RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND SPATIALITY IN HASMONEAN AND HERODIAN GALILEE

By

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the connection between ancient Galilean perceptions of space and religious identity by drawing on literary and archaeological evidence from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st century CE. It is divided into three levels of spatial analysis: bodily, communal, and regional. Spatial construction in Galilee is informed by the ideas and contributions of spatial theorists. Some of these theorists have examined how religion and spatiality are interconnected. The first section, bodily space, examines ancient Jewish conceptions of purity, in order to address how religion and ritual were expressed in everyday life in Galilee. In this section, I have consulted a wide variety of texts, and compiled and discussed elements of Galilean material culture which relate to the bodily expression of purity conceptions. The second section, communal space, documents the development of public spaces in Galilee and in ancient Judaism more generally. The third and final section, regional space, examines how Galilee can be conceived of as a distinct region in the Levant. In particular, I focus on the relations between Galilee and Jerusalem, principally economic and religious ties to the Hasmonean dynasty, which ruled over the southern Levant during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. My thesis utilises a variety of additional sources that document, and methodologies that have been applied to the study of, Greco-Roman history, archaeology and literature. Furthermore, I use insights from spatial theory to creatively imagine the spaces that were generated in ancient Galilee. My work considers discussions about identity formation and delineation, especially with respect to how groups are reconstructed through texts and archaeological materials. The thesis offers a more careful and nuanced understanding of identity and its relation to ancient materials than previous scholars' approaches, whilst moving away from essentialist definitions of identity.

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"A book is never done, only abandoned" – Terry Pratchett, paraphrasing Paul Valéry.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for series and journals follow *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. Below are abbreviations used in this work, following SBL and including additional entries.

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
AcBib	Academia Biblica
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJEC/AGJU	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity/Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJN	*American Journal of Numismatics*
AJSR	*Association for Jewish Studies Review*
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
AS/EA	*Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BISNELC	Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Culture
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BNP	Hubert Cancik, ed., *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2011.
BRLA	Brill Reference Library of Judaism

BSAS	British School at Athens Studies
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BYUS	*Brigham Young University Studies*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCAMR	Barbette Stanley Spaeth, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Mediterranean Religions*. Cambridge Companions to Religion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHJ	William D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, eds., *Cambridge History of Judaism*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984–2006.
CIIP	Hannah M. Cotton et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: A Multi-Lingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad*. 4 vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010–2020.
CIJ	J. B. Frey, ed. *Corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum*. 2 vols. Rome: Pontifico istituto di archaeologia cristiana, 1936–1952); *CIJ* i² is a reprint of Frey, with additions by B. Lifshitz.
CIRB	Vasilii Struve, ed., *Corpus inscriptionum regni bosporani*. Moscow, 1965.
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
CPJ	Victor A. Tcherikover et al, eds., *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964.
CRS	Cassell Religious Studies
CS	Contextualizing the Sacred
CSCT	Columbia Studies in Classical Traditions
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DHR	Dynamics in the History of Religions
DJD	Documents from the Judean Desert

DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSSR	Donald Parry, Emanuel Tov and Geraldine I. Clements, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. 2nd rev. ed. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
DSSSE	Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
ECL	Early Christianity and Its Literature
EDEJ	John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow, eds., *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
EncJud	Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum, eds., *Encyclopedia Judaica*. 2nd ed. 22 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007.
ER	Lindsay Jones, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 2nd ed. 15 vols. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005.
ESTJ	Daniel M. Gurtner and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds., *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*. 2 vols. London: T&T Clark, 2019–2020.
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FCB	Feminist Companion to the Bible
FNPCA	Futures: New Perspectives for Cultural Analysis
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HA-ESI	*Hadashot Arkheologiyot – Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HdO	Handbook of Oriental Studies/Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSHJ	Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter, eds., *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*

IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IDel	Félix Durrbach et al., eds., *Inscriptiones de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris: Champion, 1926–1972.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IJO	David Noy et al., eds., *Inscriptiones Judaicase Orientis*. 3 vols. TSAJ 99, 101–102. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
IJSSJ	Institute of Jewish Studies: Studies in Judaica
IJURR	*International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*
INR	*Israel Numismatic Research*
ISACR	Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBV	Journal of Beliefs and Values
JCP	Jewish and Christian Perspectives
JCT	Jewish and Christian Texts
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHebS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JIGRE	William Horbury and David Noy, eds., *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
JIWE	David Noy, ed., *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993–1995.
JJMJS	*Journal of the Jesus Movement in its Jewish Setting*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JLRS	*Journal of Law, Religion and State*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*

JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplements
JSHJ	*Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNCT	*Jewish Studies in the Nordic Countries Today*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSocStud	*Jewish Social Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPub	Judea and Samaria Publications
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KMTS	The Kenneth Michael Tanenbaum Series in Jewish Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	The Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, eds. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
MAMA	W. M. Calder, E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer and C. W. M. Cox, eds., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*. 10 vols. American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor. London: Manchester University Press, 1928–1993.
Marginalia	*Marginalia: Los Angeles Review of Books*
MatRel	*Material Religion*
MTSR	*Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*

NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NEAEHL	Ephraim Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Carta; New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993.
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NSR	Numismatic Studies and Researches
NTOA/SUNT	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus/Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OAWPHKD	Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften
OEBA	Daniel M. Master et al., eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci Inscriptions Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1903–1905.
OHJDL	Catherine Hezser, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
SAPERE	Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionemque pertinentia
SASLJS	The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies
SB	F. Presisigke et al., eds., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. 18 vols. Strassburg: K. J. Trubner; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1915–1993.
SBFCMa	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio major
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series

SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica*
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SIDA	*Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
TA	*Tel Aviv*
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamenlichen Zeitalter
TRS	Themes in Religious Studies
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZBA	Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

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Time Periods

In the scholarly material used for this thesis, different terms have been used to describe roughly the same time periods. The bulk of the materials discussed in this thesis come from the Late Hellenistic to Early Roman periods. To avoid confusion, I have tried to be consistent in my own use, but for the sake of clarity, a breakdown of the dates which establish the delineations of different periods discussed has been provided:

Late Second Temple Period	333 BCE to 70 CE	Early Hellenistic	333 to 152 BCE	200 to 142 BCE	Seleucid
		Late Hellenistic	152 to 37 BCE	c.110–100 to 37 BCE	Hasmonean
		Early Roman	37 BCE to 70 CE	37 BCE to 93 CE	Herodian
		First Jewish War	66 to 70 CE		

1.   Introduction

This thesis explores the composition of Galilee by examining the textual references and material finds which relate to the region from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st century CE. This topic is far too large to fully consider. Often the desire of other scholars is to elucidate the life of Jesus of Nazareth, that most famous Galilean, or else to contextualize the locality where rabbinic Judaism began to produce key aspects of its early textual history. Others are concerned with contemporary questions of identity and belonging. Adherents travel to the region to glimpse the hilltops where Jesus preached, visit the synagogues where sages instructed, pay respects at the tombs of prophets, and connect themselves to ancient narratives. The period of interest for this study concerns a time mostly before those events ever took place. I have further limited this study to the question of ancient Jewish Galilean religious practice; that is, what we can know about the religious practices of a subset of the population of this place, from its incorporation into the Hasmonean State, to the end of the First Jewish War. My approach engages with the available evidence for the expressions of religious practice and its relations to three overlapping spheres of space: bodily [chps. 2 and 3], communal [chps. 4 and 5] and regional [chp. 6]. The foundational unit of religious life is the body, or the household. From these collections of bodies, we can examine communal religious life, and then how these communities understood and related to one another. At some point, on some level, these communities were understood etically (internally) and perhaps emically (externally) as Galilean. They were further considered Judean in the Hasmonean and Herodian period. Many of them will have been considered Jewish.

1.1   The Question and the Approach

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions: how did ancient Jews create meaningful spaces of religious activity in ancient Galilee, and how did those spaces in turn influence the constitution of ancient Judaism? These questions have been largely unexplored in scholarship. Spatial theory has been widely used in biblical studies and cognate fields in recent years, yet only a few works have examined Galilee using spatial perspectives, and these have not incorporated archaeological evidence to a significant extent.[1] On the other side, archaeologists have conducted a great number of studies on the archaeology of Hellenistic and Early Roman Galilee, but have not engaged with spatial approaches.[2] Galilee then remains partially unexamined and this thesis brings together these thread strands of historical, archaeological and spatial analysis. I will employ aspects of spatial theory, the insights of critical geographers, and notions of identity to explore the spaces of Galilee. This contributes toward our understanding of ancient Judaism, towards theoretical approaches in archaeology and history, and to specific discussions around purity in ancient Judaism, the emergence of purpose-built Jewish communal structures, and Hasmonean influence over the late Second Temple period.

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[1] These works are excellent but are principally engaged in using spatial theory to interrogate texts rather than archaeology: Halvor Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in His Place: A Radical Vision of Household and Kingdom* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003) [see also 8. Bibliography for his other works]; John M. Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee in Josephus, Luke, and John: Critical Geography and the Construction of an Ancient Space*, AJEC/AGJU 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Karen J. Wenell, *Jesus and Land: Sacred and Social Space in Second Temple Judaism*, LNTS 334 (London: T&T Clark, 2007).

[2] For example: Mordechai Aviam, *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Galilee: 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys, Hellenistic to Byzantine Periods*, Land of Galilee 1 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004); Andrea M. Berlin, "Household Judaism," in *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods. Volume 1: Life, Culture, and Society*, eds. David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014), 208–215; Rick Bonnie, *Being Jewish in Galilee, 100–200 CE: An Archaeological Study*, SEMA 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019); Mark A. Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus*, SNTSMS 134 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) [see also 8. Bibliography for his other works]; Uzi Leibner, *Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee: An Archaeological Survey of the Eastern Galilee*, TSAJ 127 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-Examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000).

I suggest that Hasmonean influence is apparent from the shared material culture between Galilee and Judea. A number of features of Galilean material culture appeared once the Hasmonean incorporated the territory into their kingdom, and while some of this was probably constructed by Judean migrants, there was nevertheless a link between Hasmonean hegemony and developing practices in Galilee. While there is an apparent difference between Galilean/Judean material culture, and the material culture of the surrounding regions, I do not think that this meant that the Hasmoneans themselves had a conception of this particular land as being related to some kind of ancestral or holy land. This notion is not present in First Maccabees, which represents Hasmonean court ideologies around the end of the 2nd century BCE. As discussed below, this work does not indicate that the territory of Galilee was considered significantly different to territories outside of the notion of the Davidic kingdom [see 1.2.1.1].

To begin, I present an account of the toponym "Galilee," as it was used in ancient texts. The project is shaped like an ellipse, which opens which an examination of what Galilee meant in texts, and finally closes again by considering what Galilee meant from an analysis of archaeological materials. This approach intentionally distinguishes between an ancient and varied understanding of a region and a modern synthesis of archaeological sites under a single regional term. These two understandings are not unrelated but should be carefully distinguished. Furthermore, I intentionally define Galilee as a varied and changing toponym on the basis of its ancient usage at the outset of the thesis, before returning to examine how regionality may have been conveyed through collective expressions of material culture.

Further theoretical strands include an exploration of how I understand the category of "ancient Judaism," and how spatial theory serves my research questions. I have approached Judaism as an identity, which included elements related to language, religion, ritual, gender

and more. Not every potential framework for analysing identity and embodiment has been included, but these additional elements would only add to my conclusions. I use spatial theory to ask questions of the texts and material culture and think about how these spaces were lived. I consider three levels of spatial expression: bodily, communal, and regional. The aim is to uncover some of the diverse ways in which Judaism was a social expression of identity in ancient Galilee, giving voice to people without much textual witness. The bulk of the thesis is fleshed out with four chapters which form two pairs on the archaeological and textual evidence for both bodily and communal spaces.

The overarching collective ideology which I ascribe to ancient Galilee space can be termed "Temple Loyalty." While many elements of practice such as the observation of purity are decidedly not linked to the Jerusalem Temple, this atmosphere wherein spaces were created to facilitate a form of Judaism centres on Jerusalem and its authorities. These authorities were initially the Hasmoneans, who drew a large part of their legitimacy from the Jerusalem Temple. "Temple Loyalty" covers the range of expressions of spatial identity known from ancient Galilee. Not everything discussed in this thesis can be directly connected to this impetus, but I will argue that a key driver for many of the known expressions of religious identity in this region originates in the period when the Hasmoneans were in power.

The results of this work contribute to our understanding of ancient Judaism, particularly its variety. Yet beyond simply stating things about how ancient Jews created and experienced space, this work attempts to develop an approach towards the integration of texts and material culture rooted in spatial theory. Spatial theory and biblical studies often engages in a discussion of theoretical representations of space [see 1.4.1], that is, exploring how a text

engages with a sense of space.[3] Here I advocate for thinking further about the lived realities

behind the texts. That is not to say that textual ideologies do not reflect lived experiences, but

that there is a difference between thinking about a text as creating a space, and social spaces

created between people. This may result in thinking about the relationship between ancient

authors and their audiences differently.

1.2   Geographic and Temporal Scope of Investigation

The territory north of Samaria, which was brought under Hasmonean influence,

administration and control around the beginning of the 1st century BCE, principally includes

what is usually called Galilee and the Gaulanitis. While Galilee is the nomenclature for the

region both in antiquity and at present, the territory of the Gaulanitis is effectively the area

currently known as the Golan (Heights).[4] I will refer to this northern region of the Hasmonean

State as Galilee, even if the name did not cover some of the places which will be discussed.

As shall be seen below [1.2.1] the toponym Galilee was always malleable, and I will employ

the name in this spirit, using this term to encompass the region which appears to have had

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[3] For example, Alison Schofield, "Re-Placing Priestly Space: The Wilderness as Heterotopia in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, eds. Eric F. Mason et al., JSJSup 153/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 469–490, analyses how the wilderness understood as a space in the Damascus Document.

[4] This area is the legal territory of Syria. The occupation of the Golan Heights and current geopolitical tensions are typically glossed over in discussions of the region but must be foregrounded here to acknowledge the implications of the use of materials from this area in my own research. As recently as 2019, the annexation was recognised by the United States under the administration of Donald Trump, to which the United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres reiterated that this had not changed the standing position of the UN upon the legality of the occupation of the Golan Heights. See United Nations Security Council Resolution 497 (17/12/1981): https://undocs.org/S/RES/497(1981). My interests (and those of some archaeologists working in the region) principally concern Jewish remains. This identification forms part of the justification for the occupation of the territory by the State of Israel, where elected officials explicitly claim this heritage for the country. I will not ignore the evidence from these areas, but state here my reservations about the implicit approval of the occupation itself. This approval may appear implicit in using these remains in a way which furthers the ideological claims over the jurisdiction of this territory, an occupation which ignores the objections of the international community.

quite a similar material cultural profile. Galilee is notable for its identification with and interest in the Jerusalem cultic centre over the two centuries after its incorporation into the Hasmonean state, from around the beginning of the 1st century BCE. This thesis explores the evidence for this identification and the varied expressions of Galilean identity. In this section I examine the texts which include the term Galilee and its constituents, and then discuss the changes in the archaeological record which coincided with the Hasmonean conquest of this region.

1.2.1   Galilee in Second Temple Period Sources

The sites that are discussed in the following investigation are included on the basis of archaeological phenomena. These phenomena are often said to map out a region of Jewish occupation which is tied to historical accounts of the conquest and subsequent settlement of Galilee, and surrounding areas by the Hasmoneans, and then Herodians [see 1.2.3]. These historical narratives – First Maccabees, the Book of Judith, and the writings of Josephus, among others – do not contain a unified notion of this area. The region can be variously constructed from ancient writings – for example, both First Maccabees and Josephus' account of his role as *strategos* of Galilee provide inconsistent borders of Galilee. This should be expected, as nearly two centuries of activity separate these accounts. Furthermore, examining where diagnostic archaeological materials have been found provides a competing conception of what constitutes Galilee or the Galileans [see 1.2.4]. This should alert the reader that conceptions shift, and what is clear in one source is not in another. Key archaeological indicators of distinct regions are not as indicative as they might seem [see 1.3.4.2]. The idea that terminology for locales shifts between writers is easy to demonstrate yet often

overlooked.[5] To illustrate this, I briefly show how Galilee (Γαλιλαίας) is described and

constituted in a variety of sources written between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE.

1.2.1.1   Galilee in First Maccabees

First Maccabees is a propagandistic work produced around the end of the 2nd or in the

1st century BCE. It promotes the legitimacy of the Hasmonean family, their right to lead the

Judeans and manage the Jerusalem Temple. Its narrative principally covers the Maccabean

revolt against Antiochus IV and his successors, ending with the death of Simon Thassi in 134

BCE.[6] Galilee is mentioned occasionally therein as a place where a Jewish minority is rescued

and brought back to Judea. The first mention of the region comes from messengers, who

report to Judah Maccabee that "the people of Ptolemais and Tyre and Sidon, and all Galilee of

the Gentiles, had gathered together against them to annihilate us" (1 Macc 5:14–15).[7] Having

heard this, Judah tells his brother Simon to go to Galilee and "rescue your kindred" (1 Macc

5:17 cf. *Ant*. 12.331–334). After a series of victories against the Gentiles and having driven

them back to the gate of Ptolemais, Simon brings back people from Galilee and Arbatta to

Judea (1 Macc 5:23).[8] Some scholars have suggested that the Αρβηλοις in First Maccabees

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[5] Ze'ev Safrai, *Seeking out the Land: Land of Israel Traditions in Ancient Jewish, Christian and Samaritan Literature (200 BCE–400 CE)*, JCP 32 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 1–2, acknowledges that the concept of "the Land of Israel" has been studied from an ideological perspective, but opts to conduct a study of how this existed in "everyday life." However, this does not sufficiently address the problem of how ideology is embedded in the definition of a geographical area as a clearly defined space. For an example of how this is carefully done, see Liv Ingeborg Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel. Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*, JSJSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 307–312, who argues against the notion of a single, fixed concept of "Holy Land" but rather multiple, overlapping conceptions. See also Michael Avioz, "Land, Concept of," *ESTJ* 2, 422–424, 423.

[6] See Maria Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood during the pre-Hasmonean Period: History, Ideology, Theology*, JSJSup 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 4–5, 10–14; Sylvie Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of the Maccabees and the Judean Rebellion against Antiochos IV* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 19–21 and 568–572 for an outline of First Maccabees.

[7] Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the Hebrew Bible, Apocrypha and New Testament follow the NRSV.

[8] NSRV renders this as "then he took the Jews of Galilee and Arbatta" to Judea, yet the term "Jews" is absent in the Greek. This is presumably a logical addition from the general campaign against the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη, 1 Macc 5:21) and the notion that Simon was retrieving his kindred from Galilee (1 Macc 5:17). Martin Goodman,

9:2 is Arbel in Galilee.[9] However, this passage refers to the army of Bacchides and Alcimus entering the land of Judah (1 Macc 9:1), and this battle was on the road to Gilgal (Γαλγαλα, 1 Macc 9:2). This narrative is clearly drawing from Joshua 10:6–11 and First Samuel 13:12. Josephus mentions Arbela in Galilee (Ἄρβηλα, *Life* 311; *War* 1.305 cf. Ἀρβήλοις, *Ant.* 12.421; Ἀρβήλων, *Ant.* 14.416; *Life* 188), yet the name was used for other settlements.[10] Furthermore, this narrative recalls the exploits of Saul and should not be treated as a historical account of expansion and land claims during the early events of the Maccabean Revolt.[11] Commentators have suggested that Gilgal is actually a corruption of Galilee, and thus have typically identified, along with Josephus [see 1.2.1.4], this Arbela as the Arbel in Galilee.[12] In First Maccabees 10, Demetrius I Soter offered three districts to Jonathan, which were to be added to the territory of the Hasmoneans taken from Samaria and Galilee (1 Macc 10:30).[13] This bargaining chip was used in an effort to win Jonathan's support in Demetrius' civil war with Alexander Balas. The phrasing suggests that these districts were within the larger region of "Samaria and Galilee" rather than three districts which made up Samaria and Galilee.[14]

"Galilean Judaism and Judaean Judaism," *CHJ* 3:596–617, 599, suggests that these Jews were diasporic communities.

[9] Zvi Ilan and Avrahama Izdarechet, "Arbel," *NEAEHL* 1:87–89, 87; Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 253. Bezalel Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics, and Internal Strife in the Hasmonean State," in *Armées et Fiscalité dans le Monde Antique, Paris, 14–16 Octobre 1976*, CNRS 936 (Paris: CNRS, 1977), 167–194, 193, argues that this location cannot be located in Galilee.

[10] Perhaps most famously for the site of Alexander the Great's battle against Darius III at Gaugamela, sometimes rendered as Arbela.

[11] Katell Berthelot, *In Search of the Promised Land? The Hasmonean Dynasty between Biblical Models and Hellenistic Diplomacy*, trans. Margaret Rigaud, JAJSup 24 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 139; *idem.*, "Judas Maccabeus' Wars against Judaea's Neighbours in 1 Maccabees 5: A Reassessment of the Evidence," *Electrum* 21 (2014): 73–85.

[12] Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 41 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 372. Goldstein notes that some versions of First Maccabees 9:2 contains a reference to Gilead, which may have been a mistake for Galilee. Notably, Judith 15:5 mentions both Gilead and Galilee.

[13] See further Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, HCS 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 14–15.

[14] See Berthelot, *Promised Land*, 317–319; Timothy Luckritz Marquis, "Re-Presenting Galilean Identity: Josephus's Use of 1 Maccabees 10:25–45 and the Term *Ioudaios*," in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, eds. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge, and Dale B. Martin, WUNT 210 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 55–67, 56–61. Bob Becking, "The Construction of Early Jewish Identity: Reading 1 Maccabees," in *Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Construction of Early Jewish Identity*, FAT 80 (Tübingen:

Galilee features in First Maccabees' narrative in another place: Demetrius II Nicator's officers had arrived at Kedesh, so Jonathan responded by encamping next to the Lake of Gennesareth (Sea of Galilee). He was defeated and retreated south (1 Macc 11:63–73). Later in chapter 12, Jonathan once again conducts military operations in the region. Diodotus Tryphon marched to Beth Shean (Scythopolis) in a preemptive move against Jonathan's likely intervention. Tryphon tricked Jonathan into splitting his forces and proceeding to Ptolemais, where he was taken captive by the people of Ptolemais (1 Macc 12:39–53).

Seth Schwartz argues that First Maccabees drew on the language of the book of Joshua and portrayed the surrounding nations of "Idumaeans, Galilaeans, Samarians, various Transjordanians, and inhabitants of the coastal Greek cities… as implacably hostile to the Jews."[15] First Maccabees may portray the expansion of the Hasmoneans as an ideological struggle to "reclaim" territory, but in this case the position would be that of a literary framework of polemic and propaganda. In reality, the Hasmoneans cooperated with those around them to further their own ends.[16] Furthermore, as Katell Berthelot argues, "nowhere in 1 Maccabees is the land listed as one of the causes for the Maccabean revolt or the policy that Jonathan and Simon followed after the rededication of the temple and the death of Judas."[17] The land itself is troubled by the actions of Seleucid authorities (e.g. 1 Macc 1:28), but the revolt is not explicitly portrayed as a cleansing process in the land. Rather, First Maccabees

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Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 143–154, 150, suggests that this verse excludes Samaria from the land but includes Hebron. I am uncertain how he arrives at this conclusion from the passage itself. Andrea Berlin notes that these acquisitions of land were the personal property of Simon in the Hellenistic tradition of "king's land." She suggests that Simon perhaps used the proceeds of this acquisition to provide food for newly settled villages and towns, see Andrea M. Berlin, "Between Large Forces: Palestine in the Hellenistic Period," *BA* 60.1 (1997): 33.

[15] Seth Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations Roundabout: 1 Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion," *JJS* 42.1 (1991): 28.

[16] Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations," 33–34. On the basis of this strong polemic against other peoples, Schwartz suggests that First Maccabees more properly fits the historical context of 130 BCE rather than around 100 BCE (36–37).

[17] Berthelot, *Promised Land*, 80–81, 161.

builds the prowess and reputation of the Hasmoneans as defenders of the Torah; the concept

of ideological territorial claims is largely absent.

1.2.1.2   *Galilee in Judith*

The Book of Judith is thought to have been written around 100 BCE.[18] An Upper Galilee

is mentioned in Judith 1:8. Here the Plain of Esdraelon, more commonly known as the Jezreel

Valley, is said to be south of Upper Galilee.[19] Judith's town Bethulia apparently lies on the

border of the land of Israel, itself in the northern part of Samaria, near the plain of

Esdraelon.[20] This would thus indicate that Upper Galilee was outside of the land of Israel

itself, while the Jezreel Valley was at the boundary. Mordechai Aviam suggests that this detail

supports the notion that the western part of Lower Galilee was occupied by Jews during the

2nd century BCE.[21] Later in the book, those in Gilead and Galilee participate in the destruction

of the Assyrians (Jdt 15:5). Deborah Levine Gera points out that this is a reversal of the

narrative in First Maccabees which presents the Maccabees rescuing the Jews in Galilee,

whereas in Judith, the Galileans are among those who come to the rescue of the Judahites.[22]

Galilee functions as an indication of the unity of the Israelites in the book of Judith, although

the precise region which constitutes Galilee is unclear.[23]

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[18] Deborah Levine Gera, *Judith*, CEJL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 38–44; Lawrence M. Wills, *Judith: A Commentary*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2019), 14–16.
[19] Wills, *Judith*, 180.
[20] Gera, *Judith*, 125; Wills, *Judith*, 206–209.
[21] Mordechai Aviam, "The Hasmonean Dynasty's Activities in the Galilee," in *Jews, Pagans*, 41–50, 42.
[22] Gera, *Judith*, 33, 434.
[23] Safrai, *Seeking out the Land*, 6, notes that the land functions as a backdrop in Judith.

