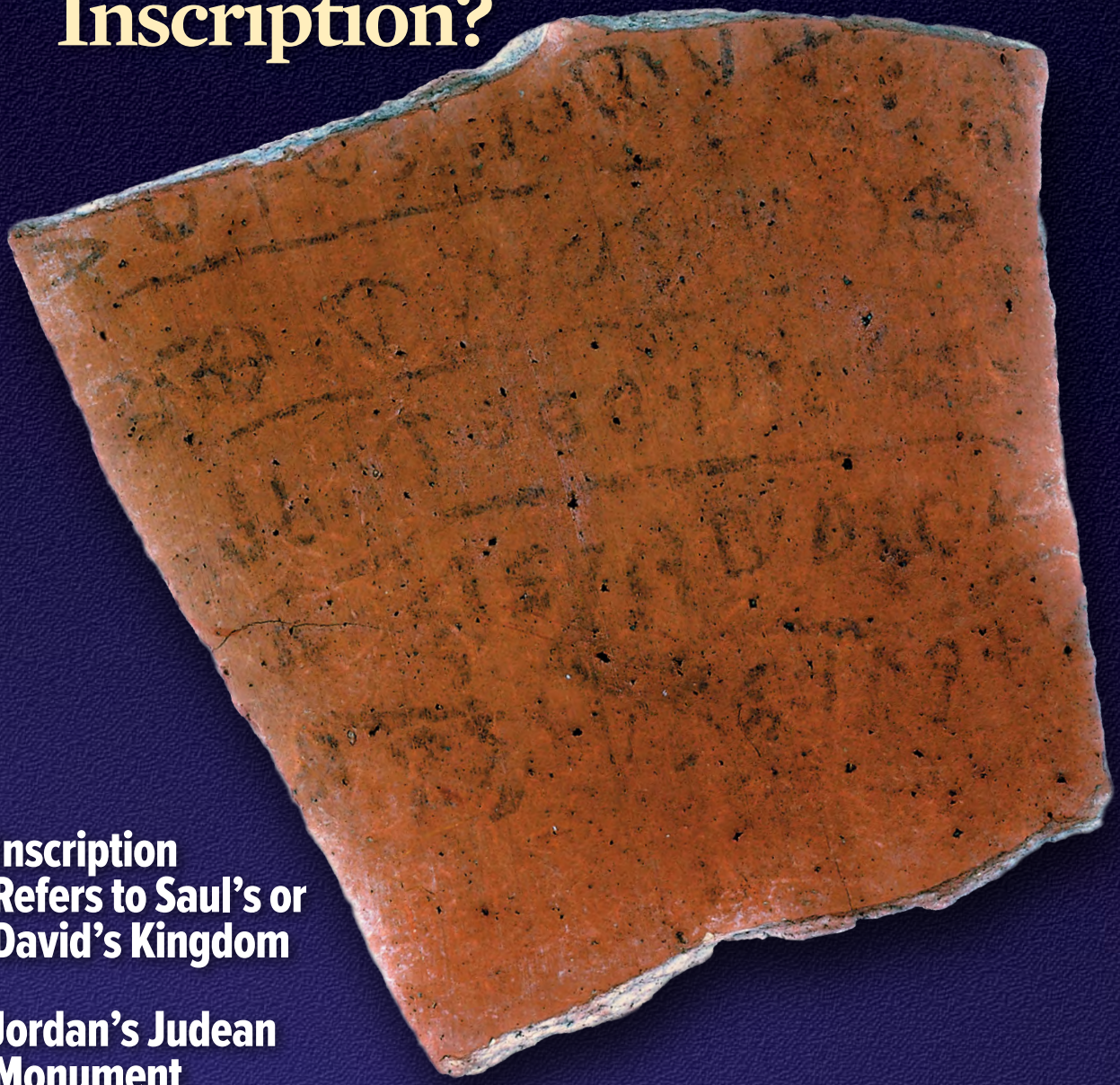
Defendants Acquitted in Forgery Trial see page 16

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY REVIEW

The Oldest Hebrew Inscription?



Inscription Refers to Saul's or David's Kingdom

Jordan's Judean Monument

When Job Sued God

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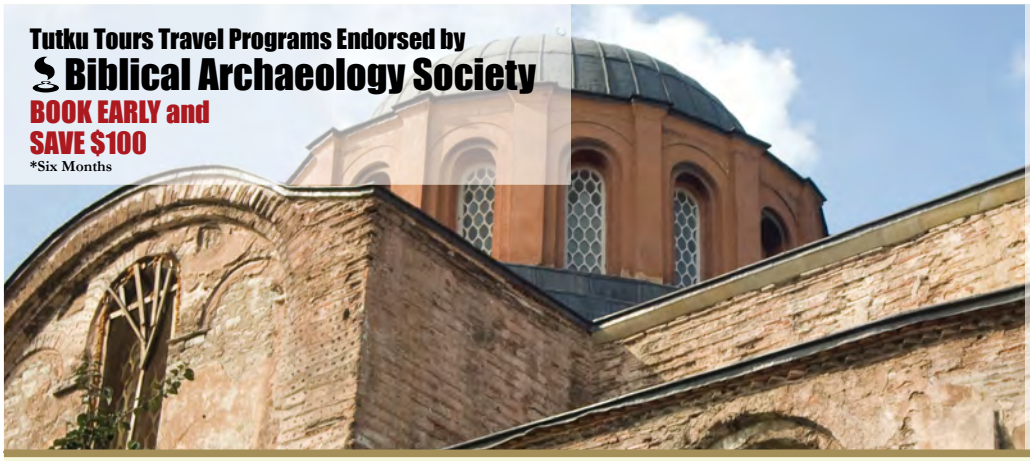

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2012

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Jun 3 Sun	Sailing Boat – Knidos
Jun 4 Mon	Sailing Boat – Datca
Jun 5 Tue	Sailing Boat – Loryma
Jun 6 Wed	Sailing Boat – Dalyan – Caunos
Jun 7 Thu	Sailing Boat – Marmaris
Jun 8 Fri	Leave Sailing Boat – Xanthos – Patara – Kalkan
Jun 9 Sat	Andriake – Antalya
Jun 10 Sun	Perga – Aspendos – Antalya
Jun 11 Mon	Fly Cyprus – Salamis – Girne
Jun 12 Tue	Paphos – Girne
Jun 13 Wed	Fly Istanbul
Jun 14 Thu	Istanbul; St Sophia, Cistern, Archaeology Museum
Jun 15 Fri	Fly back to New York – End

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TOUR HOST

Dr Mark W Ison, D Litt t Phil., Director, Asia Minor Research Center; Visiting Professor of Early Christianity, Regent University; Research Fellow in Biblical Archaeology, University of South Africa

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2012

Sept 18 Tue	Depart New York – Fly Istanbul
Sept 19 Wed	Arrive Istanbul
Sept 20 Thu	Byzantium – Constantinople – Fly Antalya
Sept 21 Fri	Attalia – Perga – Aspendus – Antalya
Sept 22 Sat	Myra – Andriake – Patara – Kalkan
Sept 23 Sun	Xanthos – Aphrodisias – Pamukkale
Sept 24 Mon	Hierapolis – Laodicea – Colossae – Pamukkale
Sept 25 Tue	Miletus – Didyma – Priene – Kusadasi
Sept 26 Wed	Ephesus – Kusadasi
Sept 27 Thu	Sardis – Smyrna – Izmir
Sept 28 Fri	Pergamum – Assos
Sept 29 Sat	Assos – Troy – Istanbul
Sept 30 Sun	Istanbul Airport – Fly back to New York

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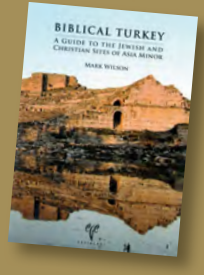

Dr. Mark Wilson is the author of several books including the recently published "Biblical Turkey.

ITALY

2013

Mar 16 Sat	Depart New York
Mar 17 Sun	Arrive Rome
Mar 18 Mon	Vatican Museums, Sistine Chapel, St. Peter's Basilica, Basilica di San Clemente, Case Romane
Mar 19 Tue	Pantheon, Spanish Steps, Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Church of St Ignatius, Campo di Fiori, Colosseum, Roman Forum, Mamertine Prison
Mar 20 Wed	Papal Audience, Tomb of St Peter Catacombs of Priscilla
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Mar 22 Fri	Herculaneum – Naples
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Mar 24 Sun	Rome Airport – Depart for U.S

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TOUR HOST

Sarah Yeomans is an archaeologist, Director of Educational Programs at the Biblical Archaeology Society and a faculty member at West Virginia University. She spent six years living, teaching and researching in Italy, and is a certified archaeological speleologist with the city of Rome.

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In the Steps of Moses

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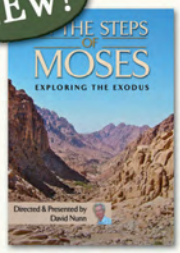

In the Steps of Moses is an exhilarating exploration of the life of Moses and the book of Exodus. Host David Nunn carefully traces the Biblical texts and takes us to the very places where the events happened. The Exodus stands as the iconic event of the Hebrew Scriptures, and *In the Steps of Moses* shows us what happened and why this ancient story continues to change the world today. 48 minutes.

DVD - #501461D, ~~$19.99~~ SALE! $15.99

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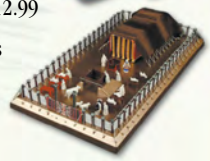
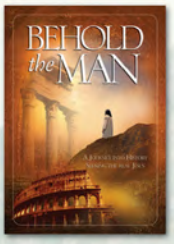


Model Kit: Assemble this sturdy 90:1 scaled model of the Tabernacle while studying its fascinating history and detail.

#98880, ~~$59.99~~ SALE! $39.99

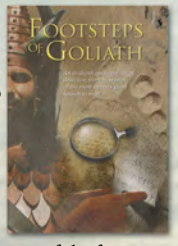
Behold the Man



This illuminating documentary addresses key questions related to the life of Jesus: Did Jesus really exist? Was He just a human being or something more? Did He really rise from the dead? Michael Green and scholars Steven Notley and Jacob van Bruggen guide us through the evidence from history, literature, and archaeology to examine the claims of Christ. 43 minutes.

DVD - #501055D, ~~$19.99~~ SALE! $11.99

Footsteps of Goliath



Is the famous story really true? Did young David actually slay the giant Goliath with a sling-shot? Find out in *Footsteps of Goliath,* the most complete view on the giant Goliath ever presented. Includes a re-enactment of the famous duel, which received much praise for its accuracy from the participating scientists. 52 minutes.

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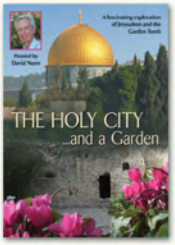
CAPTIVATING JOURNEYS WITH DAVID NUNN

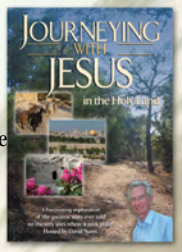
The Holy City... and a Garden



Take an upbeat, informative journey through Jerusalem with host David Nunn. Visit some of the Holy City's most intriguing attractions — the Wailing Wall, the Dome of the Rock, the Garden Tomb — and discover the history behind their triumphant yet turbulent past. It's the next best thing to being there in person to experience these fascinating locations in all their magnificence! 23 minutes.

DVD - #501364D, ~~$14.99~~ SALE! $11.99

Journeying with Jesus



This brand-new production sweeps us inexorably through the "greatest story ever told," from Jesus' birth in Bethlehem to His triumphant ascension on the Mount of Olives. David Nunn's enthusiastic presentation never tires as he features the latest archaeological discoveries and the insights they provide. This film is an inspiration and education for all ages. It enables one to "walk with Jesus" in the company of His disciples. Widescreen, 56 minutes.

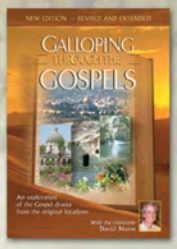
DVD - #501288D, ~~$19.99~~ SALE! $15.99

Paul in Greece

This captivating program explores the route of Paul's second missionary journey. Host David Nunn takes us on a visit to Neapolis, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, Meteora, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus and Jerusalem. We see the original locations where the dramatic events of the Book of Acts took place. David unfolds the impact of Paul's message upon those communities as we visualize the historical context of the Bible, making it a valuable learning resource for group or individual study. 41 minutes.

DVD - #4849D, ~~$14.99~~ SALE! $11.99

Galloping through the Gospels



A fast-moving exploration of all the major sites featured in the Gospels. Starting with the Annunciation, David Nunn follows through the Gospel drama chronologically, providing fascinating and illuminating insights into the life of Jesus. This program is far more than a travelogue. The visits to the key Gospel sites illuminate the meaning of the world-changing events that took place at these locations. 43 minutes.

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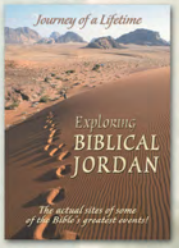
Exploring Biblical Jordan



More and more discoveries are being made in the land of Jordan related to the actual places where some of the greatest Bible events took place! Join host David Nunn as he follows the lives of Lot, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Elijah, John and Jesus. See Bible events come to life in this unique and compelling documentary. 58 minutes.

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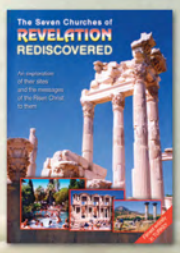
The Seven Churches of Revelation Rediscovered



Host David Nunn takes us to Turkey for a firsthand visit of the seven cities to which the messages of the risen Christ were addressed in Revelation 2-3. Their significance is explained in detail, and viewers will gain many insights from David's enthusiastic commentary. 40 minutes.

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BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY REVIEW

MAY/JUNE 2012
VOL. 38 NO. 3

DEPARTMENTS

ON THE COVER: What can we learn from a piece of broken pottery? A lot. See Christopher Rollston's article on p. 32 and Gerard Leval's article on p. 41 for more about the Qeiyafa Ostracon.

PHOTO: CLARA AMIT, COURTESY YOSEF GARFINKEL

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FEATURES

ON THE WEB

The Forgery Trial Verdict

www.biblicalarchaeology.org/forgeryverdict

The verdict in the "forgery trial of the century" has finally arrived, and we're your one-stop source for info about the case. Visit Bible History Daily to read about the verdict, as well as exclusive analysis and commentary from **BAR** editor Hershel Shanks. And on our Special Collections page in the BAS Library, we've conveniently summarized **BAR**'s coverage of the trial, the major players and key developments.

A Guide to the Best Bible Translations

www.biblicalarchaeology.org/bibleguide

Ever wonder what separates one version or translation of the Bible from another? Download our free eBook *The Holy Bible: A Buyer's Guide* and let expert Bible scholars Leonard Greenspoon and Harvey Minkoff walk you through the context, text and style of 21 different translations.

Horned Altars of Ancient Israel and Philistia

www.biblicalarchaeology.org/altars

On Bible History Daily, see additional images of the strange Philistine altar recently discovered at Ashkelon, and view a slideshow of other horned altars that have been discovered at various Philistine and Israelite sites, from Tell es-Safi/Gath to Tel Beer Sheva.

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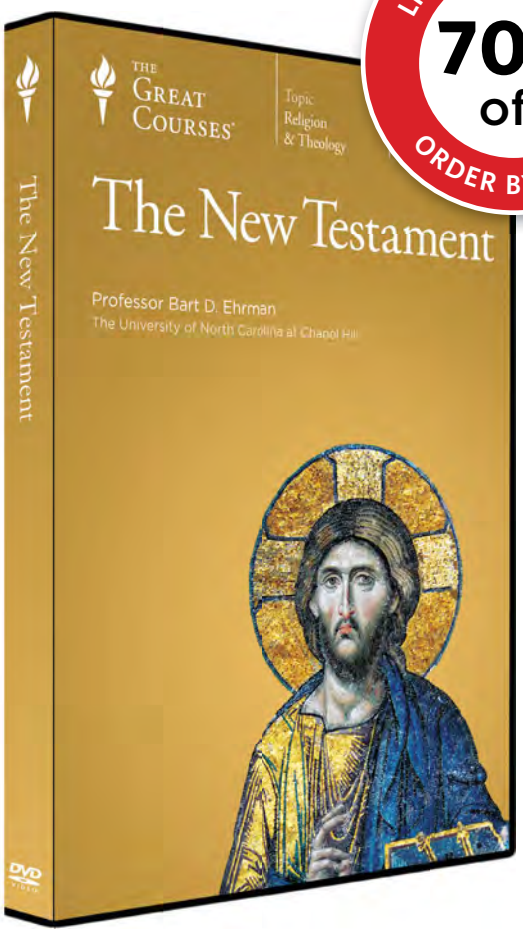

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Relics have a bad name in "real" archaeology, but they give us an emotional relationship to a meaningful past.

Relics vs. "Real" Archaeology

After President Lincoln was assassinated, his wife requested a lock of his hair. Others soon made the same request. So his physician clipped a number of small locks of the deceased president's hair. According to a *Washington Post* article, one of these locks of hair, the size of an eyebrow, was recently donated to a Gettysburg museum.[1] The estimated worth is between $30,000 and $50,000. The superintendent of the park is quoted as saying, "This is one of those special objects that gives you the chills when you see it."

Not to some highfalutin professional archaeologists.

Relics have a bad name in "real" archaeology.

To many (perhaps most) eminent professional archaeologists, a relic is something to be brushed off your clothes, lest it dirty your credentials.

Real archaeologists are looking at the bigger picture—details of social structure, the sweep of history, the course of civilizations. Relics are, at best, for the public. Real archaeologists have neither time nor interest in relics.

In a recent posting, Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) archaeologist Gideon Avni says that the public's interest in "relics" (his quotation marks) "deserves examination within the fields of psychology and sociology, rather than within the field of archaeology."[2] (He was speaking of the bone box inscribed "James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus" [see p. 16 of this issue].)

Somewhat amazingly, American scholar Byron McCane of Wofford College in Spartanburg, South Carolina, dismisses the James Ossuary even if it is authentic and even if it refers to Jesus of the New Testament. The reason: It is a relic. Here are Professor McCane's words:

> Even if the words "James son of Joseph, brother of Jesus" had been an authentic ancient inscription, and even if they had referred to Jesus of Nazareth, they would not have told us anything we did not already know about James, Joseph, Jesus, ossuaries, ossuary inscriptions, Jewish burial practices in Early Roman Jerusalem, or even primitive Christianity there. This inscription did not contain any new information. We already knew that Jesus of Nazareth existed, that he had a father named Joseph and a brother named James.[3]

As editor of a magazine intended to appeal to the public as well as to professional archaeologists, I am acutely aware of this attitude on the part of many professional archaeologists. Yet they all revel in anything that directly relates to the Bible, and they speculate about this connection—and show off their "relics"—in the press releases they issue at the end of each excavation season.

Recently, a tiny golden bell was discovered by IAA archaeologists in a Jerusalem sewer near the Temple Mount (pictured at left). It is about a half-inch in diameter and has a tiny loop at the top to tie it to something, perhaps a piece of clothing. The bell is engraved with small circular channels starting at the top. Archaeologists Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron are quoted as saying, "It seems the bell was sewn on the garment worn by a high official in Jerusalem." The IAA press release then goes on to say that "high priests, who served in the Temple, used to hang a gold bell from the fringes of their robe," citing the Book of Exodus. (The high priest Aaron's robe had bells of gold; see Exodus 28:33–35.) The press release added, "It is impossible to know for certain if the bell did indeed belong to one of the high priests; however, the possibility should not be entirely discounted." A 16-second audio of the bell ringing was placed on YouTube. Another release explained that "If one takes the sound of the single bell and prepares a series of staggered overlays of the sound of the bell, it will be possible to recreate what was heard over two thousand years ago when the high official walked in Jerusalem."

COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY/PHOTOGRAPHER: CLARA AMIT

I think we all have a legitimate interest in relics. We are moved by the realia of the relationship to a meaningful past. Relics give us an emotional relationship, in contrast to an intellectual relationship, to that past. IAA archaeologists, in a moment of candor, recognize this.

I'm going to shift gears now—rather abruptly, so prepare for a bump—to something in which the public has little if any interest, but which is fascinating to professional archaeologists and sometimes even to **BAR** readers like you and me.

CONTINUES ON PAGE 66

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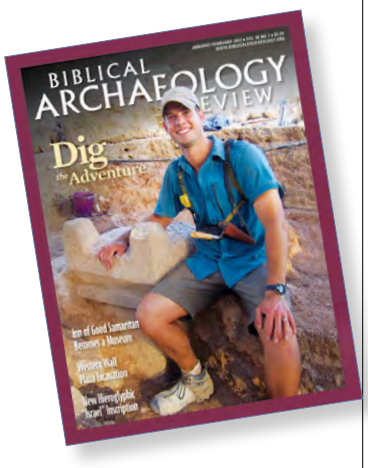

Readers have strong opinions about whether or not we should banish our cartoons. And a scholar answers the question, "Was that two-horned altar really four-horned?"

CARTOONS

Turn the Page

You ask if you should get rid of the cartoon and the cartoon contest (Q&C, "Offensive Cartoons?" January/February 2012). Please do. The cartoons generally aren't funny, don't add anything to the value of the magazine and probably cost you something to include them. On the other hand, if others like them I won't be canceling my subscription. I'll just turn the page. :-)

REBECCA HUNTER
VIA E-MAIL

Funny Even Without a Caption

Ditra Walsh must not have a sense of humor if she finds your cartoons offensive (Q&C: "Offensive Cartoons?" January/February 2012). I look forward to them. The cartoonist [Carlton Stoiber] is really great. The cartoons are even funny without a caption.

VAUGHN A. HOLDEN
BURIEN, WASHINGTON

Hope They Disappear

I take the Holy Scriptures very seriously and object when they're belittled. I always look forward to the next issue of **BAR**. I have learned a lot over the years and have used some of the materials in my teaching. However, I do hope the cartoons disappear. Thank you for the chance to share how I feel.

GINNY PINKHAM
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

"The Test of a Good Religion"

No! Do not get rid of them. As the Christian apologist G.K. Chesterton said in an essay entitled "Spiritualism": "It is the test of a good religion whether you can joke about it."

STEPHEN J. MAZUREK
LEWISTON, NEW YORK

Is Nothing Sacred?

Is nothing sacred in this worldly age? **BAR** should focus its work on glorifying Yahweh through illuminating his children's understanding of the word of God, rather than attempting to entertain readers with such trifles.

JOSEPH ZITO
IRONWOOD STATE PRISON
BLYTHE, CALIFORNIA

Lighten Up!

As for the "offensive cartoons," keep them coming. It is amazing how many **BAR** readers have no sense of humor. Lighten up, people. They are *cartoons*, for heaven's sake.

GARY R. LYON
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

Fill 'er Up

Keep them. They're a gas.

TOM PITTMAN
BOLIVAR, MISSOURI

Cartoons Encourage Bible Study

Besides being funny, the cartoons can also serve as an impetus to those of us who are not scholars to read and familiarize ourselves with the Bible.

STEPHEN INGLIS
HOUSTON, TEXAS

Cartoons Come First

The first things I look for with each issue of **BAR** are the cartoons and quizzes. The captions that readers come up with are really humorous, and I haven't observed any of the cartoons to be in bad taste.

REV. ROBERT HOPPER
SYLVA, NORTH CAROLINA

Humor Helps Understanding

Please keep the cartoons. We need humor now and then. I don't think **BAR** intends to trivialize religion. Sometimes a touch of humor gives me a glimmer of more understanding.

LOLA MCGOURTY
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

ANCIENT LAYERS OF JERUSALEM

I am a longtime reader who has learned much from **BAR**. In "Layers of Ancient Jerusalem" (January/February 2012), the authors mention "several personal seals bearing Hebrew names." The pictures of five of the seals appear on page 40. The seal with the Assyrian archer "belonging to Hagav" has the paleo-Hebrew written in reverse image while the others are inscribed normally. Can this be explained?

DAVID BOZARTH
JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah responds:
Actually, all the seals were inscribed in reverse, as a mirror image, so that the impression would be read normally. In the photos of the seals on page 40, three seals are shown in their correct form—the lion (D), the archer (A), and the Uraeus (E)—while the other two (B and C) are shown in a reverse mode so that they look "normal."

