which groups in Judea (i.e., the Maccabees or opponent groups) the Judean immigrants in Egypt, including soldiers, would have supported. Since they did not in fact form a uniform community, there is no reason to conjecture that they influenced Ptolemy to follow one particular path of action.²⁷

4. The Eighth Syrian War (129/128–124/123 BCE) and the Ptolemaic Dynastic War (132/131–124 BCE): Ptolemy VIII in the Footsteps of Ptolemy VI?

The death of Ptolemy VI had not put an end to the complex international relations in Coele Syria and Phoenicia or to Ptolemaic intervention. The following reassessment of Ptolemy VIII’s machinations during what Grainger calls the Eighth Syrian War (129/128–124/123 BCE) shows how he used the same strategies as his brother Ptolemy VI in his relationship with the Seleucids and had similar intentions, a point obscured by the ancient historiography rather favorable toward Ptolemy VI and excessively negative toward Ptolemy VIII.²⁸ Slight differences can be explained by the altered political context due to the dynastic war between Cleopatra II and

24. See the editor’s comment for εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα τὴν ἐν Πηλουσίῳ, Ptolemais “in” Pelusium, and the parallel “Ptolemais around Gerrha,” which must refer to Ptolemais in Coele Syria, since Pelusium is on the road to that Ptolemais.

25. On the reorganization of cavalry regiments, see Fischer-Bovet (2014a, 127, 192–93, 195) with former bibliography.

26. E.g., P.Diosk. 1 (154 BCE), a complaint by the soldier Theon son of Theon, bearing the ethnic Cyrenean, against Jason son of Jason, “Judean” of the same unit. The archive of the Judean *politeuma* (P.Polit.Jud.) in Heracleopolis starts in 144 BCE.

27. Honigman (2009) has recently stressed the heterogeneity of the Judean communities in Egypt.

28. All the sources on Ptolemy VIII are discussed in Nadig (2007); I deal with the similar attitude of the two kings in the work in progress referenced in note 23.

Ptolemy VIII, which started in 132/131, since the latter had lost control of Alexandria and part of Egypt.

By 129 Ptolemy VIII (and Cleopatra III) were besieging Cleopatra II in Alexandria. She then asked the Seleucid king Demetrius II, her son-in-law through his marriage with her daughter Cleopatra Thea, to attack Egypt in exchange for the Ptolemaic throne, presumably with her as queen (Justinus, *Epit.* 38.9.1, 39.1.2–4).²⁹ Meanwhile, Ptolemy VIII made an alliance with the Antiochenes, who disliked Demetrius, and he provided a pretender to the throne, Alexander Zabinas. Zabinas was supposedly the son of Alexander Balas or the adopted son of Antiochus VII Sidetes, yet an individual whose lineage everybody knew was fabricated, and clearly a puppet of Ptolemy VIII.³⁰ Then things went from bad to worse for Demetrius. In 128 he was stopped at Pelusium, the key to entering Egypt, and abandoned by his soldiers, while soon after (128/127) he was defeated near Damascus by Zabinas, whom Ptolemy VIII had sent to Syria with an army.³¹ His wife, Cleopatra Thea, whom Cleopatra II had meanwhile joined in Syria with her treasure, did not even let him enter Ptolemais-Akko, and he was soon murdered. Most probably, by the end of 127, Ptolemy VIII had seized Alexandria, and by 124 he was reconciled with his sister. At that time (124/123 BCE) Ptolemy betrayed Alexander Zabinas, who was defeated by the legitimate Seleucid branch, that is, Cleopatra Thea and her son Antiochus VIII Grypus, who had received the support of Egyptian troops. Ptolemy VIII, in the footsteps of his brother, married his daughter Tryphaena to Antiochus VIII in order to consolidate the union of the two dynasties.³² It is usually accepted that Ptolemy VIII was “uninterested in recovering control of Koile-Syria,” as Grainger (2010, 382) puts it. Although Grainger sides with scholars who accept that the idea of unifying the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms was in the air at least since the

29. The events can be reconstructed only approximately on the basis of Justinus's *Epitome* of Trogus Pompeius, Josephus, and papyrological sources. See most recently on Zabinas Bielman Sánchez and Lenzo 2015, 273–340; Grainger 2010, 369–86; Hölbl 2001, 197–203; Huss 2001, 608–15; Chrubasik 2016, 169–72. See Véisse (2004, 53–63) for the papyrological sources.

30. Son of Balas for Porphyrios, *FGrHist* 260 F 32, 21 and adopted son of Antiochus VII for Justinus, *Epit.* 39.1.4–8; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.267–268.

31. For the chronological reconstructions, see Bielman Sánchez and Lenzo 2015, 306–7.

32. On repeated marriages of Ptolemaic princesses to Seleucid kings and on Tryphaena in particular, see now Ager 2020, 2020b.

invasion of Antiochus IV in 170–168, and that the epithet Tryphon taken in 133 by Ptolemy VIII could also allude to claims on Coele Syria and Phoenicia, he denies Ptolemy VIII's agency by emphasizing the role of the Antiochenes in asking the Ptolemaic king for help.³³ The details of their interactions are lost: Josephus (*Ant.* 13.267) reports that the Antiochenes sent an embassy to Ptolemy VIII, but Justinus (*Epit.* 39.1.4–8) notes that Ptolemy VIII sent Alexander Zabinas *at the same time* as Antioch revolted, which leads Hölbl (2001, 200) to surmise that the king incited the unrest.³⁴ This seems more likely in view of the subsequent military involvement of the king to seize Syria. The use of a completely fabricated pretender appears as a new strategy to discard him more easily according to circumstances.³⁵ In other words, Ptolemaic imperialism was not dead. Moreover, on the Seleucid side, as pointed out by Chrubasik (2016, ch. 3, esp. 126), by the mid-second century what mattered was no longer whether pretenders' claims to kingship were legitimate or illegitimate but whether political agents, notably local ones, supported them. Ptolemy VIII had well understood this new development when he produced Zabinas. Yet, Alexander Zabinas's success combined with Ptolemy VIII's reconciliation with Cleopatra II made the Ptolemaic king shift his support to the legitimate Seleucid branch, that is, his niece and sister-in-law Cleopatra Thea and her son Antiochus VIII Grypus. Zabinas was immediately defeated, a hint of Ptolemaic superior power at this point. The outcome of the war was that a "female" branch of the Ptolemaic dynasty ruled on what was left of the Seleucid kingdom.

By 124, the question of a reconquest of Coele Syria had definitely taken another shape: on the one hand, there was a Ptolemaic princess who played a central role in the Seleucid affairs and the same configuration was reproduced in the generation to come, since Antiochus VIII (somewhat ironically, the grandson of Ptolemy VI) married Tryphaena (daughter of

33. That the idea of the union of the two kingdoms was still in the air is confirmed by Cleopatra II's alliance with Demetrius II. Who would rule this unified empire in case Demetrius was victorious is not specified in the sources; on Tryphon, see Grainger (2010, 364, 366) with previous bibliography, and the idea that the epithet Tryphon could be an allusion to Diodotus Tryphon in addition to the reference to Ptolemaic luxuriousness.

34. Chrubasik (2016, 142–43) also accepts Ptolemy VIII's agency.

35. For Grainger (2010, 381), the reason for this choice was only to distract Demetrius II and to create confusion in Syria.

Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III) and then Cleopatra IV; in contrast, Ptolemy VIII had not married any of his daughters to Zabinas. On the other hand, the Hasmonean state was now independent and militarily strong enough so that it would no longer be fully included in a Coele Syrian province. The fact that the political situation of the region remained in such a status quo between the late 140s and 120s has led scholars to criticize Ptolemy VIII for his inertia. But Judea as an independent state was a far better situation for the Ptolemies than as a Seleucid province, and more military investment was certainly not possible at this point. Moreover, to seize Judea would mean Seleucid reprisal, whereas a Ptolemaic-Seleucid alliance had just been sealed through a new marriage.

4.1. The Eighth Syrian War (129/128–124/123 BCE) and Judea

Judea played no direct role in the Eighth Syrian War, but the movement toward independence of the Hasmonean state, which was a slow process, as recently stressed by Chrubasik, could have fallen short without the succession of events occurring during this war.³⁶ In the 130s Antiochus VII, after he had defeated the usurper Diodotus Tryphon, besieged Jerusalem and forced John Hyrcanus into an alliance requiring him to pay tribute for Jaffa and some cities bordering on Judea, to provide hostages and a financial compensation (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.223–224, 245–247). We can infer from Josephus (13.272) that Hyrcanus's ambiguous status at the time was that of a subject or a friend of Antiochus. To delegate power in exchange for administering a region was indeed a Seleucid imperial ruling strategy. After Antiochus's death at the hand of the Parthians, Demetrius II, whom they had freed shortly before, became sole king and would have strengthened his control over Judea, as his brother did in 134, had Cleopatra II not invited him to attack Egypt in exchange for the throne, as mentioned above.³⁷ His failure in Pelusium, the Antiochene revolt, and Alexander Zabinas's arrival from Egypt with an army prevented him from intervening against Judea (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.267–269). John Hyrcanus also proved himself a fine diplomat by renewing the alliance of 161 with the Romans (see MacRae in this volume) and by accepting the friendship

36. Chrubasik (2016, 22–64, esp. 55–57) discusses the parallel case of the eastern satrapies in the mid-third century.

37. On Demetrius's intention to make war against Hyrcanus, see Josephus, *Ant.* 13.267.

of the victorious Alexander Zabinas in 127, who was then betrayed by Ptolemy VIII and defeated in 123 by the Seleucid legitimate branch, that is, Cleopatra Thea and her son Antiochus VIII (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.259–266 on Rome; 13.269).³⁸ But there is no evidence of an alliance between Judea and Ptolemy VIII, probably because Hyrcanus had no advantage in joining any sides until Zabinas's victory made the situation momentarily clearer. It is not clear whether this friendship served indirectly as an alliance with the Ptolemaic winning side (as Jonathan's alliance to Balas had maintained an indirect alliance with Ptolemy VI), since nothing more is known about their relationship between 127 and 123. Hyrcanus, however, did not intervene when Zabinas was attacked by Ptolemaic troops sent to support Antiochus VIII Grypus.

Hyrcanus also took advantage of the chaotic situation of the years 129–125 BCE. Josephus (*Ant.* 13.273) tells us that after the death of Antiochus VII, Hyrcanus was no longer a subject or a friend of the Seleucids and that “his affairs were in a very improving and flourishing condition in the times of Alexander Zabinas, and especially under these brothers” (trans. Whiston and Maier 1999),³⁹ the latter referring to another dynastic conflict between the two sons of Cleopatra Thea (one by Demetrius II and the other by Antiochus VII), respectively Antiochus VIII Grypus and Antiochus IX Cyzicenus. Josephus's chronology of Hyrcanus's military actions has been rejected by recent scholarship because the archaeological and numismatic evidence shows that Hyrcanus only invaded cities in Syria, Idumea, and Samaria in the years around 110, during the war between “these brothers.”⁴⁰ Yet, Josephus's account and material evidence can be reconciliated if one also takes into consideration a series of hoards found in the Golan, Galilee, Gaulanitis, Samaria, Idumea, Hebron, and south of Jerusalem closing between 128/127 and 125/126.⁴¹ The events can be

38. The coinage of Cleopatra Thea alone in Ptolemais in 125 BCE (SC 1:2258) already indicates an opposition to Zabinas (Chrubasik 2016, 143).

39. Josephus: ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐν ἐπιδόσει πολλῇ καὶ ἀκμῇ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ζαβιναίου καιρούς, καὶ μάλιστα' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

40. See MacRae in this volume; sources and reconstructed chronology in Finkelstein 1998a, with the useful table on 56–60; Shatzman 2012.

41. I thank Cathy Lorber for these references: Golan, 1932 (*IGCH* 1600), closure 128/127 BCE (all plated forgeries); Samaria, 1999 (*CH* 9, 534), closure 128/127 BCE; Idumea, south of Hebron, 2004 (*EH* 128), closure 128/127 BCE; Hebron, 1980 (*CH* 8, 111), closure 127/126 BCE; Capernaum, Galilee, 1957 (*IGCH* 1602), closure 126/125 BCE; Bethlehem, 1971 (*IGCH* 1603), closure 126/125 BCE; south of Jerusalem, early

reconstructed as follows. The hoards indicate that violence occurred right after the death of Antiochus VII, which, however, did not lead to any conquest. Most likely, Hyrcanus launched raids in these regions, hoping for some recognition or tributes. Then, “during all that time,” as Josephus (*Ant.* 13.273) tells us, “Hyrcanus lived in peace,” possibly from 125 to circa 111 BCE (or 114–111 BCE for Finkielsztein 1998a, 56). Finally, a last phase of violence is visible in the material evidence, which corresponds to Hyrcanus’s expedition against cities in Syria and the conquest of Idumea, as well as Samaria and Shechem around 110, when he faced Egyptian troops (six thousand men) that Cyzenicus had asked of Ptolemy IX Lathyrus in order to defend Samaria (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.277–283).⁴² Thus Josephus reported correctly the conquest of Samaria and Shechem but simply made some inaccuracies regarding other regions by mixing up raids and conquests. Hyrcanus’s affairs were indeed even better during the brothers’ wars than under Zabinas.

4.2. Relationship between Judeans in Egypt and Judea and Their Role as Soldiers

One way to get a glimpse of the relationship between Judeans in Egypt and Judea shortly after the end of the Eighth Syrian War is to look at the two letters at the beginning of 2 Maccabees. The first letter (1:1–10), supposedly sent in 124 BCE by the Jewish people in Judea to their brothers in Egypt in order to invite them to celebrate Hanukkah, promoted unity between Judea and Egypt as well as an anti-Seleucid attitude, and may be considered as the official Hasmonean position.⁴³ Maybe the reason for advertising unity was, after the somehow confusing “Zabinas episode,” to

1991 (*CH* 8, 469), closure 126/125 BCE. This evidence loosely coincides with Josephus (*Ant.* 13.254–258), though incursions in Galilee and Gaulanitis are not mentioned in the literary sources; see also Syon in this volume about the slow process of penetration and settlement in Galilee and the Golan between 130 and 104 BCE.

42. Ptolemy sent the troops against the consent of his mother, Cleopatra III, during their dynastic conflict.

43. Spilly (1970, 85) interpreted the letter as an encouragement to the Jews of Egypt who had sided with Cleopatra II, especially the reference to a “time of adversity,” but this is to assume ethnic divisions during the dynastic war; whereas Tcherikover and Fuks (1957–1964, 23–24 n. 58) had already questioned Ptolemy VIII’s supposed hostility against the Jews, arguing that this expression was a general reference influenced by biblical texts.

secure good relationships with Egypt, whose support would be useful if Antiochus VIII Grypus were to take the opportunity of his momentarily secured position (between ca. 123 and 117) to attack Judea. But there is no trace of an alliance between Ptolemy VIII and Hyrcanus. In the second, longer letter, supposedly dated to 164 BCE, the Jewish people in Judea already invited the Jews of Egypt to celebrate Hanukkah (2 Macc 1:10b–2:18). It was written to Aristobulus, the Jewish philosopher addressed as the tutor (*didaskalos*) of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra VI and to the Jews of Egypt. This letter—of dubious authenticity—also constructed the unity between the Jews of Egypt and Judea as enduring until the time of the *epitomator* of 2 Maccabees, as argued by Erich Gruen (1997, 65, and analysis of the two letters on 62–66 with bibliography; Méléze Modrzejewski 1995, 123). But the dates of the two letters, and the repetition of the invitation, may allude to some absence of communication between the Judeans close to Ptolemaic power and the Judeans in Judea from the 150s to 124 BCE.⁴⁴ There is no evidence either for Judean high officers in the Ptolemaic army—possibly with a specific agenda—during the Eighth Syrian War, since Justinus and Josephus do not give any details about the Ptolemaic troops sent to Syria with Zabinas and those who joined Antiochus VIII against Zabinas.

Yet more is known about the so-called War of the Scepters (103–101), considered the Ninth and last Syrian war by Grainger, since the papyrological and epigraphic evidence accounts for soldiers and officers of Egyptian origin serving in Syria and for an Egyptian general, Petimouthes, commanding Cleopatra III's army.⁴⁵ In contrast, Josephus (*Ant.* 13.284–287; Van 't Dack et al. 1989, 27–35) indicates that the army was led by two Judean generals, Ananias and Chelkias, the two sons of Onias (IV). He specifies that the followers of Ananias fought on the side of Cleopatra III but that more soldiers followed Ptolemy IX, some of them being Judeans

44. This view is close to that made by Collins (1999, 79–88), yet these letters do not function as anti-Oniad propaganda, as agreed by both Collins and Gruen (1997).

45. See Van 't Dack et al. (1989, esp. 37–81) on the demotic papyri by Egyptian soldiers stationed in Pelusium and Ptolemais-Akko and brought back home to Pathyris in Upper Egypt; on Greek epitaph and Egyptian sarcophagus of Apollonios-Pachou/Pashaï II, a military officer and priest from Edfu (84–88); and on the hieroglyphic autobiographical texts on general Petimouthes's statue (88–108). On this latter's involvement in temple building in Egypt, see Fischer-Bovet 2014a, 344. This war involved Ptolemaic troops from Cyprus with Ptolemy IX and from Egypt with Cleopatra III (Grainger 2010, 387–402).

according to Van 't Dack (1981, 128–29, 131). In any case, the Ptolemaic army in the second half of the second century—the time of the Seventh to Ninth Syrian Wars—was composed by a large number of soldiers of Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian origins, complemented by professional soldiers from the Greek world and from Syria-Phoenicia (only some were Judeans), who had themselves or their ancestors immigrated to Egypt at various moments.⁴⁶ It is possible that some officers were Judean, but no documentary evidence confirms Josephus's claim about the high command of the army, and there is no evidence for regiments grouping soldiers with a specific political or ethnic/nationalist agenda (Fischer-Bovet 2014a, 176). The only exception is again Josephus (*Ant.* 13.352–354), who states that at the issue of the Ninth Syrian War the general Ananias asked Cleopatra to renounce the annexation of Judea because she would betray an ally and make the Judeans her enemies. If true, at least some high officers of Judean origin may have viewed favorably the existence of the Hasmonean state by that time.⁴⁷ Modern scholars have also argued that her decision was triggered by fear of Rome, which was a Hasmonean ally (Hölbl 2001, 209). Yet, more pragmatically, Cleopatra III certainly realized that it would be too difficult or too costly to hold Judea, because she would have to fight Hasmonean resistance and to prevent her son from intervening again, a Roman reaction being the least plausible of these three threats. Josephus's account seems to reflect official Ptolemaic propaganda, Cleopatra preferring to appear generous rather than weak in case she would lose Judea.

5. Conclusion

The relationship between the Ptolemies and Judea between 160 and the 120s—and even down to 103–101—remained mostly indirect, Judea being only one piece of the larger policies against the Seleucids. Because Judean sources are the most detailed for Syria-Phoenicia during this period, one must be cautious not to distort the picture by overrepresenting Judea and

46. On the ethnic composition of the army, see Fischer-Bovet 2014a, 166–95; Stefanou 2013; Scheuble-Reiter 2012, 112–41.

47. Gruen (1997, 66) goes one step further by interpreting this statement as evidence for the solidarity between the Hasmoneans and the Oniads; at the other end of the spectrum Bohak (1996, 83–87), interpreting “Ananias’ advice in terms of pragmatic calculations,” notes that one could have expected Ananias to try to seize the high priesthood.

exaggerating its importance.⁴⁸ The Ptolemies prioritized the reconquest of Syria-Phoenicia by creating—and not simply reacting to—new contingencies, and even seem to have aimed at unifying the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires under their own rule. Olivier's new interpretation of numismatic evidence attests some moderate financial support on the part of the Ptolemies to the Maccabees between 162/161 and 152/151, when Jonathan made peace with Bacchides and an alliance with Balas. But there was no direct alliance between Ptolemy VI and Jonathan once Balas became king, and Ptolemy did not hesitate to betray Balas, and therefore Jonathan too, in 147. It was also argued that there were far more continuities between the reign of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII than usually assumed, both in terms of internal and foreign policies, even if some adjustments had to be made after the Ptolemaic defeat of 145. Tryphon, the usurper to the Seleucid throne in the late 140s, indirectly provided the opportunity to the Hasmoneans to reach a certain autonomy from the Seleucids. Then, the rather strong rule of Antiochus VII in the 130s made the launch of a new Syrian war rather unattractive for the Ptolemies. Yet, Cleopatra II still considered unifying the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires, in her case by asking Demetrius II for his help through an alliance whose details are not preserved in the sources, as did Ptolemy VIII too, by fabricating a Seleucid pretender and launching what was in fact a Syrian war, even if it was intertwined in the ongoing dynastic conflict in Egypt. The Eighth Syrian War ended with Judea as independent rather than in Seleucid hands, which seems to have been a good enough situation for the Ptolemies. By then it certainly occurred to them that Judea would require a different, less direct, mode of control than when it was part of the Ptolemaic province of Syria and Phoenicia, something on the Seleucid model, where power could be delegated in exchange for administrating a region. By 101 good relationships between the Ptolemies and Judea could be maintained at low cost and made a Ptolemaic conquest of Judea as unnecessary as unwise.

48. On distorted Judean literary sources, see, e.g., Will 1979, 375.

Silver Coinage in Seleucid Coele Syria and Phoenicia: Implications for the History of Judah

Catharine Lorber

This chapter addresses the monetary situation in Seleucid Coele Syria and Phoenicia as background to the Maccabean Revolt and the emergence of the Hasmonean kingdom. It also focuses on coin hoards as proxies for violence, which may or may not be attested by literary or archaeological sources. People did not voluntarily abandon their assets, and the loss of hoards usually resulted from sudden death or permanent displacement, as has already been argued by Frédérique Duyrat (2011; 2016, 294-99).

The evidence falls logically into four groups: from the Seleucid conquest down to circa 174 BCE, meaning under Antiochus III and Seleucus IV; the decade of the 160s, meaning the years of the initial Maccabean Revolt; the later 140s, meaning during the time of Alexander Balas, Demetrius II Nicator, Ptolemy VI, and Jonathan; and finally the decades from circa 140 to the end of the century, meaning during the time of Antiochus VII and especially Simon and John Hyrcanus.

Background: From the Seleucid Conquest to circa 174 BCE

When Antiochus III conquered Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia, he inherited a closed monetary zone in which Ptolemaic coinage had been the sole legal tender. He seems to have acted quickly to replace Ptolemaic bronze currency with bronze coinages of his own (Houghton and Lorber 2002, 57-58; Duyrat 2013, 15-18; 2016, 261-64). But the closed zone had a metrological aspect in that Ptolemaic silver was struck on a lighter weight standard than the Attic standard used by most Hellenistic states, and curi-

ously Antiochus chose to maintain the closed monetary zone for precious metal currency, thereby excluding his own Attic-weight silver coinage from circulation in the new Seleucid province (Le Rider 1995; Duyrat 2013, 12–15).¹ Even though Seleucid tetradrachms of Attic weight were struck at Ptolemais-Akko beginning in the reign of Seleucus IV, they did not circulate in the closed monetary zone. Ptolemaic silver continued to enjoy a monopoly in the province for half a century, apart from a brief interlude in the reign of Antiochus V. Silver hoards indicate that Coele Syria and Phoenicia remained closed to coinage of Attic weight for some eighty years after the Seleucid conquest. It follows that monetary sums mentioned in sources recounting Judahite history in the first half of the second century BCE must be understood as either Ptolemaic silver or Seleucid bronze, with Ptolemaic silver implicated in the case of any large sums.

A new but equally surprising discovery is that the closed monetary zone was closed not only to coinage of Attic weight but to new silver coinage altogether. Fresh Ptolemaic silver scarcely entered Coele Syria and Phoenicia during the reigns of Antiochus III and Seleucus IV. Eleven second-century Ptolemaic tetradrachms in the collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority have secure excavation provenances, all from the coast or the coastal plain.² Ten come from excavations at El'ad (Mazor), a farmstead in the foothills of Samaria occupied by wealthy, Hellenized inhabitants who consumed foreign imports such as Rhodian wine. A small hoard recently unearthed at El'ad site 32D (a satellite farmstead) comprised one Alexandrian tetradrachm from the early years of Ptolemy V (Svoronos 1231) and three from the very large, undated Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy VI (Svoronos 1489), whose production commenced circa 174 BCE and lasted perhaps as late as circa 155 (see figs. 17.1–2).³ Another small hoard from the principal farmstead at El'ad included either one example each of these two issues or two examples of Svoronos 1489, as

1. His possible motives have received only limited attention; see Le Rider 1995, 402–3; Schwartz 1998, 60; Houghton and Lorber 2002, 54–56; Barag 2007–2008, 29; Duyrat 2013, 19; Sartre 2014, 11–12; Duyrat 2016, 365. A likely connection with the dowry of Cleopatra I and with Tobiad tax farming, as proposed by Schwartz and Sartre, was examined in detail by Lorber 2019.

2. I am grateful to Donald Tzvi Ariel for researching these coins for me in September 2017 and for informing me of subsequent discoveries.

3. Registry no. 0033-3 (Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 2, no. 1231) and registry nos. 0033-1, 0033-2, and 0033-4 (Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 2, no. 1489). For the inaugural date of the undated issue of Ptolemy VI, see Carlen and Lorber 2018, 24–25.



Fig. 17.1. Example of Svoronos 1231, Alexandrian tetradrachm of Ptolemy V. Courtesy of Harlan J. Berk.



Fig. 17.2. Example of Svoronos 1489, Alexandrian tetradrachm of Ptolemy VI (IAA 49003). Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority

well as three coins dating from the 160s BCE, the latest from 166/165.⁴ The excavators at El'ad found another example of Svoronos 1231 in isolation. While we cannot be certain when the two or three tetradrachms of Ptolemy V entered the region, it is quite possible that they arrived with the very similar undated Alexandrian tetradrachms of Ptolemy VI. Svoronos 1231 was still circulating in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy VI, apparently in small numbers; two examples were included in the large Tanis hoard of 1986 (*EH*, 208), which otherwise consisted of 461 examples of Svoronos 1489.⁵ The last provenanced second-century Ptolemaic tetradrachm in the Israel National Collection, from excavations of the old city of Akko, is a Paphian tetradrachm of the eighteenth regnal year of Ptolemy VI, equivalent to 164/163 BCE.⁶ The dates of issue of all these coins are not necessarily the dates at which they entered Coele Syria and Phoenicia but only *termini post quem*.

Unprovenanced coins in the Israel National Collection present a similar profile: the earliest issues struck after the Seleucid conquest of Coele Syria and Phoenicia are two Ptolemaic tetradrachms “of an uncertain era” from Cyprus, dated to era years 89 and 90, equivalent to 174/173 and

4. IAA 49053 (probably but not certainly; Svoronos 1231); IAA 49003 (Svoronos 1489); IAA 49025 (Mørholm and Kromann 1984, no. 47), a tetradrachm of Citium dated to the second regnal year of Ptolemy VI, equivalent to 169/168 BCE; IAA 49024 and IAA 49034 (both Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 2, no. 1311), tetradrachms of Paphos dated to the fifth year of the joint reign of Ptolemy VI and VIII, equivalent to 166/165 BCE.

5. The hoard was published in full by Faucher et al. 2017.

6. IAA 106364 (Svoronos 1908, vol. 4, addenda 1430A).

173/172 BCE.⁷ Six other Ptolemaic coins belong to the large Alexandrian issue that commenced circa 174 BCE, while two are later.⁸

The complete absence of coins struck between 198 and 174 may reflect a ban on the import of Ptolemaic silver by Antiochus III and Seleucus IV, or a ban on its export to Coele Syria and Phoenicia by Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI, or an agreement between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms. In any case, the rules changed after the accession of Antiochus IV. The unmarked Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy VI is prominent among the second-century Ptolemaic silver coins in the Israel National Collection, comprising half or more of the total of twenty-one coins. The unmarked Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy VI is also the earliest issue represented in a number of coin hoards that close in the 160s BCE and later.⁹ The prominence of this issue may simply be due to its enormous volume.¹⁰ It is also possible that some of this coinage entered the province of Coele Syria and Phoenicia as booty from the two Egyptian invasions of Antiochus IV. But the arrivals could have begun as early as 174 BCE. Besides the era tetradrachms of 174/173 and 173/172 mentioned above, the earliest coins in hoards closing in the 160s BCE or later also date from 174/173 and 173/172.¹¹

7. Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 2, nos. 1111 and 1112 (IAA 51724 and 51725, both from the British Mandate Collection). On the chronology of the Ptolemaic coinage “of an uncertain era,” see Lorber 2007, 106–10. For the probable mint(s), see Olivier 2018, 36–40.

8. IAA 2410, IAA 46736, IAA 51731, and IAA 140064 (all Svoronos 1489) with IAA 51733 and IAA 51734, didrachms from the same issue (Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 1, no. 1490). IAA 51738, an era didrachm of era year 101, equivalent to 162/161 BCE (Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 2, no. 1209); IAA 51732, a Salaminian tetradrachm of regnal year 31, equivalent to 151/150 BCE (Svoronos 1904–1908, vol. 2, no. 1445).

9. Southern Palestine, 1977 (*CH* 4, 58 = *EH* 115), three examples of Svoronos 1489 out of a total of four recorded coins; Bethlehem area, 1984 (*CH* 8, 432 = *EH* 113), three examples of Svoronos 1489 out of a total of ten coins; Lebanon, 1985 (?) (*CH* 8, 459 = *EH* 117), one example of Svoronos 1489; Syria, 1989 (*CH* 8, 462 = *EH* 103 and 122), one example of Svoronos 1490; Idumea, July 2004 (*EH* 128), one example of Svoronos 1490. Although Spaer suggested that another twelve examples of Svoronos 1489 seen on the market in 1977 might belong to the southern Palestine hoard, Duyrat (2016, 122), noted a discrepancy between their condition and the condition of the coins recorded by Spaer, whose photographs are preserved at the American Numismatic Society.

10. In an initial study, Amandry (1990, xxii), reported 156 obverse dies. Faucher et al. (2017, 219) reported 153 obverse dies.

11. Hebron area, April 2004 (*EH* 118), whose earliest coin is a Salaminian tetradrachm dated to regnal year 8 of the first sole reign of Ptolemy VI, equivalent to

Other coin hoards complement this new picture of the closed monetary zone. There is a twenty-five-year gap in the record of coin hoards that corresponds to the gap in the Israel National Collection. No silver hoards were deposited in the closed monetary zone between 198 BCE, the year of the final Seleucid conquest, and the late 170s BCE.¹² To the degree that coin hoards are proxies for violence, the lack of hoards between 198 and the late 170s suggests that the first quarter century of Seleucid rule was a period of peace and stability in Coele Syria and Phoenicia.¹³

Silver hoards from the end of the 170s are the latest hoards to contain older Ptolemaic coinage from the third century BCE. Apart from the finds at Elʿad, there are two such hoards, the first reportedly from Jordan, with a closing date of 174/173 BCE, and the second recorded in the Jericho area around 1991 by the late Arnold Spaer (*CH* 8, 412 = *EH*, 111), with a closing date of 171/170 BCE. Both of these hoards contained Ptolemaic coinage exclusively, including recent issues of Ptolemy V and VI and Ptolemaic-era tetradrachms struck on Cyprus between 193/192 and 171/170 BCE. Together these two hoards account for many more coins than those known from excavations, eighty-two-plus in the case of the Jordan hoard, sixteen-plus (or perhaps forty-six-plus) in the case of the Jericho area hoard.¹⁴ Older coins of the third century BCE represent only a small fraction of the contents compared with the hoards deposited at the end of the Fifth Syrian War, 19.7 percent in the case of the Jordan

174/3 BCE; and Hebron, 1979 (*CH* 7, 109 = *EH* 125), whose earliest coin is a Salaminian tetradrachm dated to regnal year 9 of the first sole reign of Ptolemy VI, 173/172.

12. The three hoards deposited in 198 are Syria, 1981 (*CH* 7, 90 = *CH* 8, 339 = *EH*, 105), Balatah, 1960 (*IGCH* 1588 = *EH*, 108), and Madaba, ca. 1919 (*IGCH* 1592 = *EH*, 112). The closure of the Madaba hoard is somewhat controversial. Jenkins (1967, 69 n. 26) reported that the latest coin was of Ptolemy V, and this was apparently based on autopsy of the hoard coins kept in the British Museum. However, the entry in *IGCH* cited Newell's identification of an unmarked tetradrachm of Ptolemy VI (Svoronos 1489). One of the consultants, U. Westermark, inexplicably assigned a burial date after 146 BCE, and this was followed by Duyrat 2016, 131, no. 216.

13. The only comparable gap in the hoard record for this period falls at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. Several silver hoards are dated ca. 300 BCE: Beirut, ca. 1900 (*IGCH* 1518); Beirut, 1964 (*IGCH* 1519); Galilee, 1964 (*IGCH* 1520); Saida (ancient Sidon), before 1954 (*IGCH* 1521). The next hoard chronologically is Hebron area, 1999 (*CH* 9, 484 = *EH*, 51) with an estimated date of deposit ca. 280–270 BCE.

