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

Boaz Zissu and Erasmus Gass

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).¹ 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 pottery² as Mic 1:14 says: "The

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

² 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 *lmk*-jar-handles like Hebron, Ziph and Mamshit.

The distribution of Judean districts in Joshua 15 is enigmatic.³ 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.⁴ Moreover the sequence of districts is somewhat peculiar since district IV is located in the middle, between districts II and III.⁵ 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.⁶ 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 19.⁷

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

³ 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.'"

⁴ 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-Ifrāḡ*.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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, Jiphtah and 'Ashnah⁸ 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.⁹ 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

⁸ 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.

⁹ 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,¹⁰ 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)¹¹ 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 *lmk*-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*¹² and *Χαοβί*.¹³ 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

¹⁰ 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 Palästina-Vereins; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), 127 n. 3.

¹¹ 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 tēt-Symbol”, Mit einem Beitrag zu Micha 1,14b und 1 Chronik 4,21–23*, *ZDPV* 107 (1991): 63.

¹² *Eusebius, Onomasticon*, 26:7.

¹³ *Eusebius, Onomasticon*, 172:6.

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

a) *Khirbet Tell el-Bēḏā / Tel Lavnīn* (1456.1167)¹⁶

This site is about seven kilometers from *Mareshah*, *Tell Sandahanne*, so *Khirbet Tell el-Bēḏā / 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-Bēḏā / Tel Lavnīn* was clearly occupied during the Byzantine Period, it is questionable whether this site is the same as *Eusebius’* ruined *Chasbi*.¹⁷

b) *Khirbet Umm Burğ* (1470.1150)¹⁸

According to archaeological surveys, this site was occupied most probably no earlier than the Hellenistic period.¹⁹ By virtue of its closeness to *Khirbet Tell el-Bēḏā* 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*.

¹⁴ 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*.

¹⁵ 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.

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

¹⁷ 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 Lavnin, Judean Shephelah,” *RB* 106 (1999): 563–573.

¹⁸ See A. Saaristo, “Topographical Researches in the Shephelah,” *JPOS* 11 (1931): 98, 103.

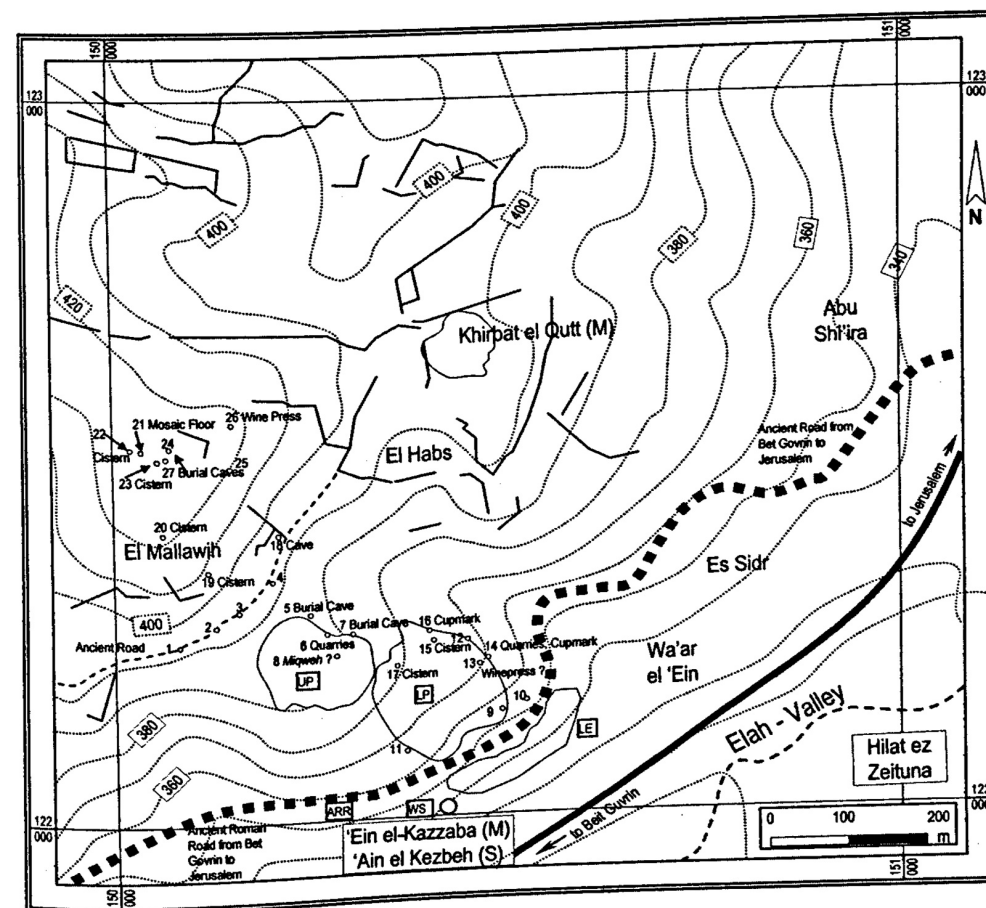
¹⁹ See B. Zissu and A. Ganor, “Survey and Excavations at Horbat Burgin in the Judean Shephela: Burial Caves, Hiding Complexes and Installations of the Second Temple and Byzantine Periods,” *Atiqot* 58 (2008): 15–48 (Hebrew). Only few potsherds from the Iron Age were found during our surveys and excavations.