1.2.1.3   Galilee in Strabo and Pliny

Strabo's (c. 64 BCE–24 CE) *Geographica* provides an insight into one view of the geographical makeup of the ancient Mediterranean.[24] Strabo defines the area of Syria as the place between Anatolia and Egypt, inclusive of Phoenicia and Judea, among others.[25] He reports that the until the end of Augustus' reign, the area to the north of Mount Lebanon was dominated by the Itureans (*Geogr.* 16.2.18).[26] He briefly discusses the Jordan River and the Lake of Gennesareth (Γεννησαρῖτις), but these descriptions are placed between a discussion of the area further north (*Geogr.* 16.2.16). Thus, as with his later discussion of the Dead Sea, Strabo appears to be confused over the exact geography of the area.[27] Strabo subsequently describes Ptolemais, some of its industry and natural features (*Geogr.* 16.2.25–26). Galilee is connected to the region of Judea. The people who are reported to live in this region, Samaria, Jericho and Philadelphia are reported to be "mixed stocks of people from Aegyptian and Arabian and Phoenician tribes" (Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀραβίων, Φοινίκων, *Geogr.* 16.2.34 [Jones, LCL]).[28] Strabo elsewhere reports that the territory of Gardaris (Gardara) lay to the southeast of the Lake of Gennesareth and Scythopolis, which itself is said to be "in the neighbourhood" of Galilee, to the south (*Geogr.* 16.2.40, 45 [Jones, LCL]). He further places Tarichaea on the western shore of the lake but appears to be confused about the nature of the lake itself, perhaps mistaking it with the Dead Sea as indicated by his comments about the asphalt taken from the Sea (*Geogr.* 16.2.45).[29] Overall, Strabo provides an indication of the cities

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[24] Menahem Stern, "Strabo," *EncJud* 19:239–240, 239.

[25] Duane W. Roller, *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 897.

[26] Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC – AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 35–36, 273. On the emergence of the Itureans as a recognised group in the Levant, see Brent D. Shaw, "Lords of the Levant: The Borderlands of Syria and Phoenicia in the First Century," *SCI* 33 (2014): 233–234.

[27] Roller, *Geography of Strabo*, 905–906; Stern, "Strabo," 240.

[28] Here Strabo reports that the Ἰουδαίων (Judeans) themselves are Egyptians before discussing a version of the Exodus narrative.

[29] See comments in Roller, *Geography of Strabo*, 919. See also Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 67.

surrounding or perhaps on the edges of Galilee – Ptolemais, Scythopolis – and is aware of but perhaps misinformed about Tarichaea, and otherwise has little to say about the region itself.

Beyond Strabo, Pliny the Elder also mentions the region, but has very little of value to offer.[30] He describes Galilee as lying between Judea and Syria, presumably as the region can be thought of as stretching down the Jordan Valley, around Samaria (*Nat*. 5.70). He also attaches the "mountain Gamala" to Samaria, presumably referring to Gamla (*Nat*. 5.69 [see 4.3]). Other settlements mentioned around the Lake of Gennesareth include *Iuliade et Hippo… Tarichea… Tiberiade*" (translated respectively as Bethsaida, Hippo, El Kereh and Tabariah [Rackham, LCL]). Some of these identifications may be suspect; *Tarichea* is otherwise known from Josephus [see <mark>**Error! Reference source not found.**</mark>], and *Tiberiade* seems to more readily fit Tiberias. Similarly, *Hippo* is known by Hippos-Susita, while *Iuliade* refers to Julias, the renamed city of Philip the Tetrarch. Pliny also records the measurements of the Lake of Gennesareth itself as being 16 (roman) miles long and 6 across (*Nat*. 5.71). Pliny avoids discussing much about the region and about Judea more broadly.[31] For each of these authors, Galilee is a marginally notable region; its people barely warranting mention.[32] However, this also alerts us to the fact that some details about Galilee were known outside of the region by ancient scholars, but that their sources of information could easily be mistaken or confused about certain details.

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[30] Roland Deines, "Religious Practices and Religious Movements in Galilee: 100 BCE–200 CE," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 78–111, 79 n.2.

[31] Trevor Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 113–118, suggests that this may be an intentional avoidance of discussing the Jews in too much detail, noting that "the effects of the recent war appear as if by omission" (115).

[32] For an overview, including other non-Jewish authors, see Silvia Cappelletti, "Non-Jewish Authors on Galilee," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 69–81. See also Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 122–124.

1.2.1.4   Galilee in Josephus

Josephus (37–c. 100 CE) was a historian who after participating in the First Jewish War, was by his own account captured and eventually released by the emperor Vespasian. After the war, he lived in Rome and wrote a series of works concerning the Jewish people.[33] His general approach to claims of Jewish territory seems to downplay the significance of the land itself, perhaps to avoid antagonism with the Roman authorities.[34]

In his earliest work, Josephus documents some settlements in Galilee, evidently drawn from his own experiences.[35] Josephus describes Galilee as a region with two subregions, Upper and Lower Galilee (*War* 1.22; 3.35–40). According to Josephus, Galilee is bordered on the west by the territory of Ptolemais and Mount Carmel, although the mountain and its surrounding area is reported as "once belonging to Galilee, and now to Tyre" (Thackeray, LCL).[36] On the southern side of Galilee lie Samaria and Scythopolis, while to the north is Tyre. Finally, to the east is Hippos, Gadara and the Gaulanitis. Lower Galilee is the territory between Tiberias and Chabulon (near Akko-Ptolemais), and between Xaloth in the Jezreel Plain up to Bersabe. Upper Galilee is between Bersabe and Baca, and across from Thella to Meroth. Elsewhere, Josephus includes Achabari, Seph, Jamnith and Meroth as places in Upper Galilee (*War* 2.573). Ze'ev Safrai notes that Josephus inconsistently describes the borders of Galilee, and often switches how he refers to specific settlements as cities or

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[33] For an introduction to Josephus, see Steve Mason, "The Writings of Josephus: Their Significance for New Testament Study," in *HSHJ* 2, 1639–1686. He notes that modern historians should be wary of treating Josephus' works as a collection of "raw facts" (1650).

[34] See arguments raised in Betsy Halpern Amaru, "Land Theology in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*," *JQR* 71.4 (1981): 201–229.

[35] For a dating of Josephus' works, see Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and Their Importance*, JSPSup 2 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), 22. *War* was written sometime during the 70s CE, while *Antiquities* was completed around the late 80s or early 90s CE, followed by *Life* in 93 or 94 CE. See also the summaries of these works in Brutti, *Development of the High Priesthood*, 25–39. On Josephus' geography, see Safrai, *Seeking out the Land*, 43.

[36] See comments in George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land: Especially in Relation to the History of Israel and the Early Church*, 16th ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910), 415.

villages.[37] This can clearly be seen in the above description of Mount Carmel as "once belonging to Galilee." Another example can be seen in *War* 1.170 (cf. *Ant.* 14.91), where Josephus records Gabinus' partitioning of the region into five subdistricts around 57 BCE, with five centres at Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho and Sepphoris.[38] This subdivision assigns territory temporarily to the city.

Sepphoris is described as possessing a royal armoury (βασιλικὰς ὁπλοθήκας, *War* 2.56 cf. palace, βασιλείῳ in *Ant.* 17.271) and as the strongest city in Galilee (*War* 2.511). It was apparently destroyed by Varus in 4 BCE in response to the unrest after Herod the Great's death (*War* 2.56, 68 cf. *Ant.* 17.271, 289).[39] In *War* 2.187–191, Ptolemais is recorded as a coastal-city of Galilee during the reign of Gaius Caesar (Caligula). Here Josephus reports the aspects of the surrounding landscape and its geographical features. Much of Herod's early career took place in Galilee, although there are few features provided in these narratives. Tiberias is also mentioned as a city of Galilee (*War* 2.252, cf. *Ant.* 18.36–38), as is Zebulon (*War* 2.503–504) where the architecture is said to resemble that of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus. Josephus writes that he himself was put in charge of both of the Galilees, and also Gamla (Γάμαλα, a description of which is found in *War* 4.5–8) which he claims is the strongest city in the region. This may suggest that Gamla was thought of as being in Galilee, but the specific mention of Gamla within the regions assigned to Josephus may in fact indicate the opposite (*War* 2.568). Thus, Gamla could be thought of to have been included within Galilee and I

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[37] Safrai, *Seeking out the Land*, 46, 57.

[38] See Joachim Jeska, "Josephus und die Archäologie," in *Zeichen aus Text und Stein: Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments*, eds. Stefan Alkier and Jürgen Zangenberg, TANZ 42 (Tübingen: Francke, 2003), 110–134, 114; James F. Strange, "Sepphoris: A. The Jewel of the Galilee," in *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods. Volume 2: The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*, eds. David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 22–38, 26.

[39] Mark A. Chancey, "The Cultural Milieu of Ancient Sepphoris," *NTS* 47.2 (2001): 131, notes that some signs of burning have been discovered in the settlement. Stuart S. Miller, "Hellenistic and Roman Sepphoris: The Historical Evidence," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, eds. Rebecca Martin Nagy et al. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996), 21–27, notes, however, that there were no signs of widespread destruction.

discuss the site below [4.3]. Josephus portrays his activities while stationed in Galilee as an effective programme of settlement fortification in preparation for the war against Rome, writing that he constructed defences at Jotapata (Yodefat, a description of which is found in *War* 3.158–160), Bersabee, Salamis, Caphareccho, Japha, Sigo, Mount Tabor, Tarichaea (Magdala), Tiberias, and around the caves near the Lake of Gennesareth, Achabari, Seph, Jamnith and Meroth (*War* 2.573). The Lake of Gennesareth itself is reported to be four and a half miles (τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων) across and about sixteen miles (ἑτέρων ἑκατὸν) long (*War* 3.506).[40] The lake is bordered by the city Julias, the village Capernaum, and it is fed by the Jordan. The river runs from Paneas in the north and passes through Lake Semechonitis in the Huleh Valley before entering the Lake of Gennesareth (*War* 3.506–521).[41] Josephus describes Gamla as lying opposite Tarichaea, apparently forming the borders of Agrippa's kingdom along with Sogana and Seleucia. Gamla and Sogana also represent the Lower and Upper Gaulanitis respectively (*War* 4.2–3). Finally Mount Tabor is said to lie between the great plain (Jezreel Valley) and Scythopolis (*War* 4.54–55).

Josephus does not describe the political history of Galilee in any great detail prior to Herod's appointment as governor over the region (*War* 1.203, 210). Herod fought back the Tyrians from Galilee (*War* 1.238), yet the region appears to have been divided between Antigonus and Herod (*War* 1.256, 290–291, 303–307, 326, 329).[42] Herod's claim to this territory was reaffirmed by Roman authorities (*War* 1.400 cf. *Ant*. 15.360). Herod Antipas was granted the region, to rule as tetrarch (*War* 2.95). He remained in post following the death of Augustus and founded Tiberias and Julias in honour of the new princeps Tiberius (*War*

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[40] Using the figures of H. St. J. Thackeray, LCL 487, 718 n. a.

[41] The lake was drained during the 1950s, but George Smith noted that it lay roughly ten miles north of the Lake of Gennesareth. See Smith, *Historical Geography*, 46.

[42] See James S. McLaren, "Searching for Rome and the Imperial Cult in Galilee: Reassessing Galilee–Rome Relations (63 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.)," in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult*, eds. Jeffery Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed, WGRWSup 5 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 111–136, 121.

2.168). Galilee begins to feature prominently as a place of rebellious feeling (e.g., *War* 2.232–233, 647, cf. *Ant*. 17. 254–255; 20.118–120) although this is often not the case (*War* 2.513; 3:30). At the outbreak of the First Jewish War, Josephus was appointed over Galilee to prepare for its defence, selecting seventy others to help him administrate and rule Galilee during the crisis (*War* 2.569–570).[43] He claims that he was able to raise more than 100,000 soldiers in Galilee, although this is clearly an exaggeration (*War* 2.576). Josephus was not the only influential party during this period; he reports a challenge from John of Gischala who gained prominence (*War* 2.585–586). After Vespasian arrives in Galilee, he quickly proceeded to make war there (*War* 3.110, 115; 4.120).

In *War*, Josephus thus presents a geographical record of the region of Galilee and the surrounding areas. His presentation followed that of other ancient geographers, where a land was described in strips. An ancient author might describe an area from north to south, before describing its adjacent territory from south to north.[44] Josephus descriptions typically describe dramatic or unusual scenery and tend towards exaggeration.[45] It should also be noted that Josephus' claims about which settlements belong to which polities change over time, reflecting an awareness of how borders shift. In a similar manner, the Galileans depicted in *War* have been identified in various ways and with different groups or factions. Some scholars have interpreted them as an anti-Roman movement, while others suggest that they were the rural followers of Josephus distinct from city dwellers.[46] Josephus reports that the

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[43] See Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66–70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 73.

[44] Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 52–54. Josephus describes the region "according to the back and forth pattern of a ploughed field" in *War* 2.457–460; Safrai, *Seeking out the Land*, 45.

[45] For Josephus' geographical excursions, see Per Bilde, "The Geographical Excursuses in Josephus," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, eds. Fausto Parente and Josephus Sievers, StPB 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 247–262.

[46] For anti-Roman revolutionaries, see Francis Loftus, "A Note on σύνταγμα τῶν Γαλιλαῖων B.J. iv 558," *JQR* 65.3 (1975): 182–183; *idem*., "The Martyrdom of the Galilean Troglodytes (B.J. i 312-3; A. xiv 429-30)," *JQR* 66.4 (1976): 212–223; *idem*., "The Anti-Roman Revolts of the Jews and the Galileans," *JQR* 68.2 (1977): 98. I am grateful to Francis Loftus for providing me with these articles. For the hypothesis that the Galileans were the

Galileans are a warlike people, explaining their proclivity for warfare by describing the

geography of Galilee, a typical approach of ancient ethnography (*War* 3.42).[47] The Galileans

constitute an ἔθνος ("nation," "tribe"), which suggests that they were thought of as being a

perceptible group.[48] However, the responses of the Galilean cities to the Rome during the

revolt were mixed, alerting us to the fact that we should not consider a region homogenous in

character or political perspectives (*War* 1.21).

Josephus' *Antiquities* describes a version of the incorporation of the region of Galilee

into the Hasmonean state. Initially, Demetrius II offers toparchies in Samaria, Galilee and

Perea to Jonathan in exchange for support. Here Josephus expands on First Maccabees 10:30

[see 1.2.1.1] but is more specific in terms of the territory offered, converting the three

territories from within Samaria-Galilee to Samaria *and* Galilee, and adding the further region

of Perea to complete the triune (*Ant*. 13.50, 125). Following this, Josephus adapts the

narrative of Jonathan's exploits in the region from First Maccabees (*Ant*. 13.154–162, 191–

193). After this episode, Josephus quotes from Strabo (upon the authority of Timagenes) in

Antiquities 13.319; "this man [Aristobulus I] was a kindly person and very serviceable to the

Jews, for he acquired additional territory for them, and brought over to them a portion of the

Ituraean nation, whom he joined to them by the bond of circumcision" (Marcus, LCL).[49]

Scholars have often taken this as evidence that Aristobulus had conducted a policy of "forced

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rural populace, see Joseph R. Armenti, "On the Use of the Term "Galileans" in the Writings of Josephus Flavius: A Brief Note," *JQR* 72.1 (1981): 45–49; Bilde, *Flavius Josephus*, 40; Louis H. Feldman, "The Term 'Galileans' in Josephus," *JQR* 72.1 (1981): 50–52. Against rural/urban tensions causing conflict during the war, see Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 206–207; Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 81–87. See further Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 45. Against Horsley's description of widespread social banditry, see Lincoln Blumell, "Social Banditry? Galilean Banditry from Herod until the Outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt," *SCI* 27 (2008): 35–53.

[47] Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 63–64.

[48] Erich S. Gruen, "Josephus and Jewish Ethnicity," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, eds. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 1:489–508, 500, citing *War* 2.520 and *Antiquities* 13.331. See also *War* 4.105.

[49] See also comments in Roller, *Geography of Strabo*, 916–917; Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.40.

circumcision" upon the Itureans.[50] Following this conclusion, and combined with the reports

of Josephus that Aristobulus acquired part of their territory identified as Galilee (*Ant*. 13.318,

his brother Antigonus had campaigned in Galilee, *War* 1.76, although this detail is lacking in

Ant. 13.308), scholars have suggested that it was Aristobulus who added Galilee to the

Hasmonean State. Yet, there are problems with every step of this hypothesis. Firstly, the short

reign of Aristobulus I is difficult to reconstruct outside of Josephus' narratives. It is unclear

whether he actually "conquered" territory in the north, or simply fought some battles there.

There is no direct evidence which suggests that any military campaigns or building projects

were conducted during his reign in the north.[51] The only evidence for this comes indirectly

from Timagenes. This recalls a similar narrative concerning the incorporation of the Idumeans

into the Hasmonean kingdom. Etienne Nodet points out that the similar names may have

confused Strabo into reiterating a similar story about the Idumeans when discussing the

Itureans. Furthermore, the king is not actually mentioned in the extract. Nodet suggests that

the original quote from Strabo may have been attached to Hyrcanus I who was known for his

competent rule, whereas the summation in *Antiquities* 13.319 is ill-fitting with the other

reported events of Aristobulus' short rule, namely the story of a plot to remove him and how

his favoured brother was killed.[52] Additionally, Seth Schwartz argues that Josephus may even

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[50] On the Itureans in Galilee, Morten Hørning Jensen, "The Political History in Galilee from the First Century BCE to the End of the Second Century CE," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 51–77, 53, who credits Schürer with this argument. Edward Dąbrowa, *The Hasmoneans and Their State: A Study in History, Ideology, and the Institution*, Electrum 16 (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2010), 85, here suggests that Itureans were given a similar treatment to Idumeans who were also forced to "convert." See also Millar, *Roman Near East*, 344–345; J. Andrew Overman, "Between Rome and Parthia: Galilee and the Implications of Empire," in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Seán Freyne*, eds. Zuleika Rodgers, Margaret Daly-Denton and Anne Fitzpatrick McKinley, JSJSup 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 279–299, 289. Mordechai Aviam, "The Transformation from *Galil Ha-Goyim* to Jewish Galilee: The Archaeological Testimony of an Ethnic Change," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 9–21, 16, and Eyal Regev, *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*, JAJSup 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 275, entertain the incorporation of the Itureans as one possible means for the Jewish settlement of Galilee by the Hasmoneans. Aviam, "Hasmonean Dynasty's Activities," 45, suggests that Jews occupied Galilee prior to any Hasmonean action against the Itureans. On the Itureans themselves, see Andreas J. M. Kropp, "Itureans," *ESTJ* 2, 369–370.
[51] His short reign may preclude the possibility that any known evidence could be attached to this period.
[52] Etienne Nodet, "Jewish Galilee," in *HSHJ* 4, 3221–3243, 3226.

be hinting at the inaccuracy of Timagenes own report in this passage.[53] Furthermore, Josephus

elsewhere notes that Alexander Jannaeus spent time in Galilee during his youth (*Ant*. 13.322).

This may indicate that Hyrcanus had some control over the region during his reign, although

Jannaeus was only born around 125 BCE (dying aged 50 in 76 BCE, *Ant*. 13.404), so

theoretically could have only been sent to Galilee as late as 110 BCE, around the destruction of

Samaria-Sebaste and Scythopolis.[54] In summary, this particular statement from *Antiquities*

offers little to help in the reconstruction of how Galilee is presented in the narrative, and while

outside sources might indicate changes in population or cultural influences on the basis of

ceramic profiles, this is far from certain.

Jannaeus' later activities include various campaigns in and around Galilee, particularly

in response to Ptolemy IX Soter/Lathyros' actions during his reign in Cyprus (*Ant*. 13.324–

355). Ptolemy came to the aid of Ptolemais after an attack by Jannaeus. Ptolemy then

proceeded to attack settlements in Galilee such as Asochis (commonly identified as Shiḥin).

Jannaeus later conducted military campaigns in the north (*Ant*.395–397). Galilee appears as a

theatre of conflict later during the rise of Herod the Great, who is given charge over the region

(*Ant*. 14.158, 274), and Josephus again narrates his conflicts in the region with Antigonus

(*Ant*. 14.394–395, 411–417). Herod appointed Antipas to the tetrarchy of Galilee (*Ant*.

17.188–189, ratified by Augustus in *Ant*. 17.317–318), although here the Gaulanitis is given

to Philip. Finally, Galilee was given over to Agrippa II by Nero (*Ant*. 20.159).

As in *War*, Josephus' mention of Galileans has generated scholarly discussion

concerning exactly who was included in this group. Louis Feldman suggests that as Galileans

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[53] Schwartz, "Israel and the Nations," 19.
[54] See *War* 1.66 for Scythopolis and discussion in Gerald Finkielsztejn, "More Evidence on John Hyrcanus I's Conquests: Lead Weights and Rhodian Amphora Stamps," *BAIAS* 16 (1998): 45–52. Alternatively, Morton Smith, "The Gentiles in Judaism 125 BCE–CE 66," *CHJ* 3:192–249, 212, suggests that Jannaeus could have been held as a diplomatic hostage in Galilee.

were included alongside "strangers" (σύγκλύδες) in *Antiquities* 18.36–37, then they were

simply local people.[55] Bradley Root argues that *Antiquities* 12.331–334 presents the Galileans

as an ethnically diverse population, but that Josephus also used the terms Galileans and

Judeans interchangeably.[56] It appears to be a term generally applied to residents of Galilee,

and little to nothing is indicated about their religious or political commitments.

Josephus provides a different version of events during the First Jewish War in *Life* than

in *War*, with noticeable changes concerning Josephus' actions and goals in Galilee during the

preparations for the war.[57] Most of the work (*Life* 28–413) concerns Josephus' attempts to

keep the peace in Galilee, describing the different factions and deriding other influential

people, and generally presenting Josephus as trying to maintain peace with Rome (*Life* 78).[58]

Josephus notes some key places in Galilee itself, and in a description of the sites which he

fortified, Josephus gives the settlements of Solymas, Seleucia and Sogane as places in

Gaulanitis (*Life* 187); in Upper Galilee, the villages Iamnia, Ameroth and Acharabe; in Lower

Galilee, the settlements of Tarichaea, Tiberias, Sepphoris, Arbela, Bersoubai, Selame,

Iotapata, Capharath, Komos, Soganae, Iapha and Mount Itabyrion (*Life* 188).[59] We are

informed of some of the tensions in the region; whether these are indicative of long standing

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[55] Feldman, "The Term 'Galileans'," 50. Elsewhere the Galileans exact revenge on the Herodian commanders by drowning them in Lake of Gennesareth (*Ant.* 14.450).

[56] Bradley W. Root, *First Century Galilee: A Fresh Examination of the Sources*, WUNT II/378 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 16–19.

[57] See the influential study of Shaye J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*, CSCT 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 3–8. See further Uriel Rappaport, "Where Was Josephus Lying – In His *Life* or in the *War*?" in Parente and Sievers, *Josephus and the History*, 279–289, concluding that Josephus was forced to correct the record following the critique of Justus of Tiberias.

[58] Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee*, 160, noting that these are apologetical revisions of his narrative in *War*. Uriel Rappaport, "How Anti-Roman Was the Galilee?" in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992), 95–102, suggests that Galilee was not particularly anti-Roman, but that circumstances provoked conflict. This may partly explain the fractured response to the outbreak of the war in Galilee.

[59] For identifications of many of these toponyms with known modern places, see Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus: Life of Josephus* (Leiden; Brill, 2003), 95–97.

conflicts between rural and urban Galilee has been heavily debated.[60] Josephus also informs

us about Sepphoris, Tiberias and the relationship between the two cities (*Life* 37–38).

Sepphoris itself was sometimes at the mercy of the Galileans but it appears to have been a

prominent city, possessing a royal bank and archives (*Life* 38).[61]

Sean Freyne suggests that Josephus' popularity and (limited) success in Galilee was due

to a combination of three possible factors: he was from Jerusalem which held importance for

the Galileans; he was well-versed in the Law of Moses; he was a priest or held priestly

office.[62] However, despite this presentation of success, Josephus actually appears to have

mostly dealt with local infighting and factionalism.[63]

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[60] Various perspectives include: see Blumell, "Social Banditry;" Agnes Choi, "Never the Two Shall Meet? Urban-Rural Interaction in Lower Galilee," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 297–311; Douglas R. Edwards, "Identity and Social Location in Roman Galilean Villages," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 357–374; *idem.*, "The Socio-Economic and Cultural Ethos of the Lower Galilee in the First Century: Implications for the Nascent Jesus Movement," in Levine, *Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 53–73; David A. Fiensy, "Assessing the Economy of Galilee in the Late Second Temple Period: Five Considerations," in *The Galilean Economy in the Time of Jesus*, eds. David A. Fiensy and Ralph K. Hawkins, ECL 11 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013), 165–186; Sean Freyne, "Town and Country Once More: The Case of Roman Galilee," in *Archaeology and the Galilee: Texts and Contexts in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods*, eds. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, SFSHJ 143 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 49–56; *idem.*, "Urban-Rural Relations in First-Century Galilee: Some Suggestions from the Literary Sources," in Levine, *Galilee in Late Antiquity*, 75–91; Katharina Galor, "Wohnkultur im römisch-byzantinischen Palästina," in Alkier and Zangenberg, *Zeichen aus Text und Stein*, 183–208; Richard A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 119–123; Morten Hørning Jensen, *Herod Antipas in Galilee: The Literary and Archaeological Sources on the Reign of Herod Antipas and Its Socio-Economic Impact on Galilee*, 2nd rev. ed., WUNT II/215 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 10–30, 184–185; C. Thomas McCollough, "City and Village in Lower Galilee: The Import of the Archaeological Excavations at Sepphoris and Khirbet Qana (Cana) for Framing the Economic Context of Jesus," in Fiensy and Hawkins, *Galilean Economy*, 49–74; Douglas E. Oakman, "Debate: Was the Galilean Economy Oppressive or Prosperous? A. Late Second Temple Galilee: Socio-Archaeology and Dimensions of Exploitation in First-Century Palestine," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 346–356; *idem.*, "Execrating? Or Execrable Peasants!" in Fiensy and Hawkins, *Galilean Economy*, 139–164; J. Andrew Overman, "Debate: Was the Galilean Economy Oppressive or Prosperous? B. Late Second Temple Galilee: A Picture of Relative Economic Health," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 357–365; Jonathan L. Reed, "Instability in Jesus' Galilee: A Demographic Perspective," *JBL* 129.2 (2010): 343–365. Much of this debate is concerned with placing the historical Jesus in an economic setting in order to interpret material from the gospels. In my view, antagonism between urban and rural Galileans has been overstated and large Galilean towns were not exceptionally parasitic on the surrounding area during the 1st centuries BCE and CE.