PRIZE FIND

Looking at the photograph of the two-horned altar reported in "Prize Find: Horned Altar" (sidebar to "Join a Dig, See the World," January/February 2012), I could not help but wonder why author Aren Maeir did not consider

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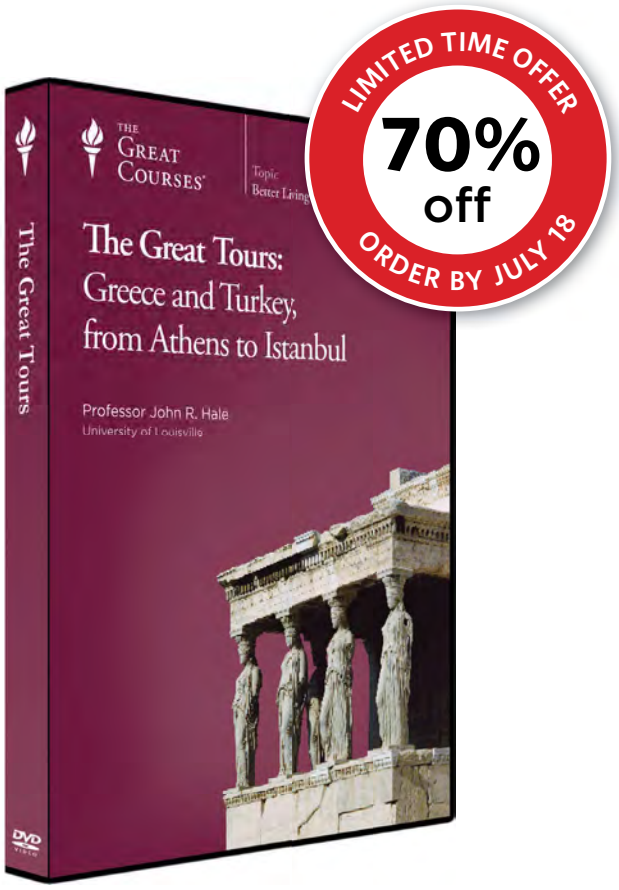

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COURTESY AREN MAEIR/THE TELL ES-SAFI/GATH ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

whether there was a possibility that the two other horns might have been broken off. As the photo clearly shows, the side of the altar opposite the horns had sustained much damage. Note that the breakage at the corners on the altar extends down the side as if something had existed there at one time. It seems probable, if not obvious, that the altar had two opposing horns, which either through war or natural disaster had been broken off. I wonder if any fragments that resembled the horns were found nearby.

HERBERT HUDLER III
ABILENE, TEXAS

Aren Maeir responds:
I thank Mr. Hudler for his question. We also entertained the idea because the standard form of Iron Age altars is four horns. But alas, it is not so in this case. Except for the area of the two horns and a small area between them, the entire top of the altar (as well as most of its back and portions of its sides) are still in the "roughed out" state of chiseling, which is the initial stage a stone object is worked while being quarried out. The different surface character of the finished parts (the horns and, for example, the front side) and the "roughed out" parts are quite distinct and simply make it impossible that there were originally two horns that had fallen off or been removed.

While we suggest that the choice of only two horns might have been purposeful (in light of the Aegean/Cypriote roots of the Philistines), we cannot completely deny the possibility that this might have been due to more mundane reasons—such as that the mason who chose and worked this block of stone while still in the quarry did not succeed in choosing a block of the right size, or that the block broke during quarrying. If this was the case, perhaps then the altar was deliberately placed with its back built into a wall—to "hide" the fact that the two back horns were missing.

GOOD SAMARITAN INN

In "Inn of the Good Samaritan Becomes a Museum" (January/February 2012), a picture of a Greek inscription appears on page 55 that is translated "Lord Jesus Christ, have pity on Shiloh and its inhabitants. Amen."

I can see that the inscription says that, except for the "Amen," which is not the standard Greek "Αμην" of the New Testament. It looks to me like a number 4 symbol followed by a *theta* with a bar over it (highlighted above). Can you please explain this?

MICHAEL WEBB
VICKERY, OHIO

Dr. Leah di Segni at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem responds:
The symbol resembling the digit 4 is the Greek qoppa. *It is no longer used in Greek as a letter since archaic times, but it is still used as a number, as are all the letters of the Greek alphabet. The* qoppa *represents the number 90. The* theta *represents 9. The horizontal line on it indicates that the letters represent a number, 99. (The horizontal line is not necessary: Letters may represent numbers even without it.) The numerical value of the word "amen" in Greek is 99:* alpha *is 1,* mu *is 40,* eta *is 8 and* nu *is 50.*

The practice of using a number to represent a word is called isopsephism. It is found frequently in Greek papyri and inscriptions, especially with words pertaining to magic or religion. (It is common in Hebrew gematria.) Qoppa-theta *for "amen"*

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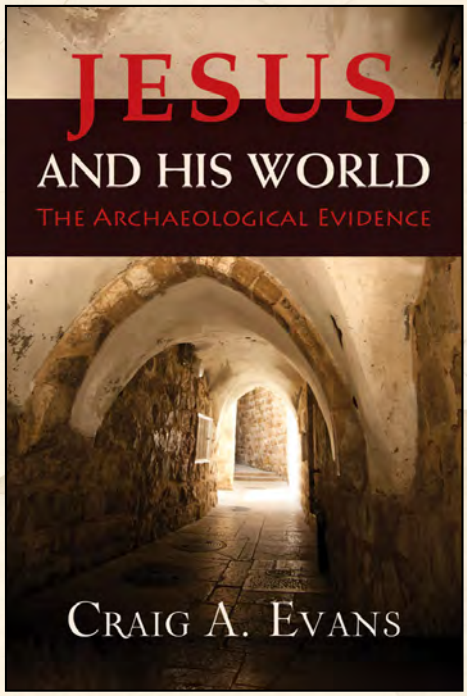

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is one of the most common instances of isopsephos (a number for a word) in the Byzantine period, otherwise also referred to as Late Antiquity.

WHEN DID ANCIENT ISRAEL BEGIN?

I read your article on the proposed new reading of "Israel" on a monument from the 14th century B.C.E. ("When Did Ancient Israel Begin?" January/February 2012). I think this identification is a stretch. I would read this inscription as "I-a-sh-i-r" (Iashir) if the inscription is read starting from the direction the bird is pointing, and reading from top to bottom, left to right, which was standard scribal practice.

Also, it is implausible that they would have used a "SH" sign instead of "S" in the name of Israel because on the same monument Ascalon uses the conventional "S."

PAUL S. FORBES
SILVER SPRING, MARYLAND

Peter van der Veen responds:
Thank you for the points you raised. As we explained in our technical article in the Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections *2, no. 4 (2010) on which the* **BAR** *article is based, we believe that the evidence tips the balance in favor of Israel. Let me explain why. The* i- *flowering reed (Gardiner M 17) and the '-vulture (G1) in the top row can represent* è *or* ì *when written together. The Papyrus-flower bed (M 8) in the second row represents phon.* š3*, not simply* š*. We explained that* 3 *in* š3 *represents „r" as in several other New Kingdom topographical and personal names as for instance in* B3-d̲3-n-3 *(= town Buzruna),* Q-n-ti-k3-m-r *(= town Ginti-Kirmil) and* I-k3-t̲-y *(= town Ugarit). The final element, i.e., the* i- *reed (M 17) +* r-*mouth (D 21) + vowel sign, is the very standard early New Kingdom rendering for the divine name „Il/El" as found in multiple Syro-Palestinian place names prior to the reign of Pharaoh Amenhotep III (1388-1348 B.C.). The reading* `E/I-šar-`Il *is therefore compatible with standard writing conventions. Consequently, this rendition can then be compared with the name Israel (not Biblical Israel) as written in Eblaite* (I-šar-il) *and Ugaritic* (Išra`il) *inscriptions. Why the Egyptian scribe chose* š3 *to write* Iš/śra`el *is difficult to say. While the etymology of Israel is not certain, we cannot know how the Egyptians learned about that name (was it through cuneiform writing?) or how it was pronounced at that time. Also, Egyptian scribes did not always use the same sibilant to render even the same name (e.g., we find* `šr *and* `śr *for Ashur and* swk *and* š3jwk3 *for Socho). One reason for this is that in some West Semitic dialects* s *and* š *had merged, while the Egyptians did not have an exact counterpart to represent it (e.g., proto-Semitc* *ś *was articulated as a voiceless lateral frigative). With so many uncertainties one may of course argue that the reading we give is stretched. But if we look at the context, where the name is found on the pedestal relief, namely following Ascalon [Ashkelon]*

CONTINUES ON PAGE 70

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COURTESY OF THE LEON LEVY EXPEDITION TO ASHKELON

Altar-ed Theories at Ashkelon

It was a typical domestic structure in Philistine Ashkelon from about 1200 B.C.E. (roughly contemporaneous with the settlement of the Israelites in adjacent Canaan). In two of the rooms were typical Philistine hearths in the floor. In one of the smaller rooms of the house, however, was a feature the archaeologists did not recognize—a white lime-plastered mound of earth about 2 feet high and around 2 5 feet in diameter.[1] Roughly pyramidal in shape, it had a flattened top. On each of the four corners was a slightly rounded projection—horns?

Archaeologists Lawrence Stager, Daniel Master and Adam Aja didn't recognize it. It was not like anything they had ever seen. It is of course tempting to call it a Philistine altar. At first, the archaeologists considered whether it might have some relation to the Israelite four-horned altars, but the Israelite examples are burning installations with a flat top enclosed by a margin to contain the combustion. And there was no evidence that anything had been "burned" on this "altar"—or that it was designed for this purpose.

The next thought was that perhaps these little bumps on the Ashkelon installation were somehow related to Aegean "horns of consecration" often associated with libations rather than combustion. But these "horns of consecration" are not only quite different but also distant in time. The suggestion was ultimately rejected.

A Philistine altar was also found at nearby Gath (Tell es-Safi). But it has only two horns and they are nothing like the bumps on the Philistine installation at Ashkelon.*

The archaeologists agree that it does appear to be some sort of altar, however, and the room in the house in which it was found may have been a cultic room. But it is difficult even for the archaeologists to go further. Maybe our readers can.

[1] See Daniel M. Master and Adam J. Aja, "The House Shrine of Ashkelon," *Israel Exploration Journal* 61, no. 2 (2011), pp. 129–145.

*See Aren M. Maeir, "Prize Find: Horned Altar from Tell es-Safi Hints at Philistine Origins," sidebar to Joey Corbett, "Join a Dig, See the World," **BAR**, January/February 2012.

biblicalarchaeology.org/altars

View a slide show of horned altars from Israel and Philistia.

Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scroll Translation

In 1962 a youngish scholar named Geza Vermes published the first English translation of the then-available Dead Sea Scrolls—a slim 255-page volume from Penguin Books simply titled *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. This insightful but accessible translation quickly attracted both general readers and scholars. As the field of Dead Sea Scrolls study burgeoned, so did Vermes's work. Celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, the book (now in its seventh edition) has grown into a 720-page tome. An estimated 500,000 copies have been sold.

Vermes has played an essential role in scroll research from the beginning. Following their discovery in 1947, Vermes published his first article on the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1949, completed a doctoral dissertation on their historical framework in 1952, and published his first book on the subject the following year. Dead Sea Scroll research was still in its infancy in 1962, but Vermes was already an established expert in the field.

The most recent edition of the book, now titled *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, includes a translation of every sufficiently preserved and available Qumran text. (Some fragments and possibly larger texts are still out there somewhere!) The book remains a standard in scroll study for its translation, literary quality and interpretations. Marking the 50th anniversary since the first edition, Vermes, now 87 years old, told **BAR**, "Few books last that long. Few authors last that long. The combination of the two is even more uncommon."

$5,000 in Prizes for ASOR/SBL Papers

The Biblical Archaeology Society is offering prizes totaling $5,000 for the best academic papers presented at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) and the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (SBL), both to be held in Chicago this November.

The John Mancini Prize, named for John Mancini of Albuquerque, New Mexico, will be awarded for the best paper on the Archaeology of Early Christianity and the Patristic period. The Hershel Shanks Prize, supported by a contribution from Sami Rohr of Bal Harbour, Florida, will be awarded for the best paper on the Archaeology of Late Antique Judaism and the Talmudic Period. Each prize is worth $2,500.

A copy of the nominated paper must be sent to the Biblical Archaeology Society by January 31, 2013. For the prize to be awarded, there must be at least three entries for the applicable prize. All decisions of the judges will be final. The winners will be announced in **BAR**.

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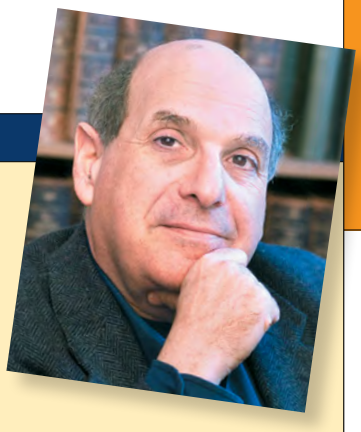
THE BIBLE IN THE NEWS

Self-Help for Doctors and Others

Leonard J. Greenspoon



As we learn from the Gospel of Luke (4:23), advice to medical professionals was being proffered by at least the first century. In a synagogue at Nazareth, so we are told, Jesus spoke these words: "Surely you will quote me this proverb, 'Physician, heal thyself.'" In today's world, this proverb can still be applied in multiple circumstances, many of which could hardly have been imagined two thousand years ago.

In a number of instances, the application is quite literal. So: "In part, it's a case of 'physician, heal thyself.' Mindfulness programmes are being incorporated into medical training to help health care professionals, whose increasingly heavy workload is leading to more burnout and blunders" (from the *South China Morning Post*). Sometimes, it comes down to a single doctor, as it were taking things into his own hands: "Physician, heal thyself—one doctor took this Biblical proverb to heart and did just that, literally. Nine years ago Farid Saad was asked to evaluate a new testosterone replacement product while working on the issue of male aging ... The then 46-year-old clinical researcher and endocrinologist offered himself as a human 'lab mouse,' since no other medical staff volunteered" (as reported in Singapore's *Business Times*). Think how different history might have been if King David availed himself of this sort of therapy!

Not only real doctors are in need of "healing," but fictional ones as well. Thus, when it comes to the main characters of the TV drama *Grey's Anatomy*, there's this: "It's not so much 'Physician, heal thyself' as 'Physicians, shut up,' as the terminally self-obsessed doctors continue their narcissistic rampage through the corridors of Seattle Grace" (from *The Sunday Times* of London). And again, from the same publication: "We are reminded that no matter how pretty the doctors from Seattle Grace Hospital may be, you really wouldn't want them coming anywhere near you with a scalpel. When they are not ruining the final hours of a poor woman with a brain tumour, they are dragging their personal lives into the wards to drown out and upstage their patients ... Physician, heal thyself. Or shut up." Okay, we get it.

Out of the world of entertainment to the often even more entertaining world of politics. There is, for example, this from *The Korean Herald* (with the headline, "Who Wears the Masks These Days—Villains or Victims?"): "Why is there not more incredulity when the Security Council, G8, or 'six nations' claim that they can sort out world problems? A psychologist would probably diagnose these doctors of international ills as themselves having a serious condition, collective guilt. As the Bible says, 'Physician, heal thyself.' And it is interesting that this injunction from Luke suggests a geopolitical not medical meaning—'Whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here in thy country.'"

Thus far we've heard nothing from the reliable world of sports, but fear not! Sports columnists will not let us down. From an account in *The Sun* we learn that Liverpool's coach Rafa Benitez should take to heart this advice. For, even as he berates his players for arguing with members of opposing teams, he fails to recognize how "ironic" this is; after all, "it was Benitez's inability to button his own lip during his rant at Alex Ferguson last season that prompted a run of 11 dropped points in seven games ... Physician, heal thyself."

Finally, from *The Guardian of London* comes this "old joke about a famous clown who, suffering from depression, visits the doctor. The doctor doesn't recognize the celebrity without his makeup and says that the best thing he can prescribe is a visit to the circus to watch the famous clown at work. Physician, heal thyself, indeed."

Defendants Acquitted in Forgery Trial

Jonathan Pulik and I, reporting for **BAR**, were among the first to arrive in the tiny courtroom in the large courthouse on Salah e-Din Street in East Jerusalem. By the time the wheelchair-bound judge, Aharon Farkash, entered at about 9:10, the place was packed, however. Standing room only.

I had introduced myself to defendant Oded Golan in the lobby. It was he who had been charged with forging the ossuary inscription, "James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus." I had met him before, but this time there was no conversation. This was before the verdict was announced, and he was visibly and understandably concentrated. He was wearing a jacket and cheerful tie with what appeared to be little animals, as if he were confident of what the verdict would be.

Just before the judge came in, the television cameramen and still photographers were required to leave. Journalists, from AP, *Jerusalem Report*, *The Jerusalem Post* and *Haaretz*, were there and remained. While we were waiting for the judge to arrive, I asked the man next to me if he had been following the case closely. No, he replied, he was there because the judge was his big brother and told him he should come.

As I write, the news is fresh. By the time you read this in **BAR**, however, surely nearly everyone knows that the defendants (Golan and antiquities dealer Robert Deutsch) were acquitted on all counts of forgery. To learn more, just go to our Web site (see box below) for detailed up-to-the-minute reports, as well as **BAR** editor Hershel Shanks's analysis of the evidence.

Robert Deutsch

Oded Golan

The court session lasted more than an hour and a half and consisted only of the judge's reading of a summary of his 475-page decision. Both the decision and the summary are in Hebrew. Whether they will be translated is not known at this time.

The defendants were obviously pleased with the decision. Deutsch made no comment to the press, however. When I spoke with him, he was more furious with the Israel Antiquities Authority than elated with the verdict. He said the case was "a malicious assault on me by the IAA. For 12 years I dug at Megiddo. Seven years I taught at Haifa [University]. I was fired from both." He intends to sue the IAA (see box below).

Golan, who received the bulk of press attention because it was he who had been accused of forging the inscription mentioning James, the brother of Jesus, had a wider point to make to the press. Golan maintains that by purchasing items that come from Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), he and others like him have saved these often important artifacts for Israel. Otherwise, they would have been scurried out of the country, never to be heard from again (see box below).

Jonathan and I left the courthouse feeling that we had been present at the conclusion of a case that had rippled around the world for years and sometimes seemed as though it would never end. Now it was over.—**Suzanne F. Singer**

biblicalarchaeology.org/forgeryverdict

Get complete coverage of the forgery trial verdict, including exclusive analysis and commentary, as well as the reactions of defendants Oded Golan and Robert Deutsch on Bible History Daily.

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Nehemiah Found in the Scrolls

Anyone familiar with the Dead Sea Scrolls can tell you that portions of nearly every book in the Hebrew Bible are represented in these ancient texts discovered in caves near the Dead Sea.

The only exceptions were the Book of Esther and the Book of Nehemiah; scholars assumed the latter had been written on the same scroll as the Book of Ezra (as was common) but simply hadn't survived—until now. In a recent blog post,[1] Norwegian scroll scholar Torleif Elgvin of Evangelical Lutheran University College in Oslo, Norway, announced that he and colleague Esther Eshel of Bar-Ilan University will be publishing a collection of more than two dozen previously unknown scroll fragments, including the first known fragment of Nehemiah. The scrolls in the new book come from Qumran Cave 4, Bar-Kokhba caves and Wadi ed-Daliyeh. The publication, *Gleanings from the Caves* (forthcoming from T&T Clark), will feature enhanced photographs of the scrolls by Bruce Zuckerman and his team* as well as "artifacts from the Judean Desert such as a scroll jar, a palm fiber pen, a bronze altar and inkwell."

*See Bruce Zuckerman, Archaeological Views: "New Eyeballs on Ancient Texts," **BAR**, November/December 2011.

[1] Torleif Elgvin, "News from the Schøyen Collection," at torleifelgvin.wordpress.com/english, February 16, 2012.

More and More Menorahs

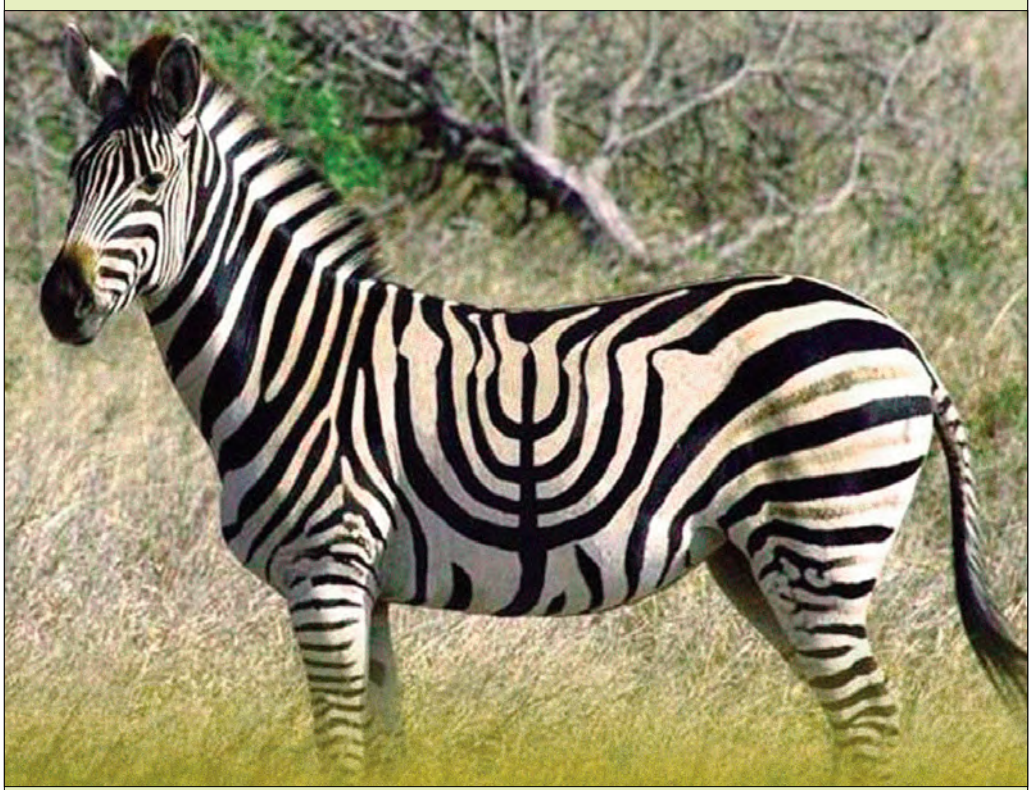
In excavations throughout Israel, images of menorahs (*menorot* in Hebrew) keep turning up. Last year Jerusalem archaeologists Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron discovered a first-century menorah graffito inscribed on a stone near the Temple Mount.* Then earlier this year, excavators at Horbat Uza, east of Akko, announced that they had uncovered a Byzantine ceramic seal (pictured at right) during an Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) dig conducted prior to railroad construction.

According to excavation directors Gilad Jaffe and Danny Sion, the 1,500-year-old seal was probably a bread stamp used by a local bakery to identify kosher baked goods. Epigrapher Leah di Segni of the Hebrew University interpreted the Greek inscription on the handle to read "Launtius," which the excavators suggest was the name of the baker.

It is not the only menorah stamp from antiquity, but it is the first to come from a controlled excavation and therefore have a secure date and provenance. The find has also shed light on a significant Jewish population living in the Christian-dominated area of Byzantine Akko.

*See Strata: "Is This What the Temple Menorah Looked Like?" **BAR**, November/December 2011.

COURTESY ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY/ PHOTOGRAPHER: DR. DANNY SYON



Meanwhile in Africa...

This zebra was recently sighted in a game reserve in southern Africa. Scholars have offered two explanations for the seven-branched menorah on the zebra's side: (1) The animal is a member of a little known sect of Jewish zebras. (2) This zebra is a descendant of zebras from the time the Temple stood in Jerusalem who were bred to display this most prominent Israelite symbol.