Khirbet 'En el-Kizbe is located on the southeastern slopes of *Khirbet Bêt Neṭṭif*, in the Judean Shephelah (map I, fig. 1).²⁵ The site is situated on the slope of a hill that descends from *Khirbet Bêt Neṭṭif* to *Nahal Sansan*, a tributary of *Nahal ha-'Elah*.²⁶ 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-'En, es-Sidr* on Map 1). Additional agricultural areas were obtained by building terraces on the adjacent slopes (figs. 2a, 2b).

'En 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.

²⁵ 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. Maeir, 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.

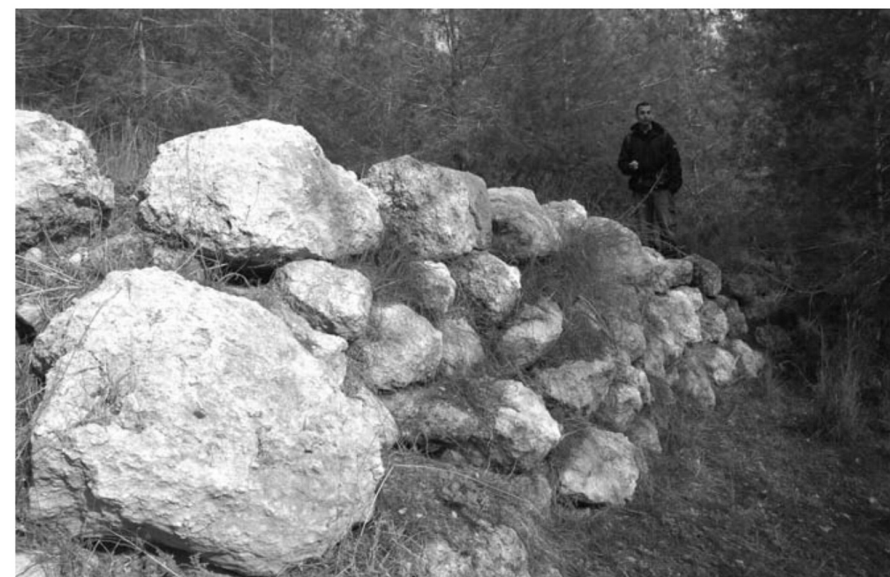
²⁶ The slope that was examined forms part of a range of hills located on the eastern borders of the Judean Shephelah. The border between the Shephelah and the Judean Mountains is clearly marked by the *'Emeq ha-Telem* ("Valley of the Furrow"), which runs north-south. It starts at the Ayalon Valley in 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. *Nahal ha-'Elah* (*Wādī es-Sanṭ*) and *Nahal 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. 'Ēn el-Kizbe, the dry water source, looking east. (photo by authors)



Fig. 4. 'Ēn 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).

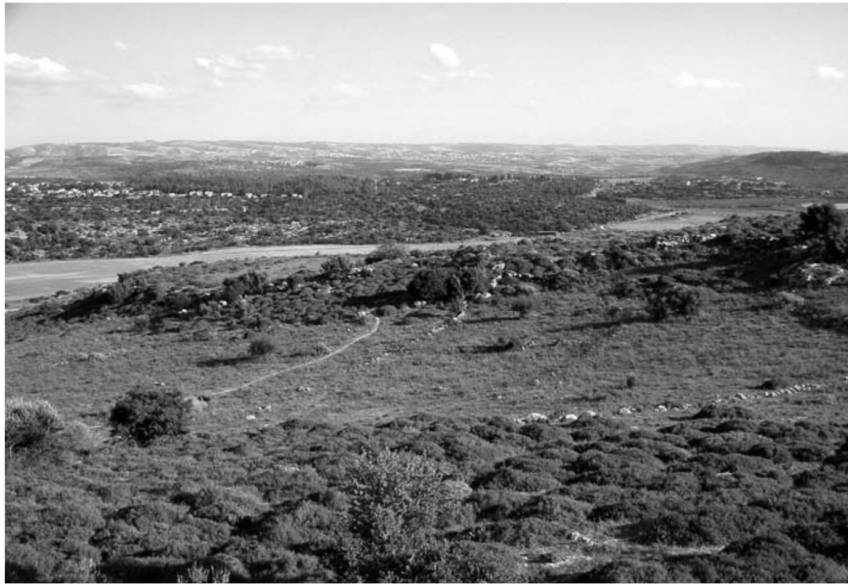
This location provided a good prospect across the Elah-Valley, the upper part of *Naḥal ha-'Elah* (*Wādī es-Sanṭ*) and the entrance to *'Emeq ha-Telem*, all natural passages leading NS and EW. The location also offered a vantage-point over Adullam, Socoh, and other sites.