[61] See further the discussion of the urbanisation of the cities of Galilee in Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 84–111; Ze'ev Weiss, "Josephus and Archaeology on the Cities of the Galilee," in *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, ed. Zuleika Rodgers, JSJSup 110 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 385–414.

[62] Sean Freyne, "Galilee-Jerusalem Relations according to Josephus' *Life*," *NTS* 33.4 (1987): 606–607.

[63] Root, *First Century Galilee*, 30–34.

The identity of the Galileans themselves is also debated. Freyne argues that Josephus makes a distinction between the residents of large population centres, such as Tiberias, Sepphoris, Gischala and Gabara, and the Galileans. Freyne thus concludes that the Galileans were the description Josephus used for the rural supporters of his mission in the region to prepare for the war.[64] Morten Jensen suggests that the Galileans in *Life* "are best described as patriotic rural inhabitants of Galilee distinct from the inhabitants of the large cities of Galilee with whom tensions and bad relations became obvious during the war."[65] Vonder Bruegge provides a list of six defining characteristics in *Life*, the Galileans being: provincial, anti-Roman, impassioned, pro-Josephus, pro-Jerusalem, and representative of Galilee the region.[66] Much of this analysis relies on Josephus' description of the Galileans in conflict with the Sepphoreans (Σεπφωρίτας, *Life* 30), or the naming of both Galileans and Tiberians (Τιβεριέων, *Life* 107, some of whom are said to be Greeks, Ἕλληνας, *Life* 67), or Galileans and Tarichaeans (Ταριχεωτῶν, *Life* 143). The people of another city, Gamla, are called Gamalians (Γαμαλῖται, *Life* 177). Thus, Josephus appears to generally name the residents of a city but reserves the term Galileans for those who do not come from any of these places (cf. the "villages of the Galileans" in *Life* 214). In summary, Josephus describes in more detail areas and places in Galilee at the outbreak of the First Jewish War. He provides insights into some of the apparent tensions and conflicts amongst those living in the region and attests to the diversity of identities, not just with relation to Rome, but acknowledging the presence of Greeks at Tiberias. While Josephus' writings should be viewed as manipulated versions of history, he still provides an insight into his own version(s) of Galilee.

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[64] See Sean Freyne, "The Galileans in the Light of Josephus' *Vita*," *NTS* 26.3 (1980): 399–406.

[65] Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 89.

[66] Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 75–80, demonstrates the differences between Josephus' presentation of the Galileans between *Life* and *War* [see fn. 46 above]. This indicates that such descriptions should be handled carefully; even within one author's oeuvre there is no single, determinative description of Galilean people or places.

1.2.2   Hasmonean Expansion, Ideology of Occupation, and Influence

While the management and extent of Galilee changed at various times during the period

of discussion, the residents of the region consistently connected their daily practice with

models established by the Hasmoneans until at least the First Jewish War. The Herodians

ruled over this region far longer than the Hasmoneans, but Herod himself and his successors'

ideologies did not make strong inroads in the region.[67] Therefore, even while the framing of

this northern region as "Hasmonean" is anachronistic after the middle of the 1st century BCE,

the forms of regional behaviour and identity expression generally developed closer

connections to the Jerusalem Temple and continued adoption of Hasmonean iconography.

This is not to claim that this was the only form of expression, but the dominant form of

Galilean town and village "religious" expression continued to follow trends established

during the Hasmonean period.

The areas known as Judea, Samaria and Galilee have a large degree of territorial overlap

with what is sometimes considered to be "the promised Land." This broad notion often draws

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[67] The Hasmoneans were in control from around the beginning of the 1st century BCE up until Pompey marched through the region in 63 BCE. After this point, the Hasmoneans were still influential, but clearly declining in power. The precise role of the Hasmoneans after this point in Galilean political affairs is unclear, Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 37. Around 47 BCE, Herod the Great was appointed governor of Galilee (*Ant*. 14.158). Herod attempted to subdue local "brigands" lead by a succession of figures (*Ant*. 14.159, 167, 395, 413–417; 17.271–288; *War* 1.291, 303–307) although Freyne argues that these "brigands" were in fact Hasmonean leaders and supporters; Sean Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 BCE to 135 CE: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Wilmington, DE: Glazier; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980), 63–68, see also Loftus, "Anti-Roman Revolts," 81–94. Aside from these violent episodes, Herod largely ignored Galilee. After Herod's death, Augustus appointed rulership over Galilee to Herod Antipas (4 BCE–39 CE), himself a mediocre influence. While he founded Tiberias, his impact on Galilean affairs was marginal. See the assessment of Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 254–257. Antipas was deposed and succeeded by his nephew Herod Agrippa I (appointed over Galilee for 41–44 CE). His son, Agrippa II, was then appointed as king of Galilee, among other regions, in 50 CE and reigned until around 93 CE. Galilee was overseen by Roman procurators during the intermittent periods. See the general overview of political leadership in Galilee in Jensen, "Political History." For an overview of the Herodians, see Nikos Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse*, JSPSup 30 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

from biblical presentations of the land given to the Israelites and is a malleable concept which can cover a clear set of borders or may become a largely non-physical idea (as in Second Baruch).[68] Many scholars who have studied the expansionist policies of some of the Hasmonean rulers have understood this expansion as a deliberate attempt by those Hasmonean rulers to "reconquer" territory which somehow belonged to the nation of Judah by divine right. This belief is thought to have paved the way towards the occupation of regions like Galilee by the Hasmoneans. For instance, Edward Dąbrowa suggests that the Hasmonean's territorial expansion was "limited to lands that had once belonged to biblical Israel."[69] Freyne presents three arguments for the Hasmonean expansion based on conceptions drawn from biblical texts, all of which connect in some way to the concept of the Israelite occupation of the territory.[70] Oren Tal suggests "that the Hasmonean rulers attempted to reconstruct the Kingdom of Judah of the First Temple period in order to restore their people's ancestral glory."[71] Tessa Rajak notes that while the ideology of the "promised land" is not explicit in First Maccabees, the Hasmoneans still embodied it by conquering territory aggressively instead of conducting defensive campaigns.[72] Furthermore, a number of scholars cite First Maccabees 15:33–34 as a statement of the Hasmoneans' right to occupy and control a physical conception of the "promised land."[73]

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[68] On this, see Lied, *Other Lands*, 12–20.

[69] Dąbrowa, *Hasmoneans*, 115.

[70] Sean Freyne, "Galilean Studies: Old Issues and New Questions," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 13–29, 24. These three reasons, with justifications from biblical texts, are that: the land was not occupied (Josh 13:1–6); the Canaanite cities were not destroyed (Judg 1:1–36); the so-called "pagan" shrines were not all destroyed (2 Kgs 23:15–20).

[71] Oren Tal, "Hellenism in Transition from Empire to Kingdom: Changes in the Material Culture of Hellenistic Palestine," in *Jewish Identities in Antiquity: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern*, eds. Lee I. Levine and Daniel R. Schwartz, TSAJ 130 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 55–73, 68.

[72] Tessa Rajak, "Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 39–60, 57–58.

[73] For instance, Doron Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in Second Century B.C. Claims to the Holy Land*, TSAJ 15 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 48; *idem.*, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism: Jewish and Christian Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 83, but also see *idem.*, *Memory in Jewish, Pagan and Christian Societies of the Graeco-Roman World*, LSTS 45 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 87, where Mendels argues that First Maccabees

Against this theory, Berthelot has convincingly shown that there is no conception of the

land being conquered in any texts which show Hasmonean partisanship and that there are no

clear-cut allusions to narratives of biblical land conquest in First Maccabees.[74] Further,

Berthelot argues that there were other reasons for the Hasmoneans to conquer these areas

which did not have to rest upon biblical conceptions. Instead, these can be easily understood

as actions which built the Hasmonean's prestige and kingdom. From the narrative of First

Maccabees, the only land acquisitions that the Hasmoneans had prior to First Maccabees

15:34 came as "the result of Seleucid concessions and not of Hasmonean conquests."[75]

Simon's justification of the land seizures at this juncture (1 Macc 15:33) is a rhetorical

argument based on the security needs of his people, and the land seized, i.e., Joppa and Gezer,

are not part of that inheritance.[76] This indicates that Simon's argument does not rest on any

notion of his role in "reconquering a promised land" but adopts a completely different

justification for his military victories.[77] While there may have been some political parties in

the Hasmonean kingdom who pushed for conquests and land occupation outside of Judea

itself, there is no evidence which suggests that these military exploits were driven by a desire

to reconquer promised lands. Hasmonean expansion was more likely to have been caused by a

variety of other factors, not least that the Hasmoneans were able to take these lands and hope

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trades on biblical tropes which may indicate that the inherited land is one of these tropes. Others include: Sean
Freyne, "The Geography of Restoration: Galilee–Jerusalem Relations in Early Jewish and Christian Experience,"
NTS 47.3 (2001): 292, 300; Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 275; Safrai, *Seeking out the Land*, 209–210, although here
specifically referring to the seizure of Joppa and Gezer.

[74] Katell Berthelot, "The Biblical Conquest of the Promised Land and the Hasmonean Wars according to 1 and 2
Maccabees," in *The Books of Maccabees: History, Theology, Tradition. Papers of the Second International
Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005*, eds. Geza G. Xeravits and József
Zsengellér, JSJSup 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 45–60; *idem*., "Reclaiming the Land (1 Maccabees 15:28-36):
Hasmonean Discourse between Biblical Tradition and Seleucid Rhetoric," *JBL* 133.3 (2014): 539–559.

[75] Berthelot, "Reclaiming the Land," 544.

[76] Berthelot, "Reclaiming the Land," 545–546.

[77] See the extensive arguments presented in Berthelot, *Promised Land*, 65–212. See also Joseph Blenkinsopp,
David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 165,
who specifically compares the Psalms of Solomon with the books of the Maccabees and argues against the
notion that the Hasmoneans retained themes of Davidic rule.

to maintain control.[78] This does not mean that they did not face a great deal of conflict, but that the decline of the Seleucid kingdom allowed many regional powers to establish for themselves autonomous states. Therefore, I do not ascribe a specific ideology of conquest or reconquest to the occupation of Galilee by the Hasmoneans from the outset of the 1st century BCE based on the textual evidence of First Maccabees. Following the notion that First Maccabees preserves Hasmonean court propaganda [see 1.2.1.1], the lack of such an ideology of "holy land" in the work suggests that the Hasmoneans did not present themselves as claiming kingship over the kingdom of David. The Galileans may have understood themselves as living in "ancestral territory" once part of the kingdom of the Davidic kingdom, but this conception is absent from First Maccabees, and therefore, most likely not a specific goal of the Hasmoneans. The following study will address how the Galileans thought of their surroundings, both immediately around themselves and more broadly as a region. The next section will address the material cultural change that is suggested to have taken place between the 2nd and 1st century BCE in Galilee, generally thought to have mostly been the result of Hasmonean expansion and Judean settlement in Galilee.

1.2.3　　Changes in the Archaeological Record from the 2nd to the 1st Century BCE

The events that took place in Galilee during the second half of the 2nd century BCE are difficult to uncover. There is some debate over the extent to which the Itureans were active in Galilee. Some scholars draw from archaeological surveys which show a relatively clear boundary in ceramic usage across the Huleh Valley, north of the Lake of Gennesareth. For example, Idan Shaked and Dina Avshalom-Gorni document the prevalence of certain key

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[78] See the discussion of the Hasmonean expansion in Bar-Kochva, "Manpower, Economics."

types of household pottery between the 2nd century BCE and the beginning of the 1st century

CE. This survey shows that pithoi (large storage jars) used further north, presumably by the

Itureans, are not present in settlements in the lower portion of the valley. In these southern

sites, pottery remains tend to come from, or closely follows the style of ware from, Kefar

Hananya and Shiḥin, both in Lower Galilee.[79] These finds, combined with stone vessels [see

2.2] and Herodian oil lamps [see 6.3.3], suggest a clear border region where a variety of the

household objects being used differed between the north and the south. Prior to this period,

the so-called "Iturean ware" was not used further south.[80] This indicates that at least this

pottery group largely remained in the north. This is not to state categorically that any Iturean

people did not live further south, but generally they were neither widely documented as a

people settled in Galilee, nor is there any evidence which might indicate that they were

there.[81] There are some necessary caveats to this argument related to the association of

artefacts with ethnic groups, but these will be discussed below more fully [1.3.4.2].

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[79] On the pottery workshops at these sites, see David Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee: A Study of Local Trade*, BISNELC (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993). Shorter accounts of both the pottery types and the workshops themselves can be found in *idem*., "Kefar Ḥananya," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 181–185; David Adan-Bayewitz and Isadore Perlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period," IEJ 40.2/3 (1990): 153–172; David Adan-Bayewitz and Moshe Wieder, "Ceramics from Roman Galilee: A Comparison of Several Techniques for Fabric Characterization," *JFA* 19.2 (1992): 189–205; Chaim Ben David, "Distribution of Kefar Hananya Kitchenware in Roman Period Golan: The Data from the Surveys," TA 41:2 (2014): 238–254; James F. Strange, Dennis E. Groh and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, "Excavations at Sepphoris: The Location and Identification of Shikhin: Part I," *IEJ* 44.3/4 (1994): 216–227; James F. Strange et al., "Excavations at Sepphoris: The Location and Identification of Shikhin: Part II," *IEJ* 45.2/3 (1995): 171–187; James Riley Strange, "Kefar Shikhin," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 88–108.
[80] Idan Shaked and Dina Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement in the Southeastern Hula Valley in the First Century CE," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards (New York: Routledge, 2004), 28–36. See further Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Anastasia Shapiro, "A Pottery Workshop at Aḥihud and Its Relationship to the Jar Industry in the Northeastern Zevulun Valley and Western Galilee during the Roman Period," *Atiqot* 83 (2015): 67–92. On the valley itself more generally, see Wolfgang Zwickel, "The Huleh Valley from the Iron Age to the Muslim Period," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 163–192.
[81] The territory of the Itureans is discussed at length by Kenneth Atkinson, *A History of the Hasmonean State: Josephus and Beyond*, JCT 23 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 86–97. I agree with Atkinson that the Itureans generally lived beyond the extent of the Hasmonean state. A similar assessment can be found in Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of Gentile Galilee*, SNTSMS 118 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 42–45.

In my view, the Hasmonean conquest has been, and continues to be, overstated in many

scholarly studies.[82] Excavations and archaeological surveys which reveal remains from the 2nd

and 1st centuries BCE typically ascribe any evidence of destruction to the Hasmoneans. The

earliest of these remains show evidence of various conflagrations in settlements around the

140s BCE [see Figure 1], at sites including: Sha'ar ha-'Amaqim, Yodefat, Tell Keisan, Tel

Kedesh, Kh. Esh-Shuhara, Mizpe Yamim, H. Beer Sheva', Kh. el-'Eika, Hippos-Susita, Tel

Zahara, and Scythopolis (cf. *Ant.* 13.280).[83] Of these, Tel Esh-Shuhara, Mizpe Yamim,

Yodefat, Kh. el-'Eika, Hippos-Susita and Scythopolis all experienced some level of

destruction between the late 2nd and outset of the 1st century BCE.[84] Tel Zahara was abandoned

around the end of the 2nd century BCE, probably in response to the Hasmonean's conquest of

Scythopolis.[85] Tel Anafa, Bet Yeraḥ, Tell Keisan, Tel Kedesh, H. Beer Sheva', Sammu'iya

and Kh. El 'Aiteh were all abandoned in the late 2nd century BCE.[86] This widespread

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[82] See the recent work of Eyal Ben-Eliyahu, *Identity and Territory: Jewish Perceptions of Space in Antiquity* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 45–46.

[83] In addition, Syon reports that a hoard of silver coins which appear to have been deposited in Ḥorbat 'Aqrav around 110 BCE may indicate that the locals were displaced at this time; Danny Syon, "A Hoard of Tyrian Silver from Ḥorbat 'Aqrav, Upper Galilee," *INR* 9 (2014): 29–37.

[84] Mordechai Aviam, "First Century Jewish Galilee: An Archaeological Perspective," in Edwards, *Religion and Society*, 7–27, 14; *idem.*, "Jotapata (Yodefat)," *ESTJ* 2, 401–402; *idem.*, "Transformation from *Galil*," 9–21; Michael Eisenberg, "Military Architecture," in *Hippos-Sussita of the Decapolis: The First Twelve Seasons of Excavations, 2000-2011*, eds. Arthur Segal et al., vol. 1 (Haifa: The Zinman Institute of Archaeology, 2013), 87–127; Uzi Leibner, "Material Culture and Ethnic Identity in Hellenistic-Period Galilee: Kh. el-'Eika as a Case Study," in *A Question of Identity: Social, Political, and Historical Aspects of Identity Dynamics in Jewish and Other Contexts*, eds. Dikla Rivlin Katz, Noah Hacham, Geoffrey Herman and Lilach Sagiv (Berlin: de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019), 265–289; Eric M. Meyers and Mark A. Chancey, *Alexander to Constantine*, vol 3 of *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible,* AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 35.

[85] Susan L. Cohen, ed., *Excavations at Tel Zahara (2006–2009): Final Report*, BARIS 2554 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 98, 150. The site was only resettled in the 2nd century CE.

[86] For Tel Anafa, see Sharon C. Herbert, *Tel Anafa I, i: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavations at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*, JRASup 10.1 (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum, 1994), 19. For Bet Yeraḥ, see Raphael Greenberg, Oren Tal and Tawfiq Da'adli, "Introduction," in *Bet Yeraḥ III: Hellenistic Philoteria and Islamic al-Sinnabra. The 1933–1986 and 2007–2013 Excavations*, IAA Reports 61 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2017), 1–6, 4–5. For Tell Keisan, see Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "Keisan, Tell," *NEAEHL* 3:862–867, 867. For Kedesh, see Andrea M. Berlin and Sharon C. Herbert, "Kedesh of the Upper Galilee," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 424–441, 427. Berlin and Herbert provide a date of some damage to around 144–142 BCE and suggest that this was probably part of a local uprising rather than Hasmonean campaigns at this time. It was reoccupied during 135–125 BCE by Tyrians (435–436). For H. Beer Sheva', see Aviam, "Hasmonean Dynasty's Activities," 48. For Sammu'iya, Kh. El Aiteh and Kh. Eika, see Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 103–105, 270–276. See also J. Andrew Overman, "The Archaeology of Palestine in the Republican Period," in *A Companion to the*

destruction or abandonment marks a change in the material culture in the region. There is a

strong temptation to attribute this wave of change in the region to a single cause, and military

expeditions would explain this neatly.

However, the evidence is not conclusive. For example, Mizpe Yamim, appears to have

been purposely destroyed, at least partially. Four bronze objects were recovered including a

vessel handle in the shape of a young lion, a ram, an Apis bull and an Egyptian situla with

hieroglyphics on it. It is unclear exactly when this destruction took place. Two further

figurines were found: a statue of Osiris and one of Osiris, Horus and Isis as Hathor; and the

situla bears and inscription to Astarte. The site thus appears to have been a Phoenician cultic

site, although the pottery found at the site differs slightly from contemporary ceramics found

at the coast.[87] The site had fallen out of anything more than intermittent usage by the end of

the 4th century BCE. At some point later, many of the items left there were deliberately broken,

although there are no traces of either burning in the temple itself, or clear and deliberate

spoliation of the vessels and objects in this structure. Adi Erlich suggests that the destruction

of items at Mizpe Yamim was done in a similar fashion to the way that cultic artefacts were

disposed of by the Hasmoneans at Samaria-Sebaste (*Ant.* 13.255–256), Ashdod, Maresha and

Beersheba.[88] However, Andrea Berlin and Rafael Frankel note that the wide window of time

when objects could have been broken at the site should caution against assigning this to the

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Archaeology of the Roman Republic, ed. Jane DeRose Evans (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 540–558, for brief overviews of many of these sites.

[87] See Rafael Frankel, "Miẓpe Yammin, Mount," *NEAEHL* 3:1061–1063; Rafael Frankel and Raphael Ventura, "The Miṣpe Yamim Bronzes," *BASOR* 311 (1998): 39–55, assigning the destruction to the Hasmoneans on 54. For more on the Bronzes, see Adi Erlich, *The Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, BARIS 2010 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 30–31.

[88] Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 40. On the destruction of Mt Gerizim, see Richard J. Bautch, "Gerizim, Mount," *ESTJ* 2, 294–296, 295. See further Jonathan Bourgel, "The Destruction of the Samaritan Temple by John Hyrcanus: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 135.3 (2016): 505–523, who suggests that Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan temple as a way to manage his own position as a leader in a competing temple cult. For a short overview of the site of Samaria-Sebaste, see Eitan Klein, "Samaria-Sebaste," *ESTJ* 2, 700–701.

work of a particular group.[89] While it is possible that the Hasmoneans were responsible, it is important to point out that no date has been determined for the breaking of the vessels there, which could have happened any time between the 2nd century BCE and the First Jewish War.

Sites which have more precise dates for their destruction include Kh. el-'Eika and Tel Kedesh. El-'Eika, a hill-top farmstead, was abandoned around 144 BCE. There is some evidence of conflagration seen in certain areas of the site.[90] Kedesh was also abandoned around this time (144–142 BCE), having suffered "minimal damage," only to be reoccupied perhaps around a decade later.[91] The abandonment of these two sites, well dated from a plethora of seals or wine amphora stamps, seems to confirm narratives in First Maccabees about Jonathan's northern campaigns (1 Macc 11:63–64, 67, 73, cf. *Ant.* 13.154–162).[92] However, Andrea Berlin and Sharon Herbert note the difficulties in this assumption, namely that Hasmonean coins are not found in the area for another 20 years, that there is no archaeological evidence for Hasmonean northern expansion until 112 BCE, and that First Maccabees should be dated to the 1st century BCE rather than a contemporary source for this destruction.[93] These finds indicate the expansion of the Hasmoneans into the region, although

[89] Andrea M. Berlin and Rafael Frankel, "The Sanctuary at Mizpe Yammim: Phoenician Cult and Territory in the Upper Galilee during the Persian Period," *BASOR* 366 (2012): 25–78, particularly 33, 59, and 69.
[90] Leibner, "Material Culture," 283.
[91] Berlin and Herbert, "Kedesh," 435. For various further details of the finds at Kedesh, see Donald T. Ariel and Joseph Naveh, "Selected Inscribed Sealings from Kedesh in the Upper Galilee," *BASOR* 329 (2003): 61–80; Andrea M. Berlin, Sharon C. Herbert and Peter Stone, "Dining in State: The Table Wares from the Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building at Kedesh," in *Pottery, Peoples and Places: Study and Interpretation of Late Hellenistic Pottery*, eds. Pia Guldager Bilde and Mark L. Lawall, Black Sea Studies 16 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2014), 307–321; Ameera Elrasheedy and Daniel Schindler, "Illuminating the Past: Exploring the Function of Ancient Lamps," *NEA* 78.1 (2015): 36–42; Sharon C. Herbert and Andrea M. Berlin, "A New Administrative Centre for Persian and Hellenistic Galilee: Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota Excavations at Kedesh," *BASOR* 329 (2003): 13–59; Katherine A. Larson, Andrea M. Berlin and Sharon C. Herbert, "Glass Vessels from the Persian and Hellenistic Administrative Building at Tel Kedesh, Israel," in *Annales du 20ᵉ Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre – Fribourg/Romont 7-11 Septembre 2015*, eds. Sophie Wolf and Ann de Pury-Gysel (Rahden: Marie Leidorf, 2017), 54–60; Roi Sabar, "Josephus' '*Cydasa* of the Tyrians' (Tel Qedesh) in Eastern Upper Galilee," *JRA* 31 (2018): 387–405.
[92] Aviam, "Hasmonean Dynasty's Activities," 45; *idem.*, "Hellenistic Fortifications in the 'Hinterland' of 'Akko-Ptolemais," in *Jews, Pagans*, 22–30, 29; Leibner, "Material Culture," 283–285.
[93] Berlin and Herbert, "Kedesh," 435.

any such expansion is patchy and does not appear to have been a consistent and formulated process of incorporation. Previous settlements were destroyed or abandoned over several decades. There is no clear evidence for a consistent practice of cultic replacement, although Galilee did not appear to have many cultic sites to begin with. In summary, I am not presently convinced that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the Hasmoneans were active in Galilee during the 140s BCE. Future excavations may overturn this view, but for now my analysis will principally be concerned with material from the 1st century BCE or later. Only during the 1st century BCE did Hasmonean expansion and settlement in Galilee become widespread, and at this point, the material culture began to clearly resemble Judea.

