

THE IDENTIFICATION OF BIBLICAL ACHZIB AT  
KHIRBET 'ĒN EL-KIZBE IN THE JUDEAN SHEPHELAH,  
AND THE ORIGINS OF SHIMON BAR KOKHBA

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The search for the Judean site of Achzib has proven to be one of biblical archaeology's most interesting problems. Different sites have been proposed, but there isn't enough convincing evidence for any single site. Nor is there a scholarly consensus as to the proper location of this enigmatic place. However, a new literary and archaeological investigation may point the way to a solution for this difficult puzzle. First, literary arguments for the identification of Achzib will be collected. Second, the archaeological condition of *Khirbet 'Ēn el-Kizbe* will be described. Due to the findings it will be shown that *Khirbet 'Ēn el-Kizbe* might be *Chezib/Chozeba* and perhaps also Achzib, in case all three places relate to the same site. In the final chapter, the possibility of the identification of *Khirbet 'Ēn el-Kizbe* with the birthplace of Shimon Bar Kokhba will be discussed.

1. *Literary picture of Achzib*

The Old Testament gives the name Achzib to two different places. The most prominent Achzib lies in the territory of the tribe of Asher, in what is now northern Israel and southern Lebanon, and is probably the site of the modern town of *ez-Zib* (1598.2725).<sup>1</sup> Several excavations have been conducted there, and they have shown that this place has been occupied from the Middle Bronze Age II until the Persian Period.

But there is another Achzib which lies within the territory of Judah. In Achzib there may have been a royal pottery<sup>2</sup> as Mic 1:14 says: "The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Gass, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbachs in historischer und redaktioneller Perspektive* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins 35; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 131–132.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Demsky, "The 'House of Achzib' (a Critical Note on Micah 1:14b)," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 213–215. All *lmk*-handles are produced at one place according to the chemical

*bat-jars* of Achzib shall be a lie to the kings of Israel." If Achzib was a pottery production center, it is understandable that it lies near the biblical place of Socoh, as this place name appears on the so-called *mlk-jar-handles* like Hebron, Ziph and Mamshit.

The distribution of Judean districts in Joshua 15 is enigmatic.<sup>3</sup> There are several sites which cannot be identified, so a proper understanding is nearly impossible. Especially districts II–IV cause many difficulties. Usually one locates district II (Josh 15:33–36) around the Sorek and Elah Valleys, district III (Josh 15:37–41) around the Lachish Valley and district IV (Josh 15:42–44) around the Guvrin Valley. In that case these important valleys delineate a certain range of hills in which the respective towns are to be looked for. However, convincing as it sounds, this theory has its own flaws; district II extends over two valleys and incorporates even three sites that would be expected in district IV, especially when the Elah-Valley is considered the border between district II and IV. These towns are Azekah, Socoh and Adullam, all located south or south-west the Elah-Valley.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the sequence of districts is somewhat peculiar since district IV is located in the middle, between districts II and III.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the classification of district IV (Josh 15:42–44) is tricky. It seems that the nine enumerated place names might simply be additions to district II and III.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the places 'Ether and 'Ashan also appear in the Simeonite list in Josh 19:7 so that one has to reckon either with two places called 'Ether/'Ashan or with an interpolation either in Joshua 15 or Joshua 19.<sup>7</sup>

composition, cf. H. Mommsen, I. Perlman, and J. Yellin, "The Provenience of the *mlk* Jars," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 112–113.

<sup>3</sup> See especially J.C. de Vos, *Das Los Judas. Über Entstehung und Ziele der Landbeschreibung in Josua 15* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 95; Leiden: Brill, 2003). R.E. Tappy, "Historical and Geographical Notes on the 'Lowland Districts' of Judah in Joshua xv 33–47," *VT* 58 (2008): 381–382: "Biblicists generally settle for describing the information in these verses as 'painstaking', 'profuse', 'tedious' and 'obscure' and 'either a gold mine or minefield for present-day historical geographers.'"

<sup>4</sup> Thus one has to maintain that the border between district III and IV runs not along the Elah-Valley, but along the *Wādī el-Qubēbe* and the *Wādī el-Ifranġ*.

<sup>5</sup> For that reason Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible. The Tribal Territories of Israel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 379 maintains that district II is in the north, district III is in the south-west and district IV is in the south-east. But see the discussion in de Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 424–425.

<sup>6</sup> This could be comparable to the addition of the Philistine cities in Josh 15:45–47, which is regarded as later interpolation by R.E. Tappy, "Historical," 402–403.

<sup>7</sup> A.F. Rainey, "The Administrative Division of the Shephelah," *Tel Aviv* 7 (1980): 199 thinks that Ether and Ashan are additions to the Simeonite list in Josh 19:7. Both towns should be looked for in the Shephelah and not in the Negeb.

There is also no clear order in the list of the nine places that belong to district IV. Libnah, *Tell Bornāṭ* (1380.1154), and 'Ether, *Khirbet el-'Aṭār* (1385.1138), lie on a north-to-south line which would most likely end at Mareshah, *Tell Sandaḥanne* (1404.1112). But the redactor lists the unknown places 'Ashan, Jiptah and 'Ashnah<sup>8</sup> instead of Mareshah. Then he starts a south-to-north line with Nezib, *Khirbet Bēt Nešib eš-Šarqīye* (1511.1104), Keilah, *Khirbet Qilā* (1503.1134), and Achzib and ends strangely in the southern place Mareshah. Nezib and Keilah are located in the "Trough Valley" so that Achzib could be looked for in the "Trough Valley" as well. It seems that Josh 15:42–44 just fills in some towns between district II and III. Although a conclusive solution is not possible, it appears that Achzib could be located in the "Trough Valley" to the north of Keilah and not in the west between Keilah and Mareshah. However, this delicate issue has to be dealt with separately, as part of a major study of the district list in Joshua 15.

The Judean Achzib may be the same Chezib identified in Gen 38:5, where Judah's wife Shua bore their son Shelah. Chezib is possibly located near Adullam, because Shua stems from a Canaanite family living in Adullam.

There is another place with the similar name of Chozeba in 1 Chr 4:22 which may be the Judean Achzib. As both Chozeba and Chezib are people and/or places associated with Shelah according to 1 Chr 4:22 and Gen 38:5, these different names most probably denote the same thing. On all accounts, the potters of 1 Chr 4:22–23 are employed by the king so that the relationship to Mic 1:14 seems to be clear. Thus Chezib (Gen 38:5)/Chozeba (1 Chr 4:22) could be equated with the Judean Achzib.

Thus, the toponyms Achzib, Chezib and Chozeba could denote the same place.<sup>9</sup> In their respective micro-contexts, these three places are typically connected with the same surrounding place names, so they most certainly lie in the same region. Moreover, the linguistic evolution from Chezib to Achzib or Chozeba is understandable. Either a feminine suffix or an aleph prefix was joined to the basic form of the

<sup>8</sup> Ashnah is a doublet to Josh 15:33. A.F. Rainey, "The Biblical Shephelah of Judah," *BASOR* 251 (1983): 11 identifies the second Ashnah with Idna like the Old Latin Version and considers *Khirbet Idnā* (1477.1074) to be Ashnah. However see the critical evaluation of de Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 423.

<sup>9</sup> See already W.F. Albright, "Topographical Researches in Judaea," *BASOR* 18 (1925): 6; A.F. Rainey, "Biblical Shephelah of Judah," *BASOR* 251 (1983): 5.

stem *kzb*, so that the place name in each case denotes “place of abundance,” since the place name itself can be combined with a root *KZB-II* (“to be abundant”) according to the Akkadian cognate *kazābu*. The short form *Chezib* may have been the original toponym from which the variations derived over time, either to avoid the doubling of consonants or to stress the feminine character of the place.

If *Netaim* and *Gederah* are indeed actual toponyms,<sup>10</sup> the Judean *Achzib/Chezib/Chozeba* should be looked for in their vicinity. The sites of *Netaim* and *Gederah* lie within the *Elah Valley*, and it seems highly probable that *Achzib/Chezib/Chozeba* was also located in the same valley. The tradition referring to royal potters living in those places (which appears twice in the Bible)<sup>11</sup> should therefore be definitively connected with the *Elah-Valley*, in the Judean *Shephelah*.

Conclusions: In the first place, the Judean *Achzib* might have been a royal workshop for the production of *lmlk*-jars (*Mic* 1:14), most probably situated in the *Elah-Valley*. Second, since *Achzib* might be identical with *Chozeba*, *Achzib* should be sought for near *Netaim* and *Gederah* (*1 Chr* 4:22–23). Third, since *Achzib* might be equated with *Chezib*, this place might be in the vicinity of *Adullam*. Thus *Achzib/Chezib/Chozeba* could be found in the *Elah-Valley*.

However, the information in *Joshua* 15 is problematic because the *Elah-Valley* belongs to district II so that *Achzib*, located in district IV, might be found further to the south or southwest (*Josh* 15:44). Therefore, there might be two Judean places called *Achzib*. This might be indicated by *Eusebius* who preserved two places: *Ἀχζείβ*<sup>12</sup> and *Χαοβί*.<sup>13</sup> His first *Achzib* is mysterious since he only says that it belongs to the tribe of *Judah*. Thus, *Eusebius* did not know where to locate the place mentioned in *Josh* 15:44. This *Achzib* is located somewhere near *Keilah* and *Mareshah*. The second *Achzib* is—according to *Eusebius*—a desolate place in the territory of *Eleutheropolis* near *Adullam* which

<sup>10</sup> The alleged place names *Netaim* and *Gederah* could also be understood as adverbial qualifiers: “among plants and hedges.” Against this, see P. Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), 127 n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> So *1 Chr* 4:23 and perhaps also *Mic* 1:14, if *בתי אכזיב* means “*bat*-jars of *Achzib*,” see S. Mittmann, “Königliches *bat*’ und *ṭēt*-Symbol”, *Mit einem Beitrag zu Micha* 1,14b und *1 Chronik* 4,21–23\*, *ZDPV* 107 (1991): 63.

<sup>12</sup> *Eusebius, Onomasticon*, 26:7.

<sup>13</sup> *Eusebius, Onomasticon*, 172:6.

suits a place in the *Elah Valley*.<sup>14</sup> Before discussing the new site of *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe*, one has to look at the four previously proposed locations for the Judean *Achzib*.<sup>15</sup>

a) *Khirbet Tell el-Bēdā / Tel Lavnīn* (1456.1167)<sup>16</sup>

This site is about seven kilometers from *Mareshah*, *Tell Sandaḥanne*, so *Khirbet Tell el-Bēdā / Tel Lavnīn* is a suitable place for the Judean *Achzib*. This site lies on top of an isolated hill and is easily defended. The periods of occupation range from the Late Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period. Since *Khirbet Tell el-Bēdā / Tel Lavnīn* was clearly occupied during the Byzantine Period, it is questionable whether this site is the same as *Eusebius'* ruined *Chasbi*.<sup>17</sup>

b) *Khirbet Umm Burğ* (1470.1150)<sup>18</sup>

According to archaeological surveys, this site was occupied most probably no earlier than the Hellenistic period.<sup>19</sup> By virtue of its closeness to *Khirbet Tell el-Bēdā* and the occupation history, *Khirbet Umm Burğ* could be the medieval successor of the other site. It is, after all, located on an important ancient road and would have been very suitable for settlement. However, due to the archaeological findings *Khirbet Umm Burğ* cannot be the biblical *Achzib*.

<sup>14</sup> This region is usually considered to belong to *Betholetepha*, the capital of a Judean toparchy during the late Second Temple period. However, the notion that *Chasbi* lies in the territory of *Eleutheropolis* does not contradict the location in the *Elah-Valley* because the district of *Betholetepha* seems to be unknown to *Eusebius*.