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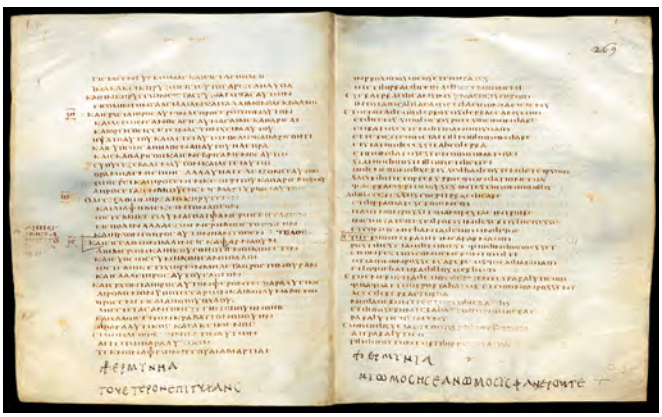

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Textual variants among ancient manuscripts aren't always this controversial. One scribe might have spelled a word differently on his manuscript, while another might have accidentally skipped or repeated some of the text he was copying. These cases are minor variants and don't really change the meaning of the text. Other times, however, scribes added or even changed text to clarify a passage or suit the theological preferences of their communities. That's when things get interesting, and Mark 1:41 is an especially intriguing example.

In Mark 1:41, a leper has approached Jesus seeking to be healed. Most Greek manuscripts (the New Testament was originally written in Greek), as well as later translations, say that Jesus was moved with compassion and healed the man. A few manuscripts, however, say that Jesus became angry before healing him. So which was it—anger or compassion? If this were a popularity contest, the "compassion" reading would surely win. In 1998 the authoritative book *Text und Textwert* recorded only two Greek manuscripts (and a few early Latin ones) that contained the "anger" reading. But as Dr. Jeff Cate recently announced in *The Folio*, the bulletin of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center at the Claremont School of Theology, close examination of one of those two Greek manuscripts has shown that it contains the word neither for anger nor for compassion.[1] Just as Matthew and Luke did when retelling Mark's story in their gospels (cf. Matthew 8:2–4; Luke 5:12–16), the scribe of this Markan manuscript simply left it out.

This now leaves the other Greek manuscript, the fifth-century Codex Bezae (above), as the sole Greek witness to the "anger" reading. Much like the cheese in "The Farmer in the Dell," Codex Bezae stands alone.

But most interesting of all, the Codex Bezae may in fact have the better (i.e., original) reading. As New Testament scholar Bart Ehrman pointed out in a 2005 article in **BAR**'s sister magazine *Bible Review*, "one factor in favor of the 'angry' reading is that it sounds *wrong*."* It is much easier to believe that early scribes were troubled by Jesus' getting angry and changed it to feeling compassion, rather than the other way around. Later scribes also would have preferred the easier "compassion" reading and copied it until it became the more popular reading. (As Ehrman explains, there are other passages in Mark that seem to support the "anger" reading as well.) Thus does Codex Bezae now stand as a lonely witness to what is very likely the original Greek text of Mark 1:41.

[1] Jeff Cate, "The Unemotional Jesus in Manuscript 1358," *The Folio* 28, no. 2 (2011), p. 1.

*Bart D. Ehrman, "Did Jesus Get Angry or Agonize?" *Bible Review*, Winter 2005.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"To ordinary archaeologists, Biblical archaeologists are lowlife."

Posted on a Biblical studies blog by Niels Peter Lemche, professor of Biblical studies at the University of Copenhagen and renowned Biblical minimalist. Lemche was reacting to a* ***BAR*** *column about the funding of archaeological excavations in Israel.***

Lemche

*See Yosef Garfinkel, "The Birth and Death of Biblical Minimalism," **BAR**, May/June 2011.

Rachel S. Hallote, Archaeological Views, "Who Pays for Excavations?" **BAR, March/April 2009.

HOW MANY?

©ERICH LESSING

How many pharaohs (kings of Egypt) are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible?

ANSWER ON P. 64

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Joe Zias: "Hershel Has No Sense of Humor"

A former employee of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) named Joe Zias has for years maintained that he saw the famous bone box (ossuary) inscribed "James, son of Joseph, brother of Jesus" in a Jerusalem antiquities shop without the words "brother of Jesus." If true, the addition of these words to the inscription is clearly a modern forgery.

At a scholarly conference in 2003, Zias told me about this—that he had seen the ossuary without the critical phrase "brother of Jesus." I was hesitant to publish this on the basis of a relatively short conversation. But it turned out that I was not the only one to whom Zias had made this claim. Among the others was Eric Meyers, a distinguished archaeologist, former president of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR) and former editor of the scholarly journal *Near Eastern Archaeology*. Meyers published Zias's claim.

Once the claim was public, I felt free to discuss it in **BAR**. Was Zias lying?* Apparently, he made the same claim to his former employer, the IAA, because that became the critical allegation of the criminal indictment admitting that the ossuary itself and the first part of the inscription were ancient but the last part, "brother of Jesus," was a modern forgery.

It has now been almost a decade since I had this conversation with Zias. The five-year forgery trial ended a year and a half ago, and the judge has only recently announced his decision acquitting the defendants of all charges of forgery (see p. 16).** But Zias has never retracted his claim that he saw the ossuary without the words "brother of Jesus." Until now!

In January 2012, Zias replied to a message thread on a scholarly list-serv[1] recounting how he had told me and my "assistant quietly and discretely [sic] that we [Zias and another scholar] had seen the James ossuary independently of one another, decades after [Oded] Golan [owner of the ossuary] claims to have published it? [sic]. Not 'having a sense of humor,' [Shanks] retaliated with the 'Lying Scholars[?]' article."

In short, I took him seriously when he was only kidding. I didn't have a sense of humor. Zias was only joking when he told me (and presumably also when he told Eric Meyers at the same scholarly conference) that he had seen the ossuary inscription without the words "brother of Jesus."

I have since spoken to a prominent Jerusalem archaeologist to whom Zias also made this same claim. The Jerusalem archaeologist asserts very strongly that Zias was serious when he made the claim.

It now appears that Zias is the source of the theory on which the central claim of forgery in the "forgery trial of the century" was based—that the ossuary and the first part of the inscription are authentic but that the words "brother of Jesus" are a modern forgery.

If I had had a sense of humor, I would have realized that Joe was only kidding when he claimed to have seen the ossuary inscription without the words "brother of Jesus." Perhaps Joe's old employer, the IAA, also failed to realize that Joe was only kidding when he told them this same story. If they had, perhaps this whole litigation could have been avoided.

Never mind that there is no longer a place for Joe at the IAA. He may well have a brilliant future as a professional comedian.—**H.S.**

*"Lying Scholars?" **BAR**, May/June 2004.

See Strata: "Five Years and Counting—The Forgery Trial," **BAR, March/April 2012.

[1] Joe Zias, "Re: [biblical-studies] on talpiot," sent to biblicalstudies@yahoogroups.com on January 12, 2012.

WHAT IS IT?

COURTESY PROF. AMOS KLONER

A bread stamp

B royal ping-pong paddle

C Passover trivet

D lead weight

E priestly amulet

ANSWER ON P. 64

IN HISTORY

MAY 9, 1874 A.D.
Howard Carter, the archaeologist who in 1922 discovered the undisturbed tomb of 19-year-old Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun (better known as King Tut), was born in London, England.

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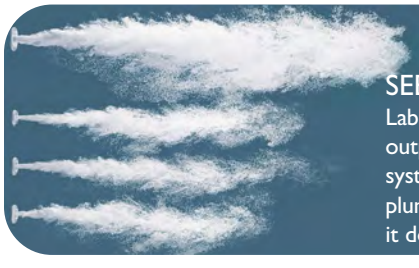

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Objectionable Bible Translation

The Bible has been translated into more than 2,000 modern languages. Only one has been a matter of controversy in Israel—a recent translation into modern Hebrew.

According to an article in *Hadassah magazine*, the new translation has been called scandalous, pernicious and even fraudulent. Some fear that if this "translation" is used in schools, the children will grow estranged from Biblical language.

"This translation cuts out the heart of the Bible. It reduces the Bible to just another book."

The translation's defenders claim that Israelis speak Israeli rather than Hebrew. Gil'ad Zuckermann, a professor of linguistics, maintains that modern Israeli Hebrew is a hybrid of Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Polish, Romanian and other languages.

In a *Jerusalem Post* article Zuckermann asks: "How many Israelis know that an *egla meshulleshet* [Genesis 15:9] is not a triangular cow but 'a heifer of three years old'? If they studied [the new translation] the RAM Bible, they would know because it is translated as such: *egla bat shalosh*."

Another example Zuckermann cites: "Most Israelis misunderstand *yeled sha'ashuim* [Jeremiah 31:20] as 'playboy' rather than 'pleasant child.'"

The new modern Hebrew "translation" is the result of a four-and-a-half-year effort by 90-year-old kibbutznik Avraham Ahuvia, a retired Bible teacher. What he did, according to publisher Rafi Mozes of Reches Educational Projects, was "to mediate between the Biblical language and the Hebrew spoken today."

The King James translation of the Bible begins this way: "In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth." Ahuvia translates this as "At the beginning of creation, when God created the world," ending with a comma leading into the next verse.

"I didn't say 'heaven and earth' but 'the world,'" Ahuvia said, "because on the second day he created the firmament and called it heaven. In the Bible, the phrase *ha-shamayim ve-ha'aretz* means 'the world.'"

Drora Halevy, national supervisor of Bible studies at the Ministry of Education, claims: "This translation cuts out the heart of the Bible. It reduces the Bible to just another book. In the Bible, form and content are bound together. The translation kills it."

Translator Ahuvia admits that in the competition between the Bible and his translation, "I lose. The Bible is much more beautiful than the text."

biblicalarchaeology.org/bibleguide
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EXHIBIT WATCH

COURTESY THE ISRAEL MUSEUM

The Many Faces of Angels

From cherubs to archangels, God's divine messengers have inspired artists across cultures and centuries. The Israel Museum's new exhibit **Divine Messengers: Angels in Art** features 30 works highlighting the evolution and diversity of angelic representations through depictions of these ubiquitous spirits across centuries of Christian, Jewish and Muslim traditions.

Christian art has traditionally depicted angels as winged youths, a portrayal that likely developed from imagery of Hermes, the divine messenger of ancient Greek mythology. **Divine Messengers** displays this visual tradition of cupids, cherubs, seraphs and archangels through the works of Baroque painters Govaert Flinck, Pieter Lastman and Pedtro Orrente. Both awe-inspiring and familiar, these classical paintings primarily depict angelic tales from the New Testament. The exhibit also explores the influence of Christian angelic art in Jewish and Muslim traditions, displaying illuminated *ketubbot* (Jewish marriage contracts) and Islamic manuscripts and miniatures.

The changing face of angelic iconography can also be seen in modern works, including Paul Klee's famed *Angelus Novus* (1920), pictured above. Other contemporary works use cinema and new media to highlight a perspective shift: A new focus on angelic rebelliousness and loss reflects the crises of emotion and faith following World War II, and provides a stark contrast to earlier pieces.

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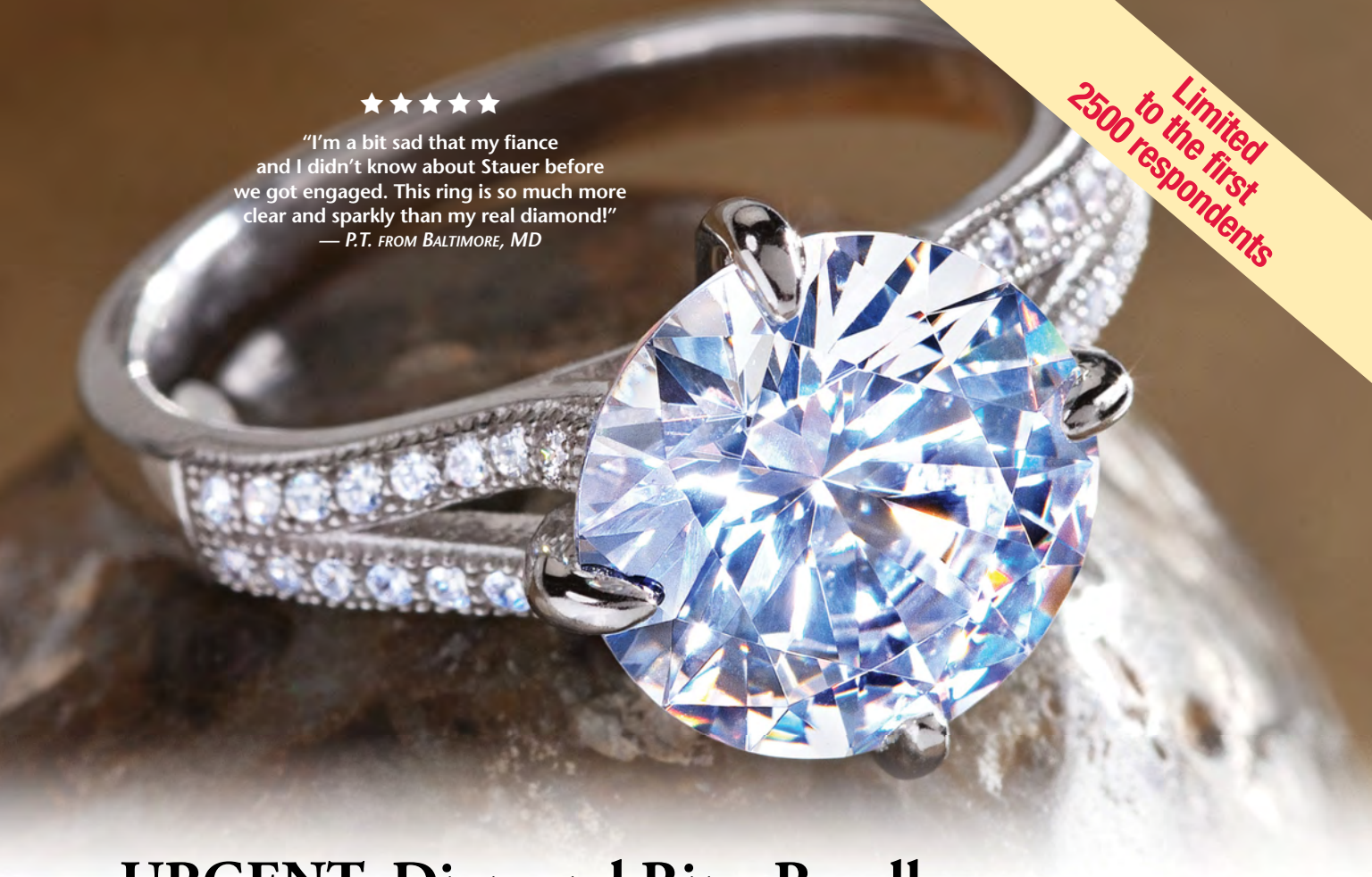

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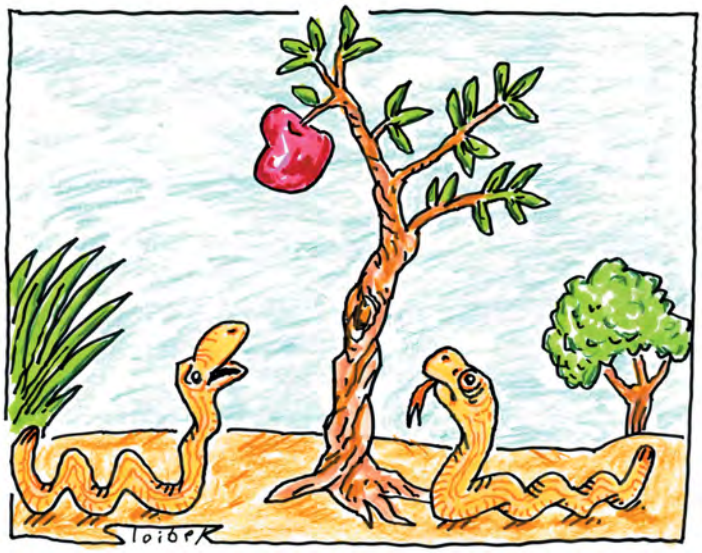

CARLTON STOIBER

"That little thing cost me an arm and a leg."

—Ray McDonald, Lawrenceburg, Tennessee

Thank you to all those who submitted caption entries for our January/February 2012 cartoon (above). We are pleased to congratulate Ray McDonald of Lawrenceburg, Tennessee, who wrote the winning caption, and our runners-up:

"I agree it doesn't look like much, but humans would just die for a bite!"

—Ellis Lee, Longwood, Florida

"No, son, the apple on the tree was not the problem. It was the pair on the ground."

—Richard Hueter, Cooks, Michigan

Write a caption for the cartoon below (see Luke 5:37), and send it to us by mail or online at our Web site:

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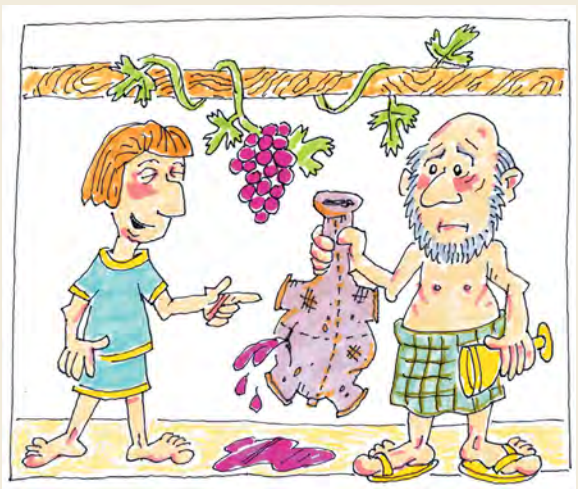
Be sure to include your name and address. The deadline for entries is June 15, 2012. The author of the winning caption will receive a BAS T-shirt, a Dead Sea Scroll mug and three gift subscriptions to give **BAR** to friends. Runners-up will receive a BAS T-shirt and two gift subscriptions.



CARLTON STOIBER

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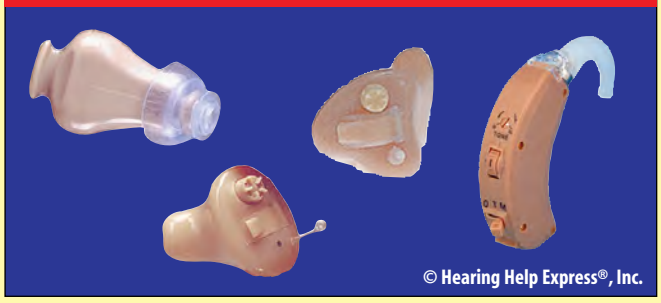

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Spirited Discourse About God Language in the New Testament

Ben Witherington III

In our over-sexed, gender-language-sensitive culture, the juxtaposition of "God is spirit" with "God is Father" might seem like an oxymoron.

In his discussion with the Samaritan woman in John 4 (see image below), Jesus has some profound things to say about the nature of worship, as well as the nature of God: "The hour is coming and is now here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth" (John 4:23–24).

Start with Jesus' observation about God: God in the divine essence is, by definition, spirit not flesh, not a material being. And yet in the same breath Jesus is perfectly happy to call God "Father." In our over-sexed and gender-language-sensitive culture, it is understandable that the juxtaposition of "God is spirit" with "God is Father" might seem like an oxymoron. Doesn't father imply male, and doesn't maleness require flesh and gender? In fact, as the New Testament shows, the answer to this question, when it comes to God, is no. God is not male, God in the divine essence does not have a gendered identity, and yet God is the Father of Jesus and by extension the Father of all his adopted children as well. How so?

In this same Fourth Gospel we hear that Jesus is the only begotten Son of God (John 3:16). This is meant to convey the notion that while the rest of us, by God's grace, may become the adopted children of God (see John 1:12–13), the relationship between Jesus and the Father is one of direct kinship. Jesus and the Father are one, such that those who have seen the Son have seen the Father, according to the gospel.

GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/THE ART ARCHIVE AT ART RESOURCE, NY

Detail of Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well, painted on the wooden ceiling of the Church of St. Martin in Zillis, Switzerland, c. 1150.

This doesn't mean that the Son was literally begotten by the Father, only that they had a unique, distinctive, even exclusive family relationship to one another. The language of Father and Son implies intimacy, deep kinship, sharing of a nature (in this case a divine nature) and the like. It is relational language, not gender language. Similarly, calling believers "sons and daughters of God" is not gender language either. They have not been begotten in any literal sense by God. The new birth doesn't involve sex or intercourse, or gender for that matter. Here, too, it is relational language.

Thus the attempt to treat the "Father" language used of God as either a bad manifestation of a male-dominated patriarchal culture or a clue to the actual masculinity of God is wrong on both counts. It also ignores an important fact. The reason Jesus did not call God "Mother" is not just because God is never prayed to or directly addressed that way in the Bible, but also because Jesus had an actual human mother. He did not wish to dishonor her by using language appropriate only of his relationship with her, of the one he called Abba.

Part of the reason for many misreadings of the New Testament's God language is ironically because English is not a gendered language (unlike Hebrew and Greek, in which nouns, even inanimate ones, have a gender). When we see male or female nouns or pronouns, *we assume* they must imply or entail gender. This is false. The Greek word for wisdom, for example, is *Sophia* and in Hebrew, *Hokhmah*. They are both feminine nouns. In neither case are they used to say something specific or exclusive about women. There is no connection between gendered language and gender identity in such cases. Our cultural biases have led to the overly sexualized reading of the God language of the Bible.

Ben Witherington III is Amos Professor of New Testament for Doctoral Studies at Asbury Theological Seminary in Kentucky and on the doctoral faculty at St. Andrews University, Scotland.

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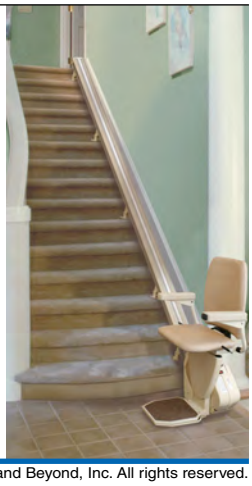

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Most agree that early Israel was a tribal society. But what does that mean? Just ask an anthropologist.

An Anthropologist's View of Early Israel

Jill Katz

As an anthropologically trained archaeologist, I am often asked, "What does anthropology have to do with Biblical archaeology?" My response is usually a lighthearted, "not as much as it should."

Anthropology and archaeology are, of course, distinguished by the vitality of their subject matter: Anthropologists concern themselves with the living, while archaeologists prefer the dead. For the past century, anthropologists have used a method based on participation and observation. This means that anthropologists partake in the daily life of their subjects, asking lots of questions both formally and informally. They do this while simultaneously maintaining a critical perspective (not in the negative sense), particularly regarding the structural and functional makeup of the society.

In contrast, archaeologists can neither live with their subjects nor interview them. All we have are clues from the past, which by themselves are highly skewed toward materials that have a long shelf life. Thus excavation reports include countless examples of ceramic vessels, stone objects and architectural foundations but very little clothing, wooden objects or organic foodstuffs.

That is why archaeology's tie to cultural anthropology is so important. While archaeology extends the timeframe of human cultures into the distant past, anthropology provides valuable interpretive tools for archaeologists. The most important of these is that of *ethnographic analogy*. A basic definition goes something like this: the use of ethnography—the study of a living people—to infer how another group may have lived long ago. In other words, by looking at behavior observed among peoples in the modern era, archaeologists may draw a picture of what to expect from an ancient group that lived in a similar fashion.

This provides an extremely valuable resource to archaeologists and has been widely adopted. Open up a recent journal on Inca or Maya studies, peruse a monograph on early agriculture, or read about incipient civilization along the river valleys of the Indus, Yangtze, Nile or Euphrates. In all of these cases you will find that the archaeological remains have been interpreted in light of ethnographic analogies.

Yet Biblical archaeology has struggled to keep up. Because anthropology was not part of the initial fabric of the discipline—as it was in New World archaeology—it has been at best intermittently exploited (some exceptions include the work of Lawrence Stager of Harvard University,* Thomas Levy of the University of California, San Diego,** Avraham Faust of Bar-Ilan University† and Gloria London‡). Two decades ago, it seemed that this might change, particularly in interpretations of early Israel, but unfortunately most debates since then have focused on issues of proper dating and arguing over whether or not King David was a real king (again, through the prism of chronology, among other things). While these are indeed important issues, they have done nothing to bridge the two disciplines and have led to the relative isolation of Biblical archaeologists from the larger archaeological community.