Figure 1 – Destroyed Sites in Galilee

Galilee experienced a period of quick and widespread settlement during the 1st century

BCE.[94] This change appears to have been the result, in part, of migration from Judea to

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[94] Robert Houston Smith, "The Southern Levant in the Hellenistic Period," *Levant* 22.1 (1990): 123–130, suggests that there was a general rise in the population in the whole of the southern Levant during the 2nd and 1st

Galilee. This may be seen in the similarity between Galilean and Judean material culture in

the 1st centuries BCE and CE. This was also likely encouraged by the Hasmoneans.[95] They

probably invested in new settlements and used military force to protect the seizure of this

territory.[96] Morton Smith suggests that Judean emigration to Galilee explains why the region

remained committed to the Jerusalem Temple after Pompey and Gabinus reconfigured the

region, while other territories and cities formerly conquered by the Hasmoneans did not.[97]

This view appears to have become the consensus among archaeologists and historians, and the

majority of new settlement in Galilee during the 1st century BCE appears to be in large part due

to emigration from Judea.[98]

1.2.4   Summary of the Geographical Extent of Galilee

As argued above, the toponym Galilee adapts to the changing Galilean borders over

time.[99] Galilee was generally known as the name for a northern region, but at least under the

Hasmoneans, there is no indication that this was a specific political unit. The Hasmoneans

referred to themselves as the heads of the state of Judah or the Judeans.[100] When this

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centuries BCE, in response to the lax rule of the Seleucids. This may have been coupled with relief from the previous burdensome nature of Ptolemaic taxation. As such, the expansion of settlement in Galilee may not be exceptionally significant.

[95] Mordechai Aviam, "People, Land, Economy, and Belief in First-Century Galilee and its Origins: A Comprehensive Archaeological Synthesis," in Fiensy and Hawkins, *Galilean Economy*, 5–48, 14–15.

[96] As noted above [fn. 14], some of this settlement could have been paid for with the acquisition of "king's land" by the Hasmoneans. Berlin, "Between Large Forces," 40, suggests that, while Josephus presents an image of Alexander Jannaeus as an active campaigner, his military exploits do not appear to have been quite so constant from the archaeological record. However, the same is true for the Parthian invasion and the early conflicts of Herod the Great. See Mark A. Chancey and Adam Porter, "The Archaeology of Roman Palestine," *NEA* 64.4 (2001): 165.

[97] Smith, "Gentiles in Judaism," 200.

[98] Jensen, "Political History," 53–54.

[99] This can also be seen in later periods. By the time of the Talmud, the Baraita of the borders is different than in Josephus. See Mordechai Aviam and Peter Richardson, "Josephus' Galilee in Archaeological Perspective," in Mason, *Life of Josephus*, 177–209, 179–180.

[100] David Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), surmised on 136, 145–146, documents the terminology used by the Hasmoneans in their official documents (i.e.,

information is brought into consideration with the likelihood that Galilee during the 1st

century BCE was heavily populated through migration from Judea, it seems probable that

many Galileans understood themselves to be Judeans, whether through association with the

Hasmonean leadership, who supplied the coinage for the region, or through their own

families' ties to Judea.[101] The widespread use of Hasmonean coins and similar material

phenomena in Galilee as in Judea aids this mechanism of spatial control [6.3.1].[102] The

Hasmoneans, while not the most expansive users in antiquity of state media, still managed to

cultivate a culture of what I shall term "Temple Loyalty" in Galilee, which manifested again

and again in the daily practices and responses to crisis in the region.[103] "Temple Loyalty"

covers a range of behaviours which can be partly explained as interlinked with the

observation of the Jerusalem Temple cult from afar. The Hasmoneans were not alone in

establishing these kinds of cultural connections between themselves and the local populace.

Doron Mendels discusses how the Ptolemaic dynasty embedded themselves in the local

collective memory through eight mechanisms: environmental creation, time organisation and

construction, identity construction, cultivation of trust, establishing popular practices,

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coins, bullae) and written material, such as the correspondence to and from the authority in First and Second Maccabees [see 1.3.3].

[101] Galilee experienced a widespread Assyrian deportation during the Iron Age. However, Nadav Na'aman, "Population Changes in Palestine following Assyrian Deportations," *TA* 20.1 (1993): 104–106, suggests that the region was largely not resettled by the Assyrians due to its marginality. See also Daniel David Luckenbill, *Historical Records of Assyria: From the Earliest Tomes to Sargon*, vol. 1 of *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Ancient Records 1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1926), 279–280, § 779, for the recorded number of deportees. This would have left Galilee quite sparsely populated. See also the archaeological surveys in Rafael Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics and Regional Diversity in Ancient Upper Galilee: Archaeological Survey of Upper Galilee*, IAA Reports 14 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2001), 106–107; Zvi Gal, "Galilee," *NEAEHL* 2:451; *idem.*, *Lower Galilee during the Iron Age*, trans. Marcia Reines Josephy, ASOR Dissertation Series 8 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 67–68, 71–72. Settlement in Galilee began to expand in the 2nd century BCE and continued to flourish during the 1st century BCE. This appears to be connected to Hasmonean expansion into the region. The similarity in material culture between Galilee and Judea suggests that at least in part, this expansion was due to Judean migrants beginning to settle in Galilee. See Chancey, *Myth of Gentile Galilee*, 50; Freyne, "Town and Country," 53; Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 336; Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 52–53; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 147–149.

[102] See Sharon Lea Mattila, "Inner Village Life in Galilee: A Diverse and Complex Phenomenon," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 312–345, 331–332.

[103] See similar framing in Freyne, "Galilee-Jerusalem Relations," 607.

feedback and adaptation, feedforward to develop changing agendas, and finally, the

exploitation of pre-existing networks.[104] These same strategies were employed by the

Hasmoneans, although their success may have depended less on their particular skill and more

on the role of the Jerusalem Temple in Jewish identity. The Hasmoneans constructed the

environment in Galilee through the establishment of monetary economy in their image, royal

benefaction to settlements, and campaigns in the region which demonstrated their power.[105]

While the Hasmoneans were reportedly active in the region since the time of Jonathan

Apphrus or John Hyrcanus I, there is no direct evidence of their involvement until the 1st

century BCE.[106] The clearest signs of Hasmonean hegemony are the abundant finds of coins

found throughout the region [see 6.3.1], which can be considered a form of identity

construction. The presence of this coinage suggests that the Hasmoneans were popular to a

degree and had influence over the economics of the region. This should be tempered with the

actual scope of what the temple and administrative authorities could impose on the population

at any given point.[107] Regional practice would have been quite varied, and standardisation

probably fell to enforcement by local authorities and a general ethos from the Jerusalem

Temple.

Therefore, two factors should be highlighted from the above discussion. Firstly, in

agreement with Rick Bonnie, Galilee as a territory was likely to have been "loosely defined"

in antiquity.[108] The case for the Gaulanitis is even less clear.[109] Notwithstanding the

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[104] Mendels, *Memory in Jewish*, 71–79.

[105] Becking, "Construction," 146.

[106] Some scholars have suggested that Hyrcanus I actually conquered the region. See Smith, *Historical Geography*, 414. This theory has been adopted by some archaeologists to explain the spate of destruction seen in the region during the second half of the 2nd century BCE. See for instance Deines, "Religious Practices," 81 n.6 citing *War* 1.65.

[107] Martin Goodman, "Identity and Authority in Ancient Judaism," in *Judaism in the Roman World: Collected Essays*, AJEC/AGJU 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 21–32, 22.

[108] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 3.

[109] Gaulanitis first is mentioned as a region by Josephus, see Aviam and Richardson, "Josephus' Galilee," 178.

contemporary issues of the occupation of the Golan Heights and the limited nature of any articulation of ancient borders, the Gaulanitis is particularly difficult to discuss as a whole. As such, my thesis will only incorporate known remains that show Hasmonean or Herodian administrative presence. The extent to which this territory extended is uncertain.[110] As Vonder Bruegge notes, mapping in the ancient world was "imaginative," "provisional," "simultaneous," "distorted," and "situated."[111] Essentially, geographical descriptions were approached creatively and usually to make a point. Competing definitions of regions are apparent throughout the above sources (i.e., the different extent of the region between Judith and Josephus). My own use of Galilee as a toponym should reflect these considerations, rather than a clearly defined set of boundaries. Galilee is an idea, just as it was an idea in the ancient world. This does not mean that it did not have a physical and geographical component or grounding, but that ultimately Galilee means something more than simply the landscape. Secondly, by the beginning of the 1st century BCE, the Hasmoneans had begun to have a clear impact on culture, politics and economics in the region. This thesis thus is framed as an examination of Galilean identity and a consideration of how this related to the Hasmonean power centre in Jerusalem, even beyond the prominence of this dynasty.

1.3   Defining Ancient Judaism

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[110] Chaim Ben David has conducted a survey of the western Gaulanitis and in the published results, suggests that during the late Second Temple period the area had a similar density of settlements to eastern lower Galilee (here drawing from the survey of Uzi Leibner). See Chaim Ben David, "Were There 204 Settlements in Galilee at the Time of Josephus Flavius?" *JJS* 62.1 (2011): 21–36; Leibner, *Settlement and History*. See also the estimates in Taisir al-Halabi, "La formation d'une identité architecturale dans les villes et les villages du Jawlān romain: Un cas d'echanges techniques et artistiques," MOM Éditions 68: Zeugma VI. La Syrie romaine. Permanences et transferts culturels (2015): 77, which has similar totals.

[111] Vonder Bruegge, *Mapping Galilee*, 185–186. See also Thomas B. Dozeman, "Biblical Geography and Critical Spatial Studies," in *Constructions of Space I: Theory, Geography, and Narrative*, eds. Jon L. Berquist and Claudia V. Camp, LHBOTS 481 (New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 87–108, 88.

Many Galileans, although not all, identified themselves or were identified as Jewish.
Throughout this thesis, I frequently describe texts and artefacts as Jewish or in some way
aspects of Judaism. These terms are frequently problematised in modern scholarly works, and
it is essential to describe exactly what I mean when I fall back on such language to describe
ancient materials and texts. I now will discuss how we might arrive at some kind of outline
for what constituted the category of ancient Judaism. I will raise issues of identity, gender,
ethnicity, religion and ritual, translation, and perspective.

1.3.1   Ancient Group Identity

Scholars struggle over the best approach to categorising Judaism in the ancient world.[112]
Proposals depend on the scope of the investigation, both geographically and temporally, and
the extent to which the investigator acknowledges their own conceptual biases. I do not intend
to present a complete definition of ancient Judaism as it is impossible to maintain that we can
create a standardised definition of a group which all the members would understand; there is
no way of ensuring that such a definition would be universally accepted. Rather, the definition
will have to suit our purposes which are to explore how space and religious practice were
formative for Jewish identity in Galilee. This category is limited geographically and
temporally.

A further issue is how Judaism as a group category is distinguishable from other ancient
group categories. Was ancient Judaism *sui generis* or can the structures which give form to
this category be mapped onto other types of groups? Jewish writers in antiquity do provide us

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[112] See for instance the positions documented in David M. Miller, "Ethnicity, Religion and the Meaning of
Ioudaios in Ancient 'Judaism'," *CurBR* 12.2 (2014): 216–219.

with information about the constitution of Judaism, but do we trust their reports? Josephus,

for example, attempted to show some of the variety within Judaism, but we should not expect

his portrayal to have been a completely accurate rendition of the state of intra-group affairs.

His method of depicting these groups probably drew from a systemic practice of describing a

group via a three-fold typology.[113] As such, my discussion will draw from the critical insights

of historians and theorists (also historical theorists and theoretical historians) to help indicate

how this thesis will use the terms Judaism, Jewish and related concepts. I will do this by

discussing how groups are boundaries are established, maintained and adapted, how attention

must be paid to gender, whether ethnicity is a suitable category for defining ancient Judaism,

and finally, how the categories of religion and ritual intersect with ancient Judaism.

1.3.1.1   Boundary Establishment, Maintenance, and Adaptation

Group identity rests on the notion of a boundary between "us" and "them," or perhaps

even "them" and "them." The concept of a clearly defined group can be understood as

analogous to the perception of the human embodied experience as bounded.[114] "Judaism"

functioned as a group category for an ancient collection of people.

Group identity principally matters as a way to distinguish in-group members from out-

group members. Erich Gruen notes that cultural identity is formed via reference to or contrast

with other cultures.[115] A similar point is made by Jutta Jokiranta specifically discussing the

Qumran community. Jokiranta articulates the difference between "fundamental group beliefs"

and "additional group beliefs," the former merely being that the group exists, while the latter

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[113] Martin Goodman, "Josephus and Variety in First-Century Judaism," in *Judaism in the Roman World*, 33–46.
[114] On the psychology of group categorisation; George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 12–13. On the container image schema, or, group category, see *ibid.*, 272–273, 283.
[115] Erich S. Gruen, "Cultural Fictions and Cultural Identity," in *Constructs of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History*, DCLS 29 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 7–20, 8.

help to constitute exactly how this group exists, usually in opposition to the outside and built

around a centre.[116] Certain aspects of cultural practice can only be understood as significant if

you are aware that these are not practised, or not practised with the same meaning or the same

way, by other cultural groups. As Maxine Grossman points out, distinctions between "insider"

and "outsider" matter because groups seek to "cultivate" differences between themselves and

non-members, and collective practices help bind a group together. The more cohesive the

group, the better chance it stands of maintaining inside/outside boundaries.[117]

Acknowledging the active role groups take in establishing and maintaining the

boundaries of their group should also be tempered with the understanding that groups develop

and adapt. Identity is a fluid and malleable state whether one's self-identification shifts from

group A to group B, or one remains always a member of group A but undergo changes in

social status, age, etc. Self-identity regularly changes even within a group, whether in terms of

nomenclature, relations, beliefs, growth, or membership in sub-groups. The constituent aspect

of one's identity can change in response to various events or actions such as "intermarriage,

new religious affiliations, or ancient self-understandings."[118] In each of these cases,

augmenting one's identity is accompanied by a life event or new experience. These

augmentations were heavily gendered in the ancient world, so we must further consider how

gender matters for identity. Thus, ancient Judaism as used in this thesis does not suggest a

fixed or agreed upon category, but rather something that changes from person to person and

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[116] Jutta Jokiranta, "Social Identity in the Qumran Movement: The Case of the Penal Code," in *Explaining Christian Origins and Early Judaism: Contributions from Cognitive and Social Science*, eds. Petri Luomanen, Ilkka Pyysiäinen and Risto Uro, BibInt 89 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 277–298, 285–286.
[117] Maxine L. Grossman, "Cultivating Identity: Textual Virtuosity and "Insider" Status," in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen*, eds. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović, STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1–11, 2–3.
[118] Ross S. Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish: Identifying Religious Affiliation in Epigraphic Sources," *HTR* 84.2 (1991): 162.

from time to time. Ancient Judaism could be expressed in a variety of sometimes competing ways.

1.3.1.2   Gendered Perspectives on Group Identity

An under-studied aspect of group identity is the influence of gender on such an identity. The experience of membership within a group is very often different for men and women.[119] Cynthia Baker shows that definitions of ethnicity are often marked or coded as masculine, whereas women's ethnicity is not treated explicitly. As she puts it,

> "ethnicity," "religion," and "conversion" are and always have been deeply gendered categories. And Jew or Jewishness – whether defined as ethnicity or religion, whether as birth status, marital status, or otherwise-acquired status, is and always has been deeply (if variously) gendered, as well.[120]

Any definition of a group identity that does not pay attention to the differences experienced by different genders fails to adequately explore how such a category functioned. One often-employed tool to determine cultural influences is the semantic origin of particular terms or names. As Tal Ilan shows, name use differed between Jewish men and women in antiquity. Ilan records that only 17% of Jewish men are recorded with Greek or Latin names, while 24% of women are recorded with such names. She suggests that a reason for this disparity may have been in how "women's Jewishness" was viewed; "women were required

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[119] While gender is not limited to a male/female binary, the key distinctions around issues of purity and bodily space are typically framed in ancient Jewish texts as affecting men and/or women. As such I have principally discussed gender through this binary lens. For further studies see Jessica M. Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour: A Gendered Analysis of Everyday Life in the Dead Sea Scrolls Communities*, LSTS 91 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 9–11; Ross S. Kraemer, "Gender," CCAMR, 281–308, 281; Sara Parks, *Gender in the Rhetoric of Jesus: Women in Q* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2019), 10–11; Shayna Sheinfeld, "Introduction – Gender and Second Temple Judaism: Challenges and Possibilities," in *Gender and Second-Temple Judaism*, eds. Kathy Ehrensperger and Shayna Sheinfeld (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2020), 1–21, 2–3.

[120] Cynthia Baker, "How Do Ancient Jews and Gender *Matter*?" in *Gender and Social Norms in Ancient Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity: Texts and Material Culture*, eds. Michaela Bauks, Katharina Galor and Judith Hartenstein, JAJSup 28 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 257–267.

to preserve their Jewish identity less than men were."[121] This may be an oversimplification of the reasons why non-Jewish names were adopted by Jews.

Naming conventions varied between regions, classes and time periods, yet this demonstrates that general forms of cultural expression did differ between genders. In another example, circumcision is one of the key markers of Jewish identity [see 1.3.4.1], so at least certain aspects of what was considered to constitute Jewish identity were not available to all members of that identity.[122] Jewish identity then consisted of nested sub-identities, of which "Jewish man" and "Jewish woman" were but two. Thus, if we confuse the group identity and category of "Jewish man" with Jewish and operate as if this were the only form of group identity, then we mistake a sub-group for the actual group and exclude lived experiences from our account. Recovering women's perceptions of identity is more difficult, as the vast majority of written sources available to us were created by men. In cases where a woman is the centre of a narrative, the woman's perspective is not actually presented in the text.[123] In this thesis, I endeavour not to limit my analysis on the basis of assumptions about the role of women in identity formation, ritual practice [see 1.3.1.4] and spatial production [see 1.4.3]. In my discussion of Jewish communal spaces [chps. 4 and 5], I do not assume that these spaces were male dominated or built primarily for the communal spatial life of men. Gender is not

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[121] Tal Ilan, "Gender Issues and Daily Life," in *OHJDL*, 48–68, 50. This information is synchronic so cannot inform us about how women's Jewishness was valued at discrete periods in in particular places, on the basis of their given names.

[122] Although Jill Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth: Gentile Access to Israel's Living God in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 8–9, 134, 137, points out that this was not universally accepted. Some Jews in antiquity rejected gentile circumcision as an indication of Jewish identity. Aseneth becomes "covenanted" (p. 140) in part because other literary methods of incorporating her such as circumcision and becoming a priest were unavailable to her as a woman.

[123] For instance, the narratives of Bathsheba and Susannah are both presented in this way. On Bathsheba see, Adele Berlin, "Bathsheba," in *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocrypha/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*, eds. Carol L. Meyers, Toni Craven and Ross S. Kraemer (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 57–58. On Susannah, see Jennifer A. Glancy, "The Accused: Susanna and Her Readers," in *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna*, ed. Athalya Brenner, FCB 7 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 288–302, 296–300; *idem*., "Susanna 1," in Meyers, Craven and Kraemer, *Women in Scripture*, 157–158.

found in excavated materials but is ascribed to them. This ascription is not neutral; it is a reflection of the interpreter's perspective.[124] As such, my own perspective attempts to be deliberately open towards the participation of both men and women in the creation of group identity, and in the use of artefacts.

1.3.1.3   Ancient Groups as Ethnic Groups

Ethnicity is often understood as a type of group category which appears to exemplify how ancient Judaism was categorised. Ethnicity itself is a category created entirely within cultural conceptions of difference.[125] Shaye Cohen argues that the term Ἰουδαῖος qualifies, at least some of the time, as an ethnic identification.[126] Siân Jones provides definitions of "ethnic identity," "ethnic group," and "ethnicity." Each of these draws from an understanding that ethnicity can be broadly understood as perceptions about social, cultural or general group differentiations.[127] Further, that "ethnicity is considered to be a consciousness of identity *vis-*

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[124] Carol L. Meyers, "Where the Girls Are: Archaeology and Women's Lives in Ancient Israel," in *Between Text and Artifact: Integrating Archaeology in Biblical Studies Teaching*, ed. Milton C. Moreland, ABS 8 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2003), 31–51, especially 37; Jorunn Økland, *Women in Their Place: Paul and the Corinthian Discourse of Gender and Sanctuary Space*, JSNTSup 269 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 40.

[125] See extensive discussions in James C. Miller, "Ethnicity and the Hebrew Bible: Problems and Prospects," *CurBR* 6.2 (2008): 170–213; Brian Rainey, *Religion, Ethnicity and Xenophobia in the Bible: A Theoretical, Exegetical and Theological Survey*, Routledge Studies in the Biblical World (London: Routledge, 2018), 3–9; Katherine E. Southwood, *Ethnicity and the Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9–10: An Anthropological Approach*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 19–72.

[126] Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*, HCS 31 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 6, following John Hutchison and Anthony Smith's four-fold criteria for ethnic groups: sense of unique group origins, knowledge of group history and belief in destiny, one or more elements of collective identity, and unique cultural solidarity. Cohen further distinguishes three meanings of the term: Judean by birth or geography; Jew by religion or culture; citizen or ally of the Judean state by political ties, see *ibid*., 70–82. A shorter version of Cohen's argument can be found in *idem*., "Ioudaios," *EDEJ*, 769–770. Cohen's approach has been adopted amongst many scholars, often with minor caveats. For instance, John J. Collins, "Cult and Culture: The Limits of Hellenization in Judea," in *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture: Essays on the Jewish Encounter with Hellenism and Roman Rule*, JSJSup 100 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 21–43, 22–23; Philip F. Esler, "Judean Ethnic Identity in Josephus' *Against Apion*," in Rodgers, Daly-Denton and Fitzpatrick McKinley, *Wandering Galilean*, 73–91, 76; Goodblatt, *Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 11; Smith, "Gentiles in Judaism," 210.

[127] Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997), xiii.

á-vis other groups – a 'we'/'they' opposition."[128] As Dick Whittaker puts it, "the essence of

ethnicity is its mutability."[129] Recently, John Van Maaren has introduced an analysis of ethnic

boundary making as a model for categorising ancient Judaism. His approach is helpful for

focusing on areas of disagreement, or boundary maintenance in how ancient ethnicity was

experience and explained. This approach does not assume that cultural norms were commonly

held for all who applied this ethnic label to themselves, or had this label applied to them. It

further examines how debates and disagreements show the boundary lines. Ethnicity can be

viewed as multi-levelled, where certain ethnic terms are sub-types of other ethnic terms. The

categories of ethnicities are also not fixed; they change over time and border cases are sources

of conflict or debate.[130] Ethnicity may be a promising way to understand the group of ancient

Judaism so long as one is aware of and open to the ways in which ethnicity might be

expressed, its power as a rhetorical tool, and the fact that this element of the term "Judaism"

only covers *some* forms of ancient Jewish expression.[131]

1.3.1.4   *Ancient Groups as Religious Groups and Ritual Practice*

The modern categorisation of religion is difficult to properly map onto ancient practices.

David Miller points out that debate over terms like "ethnicity" and "religion" in the ancient

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[128] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 64.

[129] Dick Whittaker, "Ethnic Discourses on the Frontiers of Roman Africa," in *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, eds. Ton Derks and Nico Roymans (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 189–205, 191.

[130] John Van Maaren, "Mapping Jewishness in Antiquity: New Contributions from the Social Sciences," *JAJ* 9.3 (2018): 432–435.

[131] On the rhetorical power of ethnicity in the ancient world, see Whittaker, "Ethnic Discourse," 192. Steven Weitzman further argues that the way in which the Hasmoneans established their own authority drew from modes of legitimisation in the Hellenistic world and had models of group identity formation established by larger entities. If their identification as leaders of an "ethnic group" is appropriate, then this is a good example of the power of rhetorical ethnic discourse. See Steven Weitzman, "On the Political Relevance of Antiquity: A Response to David Goodblatt's Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism," *JSocStud* 14.3 (2008): 169–171.

world often "boil down to a debate about modern definitions."[132] He defines ancient religion

as "a cluster of ideas and practices related to the divine that could be pointed at, and regarded

as unusual in comparison with the typical qualities of other ancient groups."[133] The concept of

"religion" is important to introduce as the following study deals mostly with practices and

materials associated with something approximating religious expression. This is to say that

the term "religion" is able to convey the general collection of embodied practices associated

with beliefs, distinguishing between one thing and another. This is at least a useful framework

(although not without issues) to discuss ancient Jewish practices associated with beliefs about

one's life *vis-à-vis* god, or divine law, or conceptions related to (im)purity. As such, I intend

to use "religion" to heuristically examine only choice artefacts rather than a complete analysis

of the archaeology of ancient Galilee.[134]

Kim Knott has approached the study of religion from a spatial perspective. While I will

comment further on my application of spatial theory below [see 1.4.3], some of this material

will be introduced here in order to describe why the materials and practices discussed in this

thesis have been selected. Knott's work on "religion" focuses on the body and its production

of space. Religion itself is located in bodily experience and expression. Religion can be

understood as a discursive space which constructs boundaries between concepts. These acts of

boundary marking are acts of power.[135] Knott draws from the work of Veitto Anttonen, Mark

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[132] Miller, "Ethnicity, Religion," 236. See also Lawrence M. Wills, "Jew, Judean, Judaism in the Ancient Period: An Alternative Argument," *JAJ* 7.2 (2016): 189–190. See similar comments about religion in Steve Mason, "Jews, Judeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38.4 (2007): 480.

[133] Miller, "Ethnicity, Religion," 241. Similarly, Daniel Schwartz argues that in antiquity the Greek term θρησκεία (religious worship, cult, ritual) had by the 1st century BCE or CE, come to mean something close to religion, having developed from a term restricted to worship or cult. See Daniel R. Schwartz, *Judeans and Jews: Four Faces of Dichotomy in Ancient Jewish History*, KMTS (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 93–102.

[134] Against the notion that "religion" is an adequate category for the ancient world, see Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

[135] Kim Knott, "Inside, Outside and the Space in-between: Territories and Boundaries in the Study of Religion," *Temenos* 44.1 (2008): 56.