14. Spaer's original record indicated more than sixteen coins. Olivier and Meadows (2017) identified another thirty coins in commerce, which in their opinion probably came from the same hoard.

hoard, 6.5 percent in the case of the Jericho hoard. Apparently older Ptolemaic coinage was disappearing from circulation, while new Ptolemaic silver was being introduced from the east, or at least accumulating along the eastern border of Judah.

The earlier of these two hoards is of particular interest. It is an unpublished hoard reliably rumored to have come from Jordan, recorded in 2016 from photos supplied by a Middle Eastern dealer. It included sixteen Ptolemaic tetradrachms of the third century, twenty-five more recent Cypriote tetradrachms of Ptolemy V and VI, and twenty era tetradrachms struck under these kings. An additional fourteen tetradrachms, nearly one-sixth of the hoard, were imitations of good silver and proper weight but of nonstandard style. One such imitation was included in the Jericho-area hoard as well. There is reason to believe that the imitative tetradrachms were minted locally. Two classes of imitations are represented, one, long known, imitating third-century issues of Ptolemais-Akko (figs. 17.3-4),¹⁵ and the other, known from the Balaṭah (Shechem) hoard (*IGCH* 1588 = *EH*, 108), imitating Alexandrian issues of Ptolemy I (figs. 17.5-6). Stylistic similarities suggest that both series could have emanated from the same workshop. Curiously, the first class of imitations is not represented in third-century hoards.¹⁶ It seems possible that it was minted in the period of interest to us, especially since the hoard coins exhibit only moderate to minimal wear. The motive for this production was perhaps to compensate for a declining supply of official silver currency.



Fig. 17.3. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after third-century coinage of Ptolemais-Akko.

15. On the imitations of Ptolemais-Akko, see Lorber 2013.

16. The earliest hoard provenance is the Syria 1981 hoard (*CH* 7, 90 = *CH* 8, 339 = *EH*, 105), with a closing date (and date of deposit) in 199/198 BCE.



Fig. 17.4. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after third-century coinage of Ptolemais-Akko.



Fig. 17.5. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy I.



Fig. 17.6. Imitative tetradrachm modeled after Alexandrian issue of Ptolemy I.

It is tempting to associate the loss of the Jordan 2016 hoard with the death of Hyrcanus, the youngest son of Joseph son of Tobias. The envy of his brothers led to a violent breach with his family and eventually with the elders of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.220–222, 229). Hyrcanus took refuge across the Jordan in Ammanitis, the ancestral home of the Tobiads, built a lavish fortified palace there, and remained in exile throughout the reign of Seleucus IV (12.226, 229–234). He committed suicide early in the reign of Antiochus IV. According to Josephus (12.236), Hyrcanus took his own life because the king was approaching with an army and Hyrcanus feared punishment for warring with the local Arabs. But surely strategic factors also motivated the attack on Hyrcanus. Josephus (12.196–220) represents Hyrcanus as a friend of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I, and Maurice Sartre (2014, 8, 10) argues that he was inevitably viewed as a Ptolemaic agent. It must have been troubling that a pro-Lagid notable had a fortified power base on the eastern border of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, the more so if Antiochus IV was already planning to invade Egypt.

The 160s BCE

The next generation of silver hoards attests the arrival of fresh Ptolemaic silver in Coele Syria and Phoenicia after circa 174 BCE. These include the two small hoards from El'ad, which perhaps originated from a common source. Only two other silver hoards, also small, were deposited in Coele Syria and Phoenicia in the 160s BCE. The southern Palestine hoard of 1977 (*CH* 4, 58 = *EH*, 115), with a closing date of 164/163, contained only tetradrachms of Ptolemy VI, the majority belonging to the undated Alexandrian issue that commenced circa 174 BCE.¹⁷ A hoard found in the Bethlehem area in 1984 (*CH* 8, 432 = *EH*, 113) closed in 162/161 and contained nine tetradrachms of Ptolemy VI from Alexandria and Cyprus, as well as one Ptolemaic didrachm “of an uncertain era.”¹⁸ These hoards

17. The other coin was a tetradrachm of Salamis dated to the seventh year of the joint reign of Ptolemy VI and VIII, equivalent to 164/163 BCE (Svoronos 1333). See n. 9 for additional examples speculatively assigned to this hoard by Spaer, probably wrongly.

18. The nine tetradrachms recorded by Spaer included three of Alexandria (Svoronos 1489), one of Salamis, and two of Paphos dated to year 7 of the joint reign of Ptolemy VI and VIII, equivalent to 164/163 BCE (Svoronos 1332A and 1390); and three Cypriote tetradrachms of the early second sole reign of Ptolemy VI. If we accept

demonstrate that recently minted Ptolemaic silver was circulating in the closed monetary zone of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, and in Judah specifically, at the time of the Maccabean revolt. The hoards reflect a new era of disorders, but their small number is perhaps inconsistent with the ferocity of the persecutions attributed to Antiochus IV and the violence of the campaigns of Judas Maccabeus as represented in 1 and 2 Maccabees. The El'ad finds might in fact have been lost during Judas's campaigns, since they cannot be associated with the destruction of the site, which is dated circa 145 BCE by stamped amphora handles (see Zelinger's chapter in this volume). Still, the paucity of hoards lost in the 160s BCE tends to reinforce our sense that Hasmonean historical accounts exaggerate the events of that decade.¹⁹

It was in this crucial period of the 160s BCE that the Ptolemaic-era coinage was revived. From this point on the era coinage consisted essentially of didrachms (see fig. 17.7); a mere three tetradrachms are known.²⁰ The era didrachms are found almost exclusively in Israel, Lebanon, and Syria, though specimens in the collection of the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria imply that they circulated in Egypt as well. According to an hypothesis developed by Olivier (2018), the era didrachms were probably minted in Coele Syria and Phoenicia, with the early issues struck in Judah and representing a subsidy from Ptolemy VI to the Maccabean rebels, while later issues were struck in Phoenicia and financed Philometor's own operations along the coast. Olivier (2012, 755) estimated the size of the Maccabean subsidy at 150 to 200 talents, distributed over ten years. These figures imply an average annual subsidy of 15 to 20 talents, not a terribly impressive expenditure. That this subsidy went for military pay may be implied by 2 Maccabees 12:43, which recounts how, finding pagan amulets on the Judahite dead after a battle, Judas Maccabeus took up a collection among his troops to finance a sin offering, and it amounted to two

the reconstruction proposed by Carlen (2017), the hoard was considerably larger, containing at least fifty and perhaps more than ninety coins, and its closing date was later, 154/153 BCE. The contents as reconstructed by Carlen were all issues of Ptolemy VI, but several coins are dated well before ca. 174 BCE: nos. 22 (179/178), 23 (177/176), 24 (178/177), 52 (176/175), and 59 (177/176).

19. For a strong case against the historicity of Hasmonean historical literature, see Honigman 2014.

20. A tetradrachm of era year 115 was published by Lorber (2007), and two earlier tetradrachms of era years 97 and 99, respectively, were recently identified by Carlen (2017, 63).



Fig. 17.7. Era didrachm dated year 114, equivalent to 149/148 BCE.

thousand silver drachmas. This passage clearly indicates that the Judahite soldiers had silver coinage with them while on campaign and that Judas was aware of this fact. The total collected (though perhaps a formulaic figure) is consistent with the use of didrachms.

The earliest hoard to contain an era didrachm is the above-mentioned Bethlehem-area hoard of 1984 (*CH* 8, 432 = *EH*, 113), closing in 162/161 BCE. After this there is another period of scanty hoard deposition in the closed monetary zone. Only one silver hoard is recorded for the entire reign of Demetrius I: the small Lebanon 1968 hoard (*CH* 4, 60 = *EH*, 116), closing in 155/154 BCE. It contained four-plus era didrachms and illustrates that these coins, perhaps minted in Judah and perhaps strongly associated with Judahite insurgency, nevertheless circulated outside Judah. No silver hoards were deposited in Judah itself during the reign of Demetrius I, despite a series of violent events described in our sources (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.393–400, 405, 408–411, 420–421; 13.25).

The monopoly of Ptolemaic silver in Coele Syria and Phoenicia began to change under Antiochus V. Toward the end of his brief reign, probably in 162 BCE, he introduced a new type of tetradrachm at Ptolemais-Akko (figs. 17.8–9; *SC* 2008, no. 1583). Like most Seleucid coins, these tet-



Fig. 17.9. Tetradrachm of Antiochus V, on the Ptolemaic weight standard.

Fig. 17.8. Tetradrachm of Antiochus V, on the Ptolemaic weight standard.



radrachms were issued in the name of the reigning king and featured his portrait, but they were struck on the Phoenician/Ptolemaic weight standard so that they could circulate in the closed monetary zone. Instead of a traditional Seleucid reverse type, they employed the Ptolemaic emblem of an eagle standing on a thunderbolt. This belated attempt to advertise Seleucid authority on a silver coinage tailored to the province was probably a response to the revival of the Ptolemaic era coinage and to a new influx of Ptolemaic tetradrachms from Cyprus and Egypt. However, these coins were produced in very limited quantity, and so far no hoard provenances are known.

The Later 140s:

Alexander Balas, Demetrius II Nicator, Ptolemy VI, and Jonathan

More than a decade passed before the initiative of the Seleucid eagles was revived and institutionalized by the usurper Alexander Balas, a protégé of Ptolemy VI and ally of the Judahite high priest Jonathan Apphus. In 151/150 BCE Balas began an annual production of eagles at four Phoenician mints, Laodicea-Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais-Akko (figs. 17.10–13; SC nos. 1824, 1830–32, 1835–37, 1842). The production of the eagles was on a much larger scale than that of the era didrachms. Apart from the fact that the eagles were struck at four mints, the standard denomination was the tetradrachm, double the weight (and value) of the didrachm. The output of these four mints during Balas's reign can be estimated at 400 talents for Berytus, 200 talents for Sidon, 692 talents for Tyre, and 400 talents for Ptolemais, for a total of 1,692 talents.²¹ Production of the eagles continued under Alexander's successors until late in the second century, with some changes of mint.

21. These calculations are based, in the case of the first three mints, on statistical estimates of the original number of dies and on the assumption of an average output of 20,000 tetradrachms or 13½ talents per obverse die. Sawaya (2005, 106), recorded a Carter estimate of thirty original obverse dies for Berytus. Iossif (2011c) reported a Carter estimate of fifteen original obverse dies for Sidon (p. 214) and a Carter estimate of fifty original obverse dies for Tyre (p. 215). The calculation for Ptolemais is based on the estimate of Voulgaridis (2000) that the mint employed an average of five obverse dies annually under Alexander I and Demetrius I, first reign, as reported in Iossif (2011c, 224).



Fig. 17.10. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Laodicea-Berytus mint.



Fig. 17.11. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Sidon mint.
Courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.



Fig. 17.12. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Tyre mint.



Fig. 17.13. Tetradrachm of Alexander I Balas, Ptolemais-Akko mint.

In 147 BCE the elder son of Demetrius I attempted to claim the Seleucid throne. Ptolemy VI occupied the coastal cities of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, ostensibly in support of his son-in-law Alexander but in reality probably seeking to seize the province for himself. Philometor's occupation of the coastal cities catalyzed a period of turbulence that led to the loss of a number of hoards in and near the closed monetary zone. More than half of these hoards, those indicated in bold type, contained Ptolemaic coins, usually a mix of Ptolemaic coins and Seleucid eagles, with the Ptolemaic issues predominant. The predominance of Ptolemaic coins is especially characteristic of the hoards deposited in Judah. The Lebanon 1985 (?) and Ras Baalbek hoards also included Attic-weight silver, indicating that both hoards were formed outside the closed monetary zone.

Findspot and date of find	Closure	Contents
Lebanon , 1985 (?) (CH 8, 459 = EH, 117)	147/146	3 Ptolemaic (era tetradrachm of Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy VI of Alexandria and Paphos) 16 Seleucid, including Attic-weight tetradrachms Non-Seleucid Attic-weight tetradrachms
Yatta , 1978/1979 (CH 9, 531 = EH, 120; Spaer 1989, 271-72)	147/146	5 Ptolemaic (4 era didrachms struck in Judah, 1 Paphos tetradrachm) 5 Seleucid
Syria , 1989 ²² (CH 8, 462 = EH, 122)	146/145	21-23 Ptolemaic (19-21 era didrachms, 4-5 struck in Judah, 9-10 struck in Phoenicia, 6 indeterminate; 1 Alexandria, 1 Paphos)
Tyre , 1955 (IGCH 1591 = <i>Trésors</i> 42 = EH, 119)	146/145	17 Ptolemaic (all era didrachms, 8 struck in Judah, 7 struck in Phoenicia, 2 indeterminate) 3 Seleucid
Dura , 1976 (CH 3, 59 = CH 9, 529 = EH, 121; Spaer 1989, 268-71)	146/145	60 Ptolemaic (all era didrachms, 57 struck in Judah, 3 struck in Phoenicia) 26 Seleucid
Lake of Galilee (?) (CH 8, 458)	ca. 145	64 Seleucid

22. As originally reported, the hoard commingled two separate components, one dating from the third century BCE. The second-century component comprised twenty-one to twenty-three coins.

Har Yona, Galilee, 2014 ²³	145/144	21 civic bronzes of Akko-Ptolemais 5 royal Seleucid bronzes of Tyre
Hebron area , April 2004 (<i>EH</i> , 118; Barag 2007–2008, 38–53)	145/144	35 Ptolemaic (all Cypriote tetradrachms) 16 Seleucid
Cheikh Miskin, Hauran, 1967 (<i>Trésors</i> 43 = <i>CH</i> 1, 86)	143/142	167+ Seleucid
Ras Baalbek , 1957 (<i>IGCH</i> 1593 = <i>EH</i> , 124)	143/142	17 Ptolemaic (all era didrachms struck in Phoenicia) 1 Seleucid eagle + 11 Seleucid Attic-weight tetradrachms 15 Attic-weight civic tetradrachms
Hauran, 1979/1980 (<i>CH</i> 8, 463)	142/141	ca. 18 Seleucid
Saida, 1862/1863 (<i>IGCH</i> 1594)	ca. 140?	70 Seleucid
Hebron , 1979 (<i>CH</i> 7, 109 = <i>EH</i> , 125)	141/140	28+ Ptolemaic (21+ era didrachms struck in Judah, 1 era didrachm struck in Phoenicia, 6 Cypriote tetradrachms) 17 Seleucid
Palestine, before 1945 (<i>IGCH</i> 1595)	ca. 140	2+ Seleucid
Khirbet esh-Shuhara, upper Galilee, 1980s (Syon 2002)	140/139	22 Seleucid

The prevalence of era didrachms in the hoards from Judah has been noted by others, but we can add that *other* Ptolemaic coinage is also strongly represented in hoards from Judah. If we accept Olivier's proposal that the earlier part of the era didrachm coinage was struck in Judah and the later part in Phoenicia for Ptolemy VI, it seems significant that the latter issues are quite well represented in hoards from Judah. The explanation may be that Ptolemy VI paid Jonathan's troops when Jonathan escorted him as far as the River Eleutherus. This could perhaps also account for the overrep-

23. I am grateful to Danny Syon of the Israel Antiquities Authority for information on this unpublished bronze hoard and to Andrea Berlin for suggesting its inclusion here.

resentation of Ptolemaic tetradrachms from Cyprus in hoards from Judah in comparison with hoards from neighboring districts. Alternatively, we might suspect that a part of the Ptolemaic subsidy to the Maccabees came in the form of Cypriote tetradrachms.

The closure dates and probable dates of deposit of these fifteen hoards cluster around the arrival of Demetrius II, the occupation of coastal cities by Ptolemy VI, and the massacre of his garrisons after his death, with a second group apparently corresponding to the usurpation of Tryphon and clustering in particular around 140 BCE (Duyrat 2011, 425). Yet only two of the earlier hoards were found at or near the coast, the area directly affected by the invasion of Ptolemy VI. The Syria 1989 hoard can probably be associated with his advance to Antioch or his final encounter with Demetrius I. Five other hoards, including three early ones, were found in or near Judah, four of them in the southern West Bank in the district of Hebron.²⁴ There is no self-evident link between Philometor's activities on the coast and the loss of hoards in Judah. Furthermore the literary accounts of Tryphon's Judean campaign do not suggest any real engagements (1 Macc 13:1–24; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.203–209). It is also difficult to correlate the pattern of hoard loss with the military operations of Jonathan Apphus and Simon Thassi, who took care to confront enemy armies away from Judah and targeted their offensive forays mostly against the gentile cities of the coast. While Jonathan was engaged at Kedesh, Simon menaced Beth-Zur in the district of Hebron, and the townspeople surrendered and were deported; however it is not certain that this process could have resulted in the loss of coin hoards. If, as seems likely, the deportees were not permitted to take their money with them, the city should have been searched thoroughly by Simon's troops for hidden caches. The only direct connection that can be suggested is between the Ras Baalbek hoard deposited in 143/142 BCE and Jonathan's attack on the Zabadean Arabs reported in 1 Maccabees 12:31 and Josephus (*Ant.* 13.179).

24. Donald Ariel, Haim Gitler, and Yoav Farhi (personal communication) have all cautioned that the Hebron and Hebron area provenances are unreliable and may merely reflect the fact that hoards found on the West Bank often passed through the hands of merchants in Hebron. Spaer (1989, 268) expressed a similar caveat in connection with the Dura hoard but concluded it was reasonable to assume it was found in the Hebron district. The same assumption seems reasonable in the other cases. Duyrat (2016, 337), presumed that the concentration of hoards in Hebron was connected with violence somehow unleashed by the invasion of Ptolemy VI.

The level of violence around 146–145 BCE as implied by these hoards is also reflected in the abandonment of several excavated sites in Israel. As already mentioned, the abandonment of El‘ad (Mazor) is dated circa 145 by stamped amphora handles, though the coin hoards found at the site were apparently lost in the 160s BCE. The other archaeologically attested abandonments around 145 were in Galilee. The Seleucid administrative center at Kedesh was abandoned in or after 144 BCE, according to its latest dated artifact, and this abandonment is surely to be associated with the confrontation of the armies of Demetrius II and Jonathan on the Plain of Hazor (1 Macc 11:63–74; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.154–162). Other sites in Galilee abandoned in the same time frame as these hoards were deposited include Philoteria-Beth-Yerah (145 BCE), Khirbet el-‘Eika (144 or 143 BCE), and Khirbet esh-Shuhara (140/139 BCE). Of these, only Khirbet esh-Shuhara has a corresponding hoard, though the hoard doubtfully attributed to the Lake of Galilee, with a closure circa 145, and the bronze hoard from Har Yona, closing in 145/144, may be related to earlier site abandonments in Galilee. The Judean hoards suggest serious disorders in southern Judah circa 145 BCE and perhaps again circa 140, though such problems are not attested literarily.

From circa 140–105 BCE: Antiochus VII, Simon, and John Hyrcanus

Six of the above hoards, including the last two, contained no Ptolemaic coinage, and Ptolemaic coins are almost completely absent from the next generation of silver hoards deposited in or near Judah, with closing dates between 135 and 104 BCE. Ptolemaic coins are represented only in the Idumea hoard of July 2004 and in the Nablus 1891 (?) hoard, by two and three examples, respectively.

Findspot and Date of Find	Closure	Contents
Ramallah area, early 1992 (<i>CH</i> 8, 464)	ca. 135	ca. 29 Seleucid
Hebron, 1976 (<i>CH</i> 3, 61)	131	124 Seleucid
Golan, 1932 (<i>IGCH</i> 1600)	128/127	7 plated ancient counterfeits imitating Seleucid types
Samaria, 1999 (<i>CH</i> 9, 534)	128/127	15+ Seleucid
Idumea, south of Hebron, July 2004 (<i>EH</i> , 128; Barag 2007–2008, 53–55)	128/127	2 Ptolemaic 9 Seleucid

Hebron, 1980 (<i>CH</i> 8, 111)	127/126	7 Seleucid
Capernaum, Galilee, 1957 (<i>IGCH</i> 1602)	126/125	78 Seleucid
Bethlehem, 1971 (<i>IGCH</i> 1603)	126/125	51+ Seleucid
South of Jerusalem, early 1991 (<i>CH</i> 8, 469)	126/125	450+ Seleucid
Ḥorvat 'Aqrav, upper Galilee, 1970 (Syon 2014c)	120/119 ²⁵	20 Seleucid
Nablus, 1891 (?) (<i>IGCH</i> 1601 = <i>CH</i> 9, 539 = <i>EH</i> , 129)	104 ²⁶	3 Ptolemaic ca. 400 Seleucid

The disappearance of Ptolemaic silver occurred too rapidly to be the result of natural attrition.²⁷ We must assume that Antiochus VII found a way, fairly early in his reign, to remove this foreign coinage from circulation, including the era didrachms. Such a measure would have affected Judah disproportionately, but it need not have been abusive or punitive; it could have involved exchange for Seleucid silver, and it was probably carried out during the period of good relations between Antiochus and Simon. We may even wonder whether it was somehow related to Antiochus's early grant of permission to Simon to mint a national coinage for Judah (1 Macc 15:6).

A decline in the supply of silver currency after Antiochus's death may be suggested by the ancient counterfeits in the Golan 1932 hoard and by the small size of the next three hoards in the list. Such a decline might imply that Antiochus's rule had brought financial benefits to his subjects, or it might simply be a result of the disordered political situation after his death. In either case, if there was a decline in currency supply, it was short lived and quickly reversed, since the three hoards closing in 126/125 are all large to extremely large.

The paucity of hoards deposited during the reign of Antiochus VII (138–129 BCE) attests the success of his policies for controlling the

25. Probable date of deposit 110 BCE at the earliest, according to Syon.

26. Probable date of deposit 102 BCE.

27. For comparison, the Syria 1981 hoard (*CH* 7, 90 = *CH* 8, 332 = *EH*, 105), closing in 199/198, included numerous coins of Ptolemy I and II, comprising 32 percent and 45 percent of the hoard, respectively (Meadows 2017, 190).

aggression of Hasmonean leaders. The Ramallah-area hoard, dated circa 135 BCE, must be related to the ravaging of Judah by the Seleucid army commanded by Cendebaeus (1 Macc 15:38-16:10; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.225). The Hebron hoard of 1976, closing in 131 BCE, may be associated with the invasion of Judah by Antiochus VII himself, which resulted in a peace treaty that is commemorated by a dated bronze coinage struck at Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.236-248, dated to the fourth year of the reign; SC, no. 2123.2-3, dated to SE 181 [132/131] and 182 [131/130], respectively).²⁸

Of the eleven hoards deposited in or near Judah after 140 BCE, three close in 128/127 BCE, one in 127/126 BCE, and three in 126/125 BCE. These losses are probably due to Hyrcanus's offensive operations in these years, which were made possible by the involvement of Demetrius II in the dynastic rivalries of the Ptolemaic house (Duyrat 2011, 428). According to Josephus (*Ant.* 13.254-257), Hyrcanus captured Medaba, Samega, Shechem, Gerizim, the Cutheans (i.e., the Samaritans), Adora, Marisa, and all Idumea. Archaeological evidence clearly indicates that the final conquests of Marisa, Gerizim, Shechem, and Samaria occurred around 110 BCE, near the end of Hyrcanus's reign, and scholars now generally agree that Josephus's chronology cannot be accepted (Finkelstejn 1998a; Shatzman 2012; MacRae in this volume). But the findspots of the hoards correlate well with Hyrcanus's reported activities in Samaria and Idumea. We should probably assume that Josephus is reliable but that the early campaigns of Hyrcanus were not campaigns of territorial expansion or ethnic cleansing. The lack of archaeological corroboration for the early campaigns suggests they were probably just raids undertaken for plunder or for the extortion of ransom.²⁹ In the case of Idumea, Hyrcanus extorted a religious conversion. The findspots of the hoards also suggest incursions into Gaulanitis and Galilee that are not mentioned in literary sources.

28. Shatzman (2012, 33-35) cited an undated coin (SC, no. 2123.1) to support Josephus's date for the one-year siege of Jerusalem.

29. Judas Maccabeus also plundered and cited plunder as an inducement to his troops, even if plunder was not the primary motive for his campaigns (1 Macc 3:12; 4:18, 23; 5:3, 22, 28, 35, 51, 68; 7:47; 2 Macc 8:20, 25, 27, 30). His men set a precedent for extorting ransom from the Idumeans, though Judas punished their behavior because he favored the extermination of hostile gentiles (2 Macc 10:20).

Conclusions

From a numismatic perspective, at the time of the Maccabean revolt, the larger region was a closed monetary zone that experienced a succession of monetary transitions. The revolt erupted at a time when Ptolemaic silver was the only precious metal currency in the province of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, and at a time when the supply of this coinage had suddenly but modestly increased after a complete disappearance of earlier Ptolemaic silver. The increased silver supply apparently included a direct subsidy from Ptolemy VI to Judas Maccabeus. Unsurprisingly, the literary sources do not mention the financing of Judas's army but rather give the impression of enthusiastic volunteerism. However 2 Maccabees 12:43 implies that the troops possessed or had access to silver coinage while on campaign.

Most of Jonathan's and Simon's military operations took place after another, much greater expansion in the supply of silver currency, due to a reform of Alexander Balas that at last provided a Seleucid silver coinage for the province of Coele Syria and Phoenicia. This expansion may have facilitated the arming and payment of troops, who received wages from Simon according to 1 Maccabees 14:32. It may also have helped to finance the extensive construction of fortresses and fortifications by Jonathan and especially by Simon (1 Macc 12:35–38; 13:33, 48, 52; 14:33–34). A context of relative affluence is also reflected in the valuable diplomatic gifts given in this period, in the large ransom paid to Tryphon for the imprisoned Jonathan, in the grandiose funerary monument erected by Simon at Modi'in, and even in the use at Jerusalem of bronze tablets instead of stone to display public decrees.³⁰

Antiochus VII apparently reformed the currency of Coele Syria and Phoenicia by recalling the Ptolemaic silver. This policy would have affected Judah disproportionately, because Ptolemaic silver was concentrated there, but nothing suggests that the policy caused harm. After Antiochus's death Hyrcanus I may have faced a temporary contraction in the currency supply, and this could have been one of the motives for his raids on gentile cities in these years. The hoard record suggests that the supply of silver currency in Judah rebounded by the mid-120s, perhaps as a result of his

30. 1 Macc 11:24 (gift of silver, gold, clothing, and numerous other gifts); 13:16–19 (payment of ransom of one hundred talents), 27–30 (monument at Modi'in), 37 (gift of a gold crown and palm branch); 14:24 (gift of a gold shield), 27 (bronze tablets), 48 (bronze tablets).

campaigns, and currency supply probably had no further influence on his policies.

The patterns of hoard loss in and near Judah fail to confirm the extreme violence of the persecutions of Antiochus IV and of the campaigns of Judas Maccabeus as described in Hasmonean historical literature. It appears that the invasion and death of Ptolemy VI and the death of Antiochus VII had greater impacts on hoard loss, largely by unleashing Hasmonean aggression. It is not always possible to connect the hoards with known historical events, especially the hoards of the 140s BCE, which imply disorders in Judah that are not attested literarily. But hoards lost in the early to middle 120s BCE tend to support Josephus's claim that Hyrcanus campaigned against his neighbors in these years.

Roman Hegemony and the Hasmoneans: Constructions of Empire

Duncan E. MacRae

The interaction between republican Rome and the incipient Jewish polity under Hasmonean leadership has provoked much historical study: to take the last decade alone, I count three monographs devoted to Hasmonean relations with Rome (Seeman 2013; Zollschan 2017; Sharon 2017). Despite the quantity of the scholarly literature, however, a relatively narrow consensus on the nature of early Roman-Judean relations reigns: between the 160s BCE and the death of John Hyrcanus, the Jews and Romans had a friendly relationship, periodically renewed through diplomatic contacts. Scholarly disagreement—which has not been lacking—has focused on positivistic questions: the precise dating of these encounters, the authenticity of various documents that ancient historiographers allege to have issued from them, and the legal formalities of the relationship between the two parties.¹

Beyond these points of contention, however, a narrative of a succession of embassies from Judea to a friendly but noncommittal Roman Republic in the second century BCE has become orthodoxy. Remarkably, this construction is heavily dependent on a single text, the first book of Maccabees. Other sources, especially 2 Maccabees and (where it is not simply dependent on 1 Maccabees) the *Antiquitates judaicae* of

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1. The most recent discussion of this kind is Coşkun 2019c. The bibliography on these questions is truly staggering; Zollschan (2017) reports much of it.

Josephus, provide glimpses of individual contacts, but only in 1 Maccabees is the diplomatic bond with Rome elevated into a key theme of early Hasmonean history. Despite its centrality as a source for Roman-Judean relations, however, the clear Roman theme in 1 Maccabees has received surprisingly little direct scholarly attention (perhaps, in part, because of the tendency to abstract the encomium of the Romans in 1 Macc 8 from the wider document).²

How and why does 1 Maccabees present its particular vision of Hasmonean relations with Rome? In focusing on these questions rather than narrow issues of historicity, this paper joins with recent scholarship that approaches 1 Maccabees not only as a piece of historiography but also as an ideological document that stems from a particular context, the reign of John Hyrcanus (135/134–104 BCE).³ Looking at the book from the perspective of the late second century can allow us, I contend, to focus on the work's naturalization of Hasmonean policy vis-à-vis Rome and, by extension, to see a local articulation of Roman hegemony.

1. Approaching Rome in the Age of John Hyrcanus

The most likely period for the composition of the Greek text of 1 Maccabees as we have it—setting aside the question of the text's prehistory for the present argument—is the period of John Hyrcanus's reign between the failure of Antiochus VII Sidetes's *anabasis* to Parthia, which released John from close Seleucid control, and the completion of Hasmonean territorial expansion in Samaria and Idumea. Archaeological data, in combination with the narratives of Josephus, now suggest that this period stretches from 129 to the years around 110 BCE (Barag 1992–1993; Finkielsztejn 1998a).⁴

2. Seeman (2013, 203–43) is a recent exception but focuses on reading the theme as an indication of the date of 1 Maccabees.

3. The idea that 1 Maccabees is a strongly pro-Hasmonean document, even a dynastic history, has been broadly accepted since the nineteenth century, but more specific ideological readings have only been pursued more recently: see, e.g., Schwartz 1991; Honigman 2014; Eckhardt 2016a; Berthelot 2018a, 65–185. See also the reflections of John Ma (2013): “The Maccabean narratives combined precise administrative details, authentic documents, outright forgeries, and culturally meaningful rewriting: the challenge is deciding how to read these texts, as well as how to take them apart.”

4. Shatzman (2012) provides a lucid exposition of the revised chronology of the reign of Hyrcanus; I differ only from his reconstruction of the embassies to Rome. The new chronology has rendered older accounts of the reign of Hyrcanus obsolete.

The final sentences of 1 Maccabees mention John Hyrcanus's construction of walls within a formula that is borrowed from the Deuteronomistic Historian (compare 1 Macc 16:23–24 with 2 Kgs 20:20, 21:17, 25) and support a composition date after the death in 129 BCE of Antiochus VII, since that Seleucid ruler had successfully demanded a previous destruction of the walls of Jerusalem. On the other end of the chronological range, Seth Schwartz (1991) has convincingly argued that the undifferentiated hostility of the text toward the gentiles living around Judea reflects the period before the completion of the wars of expansion and the incorporation of Idumea and Samaria into the Hasmonean state.⁵ Similarly, the text's clear hostility to the institution of kingship makes it difficult to date after 104 BCE, when John Hyrcanus's sons, Aristobulus and Alexander, took the royal title.⁶

This period also saw two embassies from Judea to the city of Rome.⁷ The first is reported by Josephus in his account of the actions of John after the death of Antiochus VII (*Ant.* 13.259–266). He writes that the Hasmonean wished to renew the Jewish friendship with the Romans and so sent an embassy. The historian then quotes a document, apparently a *senatus consultum* issued under the authority of a praetor called Fannius, which gives a fuller account of the aims of the embassy:

The [ambassadors] spoke of the friendship and alliance existing between their people and the Romans, and of public affairs such as their request that Joppa and its harbours and Gazara and Pegae and whatever other cities and territories Antiochus took from them in war, contrary to the decree of the Senate [παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα], be restored to them, and that the soldiers of the king be not permitted to march through their country or those of their subjects, and that the laws made by Antiochus during this same war contrary to the decree of the Senate [παρὰ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα] be annulled, and that the Romans send envoys to bring about the restitution of the places taken from the Jews by Antiochus and to estimate the value of the territory ruined during the war. (*Ant.* 13.260–263 [Marcus])

5. Note, though, that Schwartz relies on the old Josephan chronology of the expansionary wars to give a date close to 130 BCE.

6. On kingship in 1 Maccabees, see Eckhardt in this volume.

7. I address below the *senatus consultum* of Lucius Valerius (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.145–148), which is often assigned by scholars to the reign of John Hyrcanus as a third contact between the Hasmonean ruler and Rome.