<sup>15</sup> See also E. Gass and B. Zissu, “In Search for the Judean *Achzib*,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft im Heiligen Land* 10, (2004): 66–76.

<sup>16</sup> See K. Elliger, “Die Heimat des Propheten *Micha*,” *ZDPV* 57 (1934): 121–124.

<sup>17</sup> Remains of a church or monastery were discovered on the top of the site. Caves hewn and used during the byzantine period were found on its slopes. See B. Zissu, “*Daniel in the Lion's Den* (?) at *Tel Lavnīn*, Judean *Shephelah*,” *RB* 106 (1999): 563–573.

<sup>18</sup> See A. Saarisalo, “Topographical Researches in the *Shephelah*,” *JPOS* 11 (1931): 98, 103.

<sup>19</sup> See B. Zissu and A. Ganor, “Survey and Excavations at *Horbat Burgin* in the Judean *Shephela*: Burial Caves, Hiding Complexes and Installations of the Second Temple and Byzantine Periods,” *Atiqot* 58 (2008): 15–48 (Hebrew). Only few potsherds from the Iron Age were found during our surveys and excavations.

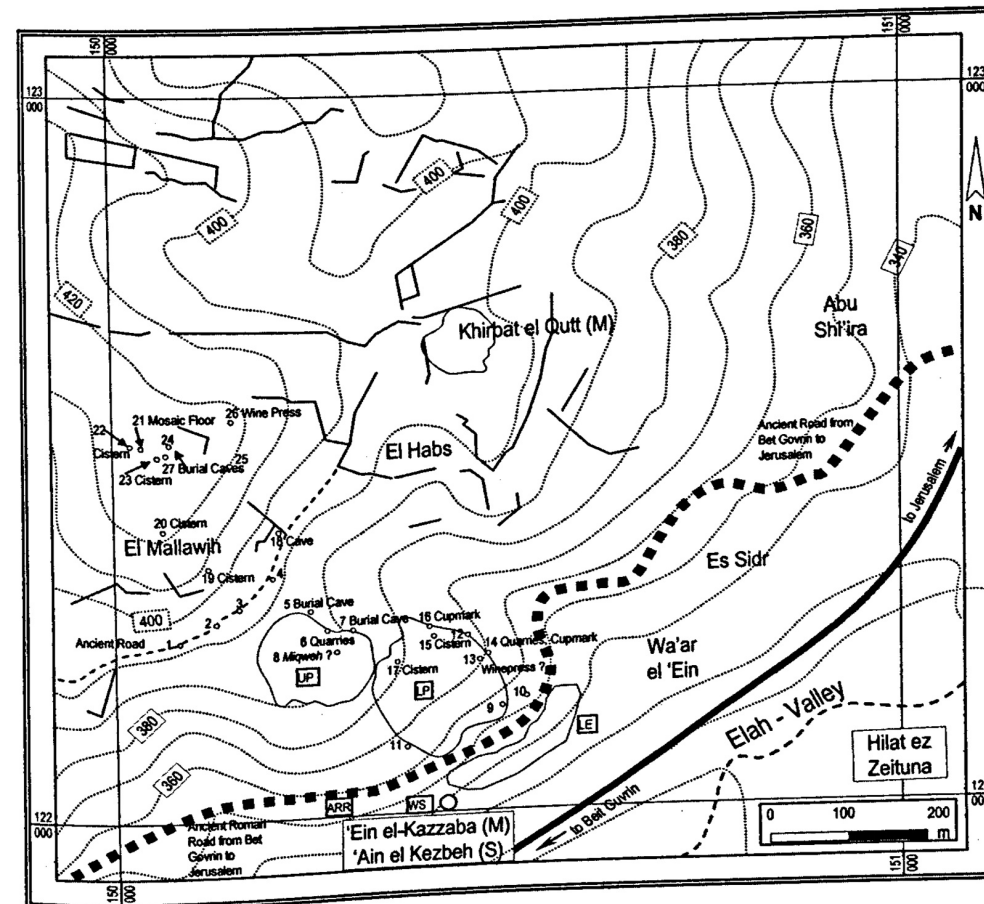


*Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe* is located on the southeastern slopes of *Khirbet Bēt Neṭṭif*, in the Judean Shephelah (map I, fig. 1).<sup>25</sup> The site is situated on the slope of a hill that descends from *Khirbet Bēt Neṭṭif* to *Naḥal Sansan*, a tributary of *Naḥal ha-'Elah*.<sup>26</sup> The slope runs northwest to southeast, and is bordered on the east and west by two small valleys. The upper part of the slope is covered by Mediterranean *maquis*, while its lower part has been forested.

The recent archaeological survey concentrated on the lower parts of the slope, just above the Elah-Valley, with the goal of examining the remains of *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe* and its surroundings. The bottom of the slope is covered by alluvium—rich, brown soil, suitable for agriculture (marked *Wa'ar el-'Ēn, es-Sidr* on Map 1). Additional agricultural areas were obtained by building terraces on the adjacent slopes (figs. 2a, 2b).

*'Ēn el-Kizbe* is located at the bottom of this slope (marked WS—Water Source, on Map 1). Nowadays, the ancient water source is dry. Its location is disclosed only by some stone troughs and a well blocked with stones and alluvium (figs. 3, 4).

Remains of the ancient Roman Road from Bet Guvrin to Jerusalem were found on the slope, just above the water source (marked ARR—Ancient Roman Road on Map 1). The road followed a plain course, at



Map 1—Showing main surveyed features, topography and Arab names.

Early Bronze I and II, Iron II (including a Rosette stamp on a jar handle), Roman, Byzantine and Mameluke periods, see Dagan, *The Settlement*, fig. 74.

<sup>25</sup> Central map ref. 1504/1223; Site components marked UP, LP, LE on Map 1 (For detailed map references of features discerned during the survey, see Table 1). The archaeological survey of *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe* was carried out during November–December 2005, and directed by the authors, on behalf of the Department of Land of Israel and Archaeology at Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel (IAA Licence G/74/2005). Contributing to the survey were N. and A. Graicer (surveying and drafting), O. Ackerman (geomorphology), N. Shtober (GPS-GIS) and J. Rudman (pottery drawing), as well as students and volunteers. Assistance was provided by E. Eshel, G. Barkay, A. Maier, B. Brandl, Y. Dagan, D. B. Cahn, Z. Greenhut, D. Weiss and Y. Meihuas. The project was supported by a grant from the Deutscher Palästinaverein.

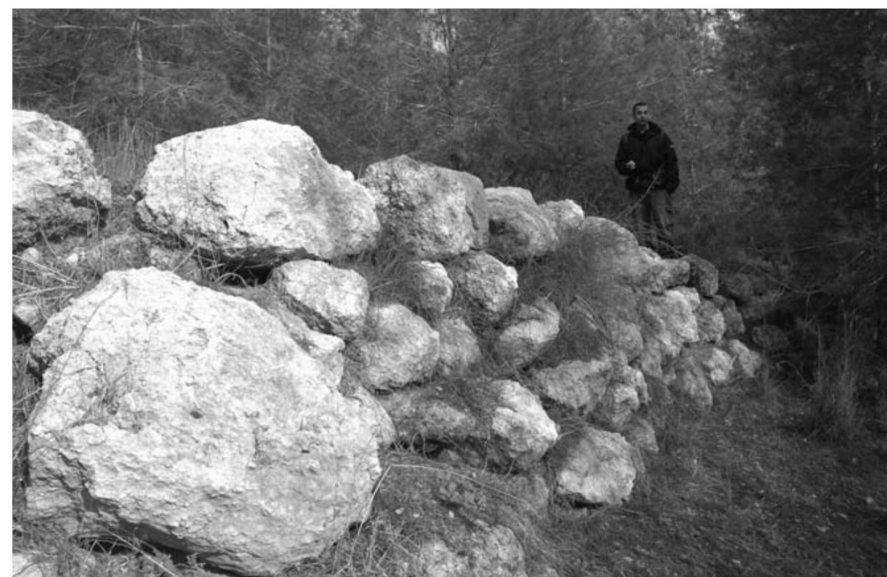
<sup>26</sup> The slope that was examined forms part of a range of hills located on the eastern borders of the Judean Shephelah. The border between the Shephelah and the Judean Mountains is clearly marked by the *'Emeq ha-Telem* ("Valley of the Furrow"), which runs north-south. It starts at the Ayalon Valley in the north and runs in a north-south direction to the area of Lahav. Some *Wādīs* (riverbeds with seasonal water flows) that drain the western parts of the Judean and Hebron mountains terminate in this valley, and change their east-west course to a northerly or southerly direction. *Naḥal ha-'Elah* (*Wādī es-Sanṭ*) and *Naḥal Zanoah* merge in this valley, and form natural boundaries to this range of hills.



Fig. 1. Photo of *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe* site, from Ha-Elah Valley, looking north. The site is located on the hill to left, above the forested area. (photo by authors)



a



b

Fig. 2. a. Agricultural terrace built of large field-stones, to west of UP. b. Terrace, within area designated as LE, looking east. (photos by authors)



Fig. 3. 'En el-Kizbe, the dry water source, looking east. (photo by authors)



Fig. 4. 'En el-Kizbe, water troughs scattered around the dry well, looking east. (photo by authors)

the bottom of the slope and above the alluvial fields. It appears that in some places the road was located on an elevated ramp built of crushed limestone and pebbles (fig. 5). The Roman Road apparently followed an earlier track which connected the Shephelah to the Judean Mountains along the same course.

The remains of the ancient settlement, designated here as *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe* were found above the water source and the ancient road. The lower part of the settlement (marked LP—Lower Part, on Map 1) was located on the slope, on top of an elevated plateau, with an area of approximately eight dunams (fig. 6a, 6b). This was bordered on its south-eastern side by a cliff, c. 10 m. high and huge *Nari* (hard limestone) boulders formed a natural defense toward the valley, while enabling direct control of the ancient road (fig. 7).

This location provided a good prospect across the Elah-Valley, the upper part of *Nahal ha-'Elah* (*Wādī es-Sanṭ*) and the entrance to *'Emeq ha-Telem*, all natural passages leading NS and EW. The location also offered a vantage-point over Adullam, Socoh, and other sites.

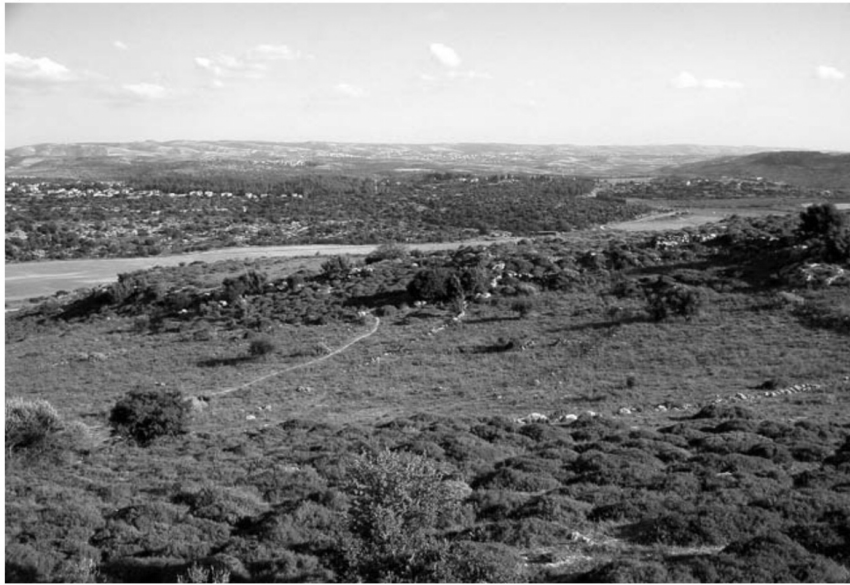
On the upper parts of the slope, above the plateau, (marked UP, Upper Part, on Map 1) there is an additional area bordered by some terraces and rocky outcrops. Together, both cover an area of approximately 18–20 dunams. The ancient buildings were badly damaged by the systematic looting of building stones, apparently by the inhabitants of neighboring *Bēt Netṭif*. The buildings were dismantled and their stones were reused for various purposes—as building material for terraces, field walls, hedges, fences, animal pens, etc. Some building stones can still be seen—incorporated into nearby terraces—but few walls survive within the area of the ancient settlement. These are visible in places where illegal excavations have taken place in recent years.