I would certainly like to see this change. Those of us trained in anthropology need to do a better job advocating our anthropologically oriented interpretations. Students of Biblical archaeology should be encouraged either to major in anthropology or at the very least to include a cluster of such courses in their curricula. Conference organizers should continue to reach out to anthropological perspectives as ASOR (the American Schools of Oriental Research) has done in their sessions titled Theoretical Approaches to Near Eastern Archaeology. Once the conversation begins, anthropologists and Biblical archaeologists will discover that they have much to share with each other.

Let me conclude with an example from my own research. Recently I have been exploring ancient Israel through the lens of social and political complexity. While most Biblical archaeologists agree that Iron Age I Israel (c. 1200–1000 B.C.E.; the period of the Judges) was a tribal society, there has not been much discussion on what that really means, that is, what kind of tribal society was ancient Israel?

To find out, I began by culling the anthropological literature on tribal societies, from "Big Man" to "acephalous" (literally, "without a head") to

CONTINUES ON PAGE 64

*See Lawrence E. Stager, "The Song of Deborah—Why Some Tribes Answered the Call and Others Did Not," **BAR**, January/February 1989.

See Thomas E. Levy and Mohammad Najjar, "Edom & Copper," **BAR, July/August 2006.

†See Avraham Faust, "How Did Israel Become a People?" **BAR**, November/December 2009.

‡See Gloria London, "Why Milk and Meat Don't Mix," **BAR**, November/December 2008.

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What's the Oldest Hebrew Inscription?

Christopher A. Rollston

Four contenders vie for the honor of the oldest Hebrew inscription. To decide we must determine (1) whether they are in Hebrew script and/or language and (2) when they date. Not easy!

The first contender, the already famous Qeiyafa Ostracon, was discovered only in 2008 at Khirbet Qeiyafa, a site in the borderland of ancient Judah and Philistia.* The five-line ostracon (an ink inscription on a piece of broken pottery) is not well preserved and is subject to varying readings.

As the Qeiyafa Ostracon is a recent find, so the Gezer Calendar is an old one. It was discovered exactly a hundred years earlier, in 1908, by Irish archaeologist R.A.S. Macalister at Tel Gezer, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. It describes agricultural activities over a 12-month period. Inscribed on a piece of soft limestone, it is sometimes supposed to be a schoolboy's ditty.

The third contender, like the first one, was recently discovered (2005), but it is not composed of words. It is what scholars call an abecedary, that is, an inscribed alphabet, sometimes thought to be a young scribe's practice work. The Tel Zayit

*See Hershel Shanks, "Prize Find: Oldest Hebrew Inscription Discovered in Israelite Fort on Philistine Border," **BAR**, March/April 2010; Hershel Shanks "Newly Discovered: A Fortified City from King David's Time Answers—and Questions—at Khirbet Qeiyafa," **BAR**, January/February 2009; "Moabite Stone Was Blown to Pieces," **BAR**, May/June 1986.

WITH FADED INK AND MISSING LETTERS, the Qeiyafa Ostracon is a five-line text on a 6-by-6-inch piece of broken pottery (pictured opposite). It is written in Early Alphabetic script, prior to the development of Phoenician script from which Hebrew script was derived. Note the differences in the same letters, a characteristic of very early inscriptions. For example, the stance of the *'alep* in line 2 is 180 degrees different from the *'alep* in line 4 (in red; see drawing at left). In line 2 the *šin* (in blue) appears twice. One appearance (only partially preserved at the end of the line) is like the typical Phoenician and Old Hebrew stance of this letter, but the same letter is rotated 90 degrees at the beginning of the line. The *pe* (in yellow) near the beginning of line 2 faces right, but at the end of the line the same letter faces left. Finally, the *bet* (in green) in line 1 faces down and in line 4, if it even is a *bet*, faces up.

Abecedary, named for the site south of Jerusalem where it was found, is incised on stone.

The last contender can be paired with the third, for it, too, is an abecedary, excavated in the late 1970s at a site called Izbet Sartah in the low hills (the Shephelah) of Judah. The site is generally thought to be Ebenezer, where the Israelites mustered in a battle with the Philistines when they captured the Ark (1 Samuel 4).

While these inscriptions will be the focus of this article, a few hundred other Old Hebrew inscriptions have been excavated in ancient Israel dating from the ninth through sixth centuries B.C.E. Unlike the four contenders in this article, these inscriptions are unquestionably Old Hebrew, both in script and in language, but are later than the inscriptions we will be considering.

Script and language are two very different things. This is an important point that is often forgotten in debates about inscriptions. For example, the alphabet used to write most Western European languages is the Latin alphabet. Thus the sentence "Rien ne l'intéresse" ("Nothing interests him") is written in the French language, but the script is Latin. Similarly the words "νετ–μοουτ" ("those who are dead") are in the Coptic language, but the script is Greek. This same phenomenon is attested in the ancient languages grouped together as Northwest Semitic. For example, the well-known Tell Fakhariyeh Statue Inscription found in Syria in 1979* is written in a rather majestic Phoenician script, but the language of the inscription is Aramaic, not Phoenician.

Let's now move back in time to set the stage. The alphabet was invented in the early second millennium B.C.E.** I call the script of these early alphabetic inscriptions simply Early Alphabetic, although some scholars prefer the term Canaanite or even Proto-Sinaitic. During the entire period when this script was used, the same letter (grapheme, as an epigrapher would say) was often written in a variety of ways. In other words, it was not a very standardized writing system. The stance of the same letter could vary; it may "face" in one direction or another; or vary in other ways, such as how far it might lean to the right or to the left.

The direction of the writing would also vary. Some Early Alphabetic texts read right-to-left (sinistrograde); others left-to-right (dextrograde). Still others were written boustrophedon ("as the ox plows"), that is, consecutive lines would be written from left-to-right, then right-to-left, then left-to-right, etc. Occasionally, a text in Early Alphabetic script would even be written vertically, in columns (so-called columnar writing).

Moreover, this Early Alphabetic script included a larger stock of consonants, arguably as many as 27 or 28, not just the 22 letters of the later Phoenician alphabet.

At the end of the second millennium B.C.E., several seminal developments occurred: (1) The stance of the letters became more stabilized and standardized; (2) The direction of writing became consistently right-to-left; (3) Because of a number of consonant mergers (among other things), the number

*See Adam Mikaya, "Earliest Aramaic Inscription Uncovered in Syria," **BAR**, July/August 1981.

See Orly Goldwasser, "How the Alphabet Was Born from Hieroglyphs," **BAR, March/April 2010; and Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "Phoenicians in Brazil?" **BAR**, January/February 1979.

PHOTO BY CLARA AMIT, COURTESY YOSEF GARFINKEL

of consonantal letters was reduced to 22.[1] (Vowels were not yet represented.) Because of these developments, the convention within the field of epigraphy is to refer to this next stage of the Northwest Semitic script as Phoenician. The changes from Early Alphabetic occurred gradually, but by around the mid-11th century B.C.E. these changes were in place. The Phoenician script is the heir of the Early Alphabetic script.

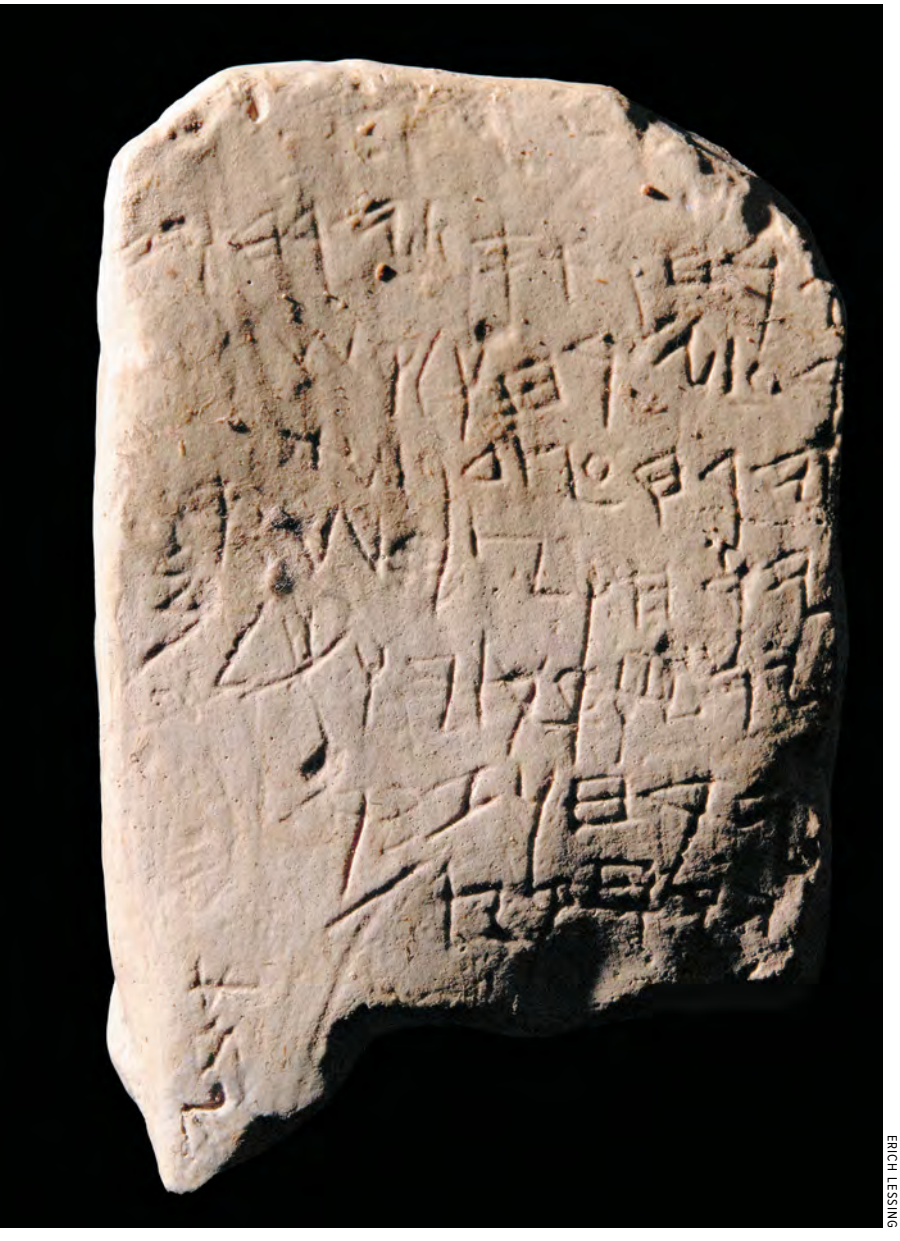
And this Phoenician script is the mother script of the Old Hebrew script. That is, the Old Hebrew script derived directly from the Phoenician script. The Old Hebrew script did *not* derive directly from the Early Alphabetic script.

In terms of the time frame for the rise of the Old Hebrew script, I agree with the great Israeli epigrapher Joseph Naveh that this Old Hebrew script cannot be distinguished from the Phoenician script until the ninth century B.C.E.[2] That is, the epigraphic evidence demonstrates that Old Hebrew script does not branch off from the Phoenician script until the ninth century B.C.E. (More on this later in this article.)

The Old Hebrew *language*, however, certainly existed prior to the ninth century B.C.E. (Texts written in the Old Hebrew language prior to the ninth century would have been written in the Phoenician script, the "mother script" of Old Hebrew.) In fact, we actually have texts in the Old Hebrew language that very probably antedate the ninth century B.C.E. (but they are found in the Hebrew Bible, not in ancient inscriptions that have been recovered from the ground)—the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), the Blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33) and Jacob's prophecy (Genesis 49). Scholars generally agree that these poetic texts date to the 12th or 11th centuries B.C.E.[3]

In short, we have examples of Old Hebrew *texts* from a period before we can identify a distinctive Hebrew *script*.

Complicating things still further, it is often



ERICH LESSING

ANCIENT AGRARIAN TO-DO LIST. Found by excavators in 1908, the famous Gezer Calendar is written on a 3.5-by-6-inch piece of limestone (at left; see drawing below, opposite). It lists the months of the year associated with such agricultural activities as sowing and harvesting (see translation in the box, opposite). Many scholars believed it was inscribed in Hebrew, but author Christopher Rollston hesitates in calling either the script or language Hebrew; the alternative is Phoenician.

difficult to determine just what ancient language an inscription is written in. After all, the same set of consonants often appears in different Semitic languages with the same or slightly different meanings. Thus a set of consonants may look the same but the language may be Hebrew, Moabite, Ammonite, Ugaritic, Aramaic, etc.

For example, the standard Hebrew word for "dog" is written with these consonants: *klb*. But no trained epigrapher would read this word in an inscription and automatically assume that it must be Hebrew, for the word dog is spelled *klb* not just in Old Hebrew, but also in languages such as Phoenician and Aramaic. Similarly with the word for "son," which is spelled *bn* in Hebrew, but *bn* is also son in Phoenician, Ammonite and Moabite.

Words with the same consonants may also have been pronounced differently in different languages, and the writing systems of the Iron Age Levant (e.g., Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, Philistine) did not represent vowels with any precision even after they were introduced. And Phoenician writing was strictly consonantal throughout most of the Iron Age; vowels are not represented in this script.

Hebrew writing was primarily consonantal, but early on Hebrew began using *matres lectionis* ("mothers of reading"), that is, using certain consonants to signify certain vowels also. At first, these *matres lectionis* were used to represent only long vowels that occurred at the end of a word. Thus, a final *yud* (y) could be signifying a vowel and pronounced *ī*, rather than simply being the consonant *y*. Just when you think it's clear, however, it becomes more complicated: A final *heh* (scholars write it simply *he*), normally pronounced *h*, was used to signify not just the consonant *heh* but it could also be used to signify three different vowels: *ā, ē* or *ō*. This of course creates some additional ambiguity.

Then, at the end of the eighth century B.C.E., Old Hebrew scribes also began using *matres lectionis* for certain internal long vowels, that is, for vowels *within* a word. Thus *waw* was sometimes used for *ū*, and *yod* was sometimes used for *ī*. A similar development occurred in Iron Age Aramaic.

The long and short of it is that we are often not certain about the actual pronunciation of words in Iron Age Northwest Semitic languages—or even what language it is. Sometimes we can make such determinations; sometimes we cannot. It just depends on the nature and content of the inscription.

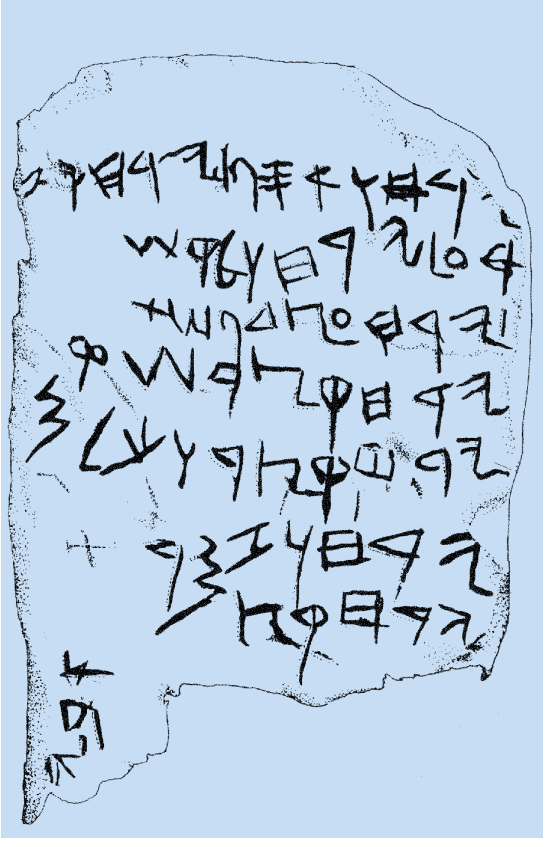
Another factor that can be important in determining the language of an inscription is provenance: Where did the inscription come from? An Iron Age inscription discovered in Moab is likely to be Moabite. But inscriptions can travel. For example, an inscribed seal found in a tomb in Amman that you might suppose would be Ammonite (or perhaps Aramaic) was actually written in

the Moabite script.[4] And there is an Old Hebrew inscription that was found in Nimrud (Assyria).[5]

A final difficulty is that we are often dealing with partially preserved languages. Most of the texts produced in antiquity simply did not survive the ravages of time. There is much about these ancient languages that remains unknown—and will likely never be known.

With this background we may now ask which of the four contenders is the oldest Hebrew inscription. Refining things a bit, this really involves three questions: (1) Is the *script* Hebrew? (2) Is the *language* Hebrew? (3) What is the date of the inscription—at least relative to the others?

Unfortunately, the five-line text of the Qeiyafa Ostracon is quite faded. Some of the letters are difficult to identify or are simply not there. There has been considerable debate among scholars about the actual readings. Found in an excavation directed by Hebrew University archaeologist Yosef Garfinkel, the text on the 6-by-6-inch potsherd is well-nigh impossible to reconstruct as a continuous text, so much so that the original editors did not even provide a translation of the text. Scholars have given varying identifications of the letters and partial reconstructions of the text. Among scholars who have tried their hand at it are famed Israeli epigrapher Ada Yardeni; excavator Yosef Garfinkel and his associated epigrapher from Hebrew University, Haggai Misgav; Haifa University professor Gershon Galil; senior epigrapher Émile Puech of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française (see p. 41 of this issue); and I, too, have weighed in.[6] Despite the differences in the interpretation, however, some things can be said. It is not a business or commercial document. The text seems to include words like "king," "servant" and "judge," so it is probably a literary or ethical text.



ADA YARDENI

The Gezer Calendar

(1) His two months are (olive) harvest, his two months are

(2) grain planting; his two months are late planting;

(3) his month is hoeing up of flax;

(4) his month is barley harvest;

(5) his month is harvest and festivity;

(6) his two months are vine-tending;

(7) his month is summer-fruit.

Is enough there to say that the *script* is Hebrew? The answer must be no.

From earliest times, as previously noted, Old Hebrew was written from right to left (sinistrograde). So was the earliest Phoenician script, from which Old Hebrew was derived. However, the Qeiyafa Ostracon, as far as we can tell, is written dextrograde (from left-to-right). Dextrograde writing is attested in linear Early Alphabetic texts, but it is simply not a feature of the Old Hebrew script (nor of Phoenician or Aramaic).

Moreover, there is substantial variation in the stance of several of the letters in the Qeiyafa Ostracon. For example, note the dramatic variation in the stance of *'alep* (in red, see drawing on p. 34). The stance of the *'alep* in line 2 is 180 degrees different from its stance in line 4. The stance of the *šin* (in blue) at the beginning of line 2 (the left side of the ostracon) is not the standard W stance that is attested so well in Phoenician and Old Hebrew, but is here rotated 90 degrees from that stance. However, in the latter part of line 2, the stance of the *šin* (although only partially preserved) does appear to be the standard W stance. The stance of the *pe* at the beginning of line 2 (in yellow) faces right and at the end of the same line faces in the opposite direction! The *bet* (in green) is rotated

90 degrees counterclockwise from its traditional stance in Phoenician and Old Hebrew, but in line 4 the stance of the *bet* is dramatically different from the rest of the occurrences of *bet* in the ostracon.

Dextrograde writing and dramatic variations in stance are attested in Early Alphabetic writing but not in Phoenician or Old Hebrew.[7] The conclusion is inescapable: The Qeiyafa Ostracon is written in Early Alphabetic script, not in the Phoenician or Old Hebrew script. On this, the original editors agree.[8]

Based on the identification of the script as Early Alphabetic, I would date the inscription as most likely coming from the 11th century B.C.E.

Even though the script might not be Hebrew, the text could be. As noted earlier, we know of Biblical (Hebrew) texts from the 12th or 11th centuries B.C.E. Is the language of the Qeiyafa Ostracon Hebrew?

Let me give you up front the conclusions of the principal scholars who have weighed in on the matter. Yosef Garfinkel, his excavation codirector Saar Ganor and his epigrapher Haggai Misgav in their *editio princeps* conclude—with some caution, however—that the language is Hebrew.

Émile Puech says the language could be Canaanite *or* Hebrew.

Gershon Galil has asserted in a fairly dogmatic fashion that it is Hebrew, and he is quite critical of the caution of the original editors.[9]

British scholar Alan Millard recently stated that he believes "the language may be Hebrew, Canaanite, Phoenician or Moabite."[10]

My own view is that it is not possible to say with certainty that the language of this inscription is Hebrew.[11]

Most of the discussion has revolved around words or word roots (lexemes, in the jargon of the trade) that might be identified as Hebrew and only Hebrew, instead of with a variety of languages.

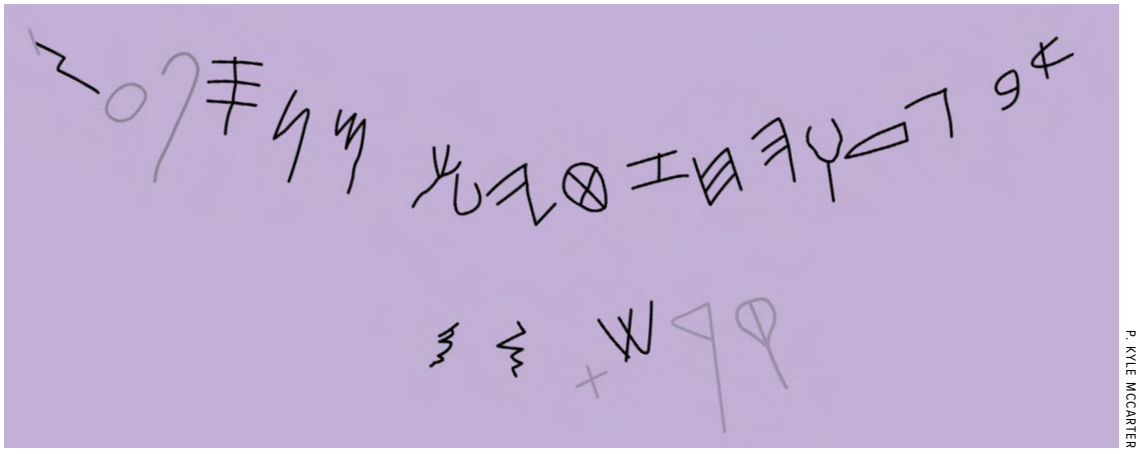
For example, the root *mlk* (king) arguably occurs in line 4. This is certainly a Hebrew root. But this root also occurs in numerous Semitic languages, including Ugaritic, Amorite, Phoenician, Punic, Moabite, Aramaic, Ammonite, Edomite, and even Palmyrene. Because this root occurs in so many ancient Semitic languages, it should be classified as Common Semitic. It definitely cannot be considered diagnostic for Hebrew.

Another important root for the original editors is *'bd* (servant) in line 1. But this root also occurs in numerous Semitic languages, including Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabatean, Palmyrene, Ethiopic, and Classical and even Modern Arabic. The same thing can be said of the root *špt* (judge), and the root *nqm* (avenge). This doesn't leave us much to go on, in terms of deciding on the language of this ostracon.

A key root for the original editors of the text (Garfinkel, Misgav and Ganor) is *'sh* ("to do") in line 1. This root (technically, a lexeme) is their primary basis for the contention that the Qeiyafa Ostracon is Hebrew. At the outset, it should be noted that another distinguished epigrapher (Puech) does not read the lexeme in this way. That is, the root may not even be there. But even

CARVED IN STONE. The alphabet inscribed on the Tel Zayit Abecedary (below), discovered in 2005, is thought to be a practice exercise of a young scribe. The letter signs in the last part of the abecedary are dificult to see. The drawing by epigrapher Kyle McCarter, published in the *editio princeps* and reproduced opposite, is in the process of revision, based on some details discerned in McCarter's most recent examination of the stone. McCarter concludes it is written in a script somewhere between Phoenican and Hebrew. Author Christopher Rollston maintains that it is pure Phoenician.