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 *lmk*-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

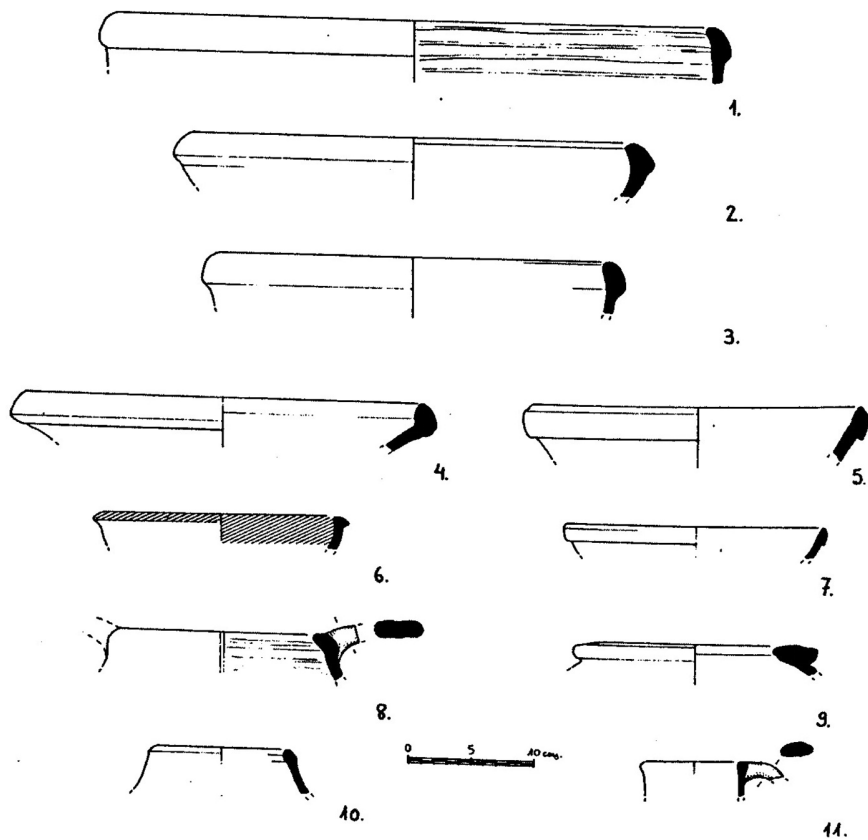


b

Fig. 6. a. *Khirbet 'Ēn 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 'Ēn 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)

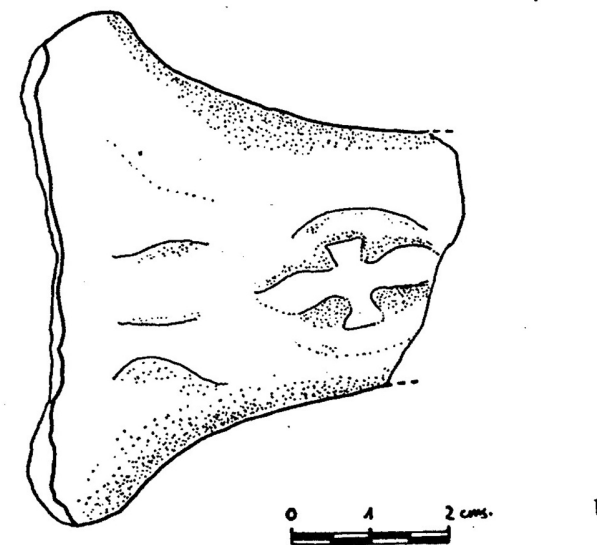
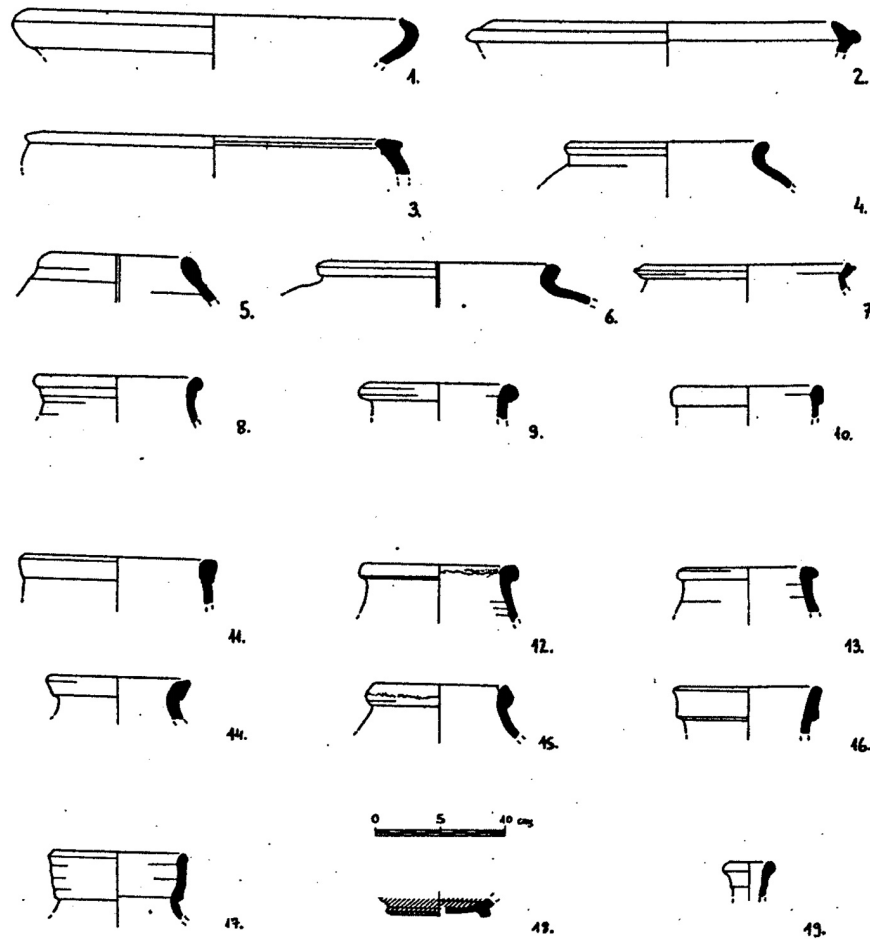
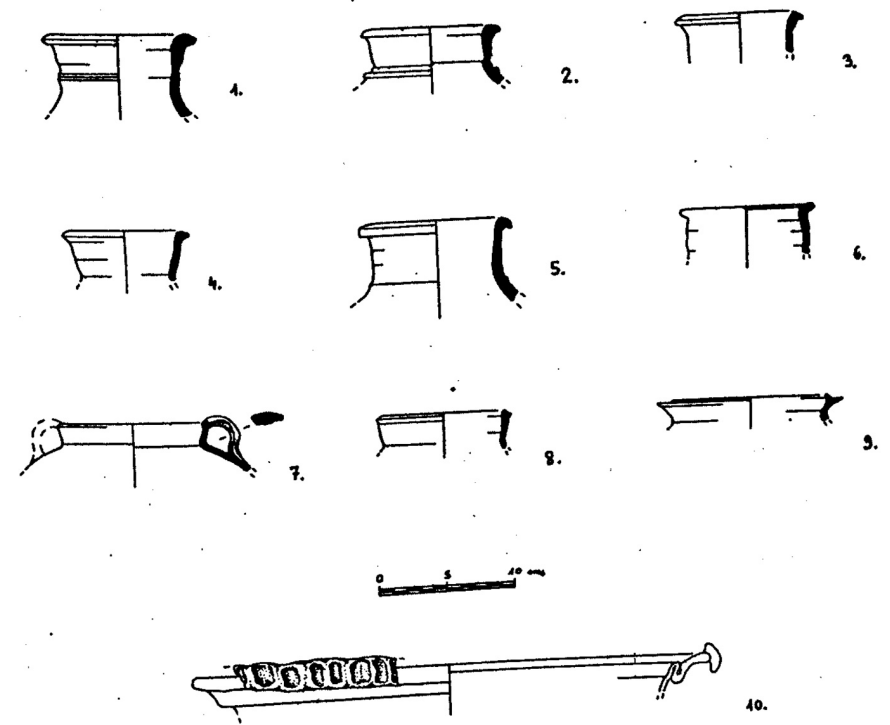