The area of the site (UP and LP) is covered by a layer of brown-gray soil, mixed with pottery fragments from the following periods: Iron Age II (Pottery pl. 1), including a Royal *lmlk*-jar handle (Fig. 8), Persian (Pottery pl. 2: 1–9), Hellenistic (Pottery pl. 2: 11–19; a fragment of an oil lamp, shown in pl. 4:1), Early and Middle Roman (Pottery and glass pl. 3: 1,2,7,8; a fragment of an oil lamp, shown in pl. 4:2)—including pottery types and a glass bowl, typical of the period between the two Jewish Wars against the Romans and the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Pottery and Glass pl. 3: 3–6, 9,10). The area of the alleged Roman Road (ARR) and the terraced slope beneath is covered mostly by Roman and



Fig. 5. Remains of artificial ramp, west of LP. The ramp was built of pebbles and limestone chips, and apparently served as the basis of the Roman road from Bet Guvrin to Jerusalem. (photo to southwest, by the authors)





a



b

Fig. 6. a. *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe* is located on the slope, across the small valley, in the center of the photo. In background, at the right edge of the photo, the site of *Adullam*. Photo to south. b. Photo showing surveyors collecting pottery on surface, LP, looking east. (photos by the authors)

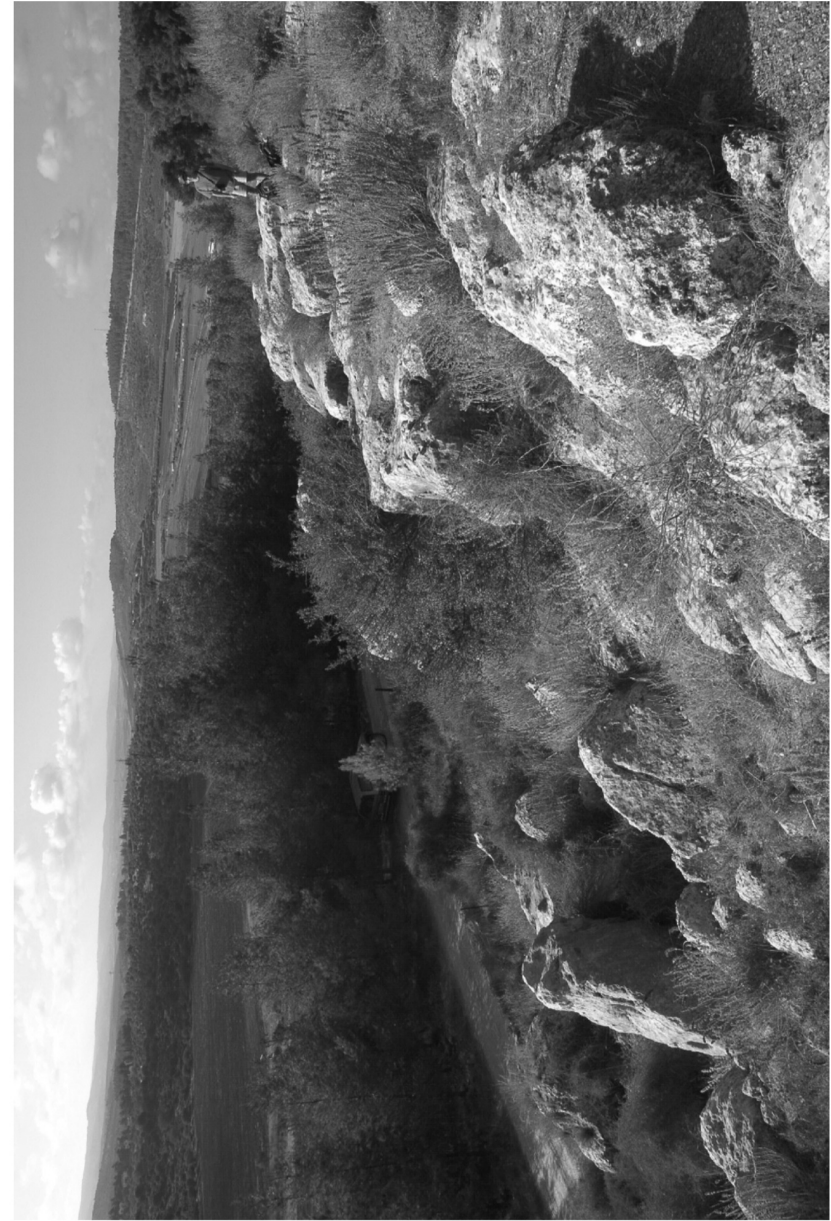
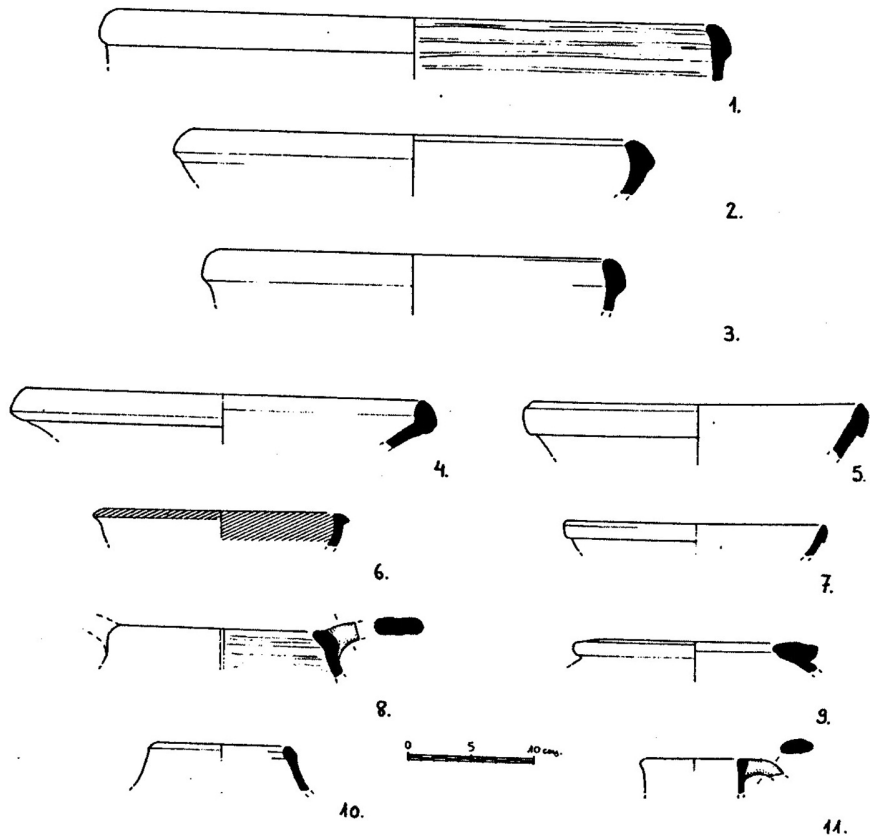


Fig. 7. Cliff and collapsed *Nari* boulders mark the southern approaches of *Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe*, offering natural fortification and control of the ancient road to Jerusalem. (photo to southwest, by the authors)



Pottery plate 1 (see Table 2, for descriptions)

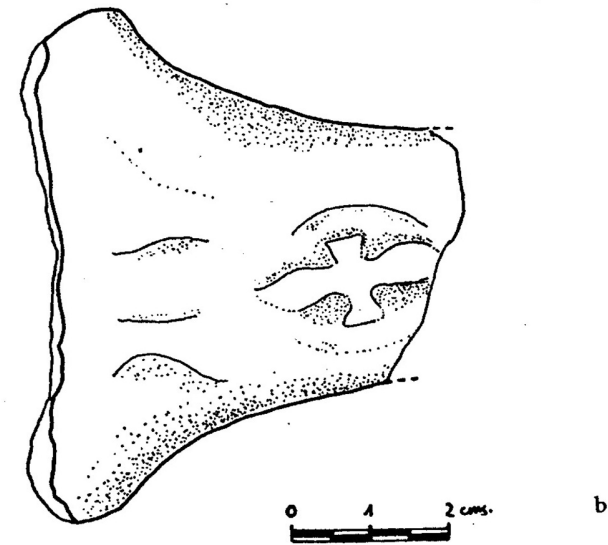
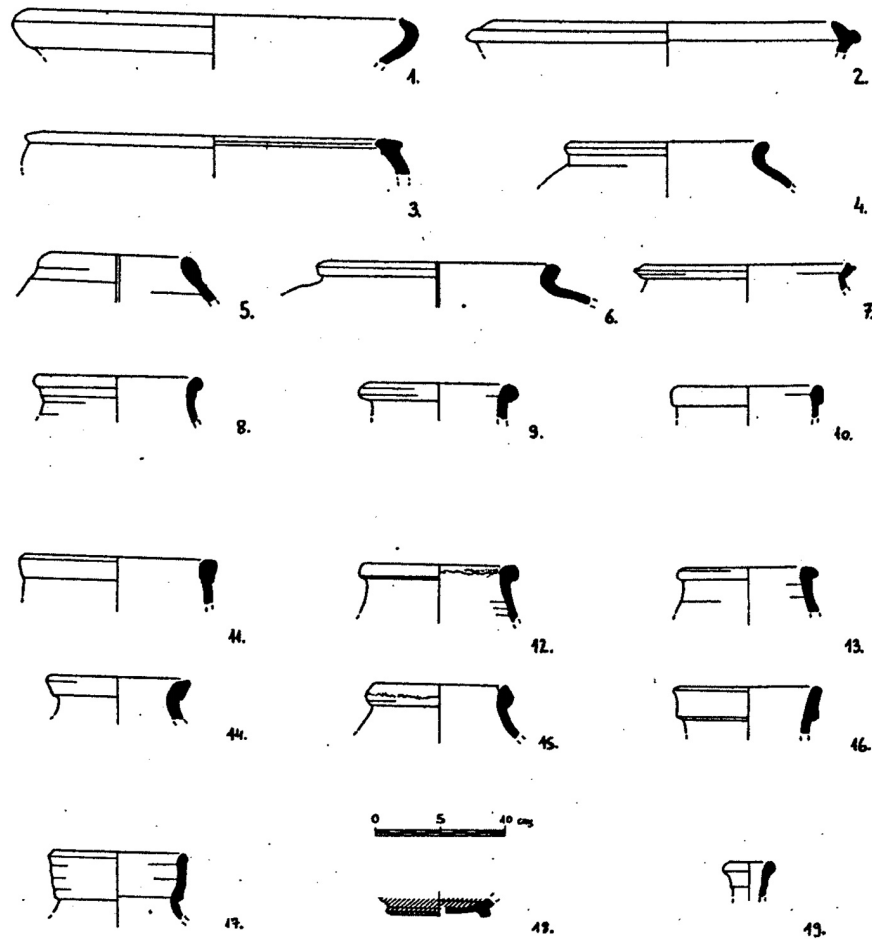
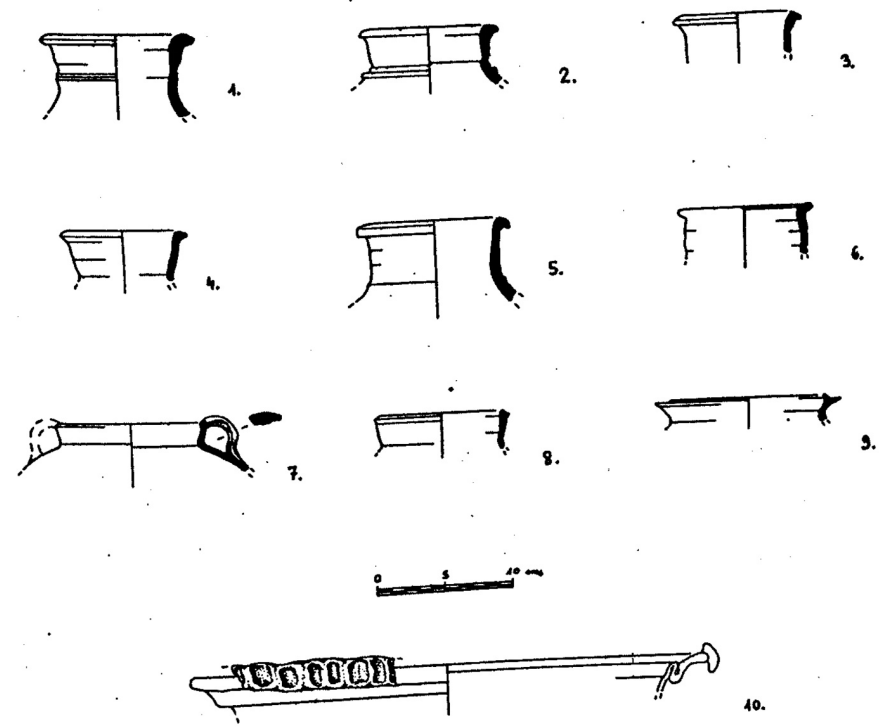