The Senate, reports Josephus, did renew the friendship between the two peoples, but deferred an answer on all the other points raised by the Jewish ambassadors until the Senate had some free time.⁸ Despite the claim of Josephus that this was a routine renewal of relations, the best explanation of this episode is that it represents a (failed) effort by John Hyrcanus to persuade the Romans to intervene in the Levant in support of his reassertion of Judean autonomy after the death of Antiochus VII.⁹ Despite the failure, the *senatus consultum* provides an extremely valuable glimpse of how the Jews made their case: they appealed to an existing friendship between the two peoples and to a decree of the Senate that they alleged Antiochus had violated.¹⁰

The evidence for the second embassy from John Hyrcanus to Rome is contained in a decree of Pergamum that is part of the well-known Josephan collection of decrees on Jewish rights found in the fourteenth book of *Antiquitates judaicae*. The decrees ostensibly originate from the later part of the first century BCE, but the Pergamene document must date from the second century because it mentions both a high priest Hyrcanus and a king Antiochus, son of Antiochus, who has control over Jewish territory and has garrisoned Jaffa (*Ant.* 14.247–255). The most likely context is the period around 113/112 BCE, when Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (a son of Antiochus VII) managed to assert control over the coastline.¹¹ The central

8. See Morstein-Marx (1995, 166 n. 24) for a collection of the evidence for commonplace of renewal of “friendship and alliance” at the start of petitions by Greek states to the senate in the later second century.

9. This Judean attempt fits with late Hellenistic practices of seeking arbitration and Roman reluctance: see the discussion in Ager 1996, 26–29. For the date followed here, see Fischer 1974, 90; 1981, 144; Gruen 1984, 750; Shatzman 2012, 61–65; Seeman 2013, 184–88; Zollschan 2017, 242–47. For the possible evidence of military presence in the Plain of Sharon at El’ad in the 120s, see Zelinger in this volume. Other dates are less convincing; see the dates in the 130s and 100s proposed in the more recent literature (with references to further bibliography): Rajak 1981, 72–78; Coşkun 2019c, 391–93.

10. What decree did the ambassadors use to support their case? The most obvious answer is the one represented by the letter of Lucius in 1 Macc 15:16–24 (and, if it is the same document, *Ant.* 14.145–148), which should date from a period (the late 140s or very early 130s) when the Jews held the disputed territories. We should admit, however, the decree referred to by the ambassadors could be one for which we have no other evidence.

11. The explicit naming of Antiochus, son of Antiochus, who is almost certainly Antiochus IX, has encouraged most scholars to accept a date late in the reign of Hyrc-

part of the decree is a quotation of a *senatus consultum* that demands that Antiochus return the contested cities and allow the Jews to impose custom duties on goods passing through their harbors.¹² In other words, the Jewish ambassadors had been more successful than in the earlier embassy, though it is notable that the senate provided no mechanism for enforcement. We do not know whether Antiochus obeyed the Romans, but it is striking that John Hyrcanus himself seems to have pursued an aggressive self-help policy against Seleucid interests in the years that followed.

At two key points in his reign, therefore, John petitioned to Rome to support Judean territorial integrity—when he hoped to reverse concessions to Antiochus VII after the death of that ruler and when he was faced with the challenge of Antiochus IX—and in doing so depended on rhetorical appeals to earlier Roman decisions. The point of these contacts was not the niceties of alliance renewal; rather, we can characterize these interactions according to the pattern that is well-known from the Roman imperial period: petition and response.¹³ In this case, the documents in Josephus represent petitions for Roman mediation of Levantine territorial disputes and noncommittal senatorial responses.¹⁴ Robert Morstein-Marx (1995, 161–83) has analyzed the significance of the pattern for contemporary Greek-speaking communities in the lands around the Aegean to approach a reluctant Senate to resolve territorial and fiscal disputes, even after the establishment of Roman *provinciae* in these regions. For the communities, he argues, the goal was to gain the support of the dominant power in their local disputes; for the senators, despite their habit of minimizing their own involvement, the result was “the continual confirmation of their hegemonial position in the οἰκουμένη” (183). Roman magistrates with *imperium* were not yet regular presences in the Levant in the late second century, but we can find in John Hyrcanus’s

canus for this decree. I follow Shatzman (2012, 54) for the specific date of 113/112 BCE (based on coin issues); on the basis of philological study of Josephus (*Ant.* 14), Claude Eilers (2003, 193) argues for a date of 105 BCE, but the archaeological evidence for Hyrcanus’s success earlier in the decade makes an appeal to Rome unlikely at such a late date.

12. The harbor dues of Jaffa were not a trivial matter; customs taxes were pivotal in Mediterranean political economies (Purcell 2005).

13. Dench (2018, 13) suggests the value of extending this governmental paradigm back to the republican period, following a hint in Crawford 1990, 102.

14. Brennan (2008) surveys failed embassies to Rome, particularly the republican period; the Jewish examples appear typical.

petitions similar tactics to those used by the Greek *poleis* to the west and the same implication of Roman hegemony.

2. The Roman Theme in 1 Maccabees

With this context in mind, we can turn to the presentation of Hasmonean contacts with Rome in 1 Maccabees itself.¹⁵ From its first appearance in chapter 8, which follows the description of the Day of Nicanor, Rome is a consistent presence in the second half of the text. Each of the sons of Mattathias—Judas, Jonathan, and Simon—is said to have had contact with Rome (1 Macc 8; 12:1–4; 14:16–19, 24; 15:15–22). In two passages, Rome is paired with Sparta as a target of Hasmonean diplomacy (12:1–23; 14:16–24), but the special importance of Rome is further underlined by the famous encomium (8:1–16) that introduces Judas’s decision to send the first embassy and the mention of Simon’s contact with Rome in the “honorary decree” for him that is included at the end of chapter 14 (14:40). This presence of the Italian city in the text, however, amounts to much more than a collection of bare notices in a chronicle; rather, 1 Maccabees presents Roman-Judean interaction as the encounter of two “peer polities” (Ma 2003, though neither side here were the *poleis* studied by Ma) and proclaims Rome as the ruling power in the eastern Mediterranean. These two themes are neither contradictory nor independent: the aim of the Roman theme is to validate the Hasmonean polity through the display of a special relationship with the imperial power.

The eighth chapter of the book represents the longest passage in the text devoted to Rome: it consists of a eulogy to Rome (8:1–16), Judas’s decision to send Eupolemus and Jason as ambassadors to make an alliance with the Italian power (8:17–21), and a transcription of the positive response from the Romans, in the form of a document of mutual alliance and a report of a letter sent to Demetrius I (8:22–32). The historicity of the whole episode has been the topic of much scholarly interest; the

15. The reading that follows is based on a unitarian view of the text as transmitted; analytic approaches have tended to identify the material on Rome as a late addition or insertion in an originally more Judea-centric narrative. For such analytic readings of the Roman material, see Martola (1984, 226–36, the Roman theme as islands in the text); Williams 1999; Borchardt 2014, 132 (1 Macc 12:1–23 as “out of place”). Even if this analytic contention is true, it still leaves the question asked here: Why is Rome such an important theme in the version of 1 Maccabees we can now read?

independent attestation in both Greek and Jewish historiography of some form of positive diplomatic contact between the Jews and Romans in the late 160s suggests its basic historicity.¹⁶ The establishment of this likelihood should not exhaust our analysis of the passage in 1 Maccabees; we must still consider *how* the text presents this encounter.

The opening encomium is focalized through Judas as the report of Rome that reached him after the defeat of Nicanor (in 161) and justifies his decision to send the embassy: “and Judah heard of the reputation [τὸ ὄνομα] of the Romans, that they were mighty in force [δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι], well-disposed to all those who came to join them, and they established friendship with whoever approached them.”¹⁷ Despite the literary device, the following encomium hardly reflects a sincere report of Jewish knowledge of Rome in the 160s.¹⁸ The passage makes a clear allusion to the Achaean War of the 140s and describes the consequent Greek servitude as still persistent “to this day” (8:9–10); it also draws on common Hellenistic tropes of Roman power and success (Yarrow 2006, 86 n. 23; Troiani 2008, 356–59).

As several scholars have noted, the encomium stresses the affinities between the Romans and the Hasmoneans (at least as they are presented in 1 Maccabees).¹⁹ Some of this is achieved by shared vocabulary: like the Romans, the sons of Mattathias have a great name that reaches other peoples (ὄνομα: 1 Macc 3:26, 5:63, 14:10); Alexander Balas writes to Jonathan to say that he has heard that he is “mighty in force” (10:19); Judas

16. Attestation of this moment in ancient historiography includes Justinus, *Epit.* 36.3.9; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 40.2; Josephus, *B.J.* 1.38; the letter of Fannius to Kos for the safe transit of Jewish ambassadors in Josephus (*Ant.* 14.233), if Fannius is the consul of 161, may also constitute independent evidence of the embassy. The legal result of this Judean-Roman interaction has been the most controversial question in studies of this area: the various possibilities are now laid out by Zollschan 2017. Unfortunately, her own answers are ill-founded, as argued by Zack 2018, 1027–47; Coşkun 2018b. The question remains open.

17. All translations are mine.

18. As is assumed by Zollschan (2017, 30); see, however, the direct refutation of her argument by Zack 2018, 1038.

19. See, for more detail, Goldstein (1976, 347): “our author wishes to portray the Romans as being very similar to the Jews”; Yarrow 2006, 187–88; Seeman 2013, 209–17 (caveat lector: not all the parallels with the Hasmoneans cited by Seeman are equally convincing). See Eckhardt (2013, 214–16); Dench (2018, 25), emphasizing the contrast between Rome and the Hellenistic kings.

hears of the wars and virtuous exploits (8:2: τοὺς πολέμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας) of the Romans, while his own are many and worthy of record (9:22), Demetrius hears of those of Jonathan (10:15), and the close of the book promises that the “wars and virtuous exploits” of John Hyrcanus are contained in the records of his high priesthood (16:23). The constitutional section of the encomium, which is notorious for its inaccurate assertions that the Senate met every day and that Romans entrusted their affairs to a single annual magistrate, also focuses on similarities with Hasmonean Judea. In particular, the idealizing emphasis in the description on popular consent for rule by one man and the distrust of outright monarchy, symbolized by the refusal to wear diadem and purple, matches well the image of Hasmonean leadership provided throughout 1 Maccabees (Seeman 2013, 212–17).²⁰

Despite these homologies, the encomium does not hide the differences between the two polities. In fact, the majority of the passage is a description of Roman victories over the Hellenistic kings (1 Macc 8:4–8, 11–13), including Philip V, Perseus “King of the Kittim,” Antiochus III “King of Asia”—even to the point of exaggeration, as Antiochus is made into a prisoner of the Romans; his captors force him to relinquish his territories in India and Media to Eumenes—and “the remaining kings.” At the end of the military portion of the encomium, the author articulates Roman Mediterranean hegemony in unambiguous terms: “whomever they choose to help and to be king, those are the kings; whomever they choose, they depose; and they were truly exalted” (8:13). The “problem” of Greek monarchs is a central theme of 1 Maccabees from the opening verses on Alexander and Antiochus IV, but the book does not hide that the Jews must struggle against kings from a position of weakness (8:18: “[the Jews] saw that the kingdom of the Greeks was keeping Israel in bondage”); power over Greek kings is reserved for the Romans.²¹

By providing the documentation of their interaction, the inclusion of text of the agreement between Rome and Judea in the second half of the chapter (8:23–32) works in a similar way to assert the equivalence of the Romans and the Jews as peoples, while also admitting Roman power.

20. As Seeman notes, the Roman distrust of wearing purple does not contradict the grant of this right to Simon by the Jews at 14:43, because the Romans distrust it when it is done for the purpose of self-aggrandizement (8:14: ὥστε ἀδρυνθῆναι).

21. Smith (1978, 3) points out that the enemies of the Jews are “prominently displayed” in this passage; see also Flusser 2007, 183–94.

Setting aside the modern debate about the authenticity of the document, let us consider the impression made by the document (as we have it, real or concoction) on the reader of 1 Maccabees in the period when John Hyrcanus twice petitioned the Roman Senate.²² From the opening phrase, the language of the document stresses the mutual recognition of the two parties: “may it be well with the Romans and the people of the Jews” (8:23). In contrast to the royal documents in 1 Maccabees, which consistently open with the name of the king and so attest to the personal nature of Hellenistic rule, this phrasing makes clear that the document attests to public relations between two peoples, marked as collectivities by the plural nouns. In accordance with the norms of an ancient alliance, the subsequent clauses assert the reciprocal military obligations of each side.²³ At the same time, one oddity in the text particularly demands explanation: *both* parties are forbidden from helping the enemies of the other, “as Rome decides” (8:26, 28: ὡς ἔδοξεν Ῥώμῃ). Great scholarly ingenuity has been expended on how this repeated clause might reflect a phrase in Latin used in the “original” treaty text, but it is worth considering how an ancient reader would have encountered the text as it now stands in Greek: as a symbol that Rome retained final say over the consequences of this agreement.²⁴ Something similar is apparent from the final part of the text, the quotation of the letter to Demetrius, which asserts Roman jurisdiction (8:32: κρίσις) over the Seleucid king as well as the fact that the Jews are “friends and allies” of the Romans (8:31). We might be (rightly) cynical about the actual commitment of Rome to this agreement, but the implication of the document within the text of 1 Maccabees, especially in light of the eulogy to Rome, is clear: the Jews and Romans are parties to the agreement as peers, but it is the Romans who have the power to give an order to the Seleucid king.

22. Aside from the commentators, see the following selection of postwar literature on the treaty document (mostly, but not all, in favor of authenticity): Liebmann-Frankfort 1969, 111–14; Timpe 1974; Fischer 1981, 141; Gauger 1977, 195–241; Gera 1998, 304–11; Wilker 2008, 197–98; Seeman 2013, 117–19; Zollschan 2017, 118–53; Zack 2018, 1040–46; Coşkun 2018b, 113–20.

23. It must be admitted that the text as we have it does not precisely maintain parallel obligations: I take τοῖς συμμαχοῦσιν as a textual error for τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν at 8:27; the phrase κατὰ τὰ αὐτά at 8:27 reveals the intended reciprocity.

24. On this phrase as translation or mistake, see Täubler 1913, 243; Timpe 1974, 138; Gera 1998, 306–7; Zollschan 2017, 132–33.

The other passages in 1 Maccabees that describe the interactions of the Romans and Jews in the mid- to late 140s affirm the image of this relationship created in chapter 8. First, Jonathan sends an embassy “to renew the friendship and alliance” (12:1–4); then, after Jonathan’s death, the grieving Romans themselves send a letter “to renew the friendship and alliance” with Simon (14:18); in turn, Simon sends an embassy to Rome led by Numenius with a great golden shield as a gift (14:24); finally, the embassy of Numenius returns with a letter of a consul called Lucius, addressed to King Ptolemy, that affirms the renewal of friendship of the two peoples and accepts the golden shield as a gift (15:15–21). These four notices create an impression of frequent contact between the two peoples; the inclusion of a letter from Rome to Simon, provoked by grief over Jonathan’s death, amounts to a claim of the reciprocity of these contacts. Despite Goldstein’s (1976, 492–94) attempted revision of the text to consolidate the notices of the embassy, the disarticulation of the departure and return of the mission of Numenius across the two chapters heightens the repetition of contact with Rome that is already a priority in the preceding part of the narrative. In addition, the mention of the good reception at Rome of the embassy sent by Simon (1 Macc 14:40) in the probably authentic honorary decree inserted at the end of 1 Maccabees 14 is part of this pattern of repetition rather than a displaced piece of papyrus (Gruen 1998, 35; Schwartz 2017, 69–84).

There are, in fact, other signs that the repetition of contacts between the two polities described in the final part of 1 Maccabees is an historiographical construction rather than historical reality. The most obviously suspicious of the four contacts is the alleged letter from Rome to Judea after the death of Jonathan.²⁵ The continuation of this passage is a letter from “the archons and people” of Sparta, which is likely a forgery and should cast doubt on the alleged Roman letter at the same moment (Gruen 1998, 258–59; Bremmer 2010, 45–59). Another possible expansion may be the apparent doublet of embassies led by Numenius. Although this ambassador is not named in the initial notice of the embassy sent by Jonathan (1 Macc 12:1), the letter to the Spartans later in that chapter, ostensibly a product of the same embassy, mentions that Numenius, son of Antiochus, was one of

25. Modern readers have often questioned the authenticity of this letter: see Timpe 1974, 147; Tilly 2015, 280. See also Gauger (1977, 278–80) for a recuperative reading of the notice.

the emissaries.²⁶ Numenius is also explicitly the ambassador sent by Simon (14:24) and the one who returns with a letter from Lucius. While it is not impossible that Numenius took this role twice in a short period, these two separate embassies are more likely to be a product of the narrative. It is possible that the author of 1 Maccabees has created four moments of contact with Rome in the text from a single embassy, probably in the period of Simon's hegemony; even a more generous reading of the evidence suggests only two Hasmonean-initiated embassies, one each for Jonathan and Simon, both led by Numenius son of Antiochus. Whatever their precise relationship to historical reality, the narrative effect is clear: the distribution of these notices of embassies to and from Rome across the text leaves an impression of consistent, bilateral contact between the two peoples.²⁷

The final appearance of the Romans in the book, however, the letter from Lucius to Ptolemy (15:16–24), reaffirms the idea of Roman Mediterranean hegemony. There are significant scholarly doubts about the authenticity of this document, in part because Josephus includes, out of place in his virtual archive in *Antiquitates* 14, a *senatus consultum* that was issued under the presidency of a praetor named Lucius Valerius and responds to a Jewish embassy that was led by a Numenius son of Antiochus and brought a gift of a golden shield to Rome (*Ant.* 14.145–148). Some modern historians have dated this Josephan document to the reign of John Hyrcanus, but the similarities with the embassy of Simon described in 1 Maccabees and the letter of the “consul” Lucius suggest that the (likely genuine) document from the *Antiquitates* is the basis for the production of the Maccabean (probably inauthentic) document.²⁸ But again, we should go beyond the question of authenticity and consider the discursive function of the document that we do have. One striking feature of the version in 1 Maccabees is that it is in the form of a letter addressed to Ptolemy VI, proclaims that the Romans are writing to “the kings and the lands” to order

26. The letter to the Spartans (1 Macc 12:5–18), like the examples from them at 14:20–23 and 12:19–23, is of dubious authenticity: see the literature cited above.

27. I focus here on the impression given by the text in a late second-century context. See Coşkun (2019c, 380) for an author-centered interpretation of this multiplication as a mistake.

28. There has been much discussion of the relationship between these two documents. For the basic identity of the documents, see Momigliano 1931, 31–34; Gauger 1977, 285–97; Seeman 2013, 190–92 (but with a late dating). For their independence, see recently Shatzman 2012, 57–61; Zollschan 2017, 247–54 (also arguing that the Lucius letter is a literary concoction).

them not to harm the Jews or their territory, and, finally, orders that king (using a second-person verb) to extradite any “pestilent men” to Simon for punishment under Jewish law (15:16–21). The letter closes with a remarkable list of twenty-three other recipients of the same letter: Demetrius, Attalus of Pergamum, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Arsaces of Parthia, “all the lands,” Sampsame (a mysterious name, much discussed), the Spartans, Delos, Myndos, Sikyon, Caria, Samos, Pamphylia, Lycia, Halicarnassus, Rhodes, Phaselis, Kos, Sidon, Aradus, Gortyn, Cnidos, Cyprus, and Cyrene (15:22–23).²⁹ We can compare this list with another, preserved on stone as part of a law, of recipients of a letter from the senior consul of 100 BCE that asked for protection from piracy for Roman friends and allies: the kings ruling Cyprus, Alexandria, Cyrene, and Syria, all of whom are “friends and allies [of the Roman people].”³⁰ Rather than stick to the political logic that constrained the drafters of actual Roman legislation, the list in 1 Maccabees sketches an expansive political map of the southern Aegean and eastern Mediterranean that defies geography, arbitrarily mixes communities of differing status, and includes the Parthian king, with whom the Romans probably only had little (if any) contact during the second century and who certainly was not a “friend and ally.” We find in this list, therefore, a fantasy: an image of Roman mastery of the East—mobilized for Judean interests—well beyond anything achieved even almost half a century after the dramatic date of Lucius’s letter (Gauger 1977, 300–302).³¹

First Maccabees, therefore, presents to its reader a consistent image both of Rome and of Hasmonean relations with the western power. By reading across the eulogy to Rome, the narratives of diplomatic exchange and the included official documents, we can see how the book exalts Roman power over the known world and yet is keen to demonstrate that this global hegemon interacts with Judea as a peer polity. In these terms, the Roman theme fits well with the literary project of 1 Maccabees, the narrative legitimization of Hasmonean rule of Judea, by placing the Hasmonean rulers and their emerging state within international society.

An analogy to a contemporary phenomenon in the Greek *poleis* of the eastern Mediterranean can help make this function clear: historians

29. For discussion of Σαμψάμη, see Goldstein 1976, 498.

30. *Lex de provinciis praetoriis* (Hassall, Crawford, and Reynolds 1974): IDelph B II. 9–10: [οἷς πᾶσι]/ φιλία καὶ συμμαχία ἐ[στὶ] πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων].

31. For a similar (Hellenistic) fantasy of global protections for the Jews, see the decree of Artaxerxes in the Greek additions to Esther 8:12a–12x.

have often compared the texts of Roman treaties with eastern communities to the latter part of 1 Maccabees 8, but this narrow focus bypasses the fact that we can read these treaties because they were monumentalized in the public spaces of the communities who had been granted them. For instance, the treaty between Roma and Maroneia, a city on the Aegean coast of Thrace, is preserved on a large marble stela that was found in a Byzantine wall (SEG 35.823).³² The monument, which dates to the 160s, was originally, as the text itself reveals (l. 43), displayed in the sanctuary of Dionysus, the privileged cult space in Maroneia. In a key public space of the city, the Maroneians chose to affirm, as 1 Maccabees does, the status of their own polity in relation to Rome. In both cases, the display celebrated and justified the local elite's diplomatic strategy for an internal audience. Over a century later, the Maroneian *polis* would refer back to their treaty in a later inscribed report of an embassy to the emperor Claudius and a communal declaration of the importance of such embassies (SEG 53.659).³³ It is also notable that John Hyrcanus's ambassadors appealed in the early 120s to both the prior alliance and friendship between the two polities and a previous senatorial response (τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα) in his petition to Rome for restoration of his territories (*Ant.* 13.260–263; see above); in 63 BCE, a Judean aristocratic party made an appeal to Pompey on the basis of the treaty recorded in 1 Macc 8, if we can believe the report in Diodorus (*Bib. hist.* 40.2).³⁴ The Roman theme in 1 Maccabees stood as a memorialization and, by extension, a justification of Hasmonean contact with Rome.

3. Scripting Roman Hegemony

In portraying Rome as global hegemon and as a peer polity of Judea, however, 1 Maccabees did not just script one political formation but two: the Hasmonean polity and the Roman empire. For some, the conventional periodization of the arrival of the Roman empire on Levantine shores in the person of Pompey and the history of Jewish dissent toward Roman rule militates against reading of 1 Maccabees as a document of Roman imperialism (e.g., Yarrow 2006, 138). But Judea was subject to the same

32. See now Clinton (2003, 380) for the date.

33. The recollection of the earlier treaty: A ll. 8–9.

34. On source criticism and the (problematic) historicity of the aristocratic embassy to Pompey, see Eckhardt 2010; Seeman 2013, 258–66; Sharon 2017, 65–88.

political climate as other small states in a great power world, and by the last third of the second century Rome was making the weather.

The victory at Pydna and the dramatics of Popillius Laenas's ultimatum to Antiochus IV on "the day of Eleusis" in the summer of 168 seem to have sealed Roman military dominance in the basin of the Middle Sea, but this did not yet mean that Rome ruled in the East.³⁵ As the last generation of study has emphasized, the decades that followed saw the slow, sometimes very slow, reorientation of the networks of power in the Greek world toward Rome and her representatives. Historical contingencies intervened, as they always do; the experience of Roman expansion varied greatly by region; even when the dust finally settled, the new imperial power outsourced most of the functions of government to local communities, while the business of exploitation was a matter for a small cadre of opportunists.³⁶

In this view, persuasively advanced, for instance, by Emma Dench's (2018, 29–30) recent *Empire and Political Cultures in the Roman World*, the Roman empire was a "co-production" or "middle ground" between metropolis and periphery and was not necessarily bounded by notional lines on the map or by formal administrative diagrams that modern historians may wish to draw. I have already discussed in the first part of this paper how the diplomatic efforts of John Hyrcanus to get senatorial support against Seleucid territorial encroachment implied Roman hegemony; 1 Maccabees, I argue, is an excellent illustration of a local discourse on the nature of Roman power. A contemporaneous and well-known form of such articulation was the phenomenon of Greek cult to the goddess Roma, which was a way, as Simon Price (1984, 40–47) has argued, of making sense of the new distribution of power.

Cult for Roma was out of the question for the Jews, but I suggest that they too engaged in an attempt to naturalize the new order of things in

35. The very famous questions of Polybius, *Hist.* 1.1.5 already point toward this date: How did Rome establish an ἀρχή over the οἰκουμένη in fifty-three years (220–167)? See Derow (1979, 4–6) for the Polybian understanding of this ἀρχή as the obedience of Roman orders, not necessarily the possession of empire.

36. The bibliography on Roman republican imperialism is vast, the following is a partial indicator of works that have shaped the view that I present here. Politics and governance: Gruen 1984; Richardson 1986, 2008; Morstein-Marx 1995; Champion 2007; Dench 2018. Opportunistic imperial exploitation (republican case studies): Ariño and Marín 2013; Tan 2017, 40–90; Eberle and Le Quééré 2017.

the eastern Mediterranean: 1 Maccabees affirms Roman power within a Deuteronomistic History-style narration of the rise of the Judean polity under Hasmonean leadership. Judea was not yet under Roman domination, and there was no question of annexation, but we find the author of 1 Maccabees articulating Roman power. There is no need to rehearse the detail of the previous section, but two important elements of the portrait of Roman hegemony are worth recalling. The author places Rome in a clear hierarchical position with respect to the Hellenistic states, particularly the kingdoms: this is made explicit in the encomium of 1 Maccabees 8, where the Romans choose who will rule as kings; it is implicit in the letters to Demetrius (8:31–32) and Ptolemy (15:16–21). Roman interests are also associated with an expansive territory, from Spain and Gaul (8:2–3) to India and Media (8:8), a space that encompasses the long list of states in 15:22–23, including places around and beyond Judea. The implication is clear: Judea is in the Roman world, both politically and spatially.

With knowledge of the later history of Judea, it is hard not to emplot this Roman theme in 1 Maccabees as a disquieting first act in a tragedy that would culminate in the destruction of the temple; the historiographic theme of “Rome and Jerusalem,” with its connotations of culture clash and suffering, looms large.³⁷ Nevertheless, accommodation and even validation of the Roman ruling power was a position adopted by individuals and groups of Jews throughout imperial history (even after Pompey and again after 70 CE and even as others chose resistance or opposition). Most prominently, in his own historiography Josephus extensively describes the strength of the Roman imperial state and, through his own example, suggests the need for Jews to accept that state’s rule. As in that later case, 1 Maccabees offers an example of Jews convincing themselves of Roman imperial power and adapting themselves to it—an early example, that is, of Jews talking themselves into the Roman Empire.

37. This is not the place for a full discussion of this historiography; the fruits of a European Research Council-funded project on “Judaism and Rome” led by Katell Berthelot (CNRS) are eagerly awaited. The wide-angled histories by Schwartz (2001) and Goodman (2007) from the last decade address the issue directly.

Part 3

Voices: Textual Responses to the Middle Maccabees

Reading the Middle Maccabees

Benedikt Eckhardt

Introduction

For the time of Jonathan and Simon as well as for the rise to power of John Hyrcanus, 1 Maccabees is our only independent source. It is all the more important to appreciate its political bias and the purpose it may have served. There is a broad consensus that 1 Maccabees is a pro-Hasmonean text produced at the court of a Hasmonean ruler, most likely Hyrcanus himself.¹ As has also been argued long ago, this implies that the “Hasmonean” family presented in the text is the family as seen from the perspective of a specific branch, namely, the descendants of Simon (Geiger, Kahle, and Czortkowski 1928, 211–12). It is possible that an earlier version of 1 Maccabees already ended with Simon establishing freedom for Judea in 143 BCE and that the last three chapters are a later addition.² But even if this were accepted, all parts of the text would still have a Simonide background, and, in any case, the text as we have it now must have been seen as functional when it was produced at Hyrcanus’s court.

Large parts of 1 Maccabees’ narrative are *not* about Simon or Hyrcanus. After the elaborate fictions presented in the first two chapters about

1. Other dates remain possible. The reference to another book telling the full story about John’s deeds (16:23–24) has been taken to imply that he is already dead, but this does not follow. First Maccabees 2:46 on forced circumcision may be linked to Hyrcanus’s expansion to Idumea, which would imply a date no earlier than 113/112 BCE. An early date (130/129 BCE) has recently been revived by Bernhardt (2017, 41–42), but more arguments would be needed.

2. As argued by von Destinon (1882, 80–91) and later scholars.

persecution and revolt,³ much of the text deals with Judas (1 Macc 3:1–9:22) and Jonathan (9:23 to 12:48). The style of the narrative changes from a rather poetic and highly elaborate tone in the Judas narrative to a more prosaic retelling of events under Jonathan, to then reach an early climax in chapter 14, where we find a long poetic piece on Simon, and the decree issued upon his appointment as high priest is quoted in full. This possibly points to the use of different sources (the approach of Schunck 1954), but it also suggests that 1 Maccabees had clear priorities. Having led the Hasmonean movement longer than anyone else, Jonathan was a crucial figure in the emergence of Hasmonean rule over Judea. First Maccabees nevertheless presents him as sandwiched between two proper heroes, Judas and Simon. We can easily deduce from this that Jonathan—as the immediate predecessor of Simonide rule—was a more problematic figure for the author than Judas, who by the time of writing may have been dead for fifty years.

Finding the right place for Jonathan was one problem Hasmonean historiography in the time of Hyrcanus had to face. Defining relations with the Seleucids was another. There is not a chapter in 1 Maccabees that does not mention a Seleucid king or official, but the role played by these foreign protagonists changes over time. This should not surprise us, as Hyrcanus I was the first Hasmonean ruler whose position, at least from 129 BCE onward, did not depend in any way on cooperation with a Seleucid king. Again, it is worth asking how this affected the representation of the past within 1 Maccabees. The aim of this chapter is to throw some light on the use of 1 Maccabees as a historical source for the time of Jonathan and Simon, with a focus on the two main historiographical challenges identified here.

The Position of Jonathan and Simon vis-à-vis the Seleucid Kings

The Hasmoneans came to power as Seleucid officials. After the death of Judas, Jonathan did not gain a foothold in Jerusalem before Alexander Balas made him high priest in 152 BCE, and *strategos* two years later.

3. The debates surrounding events told in chapters 1 (the persecution) and 2 (the beginning of the revolt) cannot be discussed in detail here. The largely fictitious nature of the persecution as presented by 1 Maccabees is discussed at length in recent monographs by Honigman (2014) and Bernhardt (2017); for chapter 2 (Mattathias), see Niese 1900, 456–60; Sievers 1990, 35–36.

Simon appears as a leader of troops under Jonathan early on and was himself appointed *strategos* “from the ascent of Tyre as far as the borders of Egypt”⁴ in 144/143 (11:59). With authority being contested both in the Seleucid kingdom and in Judea, cooperation between pretenders and influential Judean families now came to be the norm, and successful resistance against Seleucid troops had brought the Hasmonean family on the royal radar.

Simon’s appointment—and Jonathan’s confirmation on the same occasion—came from Diodotus Tryphon, who could hardly be said to be in control over the whole region. But at this relatively early stage of the Seleucid throne war, each candidate still laid claim to the whole empire. Appointments were made over disputed territory; the titles themselves were ideological statements. Different Seleucid *strategoí* could be active in the same region at the same time, deriving their legitimacy from appointments made by different “kings.” These were Jonathan’s (and Simon’s) counterparts. We know some of them by name, most prominently Sarpedon, who fought Tryphon at Ptolemais in 144 or 142, before he retreated “into the interior” (possibly the area of Kedesh, known from 1 Maccabees to have been used as a camp by the Demetrius side).⁵ It is easy to forget about this and say, for example, about Jonathan’s encounter with enemy troops at Kedesh in 144/143 (11:63–74) that “war was waged between the armies of Jonathan and the Seleucid king Demetrius II” (Reiner 2017, 500–501). But formulations like this put Jonathan on a par with kings, when in fact he should be on a par with the respective other *strategoí*, on a level clearly below royalty. There is a risk of obscuring Jonathan’s actual position as a Seleucid commander.

It is all the more important to note that 1 Maccabees does *not* make this mistake. We might have expected the text to exaggerate Jonathan’s independence, and even to portray him as a royal figure, possibly in line with the ambitions of Hyrcanus I.⁶ Instead, the text is absolutely clear on the fact that Jonathan was just one of several *strategoí* who were active in Coele Syria. When Jonathan is appointed by Alexander Balas, it is not

4. Unless otherwise noted, quotations of 1 Maccabees are taken from the NETS translation of George Themelis Zervos.

5. Poseidonius *FGrHist* 87 F 29; see also Diodorus Siculus (*Bib. hist.* 33.28) on Sarpedon, Palamedes, and “those around them.”