COLLECTION OF THE ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY/COURTESY THE ZEITAH EXCAVATIONS, R.E. TAPPY, DIRECTOR/PHOTO BY WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH



P. KYLE MCCARTER

if it is, the verbal form also occurs several times in the Moabite language (e.g., in the famous Mesha Inscription on lines 3, 9, 23, 24, 26).* Moreover, the great Semitist Zellig Harris believed that the root *'šh* (*'śh*) might very well be present in Phoenician as well.[12] In short, the root *'śh* is not confined to Hebrew. It's important to be candid about that.

So in sum, the script of the Qeiyafa Ostracon is Early Alphabetic, the precursor of the Phoenician script. But the language of the inscription simply has no distinctive features that allow us to make a definitive statement as to its identification. The easiest position is to suggest that both the script and language are Canaanite and to leave it at that. After all, the script is definitely Early Alphabetic (i.e., "Canaanite") and so the simplest conclusion is that the language is also Canaanite. Although nothing precludes the identification of the language as Hebrew, neither can a compelling case be made for the conclusion that it is Hebrew.

Someone might reply that this is a Judahite site and so the inscription must have been written in Hebrew. However, this too raises a question. Tel Aviv University archaeologist Israel Finkelstein questions whether this is a Judahite site. And it is important that we be careful not to use circular reasoning: that is, the site is Judahite because the Qeiyafa Ostracon is Hebrew and the Qeiyafa Ostracon is Hebrew because the site is Judahite. Finally, we may also note that a fledgling state will sometimes write in a foreign prestige language (here Phoenician or Canaanite), rather than its own native language. And also, as I mentioned earlier (with regard to the Moabite seal found in the Ammonite capital and the Hebrew inscription found in Assyria), inscriptions travel and so did the ancient scribes who wrote them. So provenance should normally not be the sole means of identifying what language a text is written in.

In sum, there is not sufficient evidence to make a decisive determination of the language of the Qeiyafa Ostracon.

Let us turn then to the Gezer Calendar: Can a better case be made here?

This tiny (3.5 x 6 inch) piece of limestone, now in the Istanbul Museum, describes seasonal agricultural activities—sowing, harvesting, and processing of flax and barley (see pp. 36–37).

At the end of the inscription are three letters on the left at a right angle to the rest of the inscription. Johns Hopkins University epigrapher Kyle McCarter tentatively reads these letters as as "Abiya"—perhaps the author or the scribe.

Again, the question arises, What is its language?

Decades ago, the great Biblical archaeologist William Foxwell Albright stated emphatically that "the Gezer Calendar is written in perfect classical Hebrew."[13] Albright's eminent student, Harvard epigraphist Frank Moore Cross, agreed, but he nuanced his assessment a bit by referring to it as "written in a Hebrew dialect."[14] More recently, Cross's student (and my teacher) Kyle McCarter of the Johns Hopkins University has stated that he considers the language of the Gezer Calendar to have been "very close to Hebrew," but adds that "the language in which the text is written seems also to contain features not found in later Hebrew inscriptions, so it is probably best to describe the language of the tablet as a dialect of South Canaanite rather than specifically as Hebrew."[15] Joseph Naveh has stated that "its language does not have any lexical or grammatical features that preclude the possibility of its being Phoenician."[16] In a forthcoming article, Dennis Pardee of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute has weighed in on the

*See André Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription, **BAR**, May/June 1994; S.H. Horn, "Why the Moabite Stone Was Blown to Pieces," **BAR**, May/June 1986.

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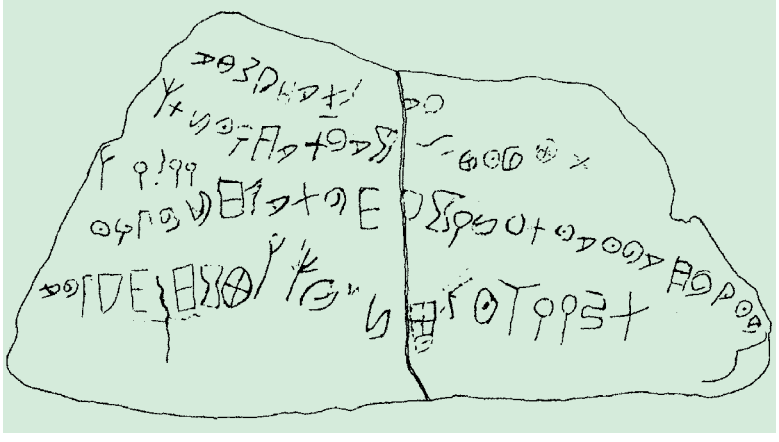


F.M. CROSS

PRACTICE MAKES PERFECT. The Izbet Sartah Abecedary was probably inscribed around 1200 B.C.E. by someone learning the alphabet. As in the case of the Tel Zayit Abecedary, the script can be analyzed, but the language can't be. There are no words, just a series of letters in alphabetical order. The script is Early Alphabetic, earlier than Hebrew or its precursor, Phoenician.

question. Assessing the totality of the evidence, he concludes that this inscription is indeed written in the Phoenician language.[17]

The situation is similar to the Qeiyafa Ostracon, at least in terms of lexemes or roots. For example, the word *yrḥ* (meaning "month") occurs on every line of the Gezer Calendar and it occurs many times in the Hebrew Bible. But it also occurs in various other languages, including Ugaritic, Phoenician, Ammonite, Aramaic, Palmyrene and Nabataean. Similar statements can be made about words such as *zrʿ* (to sow), *śʿrm* (barley) and *lqš* (late planting). There is simply no lexeme or linguistic feature in the Gezer Calendar that can be considered distinctively Hebrew. Someone might retort that this was an Israelite site and so this text must be Old Hebrew. But I'd respond to that statement about Gezer in the same fashion that I did with regard to Qeiyafa. Ultimately, provenance is not always the panacea that we might wish.

What about the script of the Gezer Calendar? Is it Hebrew script? Joseph Naveh has concluded that "No specifically Hebrew characters can be distinguished."[18] I concur. Although Frank Cross has declared the script Hebrew, he does so with caution: "So similar are Phoenician and Hebrew [scripts] in the tenth century [B.C.E.] that it has been difficult for epigraphists to establish whether the Gezer Calendar was written in a Hebrew or in a Phoenician script," but he believes he can see "the first rudimentary innovations that will mark the emergent Hebrew script." Then, however, he states that these features are "faint at best." In terms of script typology, I believe that the script of the Gezer Calendar is Phoenician, not Old Hebrew script.[19] In terms of date, I consider the script of the Gezer Calendar to reflect a date in the late tenth century or the very early ninth century B.C.E., that is, not as old as the Qeiyafa Ostracon.

There are thus strong voices suggesting caution about concluding that either the language or the script of the Gezer Calendar is Hebrew.

With regard to the Tel Zayit Abecedary and the Izbet Sartah Abecedary there is only one question: Is the script Hebrew? We cannot ask whether the

CONTINUES ON PAGE 66

Ancient Inscription Refers to Birth of Israelite Monarchy

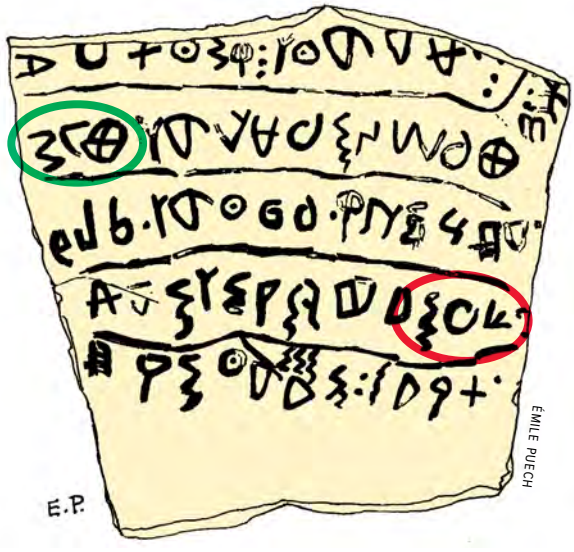
Gerard Leval

The already famous Qeiyafa Ostracon, found only in 2008, has been read and interpreted quite differently by a variety of senior scholars, as recounted in the previous article by Christopher Rollston (see p. 32). One of the most fascinating interpretations is by Émile Puech, the senior epigrapher of the prestigious École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem. Because his analysis is written in French (published in the *Revue Biblique*[1]), it is not well known outside of a small group of scholars, but it is well worth considering. In Puech's view, the Qeiyafa Ostracon is the earliest known text relating to the establishment of the Israelite monarchy—likely referring to the installation of the first Israelite king, Saul, rather than to the accession to that throne by his more illustrious successor David.

The five-line text of the ostracon, written in ink on the inside of a broken piece of pottery from a large jar, is badly abraded and, Puech agrees, cannot be deciphered with certainty. Some portions of the text are simply missing,[2] and the legible letters are very irregularly written and positioned. Just as Rollston proposes in the previous article, Puech reads the text from left-to-right, rather than in the more common Hebrew direction of right-to-left. From the sloping of the text, he deduces that the scribe held the potsherd in his left hand, and he notes that the text is slightly tilted up to the right.

Puech rejects the notion put forward by some that the text is just a writing exercise by a scribe.[3] Rather, he posits that the text is the concluding section of an

PHOTO BY CLARA AMIT. COURTESY YOSEF GARFINKEL



ÉMILE PUECH

LINE 4 OF ÉMILE PUECH'S RECONSTRUCTION of the Qeiyafa Ostracon refers to the "establishment of a monarchy" (אן[ד]מ ושרמ יסד מלכ; "king" is circled in red above). Puech regards this as alluding to the institution of Saul or David's reign, more probably Saul's. If true, this would be the only archaeological reference to King Saul and his reign. Line 2 mentions delivering justice in a manner different from that of a judge ("judge" [שפט] is circled in green above).

administrative document and proposes the following interpretation of the five-line text:

> Do not oppress, and serve God ...
> despoiled him/her
>
> The judge and the widow wept;
> he had the power
>
> over the resident alien and the child, he
> eliminated them together
>
> The men and the chiefs/officers have
> established a king
>
> He marked 60 [?] servants among the
> communities/habitations/generations[4]

Puech begins his analysis with an extensive examination of each letter and the way in which each is written—its direction, its proximity to adjacent letters, as well as its position within the line. He also explores various alternative interpretations of the text. Ultimately, he concludes that the message is "manifestly incomplete,"[5] that it is only a part (albeit a substantial part) of a longer text. He assumes that the first part is entirely missing, but theorizes that the text is plausibly "a copy for the purpose of memorializing a message coming from elsewhere, the copy of an administrative circular."[6]

According to Puech, the text appears to be the locally written copy of a message to the governor or a notable of the town, informing him of the decisions taken by a hierarchical superior (the king or a minister of the central administration). The text directs the recipient faithfully to accept those decisions, in his comportment and in regulating local situations, and, in particular, in matters dealing with the needy, the widow, the resident alien and children, in contrast to that which was done previously.[7]

The text is thus a message to a local leader about decisions taken by someone in a higher position of authority, which the recipient must accept.

The text provides insights into "the organization of society in connection with the exercise of government and of local justice."[8] It identifies concerns about "the manner of rendering justice, which was not in conformity with that which is expected of judges."[9]

Finally, and most importantly, the text informs us (in line 4) about the "establishment of a monarchy,

ON THE BORDER between Judah and Philistia, the Qeiyafa fortress, where the ostracon was found, clearly dates to the early Israelite monarchy.

SKYVIEW

an experience that is apparently new," according to Puech, and thus not likely the result of a succession within an established monarchical line.[10]

Each of these bits of information is significant in itself, but together they provide a powerful confirmation of a major political transformation.[11]

Puech dates the ostracon to "about 1000 B.C.E., toward the end of the 11th century or more probably the beginning of the tenth century B.C.E."[12] In his judgment, based on the shape and form of the letters, the Qeiyafa inscription is "certainly" older than the Gezer Calendar and the Tel Zayit Abecedary,[13] two other inscriptions treated in the preceding article by Christopher Rollston.

In archaeological terms, this is the period denominated Iron Age IIA, the time of the earliest kingdom of Israel, not that of David and Solomon, but even earlier, that of King Saul.

Puech notes that others have concluded that the language of the text is Hebrew and have asserted that it is the "oldest Hebrew text—found in an Israelite or Judahite fortress."[14] Puech recognizes, however, that at this stage it remains impossible to distinguish completely between Hebrew and Canaanite.[15] That the ostracon was found in an Israelite fortress (which is devoid of any remnants of pig bones commonly found in the same strata of archeological sites of Philistine cities) would tend to reinforce the possibility that it may be Hebrew.[16]

Who is the king referred to in line 4? The use of the word "established" seems to indicate that the king ascended to the throne by the establishment of his monarchy rather than by familial succession. Given the provenance of the find—a Judahite fortress—only two possibilities seem available: David or Saul. Puech leans toward Saul—the first Israelite king.

According to the Bible, Saul was chosen by the high priest Samuel to rule over the Israelites. Saul, who, together with three of his sons, died on the battlefield at Mt. Gilboa, was not succeeded on the Israelite throne by any of his descendants, but by David the son of Jesse of the tribe of Judah. Puech dates the beginning of Saul's reign to approximately 1030 B.C.E., and David's to approximately 1010 B.C.E.

The Biblical text informs us that Samuel's sons did not follow in their father's ways. They accepted bribes and perverted justice. As a consequence, the elders approached the aging Samuel and demanded that he appoint a king over Israel. At first Samuel resisted; however, the text states that in the end the Lord instructed Samuel to accede to the elders' demand and guided him to Saul, the tall, handsome son of Kish of the tribe of Benjamin, who became Israel's first king (1 Samuel 8–9).

ÉMILE PUECH, DISTINGUISHED professor and senior epigrapher at the prestigious École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem, believes that the Qeiyafa inscription refers to the inauguration of the United Monarchy and probably to the establishment of Saul's reign.

Puech tells us that when he had completed deciphering the text of the Qeiyafa Ostracon, he was "surprised to find that [it] contained all of the essentials" that are in the Biblical text:[17] (1) the need for judges who will not oppress the foreigner and those less fortunate (e.g., the widow and the orphan) and a need for those who will protect them from annihilation, (2) the installation of a king, (3) the existence of servants who serve the king, (4) the injunction not to oppress, but to serve God and (5) most importantly the designation of a new monarch.

For Puech, the text announces the installation of a centralized royal administration and it makes this announcement to a distant frontier province. He concedes that it is difficult to establish with certainty whether the new royal administration is that of Saul or David. On balance, however, he concludes that, most likely, the ostracon refers to Saul's accession.

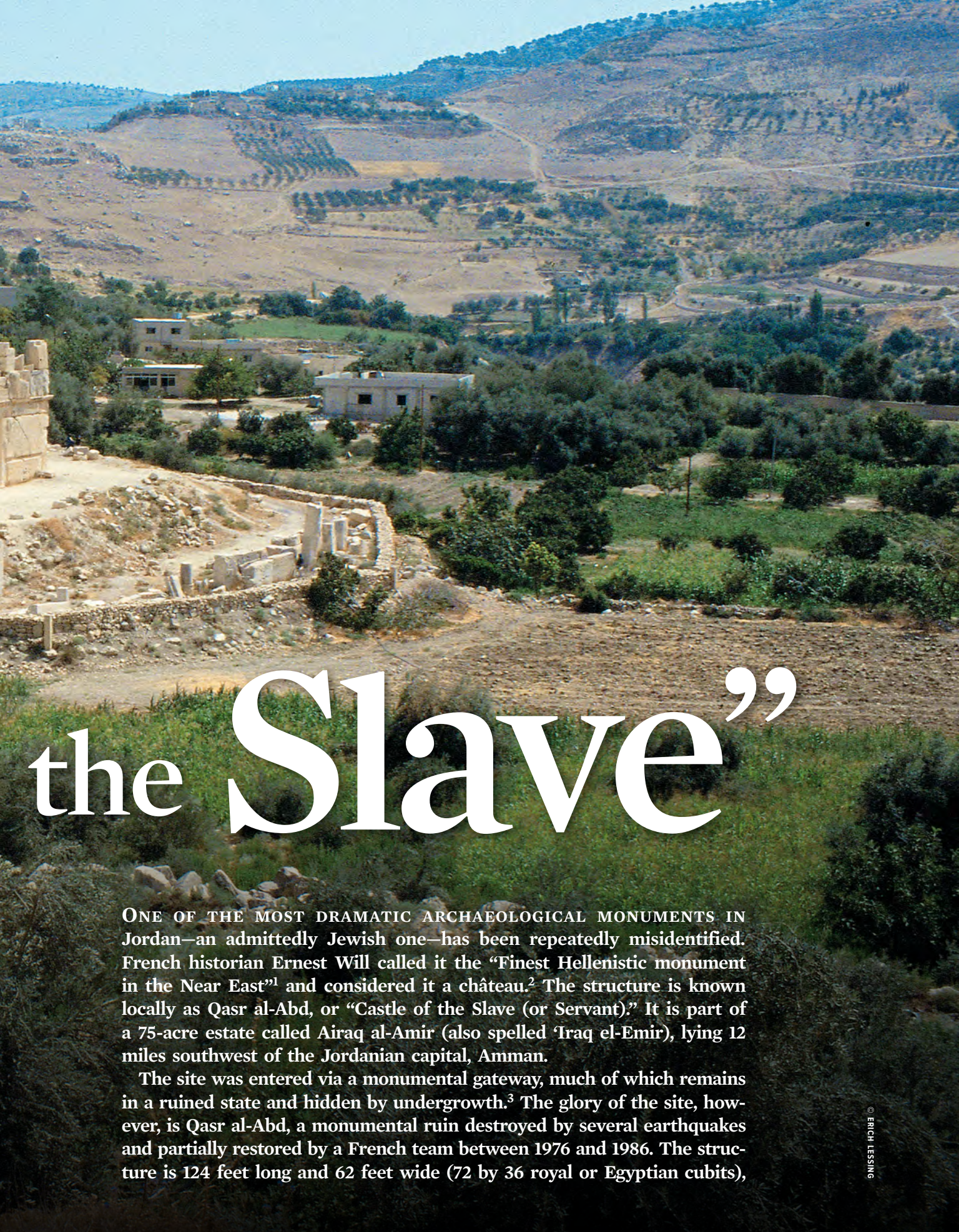
Puech agrees with the excavators that Khirbet Qeiyafa is likely Biblical Shaarayim. Shaarayim is located in Judah, and Qeiyafa seems to be located in an area where the Bible places Shaarayim (Joshua 15:36). The name Shaarayim means "gates"; Qeiyafa is a prime contender for Shaarayim since it has two gates, while other sites excavated in the vicinity have only one gate.*

CONTINUES ON PAGE 70

*Hershel Shanks, "Newly Discovered: A Fortified City from King David's Time: Answers—and Questions—at Khirbet Qeiyafa," **BAR**, January/February 2009. See also "Prize Find: Oldest Hebrew Inscription Discovered in Israelite Fort on Philistine Border," **BAR**, March/April 2010 and Yosef Garfinkel, "The Birth and Death of Biblical Minimalism," **BAR**, May/June 2011.

"Castle of Mystery Solved

Stephen Rosenberg

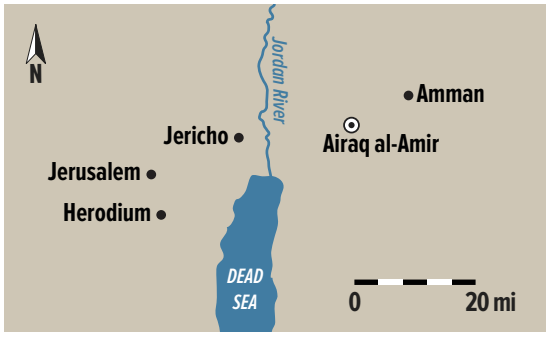


the Slave”

One of the most dramatic archaeological monuments in Jordan—an admittedly Jewish one—has been repeatedly misidentified. French historian Ernest Will called it the “Finest Hellenistic monument in the Near East”[1] and considered it a château.[2] The structure is known locally as Qasr al-Abd, or “Castle of the Slave (or Servant).” It is part of a 75-acre estate called Airaq al-Amir (also spelled ‘Iraq el-Emir), lying 12 miles southwest of the Jordanian capital, Amman.

The site was entered via a monumental gateway, much of which remains in a ruined state and hidden by undergrowth.[3] The glory of the site, however, is Qasr al-Abd, a monumental ruin destroyed by several earthquakes and partially restored by a French team between 1976 and 1986. The structure is 124 feet long and 62 feet wide (72 by 36 royal or Egyptian cubits),

PRECEDING PAGE AND ABOVE. The Castle of the Slave is perched on a small hill in the Wadi as-Seer valley in Jordan. This second-century B.C.E. Hellenistic-style monument was the centerpiece of a large estate owned by the Tobiad family of Judea. The elegantly designed and elaborately decorated building known today as Qasr al-Abd was commissioned by Hyrcanus, the last of the Tobiads, who, according to Josephus, fled to the family estate after killing two of his brothers during a quarrel. But why did Hyrcanus build the monument? Was it really his palace? Was it meant to be an alternative to the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem? Or was it something else?



making it exactly twice as long as it is wide, an "ideal" plan that has led researchers to regard it as a building of some special importance.

The lower of its two floors is built of massive monoliths, some of which weigh more than 28 tons. This floor has few openings, leaving the internal rooms unlit. The upper floor, in contrast, is surrounded by continuous rows of very narrow pilasters that give it the appearance of an almost completely open area. Remains of the roof are scanty but it was probably hypaethral, that is, having a large opening in the center to give light and to allow the infrequent rains to flow into a central reservoir that fed two fountains on the lower level.

Above each of the four corners of the first floor a line of four lions was carved in the stone, two males followed by two females in each group, making a total of 16 lions. In addition, some of the females have a cub crouching underneath. At roof level, two eagles were carved at each corner, and at ground level were two panther fountains. Copper spouts in the mouths of the panthers fed the fountains from plastered cisterns inside the building.

Qasr al-Abd occupies a prominent position on

The Origin of the Name "Castle of the Slave"

In Arabic, the name Qasr al-Abd means "castle of the slave (or servant)." No one knows for sure how it got this name. According to local legend, mentioned in the early accounts of both Claude Conder and Howard Crawford Butler,* the story goes as follows:

One day a local prince goes off to participate in the Hajj, the annual Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, and leaves his beautiful daughter in the care of his faithful slave. The slave, of course, falls in love with the daughter, who then agrees to marry him, but only if he builds her a fine castle. In his great zeal, the slave manages to cut enormous stones from the cliffs and uses them to build the beautiful castle. But just as he is finishing and placing the castle's last stone, he hears the prince on his horse returning from the Hajj. The slave is so frightened and distraught that he drops the heavy stone on himself and dies.

The origin of the name may also go back to the Tobiads. Under the Ptolemies, the Tobiads were ministers (in Hebrew, *avadim*, or "servants") responsible for tax collection, while before that the family had served as land administrators for the Persian king. Just as the English word "secretary" can be someone high or low on the pecking order, the Semitic word "servant/slave" has an even wider semantic range. As such, the name could have been given to the castle by Hyrcanus or one of his descendants.—**Stephen Rosenberg**

*See endnotes 10 and 14 on p. 62 of this issue.