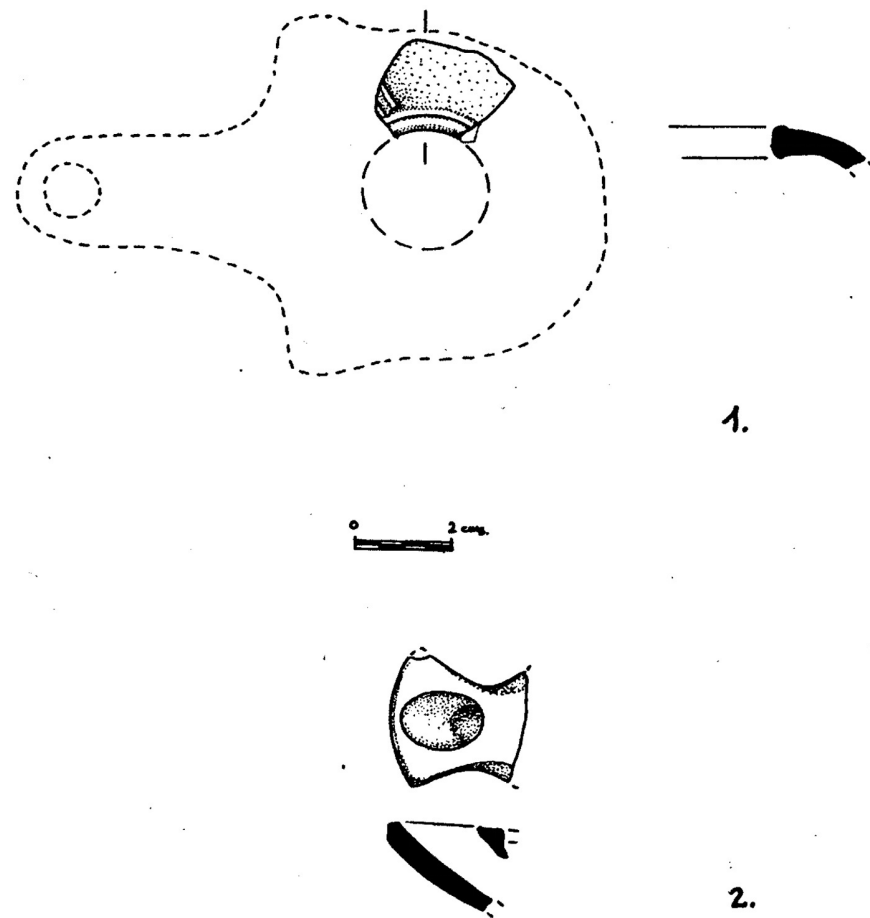
Fig. 8. Photo (a) and drawing (b) of Royal *lmlk* jar handle. (photo by authors; drawing by Julia Rudman)



Pottery plate 2 (see Table 3, for descriptions)



Pottery and glass plate 3 (see Table 4, for descriptions)



Oil-lamps plate 4 (Oil lamps—see Table 5, for descriptions)

Byzantine sherds. Few sherds dated to the Persian period were found here as well (as illustrated in pottery pl. 2: 10).<sup>27</sup>

A few rock-cut and plastered water cisterns were found on the site. One of them, filled with silt (fig. 9; No. 17 on Map 1), was found covered by a square stone slab (1.6 × 1.6 m, 0.7 m thick). Some rock-cut features, such as stone quarries (fig. 10), a wine press (?), basins and cupmarks were found at the extremities of the site (table I, map 1).

Some rock-cuttings were situated outside of the once built-up area. Cave no. 8 has a hewn and plastered opening (c. 0.7 m wide) facing south (fig. 11). Part of the cave ceiling has collapsed and almost half of the cave was illegally excavated. Its reconstructed plan depicts it as square (c. 2.5 × 2.5 m), with walls covered by white hydraulic plaster laid over a layer of mortar mixed with small pebbles. Despite the bad state of preservation, on the basis of these characteristic features, we assume that it was originally a ritual immersion bath (*miqveh*) of a type common in this part of Judea from the Hellenistic (Hasmonaean) period to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, openings to three or four rock-cut tombs were discovered nearby. Some of the chambers are partly collapsed or full of debris, others were looted in the past and have been covered over during the course of time. One of these looted chambers (figs. 12, 13a, 13b; No. 7 on map 1), however, has been excellently preserved. The tomb was entered through a courtyard (2.5 × 2 m), into the northern wall of which a square opening (c. 0.4 × 0.5 m) surrounded by a recessed frame had been cut. This opening could be sealed by a square stone that was also found nearby. The opening leads into a square burial chamber (2.2 × 2 × 1.6 × 2 m), which was lined with three ledges along three of its walls, and had a recess c. 0.6 m deep in the center of the floor in which one could stand. In the northwestern corner of the room, a small, square repository had been cut, apparently for collected bones, and a small niche, hewn in the southern wall of the chamber, was apparently for the same purpose. Tombs with similar architectural

<sup>27</sup> The terraced slope beneath ARR was designated as LE (Lower Extension). It is not clear whether it was part of the site, or whether it merely contains pottery originating from ARR.

<sup>28</sup> See R. Reich, *Miqva'ot (Jewish Ritual Immersion Baths) in Eretz Israel in the Second Temple and Mishnah and Talmud Periods* (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1990), (Hebrew); D. Amit, *Ritual Immersion Baths (Miqva'oth) from the Second Temple Period in the Hebron Hills*, (MA thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996), (Hebrew).



Fig. 9. Photo of covered opening of water cistern no. 17, looking south. (photo by authors)



Fig. 10. Photo of ancient stone quarry, to east of site (looking north). (photo by authors)

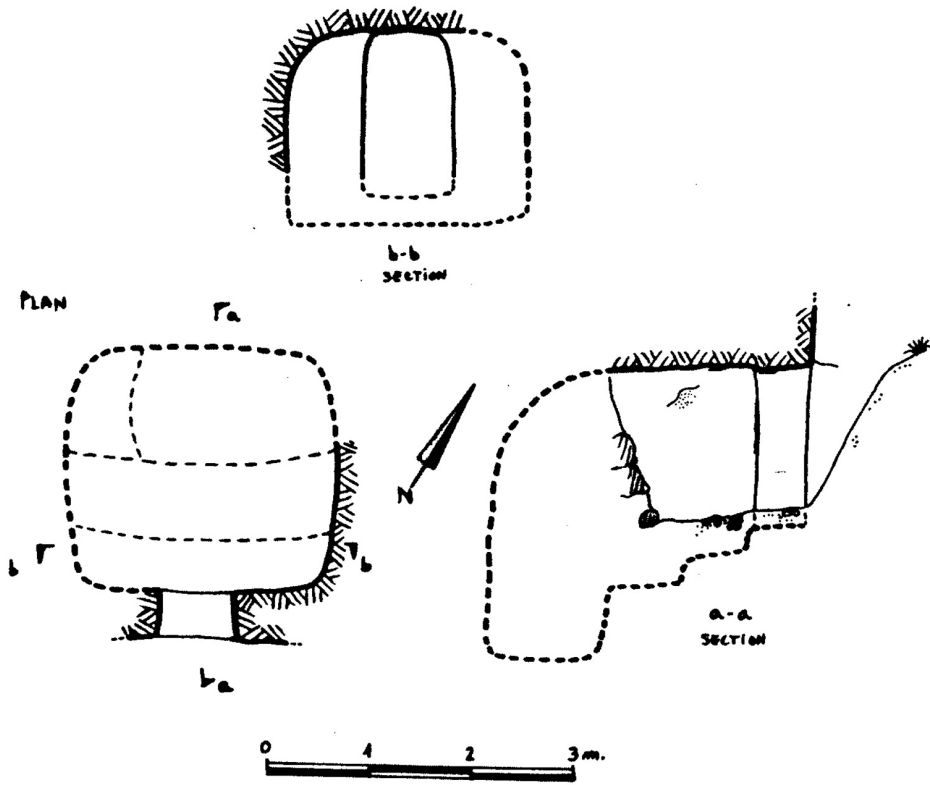


Fig. 11. Plan and section of rock-cut and plastered cave, reconstructed as a typical ritual immersion bath. (N. Graicer)

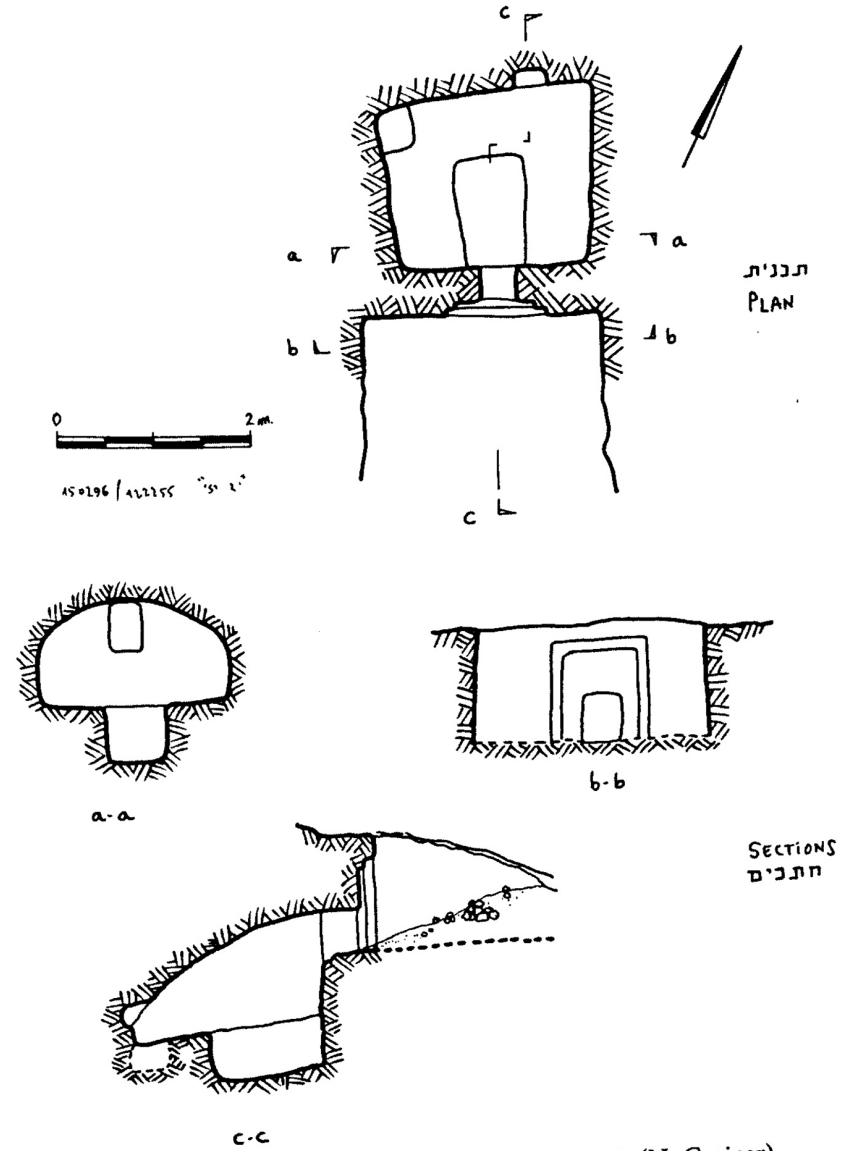


Fig. 12. Plan and sections of burial cave no. 7. (N. Graicer)