6. Berthelot (2018a, 430) notes that from Hyrcanus onwards, the Hasmoneans “behaved in many ways like Hellenistic kings.”

a rival king, but Apollonius, the *strategos* of the same region designated by Demetrius II, who sparks the ensuing conflict (11:69). The battle at Kedesh is triggered by the *archontes* of Demetrius, who make plans against Jonathan (Sarpedon may well have been among them). Just before that episode, Jonathan had begun “a tour of the Trans-Euphrates province,” joined by “all the forces of Syria” (11:60)—clearly not a private enterprise, but a job to be carried out in the service and with the support of the king.⁷ To be sure, the reference to the strength of Jonathan’s army serves to bolster his reputation, but 1 Maccabees makes clear while doing so that these are not actually Jonathan’s soldiers, and that the occasion is tied to his (and Simon’s) very recent appointment by Tryphon (in the name of Antiochus VI). The point that Jonathan was held in high esteem by various kings is repeated on several occasions. The text thus reproduces accepted hierarchies: it is the king’s prerogative to convey such honors, and Jonathan’s subjection is cemented by accepting them.⁸

As all of this could have easily been narrated differently, we have to assume that the author of the Jonathan narrative does not want him to be seen as anything else than a local dynast in Seleucid service. We do not know much about the careers of such local dynasts, which must have been shaped to no small degree by local conditions. But it is reasonable to expect some common patterns. One of them would certainly be that a local dynast should have a core territory that he controls by way of traditional authority and through his own men. A verifiable claim to power was needed to present oneself as a plausible partner worthy of further investment. The designation as *strategos* of a given region then gave local dynasts access to additional resources and manpower, which they could use for expeditions outside their core territory. These might, of course, lead to personal gains but were ultimately carried out in the king’s interests. The troops needed were not permanently at the dynast’s disposal, and

7. I follow Abel (1949) and Goldstein (1976) in the understanding of *διεπορεύετο πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ* as a “tour of the province.” It is true that the designation is slightly odd, as it seems to presuppose a view from Babylon (Nodet 2005, 107 n. 1), but the campaign is clearly connected to the appointment, and it is unclear which river would have to be crossed on the way from Jerusalem to the coast.

8. Mendels (2011) elucidates the interplay between reciprocity and legitimacy in 1 Maccabees but arrives at the conclusion that 1 Maccabees criticizes the Hasmoneans for accepting “gifts,” a characterization that does not seem to do justice to the way Seleucid appointments are described in the text.

the whole situation probably depended on irregular cashflow, based on the king's financial situation and the willingness and ability of the dynast to invest in the project. We thus have to assume a two-tier system. Short-lived campaigns in someone else's name might lead local dynasts far beyond the region they actually controlled.

When reading the Jonathan narrative with a view to the different levels of control and spheres of power it envisages, it quickly becomes apparent that there is indeed a division along these very lines. On the one hand, there is a core territory where Jonathan and Simon make their own decisions. This includes Michmash, where Jonathan "judges the people" after the peace with Bacchides (9:73), Jerusalem (but excluding the Akra, 11:22–24), Akkaron after it is granted to him by Alexander Balas (10:89), the "three districts" Aphairema, Lydda, and Ramathaim, which seem to be Demetrius's investment in a successful power broker (11:34), and the Judean fortifications of Beth-Zur (11:66), Kaphenatha (somewhere in Jerusalem), and Adida (12:38). On the other hand, there are places where Jonathan (but never Simon) goes on official business. The first to note is Ptolemais, where he is commanded to go by Alexander Balas (10:59–60) and Demetrius II (11:22–24), and invited to go by Tryphon (12:40–46). But there are others: Jonathan gets to Jaffa, Ashdod, and Ashkelon because of the conflict with his rival *strategos* Apollonius (10:74–86); when he returns to Jaffa, it is because of an order by Alexander to meet Ptolemy VI there (11:6), and both his return to Ashkelon and his first appearance in Gaza are part of his "tour through the province" (11:61). Before this he had gone to Antioch to support Demetrius with troops (11:44), and the continuation of the tour leads him as far as Damascus (11:62, also 12:32). Demetrius's commanders try to distract him from his official "task" (*chreia*) and thereby cause the battle at Kedesh (11:63), a pattern that seems to repeat itself when Jonathan meets them again in the Amathitis, in order to not give them any time to enter "his land" (12:25).⁹ The only place that does not fall clearly into either the core territory or the wider sphere of influence tied to Jonathan's office is Beit Shean, where Jonathan meets Tryphon before being lured to Ptolemais (12:40–46). The reason is that Jonathan's position vis-à-vis the Seleucid king is at this moment undetermined: even in the narrative, no

9. Nodet (2005, 107–8) identifies this as a literary doublet rather than a historical pattern.

one knows whether Jonathan is still on board or not. The exception thus confirms the pattern.

The boundaries of the core territory become visible when they are extended through royal grants: Akkaron in the north, the “three districts” in the west. First Maccabees does not assume that Jonathan’s authority extended to the Galilee or the coastal cities. There is some room for independent activities in the south, whereas the boundary to the east seems to be constituted by Jerusalem itself. Campaigns in Seleucid service bring Jonathan to places much farther west and north, but except for one side trip to the enigmatic Zabadean Arabs in the region of Damascus (12:31), he never goes east; whatever interests Seleucid kings might have had in the Transjordan were apparently handled by others.¹⁰

Historical plausibility is one important feature to note here, but the crucial point in our context is that 1 Maccabees not only provides data that fit our expectations but seems to apply the very same distinction that guided those expectations in the first place. All we needed to do to map the different levels of control was to follow the explicit remarks in the text. Whenever Jonathan goes to places outside his immediate sphere of influence, 1 Maccabees gives either a reason for doing so or an additional explanation, and these remarks always bring the Seleucid context to the fore.¹¹ Our earlier findings are thus confirmed: 1 Macc 9–12 never claims that Jonathan is acting on a par with kings but consistently and explicitly portrays him as a local dynast in Seleucid service.

The picture changes significantly when it comes to the period of Simon’s sole leadership. Unlike Jonathan, Simon holds a short accession speech stressing his determination to take vengeance and fight the nations (13:6). He is depicted as Tryphon’s direct opponent (13:12–30), up to the point where he establishes contact with Demetrius II. The king’s letter quoted in 1 Maccabees shows that Simon had sent diplomatic signs of submission (13:37), and yet the text goes on to claim that “the yoke of the nations was lifted from Israel” (13:41). A similar tension pervades the book’s report about Simon’s appointment as high priest in 140. The decree cited in 14:27–45 makes clear that Demetrius was responsible for the

10. I have argued elsewhere (Eckhardt 2016a, 62–66) that we should think of the Aboubids.

11. Atkinson (2016, 31) nevertheless maintains that “Jonathan’s military campaigns appear to have been carefully planned to prepare for the creation of an independent state.”

ultimate appointment (14:38), but the whole narrative context, including a possible reference to Judean “freedom” (*eleutheria*),¹² suggests an autonomous decision by the Judeans under conditions of complete independence. Antiochus VII then approaches Simon, granting him several concessions that only make sense if Judea is still seen as an integral part of the Seleucid empire (15:1–9). But no further appointment is mentioned, and Simon supports Antiochus with troops only once, in Dora, where the king rejects them and accuses Simon of having occupied places that were not his own (15:27–28). Simon replies that the Judeans have only taken what is theirs anyway but shows himself willing to pay for Jaffa and Gazara, which he had conquered earlier (15:33–35). If we can trace Hellenistic diplomacy in this highly stylized exchange (as argued by Berthelot 2018a, 161–85), the implication must be that Simon is indeed put on a par with the king. Unlike Jonathan, Simon is also able to ensure an orderly dynastic succession, which is only slightly hampered by his and two of his sons’ death in Doq.

It is difficult to assess how much really changed under Simon. He managed to get rid of the Seleucid garrison in Jerusalem, but coinage in his name does not exist, and few elements in his story clearly point to a new order. The core territory is larger now, but it had started to grow already under Jonathan, and the general conditions still seem similar. Perhaps the weakness of Demetrius II did indeed create some more leeway, but Antiochus VII quickly reestablished old expectations. Simon seems to have misjudged the situation, which contributed to his downfall.¹³ Following a siege of Jerusalem, his son Hyrcanus had to accompany Antiochus on the Parthian campaign; it was only the death of Antiochus in 129 that created a fundamentally new situation. By the time 1 Maccabees was written, Hyrcanus had indeed become the ruler of an independent Judean state.

First Maccabees would want us to believe that he inherited this position from his father, and that it was Simon who singlehandedly changed the default setting from cooperation to conflict with the Seleucid pretenders, thereby establishing himself as an almost royal figure. As we have found the implied contrast between Jonathan and Simon to be exaggerated, two explanations suggest themselves. A Simonide writer may well

12. 14:26: καὶ ἔστησαν αὐτῷ ἐλευθερίαν; on the problematic meaning (the people “rendering thanks” to Simon?), see Sievers 1990, 119 with n. 66.

13. Antiochus’s involvement in the plot that lead to Simon’s death has been postulated several times, e.g., by Barag 2009, 79.

have had an interest in making it as clear as possible that Jonathan worked for the Seleucids, in order to suggest a contrast with the freedom fighter Simon, who supposedly did not do so. But if the detailed information of 1 Macc 9–12 does indeed go back to a *Jonathanquelle*, it is also plausible to assume that it already contained the very same emphasis on Judean-Seleucid cooperation. A Judean author writing in the mid-140s might well have been unable to imagine anything more prestigious than a confident local dynast in an imperial framework.

Perhaps a combination of the two options is attractive: the Simonide writer found a source on Jonathan that hardly needed any tweaking, because it fitted his own agenda perfectly. This would justify the view that between the elaborate historical fictions of (particularly) chapters 1–2 and 13–14, the Jonathan narrative stands out as a reasonably accurate depiction of historical events.

Dynastic Legitimacy and Family Values

The treatment of Jonathan elucidates the problem of finding the right place for an individual family member in a history designed to support hereditary rule. In this respect, Hasmonean historiography faced similar challenges to any potential narrative produced at a Seleucid court, although the protagonists would have been different. Hereditary kingship was central to Hellenistic royal ideology. However, decades of throne war must have put the reliability of the dynastic principle into question. The distinction between two Seleucid houses, an older one derived from Seleucus IV and a younger one derived from Antiochus IV, seems to go back at least to Poseidonius of Apamea and may well be older.¹⁴ Before evaluating the specific situation of the Hasmonean family, it is worth asking how 1 Maccabees positions itself in the wider debate on legitimate leadership in the Seleucid empire.

The assumption established at the very beginning of 1 Maccabees is that Hellenistic royal succession follows the hereditary principle. “For many years,” Hellenistic kings have been succeeded by their sons (1:9). In the brief notes on the accession of Seleucid kings, we find Demetrius I taking over the royal palace “of his fathers” (7:2), Demetrius II reaching the

14. Diodorus Siculus (*Bib. hist.* 33.4.4) is presumably based on Poseidonius, who generally favored the younger line (J. Engels 2011, 183).

land and employing the troops “of his fathers” (10:67; 11:38), and Antiochus VII reaching for the “kingdom” and again the “land of his fathers” (15:3, 10). It is tempting to deduce from this a stance in the throne war—after all, the origins of the throne war lie in the interruption of father-son succession in 175, when Antiochus IV followed his brother Seleucus IV on the throne. The references to the empire of “the fathers” quoted above only appear in connection with kings descended from Seleucus IV, that is, the older line. This might suggest that 1 Maccabees exhibits a legalistic spirit in its treatment of the throne wars,¹⁵ but there are problems with this view. All three kings in question return to Syria from elsewhere (Rome, Crete, “the islands of the sea”), which gives the writer an obvious reason to stress that they return to the land of their fathers. The three rival kings of the younger line—Antiochus V, Alexander Balas, and Antiochus VI—are already in the country. In addition, these are not portrayed as illegitimate in any way. Unlike other sources, 1 Maccabees (10:1; on the sources see Ehling 2008, 145–46) does not put the pedigree of Balas into any doubt. Antiochus V and VI both come to power as children, to be supervised by Philip and Tryphon; 1 Maccabees does nothing to suggest that this procedure as such is in any way problematic. Tryphon is the only contender who becomes king through “deceit” (δόλος, 13:31), but the reason for this is not his origin but the fact that he kills Antiochus VI. First Maccabees makes nothing of the fact that Tryphon does not even belong to any Seleucid branch.¹⁶ The text is not interested in the familial dimensions of the Seleucid throne war; the only factor that really matters is what the protagonists do.

This is true to some extent for the Judean side of things as well. When people trust Alcimus over Judas because he is an Aaronite, it immediately becomes apparent that they should have judged him by his actions and not by his pedigree (7:12–16). However, when it comes to the Hasmonean family, we again start with a promise of hereditary rule: Mattathias, who in 1 Maccabees starts the revolt against the cultic measures of Antiochus IV by killing a Seleucid official and a Judean collaborator, is of priestly descent and explicitly refers to “our father Pinhas,” the celebrated

15. Troiani (2008, 351) notes a “forte spirito lealista.”

16. However, there is another deceitful (δόλος) accession to the throne in 11:1: Ptolemy VI pretends to be friends with Alexander Balas but invades his territory. One might see a parallel here—the only two kings using deceit are the two non-Seleucids. But I hesitate to make much of this.

ancestor of the Oniad high-priestly dynasty (2:54). Other commanders, presumably representing other ambitious families, dismally fail in their attempts to win a single battle, because God has given the ability to do so to the Hasmoneans alone (5:55–68). And while the decree for Simon does not explicitly mention his sons, the narrative context refers to them twice, making sure that the reestablishment of proper dynastic rule is not lost on the reader (14:25, 49). There are several passages in 1 Maccabees where the real problem of Hasmonean rule—that it was *not* the mere continuation of a dynastic line but the establishment of a new one in times of crisis—is tackled through an emphasis on merit and reward (Eckhardt 2013, 268–80). But the book is eager to show that once the premise that there can be a new dynasty in Judea is accepted, one could not wish for a more united family to do the job.¹⁷

One reason for this emphasis may well be that this interpretation was not an obvious one at all. Repeated fraternal succession is not usually a sign of stability, and we have already seen that 1 Maccabees seems to have carefully considered the role accorded to Jonathan. There are further indications that the actual situation may have been more problematic. The decree issued on the occasion of Simon's appointment as high priest in 140 should be cited first, as it predates 1 Maccabees by several decades. It is only natural that the decree focuses on Simon's achievements.¹⁸ If Jonathan was not mentioned at all, this would be unremarkable. However, the decree does contain a historiographical sketch of the wars waged by "Simon and his brothers" (14:29). In this short overview, Judas is omitted entirely, whereas the seventeen years of Jonathan's leadership are summed up in a single sentence: he "mobilized his nation and became their high priest and was gathered to his people" (14:30). This is quite a contrast to Simon's achievements, which are then described in detail—building fortifications, driving out the enemy from Judea, and being the high priest chosen by the people. Again, this is a decree for Simon and not his brother, but a sense of caution when dealing with Jonathan still seems to be perceptible.¹⁹

17. Berthelot (2018a, 157) notes that 1 Maccabees "weaves a web of correspondences, echoes and close parallels between the deeds of Judas, Jonathan, Simon and John."

18. On its Hellenistic character, see the debate between van Henten 2001; Krentz 2001.

19. See also Schwartz (2017, 77): of Simon's two brothers, the document "ignores one and belittles the other."

By the time when 1 Maccabees was written, the dynasty was in place, and the story of Mattathias the heathen-slayer further bolstered the impression of familial unity. Hasmonean historiography could now afford to dedicate ample space to Jonathan—not least, as argued above, because it was easy to show how Simonide ruler was infinitely better.²⁰ But we can still detect some caution. Jonathan is not mentioned in Mattathias's deathbed speech, which instead singles out Judas (by now an almost mythical figure of the past) and Simon (2:65–66). Women are notoriously absent from 1 Maccabees, conveniently precluding any questions regarding potential offspring—whereas 2 Maccabees (14:25) does give an indication that Judas married and had children, and we know that Jonathan must have had at least one daughter (mentioned by Josephus, *Vita* 1). Jonathan's sons are mentioned explicitly, but in a remarkable way. When Tryphon asks Simon to send him one hundred talents of silver and Jonathan's two sons in return for Jonathan's freedom, Simon knows that it is a trap but nevertheless agrees: otherwise, it is claimed, the people would have thought that he had let Jonathan die in captivity (1 Macc 13:15–19). Neither Simon's supposed intentions nor the expected reaction of the populace (which was not actually consulted) would have been verifiable by readers. It is difficult not to understand this carefully worded passage as a defense of what was still remembered as a highly questionable move: Simon not only failed to free Jonathan; he also sent his sons into certain death and even paid Tryphon off.²¹ In what may be seen as another subtle hint at Jonathan's inferiority, the money is defined by Tryphon as payment for Jonathan's offices (13:15). By putting it like this, the text tries to distance Simon from such transactions but does not spell out an obvious implication: as Simon succeeded Jonathan and paid the money, he effectively paid for his own position. Another detail becomes relevant here: at no point in the subsequent narrative does Simon actually fight Tryphon. He supposedly blocked Tryphon's way into the country several times (13:20), but this would be an easy thing to pretend, as no battle was involved. If we reduce the narrative to the mere actions reported, the most obvious conclusion would be that Simon had cooperated with Tryphon all along, seizing the opportunity to replace his brother and get rid of potential rivals.

20. This argument differs somewhat from Schwartz (2017, 80, on Jonathan now “basking in the glory of earlier Hasmoneans”), but the tendency is the same.

21. This conclusion has been reached several times; see most recently Bernhardt 2017, 358–60 (with references to earlier treatments).

From here, it is easy to see how important the frequent recourse to kinship language and the creation of some common ground between the brothers would have been for the author of 1 Maccabees. Even now, Simon's relationship with Tryphon still looks rather dodgy (and we do not dare to speculate what happened to Judas's potential children). There is reason to believe that the mechanics of throne war were not lost on a family that came to power in the midst of the Seleucid quarrels.²² If 1 Maccabees seems to miss an obvious opportunity by not rubbing in the lack of familial unity on the Seleucid side, one possible reason may well be that Hyrcanus had enough to sweep in front of his own door.

A Royal Ideology?

In the end, 1 Maccabees' reconstruction of the time of Jonathan and Simon served the purposes of (if the usual dating is accepted) Hyrcanus I. This raises a final question: Which sort of rule does 1 Maccabees envisage after Seleucid involvement in Judean affairs has ended? Hyrcanus was seen, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 13.299), as ruler of the *ethnos*, high priest and prophet. All three elements are present in 1 Maccabees: a prophet will come to confirm Simonide rule (14:41), Simon is designated "ruler of the *ethnos*" (14:47), and Jonathan and Simon both held the high priesthood alongside their military appointments.²³ There is much overlap here, and although we cannot date Josephus's information with any precision, it may indeed reflect the ideology of Hyrcanus himself.²⁴ This ideology did not include the royal title. Kingship was reintroduced in Judea only in 104 BCE, by Aristobulus I, and it is worth asking in conclusion whether Hasmonean historiography as preserved in 1 Maccabees paved the way toward this step.

It is clear that 1 Maccabees opts for dynastic rule by one person. Simon is presented as a monarchical figure, but he is explicitly appointed as *ethnarches*. The use of a title without precedent by Simon and Hyrcanus has

22. Bernhardt (2017, 345–64) adduces further evidence for an actual rift between Jonathan and Simon, which 1 Maccabees tries to cover up.

23. 1 Macc 14:41 is often seen as a compromise between Simon and his opponents; see recently Bernhardt 2017, 390–91. It should rather be understood as an expectation of divine legitimation (Eckhardt 2013, 271–72).

24. Berthelot (2018a, 354–58) understands 4Q175 (Testimonia) as a contemporary polemic against this threefold claim to authority.

been understood to reflect a critical attitude toward kingship.²⁵ This would make the contrast with Aristobulus and Jannaeus even more obvious, but there is very little evidence that kingship was indeed regarded as problematic by Judeans in the Hellenistic period (Eckhardt 2013, 197–228). It is all the more important to ask what 1 Maccabees has to say about the matter. Early on in the text, David's eternal kingship is mentioned—as an example for the merit-and-reward mechanism—in Mattathias's deathbed speech (2:57). Kingship is something unreservedly positive here. But in the praise for Rome, one of the arguments is that no Roman would ever wear a diadem or purple (8:14), a clear reference to Hellenistic royal insignia. This has often been understood as an antimonarchical statement and may indeed be read as such. The question would then be where it comes from; later interpolations (after the end of Judean monarchy in 63 BCE?) have been suggested (Laqueur 1927, 244–46; Gauger 1977, 315–16). However, it is clear from context that what is criticized here is not monarchy as such but specifically Seleucid monarchy as experienced by Judean protagonists throughout the narrative (Eckhardt 2013, 214–17). Throughout the text, the diadem is frequently mentioned as a sign of Seleucid rule. There is no constitutional argument here; the author of 1 Maccabees would not have opposed the establishment of autonomous Judean kingship.

Whether he would have wanted this return of Judean royalty to entail a diadem and all the other features of what we call Hellenistic kingship is a different question. The most likely answer is “yes, of course.” It is unlikely that Hellenistic kingship as such was a category that mattered to the Hasmoneans.²⁶ There was kingship, and there were widely recognized attributes of royalty that had dominated monarchical representation in the region for more than two centuries. First Maccabees uses Seleucid kingship in different ways to make its case first on the persecution and the revolt, then on Jonathan and Simon. It never suggests that there could not be a good king, or that the power associated with kingship was somehow undesirable. Simon and Hyrcanus took the same path as several other post-Seleucid dynasts in focusing on the high-priestly title, thus keeping a somewhat lower profile on the international stage in light of their varying

25. Most recently by Coşkun 2018a. Despite his criticism (138–39), I remain convinced that ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων translates *roš ḥever hayyehudim* (as argued in Eckhardt 2013, 63–64, 189).

26. But this is presupposed, e.g., by Regev 2017.

degrees of dependence on Seleucid authority.²⁷ But independent monarchical authority was clearly envisaged toward the end of Hyrcanus's reign; Aristobulus merely drew the obvious conclusion.

27. For parallels, see Eckhardt 2016b, 79–80.

Competitors to Middle Maccabees: Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls

Jutta Jokiranta

Introduction

Which evidence from among the Qumran Scrolls could be used as evidence for the period of middle Maccabees (160–104 BCE)? The question is difficult: few scrolls contain historical names or specific events to give any firm points of reference; yet most theories of the origins of the Qumran community have placed it in the Antiochian crisis of the second century. Paleographic information remains the principal means to date the Scrolls, but recently scholars have criticized the typology of scripts that artificially follow the political periods (Hasmonean, Herodian), whereas additional criteria would be needed such as the differences between skilled and unskilled hands (Tigheelaar 2018). Digital projects are developing that may bring forward new results in the coming years.¹ Other aspects, such as radiocarbon dating for some scrolls, orthography and linguistic issues, content matters, and dating of other archaeological material are also used, but none of them provide specific, fixed dates.²

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1. E.g., *The Hands That Wrote the Bible: Digital Paleography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Groningen); *Models of Textual Communities and Digital Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leuven); *Scripta Qumranica Electronica* (Göttingen, Tel Aviv).

2. For use of these aspects, see Webster 2002, 351–68.

The purpose of this essay is first to give a coarse overview of some recent changes in Qumran scholarship on historical approaches to the scrolls, especially concerning the second century BCE. Second, I will take one rule text as a case study: the cryptic Rule of the Congregation (4Q249a) testifies in my view to competition for the most competent members in the society and represents contenders to the middle Maccabees' campaigns; yet when placed in another context (in the manuscript 1QS-1QSa-1QSb), the text may be read in another way.

This is not to deny the possibility of an indifferent stance or pro-Hasmonean views among the Scrolls as well. Whereas early scholarship was filled with discussions on the Hasmoneans—especially via the attempt to identify the Wicked Priest in Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab) and introducing theories of schism with the Jerusalem temple—few scholars today present a grand narrative of the historical events. Instead of trying to revise grand narratives or build a completely new one, we may exercise reading the Scrolls in the middle Maccabean and other contexts, without a firm commitment of placing each text in presectarian, formative, or sectarian phases of the assumed movement development, but rather take as broad a perspective on them as possible. The recent focus on individual scrolls as specific artifacts in their respective times requires that textually similar manuscripts are not taken as copies of some abstract, coherent work but that the uniqueness of each manuscript is appreciated in the first place. Our methodological approach has to be flexible enough to move between multiple alternatives at the same time: if starting with individual scrolls, questions can be addressed how the interpretation changes if the context changes; if starting from a certain context (such as the period of middle Maccabees), questions emerge as to which evidence is seen as primary and how our reconstructions change if interpretations of the evidence change.

The “Qumran movement” is here a scholarly label for the movement that produced or preserved the manuscripts found in the Qumran caves. These movement members did not only occupy Khirbet Qumran but were probably spread in various locations, formed a network of assemblies and counsel, and displayed some variety over time (Collins 2010; Jokiranta 2013).³

3. Previous scholarship was occupied with the “Qumran community,” which was mostly understood as the community settling at Khirbet Qumran and as identical with the Community Rule (1QS) community. The “movement” language

The Movement in the Theories of the Second Century BCE

The second century BCE is considered to be the time of many changes in late Second Temple Judaism. In the words of Lee Levine (2009, 17): “It is quite apparent from the successful military campaigns that greatly expanded Judaea’s boundaries, from the literature produced at this time, from the religious sects that coalesced, and from society’s flourishing material culture that Jewish identity had now shifted into a mode radically different from what held sway heretofore.” The Antiochian crisis, the Maccabean revolt, and regaining of control over Jerusalem opened up new possibilities. How the new Hasmonean kingdom was visible in the material culture is one major question in this volume (see also Tal 2009). In literary records, the time is often seen to be a fruitful springboard to Jewish sectarianism. The emergence of sects is famously dated to the latter half of the second century by Josephus (*Ant.* 13.171), at the period when the new independence from the Greek overlords brought competition between the groups about who got to define the new Israel and what it should look like (Baumgarten 1997).

To be sure, there are also scholars who date the emergence of Jewish sectarianism *earlier* than the second century. Joseph Blenkinsopp (2009) has advocated the view that the origins can be traced back to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Stephen Hultgren sees similarity in the covenant envisioned by the Chronicler and the new covenant in the Damascus Document: both have a large vision of restoration of all Israel, which stands in contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah’s more exclusive Israel. Hultgren (2007, 536) dates the beginning of the Damascus covenant (people who identified with the returning exiles) to the third century BCE, “if not before,” that is, much before the final rejection of Samaritans in the second century BCE.⁴

attempts to avoid assumptions of monasticism, location in one place, or coherent central governance.

4. The Damascus Document certainly presents a self-understanding of the righteous remnant that is traced back to the exiles, but it is another matter, in my view, whether the all-Israel vision can be historically linked to a certain situation; sects typically present a program for all Israel that can in reality consist of only partial, “true” Israel. For a critical note on Hultgren, see also Collins 2010, 35 n. 80. The dating of the Chronicles is under debate; for some parts of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles being late, Hasmonean-time literature, see Finkelstein 2018.

The beginning of the sectarian settlement at Khirbet Qumran was first dated between the mid- and the late second century BCE and was for long seen as crucial in the formation and nature of the *yahad*.⁵ Qumran was the place of exile in the desert and exemplified the community's suffering and removal from the center. After Jodi Magness (2002) argued that Khirbet Qumran was settled only from the first half of the first century BCE onwards, scholars started to more carefully consider what that meant for the theories of a schism in the mid-second century BCE. The new near-consensus emerged that the movement beginnings were not tied to any schism over the high priesthood but rather wider conflicts and controversies over various halakic issues and that the movement existed prior to the site at Qumran.

The *first* century BCE, rather than the second, is presented as the heyday of the Qumran movement by John Collins (2010, 88–121). This is based on questioning the historical value of the schematic dates in the Scrolls that have been interpreted to refer to the second century,⁶ confirming that there is no evidence on any conflict in the Scrolls over high-priestly succession in the mid-second century, and suggesting that the great majority of historical allusions in the scrolls refer to the first century BCE. Thus, the Wicked Priest of Peshar Habakkuk who was in conflict with the Teacher of Righteousness can well be Hyrcanus II (76–67 BCE; yet this conflict was not the *raison d'être* for the movement, and there may have been many high priests considered to be wicked), and the sectarian disputes are more likely placed in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus and Salome Alexandra than Jonathan Maccabeus. Yet, Collins does not deny that the movement was in existence in the second century BCE and that also the Teacher may have lived then.

The focal point in all discussions on the emergence of the Scrolls movement is *which evidence is taken as primary in reconstructing the early events* and *what is seen as the primary reason for forming of a distinct movement*—these are two sides of the same coin. I shall briefly discuss a few texts that have had a primary role in early studies and some of the directions that the more recent research has taken.

5. For an overview, see Meyers 2010.

6. The only mention of the movement's beginnings in CD 1, "390 years" of time of wrath, and "twenty years" of finding the way, are symbolic (based on Ezek 4:5 and the 490 years of Dan 9) and do not help us date the movement. Traditionally, the 390 years is thought to have been fulfilled in the beginning of the second century, e.g., Burrows 1956, 196.

1. The pesharim and especially Peshar Habakkuk, among the first scrolls found in Cave 1, were for long the primary source for the history of the Qumran community. The pesharim are conflict literature through the fact that the quoted scriptural passages provide the figures and groups to be identified—often by sobriquets—with the movement and its opponents. The scholarly founding narrative centered on the Teacher of Righteousness, who, because of the conflicts with the Jerusalem establishment (the Wicked Priest), withdrew to the desert to found a community expecting the eschatological turn and final culmination of history. All this was most commonly set in the mid-second century; thus the Teacher was possibly Onias III or the unnamed high priest before Jonathan's time who was displaced of power, and the Wicked Priest was possibly Jonathan Maccabeus, or several high priests. The outside enemy, the Kittim, were most probably the Romans.⁷

Few pesharim contain explicit historical names, but the ones that exist give a broad time scale from the second century to the first century BCE: the frame in Peshar Nahum extends from “the kings of Greece from Antiochus [probably Antiochus IV Epiphanes, or Antiochus V, or Antiochus VII in the second century BCE] until the rising of the rulers of the Kittim [probably the Romans in 63 BCE]” (4QpNah 3–4 I, 3) and it mentions the individual Demetrius (likely Demetrius Eucerus, whom the Pharisees called for help against Alexander Jannaeus; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.372–383) (4QpNah 3–4 I, 2; see further Eshel 2008, 117–31).

However, the peshar manuscripts themselves are normally dated to late periods, the end of the first century BCE or beginning of the first century CE.⁸ These are late works that are somewhat removed from the rule documents of the movement. Thus, alternatively, even if the pesharim would intend to speak of second-century events and persons, they represent selective memory of the past for the sake of the present. The conflicts may be experienced in their present or be intensified or invented in order

7. See, e.g., Burrows (1956, 123–86), for early interpretations that discuss the pre-Maccabean and Hasmonian identifications of the figures and the possibility that the figures refer to several historical persons or even offices. Yadin (1957, 160–89), thinks that the identification of the figures remains open, but the resemblance of the war customs in the War Scroll to the Roman rather than Hellenistic customs gives reason to date this scroll to the latter half of the first century BCE.

8. For a collection of data, see Lim 2002, 20–22.

to legitimize the current existence (e.g., Jokiranta 2013).⁹ The historical source material of the events in the second century is very much now read as historical source material of identity building of the later phases of the movement. Read alone, without the rule documents, these texts can easily be read as propaganda for certain views; in other words, they do not assume any separation for communal lifestyle.

2. The document 4QMMT (Some Works of Torah), even though it was not among the first finds from Cave 1, has occupied a central place in historical reconstructions. The editors presented it as addressed in the early period from the movement leader (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness) to a Hasmonean high priest in the attempt to convince the ruler of correct halakic practices (Qimron and Strugnell 1994). The tone of the text is not aggressive but rather conciliatory. However, its epistolary character has also been questioned, and since the text was being copied at later phases of the movement, other functions were suggested, such as internal education as well as the possibility that it was a fictional letter for the purpose of convincing the movement members of the legitimacy of their separation (concerning halakic practice, rather than physical separation; e.g., Fraade 2000, 507–26; Grossman 2002, 57–87; von Weissenberg 2009). Scholars have shown the proclivity of 4QMMT for multiple interpretations, which is also demonstrated by a recent theory by Gareth Wearne that 4QMMT was sent *to* rather than *by* the *yahad* (here: community represented by the Community Rule 1QS). In his view, the senders, who were still participating in the temple cult, were seeking legitimation from the recipients for not separating as radically as they did (Wearne 2019, 99–126).¹⁰

3. Rule documents speak less of the movement's beginnings, except for column I of the Damascus Document (see above). However, the views of the *relation* between the Damascus Document (D) and the Community Rule (S) involve a great deal of historical reconstruction. Often the scenario has been one of a parent movement (D) and its later development (S) or a schismatic offshoot (S); sometimes one of a larger movement ("marrying Essenes" in D) and a stricter community (celibate branch of S; see, e.g., Metso 2000, 85–93; Boccaccini 1998, 119–29). This contrast has to do with few crucial differences that are used to identify the "Judaisms" of the texts: the relation to the temple is claimed to be open in the Damas-

9. See recently Hartog (2017, 59–80), who identifies late layers in Peshar Habakkuk.

10. Wearne identifies the authors with the incipient movement, like the "D-group," and the addressees as a further separatist movement, like the "S-group" or *yahad*.

cus Document and closed in the Community Rule; women and children are mentioned in the Damascus Document but not in the Community Rule; dualism is mild in the Damascus Document but fully blown in the Community Rule; the Damascus Document is structured in camps but the Community Rule is not; the Damascus Document instructs on provisional sharing of property, whereas in the Community Rule everything is shared (e.g., Davies 2000, 219–32).