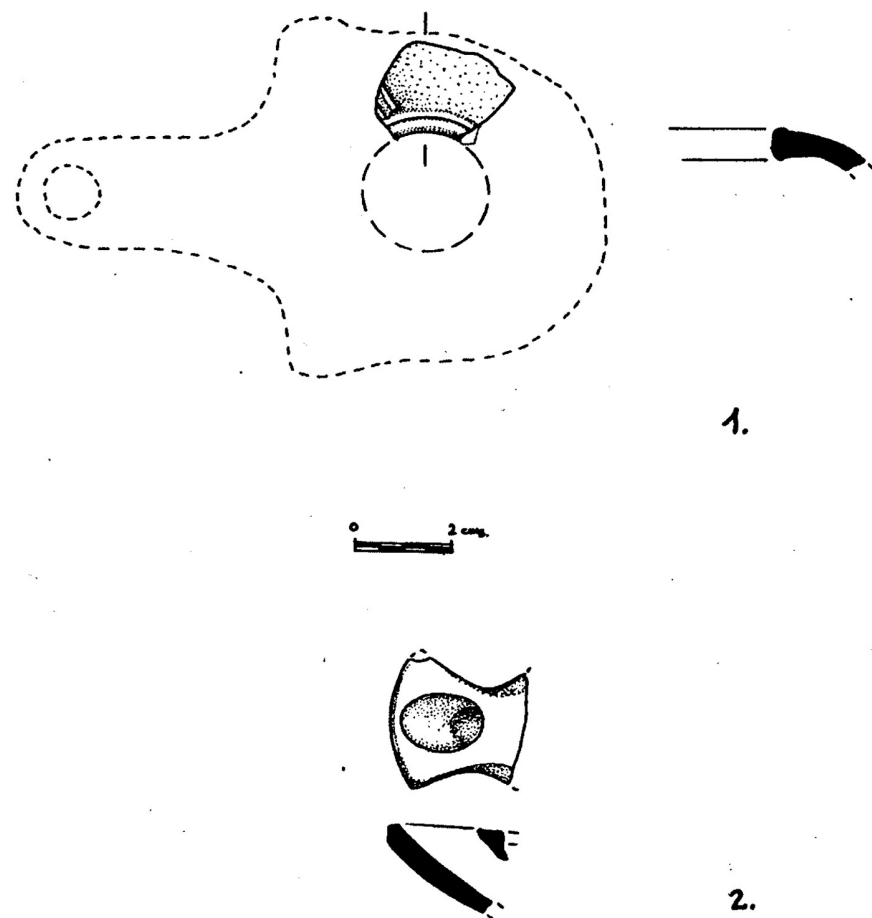
Fig. 8. Photo (a) and drawing (b) of Royal *lmlk* jar handle. (photo by authors; drawing by Julia Rudman)



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).²⁷

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 (*miqweh*) of a type common in this part of Judea from the Hellenistic (Hasmonaean) period to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.²⁸

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

²⁷ 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.