Johnson and George Lakoff, to argue that religion is constructed as a clear category which

contains certain features, and can clearly distinguish between itself and what it is not (e.g.

magic).[136] Similarly, Thomas Tweed defines religions as "confluences of organic-cultural

flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces

to make homes and cross boundaries."[137] Religion positions people in space, providing a

sense of meaning and context for lived experience.[138] Space is important in religion, as space

can be considered sacred. Sacred space is sacralised, at least in part, through human action,

although sacred spaces do not have to be exclusively viewed as sacred at all times. Private

homes often become sacred spaces, but this status can change over time.[139] The sacralisation

of a locale is the process of establishing a connection between the body, the community and a

conception of the sacred.[140] Religion marks out spaces which are built into the fabric of lived

experience and are imbued with meaning within the religious system.[141]

A key component of activity which establishes sacred space is "ritual."[142] I define

"ritual" as embodied practice which is intended to be meaningful.[143] This identifies the role of

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[136] Knott, "Inside, Outside," 63.

[137] Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 54.

[138] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 74.

[139] Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 60. See also Kimmo Ketola, "A Cognitive Approach to Ritual Systems in First-Century Judaism," in Luomanen, Pyysiäinen and Uro, *Explaining Christian Origins*, 95–114, 98; Økland, *Women in Their Place*, 58, 67.

[140] Anna-Katharina Rieger, "This God Is Your God, This God Is My God: Local Identities at Sacralized Place in Roman Syria," in *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology, History and Classics*, eds. Valentino Gasparini et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 351–383, 379.

[141] Alice Mandell and Jeremy Smoak, "The Material Turn in the Study of Israelite Religions: Spaces, Things, and the Body," *JHebS* 19.5 (2019): 37.

[142] Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*, CSHJ (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 103–110; Kim Knott, "Spatial Theory and Method for the Study of Religion," *Temenos* 41.2 (2005): 171. For an overview of the use of ritual theory in biblical studies, see Cat Quine, *Casting Down the Host of Heaven: The Rhetoric of Ritual Failure in the Polemic against the Host of Heaven*, OtSt 78 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 40–43. See also Mira Balberg, "Ritual Studies and the Study of Rabbinic Literature," *CurBR* 16.1 (2017): 71–98, for an overview of ritual theory and its applications in rabbinic studies; Daniel K. Falk, "Liturgical Texts," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. George J. Brooke et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 420–431, who discusses liturgical texts through the lens of ritual.

[143] Although here I deliberately choose to define ritual activity as meaningful, if only to provide a basis for my subsequent explanations of Jewish ritual practice in Galilee, Thomas Kazen, "Levels of Explanation for Ideas of

the body in enacting ritual, the intentionality behind ritual acts, and also the meaning which

ritual has.[144] Ritual manages the boundaries created within a religious system, controls cross-

boundary movement, and is the means by which bodies create sacred spaces.[145] As Veikko

Anttonen puts it, "the 'sacred' that separates, binds, transcends and purifies, is the location for

ritual communication."[146] For my purposes, religion is perhaps suitable to describe the range

of materials which attest to ritual practice and beliefs associated with such practice. This lens

privileges certain materials which appear to be associated with what are understood as ancient

Jewish beliefs. Mira Balberg notes that "ritual is useful as a concept only if it denotes

something exceptional, a mode of being or behaving that is pronouncedly different from other

kinds of activities."[147] Thus, my analysis will argue that some Galilean artefacts can reveal

aspects of Galilean ritual practice. These materials include ritual immersion pools [see 2.1],

household vessels made from stone [see 2.2] and communal spaces which include meaningful

iconography or suggest importance by virtue of their architecture [see 4.3.1.5; 4.3.2.5].

Furthermore, I understand artefacts which connected ancient Galileans to the Jerusalem

Temple cult as part of this category. These artefacts can be somewhat illuminated by

contextualising them through written sources. However, it is important to note that there is a

distinction between how rituals are described in texts and how rituals took place. Not only do

texts create ritual practice according to the authors' ideology, but they also are simply unable

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Impurity: Why Structuralist and Symbolic Models Often Fail While Evolutionary and Cognitive Models
Succeed," *JAJ* 9.1 (2018): 89, points out that "it is not self-evident that ritual needs to have *meaning* in the
conventional sense."

[144] Catherine Bell, "Ritual," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, ed. Robert A. Segal,
Blackwell Companions to Religion (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 397–411, 398, distinguishes two elements
of the process of ritualization, that first "people choose *what* to ritualize… and then *how* to ritualize."

[145] Knott, "Spatial Theory," 172–173. See also Veikko Anttonen, "What Is It That We Call Religion? Analyzing
the Epistemological Status of the Sacred as a Scholarly Category in Comparative Religion," *MTSR* 12.1 (2000):
201; Økland, *Women in Their Place*, 34.

[146] Veikko Anttonen, "Space, Body, and the Notion of Boundary: A Category-Theoretical Approach to
Religion," *Temenos* 41.2 (2005): 198.

[147] Balberg, "Ritual Studies," 75.

to fully describe how a ritual was done as they cannot fully convey the bodily experience of

ritual participation.[148] Ritual itself is an act of world creation.[149] It attempts to invoke a sense

of social stability and relies on an implicit threat of social breakdown if it is not observed.[150]

Rituals exist along a continuum of high to low encodification. Acts embody certain

conceptions, and these conceptions can be explicitly or implicitly conveyed through ritual

acts. A ritual text may be highly encoded, insofar as it attaches a lot of meaning to a specific

action. This may then afford the reader a greater engagement with the conceptions that lie

behind the ritual. Priestly practices and ideologies can be conveyed in a document like

Leviticus, although this is still distanced from the ritual practices it is describing or alluding

to. Rituals which are lowly encoded may be more difficult to understand. Artefacts which

contain no instructions for their use, but only leave traces of their users' *habitus* can offer

some insight into ritual practice, but we must be aware that in these cases we are required to

use imaginative reconstruction.[151] Furthermore, we should not assume that a broad group

approached ritual in the same way. Indeed, we know the contrary to be the case, as evidenced

by the documents found at Qumran, which exhibit disagreements over proper ritual procedure

[see 3.2.4; 3.2.5; 3.2.6; 3.2.7; 3.2.8; 3.2.9].[152] We should not presume that the same rituals

were practised by a whole group, or that the same materials indicate the same things about

everyone who used them.[153] Additionally, we may also observe that some texts present

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[148] Quine, *Casting Down*, 35; Balberg, "Ritual Studies," 78–79.

[149] Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 160.

[150] Quine, *Casting Down*, 39–40.

[151] I thank Cat Quine for her input on this framing. I draw the language of *habitus* from Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7.1 (1989): 14, who describes *habitus* as "schemes of perception, thought, and action" that guide patterns of behaviour. Objects can be brought into these schemes and may indicate something of the way their users practised ritual.

[152] For instance, among many others, Yair Furstenberg, "Defilement Penetrating the Body: A New Understanding of Contamination in Mark 7.15," *NTS* 54.2 (2008): 176–200, suggests that disagreements about purity resulted in different approaches to ritual.

[153] Mandell and Smoak, "Material Turn," 10, drawing from the work of Catherine Bell, argue against this universalisation of evidence and belief systems.

multiple levels of ritualization; Charlotte Hempel suggests that documents from the Qumran library augment ritual settings with further requirements for access, or more-developed practices to denote a moment or act of significance.[154]

If we understand the materials in the following analysis as artefacts related to rituals which were part of the formulation of ancient Jewish identity, we can apply some insights from ritual studies to these materials. Firstly, that ritual practices are distinguishable from non-ritual practices in a variety of ways, from deeply symbolic to relatively straightforward (i.e., an action only performed in a ritual setting). Rituals can create boundaries within the community, not least between men and women. As Anttonen notes, women are often set apart through rituals, especially at times which are "perceived as anomalous stages which endanger the conventional boundaries of everyday life" such as pregnancy and menstruation.[155] Ritual may resemble more conventional practices and may only be fully intelligible to practitioners. Ritual is always differentiated from other practices which it might resemble, although this could be in the form of spoken words, or preparation, or wearing special garments.[156] Thus, while we might hold that rituals are indeed distinct from some other practices, these distinctions may not always be marked as or obviously distinct in archaeological remains. For example, outsiders are less likely to understand the differences between conventional bathing in Judaism and ritual bathing. What, on the surface, appear to be the same rituals can have

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[154] Charlotte Hempel, "Who is Making Dinner at Qumran?" *JTS* 63.1 (2012): 63, suggesting the term "hyper-ritualization." I use the phrase "Qumran library" in the place of the "Dead Sea Scrolls" to refer specifically to the texts found at Kh. Qumran (although on occasion including the Cairo Damascus Document for comparative purposes). This intentionally draws on the language of library to mean a curated collection of documents and engages with comparative studies of other ancient libraries; Sidnie White Crawford, "The Qumran Collection as a Scribal Library," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, eds. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 109–131. Although see also Mladen Popović, "The Manuscript Collections: An Overview," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 37–50, 43–48, who uses "collection(s)."
[155] Anttonen, "Space, Body," 195.
[156] Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 91.

multiple meanings within a perceived system.[157] Catherine Bell's typology of ritual forms, while not intended to be exhaustive, is helpful for framing the different purposes of ritual, these being: rites of passage, rites of exchange and communion, rites of affliction, feasting fasting and festivals, and political rites.[158] Overall, ritual is a key lens through which questions of identity and space can be interpreted. Our access to materials related to ritual permits us some insight into the rituals of ancient Galileans, and further, some understanding of how they self-identified and created space.

1.3.2   Translating Ancient Group Terms

A prominent debate, which has had to engage with many of the above issues, centres on the translation of the Greek Ἰουδαῖος. Two broad options are available, "Jew" which typically emphasises religious affiliation, and "Judean" which draws attention to a geographic origin in Judea. This discussion is longstanding and does not need to be reiterated in full here.[159] Rather, I will discuss a few of the contributions to this exchange as they cover the difficulties encountered when trying to categorise ancient Judaism. Steve Mason generated a great deal of discussion, not by being the first to advocate such a position, but to publish his own preference for the translation "Judean" for Ἰουδαῖος in Brill's *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary* series. He arrives at this on the basis that there are many problems with

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[157] Ketola, "Cognitive Approach," 105.

[158] See Bell, *Ritual*, 94–135; *idem*., "Ritual," 399.

[159] David Miller provides an overview in three articles and added his own contribution. See David M. Miller, "The Meaning of *Ioudaios* and its Relationship to Other Group Labels in Ancient 'Judaism'," *CurBR* 9.1 (2010): 98–126; *idem*., "Ethnicity Comes of Age: An Overview of Twentieth-Century Terms for *Ioudaios*," *CurBR* 10.2 (2012): 293–311; *idem*., "Ethnicity, Religion," 215–264. Readers can also consult the extensive discussion in the *Marginalia* forum, "Jew and Judean: A Forum on Politics and Historiography in the Translation of Ancient Texts." Contributions from Adele Reinhartz, Steve Mason, Daniel Schwartz, Annette Yoshiko Reed, Joan Taylor, Malcolm Lowe, Jonathan Klawans, Ruth Sheridan and James Crossley all demonstrate the range of issues and disagreements about what constituted ancient Judaism, even down to what such a category should be called in scholarship. The forum can be found here: https://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/jew-judean-forum/.

defining religion in the ancient world, that Judean is not necessarily a restrictive geographic

term, and that translation in this manner reflects translation for similar ancient terms for other

groups.[160] This decision provoked many responses which neatly demonstrate the issues

around how ancient groups are categorised. Scholars such as Adele Reinhartz, Annette Reed

and Joan Taylor draw attention to the construction of ancient Judaism as a category with

religious, ethnic and geographic elements. They further argue that "Jew" and "Judaism" are

perfectly suitable terms to use as they can reflect ancient diversity more suitably than

"Judean."[161]

The tendency to translate Ἰουδαῖος as "Judean" seeks to move away from uncertainty

about how one might go about defining Judaism of the late Second Temple period. I am

receptive to this approach, insofar as it mirrors my own hesitation to exclude or even include

practices under a category like E. P. Sanders' "Common Judaism."[162] Sanders argues that

these practices can be drawn together from a comparison of various sources from different

backgrounds and groups, across different time periods. This commonality provides the basis

of what could be considered generally understood core elements of ancient Judaism.

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[160] See Steve Mason, "Jews, Judeans," 457 – 512, and his later defence of his proposal in *idem.*, "Ancient Jews or Judeans? Different Questions, Different Answers," *Marginalia* (26/08/2014): http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/ancient-jews-judeans-different-questions-different-answers-steve-mason/. Similar comments about the geographic meaning of Ἰουδαῖος can be found articulated by Malcolm Lowe, "Concepts and Words," *Marginalia* (26/08/2014): http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/concepts-words-malcolm-lowe/.
[161] Adele Reinhartz, "The Vanishing Jews of Antiquity," *Marginalia* (24/06/2014): http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/vanishing-jews-antiquity-adele-reinhartz/; Annette Yoshiko Reed, "*Ioudaios* before and after 'Religion'," *Marginalia* (26/08/2014): http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/ioudaios-religion-annette-yoshiko-reed/; Joan E. Taylor, "'Judean' and 'Jew', Jesus and Paul," *Marginalia* (26/08/2014): http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/judean-jew-jesus-paul/. See further the other discussions in this forum noted above.
[162] In his summary of the constitutive parts of "Common Judaism," Sanders provides Sabbath, food laws, observing the divine law, sending of money to the temple, refusal to worship of other gods, and circumcision. See E. P. Sanders, "Common Judaism Explored," in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism*, eds. Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 11–23, 20–21. For longer explanations, see *idem.*, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990); *idem.*, *Judaism: Practice and Belief 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992).

However, this approach privileges written material and allows the textual communities complete power over the definition of ancient Judaism. My position is that far too much of what was actually practised, thought and believed by ancient people has been lost, or was never recorded in the first place. As such, sweeping claims which essentialise identities around specific criteria may not have reflected the lived experience of an ancient Galilean. If one were to somehow present the "core" of Jewish identity in antiquity as "Temple Loyalty" to a randomly selected group of ancient Galileans, would they all agree? I do not think that this can be answered, and therefore, one must attempt to be open to variously defined ways of being Jewish in the ancient world. Judaism may have been generally understood to consist of the common practices described in much of the Jewish literature of the time. However, we cannot know whether these practices were common across the whole group. We must acknowledge the severe limitation imposed by our lack of access to ancient Judaism and thus properly contextualise what is known about ancient Judaism. We should not assume that the remaining textual witness to ancient Judaism is perfectly representative of this group identity. Commonality is persuasive, but this indicates that there is commonality only within the surviving texts, and this was only certainly shared by these textual communities. While some technical terms (such as "*miqveh*" and "synagogue") will be abandoned later in this thesis, the term "Judaism" and its associative nomenclature will be employed.

Part of the problem for opaqueness in meaning arises from the choice presented by the translation of the term Ἰουδαῖος into English. For many other comparative terms such as Ἀθηναίου or Θρᾷξ there is only one option: "Athenian" or "Thracian."[163] Daniel Schwartz

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[163] Daniel R. Schwartz, "Judeans, Jews, and Their Neighbors: Jewish Identity in the Second Temple Period," in *Between Cooperation and Hostility: Multiple Identities in Ancient Judaism and the Interaction with Foreign Powers*, eds. Rainer Albertz and Jakob Wöhrle, JAJSup 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 13–31, 16. Perhaps tellingly, Schwartz does not cite any such cases, aside from a reference to *CPJ* 151 where identification Ἀλεξανδρές (Alexandrian) has been struck through and superscripted with Ἰουδαίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας (Jew of Alexandria). This emendation appears to have been the work of a scribe, and Victor

proposes that a solution may be found depending on whether the source in question presents the group "as residents of a country or as adherents of a religion," suggesting that First Maccabees employs the former sense, while Second Maccabees embraces the latter.[164] He argues that "Jewish identity in antiquity was anything but ambiguous;" one was a Jew, or one was not.[165] I take issue with this differentiation. Daniel Schwartz's distinction between a "religious" and "geographic" context is unclear when the discussion includes geographic features that have significant religious meanings, such as "the Holy Land" [see 1.4.2] or the Jerusalem Temple. As with Cohen's delineation, this also separates religion from politics. The Hasmoneans were fundamentally religious authorities, whether official or not. Their initial defence of Jewish customs, and subsequent occupation of the high priesthood cannot be separated from their influence over the matters of state for the region. Therefore, distinguishing between a geographical/political and religious sense for this term fails to overcome the inseparability of these features in antiquity. Daniel Schwartz has also distinguished between two approaches to defining Judaism, emic and etic, and highlighted this as a key component of the translation debate.[166] Baker argues that the translation "Judean" does not end issues with how we understand this group. "Judean" as a term is as connected to ethnicity and religion as the term "Jew." These problems are associated with our categorisation of ancient groups and the history of mapping Christian modes of "religion"

Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, *CPJ*, 2:30, suggest that this shows the scribe intended to make it clear that the sender was not a citizen of Alexandria, but only a resident. Returning to the question of translation, further Daniel R. Schwartz, "'Judaean' or 'Jew'? How Should We Translate *Ioudaios* in Josephus?" in *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World – Jüdische Identität in der griechisch-römischen Welt*, eds. Jörg Frey, Daniel R. Schwartz and Stephanie Gripentrog, AJEC/AGJU 71 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–27; *idem.*, "The Different Tasks of Translators and Historians," *Marginalia* (26/08/2014): http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/different-tasks-translators-historians-daniel-r-schwartz/. A similar point is made by Luckritz Marquis, "Re-Presenting Galilean Identity," 67, but with the examples, "Roman," "Egyptian," and "Scythian." The above Greek terms have been taken from their use in *CPJ* 19.

[164] Schwartz, "Judeans, Jews," 17–26. See also the discussion in *idem.*, "*Ioudaios*," ESTJ 2, 363–364; *idem.*, *Judeans and Jews*, 11–20.

[165] Schwartz, "Judaean or Jew," 22.

[166] See Schwartz, *Judeans and Jews*, 91–93.

onto other forms of belief and practice. Thus, whether one chooses the translation "Jew" or

"Judean," one must also grapple with the problem of categorisation and how to approach

group dynamics in the ancient world.[167] I have thus chosen to proceed with the terms "Jew"

and "Judaism." I will now briefly discuss the terms which lie behind these translations which

were used in Jewish texts and placed in the speech or writing of non-Jews.

1.3.3   Emic Definitions of Judaism

While it can be argued that Judaism began to be formulated prior to the Hasmonean

period, or even afterwards, I will begin this discussion with a brief introduction to the

terminology and the constituent parts of Judaism presented in Jewish texts that were in

circulation or written during the late Second Temple period.[168] Ἰουδαῖος is used in the

Septuagint translations of the Hebrew Bible, and the so-called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha

in various contexts. Usually, the term is found in the plural form, but occasionally as a

singular.[169] It is usually unclear what group is indicated by this term. In Second Kings, it

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[167] Cynthia Baker, "A 'Jew' by Any Other Name?" *JAJ* 2.2 (2011): 153–180.

[168] See also the analysis of terms in Nathan Thiel, "'Israel' and 'Jew' as Markers of Jewish Identity in Antiquity: The Problems of Insider/Outsider Classification." *JSJ* 45.1 (2014): 80–99. See further the contributions of Freyne, "Geography of Restoration," 292; Erich S. Gruen, "Did Ancient Identity Depend on Ethnicity? A Preliminary Probe," *Phoenix* 67.1/2 (2013): 1–22; *idem.*, "Josephus," 489–508; *idem.*, "Kinship Relations and Jewish Identity," in Levine and Schwartz, *Jewish Identities*, 101–116; Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 64; Daniel R. Schwartz, "Mattathias' Final Speech (1 Maccabees 2): From Religious Zeal to Simonide Propaganda," in *'Go Out and Study the Land' (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, eds. Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness and Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSJSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 213–223.

[169] Plural form in 1 Esd. 1:19; 4:49, 50; 6:1; Ezra 5:1; Neh 2:16; 3:33; 4:6; 5:1, 8, 17; 13:23; Esth 3:6, 10, 13; 4:3, 7, 13, 14, 16; 8:3, 5, 9, 12, 16, 17; 9:2, 3, 6, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27; 10:3; Tobit (S) 11:18; 1 Macc 4:2; 11:47, 49, 51; 13:42; 14:33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 47; 2 Macc 1:1, 7, 10; 3:32; 4:11, 35, 36; 5:23, 25; 6:1, 6, 8; 8:10, 11, 32, 34, 36; 9:4, 7, 15, 18; 10:8, 12, 14, 15, 24, 29; 11:2, 15, 16; 12:1, 3, 8, 17, 30, 34, 40; 13:9, 18, 19, 23; 14:5, 6, 14, 37, 39; 15:2, 12; 3 Macc 1:8; 3:3, 27; 4:2, 17, 21; 5:2, 3, 6, 13, 18, 25, 35, 42, 48; 6:17, 18, 30; 7:10; Sus (Th) 1:4; Dan 3:8, 12 (OG and Th), 97 (Th); Sib. Or. 4:127; 5:249; Let. Aris. 1, 6, 10, 11, 12, 22, 23, 30, 35, 83, 107, 307, 318; Jub. 1:1; 4 Macc 5:6; Theod. Fragment 1 (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.22.1); Aris. Ex. 1 (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.25.1); Artap. (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.23.1; 9.27.1, 2, 21, 22, 31, 34, 35, 37); Eup. (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.26.1; 9.30.4; 9.34.1, 2, 8; 9.39.2, 5; Clement *Strom.* 1.141.4). Instances in Josephus are too numerous to discuss in brief here. Philo – *Decalogue* 96; *Embassy* 117, 129, 155, 160, 170, 178, 194,

stands in the place of יְהוּדִ֔ים ("Yehudim," MT 2 Kgs 16:6; 25:25), so at least in some

instances it appears as a term for the people of the kingdom of Judah.[170] In a few cases, the

Ἰουδαῖοι are identified as belonging to a particular group; as a group in Jerusalem and in

Egypt (2 Macc 1:1 cf. Let. Aris. 35), in Rome (*Embassy* 155, 160), in Alexandria (*Embassy*

350; *Flaccus* 80), in Antioch (*War* 7.44), as Toubianoi (Tobians, 2 Macc 12:17), and as

Hasideans (2 Macc 14:6).[171] Otherwise, the term is sometimes paired with a kind of group

designator, but usually used on its own. Group terms applied to individual members and

groups-as-a-whole include: ἔθνος ("nation"); γένος ("descendant"); πλῆθος ("multitude");

δῆμος ("people"); πολίτας ("citizen").[172] In some cases, there is also a concept of a territory

associated with this group.[173] The Ἰουδαῖοι can be described in the same terms as other

nations or citizenry of city-states.[174] Thus, the group term in some cases must be analogous in

terms of its standing with these other groups. Concerning the period and authority in question,

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210, 216, 222, 226, 248, 253, 307, 316, 333, 346, 350, 370, 371, 373; *Eternity* 19; *Flaccus* 1, 21, 24, 56, 66, 80, 86, 116, 170, 189, 191; *Good Person* 29, 43, 57, 68, 75; *Mos*es 1.1, 7; *Spec. Laws* 1.97; 2.163, 166; 4.179, 224; *Virtues* 108, 212, 226; singular form in Esth 1:1; 2:5; 3:4; 5:9; 9:29; 1 Macc 2:23; 2 Macc 9:17; 3 Macc 1:3; 3:29; Zech 8:23.

[170] See also 1 Esd 1:19; 4:49, 50; 6:1 (Ezra 5:1).

[171] Cf. Jer 33:2 which has "all the Jews" where the MT has all the cities of Judah. See also Jer 39:12; 45:19; 47:11; 48:3; 51:1. On the Jews in Egypt, see Sylvie Honigman, "Jewish Communities of Hellenistic Egypt: Different Responses to Different Environments," in Levine and Schwartz, *Jewish Identities*, 117–135, 135, who suggests that Jewish Egyptians during the Ptolemaic period understood their own Jewish identity to be "a sub-category of Greek identity."

[172] For ἔθνος ("nation" and ἐθνάρχης ["ethnarch"]): Esth 8:17; 1 Macc 12:3, 47; 2 Macc 4:35; 11:27; 3 Macc 2:27; Jub. 1:1; *Ant.* 11.225, 270, 303, 323, 340; 12.357, 412; 13.1, 143, 166, 214, 243, 401; 14.191, 194; 15.15, 179, 383; 16.56, 158; 17.174, 330; 18.378; 19.278; *War* 2.185, 197; 7.423; *Decalogue* 96; *Embassy* 117, 178, 194, 210, 373; *Flaccus* 1, 170, 191; *Good Person* 75; *Mos*es 1.7; *Spec. Laws* 2.163, 166; 4.179, 224); *Virtues* 212, 226. For γένος ("family," "race"): Let. Aris. 6; *Ag. Ap.* 1.1; *Ant.* 11.207; 17.324; 18.103, 196; *War* 2.101, 119, 308; 7.43, 329, 359, 375; *Life* 16, 382; *Embassy* 178, 346. For πλῆθος ("multitude"): 1 Macc 8:20; Let. Aris. 307; *Ant.* 11.67, 13.353; 14.470; 15.14, 113; 16.27; 17.254, 293, 301; 18.123; 20.7, 120, 133, 173; *War* 1.335, 347, 366; 2.342, 485; 3.18, 151, 471; 5.489; 7.49, 300; *Embassy* 226 cf. of Galileans in *Life* 84, 103, 198, 210, 302, 306. For δῆμος ("people"): 1 Macc 12:6; *War* 7.47. For πολίτας ("citizen"): 2 Macc 5:23; *Virtues* 108. For λαός ("people," "nation"): *Ant.* 11.74; 12.224; 2 Macc 15:12 uses συστήματι ("whole body"). On γένος in Josephus, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος and Related Expressions in Josephus," in Parente and Sievers, *Josephus and the History*, 23–38.

[173] Isa 19:17 [LXX]; Let. Aris. 11, 12, 22, 107.