That the Damascus Document includes elements that the Community Rule does not (an admonition of the past history, including the figures of the Teacher of Righteousness and liar; a long section of halakot) is often not paid much attention in these explanations; the comparison of the documents is warranted by the overlapping material, such as rules about entering the covenant, the penal code, and some leadership figures. The juxtaposition of the documents is strongly influenced by outside evidence: classical sources where celibate Essenes are the norm and the marrying Essenes an exception, and the occupation of the Khirbet Qumran that is thought to be the dwelling place for one community living together and sharing everything.

The idea of the rule documents representing different *types of groups* is long-standing but challenged by recent studies on different *types of manuscripts* and by closer comparison of *sections in the texts*. For example, Charlotte Hempel, while maintaining that some of the halakot in the Damascus Document may derive from earlier times adopted by the movement, studies carefully the reworking in both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule and argues that neither can be held earlier as a whole. She also pays attention to the distinction between the “short” and the “long” version of the Community Rule, as testified by various manuscripts, rather than between the well-preserved 1QS and the more fragmentary 4QS manuscripts (Hempel 2013). Michael Johnson (2018) studies the manuscript evidence of 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSB and comes to the conclusion that 1QSa and 1QSB should not be regarded as appendices to 1QS but that they were sewn to the same manuscript and are an integral part of the same composite work. 1QS cannot be studied on its own without taking into account that it is part of 1QS-1QSa-1QSB manuscript, which also includes references to women and children.

In sum, few sectarian scrolls contain data that can be historically anchored to a specific time, but many scrolls contain schematic views of history and refer to conflicts between the movement members and their opponents—information that could fit many time periods and situations.

Yet, some important scrolls or their earlier versions were probably being composed during the middle Maccabees period, and some contain specific polemics against the Hasmonean program. This polemics shows that, even though priestly concerns were central in the movement, these concerns were also political in nature and that the movement sought to build a program that could compete with the Hasmonean endeavors, not to isolate themselves. I shall take one of the rules, Rule of the Congregation, 1QSa // 4Q249a, as a case study.

Reading Scrolls in the Context of Middle Maccabees: A Case of the Rule of the Congregation

The Rule of the Congregation (Serekh ha-‘Edah: SE, see below) has not been given much historical interest. The “latter days” (1QSa I, 1 // 4QSE I, 1–2) as well as the mention of “Messiah” (1QSa II, 14, 20 // 4QSE V, 2) led many scholars to regard the whole document as an eschatological rule, meant for the future.¹¹ It is also a special rule document among the Qumran scrolls since, besides the 1QS-1QSa-1QSB scroll (where 1QSa preserves SE),¹² some version of Serekh ha-‘Edah is also preserved in cryptic script from Cave 4.

The Cave 4 fragments of Serekh ha-‘Edah were edited in 2000, and fragments were assigned to eight or nine different manuscripts (Pfann 2000a).¹³ However, recent work suggests that most of the fragments can be placed in one single manuscript (here 4QSE; Gayer, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Ben-Dov 2016; Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer 2017).¹⁴ If this reconstruction is followed, one also has to give up most of the typology of the cryptic script

11. Schiffman (1989) studied 1QSa as an eschatological rule but saw it as reflecting the present age as well. Vermes (2004, 159) names the scroll as “The Messianic Rule.” It has also been pointed out that the concept of “latter days” included events already realized: Steudel 1993, 225–46. See discussion by Hempel 1996; Collins 2010, 75–78; Gillihan 2012, 18–19. Hempel identified in 1QSa material reflecting early beginnings of community formation. For further research history on 1QSa, see Metso 2007, 51–56. For 4QSE, see below.

12. For 1QSa, see Barthélemy 1955; Pfann 2000a; Bloch, Ben-Dov, and Stökl Ben Ezra 2019; Johnson 2018.

13. Already Tov (2004, 44, 48–49) expresses reservations whether all the cryptic SE papyri fragments come from separate manuscripts.

14. Note that this 4QSE text is in many places reconstructed on the basis of 1QSa only, and the parallels to 1QSa presented in this article might not be fully extant in

(the SE fragments would represent a single script)—and there is very little whereby to base the dating of this manuscript, but most likely the cryptic script text was in existence around 100 BCE at the latest, if not earlier.¹⁵

Moreover, the meaning of the cryptic script is under debate. Stephen Pfann (2000b) argues, following Józef Milik, that the script was a personal script of the *maskil*, the wisdom teacher or instructor.¹⁶ Single letters in Cryptic A script are written in the margins of other scrolls and may, according to Tov (2004, 204), signify a “sectarian coded message.” Eshbal Ratzon and Jonathan Ben-Dov (2017, 909) challenge the secrecy assumption and state, “Encryption was a means of conveying prestige to the initiated but not a means of 100-percent security or preventing comprehension by other community members.”

Our interest here has to do what the text might reveal of the options available during the Hasmonean campaigns. *The text is a combination of rules for covenantal education, military order, and holy assembly.* It gives rules about various age groups and their growing responsibilities, rules for preparing for assembly concerning “judgment, or council of the *yahad*, or time/testimony for war” (1QSa I, 25–26 // 4QSE III, 8–10), rules about who should be excluded from the congregation (office), and rules for the sitting order in meals and blessing of the bread and the wine.

Since the Rule of the Congregation is, besides the Damascus Document, one of the few rule texts to explicitly mention women and children in the covenant education (1QSa I, 4 // 4QSE I, 6), it has received gender-inclusive readings also in other parts of the text.¹⁷ However, the duties in

4QSE. The fragments of 4QSE represent largely the same text as 1QSa, with few significant variants (shorter text in comparison to 1QSa).

15. For a recent use of the typology of the cryptic script, see Pfann 2015, 205–7. Most scrolls written in the cryptic script have been dated from archaic to mid-Hasmonean periods (only one, 4Q298, to Herodian); see Webster 2002. One comparison point is the script in 4Q249, titled as 4QMidrash Moshe: the manuscript is dated by carbon-14 to 191–90 BCE, and the title appears in the verso in the square script that is seen to represent a script from roughly 100 BCE by Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer 2017, 31. See also Pfann 2000a, 522–23.

16. Also calendrical information was written in cryptic script: things may have been studied and tested before reaching final views and systematizing the information.

17. The text in 1QSa I, 4–11, 25–27 can be read in gender-inclusive way, as argued by Wassen 2005, 140–43; Grossman 2011, 497–512; Keady 2017, 160–67, but for modifying this reading for an eschatological setting, see Gillihan 2012, 462–66. A famous sentence in 1QSa I, 11 rules that females have a role in testifying: “she will be received

the text are written in a male-dominating way, and I argue that the text reflects the desire to offer a path to male members in society to prove themselves, but as an alternative to Hasmonean military campaigns.¹⁸ I will highlight these aspects of the text.

Natives in Israel

The Rule of the Congregation is clear that the army consists of the natives in Israel (1QS^a I, 6 // 4QSE I, 9–10). This could be taken as an implicit statement against the use of foreign mercenaries by the Hasmoneans.¹⁹ Elsewhere in the scrolls, the “stranger” is sometimes included in the covenant (CD XIV, 3–6) so the stress on the natives is here noteworthy.²⁰

Military Color

The document cannot be said to be about military order (see “hosts”) only, since it speaks of legal cases and duties in the clan structure, but the military color is certainly strong. As often pointed out, the language of “going out and coming” refers to leadership in a military context (e.g., Num 27:21; Josh 14:11): “Anyone so destined must take his pla[ce] in service, [to go for]th to battle and return²¹ while the congregation looks on” (1QS^a I, 16–17 // 4QSE II, 6–7; Pfann 2000b).²² The ideal structuring into

to bear witness of him.” See debates and discussion on why this should *not* be corrected to masculine form: Wassen 2005, 140–43; Schuller 2006, 96–97; Keady 2017, 20. However, this sentence is lacking in 4QSE; see Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer 2017, 66–67.

18. This does not mean that the gender-inclusive reading of education would be wrong, nor that the movement would not have included women. If taken as testimony of a program for Israel, the document naturally included women and children, but the primary challenge was not their position in society but rather that of the males.

19. For use of mercenaries, see Berthelot 2018a, 370, 324–40. Similarly, the law of the king in the Temple Scroll (11QT^a LVI, 12–LIX, 21) implies that the military forces are people of Israel (Schiffman 2008, 496).

20. Bautch (2012): even if true bloodline is emphasized, familial identity is always partly fictive.

21. However, 4QSE probably lacks one of these two verbs here (Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer 2017, 69). See 1 Sam 8:20, where also only one verb is used.

22. The sentence probably refers to the thirty-year-olds, but Vermes (2004, 160) takes it to refer to the family heads of the previous sentence.

the heads of the thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens (1QSa I, 14-15; 29-II, 1 // 4QSE II, 2-3; III, 15-16) could refer to the military ordering and/or judicial function (Exod 18:21-26; Num 31:14, 48-54; Deut 1:9-15). The cryptic script may have something to do with (military) education for the knowledgeable ones.

Priestly Authority

Both in the above passage and in a later passage where Levites “lead the entire congregation in and out” (1QS I, 23 // 4QSE III, 3-4), the authority of the sons of Aaron is decisive. Military campaigns take place under highest priestly authority. The Levites may have held an intermediate position between the highest priesthood and the lay leaders (Bloch, Ben-Dov, and Stökl Ben Ezra 2019, 33). Moreover, in the meal setting, the blessing order makes it clear that priestly authority comes first, before any lay leader or king, Messiah (1QSa II, 17-22 // 4QSE V, 5-13).

There are several other scrolls that have been connected to anti-Hasmonean polemics on overstepping priestly authority. Most recently, Berthelot (2018a, 342-71; see also Eshel 2008, 63-89) identifies hidden criticism against John Hyrcanus (and his sons). For example, 4Q175 fits John Hyrcanus, who “is the only person to have laid claim to the functions of a political and military leader, a priest and a prophet” (Berthelot 2018a, 358; Eshel 2008, 63-89). This critique was about adopting various leadership roles that should be separate and about not submitting to priestly authority—in other words, having no internal (or divine) control over royal power, which was seen to lead to great violence and misfortune.

The important question for us is whether this sort of critique had anything to do with the Hasmonean campaigns as such or merely their merging of power. In other words, did the authors of these scrolls consider it likely that priestly authorities (and the divine), *had they been consulted*, would have advised *not* to lead these (Hasmonean) campaigns at all, or were they certain that the priests would have advised to lead the campaigns in a different *way* or at a different *time*?²³ This may be partly purely speculation: If the leaders were not accepted, anything they did was rejected. Yet there is another discussion going on about warfare: in the Temple Scroll,

23. If the War Scroll (1QM) is taken as an answer, it has a schematic forty-year war, led by priests or God himself, so the movement could be seen to take a passive role, waiting for the final turn to take place.

a distinction exists between a defensive war and a nondefensive war: only in the latter, the king must consult the Urim and Thummim (through priests).²⁴ If this theory of justified war of when to go out to war and how to deal with the enemy (see Deut 17; 20; 11QT^a LVI, 12-LIX, 21; LXI, 12-LXIV, 1) was developing during this time, were the Hasmonean wars considered to be defensive or nondefensive? In Serekh ha-‘Edah, there was a three-day purification period before convening to decide of war (1QSa I, 25–27 // 4QSE III, 8–10): perhaps this was part of strategy to make sure the warfare abides to the law. The authors of Serekh ha-‘Edah may have approved even nondefensive wars, but only with priestly authority.

Hierarchy and Male Honor

The hierarchies are frequently emphasized in Serekh ha-‘Edah, but in slightly different forms.²⁵ The section in 1QSa I, 6–25 // 4QSE I, 8–III, 8 displays various responsibilities of various age groups (ten, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years), as well as of the Levites. After these rules, male honor is at stake when the text says:²⁶

ולפי שכלו עם תום דרכו יחזק מתנו למעמ[ד לצב]ואת
עבודת מעשו בתוך אחיו[בין רוב למועט] ולפי [זה יכבדו איש מרעהו
In proportion to his²⁷ intelligence with the perfection of his walk, let
(each man) strengthen his loins for his assignm[ent to ser]ve (in) the
work of his duty among his brothers, [whet]her high or low, let [ea]ch
man honor the other, respectively. (1QSa I, 17–18 // 4QSE II, 8–11)

The idea is certainly that every man deserves to be honored according to his position in the hierarchy, and this is not determined only by his age but also according to his abilities: intelligence, striving for perfection,

24. See discussion by Berthelot 2018a, 366–71. Parts of the relevant passage are fragmentarily preserved in an early manuscript, 4Q524 frag. 5.

25. "All citizens of eschatological Israel are brothers, but not all brothers have equal status," as expressed by Gillihan 2012, 484.

26. The Hebrew text of 1QSa follows the new edition by Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer 2017. The translations follow partly Tov 2006; Vermes 2004, 159–62.

27. Vermes (2004, 160) divides the sentences differently: "And every head of the family in the congregation who is chosen to hold office, [to go] and come before the congregation, shall strengthen his loins." However, the heads belong to the previous sentence as ones who take the lot and do the decisions.

strength, and performance (also 1QS I, 28 // 4QSE III, 13–14). There may be competition involved in outdoing the other member.²⁸ Male honor may also be visible in the rule that no mentally incompetent man (“simpleton”) is accepted in the duty, except for forced labor or certain tasks:

וכול איש פותי
אל יבוא בגורל להתיצב על עדת ישראל לרי[ב מ]שפט ולשאת משא עדה
ולהתיצב במלחמה להכניע גוים רק בסרך הצבא יכתוב משפחתו
ובעבודת המס יעשה עבודתו כפי מעשו

No singleton is to be ordained to office as a leader of the congregation of Israel with regard to law[suits or jud]gment, nor carry any responsibility in the congregation. Nor shall he hold any office in the war to subdue the nations. His family shall merely inscribe him²⁹ in the army register, and he shall serve in labor force, in proportion to his capacity. (1QSa I, 19–22 // 4QSE II, 12–III, 2)

This rule highlights the construction of masculinity in the movement. Allowing such an incompetent person to participate in the battle would risk the goal of winning the battle and thus achieving male honor, or, if such a person would happen to be successful, this would challenge the masculine ideals based on military hierarchy. Perceptions of masculinity are historically and culturally contingent; masculinity is not a quality but ideology.³⁰ The hegemonic position is the accepted male ideal, and those who are unable to aspire to hegemony take a complicit, subordinate, or marginal position, such as the incompetent man here. But there can also be competing ideas of the ideal, and this can be seen to happen in the text on a wider scale: ideal masculinity involves not only military success but accepting one's place in the hierarchy and submitting oneself to purity demands (see below).³¹

28. See the somewhat exaggerating translation in Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library: “Let [ea]ch man seek honour for himself, striving to outdo his fellow.” See Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer 2017, 22: “there[by] each man shall be honoured by his fellow.”

29. Ben-Dov, Stökl Ben Ezra, and Gayer (2017, 22) present an alternative translation, suggesting that even though the family head is incompetent, his family should be registered: “he (i.e. the singleton) shall have his family inscribed.”

30. Keady (2017) has recently used Raewyn Connell's work for investigating masculinities in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

31. Asikainen (2018) argues that self-assertive behavior and self-control were

Assembling for Decision Making Is a Sacred Act

The congregation (all Israel) was assembled in the beginning of the text for education and hearing of the law, but its leading personnel is also assembled for various decision-making tasks: justice, council, or war (1QSa I, 25–26 // 4QSE III, 8–11). Here the assembly is envisioned as a sacred space in terms of access: one has to be eligible in order to enter. The preparation takes three days (see Exod 19:14–16), so these cannot be everyday gatherings. Priestly rules for safeguarding the temple sanctity (Lev 21) lie in the background of the rules for excluding persons from the possibility to participate: the unclean, smitten, paralyzed, lame, blind, deaf, dumb, elderly (1QSa II, 3–9 // 4QSE IV, 3–10).³² However, as with priests who have a disability, the exclusion does not mean exclusion from membership or right to speak but rather from official duties (1QSa II, 9–10 // 4QSE IV, 10–13). In this sense, the rules may seek to integrate persons in the marginal or subordinate positions in society. Whereas the hegemonic ideal in the Hasmonean elite society, if judged by their military campaigns and portrayal in 1 Maccabees, was a David-like hero, the Qumran movement offered more variety: the highest position was given to healthy and capable persons, but they needed to obey the superiors and control themselves (e.g., in case of semen impurity), and persons with temporary impurity states or disabilities were given concession to be heard (see discussion by Berthelot 2018a, 109–18).

Conclusion

What overall insight might we gain from reading one particular early rule text in the context of the second century BCE? The Rule of the Congregation in the form of 4QSE, as far as we can reconstruct it, envisions a congregation of Israel,³³ in structured and ordered manner, organizing its education, duties, and leadership, in order to be operative for matters

competing ideals in the first century. A single text cannot naturally answer these questions. See further Keady 2017.

32. For comparisons to rules in the War Scroll, the Damascus Document, and the Community Rule, see, e.g., Bloch, Ben-Dov, and Stökl Ben Ezra 2019, 36–37; Wassen 2005, 144–56; Wassen 2008, 115–29; Dorman 2007.

33. It is often suggested that this all-Israel perspective later changed into a more sectarian enterprise. However, we need caution here. Many sects have aspirations to

relating to jurisdiction (including family matters), derivation of laws and governance, and military matters. I have argued that it reveals competition over male members, who needed to be offered a credible place and path in society (and not merely as critique of specific practices).

First, it must be noted that the text is in no way anti-Hellenistic. It may envision the possibility of war against the nations (neighboring regions? war against empire?), but these authors could also have been knowledgeable in the Hellenistic culture and interested in making the most of it (Jokiranta and Hartog 2017). In many ways, the ideal constructed movement is a voluntary association comparable to (but not the same as) Hellenistic associations (Gillihan 2012; Eckhardt 2018, 86–96).

Is it anti-Hasmonean, then? The text could well, in my view, be read in the context of Hasmonean struggles for power and their growing military operations, especially from John Hyrcanus onward, as presenting an alternative order in the society, largely ruled by priests and/or sages and scribes associated with promoting reliance on expert power and restrictions on kingly power. The emerging movement had to compete in the same market and thus in a way speak the same language as other leader circles of the time: if the military campaigns were new, groups that would have other primary ambitions needed to take a stance on the issue and promote themselves in the arena where male honor could be achieved.³⁴ Thus, the war against the nations was a natural topic in the turbulent times, but the war itself was not the aim for these authors; keeping the social order was.³⁵ This social order came through: (1) careful education in the laws of all Israel; (2) providing clear steps for males in advancement and hierarchy for leadership; (3) basing all decision making in an ethically and spiritually sustainable organ where members were eligible, qualified, and prepared, but not excluding ineligible members from the social entity; and (4) placing all expectations of/claims to king-Messiah in a secondary role, with the primary role being orderly meetings and small groups coming together. How utopian or real-

change the society at large; they only have different ways to try to achieve this, see the “responses to evil” by Bryan Wilson and discussion in Jokiranta 2009, 177–209.

34. This question closely follows the Weberian track, whereby sects are seen to be channels to assert oneself (Chalcraft 2007).

35. This reading partly agrees with Gillihan (2012, 7–8, 457–60), who presents rule documents as comparable to “politeiai, constitutions for real and imagined states,” but rather than taking SE as a rule for a restored society (in the future), I think it can be read as an early rule for aiming at maintaining social order in a changing situation.

istic was this rule? Had we only one manuscript, I could easily make a case for its idealistic structuring of Israel. But the existence and emergence of a variety of different rules and later manuscript evidence gives reason to believe that some Judeans did in fact assemble, follow such rules, and at least attempted to create a larger movement along these lines in the society. In the context of the 1QS-1QSa-1QSB scroll, Serekh ha-‘Edah may be read anew: What does it mean, for example, to rely so heavily on the heads of families and advancement by age in comparison to the guidance by the *maskil*, *mevaqquer*, and the *rabbim* in 1QS?³⁶ All rules, not only this one, in one way or the other, are ideal: they present an *ideally constructed world* of what the authors wished to create, maintain, and preserve in memory. In the second century BCE, the movement possibly had many options (or choices to decide) still open (even if not all realistic),³⁷ and we have not yet sufficiently answered why it went one way and not the other.

36. For reading 1QSa as a composite work where the “Sons of Zadok” tradition and 1QSa I, 1–3 closely resemble 1QS traditions but other parts are closer to the D traditions, see Hempel 2013, 47–62.

37. It could have chosen a leader and legitimized its existence on that leader’s (and his family’s) excellence (instead, it seemed to have relied on traditional priestly authority as well bureaucratic authority where small-group assemblies gave counsel); it could have built its own temple and thus openly challenged the Hasmonean rule (instead, it came to assert being a temple of men, still possibly having contact with the Jerusalem temple, and produced studies on the future temple); it could have written its own court history (for both 1 and 2 Maccabees as court literature, see Honigman 2014; instead, it wrote itself into past biblical history and rewrote biblical traditions). It probably did adopt the purification rituals that became more widespread during this time; it also created a network structure enabling the development and practice of many new ritual (prayer, covenant entry, etc.) practices independent of the temple.

Jewish Voices on Rome and Roman Imperialism

Erich S. Gruen

The stunning encomium of Rome in 1 Macc 8 is justly famous. The author lavishes praise on the republic for the consistent support of its friends and allies—and the consistent crushing of its enemies. Roman success was everywhere evident. They had whipped Gauls and Spaniards; confiscated land and mineral wealth; imposed tribute; laid low the greatest of Hellenistic monarchs, Philip V, Antiochus III, and Perseus; championed those who sought their protection; and rose to exalted power (1 Macc 8:1–16). The author is plainly awed by the extent and success of Roman imperialism. A strong case can be made for linking the portrait of Hasmonean exercise of authority with that of Roman expansive domination. From that perspective, the eulogy of Rome reflects 1 Maccabees' powerful advocacy of Hasmonean rule. The conjunction recurs in the frequent references to missions between Rome and Judea, renewals of their alliance, and the diplomatic exchanges that solidified the relationship (see MacRae in this volume). To what degree Rome actually gave any concrete assistance to the Hasmoneans in their intermittent contests with the Seleucids is a different matter.¹ One must keep distinct the representation of the relationship in 1 Maccabees and the tangible fruits of it. The latter were notably few.

Even the representation, however, contained some ambiguity. The praise heaped on Rome in 1 Macc 8 is indeed bountiful but perhaps a touch effusive. There are also some disturbing undertones. The text records the consequences of Rome's crushing of Greek rebellion in the Achaean War that concluded in 146. The victorious soldiers looted and plundered freely, seized the land, conducted wide-scale killing, and captured and enslaved

1. For skepticism on this score, see Gruen 1984, 745–51.

women and children. And this was only one instance. The author adds that other kingdoms, islands, indeed, any and all peoples who opposed Rome, were destroyed and enslaved.² To be sure, all is fair in warfare among the ancients. The defeated did not expect compassion or generosity. But repetition of the phrase “reduced to slavery,” reference to the enslavement of women and children, and the claim that all who heard the name of Rome were in terror do not sound like neutral language or altogether detached reporting.³ The author struck a somewhat dissonant tone.

Such dissonance can certainly be detected in other Jewish voices outside 1 Maccabees. They provide a broader perspective and shed a different light on that text. To be sure, they are few, fragmentary, and frustrating. Nonetheless, they add an important dimension to the discussion, they take us to a wider discourse beyond the narrow and one-sided perspective of 1 Maccabees, and they give a more diverse picture of the assessment of Rome by Jewish writers of the Hasmonean era.

We begin with a noteworthy and notorious passage in the book of Daniel. The text forms part of Daniel’s long prophecy, mostly *ex eventu*, that offers a remarkable historical sketch, with appropriate oracular obscurity, of the contests of Hellenistic kings from Alexander the Great to Antiochus IV. The narrative, couched as a prophecy, culminates in the king of the north’s (i.e., Antiochus IV’s) second assault on the south (i.e., Egypt), this time an unsuccessful one because the ships of the Kittim will sail against him and rebuff him (Dan 11:29–30).⁴ There can be little doubt that Daniel alludes here to the infamous episode of Roman intervention in 168 BCE to check Antiochus’s invasion of Egypt, punctuated by the Roman legate’s forceful and unmistakable drawing of a circle in the sand around Antiochus and demanding the withdrawal of his troops before he stepped out of the circle (Polybius, *Hist.* 29.27.1–10; Livy, *Per.* 45.12.3–8; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 31.2; Appian, *Syr.* 66; etc.). The king meekly complied. The Sixth Syrian War thus came to an abrupt end—on Roman orders. Reference to the “ships of the Kittim” thus points directly to Rome’s dramatic rebuff of Antiochus. The OG translation of Daniel, in fact, renders Kittim explicitly as “Romans.”

2. 1 Macc 8:10–11: καὶ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους βασιλείας καὶ τὰς νήσους, ὅσοι ποτὲ ἀντέστησαν αὐτοῖς, κατέφθειραν καὶ ἐδούλωσαν αὐτούς.

3. 1 Macc 8:12: ὅσοι ἤκουον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν, ἐφοβοῦντο ἀπ’ αὐτῶν.

4. By common consensus, this segment of Daniel at least must date from the mid-160s, since its forecast of Antiochus’s fate is erroneous, thus indicating clearly enough that it was composed prior to his death in 164 (Dan 11:40–45).

One might be tempted to see here a favorable verdict by Daniel on the Romans, in accord with the time-honored principle that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. Such an inference, however, would be a bit of a stretch. Of course, Daniel finds Antiochus to be a despicable villain, but the recounting of his deeds simply forms part of the extended *ex eventu* prophecy that includes the thwarting of his plans in Egypt. The Kittim receive no special praise or even a description of any kind, certainly not as agents of the divine will. Indeed, the frustration of Antiochus's hopes to take Egypt is followed directly by his assault on Jerusalem and the temple, wreaking unspeakable evils and the "abomination of desolation" (Dan 11:21–39). Romans are no heroes in this tale.

Moreover, when Kittim appear elsewhere in Second Temple literature, they carry decidedly negative significance. They surface, in fact, in 1 Maccabees itself. Alexander the Great, we are told, came from the land of the Kittim, and the Macedonian monarch Perseus, enemy of Rome, is designated as king of Kittim (1 Macc 1:1; 8:5). The term evidently applies here to Greeks or Macedonians.⁵ In the book of Jubilees (24.27–28; 37.10), very probably composed in the Hasmonean period, Kittim gain mention as ferocious people of the sword, enemies of the Philistines, and, more interestingly, as mercenary warriors enlisted by the sons of Esau to take up arms against Jacob. That text places them in the eastern Mediterranean, no hint of connection with Rome, but also in a decidedly unfavorable light.⁶

More strikingly, Kittim emerge at several points in the Dead Sea Scrolls, alluding sometimes to Greeks, sometimes to Romans, but everywhere emblematic of hostile powers. They feature as prominent villains in the War Scroll. The apocalyptic contest between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness constitutes the dramatic scenario. Among those lined up with the latter, a roll call of evildoers that includes Edomites, Moabites,

5. The term appears as early as Gen 10:4, where, in the Table of Nations, Kittim are among the descendants of Japheth—without pejorative connotations. They turn up again in Numbers in the prophecy of Balaam, this time as the ships of Kittim who subject Assyria and will eventually perish themselves (Num 24:24). Daniel, so it has been suggested, had that passage in mind when referring to the ships of the Kittim (Collins 1993, 384). If so, it does not forecast a pleasant end for Rome. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible Kittim appear as associated with islands; Isa 23:12, Jer 2:10; Ezek 27:6. Josephus (*Ant.* 1.128) reports that the name derives from Citium in Cyprus.

6. Kittim are mentioned also in T. Sim. 6.3, among those who will perish in a final cataclysm.

Ammonites, and Philistines are the Kittim of Assur, here evidently representing Assyrians (1QM I, 1–2). In addition to the biblical references, however, the text adds that the king (or the troops) of the Kittim enters Egypt, and then goes forth in rage and anger to engage the kings of the north and crush Israel (or possibly Belial) until the apocalyptic battle comes, bringing to ruin the sons of Japheth, the Assyrians, and the supremacy of the Kittim (1QM I, 4–7). The echoes of Dan 11 in allusions to Kittim entering Egypt and to kings of the north indicate clearly enough that we are in the world of the Hellenistic powers.⁷ But, it seems, not yet in the world dominated by Rome.

Kittim reappear later in the War Scroll, once again as the prime symbol of evil powers. The text refers here explicitly to the king of the Kittim and links him to the armies of Belial (Satan) who will eventually fall to the sword of God (1QM XV, 2–3). Whether the king is Epiphanes or, more likely here, an emblem of Hellenistic monarchy in general, matters little. The larger canvass interests the author of apocalyptic visions (Jassen 2015, 185–92). The Kittim gain mention also in several passages forecasting their abject defeat in the final battles, together with Assyrians (Seleucids?) and the troops of Belial, by the priests, Levites, and champions of Israel (1QM XVI, 3–9; XVII, 10–15; XIX, 9–14; see also 4Q247, *Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks*). The enemies in the east loom large in the War Scroll. Rome is not in evidence.

This does not, however, exhaust the appearances of Kittim in the Qumran texts. The hostile strictures in the Scrolls could target Rome more directly. The *Pesher Habakkuk* counts as a prime example. The text of *Habakkuk* (1:6–11) itself speaks of “Chaldeans,” a ferocious nation that has spread far and wide across the earth, seizing land and homes everywhere, bent on plunder like vultures, mocking kings and princes, and piling up captives as innumerable as grains of sand. The Qumran commentator interprets “Chaldeans” as “Kittim,” who range across the world, pillage and murder everywhere, more savage than wild beasts, deride kings and princes, and raze the earth (1QpHab II, 11–12; III, 4–12). The perpetrators of such widespread devastation, the conquerors of numerous peoples, and the topplers of all opponents can only be the Romans. It is noteworthy that the author of the *pesher* underscores the fear and dread that the Kittim

7. For parallels between Daniel and the text of the War Scroll, see the thorough discussion by Duhaime (2004, 65–81), with earlier bibliography. See also Eshel 2008, 168; Alexander 2003, 17–31.

cause among all nations, a close parallel to the statement in 1 Maccabees 8:12 (1QpHab III, 4). Here it is plainly not a matter of awestruck admiration. The author of the Peshier Habakkuk showed no hesitation in seeing Romans in the terrifying Kittim, who conquered, ravaged, and massacred throughout the ancient world.

That identification is reinforced by the Peshier Nahum, even in its fragmentary condition. The text of Nahum on which the peshier comments speaks only of the rage of the Lord and the punishment of his unidentified biblical foes. The commentator moves the setting directly to the Hasmonean period. He makes explicit reference to Demetrius, king of Javan, often a synonym for Greece, here plainly a reference to the Seleucid kingdom. He has Demetrius seek to enter Jerusalem but then be turned back by God, for God did not, according to the peshier, allow Jerusalem to fall into the hands of the kings of Javan from the time of Antiochus to that of the rulers of the Kittim, after which it will be trampled (4QpNah 3–4 I, 2–3). The historical allusions seem quite specific. Scholars have generally seen Demetrius as Demetrius III and the circumstances as his invasion of the Hasmonean state under Alexander Jannaeus in 88 BCE (e.g. Wise, Abegg, and Cook 1996, 215–16; Doudna 2001, 632–34; Berrin 2004, 89–91; Eshel 2008, 122–24). That may well be, although one should not rule out the possibility that the author employed the name Demetrius as a generic designation for a Seleucid monarch.⁸ In any case, the contrast is clear and unequivocal between the kings of Javan and the chiefs of the Kittim (Berrin 2004, 101–4, with bibliography; see also 4QpNah frags. 1–2, 3–5). The Kittim here can only be the Romans—and they are responsible for the trampling of the Judeans.⁹

The Scrolls, as so often, are tantalizing but frustrating. Their fragmentary character inevitably brings more guesswork than confidence. But they are not alone.

Another source takes a stronger, more consistent, and unambiguous stance. The Sibylline Oracles have been inadequately exploited in this connection. They need to be taken into account. The Oracles, as we have them, constitute a motley assemblage of dire forecasts, historical references, apocalyptic visions, and denunciations of various peoples, especially

8. Brooke (1991, 138–39) goes further and sees the Kittim in Peshier Nahum merely as representing the ultimate eschatological foe.

9. Whether the reference applies specifically to Pompey, as many assume, is not quite certain. See the appropriate skepticism by Doudna 2001, 608–15.

Romans, for their abandonment of piety and their indulgence in evil. The genre was shrewdly appropriated by anonymous Jewish authors, speaking through the voice of the Sibyl, and employed to convey condemnation of cities and nations for the sins of idolatry, licentiousness, and a range of other vices. Vivid portrayals of the end time and eschatological conflagration feature many of the texts.¹⁰

Scholarly consensus rightly finds the earliest elements of the extant Sibylline books in book 3, the longest in the collection, 829 verses. The work contains multifarious material with oracular pronouncements discharged in no obvious order. On any reckoning, it is a composite, some verses referring to events of the second century BCE, others of the late first century BCE, and still others of the Julio-Claudian period.¹¹ The predominantly Jewish nature of the Third Sibyl is unmistakable. Familiarity with the Bible indicates it, as does the frequent laudation of the Jews as a people of righteousness (even when they fall away from it) and the emphasis on the temple. Important portions refer to and were perhaps composed in the era of the Hasmoneans. They thus supply some valuable insights on Jewish attitudes toward Roman power as it gradually lengthened its shadow over the eastern Mediterranean.