²⁸ 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 (Miqwa'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)

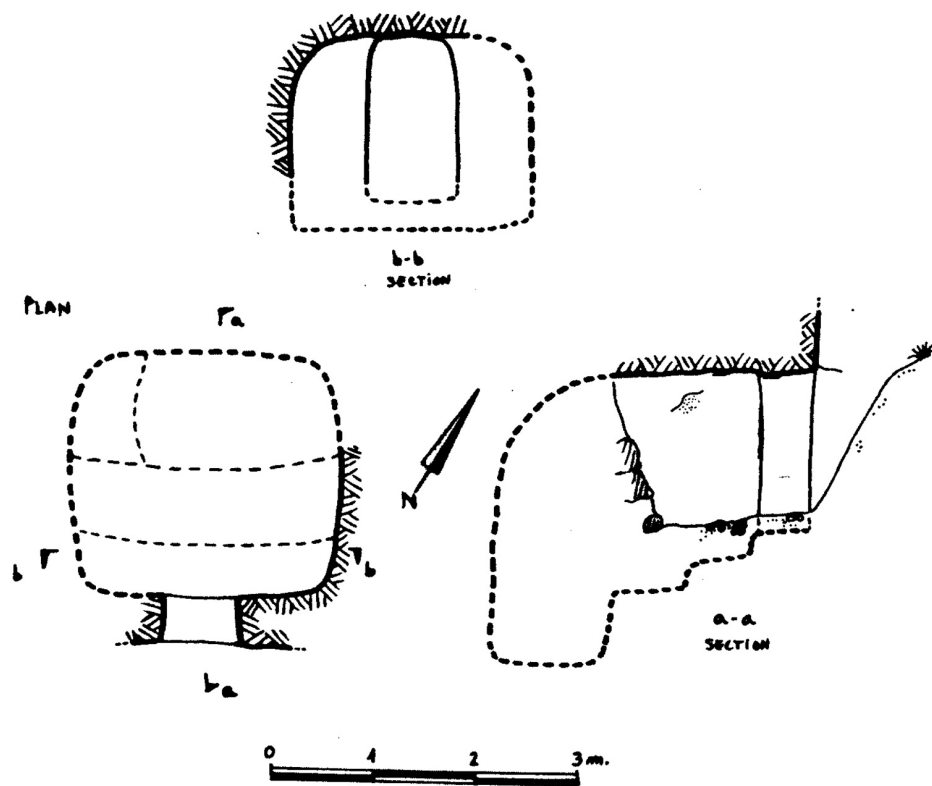


Fig. 11. Plan and section of rock-cut and plastered cave, reconstructed as a typical ritual immersion bath. (N. Graicer)

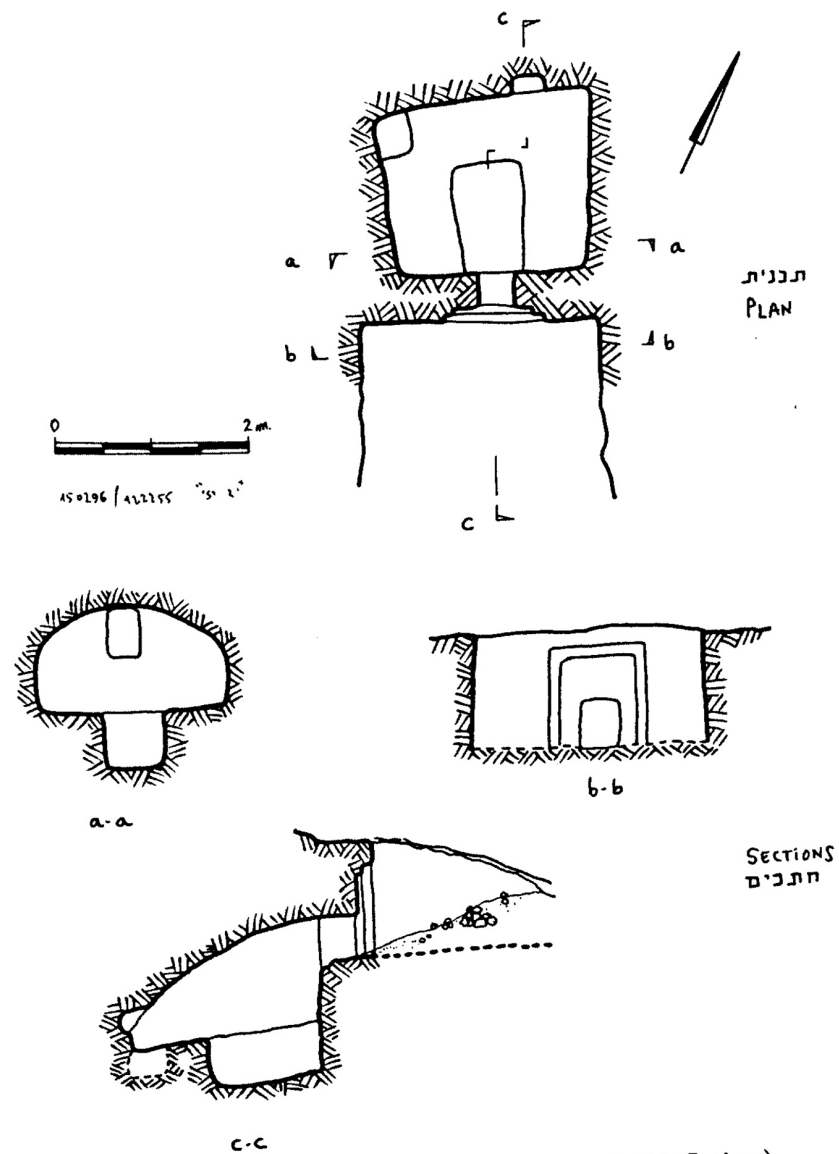


Fig. 12. Plan and sections of burial cave no. 7. (N. Graicer)