[174] This term is also debated, but I will not delve into this issue here.

the Hasmoneans themselves appear to have employed the term Ἰουδαῖοι (or היהוים on their

coins) to refer to themselves and the people they ruled over.[175]

1.3.4   Etic Definitions of Judaism

1.3.4.1   Ancient Non-Jewish Perspectives

Many of the sources which record non-Jewish views on the Jewish people as a group

are reported only in Jewish works, principally First and Second Maccabees, and Josephus'

Antiquities. These reports come in the form of letters to the Jews, Judeans or their

representatives, decrees concerning them from other officials, or the wording of treaties.

David Goodblatt records the terms used to describe the Ἰουδαῖοι, the most common across the

three above works being ἔθνος ("nation") (1 Macc 8:23, 25, 27 – treaty with Rome; 10:25 –

Demetrius I; 11:30, 33, 42; 13:36 – Demetrius II; 15:1, 2 – Antiochus VII; 2 Macc 11:25 –

Antiochus V), but there are also several instances of πλῆθος ("multitude") (2 Macc 11:16 –

Lysias; 11:34 – Romans).[176]

Additionally, δῆμος ("people") appears to be used in documents attributed to either the

Romans or Spartans (1 Macc 8:29 – treaty with Rome; 14:20 – Spartans; 15:17; 2 Macc 11:34

– Romans). Jonathan reciprocates this usage in his own reply to the Spartans (1 Macc 12:6).

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[175] David Goodblatt, "'The Israelites Who Reside in Judah' (Judith 4:1): On the Conflicted Identities of the Hasmonean State," in Levine and Schwartz, *Jewish Identities*, 74–89, 83–84, suggests that the Hasmoneans were unable, or did not see the need, to change the group term to "Israelites" following their conquests. For the Hasmonean coins, see Ya'akov Meshorer, Gabriela Bijovsky and Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land: The Abraham and Marian Sofaer Collection at the American Numismatic Society and the Israel Museum*, eds. David Hendin and Andrew Meadows, vol. 1, Ancient Coins in North American Collections 8 (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 2013), 242–257.

[176] David Goodblatt, "From Judeans to Israel: Names of Jewish States in Antiquity," *JSJ* 29.1 (1998): 3–4. Goodblatt mistakenly records the term in 1 Macc 14:20 at ἔθνος rather than δῆμος. Goodblatt further notes that the use of πλῆθος in 2 Macc 11:34 is a variant of δῆμος. On Josephus' representation of Demetrius I's letter in 1 Macc 10:25–45 in *Ant.* 13.48–57, see Luckritz Marquis, "Re-Presenting Galilean Identity," 57.

There is some debate about the authenticity of these documents.[177] If these documents are

reliable transmissions of non-Jewish references toward the Jewish collective, then this

suggests further that there was a broad agreement between emic and etic designations for the

Ἰουδαῖοι.[178] If they are not, then they only add to the evidence of the terms used emically.

Berthelot notes that the Romans classed the Jews as a *gens* ("people, tribe"), a *natio*

("nation"), and also a *religio* ("religion"). The category Jewish was viewed from the outside

in multiple ways.[179] Non-Jews understood that Judaism consisted of daily and weekly

worship, observing the Sabbath, the practice of circumcision, some purity observances and

that they supported the Jerusalem Temple.[180] Against the notion that "religion" should be

separated from a place, it is interesting to note that Apion accuses the Jews of not being true

citizens of Alexandria, as they did not worship the gods of the city (*Ag. Ap.* 2.32, 38, 65).

Here, citizenship, ethnicity and cultic observance are all woven together within a negotiated

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[177] Goodblatt, *Elements*, 146, argues that scholarship considers the documents generally genuine. For more detailed arguments, see Ory Amitay, "The Correspondence in *I Maccabees* and the Possible Origins of the Judeo-Spartan Connection," *SCI* 32 (2013): 79–105; Altay Coşkun, "'Friendship and Alliance' between the Judaeans under Judas Maccabee and the Romans (*1Macc* 8:17–32): A Response to Linda Zollschan's *Rome and Judaea*," *Electrum* 25 (2018): 85–125; Israel Shatzman, "The Integration of Judaea into the Roman Empire," *SCI* 18 (1999): 49–84. Against the authenticity of these documents, see Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 748–751; *idem*., "The Purported Jewish-Spartan Affiliation," in *Constructs of Identity*, 153–166.

[178] Outside of these references, for ἔθνος ("nation" and ἐθνάρχης ["ethnarch"]): 1 Esd 8:10; 1 Macc 15:1; *Ant.* 11.123, 184; 12.6, 135, 417, 418; 13.48, 126, 127, 320; 14.195, 209, 211, 212, 226, 245, 248, 306, 317; 16.162; 19.283, 284, 285, 309; 20.11. For γένος ("family," "race"): Esth 6:13; *Ant.* 12.226; *Ag. Ap.* 1.179 cf. 1 Macc 12:21. For δῆμος ("people"): *Ant.* 13.260. For πλῆθος: *Ag. Ap.* 1.313. For φυλή ("tribe"): *Ant.* 14.115. For πολίτας ("citizen"): 2 Macc 9:19. For λαός ("people," "nation"): *Ag. Ap.* 1.313. Instances of the term being put in the speech of non-Jews but without any further designators include: 1 Esd 2:14, 17; 6:8; Ezra 4:12; 6:7–8; Neh 3:34; 6:6; Esth 5:13; 6:10; 8:7, 13; 9:12; 1 Macc 8:31; 10:23, 29, 33, 34, 36; 11:50; 14:22; 2 Macc 9:4; 11:24, 27, 31; Dan 3:8; Bel 28 (OG and Th); Sus 22–23 (OG); 3 Macc 2:28; 5:20, 31, 38; 7:3, 6; 4 Macc 5:7 (also employing the term θρησκεία [religious worship, cult, ritual]). Cf. 4Q242 1:4. See also Cohen, "Ioudaios," 769–770; Wills, "Jew, Judean, Judaism," 185.

[179] Katell Berthelot, "To Convert or Not To Convert: The Appropriation of Jewish Rituals, Customs and Beliefs by Non-Jews," in Gasparini et al., *Lived Religion*, 493–515, 494.

[180] Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Common Judaism in Greek and Latin Authors," in *Redefining First-Century Jewish and Christian Identities: Essays in Honor of Ed Parish Sanders*, eds. Fabian Udoh et al. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 69–87, discusses the support of these notions in Greco-Roman literature, following the principal parts of "Common Judaism" established by E. P. Sanders. Cohen establishes that little else seems to have caught the attention of non-Jewish writers about the particularities of Jewish practice. An invaluable resource for Greek and Roman authors views on Jews and Judaism can be found in Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976–1980).

identity. Indeed, Josephus' response to Apion is that the Jews in Antioch are Antiochians, and

those in Ephesus are Ephesians (*Ag. Ap.* 2.39). Philip Esler suggests that Ἰουδαίος functions

as an ethnic rather than religious term in *Against Apion*.[181] Yet at least for Apion, there does

appear to be some contestation over the acceptance of the Ἰουδαίοι as Alexandrians, as it is

specifically cultic issues which they refuse to take part in. The differences between ethnicity

and religion are not so easily teased apart.

1.3.4.2   Views from Modern Archaeology

While most archaeological and historical work does not explicitly draw connections

between the identity of ancient residents of Palestine and the modern State of Israel, a clear

agenda is visible in how many archaeological discoveries are reported or discussed outside of

academic works. Keith Whitelam demonstrates how this agenda affects academic discussions

in *The Invention of Ancient Israel*. While his focus is principally on theories around the early

origins of Israel and the Davidic/Solomonic kingdoms, his critique is important for this thesis.

He points out that the way in which certain places are interpreted and incorporated into

national agendas. While not as explicit as it once was, the Masada myth was connected to the

national ethos of the State of Israel, and tourists to the site are still treated to video-

presentations which ask the visitor to place themselves into the past, as noble resistance

fighters against an imperial power.[182] In the histories of the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman

periods, the role of the Hasmonean and Herodian states in unifying a region and establishing a

clear precedent are clearly adopted into national claims. So-called *miqva'ot* are regularly used

to show that an ancient settlement was Jewish [see 2.3]. Sometimes scholars instead will use

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[181] Esler, "Judean Ethnic Identity," 73–74.
[182] Keith W. Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History* (London: Routledge, 1996), 16–18. My visit took place in summer 2018 and this was the case at the time.

these remains to identity a "settlement where Jews lived" but almost always the presence of these structures enables historians to clearly identify not only the demographics of an ancient settlement, but also how this group self-identified. A further idea, usually not stated in scholarship, but easily found in online media and comment sections, is that these installations show that the Jewish people were always in this region, and that this establishes a claim to the region. The presence of synagogues in late Antiquity is used in much the same way. Most of the time, this is not an explicit intention of the scholars writing about these remains, yet one cannot fail to see how this information may be used.[183]

Thus, to ensure that these remains are not uncritically used as a weapon in modern disagreements, one must be careful in the ways these sites are discussed.[184] This influences how ancient settlements are named, how areas are grouped, how artefacts properly relate to their users, and necessitates a careful discussion of ethnicity, its boundaries and markers.[185] The delineation of boundaries through a collection of archaeological signifiers gives those signifiers meaning which they may never have possessed. What was deposited in the ground and subsequently unearthed may have been significant for those who left it, or equally may not have been meaningful to the question of identity.[186] Some of these issues can be seen in

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[183] Halvor Moxnes, "The Construction of Galilee as a Place for the Historical Jesus – Part II," *BTB* 31.2 (2001): 65–66.

[184] See also Philip R. Davies, "Between Text and Archaeology," *DSD* 18.3 (2011): 318, who notes that in addition to examining the ideology behind an ancient text, archaeological remains be also understood in context with the choices made before and during the excavations and in the presentation of the published finds. See also Davies' comments in *idem*., "The Intellectual, the Archaeologist and the Bible," in *The Land that I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of J. Maxwell Miller*, eds. J. Andrew Dearman and M. Patrick Graham, JSOTSup 343 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 239–254.

[185] Whitelam points out the effects of using certain toponyms for time periods. For instance, scholars using Canaan until the point where David is supposed to have unified the region, then switching to Israel, adopt polemical terms from biblical texts and place these straight into their own history writing. Further, Palestine is often interchanged with the terms Greater Israel, Eretz Israel, "the Holy Land," the Davidic Kingdom, or the nations of Israel and Judah. It can also cover the Phoenician coast. Palestinian remains are indistinguishable from remains of "Greater Israel" and Palestine, and its ancient inhabitants are subsumed into a monolithic culture, which was polemically presented against others in the long distant past and today. See Whitelam, *Invention*, 40–45, 84–85, 174–175, 222 for various examples of how terms are used.

[186] Marianne Sawicki, "Archaeology as Space Technology: Digging for Gender and Class in Holy Land," *MTSR* 6.4 (1994): 335. See also the more positive view of the usefulness of archaeology in discussions of ethnicity in

Miriam Peskowitz discussion of the issues of nomenclature for Palestine (i.e. "the Holy

Land"), the colonialist enterprise behind early (and more modern) archaeology, the

idealisation of excavation for believers, and the removal of later habitation to understand the

ancient history of Sepphoris.[187] Halvor Moxnes also draws attention to the ways in which

Galilee was described as part of "the Holy Land" during the 19th and early 20th century, and

how this discussion served the European empire's opposition to the Ottoman Empire.[188]

Another example pertinent to the archaeology of Galilee is the identification of a pottery

type, usually termed "Galilean Coarse Ware" (GCW), as "pagan" or "non-Jewish."[189] Aviam

suggests that this type of roughly made ware is indicative of pagan people in Galilee prior to

the 1st century BCE.[190] The ware was phased out of usage around the beginning of the 1st

century BCE and new, and better produced, pottery began to be used across the region.[191] This

change in the pottery habits is assigned to the Hasmonean expansion and the hypothesis that

Judeans began to settle in Galilee and the surrounding areas. GCW has been found at sites

with supposedly "pagan" artefacts including the aforementioned items at Mizpe Yamim [see

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Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What Is Remembered and What Is Forgotten in Israel's History," *JBL* 122.3 (2003): 401–425.

[187] Miriam Peskowitz, "Empty Fields and the Romance of the Holy Land: A Response to Marianne Sawicki's 'Archaeology' of Judaism, Gender, and Class," *MTSR* 9.3 (1997): 259–282, especially 271–273. This article responds to Sawicki, "Archaeology as Space Technology," 319–348. Sawicki defended her initial comments and expanded upon her argument here in *idem*., "Having Been Outed as a Crypto-Christian Anti-Semite, Can One Say 'Shalom'?" *MTSR* 9.3 (1997): 283–293.

[188] Halvor Moxnes, "The Construction of Galilee as a Place for the Historical Jesus – Part I," *BTB* 31.1 (2001): 32.

[189] Mark A. Chancey, "The Ethnicities of Galileans," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 112–128, 114–115, suggests that the identity of the users of GCW are unclear, but that there is no evidence for Iturean occupation in Galilee. Frankel et al., *Settlement Dynamics*, 108–110; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 113. For pagan identification, see Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 22–25. Cf. Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Nimrod Getzov, "Phoenicians and Jews: A Ceramic Case-Study," in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History and Ideology*, eds. Andrea M. Berlin and J. Andrew Overman (London: Routledge, 2002), 74–83, who employ storage jar types to argue that "two separate ethnic groups" occupied Yodefat and Bet Zeneta during the Early Roman period.

[190] Mordechai Aviam, "Distribution Maps of Archaeological Data from the Galilee: An Attempt to Establish Zones Indicative of Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 115–132, 116–117.

[191] This took place in various sites, see Aviam, "Transformation from *Galil*," 15; Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 22, 52, 94–96; James F. Strange, "Gush Ḥalav," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 389–403, 398.

1.2.3], and three bronze figurines found at Beer Sheba (3km west of Mizpe Yamim). Aviam maintains that these sites with GCW were home to "a pagan, autochthonic, mountainous population."[192] In this case, a handful of items are used to identify a whole group of people, because those items were found near a type of widespread pottery.

These associations, made directly between a group of material artefacts and a group of people, are often problematic and based on wider assumptions about the settlement, region or society from which they come. A number of scholars have problematised this and I am of the opinion that their well-founded critiques have not been sufficiently engaged with or incorporated into the analysis of many studies of the archaeological remains from the northern territory of the Hasmoneans and Herodians.[193] An assemblage of particular vessel types, plaster installations, zoological remains, architectural features, coins, oil lamps, and lacuna of materials which are found "outside" of Galilee all suggest a fairly distinct region, although the strength of the connections between many of these types of material and a particular group are weak. Furthermore, Jones forcefully argued in 1997 that the identification of ethnic groups with "neatly packaged territorially bounded culture-bearing units" is a mistaken assumption.[194] While the argument here was not directed at the identification of Jewish sites, Jones subsequently applied this approach to the connection between archaeology and Judaism in the ancient world. She argues that a position which identifies Jewish communities from an analysis of a few archaeological signifiers assumes that Judaism and Jewish culture is

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[192] Aviam, "Transformation from *Galil*," 12–16.

[193] See the arguments of Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, particularly 24, 39, 123; *idem.*, "Identities in Practice: Towards an Archaeological Perspective on Jewish Identity in Antiquity," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-Identification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, eds. Siân Jones and Sarah Pearce, JSPSup 31 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 29–49, 39; Hayim Lapin, *Rabbis as Romans: The Rabbinic Movement in Palestine 100–400 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5–6; Milton Moreland, "The Inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods: Probes into the Archaeological and Literary Evidence," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 133–159; Whittaker, "Ethnic Discourses," 194, 202.

[194] Jones, *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 104. Jones has further specifically argued this case regarding the identification of archaeological remains and Jewish groups in antiquity. See *idem.*, "Identities in Practice," 29–49.

"monolithic and homogeneous across diverse social and historical contexts."[195] Some scholars

have approached the region (or ancient Palestine more generally) from this nuanced position.

For example, Bonnie has argued that it is "often hard to distinguish" Jewish from non-Jewish

people in Galilee.[196] This challenge should be seriously reckoned with. I do not think that the

weight of the evidence is so overwhelming that we can determine the specific use of a

particular artefact by a particular group.

1.3.5   Summary

Scholars have arrived at a set of characteristics which appear to be relatively common

features of the descriptions of Judaism in ancient texts. Examples of cultural markers of

Judaism include the "circumcision of male infants, avoidance of pork, observance of the

Sabbath, and endogamy."[197] Judaism appears to have been viewed as a single religion by both

insiders and outsiders, grouped around shared practices of Sabbath observance, food laws, and

the temple cult.[198] This perspective should be tempered by the fact that we are in essence

dealing with a handful of sources, which while they agree on some points of commonality,

nevertheless draw distinctions between groups, and define different practices as important.[199]

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[195] Jones, "Identities in Practice," 34. See also Karen B. Stern, "Limitations of 'Jewish' as a Label in Roman North Africa," *JSJ* 39.3 (2008): 307–336.

[196] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 5. See similar comments in Millar, *Roman Near East*, 344.

[197] Goodblatt, *Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 29–30.

[198] Roland Deines, "The Pharisees Between 'Judaisms' and 'Common Judaism'," in *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, eds. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien and Mark A. Seifrid (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 443–504, 453; Martin Goodman, "Religious Variety and the Temple in the Late Second Temple Period and Its Aftermath," *JJS* 60.2 (2009): 203.

[199] Cecilia Wassen, "The Jewishness of Jesus and Ritual Purity," *JSNCT* 27 (2016): 12, allows that "Common Judaism" must allow for some difference within its own unifying terminology. Raimo Hakola, "Social Identities and Group Phenomena in Second Temple Judaism," in Luomanen, Pyysiäinen and Uro, *Explaining Christian Origins*, 259–276, 271–272, suggests that these disagreements were not evidence of different "Judaisms," but are part of intergroup conflicts between groups perceived as being similar. Judaism as a singular category can be conceived of against the outgroup of the gentiles.

Judaism was never static, and changed in response to the effects of cultural contact with the Hellenistic world, power struggles around the control of the temple cult, the change of political leadership in the region and the ever increasing role of Rome in local politics.[200] Finally, I must acknowledge a conscious tension between realising my own situated standpoint, that I approach ancient Judaism from an etic perspective, outside of the historical period, and also outside of Jewish tradition. This must be held against, or even informed by the problem of "othering" those who I identify as ancient Jews.[201] In short, for my purposes, while I will employ the terms Jew and Judaism and even discuss how artefacts and spaces can be understood as Jewish, this should be understood as an open-ended conception that allows for difference and uncertainty.

1.4   Defining Place and Space

This study examines ancient Galilee, and texts and materials which relate to the region through the lens of spatial theory. By doing so, I aim to view these materials in a new light that will allow for a new understanding of some of the variety of ancient Jewish practice. The terms place and space are difficult to work with consistently. As each word is non-technical and appears ubiquitously in everyday language, they are often understood synonymously and used interchangeably. Spatial theorists frequently distinguish between the two but exactly what each term is used to signify differs from theorist to theorist. For instance, place may be

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[200] Lee I. Levine, "Jewish Identities in Antiquity: An Introductory Essay," in Levine and Schwartz, *Jewish Identities*, 12–40, 16–17.

[201] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003), 11–12. See also Pamela Shurmer-Smith and Kevin Hannam, *Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power: A Cultural Geography* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 18; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (London: Routledge, 2013), 66–111, 75. See also J. Maggio. "'Can the Subaltern Be Heard?': Political Theory, Translation, Representation, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak," *Alternatives* 32 (2007): 426–427, on the academic who silences even as they attempt to empower.

conceived of as a specific locale, while space is an abstract void.[202] Alternatively place is

sometimes used to describe the ground of being, where space is more particular.[203] Space can

used as a term for both this ground and the medium which connects placed people together.[204]

While the distinction between these two terms may appear to be quite arbitrary, defining place

as essentially organised space is problematic. This can erase certain embodiments of place

which would not traditionally be understood as places. Choices are made in describing space

which place emphasis on certain sites, and these choices may be detrimental to certain groups.

Thus, while my usage of space and place will ultimately ignore the implications of how these

terms are used and what this means for human experience, I want to first acknowledge this

deficiency. This project is not an examination of spatial theory itself, but rather an approach to

ancient identity complemented by insights from spatial theorists.

For my purposes, I will use space to discuss concepts rooted in human experience.

These concepts, such as "the Holy Land," may have very loose boundaries and can

encompass sets of relational ideas, while others, such as "the body," at first seem to be clearly

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[202] Tim Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 14–15, characterises place and space in this way, drawing from Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 6. Similarly, Paulo Barroso distinguished sacred space from space, insofar as religious spaces are demarcated territory that are qualitatively different from other spaces. He describes space as homogeneous, continuous, unlimited and necessary, i.e., an empty container for all things; Paulo M. Barroso, "The Semiosis of Sacred Space," *Versus* 125.2 (2017): 342, 350–351. Doreen Massey also describes places as "integrations of space and time," where memory, continued practice and outward connections are important to consider; Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 130.

[203] Cresswell notes that Michel de Certeau makes exactly this move; Cresswell, *Place*, 70; Smith, *To Take Place*, 40, drawing from Roger Bacon, "place is the 'beginning of our existence'."

[204] As articulated in Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986): 23. Henri Lefebvre describes space as a "social reality" which has "a set of relations and forms," See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 116. For space as a "system of relations" see Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," 16. Patrick Schreiner, "Space, Place and Biblical Studies: A Survey of Recent Research in Light of Developing Trends," *CurBR* 14.3 (2016): 342, discusses how space has been understood in one sense as a container, and then also in a second sense as a "network of relations." Schreiner's article is a good introduction to spatial theory and its application in biblical studies. See further Jon L. Berquist, "Critical Spatiality and the Construction of the Ancient World," in *'Imagining' Biblical Worlds: Studies in Spatial, Social and Historical Constructs in Honor of James W. Flanagan*, eds. David M. Gunn and Paula M. McNutt, JSOTSup 359 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 14–29; Mark K. George, "Space and History: Siting Critical Space for Biblical Studies," in Berquist and Camp, *Constructions of Space I*, 15–31; Eric C. Stewart, "New Testament Space/Spatiality," *BTB* 42.3 (2012): 139–150.

bounded, yet after consideration actually extend outward as social entities. In doing so, I will leave behind the term place, instead opting to use locale as a technical term to indicate bounded geographical areas, such as a domicile or physical remains of a settlement.[205] The concept of "the Holy Land" may be understood as a space.[206] The borders of such an area may or may not be clearly defined and are contested. "The Holy Land" contains different subsets of related concepts, which may include or exclude different places, groups, features or ideologies. The term space can describe this, without having to define its limits, or take a stance on what "the Holy Land" is or is not. Locale, on the other hand, may be more easily defined. My definition of locale includes clear boundaries and is a differentiated section of space.[207] This is not to say that a locale cannot be experienced externally, that all relations begin and end at these boundaries. The locale of a temple may be experienced through its representations around the world, but at this point, I would describe this as an experience of the temple's space. This can be understood as "container image schema," a categorical definition discussed by Johnson and Lakoff. A container image schema has a clear boundary between what it contains, and what it outside. The container image schema limits its contents.[208] For example, Manhattan is a locale, an island surrounded by water, but the experience of Manhattan is felt around the world, is represented in images, slogans, movies,

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[205] I thank Ryan Turnbull this suggestion. When "place" appears in this thesis, I use it colloquially.

[206] Doron Mendels has articulated the scope of the notion of "the Holy land" thusly, "people have thought of it in realistic terms, in utopian terms, given it all kinds of contours, indulged in theological and political speculations, and even painted it without ever seeing the physical landscape." See Mendels, *Memory in Jewish*, 90. "Holy Land" is used in Ezekiel, but also elsewhere in documents such as Second Maccabees, the Temple Scroll, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Testament of Job, Pseudo-Philo, Second Baruch, and Fourth Ezra in a variety of ways, with multiple meanings.

[207] Ingold approaches this definition with his concept of "dwelling" whereby the process of inhabiting a land constitutes a place in that land. See Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 149.

[208] See Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 22, 36, who describes a linguistic theory of categorisation. I find it help to conceive of places in a similar way to Johnson's description of a container image schema. See also Lakoff, *Women, Fire*, 272–273.

and more. At this point, Manhattan is a discursive space, where the notion of what it means is

up for negotiation.[209]

1.4.1   Spatial Theories

In order to analyse the spaces of ancient Galilee, I will draw from the work of various

theorists, whose insights can help direct our attention to under-examined facets of ancient

materials. The first of these theorists, Henri Lefebvre, was a Marxist social geographer, whose

free-flowing style of writing makes it difficult to take away a systemic methodology.[210]

Principal concepts drawn from Lefebvre's work include the three-fold division of space:

spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation.[211] These can be

broadly understood as the physical and material world including bodies, gestures and

movements in themselves (spatial practice), imagined conceptions of places, and conceptions

associated with particular places (representations of space), and produced spaces where

physical and mental spaces are experienced socially (spaces of representation). Each of these

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[209] Julia Rhyder, "Space and Memory in the Book of Leviticus," in *Scripture as Social Discourse: Social-Scientific Perspectives on Early Jewish and Christian Writings*, eds. Jessica M. Keady, Todd E. Klutz and C. A. Strine (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 83–96, 86, uses New York to illustrate a similar point about Lefebvrian space.

[210] A good introduction to Lefebvre and particularly his influential work, *The Production of Space*, see Roland Boer, *Marxist Criticism of the Bible: A Critical Introduction to Marxist Literary Theory and the Bible*, BibSem (London: T&T Clark International, 2003), 87–98. A biography of Lefebvre can be found in David Harvey's afterword to Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 425–431. This "free-flowing" style can be in part attributed to how Lefebvre "wrote" his works, by dictating them to a typist and publishing them without many edits. See Sytze F. Kingma, Karen Dale and Varda Wasserman, "Introduction: Henri Lefebvre and Organization Studies," in *Organizational Space and Beyond: The Significance of Henri Lefebvre for Organization Studies*, eds. Sytze F. Kingma, Karen Dale and Varda Wasserman, Routledge Studies in Management, Organizations and Society (New York: Routledge, 2018), 1–24, 1. For the impact of Lefebvre, David Harvey and Edward Soja in biblical studies, see Matthew Sleeman, "Critical Spatial Theory 2.0," in *Constructions of Space V: Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. Gert T. M. Prinsloo and Christl M. Maier, LHBOTS 576 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 49–66.