The Third Sibyl, like all the Sibylline books, is predominantly a visionary work, looking forward to a fantastical future, an eschaton in which the righteous triumph and the wicked are duly punished in fire and fury. But there is more to it than that. The allusions to historical events, though often obscure and baffling, nevertheless remind the reader that a contemporary or near-contemporary setting is relevant for a full appreciation.

The oracle makes unequivocal *ex eventu* prediction of Romans sweeping aside enemies to rule the Mediterranean. She describes the conquerors as a white and many-headed ruler from the western sea, thus obviously

10. The classic edition remains that of Geffcken 1902. Valuable introductions to the subject may be found in Collins 1974, 1–19; 1983–1985, 1:317–24; Goodman 1986, 628–32; Potter 1990, 95–140; Lightfoot 2007, 3–23.

11. Geffcken (1902, 1–17) dissected the text and assigned different segments to different sibyls, a questionable undertaking but one that recognized the pluralistic character of the work. Numerous alternative divisions have been proposed by subsequent scholars; see bibliography in Gruen 1998, 269–70. More recently, Lightfoot (2007, x), rightly regards the Third Sibylline Oracle as a medley of disparate material that does not hold together. Other recent scholars hold to the idea that a main corpus took shape in the mid-second century BCE (Collins 2005, 87–94; Moore 2015, 188–89).

pointing to Rome, with no monarch but the Senate as governing body, and seeing the republic as widely destructive, plundering, and, a now familiar refrain, a cause of fear to all kings (Sib. Or. 3.175–182).¹²

This description is no mere neutral record. The Sibyl lashes out furiously to denounce the arrogance of the Romans, their oppressiveness, their greed, pillaging, and deceit, and, worse still, their lewd and licentious behavior, exemplified by rampant homosexuality, a combination of crimes that make them hateful (3.182–191). The oracle duly predicts doom for the evil empire, at a time when the people of the great God will once again regain their strength (3.191–195).¹³ That forecast leaves no doubt of the deeply rancorous attitude toward Rome felt by the Jewish author.

The Third Sibyl indulges elsewhere in vitriol against Rome. She acknowledges that no foreign war will topple Italy, but internal strife and civil war will do the job. Rome, she says, will not be the mother of good men but the nurse of wild beasts (3.464–469).¹⁴ Here again certain historical circumstances might have called forth this oracle. Indeed, the prophetess elsewhere also shows a noteworthy knowledge of Roman history, proclaiming the calamities and the wailings that would follow the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, among other cities and peoples, a clear reference to Rome's devastating conquests in the mid-second century (3.481–488).

It is important to emphasize, however, that preservation of historical memory is not the principal task of the Sibyl. Rome serves repeatedly as the main target of the Sibyl's wrath for the iniquities imposed on the world. Rome, despite its splendid cities with their temples, stadia, fora, and statuary, stands doomed, to be destroyed by the fiery cataract of the Supreme Being, who will reign over the earth (3.46–92, 156–195, 350–364, 464–488, 520–544).

The tableau presented by the Sibyl is that of the future eschaton, cataclysm for the wicked, and salvation for the pious. That tableau draws not

12. Sib. Or. 3.175–178: αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλης βασιλίδος ἔσσεται ἀρχή | λευκὴ καὶ πολύκρανος ἀφ' ἑσπερίου θαλάσσης, | ἥ πολλῆς γαίης ἄρξει, πολλοὺς δὲ σαλεύσει, | καὶ πᾶσιν βασιλεῦσι φόβον μετόπισθε ποιήσει.

13. The text represents that time when a seventh Greek king will rule Egypt. Efforts to identify the king, if indeed there was such an individual, have engendered much scholarly speculation. See Collins 1974, 28–33; 2005, 87–96; DiTomasso 2010, 1226–27; Moore 2015, 193–96. For a skeptical approach, see Gruen 1998, 272–77; Buitenvwerf 2003, 128–29; Lightfoot 2007, 95. That issue need not be debated here.

14. Sib. Or. 3.469: ἔσση δ' οὐκ ἀγαθῶν μήτηρ, θηρῶν δὲ τιθήνη.

only on the ringing pronouncements of biblical prophets and the apocalyptic literature of Hellenistic Judaism but on the oracular shrines and the assembled sibylline pronouncements that had been a feature of Hellenic religious culture. The construct of the Third Sibyl was a composite of varied strands from diverse sources. Some may have echoed Greek voices of lament in a new Roman world. But the divine judgment to issue in ultimate triumph will be a vindication of Jewish faith (3.211–217, 282–294, 573–600, 669–731, 767–808).

The world-view of the Third Sibyl proposes a notable conjoining of Hebrew and Hellene, a common interest that unites them against the principal perpetrators of evil, the murderous Roman empire. It is striking that, whereas the Sibyl's voice repeatedly blasts the wickedness of Rome, she delivers no comparable opprobrium against the Greeks. On the contrary, she reaches out to the Hellenic world, exhorting its people to repentance, urging acknowledgment of the true god, and offering hope of salvation. She even prescribes the sacrifices, prayers, and righteous behavior required to earn divine favor. Embrace of the true god will bring a share of the blissful peace to come (3.545–572, 624–634, 732–761). Greeks were appropriate recipients of such exhortation, whether or not many of them ever read the text. They had been conspicuous victims of the western power, culminated by the fall of the Hellenistic monarchies and the ruthlessness of wars in the east. Rome was the true enemy.

Yet another text, of a very different variety, offers further insight into Jewish perspectives on Roman power. The so-called Psalms of Solomon, a set of eighteen poems, were, most likely, composed or redacted in the late Hasmonean period by author or authors unknown who applied the name of Solomon to the poems to lend them some authority. The eighteen psalms, originally composed in Hebrew, are preserved now only in Greek and Syriac versions.¹⁵

No Roman receives explicit mention, nor Romans as a whole. But intriguing clues in the texts provoke thought and stimulate speculation. The eighth psalm offers special temptation for historical reconstruction. The psalmist refers with some vividness to the sounds of war, the blast of trumpets, the noises of slaughter in Jerusalem that prompt distress and panic, the terrible judgment of God on the sins of the wicked (Pss. Sol.

15. On the character of the Psalms of Solomon and the texts that preserve them, see Wright 1985, 639–49; Denis 2000, 1:507–46; Atkinson 2004, 2–11; Nickelsburg 2005, 238–47; Siegert 2016, 161–71.

8.1–13). The Lord inflicted his dreadful punishments by summoning one from the end of the earth who strikes with strength and declares war on Jerusalem and its land (8.15).¹⁶ The leaders of the nation first welcomed the invader with joy, opened the gates of the city, and smoothed his path. He came in peace like a father entering the house of his sons in full security (8.16–18). The narrative then takes an abrupt turn. According to the text, the invader seized the strong towers and the walls of Jerusalem, guided by God, and killed the leaders and every man wise in counsel (8.19–20).¹⁷

The portrait painted by the psalmist bears some evocative resemblances to Josephus's account of the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BCE. As Josephus has it, Roman soldiers set up their siege works on the Sabbath, a time when the Jews refrained from fighting, and then assaulted the temple, murdering the priests who were piously performing their sacrifices in the midst of slaughter, some of them killed at the hands of their own countrymen. With victory secure, Pompey and some of his men entered the holy of holies, thus defiling the sanctuary where no one but the high priest was permitted to tread—and even he only one day a year (Josephus, *B.J.* 1.127–154; *Ant.* 14.29–74). The overlap in the accounts has quite understandably induced scholars, almost without exception, to interpret the remarks in the psalm as allusion to Pompey's siege of Jerusalem (e.g., Wright 1983–1985, 2:640–41; de Jonge 1985, 160–61; Vermes 1986, 193–94; Atkinson 2004, 58–64; Werline 2005, 70–71; Hadas-Lebel 2006, 22–23; Siegert 2016, 161–62; Whitcomb 2016, 87).¹⁸

The thesis is reinforced elsewhere in the Psalms of Solomon. The second poem records a “sinner” who in his arrogance broke down the strong walls with a battering ram, and God did not prevent him. Further, alien nations went up to the place of sacrifice and defiantly trampled it with their sandals (Pss. Sol. 2.1–2).¹⁹ The image immediately calls to mind entrance into the sanctuary by Pompey and his staff.

16. Pss. Sol. 8.15: ἤγαγεν τὸν ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, τὸν παίοντα κραταιῶς. ἔκρινεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ἱεροσαλημ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς.

17. Pss. Sol. 8.19–20: κατελάβετο τὰς πυργοβάρεις αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ἱεροσαλημ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἐν τῇ πλανήσει αὐτῶν. ἀπώλεσεν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶν σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ.

18. For Alexander (2003, 17–18), hostility to Rome among the Jews only begins with the actions of Pompey. Eckhardt (2015a, 17–19) alone expresses some reservations.

19. Pss. Sol. 2.1–2: ἐν τῷ ὑπερφηανεύεσθαι τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐν κρινῶ κατέβαλε τείχεα ὀχυρά, καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυσας ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου ἔθνη ἀλλότρια, κατεπατοῦσαν

One other poem possesses comparable resonance with regard to portrayal of Roman power. The seventeenth in the series of psalms hails the Lord for choosing David as king over Israel and promising enduring rule by his descendants whose kingdom would not fail him. But the author has to acknowledge that, because of his people's own sins, they suffered the assaults of sinners who expelled them, took violent possession of the land, and devastated the throne of David (17.4–6). The identity of the “sinners” remains unclear. The lines appear to point to internal conflict and usurpation of royal power.²⁰ But external intrusion also receives explicit mention in the verses that follow. The psalmist sings that God will cast down the sinners and eradicate their seed from the earth, for there will rise against them a man alien to our race (γένος; 17.7).²¹ Whether these lines refer to Pompey, as is often thought, or to a collective invader need not be determined.²² Only Rome or a Roman fits the bill. That is confirmed when the poet describes atrocities inflicted on the land and people by the “lawless one,” who ravages the land, makes it unlivable, eradicates young and old and their children, mocking their leaders and expelling them to the west. The foreignness of the enemy is underscored: he was arrogant in his alien character, his heart alien from our god, and he did everything in Jerusalem that the gentiles do in their cities for the gods (17.11–14).²³ The grip of the foreigner is tight, prompting the psalmist to call on God for a savior from the house of David to cleanse Jerusalem of the gentiles who trample her to destruction (17.21–22). The verses plainly portray a nation under the heavy yoke of the alien power, and the poet resorts to apocalyptic visions to lift the burden of gentile oppression

ἐν ὑποδήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ. Cf. 2.19: ὀνειδίσαν γὰρ ἔθνη Ἱερουσαλημ ἐν καταπατήσει.

20. This is not the place to engage the debate of how far the Hasmoneans (or which Hasmoneans) are the targets of the psalmist and whether the psalms stem from Pharisaic circles or other sectarian groups. On these matters, see Wright 1985, 641–42; Atkinson 2004, 135–44; a valuable bibliography in Whitcomb 2016, 81–82, 89.

21. Pss. Sol. 17.7: καὶ σύ, ὁ θεὸς, καταβαλεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρεῖς τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ ἀπαναστῆναι αὐτοῖς ἀνθρωπον ἀλλότριον γένους ἡμῶν.

22. Atkinson (2004, 135–36) assumes that the reference is to Pompey.

23. Pss. Sol. 17.11–14: ἡρήμωσεν ὁ ἄνομος τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ ἐνοικούντων αὐτήν, ἠφάνισαν νέον καὶ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐν ὀργῇ κάλλους αὐτοῦ ἐξαπέστειλεν αὐτὰ ἕως ἐπὶ δυσμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς γῆς εἰς ἐμπαιγμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσατο. ἐν ἀλλοτριότητι ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐποίησεν ὑπερηφανίαν, καὶ ἡ καρδιά αὐτοῦ ἀλλοτρία ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦ σθένους αὐτῶν.

from the necks of God's people (17.22–25).²⁴ No other power but Rome could be described in such fashion.

It is important to set the Psalms of Solomon in their proper light. They do not consist simply or even largely of a clarion call to break the chains of Roman oppression. To understand this work simply or primarily as a verbal assault on Rome would be to misconstrue its character and objectives. This is no mere anti-Roman tract.

The evildoers, evidently Romans, served essentially as the agents of God who inflicted well-deserved punishments on Jerusalemites who had abandoned the law, turned away from divine teachings, and defiled themselves with unspeakable wickedness. The disgrace of Israel wrought by the gentiles simply carried out the will of God, as it had so often in biblical narratives (Pss. Sol. 2.3–17).²⁵ A similar scenario plays out in the eighth psalm. The children of Israel had committed acts of adultery, defilement, and debauchery, outdoing even the villainies of the gentiles. The invader who came from the ends of the earth, assaulted Jerusalem, captured the towers and walls, massacred the leaders, and led away others into captivity carried out the will of the Lord, determined to coerce his people back into righteousness (8.8–23).²⁶ The seventeenth psalm echoes the same refrain. The sins of Israel prompted divine reprisal, a man of alien race commissioned by God to impose just retribution by ravaging and emptying the land, ridiculing the leaders, and slaughtering young and old alike, appropriate sanctions for their sins (17.5–15).

As is clear, the chief objective of the psalmist is not to censure or lament the Romans.²⁷ They are the unwitting instruments of the Lord's vengeance. To be sure, reckoning will come for them as well, at the time of the apocalypse. The seventeenth psalm envisions a messiah from the house of David

24. The messianic figure looms large in the seventeenth psalm, as a source of eventual salvation for the people (Pss. Sol. 17.21–46). That feature, of course, has been much discussed; cf. Wright 1985, 643–46; Collins 1995, 49–56; Atkinson 2004, 139–79, with bibliography; Nickelsburg 2005, 241–43; Werline 2005, 77–81; Siegert 2016, 168–70. Rocca (2007, 324–30) even sees Herod as referenced by the coming Messiah, an implausible suggestion. The issue can be bypassed for our purposes.

25. See especially 2.7: *κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας κατισχύοντων*.

26. Note, in particular, the association of contemporary defilement with the acts of the ancestors; 8.22: *ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας αὐτῶν καθὼς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν*.

27. The case is persuasively made by Whitcomb (2016, 89–99); see also de Lange 1978, 258–60; Werline 2005, 72–77.

who will purge Jerusalem of unrighteous gentiles, expel the sinners, and smash the unlawful nations to pieces (17.21–32). The principal targets of God's wrath and the psalmist's mission are the depraved Judeans, who will suffer proper penalties but can retain hope of God's compassion.

None of this means, however, that the Romans get off scot-free. God knew well to whom to entrust the duty of delivering havoc and woe. The texts repeatedly stigmatize the "gentiles" or the "foreigners" as ruthless, arrogant predators, destroyers of lives and property, heedless of law and propriety, the enemies of righteousness (e.g., 2.1–2, 6, 19, 25–30; 8.18–21; 17.11–17, 22–25).

The impressions of Rome found in the Psalms of Solomon therefore overlap with voices heard in the Scrolls, in the Third Sibyl, and even, muted but not indistinct, in 1 Maccabees. These works, different in genre, purpose, and form, did not constitute anti-Roman treatises as such. But the perceptions of Rome that they reflect had important common features that provide a valuable mirror on Jewish attitudes toward the western empire in the Hasmonean era. They stir deeper passions than the treaties, agreements, and diplomatic relations between the nations that one finds in 1 Maccabees. They deliver a sense of awe at the vast authority wielded over the Mediterranean, but also a sense of dread at the savagery and inhumanity that such an empire can unleash, its ascendancy to be checked only by the divinity or by messianic intervention. One cannot estimate to what degree these texts represent or exemplify Jewish opinion on a broad scale. In some, perhaps all, cases they stem from sectarian circles or from narrow intellectual elites who may be quite distant from the norm.²⁸ But a certain consistency emerges that gives voice to constituencies outside the public and the official realms. They exhibit disquietude and apprehension, indeed aversion and horror, and such reactions must play a part if we are to assess the image of Rome as refracted through the prisms of Jews.

28. For Eckhardt (2015, 24–25), they are the product of a small minority of Jews; see also Atkinson 2004, 213–14.

Conclusion: The Maccabean Rise to Power, in Archaeological and Historical Context

Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin

In the middle of the second century BCE, the southernmost Levant was home to many peoples: Sidonians and Tyrians; Greco-Macedonian soldiers placed as colonists; Samaritans, Judeans, Idumeans, and Nabateans. It was the territory of one imperial power—the Seleucids; and the coveted lost possession of another—the Ptolemies. It was crowded, polyglot, and multicultural, populated by people whose stories began in far-off lands as well as by populations who had long been rooted in place. Within two generations, a significant swath of this amalgam had transformed into a new entity: the Hasmonean kingdom. That kingdom encompassed a long stretch of the coastal plain from just north of Ashkelon to just south of the Carmel Mountains, the entirety of the interior highlands from Gaulanitis and Galilee in the north, through the Samaritan and Judean hill country, and south into the shallower lowlands of Idumea.

How did one small group, alone of all those who lived here, effect such a profound change? And how did they do so under the very noses of two much larger, wealthier, and militarily more potent powers, each of which regarded this territory as highly desirable and rightfully theirs and repeatedly mounted campaigns to take it over? It is a story of many parts, each contained in itself, but also, when one steps back and takes it all in, a contributor to a larger tale. That larger tale is one of strong and opposing forces: competing political ambitions and cultural predilections, canny strategy and simple opportunity, a sense of space as imperial possession and gift, authorized by power in the present, running head-on into a sense of indigenous place, validated by very different sorts of authority.

The authors of the preceding chapters focus on individual pieces: particular ancient writings, regions, goods, and outside powers. In this concluding essay we attempt to bring the parts together, to identify the patterns and junctures that turned out to be critical to the story's end, and so to reconstruct, from the raw material left to us, the rise of the Hasmonean state.

The Region

The land under investigation, the southern Levant, was a gate and a bridge between points west, north, south, and east: its harbors gave way to the Mediterranean, the transitway of its coastal plain connected Egypt with upper Asia (Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Iran), and its eastern boundary offered a porous flank to the Arabian Desert. For any power whose core lay within these enormous limits, this territory was an indispensable strategic asset, as demonstrated by the relentlessness that almost every Seleucid and Ptolemaic ruler brought to its acquisition. Furthermore, by virtue of varied terrain, climate, and agricultural use, the land also served as a breadbasket and garden. Regular rainfall, many moderate rivers, and diverse ecological zones together ensured mostly reliable supplies of foodstuffs, especially wheat, olives, and grapes. The keen attention paid by the Hellenistic powers to the region's agricultural potential, reflected by Ptolemaic papyri that detail bureaucratic oversight and the establishment of new settlements and farmsteads by both major kingdoms, reminds us not to overlook this facet.

Such topographic and ecological diversity helped generate the kind of regional fragmentation characteristic of the eastern Mediterranean's coastlands: however small, this land was never an integrated unit. Each zone had its own characteristics and limitations, subsistence logic, and specific pattern of interregional connections. These different zones supported a variety of lifestyles: cities with agricultural hinterlands, or estates, or small farms; fields or flocks; regions with markets where goods arrived via easily traversed roads or relatively isolated homesteads. All of these on-the-ground diversities—of settlement type, subsistence mode, connectivity—gave rise to a constellation of differences in cultural attitude, social hierarchy, and political organization, which, in turn, complicated efforts at control by imperial outsiders. The apparent efficiencies suggested by the region's compact size were undone by its segmented character. It remained a place easier to pass through than to consolidate.

In the case of Judea, specifically, we are dealing with a fairly well-defined mountainous zone rising to circa 600 m above sea level, beginning sharply on the west at the inner edge of the Plain of Sharon and dropping down, on the east, to the narrow course of the Jordan River. The overall size of this highland region, at about 2500 km² (including the three small territories of Ephraim, Ramathaim, and Lydda), was an unexceptional subunit of empire, a fairly standard provincial territory at some distance from the Seleucid and Ptolemaic imperial heartlands in northern Syria and the Nile Delta, respectively. As in other provincial regions, religious centers were sponsored; agricultural surplus, tax or tribute, and performances of subordination demanded; and local stakeholders recognized and, at moments of imperial weakness, negotiated with.

Judea's prominence within the southern Levant is both an optical illusion and a historical development. Simply put, the sheer abundance of Jewish textual evidence from the second century BCE and the extent of archaeological excavation and survey work carried out in modern Israel make this region more visible and also visible in higher granulation than any of its neighbors, and it is certain that this is somewhat out of proportion with Hellenistic realities. At the same time, however, the extraordinary scribal diversity of second-century Judaism, the seeking for legitimacy by the Maccabean dynasty, the easily recognizable Judean material imprint, and the very fact of Hasmonean territorial expansion may make this quantity of evidence itself an artifact of a real historical distinctiveness.

A New History

Several of the contributions to this volume permit a reinterpretation of the international diplomatic scene in the traditional mode of descriptive political history. When integrated with the new archaeological data, we are in a position to reconstruct an on-the-ground account of the imperial entanglements, neighborly violence, and political opportunism that made possible the formation of the Hasmonean state. We have organized the following discussion into three periods: from the first years of the Maccabean Revolt until the mid-140s, characterized among other things by the determined Levantine interventions of Ptolemy VI Philometor; from circa 145/144 to circa 138/137, which emerge as pivotal years of disturbance in most parts of the region and across many types of material remains; and finally, from circa 138/137 to the end of the second century, when a fundamental regional rearrangement took place under Hasmonean hegemony.

First Emergence, 160s–circa 145

According to the historical sources, Coele Syria in the third and earlier second centuries BCE was a place of practically unending political maneuvering, imperial ambition, and military foray. Yet the six Syrian wars fought between the beginning of the third century and the middle of the second century have left scant to nonexistent material remains in this region. (Of course much could, and certainly did, happen without leaving discernible traces in the material record.)

The evidence of these years can most legibly be summarized according to a series of widening arcs, radiating north, west, and south from Jerusalem. Beginning in the city itself, excavations now allow us to situate and date the city center and its changing character (see chapters by Shalev et al. and Zilberstein). In the third century BCE at least two large structures had been erected at the top of the western slope of the southeastern ridge, the so-called city of David, overlooking the Central (Tyropoeon) Valley (Building 110 and the Area 50 Domestic Structures A and B). Building 110 and Area 50 Domestic Structure A were both impressively built of large, smoothly dressed ashlar blocks. Found inside Building 110 were gold jewelry and clay sealings impressed with images of Greek gods—markers of the inhabitants' status and, perhaps, of their cultural affiliations (Shalev et al. in this volume). In the early second century, after control had passed from the Ptolemies to the Seleucids, these structures all continued in use. Then, abruptly, still in the first half of the second century, portions were covered over by a massive wall and tower, a construction with an evident military function. As Zilberstein argues, this may plausibly be identified as the Akra, built by order of Antiochus IV in 168 BCE for Seleucid soldiers to oversee movement to and from the temple (1 Macc 1:33–38).

In the account of 1 Maccabees, this imposition of Seleucid forces in the city, along with attendant anti-Jewish legislation, were co-catalysts for rebellion. A small uptick in the number of local hoards datable to the 160s—four according to Lorber's account—offer modest evidence for what she calls "a new era of disorders." These hoards attest to the reappearance of Ptolemaic silver in what had by this time become a Seleucid monetary zone (see below).

Yet what the archaeological evidence of these years most dramatically demonstrates is a lack of major change from the mid- to later third century down to the middle of the second, whether in patterns of occu-

pation, imported goods, settlement size, or economic connections. Rural Judea, meaning the hill country north and west of Jerusalem, remained unevenly inhabited and economically isolated. The Bethel Highlands, the hills and valleys immediately north of the city, remained continuously and fairly densely settled, evincing occupational continuity from late Achaemenid times (later fifth–fourth century BCE), through the years of Ptolemaic control, and into the first half of the second century BCE (Raviv in this volume). This region's inhabitants lived in deliberately plain circumstances, with household goods of local manufacture and few imported items. In contrast, the region west of the city, and north of the 'Ela Valley, was largely unoccupied. Here lay many abandoned sites, places where there had been settlement throughout Achaemenid times and into the early years of Ptolemaic rule, but which had all been vacated (without any evidence for damage or destruction) in the mid-third century BCE. From the mid- to later third century into the mid-second century, this area remained unoccupied (Sandhaus in this volume).

Meanwhile, in the regions surrounding rural Judea—the Idumean hill country south of the 'Ela Valley and the Samaritan highlands to the north, as well as in the zones just beyond, including the southern coastal plain, the Lydda lowlands, and the Plain of Sharon—the land was a latticework of cities, satellite villages, inns, rural estates, and small farms. Occupation was dense and economic contacts robust, with new settlements appearing, replete with workrooms, pressing installations for oil and wine, and storerooms (Finkielsztejn in this volume). Many of these may have been farms for military settlers ('Ad and Zelinger in this volume; Berlin 1997a, 15–16). In addition to the busy ports of Jaffa, Azotus, Ashkelon, and Gaza, the inland cities of Maresha, Samaria, and Beit Shean-Scythopolis also thrived.

A similar but slightly different scenario obtained farther north. On the coast, as farther south, lay a string of wealthy, Mediterranean-facing port towns—Dor, just south of the Carmel, and Shiqmona, just north, as well as the primate cities of 'Akko-Ptolemais and Tyre. Both these cities had greater stature, as reflected among other things by their more robust mints and much larger hinterlands—'Akko-Ptolemais relied on the entirety of the lower Galilee as well as the western portions of the Jezreel Valley, and Tyre on the upper Galilee as far as Mount Hermon. Both were dotted with towns and villages whose agricultural output supplied the coast as well as places of military and/or administrative significance, such as Khirbet el-'Eika and Kedesh (Leibner and Berlin in this volume).

In all these locales—south and north, on the coast and farther inland, civilian and military—material remains everywhere testify to comfortable lives: dwellings with colorful painted plaster walls and mosaic floors; glazed pottery for table use; imported wine from producers throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Adriatic (Finkielstzejn in this volume); personal niceties such as signet rings, perfumes, and ointments; evidence of foreign cultural connections such as figurines—small luxuries, widely desired and broadly available. Other than Judea (mentioned above), the single exception to this consistent picture of a Mediterranean-inflected material cosmopolitanism was the temple-city of Mount Gerizim, in the southern Samaritan hills. Here, and also in villages adjacent to the larger town of Shechem, people lived lives of material simplicity, so similar in detail to the Judeans living in the adjacent Bethel Highlands that the groups are archaeologically indistinguishable (Raviv in this volume).

In sum, down to around 145 BCE, the current state of the evidence suggests a material landscape quite similar to that of a century or more earlier, with the exception of the dramatic fortification work in Jerusalem. Two groups, Judeans and Samaritans, occupied the interior hill-country, each self-identifying according to a particular place of worship and each apparently eschewing the aesthetic niceties of outsiders. Surrounding them lived various other peoples, all willingly connected to the emerging eastern Mediterranean *koinē*.

The events that played out in this region in the middle decades of the second century, from the first dramas of the 160s down to 145 BCE, have typically been ordered by the reigns of the splintering Seleucid house and the political logics that follow, a focalization that 1 Maccabees encourages. Yet, as part 2 of this book shows, the lengthy reign and determined Levantine interventions of Ptolemy VI Philometor (r. 180–145 BCE) can also serve as a helpful organizing principle for this first period. For, as discussed in this volume by Lorber and Fischer-Bovet, and also elaborated recently by Olivier (2018), Philometor's minting practices and the hoard evidence from Coele Syria and Phoenicia likely attest to Ptolemaic support of the Maccabean revolt in its early years. The king's subsequent sponsorship of the pretender Alexander Balas was an even more aggressive intervention in Seleucid affairs, which concluded in Philometor's up-coast march to his own coronation at Antioch-by-Daphne, in the so-called Seventh Syrian War.

The coin evidence consists of the third series of Ptolemy VI's "uncertain era" issues. Based on elemental analysis, circulation patterns, hoards,

epithets, and details of motifs, Olivier (2018, 38–40) has dated this series from 163/162 to 146/145, localized their minting in Coele Syria, and situated their usage in the southern Levant particularly. The inauguration of the series in 163/162 correlates with Ptolemy VI's return as sole ruler to Alexandria and the resumption of the Maccabean fight against the Seleucids (Olivier 2018, 42). Olivier (44) argues that one purpose for this series of Ptolemaic didrachms was to underwrite local troops, including and perhaps especially the Maccabees. The death of Judas and the reconsolidation of Seleucid control in Coele Syria by Demetrius I derailed this effort, but Philometor remained alert to opportunity. At some point in the 150s, in concert with the kings of Pergamum and Cappadocia and the Roman Senate, Ptolemy VI advanced the cause of Alexander Balas, presented as a son of Antiochus IV, in order to unseat Demetrius I. A two-year war of succession followed, ending as Ptolemy hoped: in summer 150 BCE Balas defeated and killed Demetrius near Antioch-by-Daphne (1 Macc 10:1–50; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.37–61; Justinus, *Epit.* 35.1; for details, see Coşkun and Fischer-Bovet, this volume; Ehling 2008, 147–53).

The reign of Alexander Balas marks an important transition in the region's political history. Until this moment, with only a couple of short-lived exceptions, one could reasonably regard the Levant as a sphere contested by two great powers to north and south. The Ptolemaic and Seleucid rulers fought, negotiated, and jockeyed, each as a discrete political entity, albeit with designs on the other's holdings that were on occasion realized, as, briefly, eighteen years earlier when Antiochus IV was crowned in Memphis. But now, with the accession of Balas, a new political space was being formed in the southern Levant, a single entangled unit or "Ptolemaic-Seleucid complex" (Kosmin in this volume). Alexander Balas married Ptolemy VI's daughter, Cleopatra Thea; established 'Akko-Ptolemais as his primary base, thereby creating a new, more southerly oriented center of gravity on the long Levantine littoral; and issued a series of tetradrachms and didrachms, minted in Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, and 'Akko-Ptolemais, in Ptolemaic style and weight—the so-called Seleucid eagles.¹ Every mode—

1. Olivier (2018 n. 16) notes that various reasons have been proposed for the appearance of this "quasi-Ptolemaic" coinage in what was, monetarily, Seleucid territory: commercial ease (Rostovtzeff 1926, 2:867–69; Seyrig 1973, 121); revenue enhancement (Le Rider 1995, 403–4); and/or political stroking or payback (Mørholm 1967, 78–79). Olivier notes a number of details that this series shares with Ptolemaic issues from Cyprus of these years: identical silver alloys infused with copper

family line, physical center, monetary representation—affirmed a new, fully intertwined geopolitical reality that would underwrite the movements of every other Levantine player, including the Judeans.

The Pivot Years, circa 145/144–circa 138/137 BCE

In the previous discussion, the archaeologically visible material culture and the details of political, military, and diplomatic history operate at distinct scales of process, in two different domains of analysis, and according to contrasting tempi. Here, in the seven or so years from the death of Ptolemy VI Philometor until the final defeat of Diodotus Tryphon, they come together. In other words, we have that all-too-rare convergence of disciplines, with well-attested *courte durée* historical events played out on the ground in archaeologically visible ways.

Let us outline the situation. In 152 BCE Alexander Balas, beginning to compete with Demetrius I, took a step commensurate with his assumed monarchic status: he offered Jonathan a political and religious appointment (Eckhardt and Fischer-Bovet, this volume). Maneuvering past both Ptolemy VI and Demetrius I, Balas conferred on Jonathan the position of high priest and the court title of Friend (*Philos*), with the associated insignia of a purple robe and golden crown, thus ensuring his support in the throne contests (1 Macc 10:15–21; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.44–45).

In 147 BCE, that short-lived order fractured: to the north, in Cilicia, the fourteen-year old Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I, landed to challenge Balas, supported by the Cretan mercenary force of the general Lasthenes; to the south, Ptolemy VI began planning his own up-coast advance. Numismatic evidence from this year and the next testifies to an intensification of Ptolemaic minting: a marked increase in the production of the “uncertain era” coins, reflected by a spike in the number of obverse dies from no more than two per year to six in 147 BCE, falling just slightly to four in 146/145 (Olivier 2018, 47–48 and fig. 7). Olivier (47, 50) terms these issues “a conquest coinage,” a testament to Philometor’s grand strategy. These Ptolemaic issues supplied the same zone as the Seleucid eagles minted by Balas, likely amplifying the local money supply.

and lead, placement of regnal era and mint mark, and several particular aspects of the rendition of the eagle on reverse and the hairstyle on the obverse. Together, they suggest that “the production of Phoenician Seleucid eagle *tetradrachms* took place under strong Ptolemaic influence” (Olivier 2018, 46).