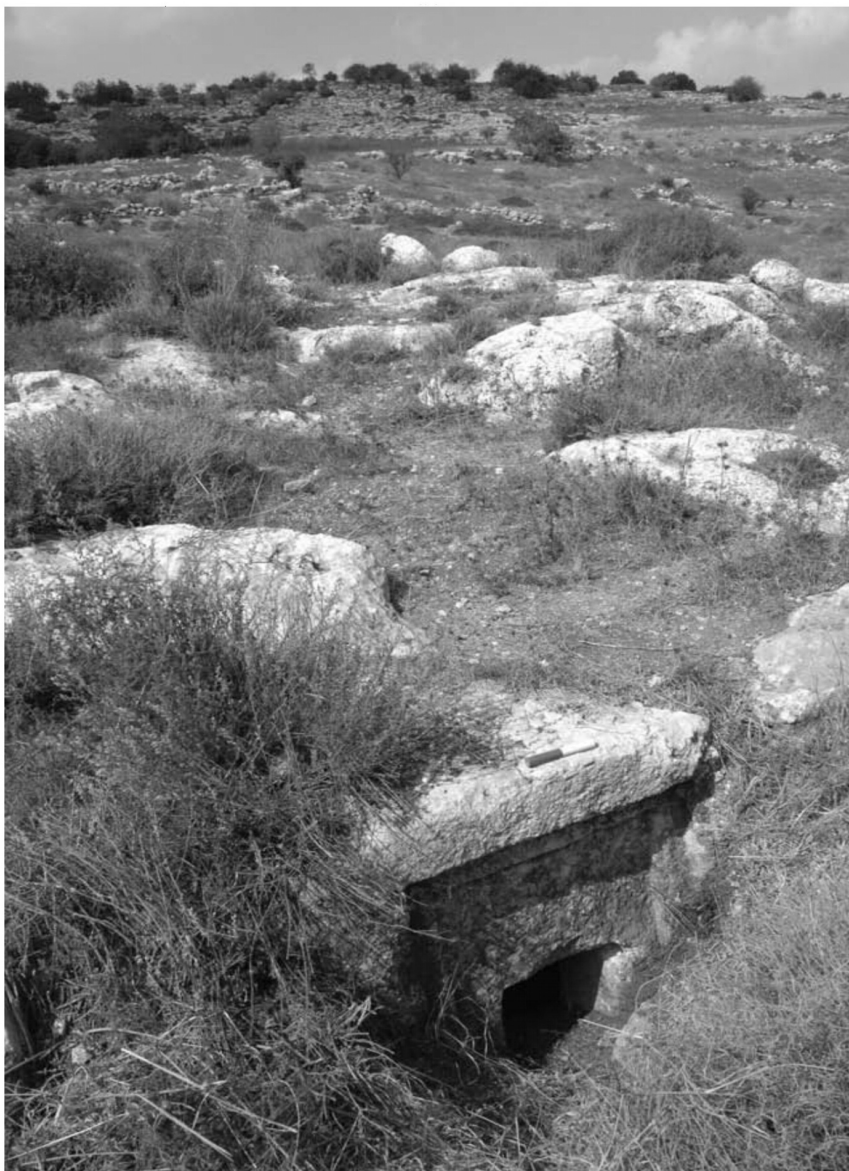


Fig. 13. Photo of opening, surrounded by recesses, to burial cave no. 7. (photo toward north, by the authors)

plans are known from the Iron Age²⁹ but it appears that during the Second Temple period similar caverns were hewn, continuing a long-standing tradition.³⁰ 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 Neṭṭīf* 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),³¹ 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 Neṭṭīf* (ancient Betholetepha).³²

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 vicinity³³ were apparently adjacent agricultural estates. The remains on the hilltop³⁴ 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 Neṭṭīf*. 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?)

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ 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.

³¹ A mosaic pavement decorated with somewhat similar patterns was discovered in 1933 at *Bēt Neṭṭīf*, near *Weli Šeh’ Abdallah*, and published by D.C. Baramki, "Recent Discoveries of Byzantine Remains in Palestine," *QDAP* 4 (1934): 119–121.

³² 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.

³³ Dagan, *The Settlement*, sites 112 and 118.

³⁴ *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)

3.2 The Problem of Bar Kokhba's Name

The construction בר/בן + X need not represent a patronym.⁴⁵ Another possibility is that this expression signifies the bearer of a certain quality.⁴⁶ 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).⁴⁷ The *a priori* rejection, however, of the possibility that this

⁴³ 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".

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ F. Nötscher, "Bar Kochba, Ben Kosba. Der Sternsohn, der Prachtige," VT 11 (1961): 450. For this category see שמן בן in Isa 5:1; חיל בן in 1 Sam 18:17; נכר בן in Gen 17:12; מות בן in 1 Sam 20:31 etc.