[211] I follow Soja's translation here of "espaces de la représentation" as "spaces of representation." See, Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 30, note on 61. Donald Nicholson-Smith instead translates this as "representational spaces." See Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 33.

aspects makes up space itself and should not be too readily separated. Lefebvre reminds us

that these "realms should be interconnected, so that the 'subject', the individual member of a

given society may move from one to another without confusion."[212] The terms "Firstspace,"

"Secondspace," and "Thirdspace," were coined by Edward Soja whose work has often been

taken to be a helpful explanation of Lefebvre's ideas.[213] Although many who work with

spatial theory have resorted to using Soja's terminology, some of the rich meaning of

Lefebvre's work may be lost when these three spaces are too clearly distinguished from one

another. Lefebvre's contribution towards the study of space is one which pays attention to the

lived experience of those who produce and use any given space.

Spaces are produced for particular purposes, but through their use can fulfil or counter

these aims in design.[214] As many of the materials that will be used throughout this thesis are

"silent" i.e., without accompanying explanations, this approach requires a disciplined

imagination which encompasses known practices from comparable situations but is not

limited to one particular image of a spatial user. Lefebvre further denotes some concepts

which relate to social space. Social space has a form, which is managed by boundaries,

contours, limits and volumes. This is distinct from the way a social space is structured, where

power, gender, class, age, and wealth, among other things, determine how a space is

navigated. Finally, social space is also functional. It performs varied purposes, which can be

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[212] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 40.

[213] Soja has his own insights, but his work is often used to explain Lefebvre. Soja first brought attention to Lefebvre's work in Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989). He later developed his reading in *idem.*, *Thirdspace*, 30–71, here explaining his use of the terms "Firstspace," "Secondspace," and "Thirdspace." A good account of the difference between Soja and Lefebvre can be found in Christopher Meredith, "Taking Issue with Thirdspace: Reading Soja, Lefebvre and the Bible," in *Constructions of Space III: Biblical Spatiality and the Sacred*, eds. Jorunn Økland, J. Cornelis de Vos and Karen Wenell, LHBOTS 540 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 75–103. For an overview which draws connections between the two figures, see Paula M. McNutt, "'Fathers of the Empty Spaces' and 'Strangers Forever': Social Marginality and the Construction of Space," in Gunn and McNutt, *Imagining Biblical Worlds*, 30–50, 31–37.

[214] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 143.

different for different individuals on the basis of how they fit, or do not fit, into the structure

of the social space. Purposes change over time, change depending on the user, and may have

never been realised between the space's initial purpose as intended by its producers, and its

use.[215] Furthermore, Lefebvre articulates the difference between the "producers" and "users"

of space.[216] He spends more time discussing the "users" who can be identified with

"consumers" in modern capitalist culture. Producers' ideological perspectives and needs are

often displayed prominently in architecture. The impact of users, meanwhile, can be far more

transient. An example can be seen in the graffiti placed on a statue. The statue itself represents

a particular ideology, as having the capacity to commission the work and dedicate a place for

it is not a luxury available to many. While producers typically represent space, users live

space.[217] Graffiti reflects how this space is actually used by the inhabitants of an area. It does

not provide a means to understand the full range of spatial use and experience but paying

particular attention to all the ways a space is used allows a greater understanding of what that

space means. Examining the use of a space allows us an insight into the voice of the voiceless.

Knott provides a four-fold approach to explaining space – its constitution, perception,

activities, and meaning. Knott's use of space more closely resembles how I have chosen to

use the term locale, so I will substitute locale for Knott's space. To speak of the constitution

of a locale is to say something about how the locale is rooted in bodily experiences, what the

locale physically includes and its properties and qualities. Once this is established, one can

consider how such a locale was experienced. This incorporates all sensations and the different

aspects of Lefebvre's tri-fold spatial division. After these, one can think about the activities

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[215] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 147–152.
[216] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 43–44.
[217] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 362–365.

which happened in the locale, and finally, what the locale meant to its users.[218] One would not have to end the discussion here, but for the purposes of this thesis, I will limit my discussion to reconstructions of locales in all the ways they were interacted with during the late Second Temple period.

1.4.2   Contested Spaces

Spaces are inevitably contested. Various flows of power, meaning and control construct space, and thus the social positioning of any person is affected by and affects their experience of space.[219] Spatial reconstruction must involve a thorough analysis of evidence, but openness towards what is possible. This involves an assessment of ideological positions, both ancient and modern. One such conception is the role in which we ascribe gender to spaces or differentiate the use of space according to gender. That is not to say that spaces are not affected by social constructions of gender, but that we are often ill-equipped to analyse how gender affected ancient spaces without first examining our own assumptions about gender roles in antiquity. As such, Massey's observation that space is gendered in various ways in different times and locales affects how we understand gendered space.[220] It must be recognised that where possible, the experience of a man in a given place should not be taken as normative for everyone else.

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[218] See Knott, *Location of Religion*, 127–129. Short explanations of her typological approach can be found in *idem*., "Religion, Space, and Place: The Spatial Turn in Research on Religion," *RelSoc: Advances in Research* 1 (2010): 36; *idem*., "Spatial Theory," 156.

[219] David Harvey, "From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity," in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, eds. Jon Bird et al., FNPCA (London: Routledge, 1993), 3–29, 17, describes Lefebvre's spatial matrix as a framework for "social relations of class, gender, community, ethnicity or race." See also Alison Schofield, "The Em-bodied Desert and Other Sectarian Spaces in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Constructions of Space IV: Further Developments in Examining Ancient Israel's Social Space*, ed. Mark K. George, LHBOTS 569 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 155–174, 156–157.

[220] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), 186.

This is not to argue that all places are differentiated in such gendered ways, but that we should be sensitive to how gender manifests in a place, and when dealing with archaeological remains, what our assumptions are about gendered places. If gender is one gravitational force on a space, so too is power. Spaces involve dynamism, change, and "power-geometry."[221] While it may be proper to speak of a space as being owned, this can have negative connotations for those who do not have power, and overlooks the ability of the powerless to subvert dominant spaces to create their own.[222] Spaces are often subversive, but these subversive spaces are difficult to reconstruct.[223] Indeed, it may even be impossible to properly convey a lost lived experience.[224] I will provide an account for how these considerations may affect our understanding of ancient spaces in Galilee wherein counter-intuitive conceptions about how power and gender were constructed in ancient Galilee can be entertained.

1.4.3   Jewish Space in Galilee

My analysis will examine what is known from our evidence to trace how space could have been constructed in ancient Galilee. Knott notes that both "body and territory are formative" for spatial conceptions of the sacred.[225] To these I would add a third, bridging

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[221] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 265; Halvor Moxnes, "Identity in Jesus' Galilee – From Ethnicity to Locative Intersectionality," *BibInt* 18.4 (2010): 391–392.

[222] Wesley A. Kort, "Sacred/Profane and an Adequate Theory of Human Place-Relations," in Berquist and Camp, *Constructions of Space I*, 32–50, 45 gives special attention to how ownership can reduce place to an object, and "eliminate reciprocity between person and place." See also George, "Space and History," 29, on the subversion of "authorized" meanings of social space.

[223] Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 23.

[224] Spivak, "Sublatern," 90, who writes: "We should welcome all the information retrieval in these silenced areas that is taking place in anthropology, political science, history and sociology. Yet the assumption and construction of a consciousness or subject sustains such work and will, in the long run, cohere with the work of imperialist subject-constitution, mingling epistemic violence with the advancement of learning and civilization. And the subaltern woman will be as mute as ever." See also the discussion in Maggio, "Subaltern," 437, who argues that the subaltern is always speaking, but we are unable to hear.

[225] Knott, *Location of Religion*, 103.

category of "communal." Space arises from embodied experience, but bodies exist in community with one another. Communal space is this collection where bodies come together. A step beyond the communal is the regional.[226] Each of these spaces interact and are dependent upon one another.[227] These all exist along a continuum of human experience. The discussions of bodily and communal space will each receive two chapters, the first in each case establishing the material evidence known from Galilee which relates to this level of space. These chapters will each be followed by a discussion of texts which relate to bodily and then communal space.

### 1.4.3.1		Bodily Space

The human body is its own space and also the means by which other spaces are experienced.[228] Our bodies not only generate the space around us but are also the means by which we categorise the world. Lefebvre notes that "space proceeds from the body" and demarcates the limits of the world around us in terms of proximity to our person.[229] Without a body, there cannot be space. As Tim Ingold puts it, "just as there can be no organism without an environment, so also there can be no environment without an organism. Thus, *my* environment is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me."[230] The body further influences how human beings classify the world. Conceptual boundaries arise from the lived experience of things being inside (physically and mentally) and outside the body. Categories which delineate their contents often follow this so-called "container image

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[226] This adapts Karen Wenell's relational understanding of sacred space in ancient Palestine, which is manifested in states of ritual purity (bodily), contestations of temple space (communal), and approaches to the "land" (regional). See Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 145–146. See also Rieger, "This God Is Your God," 379, also notes that the embodiment of religion connects the divine, bodies and communities together.

[227] As put by Massey, *For Space*, 9, space is "always under construction."

[228] Joel P. Brereton, "Sacred Space," *ER* 12:7982.

[229] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 405.

[230] Ingold, *Perception of the Environment*, 20.

schema."[231] The world itself is only accessed through the body, which enables but also limits

participation in the environment around oneself.[232] Further, religious performance is done

through the body, quite often involving movement. Knott identifies genuflections and bodily

movements as key examples of Lefebvrian "spatial practice." In Knott's definition, ritual

practice "is none other than spatial practice transformed by religious meaning."[233] Bodily

practice produces a bodily space, which can be ritualised and made sacred depending on the

concepts and notions which are embodied in that action. This can happen in religious power

centres, but also in private.[234] It will also be important to consider below four considerations

of bodily space: its constitution, experience, activity and meaning.[235]

I also use purity as a lens through which to view bodily space, for two reasons. First, we

have a great deal of material evidence which probably related to purity conceptions in Galilee,

but a dearth of written documents about daily life in Galilee. These materials can be read in

context with Jewish texts to arrive at some kind of understanding of purity conceptions in

ancient Galilee. Purity is also not simply about one's own body, but existing in relationship to

other bodies, and within ancient Judaism, particularly the relationship to the Jerusalem

Temple and a conception of the "land."[236] This relationship will be developed further in the

chapters on communal [chps. 4 and 5] and regional space [chp. 6]. Second, purity conceptions

involve the enactment of rituals. Ritual itself is deeply connected to bodily space, and as

discussed above, is a suitable way to approach an understanding of ancient Judaism [see

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[231] This is discussed at length by Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, 34, 40. See further Anttonen, "What Is It That We Call Religion," 201–204; Knott, "Inside, Outside," 43–44. This seems to have been prefigured somewhat by Lefebvre already by 1974, where he points to the body as the source of space and that space is configured according to bodily experiences of left/right, up/down, etc. See Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 199.
[232] Other factors seriously impact how the body experiences and creates space. For instance, disability, age, gender, social or financial status among other aspects dramatically affects one's environment. The complex nature of identity means that all attempts to categorise or think about bodies are limited.
[233] Knott, *Location of Religion*, 39–43. See Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 171.
[234] Knott, *Location of Religion*, 60.
[235] See Knott, *Location of Religion*, 129.
[236] Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 68.

1.3.1.4]. Both ritual and identity are important for understanding bodily space. Rituals are key to the enactment of sacred space. This does not have to be fixed in a temple site but can simply be a state in which an individual occupies wherever they are. Individual bodies exist in communities, so to begin to arrive at an understanding of how Galilean religious identity was expressed, we must now turn to an examination of how communities created and used space.

1.4.3.2   Communal Space

I distinguish communal space from bodily space to facilitate the analytical shift from individual to communal practices. Communal space is no less a matter of bodily expression, but I use communal space specifically to conceptualise a localised community gathering. This discussion will examine the remains of purpose-built communal centres in Galilee. The remains of large structures will be each analysed in order to better understand for the full range of different spaces currently known from Galilee. These communal spaces may be understood to have been religious spaces, designed for the ideological needs of the community, yet they could also provide spaces for other types of activities that we may not directly associate with religious expression. Nevertheless, some aspects of Galilean religious identity were enacted through these communal structures. The emphasis on the communal nature of the structures in the discussion explores how different people may have taken part in spatial production as a collective.[237] These spaces further shaped the environment of their immediate surroundings. The reasons why people built communal structures and the activities that took place in such structures show something about the space of the settlement around

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[237] Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 16, discusses the role of social production for religious spaces.

them. Space is lived by people and the social space of a community forms culture, informing

the activities of later users of spaces.[238]

1.4.3.3   Regional Space

The final part of this thesis discusses how Galilean regional identity was expressed in

spatial terms. This third level of space is much more diffuse than the prior two and relies more

heavily on the geographical distribution of some remains which are found across the region,

and the specific ties which the region had to the Jerusalem Temple between the 1st century

BCE and the First Jewish War. I describe these ties as examples of "Temple Loyalty."

Ingold's discussion of landscape is particularly useful for thinking about the temporality

of a region and how to approach archaeological remains which span across long periods. As

he puts it, archaeology is the study of "the temporality of the landscape."[239] A landscape is

always changing, with some features being ephemeral and others seemingly eternal. While a

traveller may pass through a landscape in a day, the plants will change slowly over the

seasons. Trees will grow and eventually die or be removed, but this process may take a

century. The hills themselves rise and fall over millennia. A good description of a landscape

aims to capture something of the change. Paths and tracks show the rhythm of time, the

collected impressions made by actors who moved through a given place.[240] Archaeology aims

to uncover what once was, and by carefully detailing everything that comes out of the ground,

can reconstruct specific changes in the arrangement, in the landscape, of a place. This process

is difficult, and many remains are dated to a general time, but may never have been used by

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[238] Rieger, "This God Is Your God," 353.
[239] Ingold, *Perception of the Environment*, 208.
[240] Ingold, *Perception of the Environment*, 203–204.

even the same generation. A good reconstruction will say something about what a place was

like at a given time but will have to remain relatively open to variability during this period.

Common mistakes are made when the "final" presentation of an area is taken to be

representative of the previous forms of a settlement. For instance, Sepphoris was used as an

example of a large degree of Hellenism in the heart of Galilee.[241] Debates around the dating of

the theatre push this description between the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. Leaving aside the

problematic formulation of architecture showing a cultural change towards a broad concept of

"Hellenism," this takes an image of what Sepphoris was like from remains of the 2nd century

CE, and applies this to historical sources about what the Sepphoreans were doing throughout

the 1st centuries BCE and CE.[242] In summary, certain features of a landscape endure more than

others, and the discussion below will attempt to show where these features were more

permanent, and made more of a mark on the lifescape of ancient Galilee. As put by Yi-Fu

Tuan, humans "can become passionately attached to places of enormous size, such as a

nation-state, of which they can have only limited direct experience."[243] Thus, I suggest that

ancient Galileans understood themselves as living in an important and significant place,

Galilee, and more broadly, the land. Their spatial practices reflected this sense of attachment

to a larger and more abstract notion of space. This perception assisted in the production of

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[241] Richard A. Batey, *Jesus and the Forgotten City: New Light on Sepphoris and the Urban World of Jesus*. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1991), features many artistic renditions of the site and frequently attributes structures of Sepphoris from the 2nd century CE and later to the 1st century CE. Critiques of this work can be found in James D. G. Dunn, "On the Relation of Text and Artifact: Some Cautionary Tales," in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson*, eds. Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins, SCJ 9 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 192–206, 202; Peskowitz, "Empty Fields," 278.

[242] Richard A. Horsley, "Power Vacuum and Power Struggle in 66–7 C.E.," in Berlin and Overman, *First Jewish Revolt*, 87–109, 96; Jeska, "Josephus," 114–117; Peter Richardson, "Khirbet Qana (and Other Villages) as a Context for Jesus," in *Building Jewish in the Roman East* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2004), 55–71, 59–61. See critique of this kind of approach in Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 76; Chancey, "Cultic Milieu," 144; Tsvika Tsuk, "The Aqueducts of Sepphoris," in Martin Nagy et al., *Sepphoris in Galilee*, 45–49, on the date of aqueducts; Ze'ev Weiss, "Josephus and Archaeology," 407; *idem*., "Sepphoris: C. From Galilean Town to Roman City, 100 BCE–200 CE," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 53–75.

[243] Tuan, *Space and Place*, 18.

bodily and communal spatial practices, which in turn reinforced a sense of living in a land for which these practices meant something.

2. The Material Culture of Purity in Late Second Temple Period Galilee

This chapter discusses two phenomena which appear in the Galilean archaeological record: ritual immersion pools and stone vessels. They have been selected as noteworthy because of their widespread prevalence in the region, the fact that they are not found in any great quantity (or even at all) in the surrounding regions, and their connection with an expression of an ideology of purity. Furthermore, they are key artefacts in the discussion around the conception of Jewish identity during the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE in Palestine, often used to identify a site as Jewish.[1] This seems to have become a consensus among scholars, although I do not believe that the case is proven. I will return to this idea following a proper exploration of these materials [see 2.3]. This chapter first discusses Jewish ritual immersion pools including the history of their development, the forms of these pools, the documented pools in Galilee, texts related to ritual bathing in late Second Temple period Judaism, and finally the space of these pools. I then examine stone vessels in the same manner, before finally discussing how ritual immersion pools, stone vessels, space and ancient Jewish identity intersect. These artefacts should be understood as expressions of bodily space and contribute towards a practice of purity observance. The intersection of purity, bodily space and Judaism will be more fully discussed in the following chapter.

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[1] A great many scholars have included them, among other things, as "markers" of Judaism. E.g. Aviam, "Distribution Maps," 118–119; Mark A. Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity, and First-Century C.E. Galilee: The Limits of Evidence," in Rodgers, Daly-Denton and Fitzpatrick McKinley, *Wandering Galilean*, 205–218, 209–210; Annlee E. Dolan and Debra Foran, "Immersion is the New Ritual: The *Miqveh* at Khirbat al-Mukhayyat (Jordan) and Hasmonean Agro-Economic Policies in the Late Hellenistic Period," *Levant* 48.3 (2016): 286–287; Edwards, "Identity and Social Location," 371; Yizhar Hirschfeld, "Jewish Rural Settlement in Judaea in the Early Roman Period," in *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, ed. Susan E. Alcock, Oxbow Monograph 95 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 72–88, 74; Stefanie Hoss, *Baths and Bathing: The Culture of Bathing and the Baths and Thermae in Palestine from the Hasmoneans to the Moslem Conquest, with an Appendix on Jewish Ritual Baths (Miqva'ot)*, BARIS 1346 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 118; Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 28.

2.1   Jewish Ritual Immersion Pools

2.1.1   Terminology for Jewish Ritual Immersion Pools

As far as I am aware, there is no recorded term known in the Second Temple period for the stepped pools commonly called *miqva'ot* (singular *miqveh*). This terminology derives from a Mishnah tractate which discusses the proper procedures for ritual bathing (m. Miqwa'ot). The term itself is taken from the Hebrew for a water reservoir or collection of water (מִקְוֶה/מִקְוֵה/מִקְוָה).[2] *Miqveh* was first applied to the stepped pools discovered at Masada by Yigael Yadin, who consulted with six rabbis who determined that the installations were acceptable as a ritual immersion bath and fulfilled mishnaic requirements.[3] Since then, *miqveh* has become the *terminus technicus* for the ancient stepped pools found exclusively in Hasmonean and Herodian territory.[4] This has also led to the tendency to analyse such installations in light of mishnaic texts, which postdate the appearance of the phenomena by at least three centuries. While it might be possible that the regulations in the Mishnah were

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[2] *HALOT* 2:626; Rick Bonnie, "Bath/Mikveh," in *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity Online*, eds. David G. Hunter, Paul J. J. van Geest and Bert Jan Lietaert Peerbolte (Leiden: Brill), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2589-7993_EECO_SIM_00000401. Stuart Miller notes that *miqveh* was not even a technical term for the earliest rabbinic texts; Stuart S. Miller, "Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Other Identity Markers of 'Complex Common Judaism'," *JSJ* 41 (2010): 235. For a general overview, see *idem.*, "Miqva'ot (Ritual Baths)," *ESTJ* 2, 502–507.

[3] Yonatan Adler covers the history of *miqveh* identification in "The Myth of the *'ôṣār* in Second Temple-Period Ritual Baths: An Anachronistic Interpretation of a Modern-Era Innovation." *JJS* 65.2 (2014): 265–269, 282–283. See also Stuart S. Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Ritual Purity Among the Jews of Roman Galilee*, JAJSup 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 17–20; Stephen D. Ricks, "*Miqvaot*: Ritual Immersion Baths in Second Temple (Intertestamental) Jewish History," *BYUS* 36.3 (1996-1997): 277–278.

[4] Ilan argues that "miqva'ot" must be distinguished from bathing facilities designed to clean the users, suggesting that the term first became a "*terminus technicus*" in the Mishnah; Tal Ilan, "Since When Do Women Go to Miqveh? Archaeological and Rabbinic Evidence," in *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud*, ed. Markham J. Geller, IJSSJ 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 83–96, 84–85, citing the term's use in m. Parah 8:8 in a midrash on Gen 1:10.

applied to these installations in late Second Temple period Galilee, there are two issues which should be considered. The first is the aforementioned temporal distance between the texts which are thought to describe such installations, and the installations themselves. The second issue is the question of the normativity of rabbinic halakah for Jewish practice. Catherine Hezser suggests that one could "allow for limits of interpretability and set clear boundaries for the kind of questions material remains can and cannot answer."[5] These issues prompt me to refrain from interpreting the material phenomena of Second Temple period stepped pools in light of rabbinic sources.[6] For this reason, I will also refrain from terming these stepped pools as *miqva'ot* (but retain other authors' usage in citation).

Other scholars have previously moved away from using *miqveh* as a technical term for these pools. Katharina Galor, for instance, uses "stepped pools" as *miqveh* could apply to natural bodies of water.[7] Stuart Miller suggests that there is no single meaning of *miqveh* until post-Talmudic sources; he thus also uses "stepped pools" to discuss what are commonly termed *miqva'ot*.[8] Galor and Stuart Miller's terminology is not quite specific enough to exclude other stepped pools, presumably used for leisure, which are found in bathhouses throughout the ancient Mediterranean, and also stepped cisterns. More recently, Danielle Fatkin has coined the phrase "purpose-built ritual immersion pools," which is more suitable as a generic term.[9] For this study, I refer to these installations as ritual immersion pools. This essentially means the same as "*miqveh*", but I use it to highlight the fact that we should not assume that these pools were used according to Mishnah Miqwa'ot. Furthermore, while these

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[5] Catherine Hezser, "Correlating Literary, Epigraphic, and Archaeological Sources," in *OHDJL*, 20–21.
[6] This is not to say that it cannot be done, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis.
[7] Katharina Galor, "The Stepped Water Installations of the Sepphoris Acropolis," in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity – Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, eds. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough, AASOR 60/61 (Boston: ASOR, 2007), 201–213, 202.
[8] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 32–33.
[9] Danielle Steen Fatkin, "Invention of a Bathing Tradition in Hasmonean Palestine," *JSJ* 50.2 (2019): 160. Fatkin abbreviates this term as PBRIP.

pools were available for ritual use, this was not necessarily their exclusive purpose. My

terminology reflects my specific interest in these installations' ritual usage, among possible

other uses. It remains likely that many of the pools discussed below were further built

specifically for that use, but at later stages appear to have become dumping pits. Once again,

it is important to distinguish how spaces were intended to be used by their producers, and how

they were used by their users.

2.1.2   Remains of Jewish Ritual Immersion Pools

2.1.2.1   Development

The innovation of the ritual immersion pool adds a further means of ritual washing for

its users. Prior to this, any who wished to ritually wash would have had to either wash in

naturally collected water, or pour water over themselves.[10] Yonatan Adler has suggested that

ritual immersion pools were developed in response to the Hellenistic hip-bath.[11] The hip-bath

had become common during the 2nd century BCE throughout Palestine in Hellenistic

settlements and was also adopted by the royalty and the rich.[12] Adler notes that the

widespread use of these baths probably influenced how people understood the meaning of

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[10] See Hayah Katz, "'He Shall Bathe in Water; then He Shall Be Pure': Ancient Immersion Practice in the Light of Archaeological Evidence," *VT* 62.3 (2012): 370. Katz notes that the third possible method would be to bathe in a built installation.

[11] Yonatan Adler, "The Hellenistic Origins of Jewish Ritual Immersion," *JJS* 69.1 (2018): 1–21. These are discussed at length by Monika Trümper, "Bathing Culture in Hellenistic Domestic Architecture," in *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jh.v.Chr. – 1. Jh.n.Chr. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 24.–27. Oktober 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, eds. Sabine Ladstätter and Veronika Scheibelreiter, OAWPHKD 397 (Vienna: OAW, 2010), 529–572. Birney suggests that Palestinian stepped pools are quite different in placement and presumable function to so-called "Phoenician" bathing practices, although is not aware of the Hasmonean period, public-facing bathhouse of Magdala which limits her conclusions slightly; Kathleen Birney, "Phoenician Bathing in the Hellenistic East: Ashkelon and Beyond," *BASOR* 378 (2017): 203–222.

[12] Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 44.

washing, and an effort to distinguish washing for the purposes of purification and for hygiene led to the development of a separate installation for ritual washing. This also led to the practice of using undrawn water in a further effort to differentiate Jewish purification washing from Hellenistic bathing practices.[13] If this was the case, then ritual immersion pools were deliberately adaptive of a dominant cultural phenomenon that made them suitable for a specifically Jewish practice.