Fig. 13. Photo of opening, surrounded by recesses, to burial cave no. 7. (photo toward north, by the authors)

plans are known from the Iron Age<sup>29</sup> but it appears that during the Second Temple period similar caverns were hewn, continuing a long-standing tradition.<sup>30</sup> This one was found empty, and, in the absence of pottery and other artifacts, it is difficult to establish a clear date.

On the upper part of the slope an additional ancient road was found (figs. 14, 15; Labelled 1,2,3,4 on map I). It is c. 3–4 m wide, flanked by two walls of fieldstones, and follows the natural topographic contour leading from *Bēt Neṭṭif* to *‘Emeq ha-Telem*.

On the hilltop (marked as *el-Mallawih*), above the road, some additional features were documented. These include water cisterns, a portion of a coloured mosaic pavement decorated with geometric patterns (fig. 18),<sup>31</sup> stone quarries and rock-cut tombs from the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, all of which lie on the outskirts of the large village of *Bēt Neṭṭif* (ancient Betholetepha).<sup>32</sup>

The finds can be summarized as follows: The main site, although badly preserved is *Khirbet ‘Ēn el-Kizbe*, which extended on the slope, over c. 18–20 dunams (LP and UP should be regarded as a single archaeological site). The sites located in the vicinity<sup>33</sup> were apparently adjacent agricultural estates. The remains on the hilltop<sup>34</sup> cover a large area, but in our opinion are not part of an independent archaeological site—they represent a Roman and Byzantine suburb of *Khirbet Bēt Neṭṭif*. The location of *Khirbet ‘Ēn el-Kizbe* near the ancient road and the water source, the preservation of the ancient name at the water source, and the discovery of pottery from Iron Age II and the Persian period (including two Royal *lmlk* jar handles), strongly support identifying this site with ancient Achzib/Chezib/Chozeba. The rock-cut elements and the typical pottery show that the site was (continuously?)

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. G. Barkay, “Excavations at Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem,” *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (ed. H. Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 93, caves 12, 34.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. A. Kloner and B. Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period* (Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2007), 87–88, fig. 30; 93; 145; 181; 186.

<sup>31</sup> A mosaic pavement decorated with somewhat similar patterns was discovered in 1933 at *Bēt Neṭṭif*, near *Welī Šeh’Abdallah*, and published by D.C. Baramki, “Recent Discoveries of Byzantine Remains in Palestine,” *QDAP* 4 (1934): 119–121.

<sup>32</sup> Betholetepha was the capital of a Judean toparchy during the late Second Temple period, and an important town during the Roman and Byzantine periods, see Y. Tsafir, L. Di Segni and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea, Palaestina. Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods. Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 84.

<sup>33</sup> Dagan, *The Settlement*, sites 112 and 118.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, site 115.



Fig. 14. Ancient road marked by fieldstones, looking east. (photo by the authors)



Fig. 15. Old oaks near ancient road, looking east. (photo by the authors)





Fig. 16. Three cupmarks cut on top of *Nari* boulder, which subsequently collapsed. (photo to west, by the authors)



Fig. 17. Rock-cut basin cut into the bedrock, above collapsed *Nari* boulders. (photo to east by the authors)

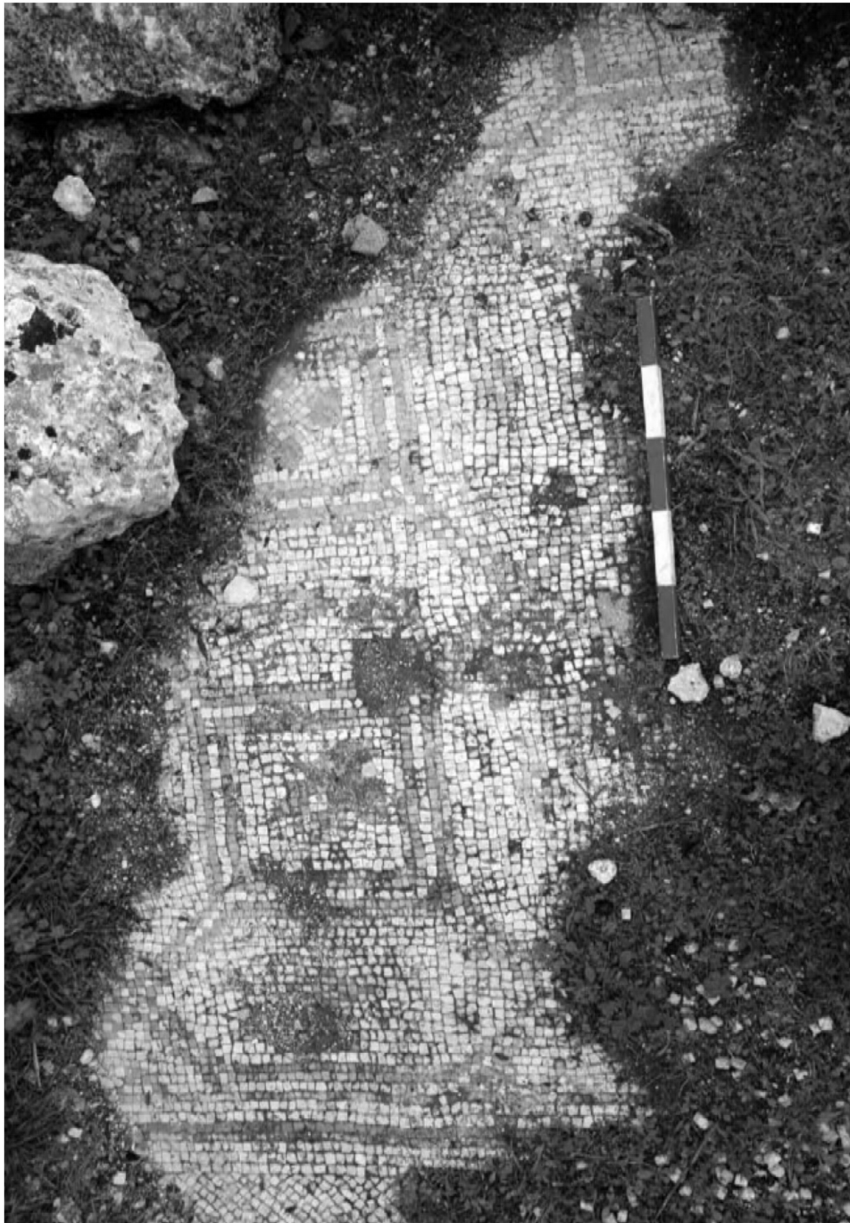


Fig. 18. Remains of mosaic pavement on top of el-Mallawih hill, north of Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe. (photo by the authors)

inhabited during the Hellenistic, Early and Middle Roman periods—up to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The absence of later archaeological finds on the site itself shows that the site was apparently destroyed during this revolt and never rebuilt. Later material was found only adjacent to the ancient Roman road and is apparently related to the use of this road.

### 3. Achzib/Chozeba—the Birthplace of Shimon Bar Kokhba?

#### 3.1 A Short History of the Revolt and Its Leader

Though causes for the Second Jewish Revolt are ambiguous,<sup>35</sup> the Jews and Romans were clearly embroiled in violent warfare between the

<sup>35</sup> On the causes see H. Strathmann, "Der Kampf um Beth-Ter," *Palästinajahrbuch* 23 (1927): 101–107; H. Mantel, "The Causes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," *JQR* 58 (1967): 277–285; S. Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt (A.D. 132–135)* (BAR Supplementary Series 7; Oxford: BAR, 1976), 2–22; G. Stemmerger, *Das klassische Judentum, Kultur und Geschichte der rabbinischen Zeit (70 n. Chr. bis 1040 n. Chr.)* (München: Beck, 1979), 19; Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 29–50; S. Applebaum, "The Second Jewish Revolt (A.D. 131–35)," *PEQ* 116 (1984): 35–38; L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar-Kokhba War* (Aarau, Frankfurt and Salzburg: Sauerländer, 1984), 102–109; J.H. Hayes and S.R. Mandell, *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity from Alexander to Bar Kochba* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 211–212; B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, "The Revolt of Bar Kokhba. Ideology and Modern Scholarship," in *The Near East under Roman Rule. Selected Papers* (ed. B. Isaac, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum 177; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 233–243; J. C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 48–49; M. Sasse, *Geschichte Israels in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels. Historische Ereignisse, Archäologie, Sozialgeschichte, Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 331–332. For the latest discussion of the factors motivating the Second Revolt see the following studies: M. Goodman, "Trajan and the Origins of the Bar Kokhba War," in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 23–29; J. Zangenberg, "Bis das Pulverfass explodiert. Jüdische Geschichte zwischen Widerstand und Anpassung von 168 v. Chr. bis 135 n. Chr.," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 32 (2004): 45; H. Eshel, "The Date of the Founding of Aelia Capitolina," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. Vanderkam, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 637–643, on the building of Aelia Capitolina; contra Y. Tsafir, "Numismatics and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina. A Critical Review," in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 31–36; R. Abusch, "Negotiating Difference. Genital Mutation in Roman Slave Law and the History of the Bar Kokhba Revolt," in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 71–74; B. Isaac, "Roman Religious Policy and the Bar Kokhba War," in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 37–54; A. Oppenheimer, "The Ban on Circumcision as a Cause of the Revolt. A Reconsideration," in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 55–69; H. Eshel, "The Bar Kokhba Revolt,

years 132–136 C.E.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps the Jews revolted because of the Roman attempt to build a new city called Aelia Capitolina, with a temple of Jupiter on the site of the former Jewish Temple. The desecration of the Temple area could have prompted the Jewish uprising. Another issue contributing to the revolt can be seen in the Roman law against circumcision; from the Roman perspective, this practice was the equivalent of castration, the perpetrators of which should be subject to capital punishment. Furthermore, animosities against the Romans' policy of hellenization<sup>37</sup> had been seething for some time, and were ripe to break out in violence. Most probably a combination of factors was responsible for the Jewish upheaval.