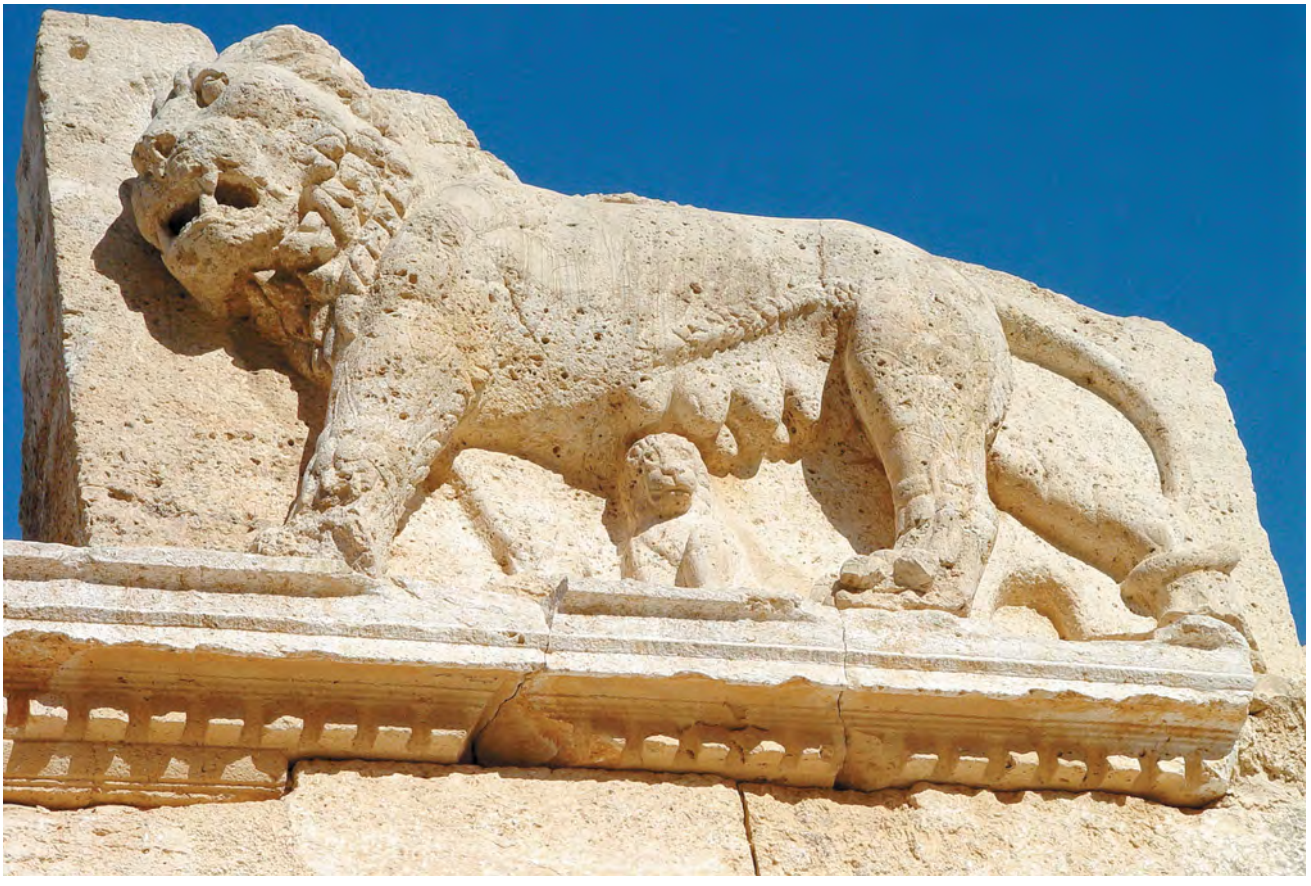
the estate and was surrounded by a lake. Although the lake no longer exists, its long retaining wall built of earth and massive field stones on the south can still be seen in place.

The rocky, semiarid site of Airaq al-Amir is surrounded on the north by cliffs that contain banks of caves on two levels, some quite large. The caves were surveyed in 1881 by the famous British military surveyor and explorer Captain Claude Conder and his deputy, Lieutenant A.M. Mantell. One of these natural caves, they noted, was equipped with carved stone mangers and was large enough to stable a hundred horses.

A spring high up on the hillside provided water to the site. The ruins of a small nymphaeum, or decorative fountain house, still exist near the spring.[4] From there, the water ran down into the caves and then emerged to irrigate the site, continuing throughout the terraces of the estate, finally supplementing the lake surrounding Qasr al-Abd.

Qasr al-Abd, the crowning star of the estate, was built more than 2,000 years ago by a man named Hyrcanus (not to be confused with the Hasmonean kings of Judea of the same name). This Hyrcanus was the last of the Tobiads, a prominent Jewish family from Judea. They had been major landowners during the Persian period, in the time of Nehemiah. Later family members were friendly with the Ptolemaic pharaohs of Egypt and supplied them with exotic animals from their estate in Transjordan.[5]

QASR AL-ABD LIES NEAR the center of a well-watered, 75-acre estate known as Airaq al-Amir. During the time of Hyrcanus, waters that drained into the valley supplied a small, artificial lake that surrounded the castle on all sides. The lake's southern retaining wall is still evident in the prominent bank marked with an arrow at the bottom of the photograph at right. The limestone cliffs north of the *qasr* (marked with an arrow at the top of the photograph) contain banks of caves that the Tobiads used for protection, to entertain, and possibly to inter their dead.



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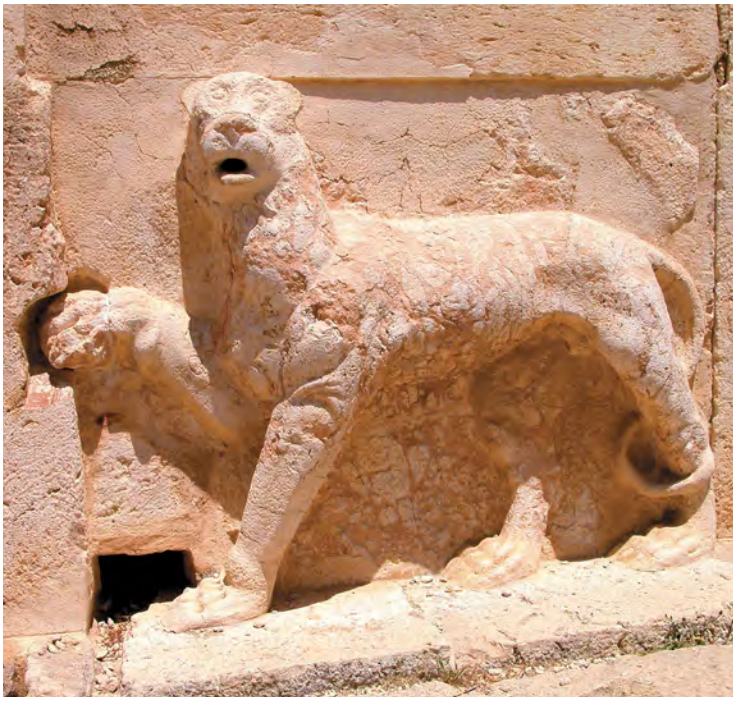

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FROM E. WILL AND F. LARCHÉ, *IRAQ AL-AMIR*

A MAUSOLEUM'S MENAGERIE? According to Josephus, Hyrcanus adorned his monument with "beasts of gigantic size." When explorers began visiting the *qasr* in the 19th century, they found clear evidence of its beastly decoration, including lifelike depictions of lions and lionesses with nursing cubs that surround the building's upper story (above, opposite) and eagles who stood watch on the roof above, of which only little is left (see drawing lower right, opposite). Later excavations uncovered panthers whose open mouths were once fitted with copper pipes that acted as fountains (lower left, opposite). These animals are often found in funerary contexts in the ancient world and, as such, their presence is a clue to the structure's purpose.

Hyrcanus's story is told in some detail by the Jewish historian Josephus, who lived and wrote in the first century C.E. The setting is the conflict between the two major factions that emerged after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.E.: His western empire split in two: The Ptolemies took Egypt, and the Seleucids got Syria. A prominent Judean Jew named Tobiah (Tobias in English, hence the Tobiads for the family name) had a son named Joseph ben Tobiah who went to the Ptolemaic capital in Alexandria, Egypt, and obtained the right to collect taxes in Syria (which included the area later called Palestine) and Phoenicia. Joseph had eight sons, the youngest of whom was Hyrcanus. Hyrcanus may have been Joseph's son by a dancing girl in Alexandria with whom he had fallen in love, perhaps partially explaining his brothers' enmity toward him and his own unusually enterprising spirit. In any event, when Joseph died, Hyrcanus hurriedly visited Alexandria and bribed the royal authorities to grant him his late father's rights as a tax collector. On his way back to Jerusalem, he was ambushed by his jealous brothers, who apparently sided with the Seleucids. After killing two of his brothers, Hyrcanus fled to Transjordan, eventually settling there permanently at the family estate known today as Airaq al-Amir. Being exiled there, he went on to modernize the old estate to current fashionable Hellenistic standards for his own comfort and that of his private army. Having laid his hands on some of his father's fortune, and by imposing tolls on the caravans that passed the estate on their way from Judea to Transjordan and back, he was rich enough to make the renovations.

We know that Airaq al-Amir is the place of Hyrcanus's estate because the site and its central structure, Qasr al-Abd, are described by Josephus. Qasr al-Abd was not only decorated with "beasts of gigantic size," Josephus tells us, but it was enclosed by "a wide and deep moat."[6]

This "moat" was a lake, as more than a century of investigation of the site has shown. Qasr al-Abd stood on a shallow island in the center of the lake.

Josephus also describes some caves in the hillside of the estate that were used for entertaining as well as for security in case of attack by Hyrcanus's brothers or external enemies. The name TOBYAH is carved in late paleo-Hebrew script on the wall near the entrance of two of the caves,[7] further confirming the identity of the site.

The question remains: What was the magnificent Qasr al-Abd used for? What was its function?

Ever since Qasr al-Abd was rediscovered in 1817 by three young Englishmen traveling through Egypt and Transjordan, amateurs and scholars alike have been struggling to puzzle it out. William John Bankes, the amateur classical scholar among the trio of Brits who first visited the site, identified it as the Tobiad estate described by Josephus. Josephus called the place a "baris," and Bankes and his companions (two young naval officers) took "baris" to mean a strong fortress in Josephus's Greek.[8] This is

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GATED COMMUNITY. Several hundred feet east of Qasr al-Abd is the monumental southern gate of the Tobiad estate, now largely in ruins and hidden by undergrowth. The gate's well-carved, embossed limestone blocks, which still stand to a height of 11 feet, were quarried from the surrounding cliffs. The gate was originally decorated with two lions and included a small guard post just inside.

hardly an identification that anyone would defend today. As has often been observed, the building lies at a level below the surrounding hills—hardly a congenial site for a fortress—and today Josephus's designation as "baris" is taken to refer to the whole fortified estate rather than just the one building.

In 1863 the well-known French explorer Félicien de Saulcy spent four days at the site. He interpreted Qasr al-Abd as a temple.[9] Because of its animal carvings, however, he reasoned that it could hardly be a Jewish temple. Therefore, in his view, the temple must have been built as a pagan temple, perhaps a hundred years before the site was occupied by Hyrcanus. Originally, de Saulcy claimed, it was an Ammonite temple dedicated to the Ammonite god Molokh (also called Milcom). Hyrcanus, according to de Saulcy, turned it into a dwelling space. This scenario was eliminated when later on-site studies by Howard Crawford Butler of Princeton University[10] demonstrated that the building had been erected later, in the early second century B.C.E., during the time of Hyrcanus, too late for the Ammonite temple hypothesis.

De Saulcy was followed by other French savants, who thought that the building might be some sort of hunting lodge.

Paul Lapp was the first modern archaeologist to dig at the site. Lapp was a brilliant young director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (now the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research) who spent two seasons at the site in 1961 and 1962. He tragically drowned in a diving accident off the coast of Cyprus, and his excavation was never completed. He, too, had concluded, albeit reluctantly, that Qasr al-Abd was a temple, but a Jewish one.[11] He relied on the fact that another Jewish temple from this time was known at Leontopolis in Egypt. It had been established as an alternative to the Jerusalem Temple, which was then under the pagan occupation of its Seleucid rulers. Therefore, Lapp concluded, there may have been other Jewish temples at this time.

ALL-PURPOSE CAVE. Piercing the limestone cliffs north of Qasr al-Abd are caves that, according to Josephus, were used by Hyrcanus for entertaining, as well as security. Two of the caves were carved with recessed doorways (see below), beside which the family's name (TOBYH) was written in late paleo-Hebrew script (visible right of the doorway in the photo below; see drawing below, left). Rosenberg believes the caves may have also been used to inter the family's dead before the bones were finally deposited in sarcophagi resting inside the mausoleum.

STEPHEN ROSENBERG

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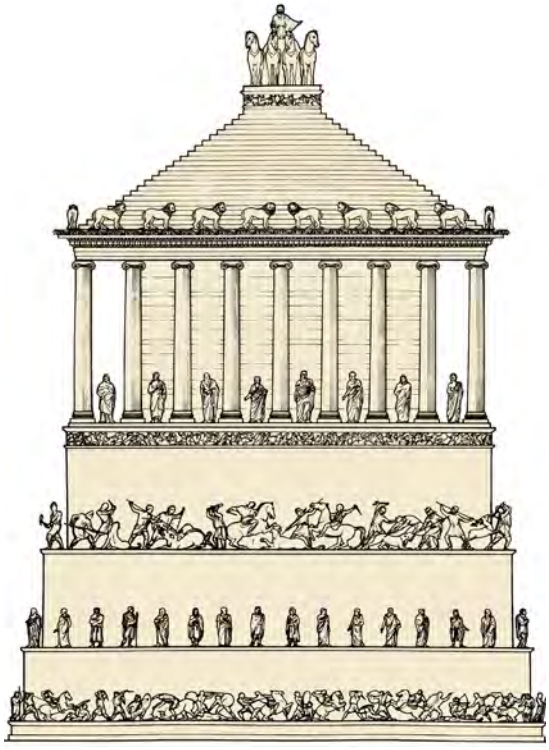
BUILT OF HUGE LIMESTONE MONOLITHS, some weighing more than 28 tons, the ground floor of Qasr al-Abd (above) is divided into small interior rooms that would have received little or no natural light. In contrast, the upper floor, which is only partially preserved, had an open roof and was surrounded by continuous rows of narrow pilasters (a few can be seen at the top of the photo) that allowed plenty of light and fresh air to fill the upper rooms and banqueting halls. The bottom floor may have been used as the Tobiad family crypt, while the upper floor was intended for feasts held in honor of the dead.

For a decade beginning in 1976, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities undertook a restoration project of the site. Two French scholars (Ernest Will and François Larché) led the restoration team, in conjunction with the Jordanian archaeologist Fawzi Zayadine. The Frenchmen (as noted at the beginning of this article) concluded that Qasr al-Abd had been a domestic château. To explain the inner rooms of the ground floor that had no natural light, Will and Larché concluded that these were storage areas and that the living space was on an upper floor.[12]

The most recent analysis of the site was by Israeli archaeologist Ehud Netzer, the world expert on Herodian architecture (a century and a half later than Qasr al-Abd). Netzer died recently in a tragic accident at Herodium, where he had found Herod's tomb after a 35-year search.* Netzer variously concluded that Qasr al-Abd was a "hunting palace" or a "pleasure palace," a place for "special, exotic entertainment."** It was a palace in the middle of the lake where dignitaries might be entertained and feasted. Netzer was no doubt influenced by his own excavation at lower Herodium, which featured a lake with a pleasure pavilion at the center, in which Herod could entertain royalty, including the Roman emperor who visited him there. Airaq al-Amir, on the other hand, was a backwater, far

*Ehud Netzer, "In Search of Herod's Tomb" and Hershel Shanks, "Ehud Netzer (1934–2010), **BAR**, January/February 2011.

**Ehud Netzer, "Floating in the Desert," *Archaeology Odyssey*, Winter 1999.



HYRCANUS LIKELY MODELED his family mausoleum after the great display tombs of the classical world. The most elaborate was the fourth-century B.C.E. tomb of Mausolus, king of Caria, built at the ancient city of Halicarnassus in what is today southwestern Turkey (see reconstruction at left). Remembered as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, the towering tomb featured a massive, tiered base (decorated with depictions of warriors in battle) that held the crypt of the king, and a colonnaded, temple-like upper story where the living gathered to feast and celebrate his life. Like the tomb of Mausolus and other display tombs of this area, Qasr al-Abd, too, featured numerous carvings and statues of lions, which were apotropaic symbols intended to guard the bodies of the dead.

from centers of visiting royalty and cultural activity. Hyrcanus was the scion of a famous family but an outcast who had decided to rebuild his property in the contemporary Hellenistic style. Herodium provides no basis for understanding Qasr al-Abd—built more than a century earlier—as a pleasure palace for entertaining guests.

My own view of Qasr al-Abd has to some extent been preceded by de Saulcy, who claimed that the structure was built as an Ammonite temple. As such, he said, the bodies of Ammonite kings were laid in state here before being transported along a steep path to the caves in the upper hillside for burial.[13] De Saulcy traced this path in some detail, which he described as a processional way for the dead. It was lined by stones on either side with circular holes cut at the top for placing torches; however, Conder rightly believed these holes to have held pulley ropes for moving the great monoliths of Qasr al-Abd from the cave quarries down to the site.[14]

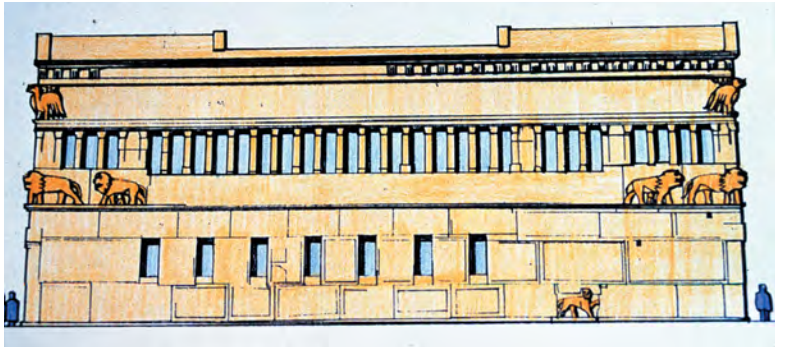
My view differs from de Saulcy's, however, in several critical respects. Qasr al-Abd was not built as a temple. For one thing, it had no altar, always an essential element of a temple, and, being on a lake, access would have been difficult. But like de Saulcy, I do believe it was used for funerary purposes. Qasr al-Abd was built as a mausoleum, not only for the body of Hyrcanus himself but as a monument to memorialize the everlasting glory of the Tobiad family, of which he was the last member. He built Qasr al-Abd as a mausoleum in memory of his father, Joseph, and his distinguished Tobiad ancestors. The unlit rooms in the lower floor were planned to contain the family remains in some kind of sarcophagi, after their removal from the caves marked "TOBYAH."

Indeed, the display tomb was the fashion of the day among the wealthy and elite. It had begun in the fourth century B.C.E. with Mausolus, king of Caria, a Persian governor on the southwestern coast of modern Turkey. At his capital Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum) he built a tomb so striking and elaborate that it was included among the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (the word "mausoleum," meaning a display tomb, was created from Mausolus's name). Although his mausoleum has not survived, there are enough clues from its remnants (many in the British Museum) and ancient descriptions that it can be fairly reliably reconstructed.*

Inspired by this model, elaborate mausolea (or mausoleums, if you wish) appeared—for example, at Xanthos, Belevi and Cnidos, all located on or near the coast of southwestern Turkey. Each case included the Greek ideal of a heavy monumental base, in which to inter and preserve the bodies, and a light upper floor or temple-like structure used to host meals celebrating the life of the deceased. These tombs were designed by classical architects from the Greek mainland.[15] It can be assumed that Qasr al-Abd was designed by a senior architect, possibly one from Alexandria, where Hyrcanus had connections. This part of southwest Turkey, known then as Lycia and Caria, was associated with the Ptolemaic empire in Egypt, so it is quite likely that Hyrcanus employed an architect who had worked

*Geoffrey B. Waywell and Andrea Berlin, "Monumental Tombs from Maussollos to the Maccabees," **BAR**, May/June 2007.

Waywell and Berlin, "Monumental Tombs from Maussollos to the Maccabees," **BAR, May/June 2007.



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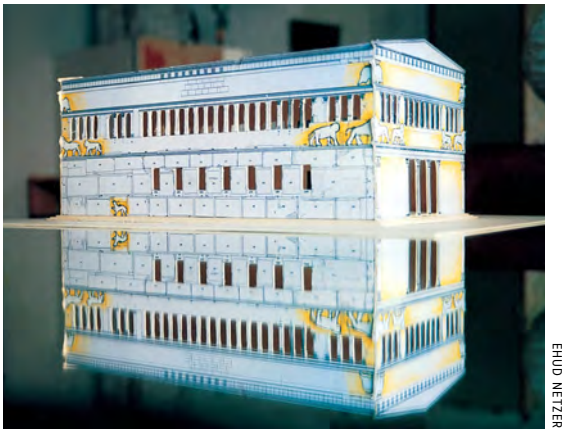

EHUD NETZER

WATERY GRAVE. Archaeologists have long known that Qasr al-Abd was surrounded by a small, manmade lake. But while some, like the late Ehud Netzer, who made this model of the *qasr* on reflective glass (above right), suggested Hyrcanus built the lake for recreation and to impress his guests, author Rosenberg believes the lake was an integral part of the mausoleum's complex symbolism and emphasized the ritual separation between the world of the dead and the world of the living (see reconstruction above).

on the mausolea of the Lycian peninsula.

By the second century B.C E., display tombs had also become popular in the area of greater Judea.** The best-known examples are in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem. The most-renowned, however, was 18 miles west of Jerusalem in Modi'in, the home of the Maccabees—the band of brothers who led the successful revolt against the Syrian tyrant Antiochus IV, an event still celebrated in the Jewish festival of Hanukkah.† Simon, one of the Maccabee brothers, built a family mausoleum in Modi'in that was probably fashioned in the style of the Greek mausolea and was said to have seven funereal pyramids. Little trace of the Modi'in tomb has survived, but we know it in general terms from 1 Maccabees 13:25–30 and from Josephus's description in *Antiquities of the Jews*.[16]

The mausoleum of Mausolus and those at Xanthos, Belevi and Cnidos all display common features: Lions, which guard the bodies of the deceased, adorn each of the structures. At Halicarnassus a frieze of eight lions decorated each side. At Xanthos there were four lions, one at each corner. At Cnidos a massive lion crouched on the roof.[17] And at each of these sites the monument was built by the sea or by a lake, emphasizing the ritual separation, symbolized by a body of water, between the dead and the living.

†See Hershel Shanks, "Inscription Reveals Roots of Maccabean Revolt," **BAR**, November/December 2008.

Qasr al-Abd features all of these attributes as well. At each corner of the monument was a group of four lions to act as guardians. The ground floor of Qasr al-Abd was built of great monoliths with few apertures; the interior chambers were unlit. The upper floor was open and light with what must have been a number of banqueting rooms, or triclinia, to celebrate the life of the deceased. In ancient Greek religion it was believed that the spirit of the deceased actually participated in the ritual meal.

The two eagles at each of the four upper corners of the Tobiad mausoleum served as psychopomps—carriers of the souls of the dead to heaven. Whenever a Roman emperor died, part of the funerary rites involved releasing an eagle to carry his spirit to heaven.[18] Qasr al-Abd's architecture reflects this tradition.

The two panther fountains on Hyrcanus's mausoleum would also have a Hellenistic relevance—to exemplify the Greek idea of taming wild animals in the service of mankind. When Qasr al-Abd was built, wild panthers indeed roamed the area. As recently as the 19th century, de Saulcy reported that he had to use his revolver to scare off a black panther, and a member of his team saw a panther cub foraging in the area.[19] Perhaps Hyrcanus wanted his panther fountains to show that the Tobiads had the power to tame wild nature for the benefit of humanity, both in this world and the next.

With its form of construction—the heavy base and the light upper floor—the extensive menagerie of lions, eagles and panthers, and the separation by water, it is clear that Qasr al-Abd's characteristics fit with a family mausoleum better than with any other function.

May the memory of Hyrcanus and the distinguished Tobiad dynasty now be able to rest in peace at last.