In 147/146 BCE, Ptolemy VI began his journey up the Levantine coast, securing each city with a garrison (Ehling 2008, 160–64; Fischer-Bovet, this volume). As Fischer-Bovet notes, soon there were two war fronts, one in northern Syria, where Demetrius II seized Antioch-by-Daphne from Balas, and another in Coele Syria. A fast-paced series of schemes and double-crossings ensued, difficult to fully track. A real or fabricated assassination attempt on Ptolemy VI led Philometor to transfer his support and his daughter to Demetrius II. In the summer of 145 BCE, Ptolemy Philometor arrived in Antioch-by-Daphne, where he was crowned monarch of the Seleucid kingdom; in the rendering of 1 Maccabees (11:13), he thus “wore two diadems ... one for Egypt and one for Asia.” Even as the coronation was taking place, Balas was advancing from Cilicia. The armies, Ptolemy VI and Demetrius II against Alexander Balas, met at the Oinoparas River, northeast of Antioch, and while Ptolemy’s forces defeated Balas, the Egyptian king incurred a severe head wound in the battle. Balas fled but was immediately captured and killed, his head returned for Ptolemy to witness. Just three days later, the Egyptian ruler himself succumbed to his wounds and died. Demetrius II was left the undisputed Seleucid king and Levantine hegemon. His first act was to reassert sole control over the coastal cities by massacring or expelling the garrisons recently placed there by Ptolemy. According to an Astronomical Diary from Babylon, “king Demetrius marched around the cities of Egypt victoriously” (*[de]-meṭ-ri lugal ina uru^{meš} šá^{kur}me-luḥ-ḥa [šal-ṭa]-niš gin.gin-ak*), in a deliberate lexical echo of an earlier diary’s account of Antiochus IV’s successes in the Sixth Syrian War (*AD* –144 Obv. 35–36, echoing *AD* –168 A Rev. 14–15).²

The victorious Demetrius II was soon challenged by Diodotus Tryphon, a former *strategos* of Alexander Balas, in the name of Balas’s young son Antiochus VI. The Cilician and Levantine coasts quickly fragmented, with Seleucia-in-Pieria, Sidon, and Tyre remaining loyal to Demetrius II, but Byblos, Akko-Ptolemais, Dor, and Ashkelon taking the side of Antiochus VI and Tryphon. Jonathan, too, joined the rebels in exchange for yet further honors and responsibilities, until his imprisonment and execution by Tryphon turned Simon, his brother and successor, back to Demetrius II. At Antiochus VI’s death in 142/141 BCE, Tryphon claimed the kingship in his own name. Around 141/140 BCE Demetrius II headed east, in an

2. Haubold (2019, 273–75) notes that Demetrius’s victories in Egypt are followed in the same tablet by those of the Elamite Kamnaskires in Babylonia (*AD* –144 Rev. 20–21).

attempt to reverse the Arsacid conquest of Babylonia and western Iran and to gather resources for the Levantine struggle, but in 138 BCE he was captured and held a Parthian prisoner for almost a decade. Soon after, Demetrius II's brother, Antiochus VII, landed in Syria and managed to repel Tryphon's forces back to a last stand at Dor, just south of 'Akko-Ptolemais. Total defeat for Tryphon came in 138/137 BCE, and Antiochus VII was able to reestablish a unified control of the entire Levantine coast (see Coşkun in this volume; Chrubasik 2016, 135–41; Ehling 2008, 164–99).

A confluence of archaeological and numismatic data shows that this aftermath of the Seventh Syrian War—Demetrius II's undoing of Philometor's conquests and the grinding conflicts between Demetrius II and Antiochus VI and then Antiochus VII and Diodotus Tryphon—was of major consequence on the ground. To begin, we see a wave of destroyed and/or abandoned places over an enormous area and essentially simultaneously. This wave affected the entirety of the Galilee, the coastal cities, the Plain of Sharon and the Lydda lowlands, and the southern coastal plain. In almost every place, people seem to have abandoned well-appointed structures, often strategically located, with large resource stores, and oversight of fertile land.

The epicenter of the chaos appears to have been Galilee, upper and especially lower. Here, it seems, warring Seleucid factions maneuvered to destroy agricultural stores and disable administrative centers and supply networks. Jonathan, simultaneously general of Antiochus VI and self-interested dynast, routed some of Demetrius II's forces in "the Plain of Hazor," leading to the desertion of Kedesh circa 144 BCE and the temporary diminution of Tyrian territory (Berlin in this volume). The village of Khirbet esh-Shuhara was destroyed and abandoned a little later, circa 139 (Berlin and Leibner in this volume). In the lower Galilee, which along with the western portions of the Jezreel Valley constituted the wider *chora* of 'Akko-Ptolemais, the fortified Seleucid outpost at Khirbet el-'Eika was destroyed and vacated circa 145/144 BCE; either Jonathan, in his Kedesh campaign, or another of the generals of Antiochus VI or Demetrius II may have been responsible (Leibner in this volume). Also vacated abruptly, just at or very shortly after 145/144 BCE, were a series of towns and villages across the lower Galilee and in the northern Jordan Valley: Meşad 'Ateret, Beth Yerah/Philoteria, Karm el-Ras, Qiryat Ata, Tirat Tamra, Khirbet Kinniyeh, Tel Shimron, and Tel Keisan (Leibner in this volume). The abandoned vessels in the Kokhim caves near Hanita and Rosh ha-Niqra date to this same moment and seem to belong to this unsettled episode (Berlin in this volume).

The same scenario played out to the south, in the thickly settled southern coastal plain, where there lay well over one hundred villages, estates, farmsteads, and manufacturies for wine, oil, pottery, purple dye, and textiles. As farther north, these settlements lay in the agricultural *chorai* of coastal cities—Yavneh, Azotus, Ashkelon—for which they functioned as both commodity suppliers and markets. Systematic excavation at two sizable villages—Gan Soreq and Ashkelon-Barnea—revealed that just after the middle of the century both were methodically and completely vacated ('Ad in this volume).

This wave of disruption approaches the character of a natural disaster: enormous in scale, simultaneous in time, and sudden. It has the shape of a wide-handled scythe, the broad stem running up the entirety of the inland coastal plain, the blade arcing inward over Galilee. In the densely populated backyards of the coastal cities, towns and villages were vacated, key outposts destroyed or abandoned. Notably, however, the path does not extend into the central and southern interior. The eastern half of the Jezreel Valley, the Samaritan and Bethel Highlands, and the Idumean countryside south of the 'Ela Valley remained largely unaffected. Here, in rural areas as well as the inland "anchor" cities of Beit Shean-Scythopolis, Samaria, and Maresha, settlement continued undisturbed through the 140s and after (with the exception of Jerusalem, on which see below). The particularity of this patterning—the destructions, abandonments, long-term vacancies, and also the unaffected zones—are most expeditiously explained as fallout from the fierce fight for control of the southern Levantine coastal cities, waged first by the professional armies and local supporters of Ptolemy VI, Alexander Balas, and Demetrius II, and then by those of Demetrius II, Antiochus VI and Diodotus Tryphon, and Antiochus VII. When, around 141/140 BCE, Demetrius II turned east to reconquer Babylonia and western Iran, lost amid the distracting struggles over Coele Syria and Phoenicia, he left behind tracts of abandoned settlements, emptied regions, and broken networks: a land ready to be taken over and remade.

Simon, in position and in control, began with Jerusalem. Here, well-dated evidence shows that the military installation at the top of the city's southeastern hill, likely the Seleucid Akra, was at least partially demolished in the 140s. The evidence is limited in areal extent, but on the strength of present remains there is no trace of battle or burning. Then, following shortly on this partial demolition, the bastion was refortified by a huge defensive glacis (Zilberstein), which affirmed the continued necessity of military architecture. With Jerusalem securely in hand, autonomy

could be imagined: according to 1 Macc 13:41–42, in 142/141 BCE “the yoke of the gentiles was lifted” and Simon inaugurated a chronographic count of his own years. With so much surrounding land now available, and Demetrius soon occupied in the east, a program of territorial expansion might begin.

The archaeological remains of circa 145/144–circa 138/137 BCE provide remarkable testimony of ferocity and flight, physical traces of where and when conflict came to ground. As noted above, the fallout of the Seventh Syrian War stands out from the earlier conflicts for the extent of its dislocations. The archaeological evidence of widespread devastation is supported by the pattern of coin hoards. As Lorber notes, the turbulence of these years is reflected by a dramatic spike in the number of hoards in Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria: fifteen, covering a span of only seven years (ca. 147/146–140/139 BCE),³ more than half of which contained Ptolemaic coins, usually a mix of Ptolemaic coins and Seleucid eagles, with the Ptolemaic issues predominant. The singularity of this numismatic picture is confirmed by Duyrat’s (2011) study of all known coin hoards from Hellenistic Syria: only the period of Alexander’s invasion and the Diadoch Wars can match the decade of the 140s BCE for number of hoards, which is to say, for people fearfully hiding money in the ground and then not being in a position to recover it.⁴

3. The fifteenth hoard, this one composed of twenty-six bronze and five silver coins, was recently found on a hill near Nazareth (Har Yona) in the lower Galilee. Twenty-one of the twenty-six bronzes were civic coins of ‘Akko-Ptolemais, first minted under Antiochus IV and continuing to the end of the second century. The five Seleucid coins all come from the mint of Tyre and date from 159/158 to 145/144 BCE (issues of Demetrius I, Alexander Balas, and Demetrius II). The latest coin is in quite good condition, which suggests that the hoard was deposited soon after 145. We thank Danny Syon for this information and the identifications.

4. This evidence is placed in a comparative global context by de Callatay (2017, 335), who finds by far the most significant factor for hoarding to be civil war, which more than any other event elicits the kind of widespread fear that leads to this practice (Olivier 2018, 51). De Callatay (2017, 330) notes further that “there were many wars without significant consequences in terms of unrecovered hoards. So the five first Syrian Wars (from 281 to 198 BC) left very few traces in the documentation.” We thank Donald Ariel for the reference to de Callatay’s article.

Expansion: Circa 138/137–115 BCE

When the wave of conflict receded in 138/137 BCE, it left behind a region transformed by an influx of coinage, an emptying of rural settlements, and a rearranged political order. The increased minting of Ptolemaic “uncertain era” coins along with the Seleucid eagles expanded the region’s supply of silver currency. As Lorber notes, the author of 1 Maccabees provides multiple instances of affluence and largesse on the part of Jonathan and, even more so, Simon: silver, gold, clothing, and valuable diplomatic gifts (1 Macc 11:24, 13:37: a gold crown and palm branch; 14:24: a gold shield); the grandiose funerary monument that Simon built at Modi’in (13:27–30); and the use of bronze tablets to display public decrees in Jerusalem (14:27, 14:48). Simon was supposedly able to pay a ransom of one hundred talents to Tryphon in exchange for the imprisoned Jonathan (13:16–19), and also to arm and pay his troops (14:32). First Maccabees also records the construction of fortresses and fortifications (12:35–38; 13:33, 48, 52; 14:33–34); the recently discovered Artabba Fortress, situated on one of the highest points in the western Bethel Highlands and whose initial construction dates to the 130s, is one impressive illustration (Raviv 2018a).

As demonstrated above, the Seventh Syrian War and its aftermath of intra-Seleucid dynastic battles caused widespread abandonment and likely the interrupting of established political and economic networks. Key territories surrounding Judea appear to have been emptied out. According to Eckhardt (in this volume), 1 Maccabees gives a historically reasonable description of the Hasmonean core territory under Jonathan in the 140s BCE, which consisted of a closely circumscribed zone from Michmash, the “three districts,” and Adida in the northwest, south to the Hebron hills and the fortress at Beth-Zur (11:66), but neither Galilee nor the coastal cities. Archaeological evidence reveals a pattern of Judean settlers moving into precisely these now-vacated areas in the 130s and 120s BCE. It is difficult to fine-tune the timing of this occupation because one key chronological indicator, the Judean coins of John Hyrcanus, were not issued until sometime in the early to mid-120s BCE (Ariel in this volume). This means that the only datable, identifiably Judean remains of the 130s are Seleucid bronzes from the Jerusalem mint (Ariel in this volume). As these rarely traveled beyond Judea, one might postulate Hasmonean/Judean expansion beginning circa 140/139 but not find firmly identifiable remains until the (relatively) more robust issues of Hyrcanus a decade and a half later.

Nonetheless, although the pace cannot be calculated, the general timing, mode, and extent are clear. Beginning in the later second century BCE, certain vacated regions were taken over and sites newly or reoccupied, generally without contest since the great majority had been abandoned. This is the scenario in rural Judea north of the 'Ela Valley: Sandhaus describes new occupation at ten different villages and farmsteads in this small area, some settled for the first time and others resettled in a different part of the site. Similarly, in the Lydda lowlands the estate at El'ad was partially reinhabited, along with many other settlements in its immediate environs (Zelinger in this volume). The north, specifically the lower Galilee, is the one area where a Judean presence can definitely be postulated already in the 130s BCE, as evidenced by the appearance here of small Seleucid bronzes from the Jerusalem mint (Syon in this volume). An initial set of new settlements were founded in the lower Galilee (Leibner in this volume). These were followed in the 120s BCE by two Hasmonean footholds farther north, in the upper Galilee, in what had been the northeastern corner of the Tyrian *chora*: a reoccupation at Khirbet esh-Shuhara and a new fortified settlement at Qeren Naftali, overlooking the Hula Valley (the "Plain of Hazor" of 1 Maccabees). The pattern described here—a series of abandoned areas that shortly thereafter were taken over by Judeans—confirms Seth Schwartz's (2004, 40) brutal characterization of Hasmonean expansion in the early years of Hyrcanus: "they expanded because they could."

Yet, there were also areas available for expansion that were ignored, in rural Idumea south of the 'Ela Valley and in the southern coastal plain. In these two zones, both more proximate to Judea and better integrated into roadways and urban networks than the Galilee, there is no evidence for Hasmonean expansion at this time (Sandhaus and 'Ad, this volume). This is the case despite good archaeological evidence for the steady depopulation of rural Idumea in these years, and the continued abandonment of sites in the southern coastal plain. Judeans did not move into these areas, despite the availability of spots to settle and land to farm. Was this a deliberate choice? Seen against the almost immediate return to Galilee, even as far north as 1 Maccabees' "Plain of Hazor"—a textual harking back to biblical greatness, as we have seen—was this Judean indifference to the region that had been Philistia an avoidance of land that had never been part of the territorial patrimony?

One last zone remains to be accounted for: the Samaritan highlands (Raviv in this volume). Into the mid-second century, a complex of

diverse people resided here: politically connected, cosmopolitan urbanites at Samaria; retired Macedonian and Seleucid soldiers with deeded and fortified farms; various people with interest in, and access to, the accoutrements of hellenizing style, including, perhaps, expatriate Sidonians and Idumeans; and devout Samaritans in villages around Shechem and the sanctuary at Mount Gerizim. This zone's rugged topography and inland location sheltered its inhabitants from being swept up by the wave of imperial-level political turbulence that overtook the coast and the Galilee. Yet there is ample archaeological evidence here for targeted attacks and destructions in the mid- to later second century BCE, perhaps supported by contemporary literary texts that may reflect Hasmonean campaigning—the Testament of Judah, Jubilees, and whatever lies behind the Midrash *Va-yissa'u*, the last of which situates the wars “waged by the sons of Jacob against the Amorites” directly in southern Samaria (Raviv in this volume).

In the preceding decade—a span of time so brief that most people, including local stakeholders, will have easily recalled the world that had been—the polar geography of a northern and southern hegemon had come undone. We find in its place a confusing regional muddle that opened spaces for self-assertion, expansion, and independence. Almost every major Levantine coastal city achieved political autonomy, from Cilicia south, including Tyre (126/125 BCE), Sidon (111/110 BCE), 'Akko-Ptolemais (ca. 110 BCE), Gaza (ca. 108/107 BCE), and Ascalon (104/103 BCE; Kushnir-Stein 2001, esp. 43–44). Inland, ancient city-kingdoms reemerged: Amman, where Zeno Cotylas founded a short-lived dynasty, and Damascus (Kosmin in this volume). New polities formed or expanded, including the Itureans in the Beqaa Valley and the Nabatean kingdom in what had been Edom. On the wider scale of the Mediterranean, the overarching realignment to Rome continued (MacRae in this volume). The Republic, while never physically on the scene, was coming to dominate the political planning and diplomatic imaginations of these new eastern polities. Hasmonean appeals to Rome, recorded in 1 Maccabees and Josephus, followed the same script as that used by other small communities throughout the east Mediterranean. As MacRae argues, the literary accounts represent the interactions of Rome and Judea as an “encounter of two peer polities”—a self-aggrandizing view of the relationship, certainly. The ability of the Hasmoneans to approach and engage will have been a kind of validation, a “display of a special relationship with the imperial power.” What matters here is less the proffered backstory or the authenticity of the documents invoked in support and more the light it sheds on

the diplomatic imagination at the time of 1 Maccabees' composition. As MacRae puts it, in this rearranged political order's new climate, "Rome was making the weather."

Narrating the Middle Maccabees

As we have seen, the early Hasmonean state developed within and was made possible by a world of entangled great power politics, imperial delegation, negotiated alliances, and the local catastrophes of civil war. From a Judean heartland centered on Jerusalem, the Bethel Highlands, and the area to the north of the 'Ela Valley, Jonathan and Simon seized the moment to expand into recently emptied lands. Further conquest, destruction, and incorporation came under Hyrcanus—the details of location are provided by Josephus, the revised chronology by archaeology: Idumean Maresha by 112 BCE, the temple city on Mount Gerizim and Samaria by 110 BCE, and Beit Shean/Scythopolis by 109 BCE (Finkielsztejn in this volume).

This territorial expansion was accompanied by the composition of the dynasty's origin story. First Maccabees, the prime historical source for many of the events discussed above, is also an artifact of these heady years of autonomy and conquest. Composed by a historian working in the circle of John Hyrcanus, it is clear that the book sought to legitimize the Maccabean path to both political power and religious leadership. While this proximate objective of elevating the current ruler and his dynastic predecessors is undeniable and an amenable entry for a critical reading, 1 Maccabees must also have engaged with the communal memories of Judean soldiers, honored the bravery of the deceased, worked through the traumas of warfare and dislocation, and found an ordered meaning and endpoint in the almost miraculous outplay of circumstance. From these same years come other voices, including those that may have been reacting against the new order. Jokiranta makes the case for reading the Rule of the Congregation as constructing an alternative to Hasmonean militaristic power, maintaining the social order instead by education, the creation of an ethical basis for decision making, and, most pointedly, the relegation of political authority behind that of small groups coming together. Alternative visions of Rome, too, have been elucidated by Gruen.

No doubt many more and different versions of these exploits were once told, according to the anger and enthusiasm of those invested. In this volume we, too, offer a take on the events of these years, one that

foregrounds new archaeological evidence and a revised political history, which in turn may encourage new critical readings of the surviving texts.

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Ancient Sources Index

Hebrew Bible/Old Testament		9:12	172
Genesis		2 Kings	
10:4	381	15:29	123
		20:20	333
Exodus		21:17	333
18:21–26	373	21:25	333
19:14–16	376		
		2 Chronicles	
Leviticus		2:3–16	172
21	376	2:12	172
		2:14	172
Numbers		8:1–2	172
24:24	381	9:8	172
27:21	372		
31:14	373	Ezra	
31:48–54	373	3	35
		5:16	35
Deuteronomy		6:14–18	35
1:9–15	373		
17	374	Nehemiah	
20	374	2:13–15	35
		3:1–32	17, 35
Joshua		4:6	53
7:6	174	12:31–40	17
14:11	372		
		Esther	
1 Samuel		8:12–12	342
8:20	372		
		Psalms	
1 Kings		79:1–4	272
5:9	172		
5:11	172	Isaiah	
5:26	172	23:12	381
9:10	172		

Jeremiah		4:23	328
2:10	381	5	267
		5:1–2	258
Ezekiel		5:3	58, 61–62, 328
4:5	366	5:14–23	179
27:6	381	5:21–23	137
		5:22	328
Daniel		5:28	328
2	248	5:35	328
7:8	272	5:51	328
7:20	272	5:55–62	266
7:24	272	5:55–68	358
9	366	5:63	337
11	252, 255, 382	5:66–67	194
11:21–39	381	5:68	93, 328
11:29–30	380	7:1	272
11:40–43	252	7:2	356
11:40–45	270, 380	7:5–25	272
		7:12–16	357
Habakkuk		7:26–50	273
1:6–11	382	7:47	328
		8	276, 332, 336, 343, 345, 379
Deuterocanonical Books/Apocrypha		8:1–16	336, 379
		8:2	338
Judith		8:2–3	345
7:18	61	8:4–8	338
		8:5	381
Sirach		8:8	345
50:25–26	62	8:9–10	337
		8:10–11	380
1 Maccabees		8:11–13	338
1		8:12	380, 383
1–2	356	8:13	338
1:1	381	8:14	338, 361
1:9	356	8:17–21	336
1:33	143	8:18	338
1:33–38	394	8:22–32	336
2:46	349	8:23	339
2:54	358	8:23–32	338
2:57	361	8:26	339
2:65–66	359	8:27	339
3:1–9:22	350	8:28	339
3:12	328	8:31	339
3:26	337	8:31–32	345
4:18	328	8:32	339

9-12	173, 354, 356	11:18	163
9:1-31	273	11:18-19	200
9:22	338	11:20-25	301
9:23-12:48	350	11:20-37	284
9:52	201	11:22-24	353
9:54-57	272	11:24	329, 403
9:54-73	298	11:28	67, 110
9:57-73	273	11:28-37	300
9:73	353	11:31-32	283
10:1	278, 357	11:34	57, 67, 110, 143, 261, 353
10:1-50	397	11:34-35	261
10:1-12:40	278	11:38	357
10:2-6	298	11:38-40	283
10:15	338	11:39-41	284
10:15-21	298, 398	11:41-59	266
10:19	337	11:42-52	284
10:22-47	298	11:44	353
10:30	67, 110, 143	11:54-56	284
10:38	67, 110	11:54-59	300
10:48-50	278-79	11:57	67, 110, 143
10:51-58	143	11:59	93, 105, 266, 351
10:54-58	253	11:60	93, 352
10:57	279	11:60-74	174
10:59-60	353	11:61	353
10:59-66	298, 301	11:62	353
10:67	357	11:63	353
10:67-11:19	282	11:63-73	158
10:69-89	266	11:63-74	142, 197, 258, 326, 351
10:70-73	266	11:66	353, 403
10:74-86	299, 353	11:67	198
10:76	93	11:68-74	199
10:83-86	93	11:69	352
10:84-87	299	12:1	340
10:88-89	266	12:1-4	336, 340
10:89	143, 266, 353	12:1-23	336
11	173	12:5-18	341
11:1	200, 357	12:19-23	341
11:1-8	299	12:24-53	266
11:1-19	143	12:25	353
11:3-5	400	12:31	325, 354
11:4	93	12:32	353
11:4-6	301	12:33-34	93, 104-5
11:6	353	12:35-38	329, 403
11:6-7	200, 299	12:36	196
11:13	299, 399	12:38	121, 353

1 Maccabees (cont.)

12:39	285	14:36–37	50–51
12:40–46	353	14:38	355
12:48	137	14:40	336, 340
13–14	356	14:41	360
13:1–24	325	14:43	234, 338
13:6	354	14:47	360
13:11	93	14:48	403
13:12–30	354	14:49	358
13:15	359	15:1–9	286, 355
13:15–19	359	15:3	357
13:16–19	329	15:6	327
13:20	359	15:10	357
13:27–30	229, 329, 403	15:10–14	286
13:31	285, 357	15:15–21	340
13:33	329, 403	15:15–22	336
13:37	329, 354, 403	15:16–21	342, 345
13:41	354	15:16–24	334, 341
13:41–42	402	15:22–23	342, 245
13:43–48	105, 118, 121	15:25–16:22	286
13:48	329, 403	15:27–28	355
13:49–52	143, 196	15:33–35	355
13:52	329, 403	15:37	286
13:53	201	15:38–16:10	328
14	340–41	16:1	201
14:1–3	285	16:19	201
14:4–7	105	16:21	201
14:5	93, 105	16:23	338
14:7	201	16:23–24	333, 349
14:10	337	2 Maccabees	
14:11–17	266	1:1–10	307
14:16–19	336	1:10–17	271
14:16–24	336	1:10b–2:18	308
14:18	340	3:5	151
14:20–23	341	4:8–9	262
14:24	329, 336, 340–41, 403	6:2	61
14:25	187, 358	8:20	328
14:26	355	8:25	328
14:27	403	8:27	328
14:27–45	354	8:30	328
14:29	358	9:1–2	271
14:30	358	10:20	328
14:32	329, 403	12	267
14:33–34	329, 403	12:3–9	94
14:36	50	12:8–9	93

12:29–31	179	Sibylline Oracles	
12:43	319, 329	3.46–92	385
13:24	93	3.156–195	385
14:1	272	3.175–178	385
14:1–15:37	273	3.175–182	385
14:3–13	272	3.182–191	385
14:25	359	3.191–195	385
14:26	272	3.211–217	386
		3.282–294	386
Pseudepigrapha		3.350–364	385
		3.464–469	385
Jubilees		3.464–488	385
24.27–28	381	3.469	385
29.14	68	3.481–488	385
34.4–8	57	3.520–544	385
34.8	59	3.545–572	386
37.10	381	3.573–600	386
		3.624–634	386
Letter of Aristeas		3.669–731	386
4	261	3.732–761	386
115	93	3.767–808	386
Psalms of Solomon		Dead Sea Scrolls	
2.1–2	387, 390		
2.3–17	389	CD	
2.6	390	1	366
2.7	389	XIV, 3–6	372
2.19	388, 390		
2.25–30	390	1QM	
8.1–13	387	I, 1–2	382
8.8–23	389	I, 4–7	382
8.15	387	XV, 2–3	382
8.16–18	387	XVI, 3–9	382
8.18–21	390	XVII, 10–15	382
8.19–20	387	XIX, 9–14	382
8.22	389		
17.4–6	388	1QpHab	
17.5–15	389	II, 11–12	382
17.7	388	III, 4	383
17.11–14	388	III, 4–12	382
17.11–17	390		
17.21–22	388	1QS	
17.21–32	390	I, 23	373
17.21–46	389	I, 28	375
17.22–25	389–90		

1QSa		3-4 I, 2-3	383
I, 1	370	3-4 I, 3	367
I, 1-3	378	Frgs. 1-2	383
I, 4	371	Frgs. 3-5	383
I, 4-11	371		
I, 6	372	11QTa	
I, 6-25	374	LVI, 12-LIX, 21	372, 374
I, 11	371	LXI, 12-LXIV, 1	374
I, 14-15	373		
I, 16-17	372	Other Jewish Works	
I, 17-18	374		
I, 19-22	375	b. Gittin	
I, 25-26	371, 376	57.1	68
I, 25-27	371, 374		
I, 29-II, 1	373	b. Kiddushin	
II, 3-9	376	66a	68
II, 9-10	376		
II, 14	370	Midrash Va-yissa'u	
II, 17-22	373	2:60-65	59
II, 20	370		
		Testament of Judah	
4Q524		3-7	57
Frag. 5	374	79	59
4QSE		Testament of Simeon	
I, 1-2	370	6.3	381
I, 6	371		
I, 8-III, 8	374	Classical Sources	
I, 9-10	372		
II, 2-3;	373	Appian, <i>Syriaca</i>	
II, 6-7	372	45	245
II, 8-11	374	45.235	273
II, 12-III, 2	375	46.238-240	271
III, 3-4	373	46.241	272
III, 8-10	371, 374	46.241-47.24	271
III, 8-11	376	47.242	272-73
III, 13-14	375	47.243	277
III, 15-16	373	47.244-45	277
IV, 3-10	376	66	245, 380
IV, 10-13	376	68	164
V, 2	370	68.357	285
V, 5-13	373		
		Arrian, <i>Anabasis</i>	
4QpNah		2.27.7	261
3-4 I, 2	367		

Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophists</i>		12.138–144	151, 261
6.61 (252e)	280	12.143	262
		12.156	62
Clement of Alexandria, <i>Protrepticus</i>		12.156–222	89
5.65.3	249	12.160–166	263
		12.168–169	263
Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca Historica</i>		12.181–183	263
30.7.2	272	12.196–220	318
31.2	380	12.220–222	318
31.17a	245	12.226	318
31.19a	274	12.229	318
31.19.7–8	277	12.229–234	318
31.21–22	276	12.236	318
31.27a	245, 248, 273–74	12.252	50
31.28	275	12.257–264	61
31.28–29	277	12.318	50
31.32	277	12.328	61
31.32–34	279	12.362	50
32.9c	280, 282, 299	12.387	272
32.279d	299	12.389	272
33.3	280	12.389–413	272
33.4	284	12.393–400	320
33.4.4	356	12.405	320
33.5	280	12.408–411	320
33.20	296	12.420–421	320
33.28	285, 351	13.25	320
34.18	254	13.35–36	278
40.2	337, 343	13.37–42	298
34/35.1 = 35 frag. 36a	286	13.37–61	397
34/35.15–19	287	13.44–45	298, 398
		13.47–57	298
Eusebius, <i>Chronicon</i>		13.58	296
154.3	272	13.58–61	278
		13.80–82	253
Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i>		13.80–85	279, 298
7.98	147	13.83–85	301
8.67	147	13.91	301
		13.103	279
Jerome, <i>In Daniele</i>		13.103–105	200
11.24	252	13.105	299
		13.105–113	299
Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>		13.106–108	280
1.128	381	13.106–119	282
9.93–94	251	13.114	253, 299
12.138	261–62	13.120–121	200

<i>Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae (cont.)</i>		13.299	360
13.120–130	283	13.318–319	184
13.121–128	284	13.319	124, 181
13.125–128	300	13.320–355	143
13.131–186	284	13.320–364	251
13.144	283	13.321–322	181
13.145	67, 110	13.324–352	137
13.145–148	300	13.337	186
13.146	105	13.352–354	309
13.154–162	326	13.372–383	367
13.171	365	13.394	183
13.179	250, 325	13.402–412	273
13.184–186	185	13.420–434	273
13.203–209	325	14	334–35
13.214	134	14.29–74	387
13.215–217	50, 143	14.38–41	249
13.218	285	14.71–76	249
13.221–222	285	14.74	123
13.222	286	14.91	123
13.223–224	286, 305	14.145–148	333–34, 341
13.225	328	14.233	337
13.225–235	286	14.247–255	334
13.234	177	20.237	272
13.236	201		
13.236–248	286, 328	<i>Josephus, Bellum Judaicum</i>	
13.245–247	305	1.38	337
13.250	215	1.50	50
13.250–252	287	1.63–65	68
13.250–253	287	1.66	143
13.250–329	288	1.76	181
13.254–257	328	1.103–106	183
13.254–258	307	1.127–154	387
13.255–256	68, 187	2.459	127
13.259–266	333	3.35–43	125
13.260–263	333, 343	4.105	127, 169
13.267	304–5	4.449	59
13.267–268	303	5.509	63
13.267–269	305	5.136–140	50
13.269	133	5.139	50
13.272	305		
13.273	233, 306–7	<i>Josephus, Contra Apionem</i>	
13.275	62	1.8	161
13.275–281	68	1.28	161
13.277–283	307	1.70	161
13.284–287	308	1.107	161

1.183	17	Plutarch, <i>De virtute et vitio</i>	
2.49–57	301	5.2–4	279
Josephus, <i>Vita</i>		Polybius, <i>Historiae</i>	
359		1.1.5	344
		3.5.3	295
Justinus, <i>Epitoma historiarum Philippi-</i>		5.65	301
<i>carum</i>		5.86.7–11	264
35.1	279, 297, 397	25.2.12	245
35.1.1	278	29.27.1–10	380
35.1.2	275	31.2.1–11	271
35.1.3	278	31.2.6	271
35.1.3–4	277	31.3	277
35.1.6–7	278	31.3.1–5	275
35.1.10	278, 298	31.7	275
35.1.10–11	278	31.7.2–8.8	271
35.2	282	31.9.1–3	271
36.1.1–2	285	31.11–15	272
36.1.4	285	31.11.1–3	271
36.1.4–5	285	31.11.9–12	271–72
36.1.7	284–85	31.12–15	272
36.1.9	285	31.15.10–12	277
36.3.9	337	31.16	276
38.9.1	253, 303	31.33	277
38.10	87	32.1	275
38.10.4	287	32.3	277
38.10.7–11	288	32.3.1–13	271
39.1.2–4	253, 303	32.10	277
39.1.4–8	303–4	33.5	295
39.4	251	33.5.1–4	279
41.6.7	281	33.15.1–2	278
42.1.4–5	254	33.18.5–14	278
Livy, <i>Periochae</i>		Pompeius Trogus, <i>Prologues</i>	
45.12.3–8	380	34	273, 276
50	278–80		
50.4	254	Porphyry <i>FGrHist</i> 260	
52	278, 282–83	F 32.15	278, 283
		F 32.16	285
Pliny, <i>Naturalis historia</i>		F 32. 21	303
5.14.69	59		
6.28.147	271	Poseidonius <i>FGrHist</i> 87	
6.32.152	271	F 29	351

Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>		Inscriptions	
11.14.5	245, 269		
11.14.15	245, 269	SEG 57 1851	97, 151, 262, 264
16.2	249		
16.2.4	93	SEG 57 1838	153, 157
Zonaras, <i>Chronicon</i>		IDelos 1497bis	274
9.25	272		
Ancient Near Eastern and Armenian Sources		<i>Lex de provinciis praetoriis</i>	342
		SEG 35 823	343
Astronomical Diaries (Sachs and Hunger)		SEG 53 659	343
-137 A	285		
-144 Obv. 35–36,	399		
-144 Obv. 35–37	253, 283		
-144 Rev. 20–21	399		
-149 A Rev. 6	278		
-164 B Obv. 15,	245		
-164 C Obv. 13–14	245, 271		
-168 A Rev. 14–15	399		
Moses of Khoren, <i>Armenian History</i>			
3.68	248		
Papyri			
C.Ord.Ptol. 21–22	260		
P.Cair.Zen159004	107		
P.Cair.Zen.1.59010	93		
P.Diosk 1	302		
P.Polit.Jud	302		
PSI 4.406	93		
Reiner Papyrus	74, 97		
P.Gen. 3.131= SB 20.15513	302		

Personal Names Index

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| Aaron | 373 | Antiochus V | 93, 135, 213, 271, 273, 275, 277, 297, 312, 320, 357, 367 |
| Ader | 251 | Antiochus VI | 67, 142–43, 163–64, 213, 253, 284–85, 288, 352, 357, 399–401 |
| Alcimus | 265, 272–73, 298, 357 | Antiochus VII | 16, 44, 49, 51, 134–35, 142, 163–65, 178–80, 186, 188–89, 194, 199–203, 213, 215–18, 220, 222, 224–25, 227–28, 232–33, 235, 238–39, 244–45, 250, 253, 259, 266, 283, 286–90, 305–7, 310–11, 327–30, 332–35, 355, 357, 367, 400–401 |
| Alexander the Great | 57, 59, 73, 79, 83, 88, 150, 249, 259, 261, 263, 280, 338, 380–81, 402 | Antiochus VIII | 191, 213, 234–35, 250, 253–55, 288–89, 303–4, 306, 308 |
| Alexander Jannaeus | 68, 120, 138, 141, 143, 166, 169, 177–78, 181–84, 186–87, 189–90, 209, 222, 238, 250, 288–89, 333, 361, 366–67, 383 | Antiochus IX | 191, 203, 214, 250, 253–54, 289, 306–7, 334–35 |
| Alexander I Balas | 114, 135, 143, 162–64, 178, 186, 213, 253–54, 258–59, 277–84, 288, 290, 295–301, 303, 306, 310–11, 321–23, 329, 337, 351, 353, 357, 396–99, 401–2 | Antiochus X | 253, 289 |
| Alexander II Zebinas (Zabinas) | 202, 213, 233–36, 250, 254–55, 288–89, 297, 303–8 | Antiochus XI | 289 |
| Amalthaea | 237 | Antiochus XII | 250–51, 289 |
| Ammonius | 254, 279–80 | Antiochus XIII | 290 |
| Ananias | 308–9 | Antiochus Philometor | 290 |
| Antigonus | 181 | Aphrodite | 254 |
| Antigonus, son of Demetrius | 254, 283 | Apollo | 156–57, 237, 280 |
| Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus III | 275 | Apollonios–Pachou/Pashai II | 308 |
| Antiochus, son of Seleucus IV | 272 | Apollonius | 298, 301, 352–53 |
| Antiochus I | 281 | Archelaus | 218 |
| Antiochus III | 26, 97, 114, 135, 151, 153, 212, 245, 250, 261–62, 264, 266, 269, 275, 282, 311–12, 314, 338, 379 | Archias | 279–80 |
| Antiochus IV | 44, 49, 61, 114, 135, 154, 199, 212, 245, 248, 252–53, 270, 272, 274, 282, 294–95, 304, 314, 318–19, 330, 338, 344, 356–57, 367, 380–82, 394, 397, 402 | Ariarathes IV | 275 |
| | | Ariarathes V | 271, 274–75, 276, 277–78, 290, 342 |
| | | Aristobulus (philosopher) | 308 |
| | | Aristobulus I | 124, 177, 181–82, 184, 186, 188–90, 238, 288, 333, 360–62 |
| | | Aristobulus II | 250 |
| | | Arsaces | 248, 342 |

- Artavasdes 248, 274
 Artaxerxes 342
 Artaxias of Armenia 245, 248, 274, 276
 Ashtarte. *See* Astarte
 Astarte 146, 150, 154
 Atargatis 251
 Athena Promachos 30
 Attalus II 277–79, 290, 296, 342
 Augustus 223
 Azariah (commander) 266
 Azaëlos 251
 Baal-Shamim 147, 169
 Balaam 381
 Bacchides 60, 201, 273, 298, 300, 310, 353
 Belial 382
 Berenice I 283
 Berossus 249
 Camnascires 284
 Cendebaeus 286, 328
 Chelkias 308
 Claudius 222, 343
 Cleopatra I 312, 318
 Cleopatra II 253–54, 283, 288–89, 294, 302–5, 307, 310
 Cleopatra III 177, 254, 288–89, 294, 303, 305, 308–9
 Cleopatra IV 253–54, 289, 305
 Cleopatra VI 308
 Cleopatra Selene 253, 289
 Cleopatra Thea 253, 278, 280, 282, 286, 288, 297, 298–99, 301, 303–4, 306, 397
 Cleopatra Tryphaena 253, 288, 304
 David 171–72, 361, 376, 388
 Demetrius (Ptolemaic official) 302
 Demetrius (governor of Gamla) 184
 Demetrius I 44, 135, 143, 164, 213, 248, 254, 258, 271–81, 290, 295–96, 298, 320–21, 323, 325, 336, 338–39, 345, 356, 397–98, 402
 Demetrius II 54, 67, 110, 120, 134–35, 139, 142, 158, 162–64, 173–74, 178, 186, 200, 202, 213, 233–34, 244, 250, 253–54, 258, 261, 267, 281–86, 288–90, 296, 298–301, 303–6, 310–11, 325–26, 328, 342, 351–56, 398, 399–402
 Demetrius III 71, 250–51, 289, 367, 383
 Diodorus 272, 283
 Diodorus Siculus 74, 275, 279
 Diodotus 299
 Diodotus Tryphon 142, 162–65, 174, 186, 200, 213, 234, 258–59, 266–67, 283–86, 290, 300, 304–305, 310, 325, 329, 351–54, 357, 359–60, 398–401, 403
 Dionysus 343
 Dionysius Petosarapis 295
 Dioscuri 30
 Dositheos 301
 Esau 62, 381
 Eumenes 338
 Eupolemus (ambassador) 336
 Ezra 365
 Fannius 333, 337
 Gabinius 191
 Gaius Octavius 271, 277, 290
 Gaius Popilius Laenas 270, 344
 Gaius Tiberius Gracchus 275–76
 Galaestes 254, 296, 301
 Georgius Syncellus 138
 Goliath 171
 Hadad 251
 Harpocrates 154
 Hecataeus of Abdera 17
 Hegemonides 93
 Heliodoros 153
 Helios 193, 216
 Heraclides (brother of Timarchus) 273, 278–79
 Herod 90, 218, 222–24, 228, 231, 389
 Hezekiah 173
 Hierax 280, 299
 Hiram of Tyre 172, 173
 Holophernes 277
 Horus 148
 Hiram of Tyre. *See* Hiram of Tyre
 Hycnapses (Oconapses) 276
 Hyrcanus, son of Joseph of Tobias 318
 Jacob 59, 381

- Jamblichus 284
 Japheth 381–82
 Jason 262, 265
 Jason (ambassador to Rome) 336
 Jason, son of Jason 302
 Jesus 124
 John Hyrcanus I 16, 44, 49, 51, 54, 58, 68, 72, 105, 118, 120, 123, 138, 142–43, 165–66, 173, 177–84, 186–89, 194, 200–201, 203, 213, 215–19, 221–36, 238–39, 244, 255, 258, 283, 286–89, 305–8, 311, 328–41, 344, 349, 351, 353, 355, 358, 360–61, 373, 377, 403–4, 406
 John Hyrcanus II 166, 225–26, 239, 366
 Jonathan Apphus. *See* Jonathan Maccabee
 Jonathan Maccabee 54, 58–59, 67–68, 72, 93, 105, 110, 120, 137, 139, 142–43, 158, 160, 164, 173–75, 194, 196–97, 200, 209, 213, 232, 243, 250–51, 253, 261, 265–66, 273, 278, 284, 298–301, 306, 310–11, 321, 324, 326, 329, 336, 349–56, 358–59, 360–61, 366–67, 398–400, 403, 406
 Joseph (commander) 266
 Josephus, son of Tobiah 89, 263, 318
 Joshua 174–75
 Judas Maccabee 58, 62, 93, 179, 194, 213, 243, 258, 273, 276–77, 319, 328–30, 336–37, 350, 357–59, 397
 Judas, son of Chalphi 174
 Julius Caesar 226
 Jupiter 251
 Laodice (wife of Demetrius I) 254
 Laodice (wife of Antiochus IV) 274
 Laodice (wife of Perseus) 275
 Lasthenes 281, 283, 398
 Leptines 271, 277
 Lucius Valerius 333–34, 340, 341
 Lysias 271–72, 275
 Mattathias 213, 248, 336–37, 350, 359, 361
 Mattathias, son of Absalom 174
 Mattathias Antigonus 231, 237–38
 Matten 147
 Melqart 148
 Menelaus 265, 270, 272
 Menyllus 272
 Mithridates 281, 284–85, 290
 Mithrobuzanes 276
 Nebuchadnezzar 248
 Nehemiah 263, 365
 Neḥtiḥōr 249
 Nicanor 272, 337
 Nicolaus of Damascus 251
 Nike 215, 280
 Noah 248
 Numenius 340–41
 Nysa 274
 Onias II 62, 263
 Onias III 265, 367
 Onias IV 301, 308
 Palamedes 351
 Pan 150
 Perseus 275, 338, 379, 381
 Petimouthes 308
 Pharnaces of Pontus 274
 Philip (rival of Lysias) 271, 357
 Philip I 289
 Philip II 289
 Philip V 338, 379
 Phraates II 287–88, 290
 Pinhas 357
 Polybius 123, 272
 Pompeius Trogus 276, 303
 Pompey 191, 249, 251, 289, 343, 345, 383, 387–88
 Poseidonius of Apamea 356
 Ptolemaeus 286
 Ptolemaeus of Commagene 245, 274
 Ptolemy, son of Aboudos 266
 Ptolemy/Ptolemais, son of Tharseias/Thrasedas 97, 151
 Ptolemy I 114, 149, 283, 316–17, 327
 Ptolemy II 79, 89, 93, 149, 151, 209, 260, 282, 294, 327
 Ptolemy III 89, 150
 Ptolemy IV 264, 323
 Ptolemy V 114, 282, 294, 298, 312–16, 318

- Ptolemy VI 114, 135, 143, 163, 200,
 252–54, 278–83, 290, 294–96, 299–
 304, 306, 308, 310–16, 318–19, 321,
 323–25, 330, 341, 353, 357, 393, 396–
 401
 Ptolemy VIII 233, 254–55, 279, 282,
 288, 294–95, 302–8, 310, 313, 318, 345
 Ptolemy IX 143, 186, 250, 253–54, 289,
 307–8
 Ptolemy X 253–54, 289
 Queen of Sheba 172
 Rehoboam 173
 Roma 344
 Salome Alexandra 366
 Sampsame 342
 Samus 287–88
 Sarpedon 351–52
 Satan 382
 Scipio the Elder 275
 Seleucus I Nicator 276, 290
 Seleucus IV 151, 153, 212, 250, 266,
 270, 272, 311–12, 314, 318, 356–57
 Seleucus V 213, 288
 Seleucus VI 289
 Seleucus Cybiosactes 290
 Simon Maccabee 49–51, 58–59, 68, 72,
 93, 105, 118, 120–21, 143, 187, 194,
 196, 200, 213, 227, 232, 234, 237, 243,
 266, 284, 286, 300, 311, 325, 327, 329,
 336, 338, 340–42, 349–55, 358, 359,
 360, 361, 399, 402–3, 406
 Simon Bar Giora 238
 Solomon 172, 386
 Tanit 157–58
 Teacher of Righteousness 366–69
 Theon, son of Theon 302
 Tiglath-pileser III 249
 Timagenes of Alexandria 124
 Timarchus of Media 248, 273–78, 290
 Trajan 222
 Wicked Priest 364, 366–67
 Xerxes 147
 Zenon 92, 107, 150, 250
 Zeus 237, 281

Place Names Index

Actium	223	Antioch-in-Persis	271, 281, 290
Adasa	273	Antioch-in-Ptolemais. <i>See</i> 'Akko	
Aderet	76–77, 82, 86	Antipatris. <i>See</i> Pegae	
Adida	121, 353, 403	Apamea	246, 248, 269, 284, 286
Adora	328	Aphairema	261, 300, 353
Ai	174	Aphek. <i>See</i> Pegae	
Akhziv	108, 145–46	Apheq. <i>See</i> Pegae	
Akkaron	353–54	Apollonia/Arshaf	56, 103, 108
'Akko-Ptolemais	108, 125,	Aqraba	55, 58–63, 67–72, 188
127–28, 134–35, 139, 140, 143, 146,		Arabia	281
154, 161, 163–64, 166, 174, 177, 180,		Arados. <i>See</i> Aradus	
183, 188–89, 191, 199, 202, 250, 253,		Aradus	158, 163, 232–33, 246, 342
258–59, 264, 266–67, 278, 281, 288,		Ararat	248
296–97, 299, 302–3, 306, 308, 312–13,		Arbel/Arbel Valley	55, 59, 128, 180, 188
316–17, 320–22, 324, 351, 353, 395,		Arbela	249
397, 399–400, 402, 405		Armenia	165, 244–46, 269, 270, 274,
Akra Fortress	16, 21, 31, 35–36, 38, 49–	287–88	
52, 143, 195–97, 284, 286, 300–301,		Artabba Fortress	56, 68–69, 403
353, 394, 401		Aruma (Khirbet el- ^c Urmeh)	67–68, 70,
Akrabattene	62–63	71	
Alexandria-by-Egypt	94, 246, 254, 259,	Ascalon. <i>See</i> Ashkelon	
270, 288–89, 296, 303, 318–19, 323,		Ashdod/Tel Ashdod	30, 92–94, 100, 102,
342, 397		104–5, 108, 299, 301, 353, 395, 401	
Alexandrium	68, 70	Ashkelon/Tel Ashkelon	91–94, 99, 102,
Amathitis	353	104–5, 107–8, 163, 221, 226, 229, 232,	
Amaziah	76–77, 84, 86, 88	258, 263, 284, 353, 391, 395, 399, 401,	
Amman	405	405	
Ammanitis	318	Ashkelon-Barnea	92, 95, 96, 98–99, 105,
Ammon	249, 297	401	
Antioch	94, 134, 163, 233, 272, 274–75,	Asochis. <i>See</i> Kefar Shihin	
277, 281–82, 284, 298, 304, 325, 353,		Assur	382
399		Atropatene	245, 246
Antioch-by-Daphne	246, 252, 270,	Avarta	55, 56, 59
396–97, 399		Ayalon	102
Antioch-in-Mygdonia/Nisibis	246, 250	Ayelet ha-Shachar	148

- Azotus. *See* Ashdod
 Babylon 73, 246, 273–74, 282, 284, 287, 352
 Babylonia 244, 246, 273, 280–81, 284, 285, 399–401
 Bactra 247, 249
 Bactria 247, 269, 276, 290
 Bad 'Isa 55
 Balatah 315
 Balaṭah, Tell. *See* Shechem
 Beit 'Anat 127
 Beit Horon. *See* Bethhoron
 Bethhoron 55–56, 69, 107
 Beit Shean 13, 30, 97, 108, 117, 125, 143, 154, 179, 180, 183, 187–89, 191, 194, 203–5, 263, 353, 395–96, 401, 406
 Beitin 60
 Beqaa Valley 124, 145, 249, 405
 Berytus 158, 297, 315, 321–22, 397
 Beth Shean. *See* Beit Shean
 Bethlehem 306, 314, 320, 327
 Beth Lehi 76–77, 85, 87, 88
 Bethel/Bethel Highlands 13, 16, 53–58, 60, 63, 66–67, 69–70, 72, 108–9, 395, 401, 403, 406
 Beth Natif 86–88
 Beth Yerah/Philoteria 108, 125, 138, 143, 154, 161, 194, 197–99, 209, 326, 400
 Beth-Zur 108, 187, 325, 353, 403
 Brindisi 15, 116–17, 132
 Byblos 153, 163, 399
 Canaan 174
 Capernaum 124–25, 138, 306, 327
 Caria 342
 Carmel 107, 180, 188–89, 191, 391, 395
 Carthage 157, 205, 385
 Caspian Sea 245
 Caucasus 245
 Central Valley. *See* Tyropoeon Valley
 Cheikh Miskin 324
 Cilicia 154, 163, 248, 281, 289, 398–99, 405
 Cilicia (Rough) 165–66, 287
 Caesarea Maritima 107, 222
 Cappadocia 277, 295, 397
 Citium 313, 381
 City of David 17–18, 20, 33–36, 40, 49–50, 65, 195–96, 202, 394
 Cnidus 342
 Coele Syria 93, 151, 154, 157, 165, 220, 246, 252, 257, 259, 264–65, 278, 282, 289, 294, 299–305, 311–15, 318–20, 323, 329, 351, 394, 396–97, 399, 401
 Corinth 205, 385
 Commagene 222, 245, 274, 287, 288
 Crete 281, 357
 Cyprus 94, 154, 157, 254, 279–80, 289, 295, 308, 313, 315, 318, 321, 325, 342, 381, 397
 Cyrene 342
 Damascus 146, 173, 246, 250–51, 284, 303, 353, 354, 405
 Decapolis 249
 Delos 57, 168, 205, 259, 260, 342
 Demetrias. *See* Damascus
 Demetrias-by-the-Sea. *See* Strato's Tower
 Doq 355
 Dor/Tel Dor 108, 125, 134, 148, 163–64, 180, 183, 188–89, 191, 234, 258, 395, 399–400
 Dora (Galilee) 286, 355
 Dura 323
 Dura-Europus 246, 250
 Ecbatana 246, 249, 281
 Edfu 308
 Edom (ed-Duma)/Edom Magna 58, 63
 "Edom of/at Aqraba" 62, 63
 Edom 55, 249, 405
 Egypt 73, 89, 94, 105, 117, 233, 244, 249, 251–53, 259, 261, 270, 282, 289, 294, 295, 299, 300, 302–3, 307, 308, 318, 319, 321, 351, 380–81, 392, 399
 'Ein-Gedi 115
 'Ein Hittin 128
 Ekron 55, 299
 'Ela Valley 74, 76–77, 82, 85, 88–89, 261, 395, 401, 404, 406
 El'ad 56, 59, 65, 70, 110–11, 114, 117–20, 136, 197–98, 312–13, 315, 318–19, 326, 334, 404

- El-Janeb 56, 60
 Elaza 273
 Eleusis 270, 290
 Elqana 60
 Elymais 246, 271, 287
 Emmaus 55, 69–70, 94
 Ephesus 117, 162, 246
 Ephraim 54–56, 67, 69–70, 72, 120, 393
 Er-Raja Burj 60–61
 Et-Tell 70, 125, 138
 Ethiopia 252
 Fassuta 186
 Fayyum 259
 Gabai 271
 Galilee 12–13, 16, 67, 100, 115, 120, 123–28, 135–39, 141–43, 145–50, 154, 161–66, 169, 171–73, 175, 177–84, 186, 188–91, 198, 200, 209, 224–25, 257–59, 267, 306, 307, 315, 323–24, 326, 328, 354, 391, 395, 400–405
 Gamla 14, 180, 183–91, 218, 224
 Gan Soreq 91, 92, 95–98, 100, 102, 105, 401
 Garisa 62
 Gaul 345
 Gaulanitis 165, 183, 306–7, 328, 391
 Gaza 89, 107–8, 163, 237, 246, 261, 289, 353, 395, 405
 Gazara 333, 355
 Gedera 91
 Geresh (Jurish) 55, 58, 72, 184
 Gerizim (Mount) 55–59, 68–71, 187, 328, 396, 405–6
 Gezer/Tell Gezer 55–56, 70, 94, 102, 108, 117, 118, 121, 200–202, 284, 286
 Gihon Spring 18, 20, 33, 34
 Gilead 179
 Giv'ati 17, 19–21, 30, 33, 37, 39, 47, 48, 65, 196
 Golan 177–78, 181–84, 186, 188–91, 306–7, 326
 Gophna 55–56, 69–70, 107
 Gortyn 342
 Gush Ḥalav 180, 188–89
 Hadid/Tel Hadid 55, 68, 70, 121
 Hagi 59
 Halicarnassus 342
 Hanita 188, 400
 Har ha-melekh 68
 Har Yona. *See* Nazareth
 Harel Forest 76–77, 82, 86–87
 Harira 59
 Hauran 324
 Hazor/Plain of Hazor 55, 108, 148, 173, 175, 326, 400, 404
 Hebron/Hebron Hills 306, 315, 324–28, 403
 Heracleopolis 295, 302
 Hippos 125
 Ḥorvat 'Aqrav 186, 190, 327
 Ḥorvat Burgin 76–77, 85, 87, 88
 Ḥorvat el-Qutt 76–77, 82, 86, 88
 Ḥorvat 'Etri 76–77, 86, 88
 Ḥorvat Midras 76–77, 85
 Ḥorvat Pi-Mazzuva. *See* Khirbet Ma'sub
 Ḥorvat Shumeila 76–77, 82, 85, 87
 Ḥula Valley 141, 145–47, 150–51, 168–69, 175, 404
 Idumea 13, 62, 71, 73–74, 90, 121, 173, 203, 257–59, 306–7, 314, 326, 328, 332–33, 391, 404
 India 89, 338, 345
 Iran 244, 392, 400–401
 Isanah 68, 70
 Italy 94, 116–17, 162, 277, 385
 Iztabbah, Tel. *See* Beit Shean
 Jaffa 55–56, 69–70, 91–96, 102–3, 105, 107–8, 117, 121, 197, 258, 286, 298, 301, 305, 333–35, 353, 355, 395
 Jericho 55–56, 69, 70, 108, 266, 315–16
 Jerusalem 16–20, 22, 25, 29–30, 33–38, 44, 46–49, 55, 61, 65, 69–70, 88, 90, 106–8, 117, 120, 143, 153, 165, 174, 179, 182, 188, 195–97, 200–202, 215–16, 218, 220–22, 224, 228–31, 235–39, 246, 249–50, 258, 261–62, 270, 273, 286, 300, 305–6, 318, 328–29, 333, 345, 353–55, 365, 367, 383, 387–89, 394, 395, 401, 403–4, 406

- Jewish Quarter 26, 29, 196
 Jezreel Valley 97, 107, 139, 154, 161,
 180, 188–89, 191, 395, 400–401
 Jib'it 58
 Joppa. *See* Jaffa
 Judah (Bronze Age) 173, 249, 259
 Judea 12–13, 16, 53–54, 64,
 67–68, 70–73, 90, 107, 109–10, 121,
 124, 143, 164, 181–84, 200–201, 220,
 224, 227, 232–33, 239, 243, 251, 257–
 58, 264, 272–73, 283–84, 288, 293–94,
 298–300, 302, 305–10, 316, 319–20,
 323–30, 333, 336, 338, 340, 343–44,
 349, 351, 355, 358, 360, 393, 403–4
 Kafr Laqif 56, 60, 62
 Kaphenatha 353
 Karm el-Ras 125, 138–39, 188, 400
 Kedesh/Tel Kedesh 13, 15–16, 30, 125,
 127, 134, 137–38, 141–43, 146–69,
 173–75, 185, 197, 199, 257–58, 260,
 265, 324–26, 351–53, 395, 400
 Kefar Ḥananyah 100
 Kefar Ḥittaya (Ḥittin) 128, 137
 Kefar Shammai 188, 224
 Kefar Shemaryahu 117
 Kefar Shihin 100, 180–81, 186–89, 224
 Kerem Ben Zimra 148
 Ketef Hinnom 30
 Khirbet el-ʿAbbasiyah 150
 Khirbet el-ʿAiteh 128, 137
 Khirbet el-Buraq 60
 Khirbet el-ʿEika 13, 16, 128–30, 135–38,
 141–43, 161, 163, 165, 197–99, 257,
 326, 395, 400
 Khirbet el-Jufeir 55–56
 Khirbet el-Keikh 76–77, 82, 86
 Khirbet el-Kurum 60–61
 Khirbet el-Maqatir 56
 Khirbet er-Rasm 76, 82–83, 88
 Khirbet es-Shalal 56, 60–61
 Khirbet esh-Shuhara 138, 141–42, 162–
 63, 166, 169, 175, 186–88, 190, 257,
 267, 326, 400, 404
 Khirbet Kafr Murr 56
 Khirbet Kinniyeh 138, 140, 400
 Khirbet Maʿsub 146–47, 150
 Khirbet Nisieh 56
 Khirbet Qeiyafa 76–78, 80–81, 85, 87–
 88, 111
 Khirbet Qumran 364, 366, 369
 Khirbet Tarfein 57
 Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam 126
 Khirbet Zaʿakuka 30
 Kidron 20, 34
 Koḥalit 68, 71
 Kokhim Caves 162–63, 400
 Kos 15, 116–17, 132, 199, 337, 342
 Lachish 102, 108
 Lake Gennesar 173, 175, 198
 Laodicea 271
 Laodicea-Berytus. *See* Berytus
 Larnax Lapithos 157
 Lebanon 145, 314, 319–20, 323
 Libya 252
 Lod 12, 54–56, 58, 67, 69–70,
 91, 94, 107, 110–11, 120–21, 261, 300,
 353, 393, 395
 Lod-Modiʿin 109
 Lycia 246, 271, 342
 Lydda. *See* Lod
 Maʿabaratah 59
 Maʿaleh Aqrabim 63
 Machmas. *See* Michmash
 Madaba 315, 328
 Magdala 126, 138, 187, 188
 Maresha. *See* Marisa
 Marisa 13–16, 30, 61–62,
 74, 76–77, 82, 85–89, 94, 96, 117, 121,
 153, 194–95, 202, 203, 205, 257, 259,
 328, 395, 401, 406
 Maroneia 343
 Marzeva Valley 103
 Magnesia 153, 248, 269, 290
 Mazaca 275
 Mazor. *See* Elʿad
 Media 246, 273, 281–82, 287, 338,
 345
 Megiddo 108, 157
 Melitene 274
 Memphis 246, 252, 282, 397

- Mešad 'Ateret 141, 400
 Michmash 55, 273, 353, 403
 Moab 249
 Modi'in 55–56, 69–70, 329, 403
 Mount Hatzor 72
 Mount Hermon 150, 395
 Mount Meiron 145
 Mount Mizpe Yammim 138, 146–50
 Myndos 342
 Nabatea 245, 405
 Nablus 326–27
 Naḥal Beit 'Arif 66, 72
 Naḥal Keziv 145
 Naḥal Qanah 55–56, 68–69
 Naḥal Shiloh 55–59, 66–67, 69–70, 72, 107, 109–10
 Naḥal Te'enim 56, 60
 Naḥal Yarmut 76–77, 85, 88
 Naḥal Zanoah 76, 78, 85, 88
 Naḥf 257
 Nazareth 324, 326, 402
 Neapolis. *See* Shechem
 Negev 63, 257, 258
 Nemerim 56, 60
 Nippur 149
 Olba 277
 Ophel 20, 50
 Osrhoene 245
 Palmyra 250
 Pamphylia 96, 117, 246, 286, 342
 Paphos 246, 313, 318, 323
 Pathyris 308
 Paralia 93, 105, 257
 Parthia 165, 201, 247, 276, 290, 332
 Pegae 55–56, 69–70, 91–92, 94, 102–3, 107, 109, 111, 117, 121, 333
 Pella 187
 Pelusium 302–3, 305, 308
 Pergamum 246, 275, 295, 334, 397
 Persepolis 249
 Persis 247, 271, 276
 Phalerum 147
 Phaselis 342
 Philistia 91, 404
 Philoteria. *See* Beth Yerah/Philoteria
 Phoenicia 93, 97, 157, 182, 224, 246, 252–53, 257–58, 264–65, 281–82, 289, 293, 295, 298, 301–2, 304, 311–15, 318–20, 323, 324, 329, 396, 401–2
 Piraeus 157, 260
 Plain of Sharon 12–13, 103, 107, 109, 120, 197, 334, 393, 395, 400, 404
 Ptolemais. *See* 'Akko
 Pydna 344
 Qalandia 56–57, 63, 115
 Qalandiya. *See* Qalandia
 Qeren Naftali 166, 169, 175, 404
 Qiryat Ata 139, 257, 400
 Rabbathalathin 145–46
 Ramallah 326, 328
 Ramat Aviv 117
 Ramathaim 54–56, 67, 69–70, 72, 120, 261, 300, 353, 393
 Raphia 264
 Ras Baalbek 323–325
 Rhodes 15, 94–95, 116–17, 132, 135, 199, 204–5, 286, 342
 Rosh ha-'Ayin 65
 Rosh HaNiqra 145, 400
 Rujeib 56, 60, 65
 Saida. *See* Sidon
 Salamis 147, 318
 Samaria 12–13, 16, 53–58, 60–64, 66–69, 71–72, 96, 107, 109–10, 117, 120, 187, 194, 203–5, 220, 228, 257, 258–59, 261, 300, 306–7, 312, 326, 328, 332–33, 395, 401, 405–6
 Samega 328
 Samos 342
 Sardis 246, 249
 Scythopolis. *See* Beit Shean
 Scythopolis-Nysa. *See* Beit Shean
 Seleucia-in-Pieria 246, 399
 Seleucia-on-the-Tigris 156, 160, 246, 273, 281, 285, 287
 Sepphoris 104, 125–26, 128, 138
 Sha'ar-ha-'Amakim 126
 Shechem/Shechem Valley 53, 55–61, 65, 68–72, 108, 117, 307, 316, 328, 396, 405

- Shephelah 12, 73–74, 88, 90–91, 102, 121
 Shiloah Pool 20, 34–36
 Shiloh/Tel Shiloh 55, 58, 60–61, 65, 69, 72
 Shiqma Stream 91, 102
 Shiqmona 108, 125, 138, 200, 202, 395
 Shoham 56, 59, 70, 111
 Sicily 94
 Side 96, 286
 Sidon 127, 148, 163, 232–33, 258, 267, 297, 315, 321–22, 324, 342, 397, 399, 405
 Sikyon 342
 Siloah. *See* Shiloah Pool
 Smyrna 277
 Sophene 245, 276
 Spain 345
 Sparta 336, 340
 Strato's Tower 107, 163
 Susa 246, 249, 276, 284, 287
 Sussita. *See* Hippos
 Syria 97, 173, 182, 244, 250–52, 261, 264–65, 271–72, 280, 286, 288–89, 294–95, 297–98, 301, 303–4, 306–7, 311, 315, 319, 323, 325, 342, 352, 357, 393, 402
 Syria-Phoenicia 293, 309, 310
 Tel Anafa 115, 125, 134, 137, 150–51, 166, 168–70, 188
 Tel Aviv-Jaffa 91, 117
 Tel Azekah/ 'Azekah 74, 76–77, 79, 85, 87–88
 Tel Başul 180
 Tel en-Naşbeh 55–56
 Tel 'Eton 76–77, 84, 87
 Tel Keisan 108, 138, 140, 161, 197, 199–200, 257, 400
 Tel Qatra 94
 Tel Michal 100, 117
 Tel Mor 100
 Tel Shimron 139, 400
 Tel Tappuah 55, 60–61, 72
 Timnah/Tel Timnah 55–56, 59, 68–69, 72, 107
 Tel Ya'oz 103–4
 Tell es-Şafi 94
 Tell Qasile 103
 Temple Mount 18, 20, 33–36
 Teos 253
 Tetrapolis 250
 Thrace 246, 343
 Tiberias 128, 180, 183, 188–89, 191, 222
 Tirat Tamra 140, 257, 400
 Tirat Yehuda 56, 59, 96, 110–11, 117
 Transjordan 138, 354
 Tripolis 271
 Tur Malka. *See* Har ha-melekh
 Tura Tava 55–56, 59
 Tyre 93, 108, 125, 127, 134, 145–50, 153, 156, 158, 162–63, 166, 169, 171–74, 178, 180, 183, 186, 188–89, 191, 227, 232–34, 258, 261, 264–65, 266–67, 288, 297, 300, 321–24, 351, 395, 397, 399, 402, 405
 Tyropoeon Valley 19–21, 31, 34, 50, 196, 394
 Umm el-'Amed 150
 Urartu 245
 Uruk 280–81, 287
 Wadi ed-Daliyeh 55–56, 59
 Wadi el-'Uja 55–56, 69, 70, 72
 Wadi Haramiya 66
 West Bank 325
 Yarkon River 55–56, 69–70, 91–92, 94, 102, 107
 Yatta 323
 Yavneh 91–92, 94, 102–4, 401
 Yavneh-Yam 61, 91–94, 96, 100, 102–5, 108, 153, 202
 Yehud. *See* Judea
 Yodefata. *See* Yodfat
 Yodfat 125–26, 138, 143, 180–81, 188
 Yoqme'am 55–56, 59
 Zeugma 273–74
 Zion 20, 248
 Zippori 181, 188–89, 191
 Ziqim 100