The leader of the Second Jewish Revolt was Shimon Bar Koziba. According to some of the coins and lead weights produced by his own administration he used the title: Prince of Israel (נשיא)—a title not yet held by a rabbinical patriarch, but which reflected a continuation of earlier traditions.<sup>38</sup> Rabbi Aqiva regarded him as the star prophesied in Num 24:17 and considered him the long awaited Messiah.<sup>39</sup> Due

132–135,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, IV: The Late Roman Period* (ed. S.T. Katz; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105–127.

<sup>36</sup> For the chronology see P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand. Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 1; Tübingen: Mohr, 1981), 27–28; H. Eshel, “The Dates Used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt,” in *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered. New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome* (ed. P. Schäfer, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 100; Tübingen: Mohr, 2003), 93–105; W. Eck, “The Bar Kokhba War, The Roman Point of View,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999): 87–88; H.M. Cotton and W. Eck, “P. Murabba’at 114 und die Anwesenheit Römischer Truppen in den Höhlen des Wadi Murabba’at nach dem Bar Kokhba Aufstand,” *ZPE* 138 (2002): 175–176.

<sup>37</sup> Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 50. Mantel, “The Causes,” 277–285 has already discussed the Jewish desire for political and spiritual freedom under the leadership of Shimon Bar Kokhba who was viewed as the long-awaited Messiah.

<sup>38</sup> For the coins and their inscriptions see Mildenberg, *The Coinage*, 29–31; 61–65; Y. Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins* (Jerusalem and Nyack: Yad ben-Zvi Press, 2001), 139–140. For the lead weights see A. Kloner, “Lead Weights of Bar Kokhba’s Administration,” *IEJ* 40 (1990): 58–67; B. Zissu and A. Ganor, “A Lead Weight of Bar Kokhba’s Administration,” *IEJ* 56 (2006): 178–182. P. Schäfer, “Bar Kokhba and the Rabbis,” in Schäfer, *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, 15–22, discusses the title נשיא at length. Shimon is more closely related to the Maccabees, the Qumran community and the Zealots than to the Rabbis.

<sup>39</sup> For various titles and messianic expectations see C.A. Evans, *Jesus and his Contemporaries. Comparative Studies* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 25; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 187–204; B.W.R. Pearson, “The Book of the Twelve, Aqiba’s Messianic Interpretations and the Refuge Caves of the Second Jewish War,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 26;

to such Messianic expectations, he was also called Bar Kokhba (“son of the star”) by his followers and Bar Koziba (“son of the lie”) by his critics after his revolt failed and perhaps even during the revolt.

Next to nothing is known about his life and background. After few years of guerilla warfare, Shimon and his followers found refuge in the fortress of Bethar, *Khirbet el-Yehūd* (1628.1260),<sup>40</sup> around which the Romans built two camps and a siege wall,<sup>41</sup> until this last stronghold was finally captured. Shimon Bar Kokhba most probably died in or after the battle of Bethar, inasmuch as we find no mentions of him afterwards.<sup>42</sup> As a punishment, and an apparently anti-Jewish act, the

Sheffield: Sheffield Acad. Press, 1997), 238–239; E. Gass, “Ein Stern geht auf aus Jakob’. Sprach- und literaturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Bileampoese” (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 69; St. Ottilien: EOS, 2001), 28 n. 243. H. Lapin, “Palm Fronds and Citrons. Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba’s Administration,” *HUCA* 64 (1993): 135, suggests that “the turning of the age” may have been celebrated by Shimon and his followers. Thus, there may have been a messianic expectation of sorts in the deeds of Shimon himself. For the historical problem of this messianic proclamation and whether Rabbi Aqiva invented this identification or was using an older tradition see P. Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 15; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 86–90. Most probably this designation was not invented by Shimon himself, see J.C. O’Neill, “The Mocking of Bar Kokhba and of Jesus,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 31 (2000): 39–40.

<sup>40</sup> For this identification see already G. Williams, *The Holy City. Historical, Topographical and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, vol. 1 (London: Parker, 1849), 209–213; V. Guérin, *Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique de la Palestine*, accompagnée de Cartes Détaillées, Judée, vol. 2 (Paris: L’Imprimerie Nationale, 1869), 395. The place is mentioned several times in Rabbinic literature, see G. Reeg, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B/51, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1989), 128, for its identification and different forms of its name. For the archaeological remains see E. Zickermann, “Chirbet el-jehūd (bettir),” *ZDPV* 29 (1906): 53–72; W.D. Carroll, “Bittir and its Archaeological Remains,” *AASOR* 5 (1925): 77–97; A. Alt, “Das Institut im Jahre 1926,” *Palästinaliteratur* 23 (1927): 12–15; A. Schulten, “Masada. Die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager,” *ZDPV* 56, (1933): 184–190; D. Ussishkin, “Betar. The Last Stronghold of Bar-Kochba,” *BAIAS* 6 (1986/87): 49–50; D. Kennedy and D. Riley, *Rome’s Desert Frontier from the Air* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 100–104; D. Ussishkin, “Archaeological Soundings at Betar, Bar-Kochba’s Last Stronghold,” *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993): 66–96.

<sup>41</sup> According to Ussishkin, “Archaeological Soundings,” 96 there was no need for a ramp. On the Roman circumvallation see also Schulten, “Masada,” 180–184.

<sup>42</sup> This is also stated by Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV 6:3. For the sources of the tradition of Bar Kokhba’s death in the battle of Bethar see Strathmann, “Der Kampf,” 118. According to the Talmud, Bar Kokhba was executed by the sages, see *bSan* 93b. However, this account is neither historically reliable nor accurate. On the slaughter after the capture of Bethar, described in many rabbinic writings, see Evans, *Jesus*, 197–198.

Romans continued the building of Jerusalem as a heathen city named Aelia Capitolina and housing a temple of Jupiter. By decree, the Jews were forbidden entrance to the new city and the surrounding territory except on the day of the destruction of the Second Temple. Moreover, the province Iudaea was renamed Syria-Palaestina. Furthermore, many Judean towns and villages were destroyed and the population decreased to a major extent.<sup>43</sup> Finally, anti-Jewish laws, such as the ban on circumcision, were enacted, the observance of Shabbat was hampered, and Torah instruction by the Rabbis was forbidden.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.2 The Problem of Bar Kokhba's Name

Some clarifying remarks are in order as concerns the connection of the toponym Chozeba with the leader of the Second Revolt. This is all the more necessary since the construction of the byname and the byname itself are unclear.

The construction בר/בן + X need not represent a patronym.<sup>45</sup> Another possibility is that this expression signifies the bearer of a certain quality.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the construction בר/בן + X could also indicate that the person in question hails from a given place (although in rabbinic literature this would normally be expressed either by the article ה or by the noun איש).<sup>47</sup> The *a priori* rejection, however, of the possibility that this

<sup>43</sup> But see Isaac and Oppenheimer, "The Revolt," 250 who maintain "that Judaea was not permanently depopulated and that it certainly recovered within a few generations."

<sup>44</sup> Stemberger, *Das klassische Judentum*, 21–22; Sasse, *Geschichte Israels*, 333. According to J. Maier, *Zwischen den Testamenten. Geschichte und Religion in der Zeit des zweiten Tempels* (Die Neue Echter Bibel. Ergänzungsband zum Alten Testament 3; Würzburg: Echter, 1990), 189, the Roman reaction after the revolt showed signs of a "Religionsverfolgung." On the Roman laws see also Isaac and Oppenheimer, "The Revolt," 250–251.

<sup>45</sup> B. Lifshitz, "Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda," *Aegyptus* 42 (1962): 249 opts for a patronym. According to S. Zeitlin, "Bar Kokba and Bar Kozeba," *JQR* 43 (1952/53): 78–80, the byname Bar Koziba was first given to him after the revolt failed.

<sup>46</sup> F. Nötscher, "Bar Kochba, Ben Kosba. Der Sternsohn, der Prachtige," *VT* 11 (1961): 450. For this category see שֶׁמֶן בֶּן in Isa 5:1; חַיִל בֶּן in 1 Sam 18:17; בֶּן נָכַר in Gen 17:12; מוֹת בֶּן in 1 Sam 20:31 etc.

<sup>47</sup> See Zeitlin, "Bar Kokba," 77 for some examples; Nötscher, "Bar Kochba," 450; Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 52. For example איש הדרום בן יצחק in Sif-Bam 8, cf. Reeg, *Ortsnamen*, 212, and אֶלְעוֹר הַמְדַעִי in EstR 6,1, cf. Reeg, *Ortsnamen*, 400. J.T. Milik, "Une Lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba," *RB* 60 (1953): 280 refers to the bynames דְרוֹמָא or בר לגולא as examples designating provenance. For the use of bynames to designate place of origin see also S. Yeivin, "Some Notes on the Documents from Wadi Murabba'at Dating from the Days of Bar-Kokhba," *Atiqot* 1 (1955): 104;

construction could also denote the provenance of the particular person does not hold.<sup>48</sup>

So then, one can choose between three alternatives for interpreting the difficult construction בר/בן + X: it could be a patronym, signifying a quality of the person, or designate his provenance.<sup>49</sup> Though no unequivocal solution to this problem presents itself, Shimon's byname could potentially denote his place of origin.<sup>50</sup>

Rabbinic literature contains many references to the byname כּוֹזְבָא/כוֹזְבָה. Although it is always written by the rabbis with ז and not with ס,<sup>51</sup> throughout the documents from the Judean Desert (written by different scribes in both Aramaic and Hebrew) the byname is spelt

R.S. Notley and Z. Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon. The Place Names of Divine Scripture including the Latin Edition of Jerome. Translated into English and with Topographical Commentary* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 9; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 161. Construction בר/בן + place name could be a biblical example for the construction בר/בן + place name, especially in the plural, see for example בני צִיּוֹן in Lam 4:2; Ps 149:2. Cf. also D. J. A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, vol. 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Acad. Press, 1995), 138. For further rabbinic examples see also אלס בן in *bSan* 64a; בן גובתא דאריח in *SifBam* 131; בר גזירה in *bShab* 80b; בן דרום in *bMam* 1,14; בר ממשא in *yMeg* 1,14; בר מלילא in *tEd* 3,1; בר גלילא in *yShab* 3,1; בר גזירה in *yBer* 9,3; בר סוגנאי in *mEd* 7,8; בר סגניי in *yHag* 3,4; בר מרום in *yQid* 1,8; בר עתליי in *yGit* 1,2; בר עכברי in *yShab* 2,1; בר קסריי in *ShirR* 6,4.2; בר צרידה בן in *yTer* 11,7; בר צרידה in *Sifra* שמיני Par.8,5; בר קסריי in *yMeg* 1,8. All passages quoted according to Reeg, *Ortsnamen*. Another way to describe provenance would be a relative clause like in תמרתה דכפר in *yRHSh* 2,9; *yHag* 3,8; *PesK* 5, see Reeg, *Ortsnamen*, 375.

<sup>48</sup> See for example Zeitlin, "Bar Kokba," 77: "The view that the leader of the revolt was called after the city where he was born is not correct."

<sup>49</sup> E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. 1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 682–683 considers two of these possible meanings (patronym or provenance).

<sup>50</sup> This option was already discussed in the scholarly literature. See J.T. Milik, "Une Lettre," 277–282; R. Yankelevitch, "The Question of Bar-Kokhva's Origins," in *The Bar-Kokhva Revolt. A New Approach* (ed. A. Oppenheimer and U. Rappaport; Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi Press, 1984), 133–139 (Hebrew); I. Press, *A Topographical-Historical Encyclopaedia of Palestine*, vol. III (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1952), 470 (Hebrew) suggested Kh. Kuweizibe, located in the northern Hebron Hills, as a possible candidate. See also M. Kokhavi, *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey 1967–1968*, (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), 28, 50, site no. 83.