NOTES ON PAGE 62

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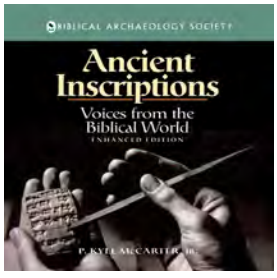

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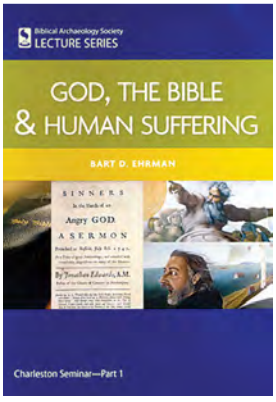

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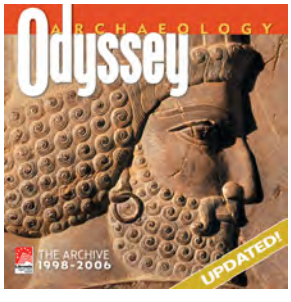

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WHEN JOB SUED GOD

Edward L. Greenstein

Job is a righteous man from Transjordan* who is deliberately made to suffer by God. The deity, incited by the Satan (see Job 2:3; *ha-satan* is Hebrew for "the adversary")—the angel who is charged with finding fault with human beings—wants to discover how deeply Job's piety runs. If all his worldly goods, his servants and his children are taken from him, will he adhere to his faithfulness? If he is afflicted with a painful disease, will he accept his fate—or will he curse the deity that has dealt him such an undeserved blow?

The reader of the Book of Job knows why Job has been singled out for suffering: He is not being punished for any sin; he is being tested by God. But Job and his three companions do not know that. After listening to Job rant and rave—he curses his life and claims that God persecutes him—his friends come to believe that his afflictions must be a punishment for sin—even if they do not know what it might be. Job himself comes to believe that God must be holding him accountable for some transgression, even though he cannot, for the life of him, imagine what it is.

*The land of Uz, where Job lives, is associated with Edom and is located in the land of Kedem, meaning "East."

Like anyone else (well exemplified by the character Joseph K. in Franz Kafka's *The Trial*) Job wants to know what the charges against him are. Only God knows. This point is made by Job's companion Zophar (Job 11:5–6):

> But if only God would speak,
> And open his lips with you,
> And reveal to you the secrets of wisdom—
> For there are two sides to wisdom—
> You should know that God is making you
> forget your sin.[1]

According to my understanding, Zophar admits that Job may be telling the truth when he claims he is innocent. Job does not know what sin he has committed. "There are two sides to wisdom"—one side is accessible to us, and one side is known only to God. Job's sin is in the latter category of esoteric

ABOVE: LOOKING LAWYERLY in this early-16th-century painting *The Prophet Job* by Fra Bartolommeo, Job displays a scroll bearing Latin text that reads, "This will be my salvation" (*Ipse erit salvator est*), which comes from the Book of Job 13:16, part of a passage in which Job initiates a lawsuit against God, demanding to hear why he has deserved such punishment. *Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.*

wisdom. If God would disclose the secret to Job, that should silence him and end what appears to Zophar to be his blasphemy.

Nevertheless, Job wants to know what charges the deity seems to be holding over his head. The way to bring God and God's supposed bill of indictment out into the open is clear to Job. He must sue God.[2] Job knows his way around the legal system. As he relates, in reminiscing about his glory days in the past, Job had served as a local magistrate. People with grievances approached Job to resolve them (Job 29:12,14,16):

> For I would rescue the poor who cries out,
> And the fatherless with no one to help him ...
> I clothed myself in right, and it clothed me;
> Like my robe and my turban, my justice
> [clothed me] ...
> A father was I to those in need;
> I would investigate the complaint even of
> someone I did not know.

Job comes to believe that God must be holding him accountable for some transgression, even though he cannot imagine what it is. Like anyone else, Job wants to know what the charges against him are.

The idea of suing God has a precedent in Jeremiah, and, as I have shown elsewhere, much of Job's rhetoric and ideas are inspired by the early-sixth-century B.C.E. prophet.[3] Jeremiah did not think there is a point to taking God to court—not because he did not have a case, but because he believed that in a lawcourt God's prestige would ensure him victory (see Jeremiah 12:1).

Job, too, hesitated to sue God formally. At first, he only entertained the idea. If he were to press the lawsuit in earnest, the deity would not respond, "not once in a thousand cases" (Job 9:2; compare verses 14–17). Moreover, God's power leaves any who attack him in shambles (verse 3). God would dismiss any litigation with a "push on the hairline" (verse 17)—a gesture known from 17th-century B.C.E. Alalakh, an ancient city in north Syria, today on the Turkish side of the border.[4]

Convinced that God is corrupt, Job goes so far as to claim that even if God knew he was innocent, he would falsely incriminate him. God would lower him into a muddy pit, covering him with grime (Job 9:30–31). In ancient Hebrew terminology (as in modern English), cleanliness is a metaphor for legal innocence. Accordingly, dirt is a metaphor for guilt. The deity, Job maintains, would make him look guilty—frame him in order to justify Job's suffering. There are two obstacles to taking God to court, Job reiterates (9:33–34): First, no one could serve as a neutral arbiter in a conflict between Job and the deity; second, God would use his awesome power to intimidate him. So Job does not yet actualize his lawsuit.

When Zophar accuses Job of some assumed transgression that God has hidden from his consciousness, however, and reminds Job that only God holds the key to the mystery of his suffering, Job decides he has nothing to lose, and he initiates a formal litigation against God (Job 13:14–15):

> I will take my flesh (that is, my self) in my
> teeth,
> And I will place my life-breath in my hand.
> Though he slay me, I will no longer wait—
> I will accuse him of his ways to his face![5]

Job repeats his concern that God will not meet him in a fair trial. He begs God not to intimidate him (verses 20–21):

> Only two things you must not do to me—
> Then will I not hide from your face:
> Put your hand far from upon me,
> And do not terrify me with your awesome
> demeanor!

Job is ready to press his lawsuit against God, confident that he is in the right (verse 18). He offers to let God begin, or else he will state his charges first (verse 22). But he is desperate to learn what God is holding over his head (verse 23):

> How many are my crimes and my sins?
> My transgression and my sin—tell me what
> they are!

Job presents his litigation again in chapter 23 (verses 4–5).

Before proceeding, this point should be made: Most scholars regard Job's lawsuit as a metaphor. It can't be real because a person cannot actually litigate with God. I strongly disagree. Job is not constrained by what is ordinarily impossible. When

Job, pushed to an extreme, sought to undo his very being, he laid a curse on the day of his birth and the night of his conception (Job 3:3–10). He was not deterred by the notion that such a thing was beyond the realm of possibility. When the real becomes unbearable, it has been said, people turn to the surreal. So, too, with Job's lawsuit. It is real, not only for Job but also, as we shall see, for God.

Job's problem is: how to get the deity to respond to his suit? To overcome this obstacle, Job uses his legal expertise. In ancient Near Eastern law proceedings, there is no state prosecutor. One person brings charges against another.[6] To support one's charges, one brings witnesses and evidence. But what if, as in Job's claims against God, there are no witnesses and no material evidence? Then an accused party can take an exculpatory oath—an oath in which one swears to one's innocence.

There is a nice example in Exodus 22:9–10.[7] If someone deposits an animal with someone else for safekeeping, and the animal dies or breaks down, and "there is no one to see"—that is, no witness—"there shall be an oath (in the name of) the LORD between the two parties, (swearing) that he (the keeper) did not extend his hand into (misappropriate) the property of his fellow; the owner shall take (his animal) and he (the keeper) need not compensate him." In the absence of direct testimony or evidence, an oath, taken in God's name, is sufficient in civil cases.

From Job's point of view, he is the accused party—and in the course of suing God, Job is in a real sense answering the putative divine charges. The way to answer God and at the same time compel the deity to respond is to take a series of exculpatory oaths.[8] In the latter half of Job's final speech, in chapters 30–31, Job swears up and down that he has not committed any number of possible transgressions—from theft and adultery to turning away the needy. It has been widely noted that there is a parallel in the Egyptian Book of the Dead. Facing the justices in the realm of the dead, the newly deceased swears that he has not committed this or that sin. In ancient Mesopotamia, legal proceedings could be initiated by one party taking an oath. In the ancient Hebrew inscription from Metsad Hashavyahu (a mile south of Yavneh Yam), a harvester who claims to have been wronged adduces witnesses—and swears to his innocence.[9]

Once Job has eliminated virtually any transgression for which God could be punishing him, there is only one way to answer Job: God must appear. Like a belligerent warrior god, the deity appears "out of the storm" (Job 38:1). The divine discourses are complex and cannot be adequately interpreted by means of any one approach. However, with regard to the framework of Job's legal claims, the purpose of God's appearance is to settle Job's case. For some reason (or lack of reason), God does not respond to the substance of Job's accusations—that he is unjust in his dealings with people.

Most scholars regard Job's lawsuit as a metaphor. It can't be real because a person cannot actually litigate with God. I strongly disagree. Job is not constrained by what is ordinarily impossible.

God, whom the patriarch Abraham has described as "the Judge of All the Earth" (Genesis 18:25), knows the law even better than Job. Cleverly he throws Job's case out on a technicality. Job claims to know things about God. He claims to be a witness to the divine governance of the world. However, from a technical point of view, a witness must directly see and/or hear the object of his testimony. God, in a bullying manner, challenges Job's status as a proper witness (see Job 38:2ff.). Job could not know how God runs the world because God had revealed these mysteries only at the time of creation, and neither Job nor any other person bore witness to that grandest of all events (see, e.g., Proverbs 3:19–20, 8:22–31; Job 28:20–27). Sarcastically, God upbraids Job (8:4,21):

> Where were you when I laid the earth's
> foundations?
> Tell me—if you truly know wisdom ...
> You must know, for you were born then?
> The number of your days is many!

Job cannot reply to such a dressing down. He realizes that his lawsuit has come to naught. He will never discover the cause of his suffering. But he can take satisfaction in having forced the deity to respond without contradicting Job's belief that he is in the right.

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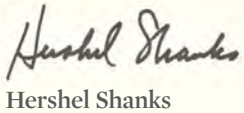

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How Jewish Is the New Testament?

The Jewish Annotated New Testament
Edited by Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler
(New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), xxviii + 637 pp., $35

Reviewed by James D.G. Dunn

THIS EXCELLENT VOLUME consists of introductions and notes on the New Revised Standard Version text of the New Testament, together with 30 brief essays by some 50 Jewish scholars. Appendices provide timelines, lists of rabbis, calendar, weights and measures, etc.

The explanatory footnotes, together with more extended notes at the top of many pages, amount to small commentaries. For example Mark's introduction, text and notes runs to more than 40 pages. The amount of information packed into the footnotes, regularly citing Jewish and rabbinic sources (though not modern bibliography), is impressive.

The notes well represent the character and quality of New Testament scholarship (not just Jewish scholarship) today. None of this can be regarded as one-sided, far less as Jewish propaganda, though the Jewish perspective gives many observations a special relevance. For instance, Aaron Gale, commenting on "the strong anti-Pharisaic rhetoric in Matthew" points out that "adherents of a particular group or set of beliefs often polemicize most strongly against those who share similar, but not identical, beliefs."

Other good examples of the extended notes are on the "Parable of the Good Samaritan," the "Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector," "Sexual Mores," "Head-covering" and "Slavery in the Roman Empire."

The essays cover a wide range of topics, for example, "Food and Table Fellowship" (David Freidenreich), "Jewish Family Life in the First Century C.E." (Ross Kraemer), "Divine Beings" (Rebecca Lesses), "Afterlife and Resurrection" (Martha Himmelfarb), "Midrash and Parables in the New Testament" (David Stern) and "Jewish Responses to Believers in Jesus" (Claudia Setzer).

Specially to be recommended is Amy-Jill Levine's "Bearing False Witness: Common Errors Made About Early Judaism." It starts from the observation that "many pastors and religious leaders strip Jesus from his Jewish context and depict that context in false and noxious stereotypes." She goes on to give five reasons and ten illustrations of the anti-Jewish stereotypes that are still found in some Christian preaching and teaching, including the antithesis between law and grace, the misconception that purity laws were burdensome, that Judaism was misogynistic and that Judaism regarded God as distant. The essay in itself makes the volume worthwhile.

The choice of essay topics is, however, also occasionally puzzling. In particular, it is unclear why there is an article on "Judaism and Jewishness" (Shaye Cohen) and another on "*Ioudaios*" (Joshua Garroway). And "Judaizers" are not the obvious companions to "Jewish Christians" in a single article (Charlotte Fonrobert). Much more appropriate would have been a different essay on "Judaizers, God-fearers and Proselytes." "Jewish Movements of the New Testament Period" (Daniel Schwartz) could have helpfully dealt with more than Pharisees and Sadducees. Although there is another essay on "The Dead Sea Scrolls" (Maxine Grossman), an essay on the post-biblical Jewish literature (1 Enoch, etc.) would have been welcome.

An essay on the first-century figure whom Christianity has ignored almost completely, James the brother of Jesus, principal leader of the mother church of Jerusalem, would also have been a valuable addition—forwarding the volume's goal to make today's readership more alert to the Jewish character of Christianity's beginnings.

But even with all that, the volume is a splendid contribution to the growing and growingly fruitful dialogue between non-Jewish and Jewish New Testament scholars. More important still, the volume underlines just how Jewish the New Testament was, and still is!

James D.G. Dunn is Emeritus Lightfoot Professor of Divinity in the department of theology and religion at Durham University in England.

The Art and Science of Textual Criticism

Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible
Third Edition, Revised and Expanded
By Emanuel Tov
(Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011),
481 pp., 32 plates, $90

Reviewed by James A. Sanders

This is the third edition of Emanuel Tov's enlightening treatise on textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible that first appeared in 1992. It was clear from its appearance 20 years ago that this handbook, so badly needed since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the middle of the 20th century, was at long last at hand. A second edition appeared in 2002 updating the first edition to a limited but helpful extent, but it was not actually a revision due to the constraints under which Tov was working at the time. Now, however, in this third edition, major amplifications, discussions and additions have been made. The result is essentially a new book and mandatory to any serious student of the Hebrew Bible text. It is considerably expanded and includes consideration of a plethora of new developments since the first edition. The neophyte or casual reader in the field, the majority of **BAR** readers, is considerably better served by several features of this third edition, while the seasoned reader and expert will do well to keep the present volume at hand for continual reference.

Tov, professor of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, was general editor of the prime publications of most of the Dead Sea Scrolls from 1991 until all 40 volumes were published (in the Oxford University Press's series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*), nearly all of them within a decade of Tov's succession of Harvard's John Strugnell in that position. Only seven volumes had appeared prior to Tov's taking charge. Tov's achievement would itself have been overwhelming for a lesser scholar, yet during that time he also created these three editions of the book reviewed here.

In this third edition, Tov has kept in mind the various levels of readers, from the expert to the beginner, who will be using the book. He has included "a brief didactic guide" to aid the neophyte in navigating the riches of its contents. But he has included as well consideration of the latest developments of the various factors that go into establishing the critically most responsible Hebrew text available today of the TaNaKh,* or Old Testament in Christian terminology.

The seasoned scholar will note Tov's evaluations of numerous publications about the scrolls and their impact on textual criticism that have appeared since the discovery of the scrolls. His work in this regard is excellent, although I do not agree with Tov regarding the history of the formation of the canon of the Hebrew Bible, nor the hermeneutics guiding the work of most European and Israeli scholars presently working in the field. Tov leaves the impression that the aim of the text critic is to approximate the "original" text that lies behind the various textual and versional witnesses now available, instead of attempting to locate the point in time in Early Judaism at which each discrete bloc of text ceased literary

*Hebrew acronym for Torah, Neviim (Prophets) and Ketuvim (Writings) that comprise the Hebrew Bible.

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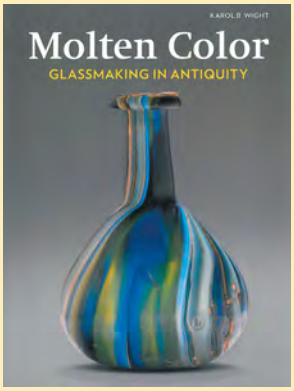
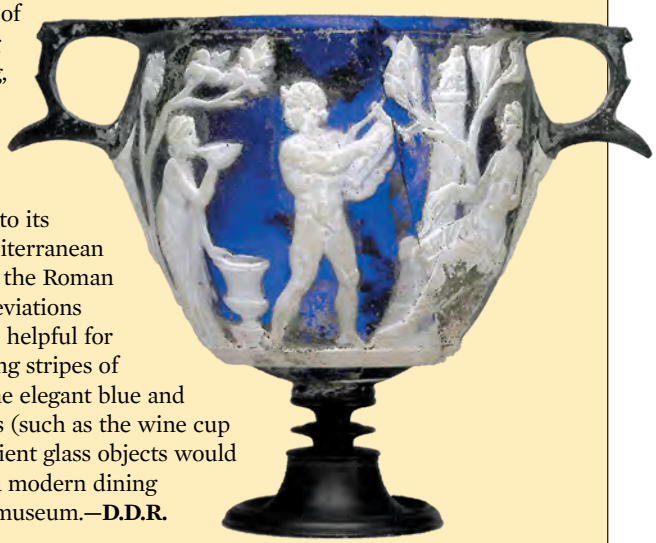


Molten Color: Glassmaking in Antiquity

By Karol B. Wight
(Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), viii + 136 pp., $20 (paperback)

From the dishes in our cupboards to the windows in our houses and cars, we are surrounded by glass every day. Innovations such as tempered glass, bullet-proof glass and fiber-optic cable (made of extremely thin strands of glass) have made it a modern, hi-tech substance, but it is simultaneously an ancient one. Karol B. Wight, senior curator of antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, notes in the introduction of her book *Molten Color: Glassmaking in Antiquity* that "Most of us have no idea that glassmaking began over three thousand years ago or that the techniques developed over two thousand years ago to shape it into a variety of pleasing and useful forms are the same techniques that are still employed by glass artists today."

Although not technically an exhibit catalog, this book was directly inspired by the *Molten Color* exhibit that Wight installed at the Getty Villa for its reopening in 2006, and virtually all of the pictured objects come from the Getty's collections. Beautifully illustrated with nearly a hundred colorful and intricate glass objects, the book explains the basic methods of glassmaking—from molding and casting, mosaic shaping, core forming, and finally inflating or glass blowing. Wight traces the craft's history from its beginnings in Mesopotamia and Egypt to its spread throughout the Mediterranean world and its flourishing in the Roman Empire. A map, list of abbreviations and glossary of terms prove helpful for the novice. From the swirling stripes of Greek perfume bottles to the elegant blue and white Roman cameo vessels (such as the wine cup at right), many of these ancient glass objects would appear equally at home in a modern dining room or contemporary art museum.—**D.D.R.**



development in the hands of its redactors and became a group or community text (canonically functional), thus allowing there to have been more than one "original" text to account for the differences lying behind the variations. These two distinct "aims" or points in the early history of a text may perchance be the same but also they may not be at all the same. Those who disagree with Tov on this crucial point of "aim," however, can use what Tov has done and make the necessary adjustments. Tov has offered us otherwise the best available today.

Tov's book is thus the necessary handbook for the understanding and practice of the art and science of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible today.

James A. Sanders is professor emeritus of the Claremont School of Theology and Claremont Graduate University and president emeritus of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center.

Castle of the Slave

continued from page 53

[1] Ernest Will, "Un Monument Hellenistique en Jordanie: Le Qasr el-abd d'Iraq al-Amir," in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982), pp. 197–200.
[2] E. Will and F. Larché, *Iraq al-Amir: Le Chateau du Tobiade Hyrcan*, vol. 1 (Paris: Guethner, 1991).
[3] It stands to the southeast of Qasr al-Abd, at the east end of the massive retaining wall around the "lake." Today the site is entered from the north by road from Amman.
[4] Stephen G. Rosenberg, *Airaq al-Amir: The Architecture of the Tobiads* (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 2006), fig. 9 and p. 191.
[5] Benjamin Mazar, "The Tobiads," *Israel Exploration Journal* 7 (1957), pp. 137–145, 229–238.
[6] Josephus, *Antiquities* 12.230–231.
[7] Theodor Noeldeke, "Bemerkungen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 19 (1865), pp. 637–641.
[8] Charles L. Irby and James Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor During the Years 1817 and 1818* (London: T. White, 1823; reprinted by Darf, 1985), pp. 473–474.
[9] Félicien de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Académique, 1865), pp. 211–224.
[10] H.C. Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria, Division II, Princeton University Archaeological Expedition in Syria 1904–1905* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1907), pp. 17–18.
[11] Paul W. Lapp, "The Second and Third Campaigns at Araq el-Emir," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 171 (1963), pp. 30–31.
[12] Ernest Will, "Recent Work at Araq el-Emir: The Qasr el-Abd Rediscovered" *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 47 (1983), pp. 149–154.
[13] De Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, pp. 211–224.
[14] Claude R. Conder, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, vol. 1 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1889), pp. 65–87.
[15] Janos Fedak, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 66.
[16] Josephus, *Antiquities* 12.230; 13.210–211.
[17] For Halicarnassus and Cnidos, see Arnold W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (Middlesex, England: Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 253 and 255; for Belevi, see Theodore Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture: An Introductory Study* (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1936), p. 52; for Xanthos, see Fedak, *Monumental Tombs*, pp. 296–297.
[18] Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 56.42.
[19] De Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, p. 225.

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Archaeological Views

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chiefdoms. I then used these paradigms to construct a model of how they might be identified in the archaeological record. Finally, I compared the actual archaeological record with my model. This has led me to conclude that Iron Age I Israel best fits the paradigm of a "Big Man" society.

In brief, "Big Man" societies generally correspond with small, autonomous, village-based agricultural communities. Good examples of "Big Man" societies are found in Melanesia and New Guinea where the typical village size is about 100 people. Leadership is informal and emerges out of achievement based on charisma, personality, etc.; it is not inherited. No one is considered inherently superior to anyone else, and this egalitarianism is manifest in uniform material wealth. The giving of gifts is important for establishing relationships and reciprocal obligations.

By using this ethnographic material, we give ourselves a new avenue for interpreting early Israel. That leadership was conceived of as informal during the period of the Judges is expressed most clearly in an episode concerning Gideon. After a successful campaign against Midian, the "men of Israel" specifically request that Gideon and his children become permanent leaders: "Rule over us, you, your son, and your grandson as well" (Judges 8:22). Gideon rejects the offer on behalf of himself and his children in the spirit that the "Lord alone shall rule over you" (Judges 8:23).

While this passage makes explicit that the Judges (*shoftim*) did not pass on their leadership from generation to generation, only the anthropological literature can inform us just how hard it is to be a leader when you have no formal authority. You have to beg, nag, harass and persuade people to do what you want. You have to be a good talker and patient and persistent. Your reward is the reward of leadership and no more. Yet these leaders emerge, and the rest of the people tolerate them, egg them on and benefit from their hard work.

This type of political organization can continue unimpeded for centuries, even millennia. But in certain circumstances, a threshold is crossed and a new type of leadership emerges, that of a chief who is given (or seizes) significant power and authority. How does this happen? We'll just have to ask an anthropologist.

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STRATA ANSWERS

How Many? (from p. 20)

Answer: At least 14

It is difficult to get a precise count of the Egyptian pharaohs in the Bible because they fall into three categories: (1) those specifically mentioned by name; (2) those mentioned indirectly in the name of a geographical feature; and (3) unnamed kings called simply "pharaoh."[1]

The names used for the pharaohs in the first group have often been Hebraized, but scholars are able to identify them with names on Egyptian king lists, including Shishak/Sheshonq I (1 Kings 11:40, 14:25 et al.), So/Osorkon III or IV (2 Kings 17:4), Tiharka/Taharqa of Cush and Egypt (2 Kings 19:9; Isaiah 36:6), Necho/Nekau II (2 Kings 23:29,33–35) and Hopra/Apries (Jeremiah 37:5, 44:30).

Sometimes the pharaoh bestowed his name on a city or other feature, as is the case with Ramesses (see Genesis 47:11; Exodus 1:11) and Merneptah (see the spring, or wells, of Nephtoah in Joshua 15:9, 18:15).

The last group is the largest, including the unnamed pharaohs at the time of Abram and Sarai (Genesis 12:15–20) and of Joseph (Genesis 40–50), of the Israelite oppression in Egypt (Exodus 1:8) and of the Exodus (Exodus 3–15), as well as the pharaoh who gave asylum to Hadad of Edom (1 Kings 11:18–20), the one who took Gezer and became the father-in-law of Solomon (1 Kings 9:16,24), the one whose daughter Bithia was married to Mered (1 Chronicles 4:17), and the kings of Egypt in 2 Kings 7:6. There are additional unnamed references to kings of Egypt in the prophetic books, but these probably overlap with named pharaohs listed in the first group above.