⁴⁷ See Zeitlin, "Bar Kokba," 77 for some examples; Nötscher, "Bar Kochba," 450; Schäfer, *Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, 52. For example יצחק איש הדרום in *Sif-Bamot* 8, cf. Reeg, *Ortsnamen*, 212, and אלעזר המדעי 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 בר דרומא or בר גלגולא 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;

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

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. *יבש* could be a biblical example for the construction *בן/בר* + place name, see for 2 Kgs 15:10, 13, 14. This construction is possible, especially in the plural, see for example *בני ציון* 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* in *bSan* 64a; *בן גובתא דאריח* in *SifBam* 131; *בן דרום* in *bShab* 80b; *בן גלילא* in *yShab* 3,1; *בן יגזורה* in *yBer* 9,3; *בן גזירה* in *yTa'an* 4,1; *בן מל* in *yMeg* 1,14; *בן מישא* in *tEd* 3,1; *בן סונגא* in *mEd* 7,8; *בן סגני* in *yHag* 3,4; *בן עטלי* in *yGit* 1,2; *בן עקבר* in *yShab* 2,1; *בן הקנה* in *ShirR* 6,4,2; *בן קסרי* in *Sifra Par.8,5*; *בן צרידה* in *yTer* 11,7; *שילה* in *yRHSh* 2,9; *yHag* 3,8; *PesK* 5, see Reeg, *Ortsnamen*, 375.

⁴⁸ 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."

⁴⁹ 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). The latter is discussed in the scholarly literature. See J.T. Milik, “Une question de toponymie: Bethsaïde ou Béthsaïde?” in *Les origines de Jésus* in *The*

⁵⁰ 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, *Judea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey 1967-1968*, (Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), 28, 50, site no. 83.

⁵¹ 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 ק and כ see Ilan, *Lexicon*, 25.

with either כ or ש.⁵² Since these sources are contemporary to the historical figure of Shimon, they could preserve the original form of his byname, so that both כוכבה and כוזבה would be later interpretations (positive or negative) of the original byname כוסבה or כושבה.⁵³

However, the etymology of כוסבה or כושבה is disputed. Perhaps the noun כשב ("lamb")—a variant of כבש—could be related to the uncommon spelling with the letter ש. This might then refer to the allegedly peaceful attitude of Shimon.⁵⁴ Another alternative is that the orthography is the result of metathesis, as in the case of כשב/כבש, so that the original stem of this word would have been כבס ("to wash"),⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Thus, it could be that כוסבה or כושבה were nicknames masquerading as patronyms.⁵⁷

However, one intriguing problem still remains. The byname כוסבה or כושבה, 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 כוזב is attributed to Aqiva,⁵⁸ quite out of keeping with the

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 בר כוזב ("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").⁵⁹ Moreover, the change in sibilants might also reflect a phonetic system in which an original ז could also be rendered by ס or ש.⁶⁰ 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 כוסבה or כושבה), which could itself present a case against כוסבה as the more original form of Shimon's byname.⁶¹

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 ס since the letter ז can also be transcribed with σ, as is found, for example, inter alia in Eusebius.⁶² Thus, while unequivocal proof is absent, the reading בר כוזב ("son of Chozeba") could be the original spelling, referring to the place of origin of the leader of the Second Revolt.

⁵² 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 כוסבא or כוסבה, 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.

⁵³ 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*."

⁵⁴ However, related to the stem כבש ("to trample down") this byname could also denote the violent behaviour of Shimon.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ Nicknames are also typically unique, see Ilan, *Lexicon*, 46.

⁵⁷ See Ilan, *Lexicon*, 386.

⁵⁸ See *yTa'anit* IV 8: "כוזב steps forth from Jacob." According to Evans, *Jesus*, 195, Rabbi Aqiva originally used the word כוסבה which was later standardized in accor-

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."

⁵⁹ Contra Nötscher, "Bar Kochba," 451 who interprets this byname as "der Prachtige." 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."

⁶⁰ 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."

⁶¹ 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.

⁶² See his transcription of כוזב 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.⁶³ 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

⁶³ 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 ⁶⁴ Jerusalem, Stratum 9 ⁶⁵
2	Krater	YR-U 110	Brown-gray clay, white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III ⁶⁶
3	Krater	YR-U 056	Reddish-brown, gray core, large white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III ⁶⁷ Jerusalem Stratum 9 ⁶⁸
4	Bowl	YR-U 067	Brown-gray clay, gray core, white grits	IA II	Jerusalem Stratum 8 ⁶⁹
5	Bowl	YR-U 079	Brown-gray clay, large white grits	IA II	Jerusalem Stratum 7 ⁷⁰
6	Bowl	YR-U 077	Light red, dark grits, wheel burnish inside and on rim	IA II	Lachish, Level III ⁷¹ Jerusalem Stratum 7 ⁷²
7	Bowl	YR-U 020	Light red, white grits, wheel burnished inside and on rim	IA II	Lachish, Level II ⁷³
8	Bowl	YR-M 014	Brown, gray core white grits, wheel burnish inside	IA II	Lachish, Level III ⁷⁴ Jerusalem, Stratum 9 ⁷⁵

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ 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.

⁶⁶ Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.24:2; fig. 26.25:3.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 26.20:10; fig. 26.24:3.

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

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 1.7:29.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 1.9:6.

⁷¹ Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.20:2,7.

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

⁷³ Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.54:11; 26.55:1,4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 26.20:9.

⁷⁵ 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 ⁷⁶ Jerusalem Stratum 7 ⁷⁷
10	Storage Jar (Lmlk type)	YR-M 050	Light brown, gray core, large white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III ⁷⁸
11	Cooking Pot	YR-M 043	Light red clay mixed with straw and white grits	IA II	Lachish, Level III ⁷⁹
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, ⁸⁰ and by I. Shai and A. Maeir ⁸¹

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, ⁸² Tel Mikhal (IAA Excavations) ⁸³
2	Krater	YR-U 107	Brown-gray, white grits	Pers.	Dor, Stratum VI ⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.5:13.