<sup>51</sup> Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 51 with references. For the various names applied to Shimon Bar Kokhba see T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 91; Tübingen: Mohr, 2002) 386; R.G. Marks, *The Image of Bar Kokhba in Traditional Jewish Literature. False Messiah and National Hero* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1994), 13–22. E. Habas-Rubin, "The Title of Simon ben Kosba," in *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel, Arie Kindler Volume* (ed. J. Schwartz et al.; Tel Aviv: Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, 2000), 143–144 (Hebrew) also discusses the problem of the name. For the variation between ה and נ see Ilan, *Lexicon*, 25.

with either ט or ש.<sup>52</sup> Since these sources are contemporary to the historical figure of Shimon, they could preserve the original form of his byname, so that both כּוּכְבָּה and כּוּזְבָּה would be later interpretations (positive or negative) of the original byname כּוּסְבָּה or כּוּשְׁבָּה.<sup>53</sup>

However, the etymology of כּוּסְבָּה or כּוּשְׁבָּה is disputed. Perhaps the noun כּשָׁב (“lamb”)—a variant of כּבֵּשׁ—could be related to the uncommon spelling with the letter ש. This might then refer to the allegedly peaceful attitude of Shimon.<sup>54</sup> Another alternative is that the orthography is the result of metathesis, as in the case of כּבֵּשׁ/כּשָׁב, so that the original stem of this word would have been כּבֵּס (“to wash”),<sup>55</sup> which would then have been interpreted in a metaphorical way (“moral purifier”). This would correspond with the religious aspects of Shimon’s rule. Perhaps, however, this name, need not be explained at all—inexplicability, is typical of nicknames.<sup>56</sup> Thus, it could be that כּוּסְבָּה or כּוּשְׁבָּה were nicknames masquerading as patronyms.<sup>57</sup>

However, one intriguing problem still remains. The byname כּוּסְבָּה or כּוּשְׁבָּה, which carries no negative and perhaps even a positive connotation, is not used by Rabbi Aqiva even though he holds Shimon in high regard. Rather, within the rabbinic tradition, use of the negative name כּוּזְבָּה is attributed to Aqiva,<sup>58</sup> quite out of keeping with the

<sup>52</sup> On this interchange see already Y. Yadin, “Expedition D,” *IEJ* 11 (1961): 41; Ilan, *Lexicon*, 20–21. According to Nötscher, “Bar Kochba,” 449 the sibilants and other consonants are often confused, so that this orthography is unimportant. In the documents of *Wādī Murabba’āt* (1854.1107) the name is spelled כּוּסְבָּה בן or כּוּסְבָּה בן, see J.T. Milik, “Textes Hébreux et Araméens,” in *Les Grottes de Murabba’āt. Texte* (ed. P. Benoit, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, DJD II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 124, 128, 131, 133, 160. According to Maier, *Zwischen den Testamenten*, 189, Shimon’s actual name was Koseba.

<sup>53</sup> Yadin, “Expedition D,” 50; Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba, The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome* (London and Jerusalem: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 29; Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 51–52. See also H.C. Lutzky, “The Name ‘Cozbi’ (Numbers XXV 15,18),” *VT* 47 (1997): 549 n. 19 “first ‘the magnificent one’ (*kzb* II), later ‘liar’ (*kzb* I).” Thus, the byname played on the dual meaning of the root. According to Evans, *Jesus*, 203 “*bar kozeba* (‘son of the lie’), is best explained as an attempt to erase the original pun of *bar kokhba*.”

<sup>54</sup> However, related to the stem כּבֵּשׁ (“to trample down”) this byname could also denote the violent behaviour of Shimon.

<sup>55</sup> Milik, “Une Lettre,” 282 n. 1 discusses the possibility of metathesis. For the stem see M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*, vol. 1 (Brooklyn, NY: Shalom Publ., 1967), 609.

<sup>56</sup> Nicknames are also typically unique, see Ilan, *Lexicon*, 46.

<sup>57</sup> See Ilan, *Lexicon*, 386.

<sup>58</sup> See *yTa’anit* IV 8: “כּוּזְבָּה steps forth from Jacob.” According to Evans, *Jesus*, 195, Rabbi Aqiva originally used the word כּוּסְבָּה which was later standardized in accor-

messianic status he attributed to Shimon. One cannot imagine that Rabbi Aqiva himself would have changed Shimon’s byname in such an unfavourable way—only later tradition could have done so. This might be a reliable clue in solving the problem of Shimon’s byname. If Shimon really did have the byname כּוּזְבָּה (“son of Chozeba”), he or his followers would have had good reason to slightly alter this rather depreciatory name in their correspondence in order to avoid misunderstandings (“son of the lie/liar”).<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the change in sibilants might also reflect a phonetic system in which an original ז could also be rendered by ט or ש.<sup>60</sup> By changing the consonant, Shimon’s followers could avoid the possible misconception outlined above, while maintaining the original byname (at least phonetically). Furthermore, spelling utilizing the sibilant itself is inconsistent within the documents from the Judean Desert (as seen above in כּוּסְבָּה or כּוּשְׁבָּה), which could itself present a case against כּוּסְבָּה as the more original form of Shimon’s byname.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, the question of the original spelling of this name is more complex than previously acknowledged. Even a Greek papyrus with the spelling χωσιβα cannot be taken as evidence for an original spelling with ט since the letter ז can also be transcribed with σ, as is found, for example, inter alia in Eusebius.<sup>62</sup> Thus, while unequivocal proof is absent, the reading כּוּזְבָּה בן (“son of Chozeba”) could be the original spelling, referring to the place of origin of the leader of the Second Revolt.

dance with other rabbinic writings. However Marks, *Image*, 15, suggests that “not all later writers necessarily understood ‘Bar Koziva’ as a reference to the man’s lies.”

<sup>59</sup> Contra Nötscher, “Bar Kochba,” 451 who interprets this byname as “der Prächtige.” Zeitlin, “Bar Kokba,” 78 adds that “the Jews during the talmudic period were particular in avoiding names which would have evil connotations or be associated with the name of a wicked person.”

<sup>60</sup> See Milik, “Textes,” 126 “la sonorisation du -s- provoquée par l’occlusive sonore qui suit.” According to Lifshitz, “Papyrus grecs,” 251 “les consonnes s et z sont interchangeables en grec comme en hébreu.”

<sup>61</sup> Finally, Christian sources use only the byname Kokhba, see Schürer, *Geschichte*, 682 n. 98, probably accepting the Jewish tradition of interpreting Shimon as the future star. Patristic writings provide no hint regarding the original byname.

<sup>62</sup> See his transcription of כּוּזְבָּה as χωσιβα, Eusebius *Onomasticon* 172:6–7. See also Ilan, *Lexicon*, 19 for further examples. Against this, see Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 51. According to Lifshitz, “Papyrus grecs,” 250–251; Yadin, “Expedition D,” 50; Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba*, 124 the Greek rendition could be an indication of the vocalization of the name as Kosiba. But this is far from certain.

*Khirbet 'Ēn el-Kizbe* was inhabited during the period between the two Jewish revolts against the Romans—as shown by the finds of our survey (shown in table 4 and pottery and glass plate 3)—and is therefore a possible candidate as the place of origin of the leader of the revolt. Rock-cut hiding systems and typical pottery of the period between the two Jewish revolts are known from several sites in the nearby area. Recently, a large hoard of silver coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt was found by a team directed by the first author in the cave known as *Mūghâret Umm et Tûeimîn—Me'arat Ha'Teomim*, located c.4.5 km northeast of *Khirbet 'Ēn el-Kizbe*. The hoard was hidden in the cave at the end of the revolt, and comprises 20 tetradrachms and 63 denarii minted by the rebels. The finds included also two smaller groups of mixed Roman and rebels' coin, and an assemblage of pottery and weapons typical of the revolt.<sup>63</sup> We should also keep in mind that Bethar, the last stronghold of the rebels is located less than 14 kms further to the east, along the same Roman road.

Table 1—Survey Features

No (on map I)	Map Reference (E)	Map Reference (N)	Feature	Remarks
1	150080	122242	Ancient road fig. 14	This and the next four points were measured along the road.
2	150126	122266	Continuation of ancient road	
3	150219	122325	Deviation along ancient road	
4	150153	122286	The roads meets a group of old oaks (sanctified by Muslim tradition?)	fig. 15

<sup>63</sup> B. Zissu, B. Langford, R. Porat and A. Frumkin, "Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period from the Teomim Cave," in *Refuge Caves of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Second Volume* (ed. H. Eshel and R. Porat; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2009), 402–422 (Hebrew).

Table 1 (cont.)

No (on map I)	Map Reference (E)	Map Reference (N)	Feature	Remarks
5	150241	122281	Burial (?) cave, opened by looters but filled in with silt	
6	150266	122252	Rock-cuttings, scattered potsherds	
7	150297	122256	Burial cave, looted (figs. 12, 13)	
8	150265	122237	Rock-cut and plastered cave; <i>Miqweh</i> (?); fig. 11	
9	150490	122135	Three cupmarks cut on top of collapsed <i>Nari</i> boulder fig. 16	The collapsed <i>Nari</i> boulders mark the southern edge of Kh. 'En el-Kizbe; The Roman road passed beneath the boulders
10	150520	122149	Rock-cut basin (1X0.6 m; 0.4 m deep) and cupmark, above collapsed <i>Nari</i> boulders fig. 17	
11	150367	122082	Estimated southeastern edge of site	
12	150446	122237	Estimated eastern edge of site	
13	150466	122201	Stone quarry (wine-press ?)	
14	150468	122210	Rock-cuttings, cup-mark	
15	150403	122237	Water cistern	Estimated northern edge of the lower site
16	150393	122253	Rock-cuttings, cup-mark	

Table 1 (cont.)

No (on map I)	Map Reference (E)	Map Reference (N)	Feature	Remarks
17	150353	122202	Water cistern, blocked by alluvium; covered by a square slab, 1.6 X 1.6 m; 0.7 m thick (fig. 9).	
18	150207	122395	Rock-cut cave	
19	150117	122344	Water cistern, plastered; blocked by alluvium;	
20	150061	122399	Water cistern, partly blocked by alluvium; connected to adjacent cavity (?)	
21	150036	122918	Part of mosaic pavement, decorated with geometric patterns (fig. 18)	
22	150022	122522	Water cistern, covered by stone slab	
23	150051	122508	Water cistern, covered by rounded stone slab	
24	150068	122520	Large rock-cut cavity, cut into and damaged Byzantine <i>arcosolia</i> tomb	
25	150137	122492	Rock-cut tomb, standing pit, surrounded by ledges (?)	
26	150499	122556	Wine press	
27	150515	122508	Rock-cut tomb, badly preserved	

Table 2 (Pottery pl. I)—Iron Age II Pottery  
(YR-U = Finds collected from UP; YR-M = Finds collected from LP).

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
1	Krater	YR-U 001	Light red, gray core, large white grits, wheel burnished inside and on rim	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>64</sup> Jerusalem, Stratum 9 <sup>65</sup>
2	Krater	YR-U 110	Brown-gray clay, white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>66</sup>
3	Krater	YR-U 056	Reddish-brown, gray core, large white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>67</sup> Jerusalem Stratum 9 <sup>68</sup>
4	Bowl	YR-U 067	Brown-gray clay, gray core, white grits	IA II	Jerusalem Stratum 8 <sup>69</sup>
5	Bowl	YR-U 079	Brown-gray clay, large white grits	IA II	Jerusalem Stratum 7 <sup>70</sup>
6	Bowl	YR-U 077	Light red, dark grits, wheel burnish inside and on rim	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>71</sup> Jerusalem Stratum 7 <sup>72</sup>
7	Bowl	YR-U 020	Light red, white grits, wheel burnished inside and on rim	IA II	Lachish, Level II <sup>73</sup>
8	Bowl	YR-M 014	Brown, gray core white grits, wheel burnish inside	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>74</sup> Jerusalem, Stratum 9 <sup>75</sup>

<sup>64</sup> O. Zimhoni, "The Pottery of Levels III and II," in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994)*, (ed. D. Ussishkin, Tel Aviv University, Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series No. 22; Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publ. in Archaeology, 2004), fig. 26.20:10; fig. 26.24:3.