[1] Information provided by Peter van der Veen of Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz (via e-mail). Thanks also to James Hoffmeier of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School for his assistance with the details.

What Is It? (from p. 22)

Answer: (D) lead weight

This decorated lead weight, discovered by Amos Kloner and Yotam Tepper 25 years ago at Horvat 'Alim in Israel, was crucial for dating the hiding complex there.[1] Most of the area had been looted previously, but the weight and a number of bronze and silver coins found in the excavation securely dated the tunnels to the Second Jewish Revolt, also known as the Bar-Kokhba Revolt (132–135 C.E.). The inscription on the other side of the weight (not pictured) reads, "Shim'on ben Kosba, Prince of Israel and his administrator," which suggests that it may have belonged to Bar-Kokhba himself (his family name was Kosiba). The inscription on the pictured side identifies Bar-Kokhba's market administrator as Shim'on Dasoi. Ancient literary sources and archaeological evidence make clear the Jewish rebels' strategy of living and meeting in underground tunnels and chambers to avoid discovery by the Roman soldiers. Weights like this one were used to identify the amount of any product for sale or use as taxes, according to established Roman standards. Measuring only 3 5 by 2.6 by 0.3 inches, this small piece of lead weighs nearly 2 pounds.

[1] See Amos Kloner, "Lead Weights of Bar Kokhba's Administration," *Israel Exploration Journal* 40 (1990), pp. 58–67; Amos Kloner and Boaz Zissu, "Judean Hiding Complexes," *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vol. 5: Supplementary Volume* (Jerusalem and Washington, DC: Israel Exploration Society and Biblical Archaeology Society, 2008), pp. 1892–1893.

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First Person

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In the mid-seventh century B.C.E., the Philistine city of Ekron expanded dramatically and developed a huge olive-oil industry. Only 4 percent of the site has been excavated thus far, but already 115 olive-oil installations have been discovered. Excavator Seymour Gitin estimates annual production at about 500 tons. Gitin and many others attribute this sudden prosperity to what is often called the *Pax Assyriaca*, the Assyrian Peace. In the last third of the eighth century B.C.E., the great Assyrian empire conquered the area. The northern kingdom of Israel became an Assyrian province. In 701 B.C.E. the Assyrian monarch Sennacherib brought the southern kingdom of Judah to heel, as so dramatically described in the Bible (2 Kings 18:13–19:36; 2 Chronicles 32). Judah was never incorporated as a province into the Assyrian empire, but was a semi-autonomous polity subject to heavy annual Assyrian tribute. The same was true of Philistia, including Ekron. The entire area was pacified in the *Pax Assyriaca*. This is what allowed for the prosperity of Ekron's olive-oil industry. Mesopotamia, the Assyrian homeland, was not agriculturally suited to producing olive oil.

This view widely held by the excavator and others is now being challenged by Israeli archaeologist Avraham (Avi) Faust. In his view, Ekron's prosperous olive-oil industry stemmed not from the *Pax Assyriaca* but from the thriving Phoenician maritime trade in the Mediterranean. If the Assyrians were responsible for the olive-oil installations at Ekron, Faust reasons, why didn't they also revive the formerly flourishing olive-oil industry in the northern kingdom of Israel that they had destroyed? As Faust puts it, "That the Assyrian empire did not rebuild the thriving olive oil industry they destroyed in Galilee and Samaria, which were now Assyrian provinces, indicates that the Assyrians were not interested in maximizing productivity in the region." Indeed, Assyria and its provinces, such as the former northern kingdom of Israel, were in a deep recession. In contrast, the entire economic system of prosperous Philistia was oriented not toward Mesopotamia but toward maritime trade in the Mediterranean.

For Faust, these facts indicate that Assyria was not interested in economic development. True, the Assyrians may have benefited from this Philistine prosperity; it enabled the Philistines to pay a heavy tribute to Assyria. But the benefit to Assyria stemmed not from what it did, but in spite of what it did.

If you are not a regular reader of the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, you may have missed this fascinating debate, which is just beginning.[4] My point is simply to emphasize that there are different areas of Biblical archaeology. All of them are legitimate. And none should be denigrated.**—H.S.**

[1] Michael E. Ruane, "Gettysburg Gets a Lock of Lincoln's Hair," *Washington Post*, July 1, 2011.

[2] "On Archaeology, Forgeries and Public Awareness: The 'James Brother of Jesus' Ossuary in Retrospect," *Bible and Interpretation*, March 2011 (www.bibleinterp.com/articles/arch-for358014.shtml).

[3] Ryan Byrne and Bernadette McNary-Zak, *Resurrecting the Brother of Jesus: The James Ossuary Controversy and the Quest for Religious Relics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), p. 26.

[4] Avraham Faust, "The Interests of the Assyrian Empire in the West: Olive Oil Production as a Test-Case," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 54 (2011), p. 62.

Oldest Inscription

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language is Hebrew because the inscription is simply a series of letters arranged in alphabetical order, nothing more.

The Tel Zayit Abecedary was recently found carved in stone at a site southwest of Jerusalem in an excavation directed by Ron Tappy of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, with Kyle McCarter serving as the excavation's epigrapher (see photo and drawing on pp. 38–39).

Analyzing the inscription letter by letter, McCarter concludes that it is a transitional script—not Phoenician, but not yet Hebrew. In his words, "It already exhibits characteristics that anticipate the distinctive features of the mature Hebrew national script."[20]

My own view is that it is pure Phoenician. The difference between us is small and technical. McCarter finds some elongation of certain letters that places them beyond Phoenician, but not yet the distinctive Old Hebrew script. I find this elongation in certain Phoenician texts of this period.

I would date the Tel Zayit inscription to the late tenth century or the very early ninth century B.C.E., slightly later than Tappy dates the archaeological context. The Tel Zayit Abecedary and the Gezer Calendar are thus contemporaneous. Although Tel Zayit is Judahite, early Israelites had no difficulty using Phoenician script, as we have seen. Incidentally, McCarter regards the abecedary as evidence of Judahite literacy, especially because Tel Zayit is at the western frontier of the kingdom and distant from the capital Jerusalem.[21]

The final contender, the Izbet Sartah Abecedary (see photo and drawing on p. 40), was discovered in an excavation led by Moshe Kochavi and his then student Israel Finkelstein of Tel Aviv University. It was analyzed by their paleographer Aaron Demsky. The Izbet Sartah Abecedary is clearly the earliest of the four inscriptions we have been considering (about 1200 B.C.E.). But it is also the easiest to dispose of if the only question is whether it is a Hebrew inscription. Since it is an abecedary, we can ask only whether the script is Old Hebrew. There are no words on the basis of which we could consider whether the language is Hebrew. The script, however, is clearly Early Alphabetic, that is, even earlier than the Phoenician alphabet, which was precursor to the Old Hebrew alphabet. Note that there is much variation in stance and the abecedary of line five is clearly written from left-to-right not right-to-left like Hebrew script. When the Izbet Sartah ostracon was found, Frank Cross chided those who wished to suggest that it should be classified as "Hebrew." He said "I have no doubt that the Old Canaanite pictographic alphabet and Linear Phoenician, and probably as well the Canaanite cuneiform alphabet ('Ugaritic') were widely used in Israel throughout this era." Then he goes on to say that "the issue in question, though, is when a Hebrew national script tradition broke away from the Old Canaanite or Early Linear Phoenician script" and became an independent "Hebrew" script.[22] His conclusion

is resounding and dead on: Certainly not nearly as early as Izbet Sartah. So the Izbet Sartah Abecedary is out of the running. Some might suggest that its provenance is an Israelite site, but that simply adds speculation to speculation.

At the end of the day, I conclude that none of this quartet of inscriptions can be declared the winner of the title "The Earliest Hebrew Inscription." The script of the Qeiyafa Ostracon is Early Alphabetic, certainly not Hebrew and it contains no distinctive linguistic features that would allow us to define the language as Old Hebrew. Much the same can be said of the language of the Gezer Calendar. And the script of the Gezer Calendar falls nicely within the Phoenician script series. The Tel Zayit Abecedary is a fine Phoenician script that falls well within the Phoenician script series. Finally, the script of the Izbet Sartah Abecedary is Early Alphabetic.

In short, the earliest Old Hebrew inscriptions come from periods that postdate the inscriptions from Qeiyafa, Gezer, Tel Zayit and Izbet Sartah.

[1] It is usually argued that Phoenician had 22 consonantal phonemes, hence the presence of 22 graphemes in the Phoenician alphabet. It is also usually noted (accurately) that both Hebrew and Aramaic (etc.) had more than 22 consonantal phonemes and that for this reason some of the consonantal graphemes needed to do "double duty" in Hebrew and Aramaic.
[2] Joseph Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1987), p. 65.

AUTHORS

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Rosenberg

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[3] For example, see the discussion by Jo Ann Hackett, "Hebrew (Biblical and Epigraphic)," in J. Kaltner and S.L. McKenzie, eds., *Beyond Babel: A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), p. 140.
[4] M. Abu Talet, "The Seal of Plty ben m'sh the Mazkir," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101 (1985), pp. 21–29.
[5] Alan Millard, "Alphabetic Inscriptions on Ivories from Nimrud," *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 45–49.
[6] Christopher Rollston, "The Khirbet Qeiyafa Ostracon: Methodological Musings and Caveats," *Tel Aviv* 38 (2011), pp. 67–82.
[7] For discussion and bibliography, see Christopher Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel* (Atlanta: SBL, 2010), pp. 11–18.
[8] Haggai Misgav, Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, "The Ostracon," in Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, eds., *Khirbet Qeiyafa*, vol. 1 Excavation Report 2007–2008 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009), pp. 247–254.
[9] Gershon Galil, "The Hebrew Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa/Neta'im: Script, Language, and History," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 41 (2009), pp. 193–242 passim.
[10] Alan Millard,"The Ostracon from the Days of David Found at Khirbet Qeiyafa," *Tyndale Bulletin* 62 (2011), pp. 1, 11.
[11] On www.rollstonepigraphy.com.
[12] Zellig S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, AOS 8 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936), p. 136.
[13] W.F. Albright, "The Gezer Calendar," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (*BASOR*) 92 (1943), p. 18.
[14] Frank Moore Cross, "Palaeography and the Date of the Tel Fahariyeh Bilingual Inscription," in *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*, HSS 51 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), p. 52. [This article was first published in 1995.]
[15] P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1996), p. 102.
[16] Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet*, p. 76.
[17] Dennis Pardee, "A Brief Case for the Language of the 'Gezer Calendar' as Phoenician," forthcoming.
[18] Frank Moore Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *BASOR* 238 (1980), p. 14.
[19] For a longer discussion of the script of the Gezer Calendar, including the issue of elongation, see Christopher A. Rollston, "The Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary and Putative Evidence for Israelite Literacy," in Ron E. Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter, eds., *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), pp. 79–89.
[20] Ron E. Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter, Marilyn J. Lundberg and Bruce Zuckerman, "An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judaean Shephelah," *BASOR* 344 (2006), pp. 27–28.
[21] Tappy et al., "An Abecedary of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E.," p. 42.
[22] Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions," p. 13.

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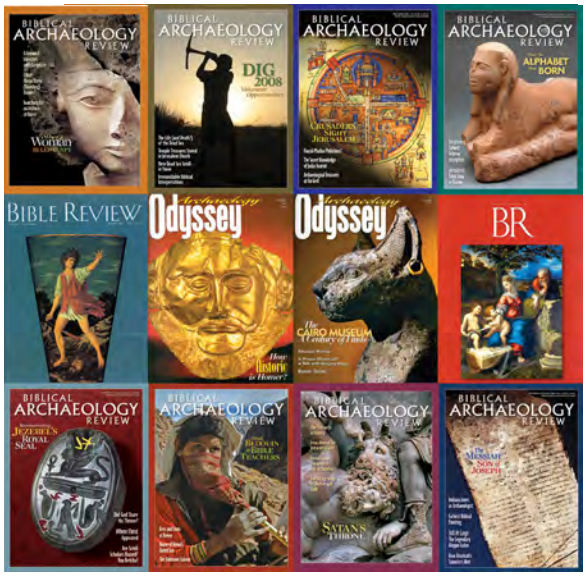

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Qeiyafa Ostracon

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Another Biblical reference to Shaarayim indicates it existed before the time of David's reign: After David killed the Philistine Goliath with a stone flung using his slingshot and then beheaded the giant with Goliath's own sword, the Israelites pursued the Philistines who fell mortally wounded on the way from Shaarayim (1 Samuel 17:52).

This reference reflects the existence of Shaarayim before David's reign, during his predecessor Saul's reign (see also 1 Chronicles 4:31). Since the Qeiyafa inscription refers to an apparently new king and seems to have been written earlier than David's reign, Puech concludes that it is more likely that the ostracon refers to the establishment of Saul's rule.

Moreover, the inscription seems to memorialize (or, in Puech's words, is "a witness to"[18]) the transition *not* from one king to another (from Saul to David), but rather from the period of the judges to the monarchy—thus from Samuel and his sons to Saul.[19]

If Puech is correct, the Qeiyafa Ostracon is the only archaeological artifact referring to Israel's first king. And it is the earliest non-Biblical confirmation of the establishment of the Israelite monarchy.

[1] Émile Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa et les débuts de la royauté en Israël," *Revue Biblique* 17 (2010), pp. 162–184.
[2] Puech speculates that a minimum of four to six lines are missing. "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 171
[3] Notably, A. Demsky, who apparently reads the text in vertical lines, from top to bottom. Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," fn. 5.
[4] 1. N'opprime pas, et sers Di'eu'. :|: Le/la spoliait
2. le juge et la veuve pleurait: il avait pouvoir
3. sur l'étranger résident et sur l'enfant, il les supprimait ensemble.
4. Les hommes et les chefs/officiers ont établit un roi.
5. Il a marqué soixante serviteurs parmi les communautés/habitations/générations.
[5] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 163.
[6] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 180.
[7] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 180.
[8] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 181.
[9] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 181.
[10] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 181.
[11] The *editio princeps* agrees that it seems to be a "monumental" text.
[12] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," at p. 179.
[13] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 178.
[14] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 179.
[15] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 184, n. 76.
[16] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 184, n. 76.
[17] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 182.
[18] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 183.
[19] Puech, "L'Ostracon de Khirbet Qeyafa," p. 183.

Job

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[1] All translations are my own. My annotated translation of the Book of Job, when completed, will be published by Yale University Press.
[2] The present article is based on my study, Edward L. Greenstein, "A Forensic Understanding of the Speech from the Whirlwind," in Michael V. Fox et al., eds., *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 241–258.
[3] See my article, "Jeremiah as an Inspiration to the Poet of Job," in John Kaltner and Louis Stulman, eds., *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East—Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (London-New York: T & T Clark International/Continuum, 2004), pp. 98–110.
[4] See Donald J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953), p. 38; see also Greenstein, "A Forensic Understanding," pp. 257–258. For a different interpretation of the gesture, see Meir Malul, *Studies in Mesopotamian Legal Symbolism* (Kevalaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), pp. 432–439.
[5] In this translation, I am reading the Ketiv (what is written) *l'* "not" for the Qere (what the Masoretic scribes wanted us to read) *lw* "for him"; and I am reading "his ways" for the Masoretic Text's "my ways," which makes no sense and results from an ancient pious correction (*tiqqun soferim*), intended to protect God's honor. Compare Job 21:31.
[6] In addition to the sources cited in Greenstein, "A Forensic Understanding," see especially F. Rachel Magdalene, *On the Scales of Righteousness: Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job* (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2007). Magdalene interprets Job's lawsuit somewhat differently.
[7] This is not the place to discuss the complex, but apt, example of the suspected adulteress in Numbers 5.
[8] See especially Michael B. Dick's two studies: "The Legal Metaphor in Job 31," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 41 (1979), pp. 37–50; "Job 31, the Oath of Innocence, and the Sage," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 95 (1983), pp. 31–53.
[9] For the first publication, see Joseph Naveh, "A Hebrew Letter from the Seventh Century B.C.," *Israel Exploration Journal* 10 (1960), pp. 129–139; idem, "More Hebrew Inscriptions from Mesad Hashavyahu," *Israel Exploration Journal* 12 (1962), pp. 27–32. For complete up-to-date reading and commentary, see Shmuel Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), pp. 156–163; F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, J.J.M. Roberts, C.L. Seow, and R.E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven-London: Yale Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 358–370.

Q&C

continued from page 12

and Canaan, we conclude that the reading indeed does become an attractive possibility.

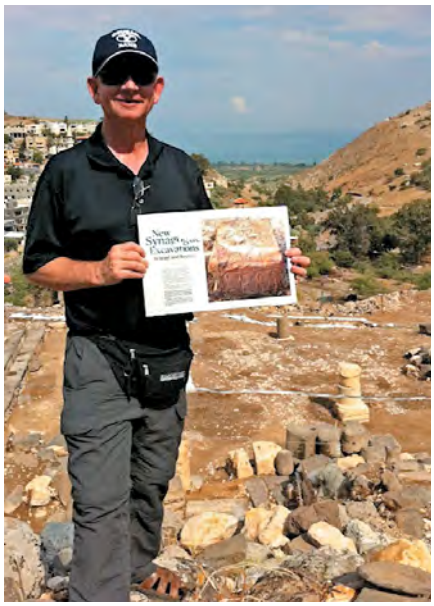
A GOOD WORD FOR GREENSPOON

The most delightful writing in **BAR** is the product of Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Bible in the News." The mischievous look in his photograph is matched with the wry commentary he provides in each issue.

THOMAS VANIDES
VACAVILLE, CALIFORNIA

THANKS FOR THE MEMORY

Your story "New Synagogue Excavations in Israel and Beyond" (July/August 2011) was what you might call a "timely article." My wife and I visited Israel last September to do some sightseeing. I just happened to tuck my copy of this issue into my luggage. One afternoon while swimming and sunning ourselves on a beach at Nof Ginosar in Galilee, I pulled my **BAR** out and began to read. To my surprise I discovered the article and I showed it to my wife, explaining to her that we were only about a mile from the very ruins described in this excellent article. Immediately she packed us up and said, "Let's go find it." So off we went. The article doesn't exactly give driving directions to pinpoint the location so we started asking around to see if anyone knew where the ruins



are located. No one seemed to know. But using the photos in the article we finally "discovered" this amazing piece of history in a cow pasture! Thanks **BAR** for such a great article and such a fun memory!

RICH KIRKHAM
POCATELLO, IDAHO

DID JESUS HAVE ARTHRITIS?

I thought "The Magi's Gifts—Tribute or Treatment?" (Strata, January/February 2012) was unconvincing. The fact that modern researchers have shown that frankincense has healing properties proves nothing: We may know this today but that does not mean that its medicinal value was known in antiquity. But even if we blindly speculate that its therapeutic agencies were known to the Magi, why would they give anti-inflammatory medicine to Jesus? Was Jesus born with arthritis?

BENJAMIN A. FOREMAN
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF BIBLE
THE MASTER'S COLLEGE—IBEX
JUDEAN HILLS, ISRAEL

CORRECTION

On the WorldWide page (January/February 2012) the article says "More than 3,500 years ago ... around 600 B.C.E." My math suggests that this would be about 2,600 years ago.

CHARLES FREELAND
OWASSO, OKLAHOMA

CANTERBURY ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRUST

Folkestone, England

Adorned with abstract geometric symbols and a stylized depiction of a Roman trophy, this tiny gold coin, which measures less than half an inch in diameter, was recovered during recent excavations at the site of Folkestone along the southern coast of England. Perched high atop the chalk cliffs overlooking the Strait of Dover, Folkestone is most famous for its well-appointed Roman villa of the first–fourth centuries C.E. This coin, however, was excavated from the site's earlier (and, until recently, previously unknown) (British) Iron Age levels (800 B.C.E.–42 C.E.).

The coin, known to numismatists (or coin specialists) as a gold quarter stater, was likely minted in southern England's Kent region between 50 and 30 B.C.E.—not long after Roman forces, under Julius Caesar, reached Britain for the first time. More than 50 locally minted coins have been found at the site, together with a range of imported pottery, suggesting that Folkestone (located at the shortest sea crossing of the English Channel) was an important trading hub and a strategic coastal outpost connecting southern Britain and the European mainland in the late Iron Age.

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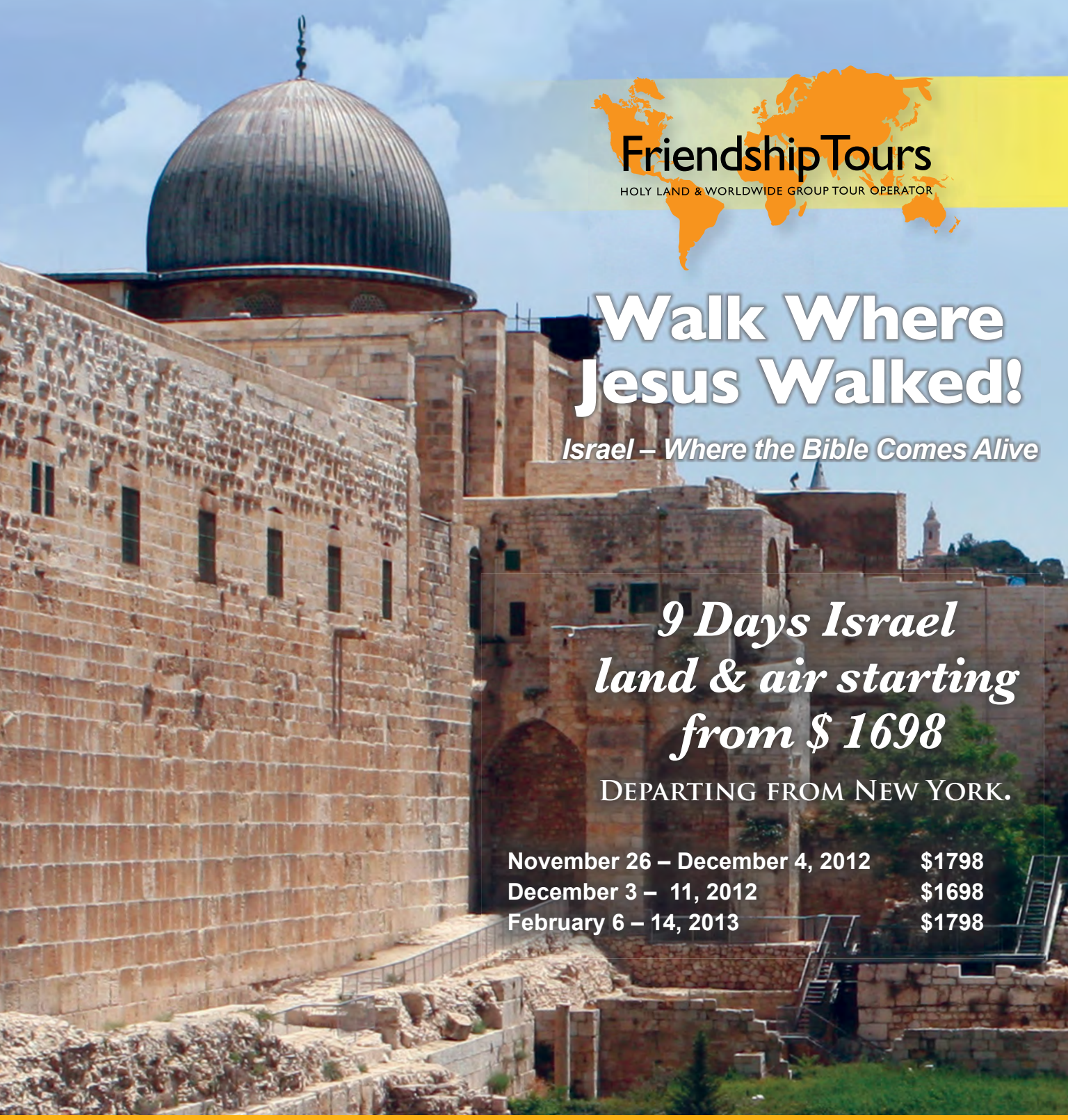

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