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

⁷⁸ Zimhoni, "The Pottery," fig. 26.9:1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 26.40:4; 26.4:1.

⁸⁰ 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.

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

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

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

⁸⁴ 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 ⁸⁵
4	Casserole	YR-U 022	Brown-red, white grits, gray core	Pers.	Har Adar, ⁸⁶ Kh. Kabar ⁸⁷
5	Holemouth Jar	YR-U 013	Gray clay, few white grits	Pers.	Dor, Stratum VI ⁸⁸
6	Jar	YR-U 005	Light-brown, gray core, white and brown grits	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress, ⁸⁹ Dor, Stratum VI ⁹⁰
7	Cooking pot	YR-M 049	Brown clay, gray core	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress ⁹¹
8	Storage Jar	YR-U 045	Gray-orange, gray core, small white grits	Pers.	Har Adar, ⁹² Tel Ya'oz ⁹³
9	Storage Jar	YR-M 003	Light-orange, small white grits	Pers.	Ashdod, fortress ⁹⁴ Tel Mikhal (IAA) ⁹⁵
10	Storage Jar	YR-L 021	Light-gray, white grits	Pers.	Har Adar ⁹⁶ Tel Ya'oz ⁹⁷
11	Storage Jar	YR-U 82	Orange brown, white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City ⁹⁸
12	Storage Jar	YR-M 008	Buff, white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City ⁹⁹

⁸⁵ Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 4:5.

⁸⁶ M. Dadon, "Har Adar," *Atiqot* 32 (1997) (Hebrew) fig. 9:6–9.

⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁸ Stern, "Local Pottery," fig. 2.5:3.

⁸⁹ Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 4:16.

⁹⁰ Stern, "Local Pottery," fig. 2.8:13.

⁹¹ Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 4:13.

⁹² Dadon, "Har Adar," fig. 9:24.

⁹³ 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.

⁹⁴ Porath, "A Fortress," fig. 5:3.

⁹⁵ Kapitaikin, "The Pottery," fig. 15:7.

⁹⁶ Dadon, "Har Adar," fig. 10:1.

⁹⁷ Segal et al. "Tel Ya'oz," fig. 10:6.

⁹⁸ 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.

⁹⁹ 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 ¹⁰⁰
14	Storage Jar	YR-U 018	Light-brown, gray core, white and brown grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City ¹⁰¹
15	Storage Jar	YR-U 86	Light-brown, gray core	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City ¹⁰²
16	Storage Jar	YR-U 58	Gray, few white grits	Hellenistic	Jerusalem, Old City ¹⁰³
17	Storage Jar	YR-U 93	Orange-gray, white and gray grits	Hellenistic-Early Roman	Masada ¹⁰⁴
18	Base of closed (?) vessel (Eastern Terra Sigillata)	YR-M 37	Buff clay, red slip on outside	Hellenistic-Early Roman	Jerusalem, Jewish Quarter ¹⁰⁵
19	Flask	YR-U 42	Light brown, white grits	Hellenistic-Early Roman	Jerusalem, Stratum 4, ¹⁰⁶ Jericho ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 103, pl. 4.3:1,2.¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 104, pl. 4.3:7,8.¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 104, pl. 4.3:7,8.¹⁰³ 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.5.4:17.¹⁰⁴ 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. 4:14–17.¹⁰⁵ 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. 6.7:8.¹⁰⁶ Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery," pl. 5.4:23, 24; Geva and HersHKovitz, "Local Pottery," pl. 4.4:15.¹⁰⁷ 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, ¹⁰⁸ Masada ¹⁰⁹
2	Storage Jar	YR-U 102	Orange-gray, gray core, small white grits	Early Roman	Masada ¹¹⁰
3	Storage Jar	YR-U 108	Light-brown-gray, white and brown grits	Early to Middle-Roman (1st to first 3rd of 2nd century C.E.)	Masada ¹¹¹
4	Storage Jar	YR-M 81	Orange-gray clay, small black grits	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. ¹¹²
5	Storage Jar	YR-U 103	Brown-gray clay, small white grits	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. ¹¹³
6	Storage Jar	YR-M 89	Orange clay, small white grits	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. ¹¹⁴
7	Cooking Pot	YR-U 112	Brown-gray	Early to Middle-Roman	Masada ¹¹⁵
8	Cooking Pot	YR-U 47	Brown-red, white grits	Early to Middle-Roman	Masada ¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery," pl. 5.4:21; Geva and HersHKovitz, "Local Pottery," 103, pl. 4.3:3.¹⁰⁹ 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, 52.¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 60: type M-SJ10A, pl. 9:47, 48.¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 57: type M-SJ8, pl. 8:41.¹¹² 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, 24.¹¹³ *Ibid.*, fig. 13:16.¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 13:16.¹¹⁵ Bar-Nathan, "The Pottery," 154: type M-CP1A, pl. 27:4–12.¹¹⁶ *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; ¹¹⁷ Ahuzat Hazan hiding complex. ¹¹⁸
10	Glass bowl	YR-U 90	Greenish glass, translucent	Early to Middle-Roman	'Ain 'Arrub hiding complex. ¹¹⁹

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 ¹²⁰
2	Oil Lamp (wheel-made, knife- pared "Herodian")	YR-U 87	Beige, black grits, red slip	Early Roman	Masada ¹²¹

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

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 350, pl. 5:7.

¹¹⁹ Tsafrir and Zissu, "A Hiding Complex," 26–28, fig. 17:7–8.

¹²⁰ 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.

¹²¹ 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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