<sup>65</sup> A. De Groot, H. Geva and I. Yezerski, "Iron Age II Pottery," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982*, vol. 2 (ed. H. Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003), pl. 1.5:5.

<sup>66</sup> Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.24:2; fig. 26.25:3.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 26.20:10; fig. 26.24:3.

<sup>68</sup> De Groot et al. "Iron Age II Pottery," pl. 1.5:5.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 1.7:29.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 1.9:6.

<sup>71</sup> Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.20:2,7.

<sup>72</sup> De Groot et al. "Iron Age II Pottery," pl. 1.9:21.

<sup>73</sup> Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.54:11; 26.55:1,4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 26.20:9.

<sup>75</sup> De Groot et al. "Iron Age II Pottery," pl. 1.4:10.

Table 2 (cont.)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
9	Holemouth Jar	YR-U 047	Light-red, gray core, large white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>76</sup> Jerusalem Stratum 7 <sup>77</sup>
10	Storage Jar (Lmlk type)	YR-M 050	Light brown, gray core, large white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>78</sup>
11	Cooking Pot	YR-M 043	Light red clay mixed with straw and white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III <sup>79</sup>
Figs. 8a, 8b	Royal Jar Handle (with Lmlk stamp seal impression)	YR-M 028	Brown, gray core white grits	IA II	See recent discussions by N. Avigad and G. Barkay, <sup>80</sup> and by I. Shai and A. Maier <sup>81</sup>

Table 3 (Pottery pl. 2)—Persian, Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods  
(YR-U = Finds collected from UP; YR-M = Finds collected from LP; YR-L = Finds collected from LE)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
1	Bowl	YR-U 002	Brown-orange, white grits	Persian Period	Ashdod, fortress, <sup>82</sup> Tel Mikhal (IAA Excavations) <sup>83</sup>
2	Krater	YR-U 107	Brown-gray, white grits	Pers.	Dor, Stratum VI <sup>84</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.5:13.

<sup>77</sup> De Groot et al. "Iron Age II Pottery," pl. 1.9:26.

<sup>78</sup> Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.9:1.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 26.40:4; 26.4:1.

<sup>80</sup> N. Avigad and G. Barkay, "The Lmlk and Related Seal Impressions," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982*, vol. 1 (ed. H. Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 243-266.

<sup>81</sup> I. Shai and A.M. Maier, "Pre-LMLK Jars, A New Class of Iron Age IIA Storage Jars," *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003): 118-121.

<sup>82</sup> J. Porath, "A Fortress of the Persian Period," *Atiqot* 7 (1974) (Hebrew) fig. 4:6.

<sup>83</sup> L.A. Kapitaikin, "The Pottery from the IAA Excavations at Tel Mikhal (Tel Michal)," *Atiqot* 52 (2006) fig. 1:12.

<sup>84</sup> E. Stern, "Local Pottery of the Persian Period," in *Excavations at Dor, Final Report Vol. IB, Areas A and C: The Finds*, (ed. E. Stern, Qedem Reports 2; Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995), 55-56, fig. 2.3:4, 6, 8.

Table 3 (cont.)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
3	Bowl	YR-M 025	Brown-orange, white grits	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress <sup>85</sup>
4	Casserole	YR-U 022	Brown-red, white grits, gray core	Pers.	Har Adar, <sup>86</sup> Kh. Kabar <sup>87</sup>
5	Holemouth Jar	YR-U 013	Gray clay, few white grits	Pers.	Dor, Stratum VI <sup>88</sup>
6	Jar	YR-U 005	Light-brown, gray core, white and brown grits	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress, <sup>89</sup> Dor, Stratum VI <sup>90</sup>
7	Cooking pot	YR-M 049	Brown clay, gray core	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress <sup>91</sup>
8	Storage Jar	YR-U 045	Gray-orange, gray core, small white grits	Pers.	Har Adar, <sup>92</sup> Tel Ya'oz <sup>93</sup>
9	Storage Jar	YR-M 003	Light-orange, small white grits	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress <sup>94</sup> Tel Mikhal (IAA) <sup>95</sup>
10	Storage Jar	YR-L 021	Light-gray, white grits	Pers.	Har Adar <sup>96</sup> Tel Ya'oz <sup>97</sup>
11	Storage Jar	YR-U 82	Orange brown, white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City <sup>98</sup>
12	Storage Jar	YR-M 008	Buff, white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City <sup>99</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 4:5.

<sup>86</sup> M. Dadon, "Har Adar," *Atiqot* 32 (1997) (Hebrew) fig. 9:6-9.

<sup>87</sup> Y. Baruch, "Buildings of the Persian, Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods at Khirbat Kabar, in the Northern Hebron Hills," *Atiqot* 52 (2006) (Hebrew) fig. 6:2.

<sup>88</sup> Stern, "Local Pottery," fig. 2.5:3.

<sup>89</sup> Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 4:16.

<sup>90</sup> Stern, "Local Pottery," fig. 2.8:13.

<sup>91</sup> Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 4:13.

<sup>92</sup> Dadon, "Har Adar," fig. 9:24.

<sup>93</sup> O. Segal, R. Kletter and I. Ziffer, "A Persian-Period Building from Tel Ya'oz (Tell Ghaza)," *Atiqot* 52 (2006) (Hebrew) fig. 10:2, 3.

<sup>94</sup> Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 5:3.

<sup>95</sup> Kapitaikin, "The Pottery," fig. 15:7.

<sup>96</sup> Dadon, "Har Adar," fig. 10:1.

<sup>97</sup> Segal et al. "Tel Ya'oz," fig. 10:6.

<sup>98</sup> H. Geva and M. Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery of the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982*, vol. 3 (ed. H. Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 104, pl. 4.3:7,8.

<sup>99</sup> Geva and Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery," 103, pl. 4.3:1,2.



Table 3 (cont.)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
13	Storage Jar	YR-U 78	Light-gray and orange, gray core, white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City <sup>100</sup>
14	Storage Jar	YR-U 018	Light-brown, gray core, white and brown grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City <sup>101</sup>
15	Storage Jar	YR-U 86	Light-brown, gray core	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City <sup>102</sup>
16	Storage Jar	YR-U 58	Gray, few white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City <sup>103</sup>
17	Storage Jar	YR-U 93	Orange-gray, white and gray grits	Hellenistic- Early Roman	Masada <sup>104</sup>
18	Base of closed (?) vessel (Eastern Terra Sigillata)	YR-M 37	Buff clay, red slip on outside	Hellenistic- Early Roman	Jerusalem, Jewish Quarter <sup>105</sup>
19	Flask	YR-U 42	Light brown, white grits	Hellenistic- Early Roman	Jerusalem, Stratum 4, <sup>106</sup> Jericho <sup>107</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 103, pl. 4.3:1,2.<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 104, pl. 4.3:7,8.<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 104, pl. 4.3:7,8.<sup>103</sup> H. Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery from Areas W and X-2," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982*, vol. 2 (ed. H. Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003), pl.5.4:17.<sup>104</sup> R. Bar-Nathan, "The Pottery of Masada," in *Masada VII, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports* (ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster and E. Netzer; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 51: CP type M-SJ6, pl. 4:14–17.<sup>105</sup> R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Hellenistic and Early Roman Fine Ware and Lamps from Area A," in *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem, conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969–1982*, vol. 2 (ed. H. Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2003), 192–195; pl. 6.7:8.<sup>106</sup> Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery," pl. 5.4:23, 24; Geva and Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery," pl. 4.4:15.<sup>107</sup> R. Bar-Nathan and R. Gitler-Kamil, "Typology of the Herodian 3 Pottery," in *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho, Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations*, vol. 3 *The Pottery* (ed. R. Bar-Nathan; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 169–170; pl. 26:468,473.Table 4 (Pottery and glass pl. 3)—Early and Middle Roman Periods  
(YR-U = Finds collected from UP; YR-M = Finds collected from LP; YR-L = Finds collected from LE)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
1	Storage Jar	YR-M 98	Orange-gray, small white grits	Early Roman	Jerusalem, Old City, <sup>108</sup> Masada <sup>109</sup>
2	Storage Jar	YR-U 102	Orange-gray, gray core, small white grits	Early Roman	Masada <sup>110</sup>
3	Storage Jar	YR-U 108	Light-brown-gray, white and brown grits	Early to Middle-Roman	Masada <sup>111</sup>
4	Storage Jar	YR-M 81	Orange-gray clay, small black grits	(1st to first 3rd of 2nd century C.E.) Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. <sup>112</sup>
5	Storage Jar	YR-U 103	Brown-gray clay, small white grits	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. <sup>113</sup>
6	Storage Jar	YR-M 89	Orange clay, small white grits	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. <sup>114</sup> Masada <sup>115</sup>
7	Cooking Pot	YR-U 112	Brown-gray	Early to Middle-Roman	Masada <sup>116</sup>
8	Cooking Pot	YR-U 47	Brown-red, white grits	Early to Middle-Roman	

<sup>108</sup> Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery," pl. 5.4:21; Geva and Hershkovitz, "Local Pottery," 103, pl. 4.3:3.<sup>109</sup> R. Bar-Nathan, "The Pottery of Masada," in *Masada VII, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports* (ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster and E. Netzer; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 60: type M-SJ10B, pl. 9:51, 52.<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 60: type M-SJ10A, pl. 9:47, 48.<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 57: type M-SJ8, pl. 8:41.<sup>112</sup> Y. Tsafrir and B. Zissu, "A Hiding Complex of the Second Temple Period and the Time of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt at 'Ain 'Arrub in the Hebron Hills," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, vol. 3 (ed. J. H. Humphrey, JRA Suppl. 49; Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy, 2002), fig. 13:17, 24.<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 13:16.<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 13:16.<sup>115</sup> Bar-Nathan, "The Pottery," 154: type M-CP1A, pl. 27:4–12.<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 154: type M-CP1B, pl. 28:23, 26, 28.

Table 4 (cont.)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
9	Cooking Pot or Casserole	YR-U 87	Brown-red	Early to Middle-Roman	Midras, hiding complex; <sup>117</sup> Ahuzat Hazan hiding complex. <sup>118</sup>
10	Glass bowl	YR-U 90	Greenish glass, translucent	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. <sup>119</sup>

Table 5 (Oil-lamps Plate 4)—Oil Lamps (YR-U = Finds collected from UP; YR-M = Finds collected from LP).

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Date	Parallels
1	Oil Lamp (Kite-shaped?)	YR-M 103	Brown-gray	Hellenistic	Maresha <sup>120</sup>
2	Oil Lamp (wheel-made, knife- pared "Herodian")	YR-U 87	Beige, black grits, red slip	Early Roman	Masada <sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> A. Kloner and Y. Tepper, *The Hiding Complexes in the Judean Shephelah* (Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1987), (Hebrew), 342, pl. 1:16.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 350, pl. 5:7.

<sup>119</sup> Tsafirir and Zissu, "A Hiding Complex," 26–28, fig. 17:7–8.

<sup>120</sup> T. Levine, "Pottery and Small Finds from Subterranean Complexes 21 and 70," in *Maresha Excavations Report Final Report I, Subterranean Complexes 21, 44, 70* (ed. A. Kloner, IAA Reports 17; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2003), 115–117, no. 154; possibly no. 159.

<sup>121</sup> D. Barag and M. Hershkovitz, "Lamps from Masada," in *Masada IV, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports* (ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster and E. Netzer; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 43–58, 125–127.

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