Fatkin points to one of the earliest examples of ritual immersion pools, found in the Hasmonean buried palace at Jericho, which demonstrates a link between the royal and priestly dynasty and the use of these ritual immersion pools. Hyrcanus I helped create the ritual immersion pool as a combination of both a leisure facility and a convenient method of observing ritual purity in the royal palace.[14] The sudden explosion in construction of ritual immersion pools in this period, compared to the dearth of such pools prior, may be explained by the development of a type of water-proof plaster which could coat the walls of depressions to prevent water leakage.[15]

Another possible precursor to the ritual immersion pools was found in excavations at the Idumean city of Maresha. Within a large subterranean bathing complex, several such pools were found which have been dated to earlier than the Hasmonean conquest (i.e., before the end of the 2nd century BCE).[16] If these do predate Hasmonean constructions, then one must

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[13] Adler, "Hellenistic Origins," 15, 20.

[14] Fatkin, "Invention of a Bathing Tradition," 156–164.

[15] Jürgen Zangenberg, "Pure Stone: Archaeological Evidence for Jewish Purity Practices in Late Second Temple Judaism (Miqwa'ot and Stone Vessels)," in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, eds. Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan, *DHR* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 537–572, 543, although I am unclear on how cisterns could be plastered prior to this period if such a development was new.

[16] Dated to prior to the Hasmonean destruction of the city by Amos Kloner, "The Identity of the Idumeans Based on the Archaeological Evidence from Maresha," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, eds. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 563–573, 565–569. See also Bonnie, "Bath/Mikveh." The date of these pools is disputed; Yonatan Adler has yet to examine these pools in person. I thank Yonatan Adler for these brief comments and await further publications on the matter.

question the assumption that these installations were used only by Jews.[17] The developmental

history of the ritual immersion pool is thus still unclear. Further excavations may help to

address the sudden and widespread emergence of these pools, but the direct and material

inspiration for the form of the ritual immersion pool is unknown. The following chapter

discusses the many known and accepted purposes for late Second Temple period Jews to

ritually wash, with the aim of explaining the popularity of these installations.

2.1.2.2   Construction

According to Stefanie Hoss, it would take two people working ten hours a day around

two and a half days to hew a small ritual immersion pool (containing 22 cubic metres of

water).[18] Byron McCane suggests that the average pool measured 2 by 4 metres, which would

then have to have been 2.75 metres deep to reach the capacity suggested by Hoss.[19] It seems

likely that repairs were often required. The large pool at Gamla [see 4.3.1.3] shows two

construction phases. In the second, the walls were bolstered, perhaps to repair damage cause

by the shifting hillside.[20] While the pools were an investment in time, energy and money, the

labour costs were not so prohibitive as to suggest that it would be unusual and extreme waste

for someone to build such a pool. The pool could be used for a generation or more, so the cost

would probably seem quite fair. However, if we assume that the pools were solely used for

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[17] Similarly, the baths known from Samaria-Sebaste also suggest that they were not solely for Jewish use. Martin Jacobs, "Römische Thermenkultur im Spiegel des Talmud Yerushalmi," in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture I*, ed. Peter Schäfer, TSAJ 71 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 219–311, 224, suggests that these pools were conventional cold-water bathing pools as they were part of a bathhouse. However, this context has not prevented similar pools in the Magdala bathhouse from being interpreted as such [see 2.1.5.3].

[18] Hoss, *Baths and Bathing,* 114; *idem*., Stefanie Hoss, "Die Mikwen der späthellenistischen bis byzantinischen Zeit in Palästina," *ZDPV* 123.1 (2007): 66. Hoss draws from the work of Werner Brinker on Mediterranean cisterns.

[19] Byron R. McCane, "Miqva'ot," *EDEJ*, 954–956, 954. The same figures are provided by Ronny Reich, "Ritual Baths," *OEANE* 4:430–431, 430.

[20] Zvi Yavor, "The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Eastern and Western Quarters," in *Gamla II: The Architecture – The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976–1988*, eds. Danny Syon and Zvi Yavor, IAA Reports 44 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2010), 13–112, 58.

ritual purification purposes, then a large quantity of water would be used for non-essential means. In times of drought or civil unrest, this may have been more wasteful use of water than many could afford.[21]

2.1.2.3   Identification

The first major work on Jewish ritual immersion pools was that of Ronny Reich, whose 1990 PhD thesis was finally published in 2013. Reich updated his 1990-era list of 307 possible "*miqva'ot*" to 533, but even then, did not fully document all the then known pools.[22] Already in 2011, Adler's own work provided a longer list of 850 installations, and he had documented over 900 by 2014.[23] More pools are reported every excavation season throughout Palestine.

Since Reich's initial work, two general positions have been staked out with regard to identifying ancient ritual immersion pools. These have been termed "maximalist" and "minimalist," with the maximalists interpreting most stepped pools found in ancient Jewish settlements as "*miqva'ot*." Hoss provides a full list of possible criteria, drawn from the work of Reich, including the following indicative features for a "*miqveh*":[24]

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[21] There is some suggestion that Judith wastes water in Judith 10:3. She undertakes a thorough bath while her city, Bethulia, is suffering a water shortage. See Gera, *Judith*, 331.

[22] See the review of the published book by Yonatan Adler, "Jewish Ritual Baths in Judaea-Palaestina – Ronny Reich, *Miqwa'ot (Jewish Ritual Baths) in the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods* (Yad Ben-Zvi and Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem 2013.) Pp. 352, figs. 289. ISBN 978-965-217-354-6 [Hebrew]," *JRA* 27 (2014): 858–862. Reich has since stated that over 800 installations have been identified in Judea, Galilee and Perea; Ronny Reich and Marcela Zapata-Meza, "A Preliminary Report on the 'Miqwa'ot' of Migdal," *IEJ* 64.1 (2014): 63; Jodi Magness, *Stone and Dung, Oil and Spit: Jewish Daily Life in the Time of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 16–17.

[23] Yonatan Adler, "The Archaeology of Purity: Archaeological Evidence for the Observance of Ritual Purity in *Ereẓ-Israel* from the Hasmonean Period until the End of the Talmudic Era (164 BCE–400 CE) [Hebrew]," (PhD diss., Bar-Ilan University, 2011), *ii, English summary; Adler, "Jewish Ritual Baths in Judaea-Palaestina," 861.

[24] These features are indicative; some are presented as being the minimum requirements for a *miqveh*, while others are required by those who adopt a "minimalist" position on the prevalence of *miqva'ot*. See Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 111. Hoss further notes that Reich's criteria include: the location of the installation was in a private house or near a public building; that it was at least 1.4m deep and could hold a minimum of 40 *seahs* of water (500-750 litres); divided stairs or a double entrance; being combined with a second *miqveh*; alternating wide and narrow steps; combined with a cistern or an *'ôṣār* (*ibid*., 111–112). The "maximalist" position is taken by Boaz

Table 1 – Criteria for Miqveh Identification

Criterion	Usefulness for determining if an installation is a "*miqveh*"
The pool is hewn from bedrock or built into the ground.	This seems to be the case with most installations. The fact that the pools are lowered might mean that they could have been filled with flowing water more easily.
The pool is filled with spring water or rainwater, either through runoff or creative channelling.[25]	Often the means by which a pool was filled has been lost and as such this is a poor criterion. Some pools have intact channels which indicate that efforts were made to fill the installation with flowing water. It may also be noted that it would have been expedient to rely on running water to fill large pools, rather than having to draw and fill manually.
One can enter the installation via a staircase.	This is perhaps one of the key indicators; without a useable staircase, immersion would be difficult. Furthermore, the staircase often takes up a large part of the installation which suggests that holding a maximal amount of water was not a large concern when the installation was built.
The pool can retain enough water for an adult to immerse fully.	This was often facilitated by the steps. This relates in part to the size of a given pool. Installations in private settings are usually small but still hold enough water for one to be able to squat on a broad step and cover the body in water.
Leakage is prevented by layers of plaster.	Almost all ritual immersion pools are plastered; this criterion is a given considering that such a pool must hold water. This excludes some possible uses. The plaster would have been unnecessary for typical storage pits or rooms, so a plastered depression is likely to have held a

Zissu and David Amit, "A Classification of the Second Temple Period Judean *Miqwa'ot* (Ritual Immersion Baths)," in *Speleology and Spelestology: To the Centenary of A. V. Ryumin's Birth, Proceedings of the V International Scientific Correspondence Conference* (Nabereznye Chelny, 2014), 246. This chapter is an updated of Boaz Zissu and David Amit, "Common Judaism, Common Purity, and the Second Temple Period Judean *Miqwa'ot* (Ritual Immersion Baths)," in McCready and Reinhartz, *Common Judaism*, 47–62.

[25] This is drawn from the term מַיִם חַיִּים ("living waters") as used in m. Miqw. 1:8; m. Parah 8:8, which itself draws from the language of Lev 15:13. This phrase is also known from Jos. Asen. 14:12–15; According to Lawrence, by the 1st century BCE it had become a technical term in some texts, such as 11QT 45:15–17, compared with Lev 14:4, 50–52; 15:13; Num 19:17; Jonathan D. Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, AcBib 23 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2006), 84–85, 132–134, 164–165. The phrasing is also known from Did. 7:1. See Peter Richardson, "First-Century Houses and Q's Setting," in *Building Jewish*, 73–90, 78, 88. The requirement for "living water" in a ritual immersion pool is often taken as a necessary requirement, although I do not agree that this had to have been a widespread issue. In fact, the filling method for most pools is now lost. See Bonnie, "Bath/Mikveh;" Hoss, "Die Mikwen," 70. The quantity of water required for immersion may have necessitated a running supply over drawn water. Katz points out that there are only a few instances in the biblical corpus which stipulate that water for ritual washing is "living," these being Numbers 19:17 (corpse impurity), Leviticus 14:5–6 (skin conditions), and Leviticus 15:13 (irregular discharge); Katz, "He Shall Bathe in Water," 377–379.

	liquid, which was almost certainly water considering the volume. Some of the proposed immersion pools at Magdala were not plastered but fed by ground water [see 4.4.1.6]
The staircase is separated in some way.	Only a few pools have divided staircases. This does not seem to have been a common feature. The logic that users should avoid contact after immersion with those who are waiting to enter the pool is derived from Let. Aris. 106–107 which discusses the separation of those going up to the temple and those coming down. Another reason for this category is the fact that some of the first pools found near the Temple Mount in Jerusalem had divided entrances, leading to an initial assumption about the general typology of ritual immersion pools.[26]
Adjacent to the installation is a reservoir pool (often referred to as an *'ôṣār*).	Hanan Eshel argued that the Sepphoris pools could not be identified as such because they lack *'ôṣārot*, basing his argument on a reading of m. Miqw. 6:7–11 and comparison with the identified "*miqva'ot*" of Judea. However, as Adler has argued, the *'ôṣār* is not implied in the Mishnaic text as it concerns the resetting of a dysfunctional *miqveh* by channelling water from a second, adjacent one. If this were the case, then a reservoir without steps would not qualify as a *miqveh*, therefore the presence of an *'ôṣār* is certainly not a requirement for a *miqveh*. Indeed, such reservoir pools are rarely found.[27]
One can rule out the possibility that the installation is a cold plunge pool (a *frigidaria*).	There are two key issues with this criterion. First, it rejects any possible integration ritual and non-ritual bathing. Second, most proposed "*miqva'ot*" are not integrated in bathing suites, so the majority of pools could not be ruled out in any case.
Some scholars might also accept the identification of a "*miqveh*" if it "fits" with its	This is of little use for identification but provides further information about the use or meaning of the ritual immersion pool. Unfortunately, this sometimes can lead

[26] It is unclear if these "double entrances" were intended to separate those descending from those ascending. A similar proposal has been made for at least one of the pools at Qumran [loci no. 48/49, see, Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 145–147, 150, who raises this as a possibility; Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Schweich Lecturers 1959*, rev. and trans. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), plate XXXIX]. Galor dismisses this idea, quite rightly, by pointing out that the supposed dividers create lanes that are too narrow to be of any practical use; Katharina Galor, "Plastered Pools: A New Perspective," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha II: Studies of Anthropology Physics and Chemistry*, eds. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg, NTOA/SUNT 3 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 291–320, 304.

[27] This name is sometimes given in the literature for the occasional (16 certain identifications in Reich's catalogue) reservoir pools that accompany certain *miqva'ot*. Adler has convincingly shown that this is an anachronistic term, which first appeared in the 19th century. Conceptually it has been linked to passages in m. Miqw. although the second order of pools discussed in passages like 6:8 do not concern a reservoir pool, but only paired pools; Adler, "Myth of the *'ôṣār*," 270–274.

surroundings, e.g., that it lies close to a "synagogue."	to scholars "over-reading" installations and structures close to them.

The design of ritual immersion pools is fairly consistent, although the particular aspects of this morphology have caused some suspicion around their identification. Pieter Craffert notes that such pools are usually built either in caves with rock ceilings, or pits cut into the ground. They can be filled by aqueduct, spring, or companion pool, and vary greatly in size, number of steps and associated structures.[28] The range of forms in identified *miqva'ot* have led some, such as Hanan Eshel, to rule out any identification on the basis that they do not have enough features to firmly establish the use of such an installation. This position is certainly a helpful one to bear in mind; it is essential not to "over-read" material remains without carefully ruling out other alternatives or establishing a reasonable hypothesis.[29] However, I agree with the position of Stuart Miller, that we should not expect to see an early, standardized typology of ritual immersion pools. Instead it is likely that they were being developed from a few key ideals.[30] This is not to suggest that these key ideals were anything beyond requiring a structure which could facilitate and hold sufficient water for submersion.[31] Ilan argues that archaeologists can properly determine between a ritual and non-ritual bath, yet outside of a clear prevalence of ritual immersion pools in Judea and Galilee, I do not see a

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[28] Pieter F. Craffert, "Digging up 'Common Judaism' in Galilee: *Miqva'ot* at Sepphoris as a Test Case," *Neot* 34.1 (2000): 43. These companion pools are only infrequently found and have been occasionally identified as *'ôṣārot*. I agree with Adler's position that these companion pools should be understood as such, but only that on occasion, some pools could potentially be filled via an adjacent pool.

[29] Hanan Eshel, "A Note on 'Miqvaot' at Sepphoris," in Edwards and McCollough, *Archaeology and the Galilee*, 131–133.

[30] Stuart S. Miller, "Stepped Pools and the Non-Existent Monolithic 'Miqveh'," in Edwards and McCollough, *Archaeology of Difference*, 215–234, 218.

[31] Contra Ronny Reich and Marcela Zapata-Meza, "The Domestic Miqva'ot," in *Magdala of Galilee: A Jewish City in the Hellenistic and Roman Period*, ed. Richard Bauckham (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2018), 109–125, 110, who write that "when the miqveh was invented, sometime close to the middle of the second century BCE, the religious authorities set several conceptual and technical conditions for its construction." This statement cannot be substantiated and is in fact a retrojection of rabbinic systematisation of ritual bathing installations only inscribed at a much later date. Even then, the earliest textual record of a *miqveh* does not actually describe a built installation, but what water could be considered purificatory. See Patricia Hidiroglou, "L'Eau et les Bains à Qoumrân," *REJ* 159.1–2 (2000): 35.

clear basis for distinguishing these pools between those used for specifically Jewish washing rituals and those used for other bathing.[32]

Sacred spaces are sometimes distinguished from other spaces and kept apart through rituals. These ritual spaces can also become distinguished from similar-appearing spaces that have no ritual function. I am not of the opinion that ritual immersion baths can be distinguished from regular baths, or that ritual baths would only be used for purificatory washing. Even if we were able to tell what any given user intended at a given pool, we do not know whether any individual Galilean pool was restricted to one type of bathing. Nothing about these pools indicates that ritual washing had to be differentiated from regular bathing through location.[33] Moreover, most late Second Temple texts which refer to ritual bathing only note the location as a natural body of water [see 2.1.4]. For the most part, these bodies of water would have multiple functions, and as such, the washing ritual would have had to have been marked through different means.

2.1.2.4   Dating

At this point it is worth digressing a little to discuss the problem of dating for proposed ritual immersion pools. Almost all of the pools were constructed by cutting a pit into bedrock, then covering it with layers of plaster to provide a water-proof sealing. Often this would be

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[32] Ilan, "Since When," 85. See Jacobs, "Römische Thermenkultur," 221, who suggests that the identification of ritual immersion pools with *miqva'ot* is based on an "axiom" rather than archaeological data.

[33] Two examples illustrate this. First, is the argument around the identification of the pools in the Magdala bathhouse, see Stefano De Luca and Anna Lena, "The Mosaic of the Thermal Bath Complex of Magdala Reconsidered: Archaeological Context, Epigraphy and Iconography," in *Knowledge and Wisdom: Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*, eds. Giovanni C. Bottini, L. Daniel Chrupcała and Joseph Patrich, SBFCMa 54 (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2014), 1–33, 4–5, 25 n.18. Second, what is lacking for more or less all of these Galilean pools is a clear association with a cultic centre. The pools around the Jerusalem Temple are perhaps an example of where such pools *may* be intended for solely ritual use. See Eyal Regev, "The Ritual Baths near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before Entering the Temple Courts," *IEJ* 55.2 (2005): 194–204, with response in Yonatan Adler, "The Ritual Baths near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before Entering the Temple Courts: A Reply to Eyal Regev," *IEJ* 56.2 (2006): 209–215.

within a dedicated room, but it could also be inside a cave. As such, no material is found

beneath the pools could provide a *terminus post quem*, as is usual for ancient construction.

For this reason, the pools are often dated according to the dating of related building activities.

Unfortunately, we often cannot know if the pool was constructed at the same time as the

initial construction, or whether the pool preceded it, or was a later addition. The date when the

pool fell out of use can be determined from the date of the material which filled the pool,

although it is worth considering whether the pool may have begun to be filled while it was

still in use if, for example, small vessels may have been dropped in if they were washed.[34]

Dating through vessels is also problematic for precise dating, as vessel types were produced

and used over lengthy periods of time.

2.1.2.5   *Locations of Ritual Immersion Pools in Galilee*

In my own total of Galilean ritual immersion pools, drawn from excavation reports and

the latest studies of Adler and Bonnie, I include 68 installations from Galilee from 35 sites.

This total excludes the pools of Sepphoris, which will be discussed separately below. Once

the pools of dubious date or identification are removed, the total stands at 20 pools from 10

different sites.[35] Even within this total, a sizable proportion cannot be dated to before the

outbreak of the revolt in 67 CE with any certainty. Adler suggests that there is relative scarcity

of pools in Galilee compared to Judea because Galilee has been less extensively excavated

and because there are many natural sources of water, rendering purpose-built installations

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[34] Galor, "Stepped Water Installations," 204. The thought is that the bottom level of the pool would be covered in silt, and that these vessels may sometimes have simply been discarded in this bottom layer rather than fished out. Whether this scenario is entirely likely is debatable.

[35] The sites I consider to be well enough documented to arrive at a secure enough date and identification include: 'En Tut, Gamla, Gush Halav, Kefar 'Othnai (one of these pools), Kh. Qana, Magdala, Meiron, Qeren Naftali, Suwa'id Humeira and Yodefat.

unnecessary.[36] This framing tries to argue that Galilean settlements were full of ritual

immersion pools, and while we might be impressed with the sheer volume of potential sites

spread throughout Galilee, this must be tempered by the fact that there are rarely more than a

couple of pools in any given site.
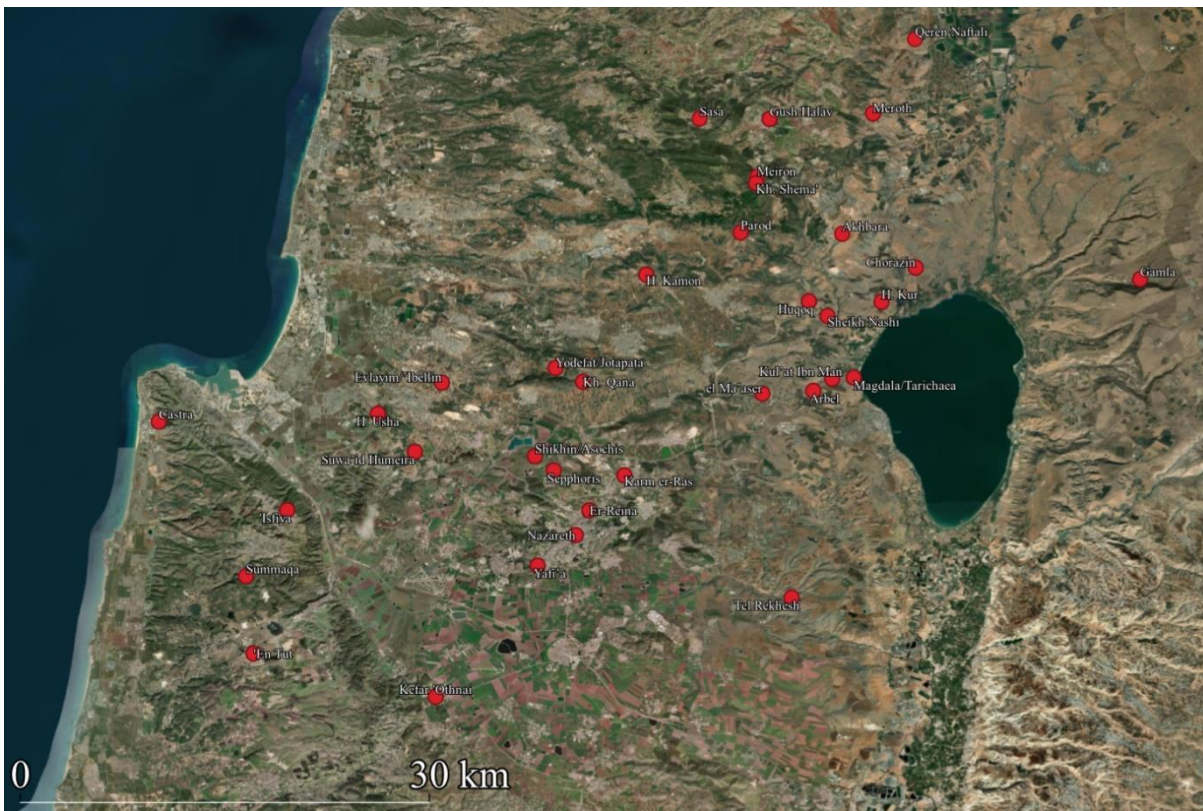
Figure 2 – Ritual Immersion Pool Locations in Galilee

The above map shows the locations of all ritual immersion pools cited in the table

below.[37] This list in not exhaustive, as many authors have mentioned other installations, but

the published materials in which these installations are detailed remain unavailable at this

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[36] Yonatan Adler, "The Decline of Jewish Ritual Purity Observance in Roman Palestina: An Archaeological Perspective on Chronology and Historical Context," in *Expressions of Cult in the Southern Levant in the Greco-Roman Period: Manifestations in Text and Material Culture*, eds. Oren Tal and Ze'ev Weiss, CS 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 269–284, 272.

[37] A similar but less extensive map can be found in Aviam, "Distribution Maps," 118.

time.[38] What can be shown is that Galilean ritual immersion pools began to appear during the early 1st century BCE at the latest and that they are found in all the sub-regions of Galilee: Lower and Upper Galilee, on the western side of the Lake of Gennesareth, and also in the Golan. These pools are found in private, rich residences, in public spaces, in bath houses, in shelter caves, a fortress, nearby cemeteries and communal structures, and in the vicinity of agricultural installations.[39]

Below is a table of identified and published ritual immersion pools in Galilee and the Golan. I have taken dates from published work, although in many cases the date is either rough or not provided due to the already stated issues with dating. In some cases, I have labelled pools as "post-135 CE," drawn from Stuart Miller's cautious dating. These have been included for the sake of completion and the possibility that these pools were constructed at an earlier date:

Table 2 – Locations of Ritual Immersion Pools in Galilee

Site Name	No.	Measurements[40]	Date	Context
Akhbara[41]	1	3.0 (d), 3 steps	Early Roman	Inside a cliff shelter, coins from the Hasmoneans up to Trajan.

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[38] Six further pools have been reported across four sites, but I cannot find further information about these sites. These sites include Zarzir (1); Alonim (1); Nahal Haggit (4); Qedesh (1). On these, see Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 321–323. Of these, Nahal Haggit has Hasmonean coins. Adler has also conveyed to me that there are many other, unpublished pools known from Magdala.

[39] A less expansive list is also given by Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 191.

[40] All measurements are provided in metres with accompanying letter indicating the dimension. W for width, l for length and d for depth. Not all measurements are provided in much of the literature but have been recorded where present. Some of these measurements are not given a clear dimension in the published literature. The measurements are followed by the total steps recorded for each pool. Most data on the pools can be found at https://zenodo.org/record/1482679#.XVP9nehKhPZ, a website created by Rick Bonnie as the data set for the pools recorded in Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329–332.

[41] Yinon Shivtiel, "Artificial Caves Cut into Cliff Tops in the Galilee and Their Historical Significance," in *Hypogea 2015: Proceedings of International Congress of Speleology in Artificial Cavities – Italy, Rome, March 11/17 – 2015*, eds. Mario Parise, Carla Galeazzi, Roberto Bixio and Carlo Germani, 67–76, 73.

Arbel[42]	4+	None provided	Second Temple Period, although disputed by Bonnie and Stuart Miller[43]	Private installations associated with living quarters. Also, one in refuge cave.
Castra[44]	2	None provided	Post-135 CE[45]	No information given.
Chorazin[46]	1	2.0x2.5 (l/w), 9 steps	1st–2nd CE[47]	Room type in domestic structure.
el Ma'aser[48]	1	None provided	Roman period	A cave in the centre of some wine press installations, very uncertain identification on the basis of a field survey.
Er Reina (En Rani)[49]	1	2.1x1.4x2.0 (w/l/d), 3 steps remain	Roman (could be late/ Byzantine)[50]	Ceramics from Hellenistic, Early and Late Roman period in the pool. Context is assumed to have been domestic. Chance find during construction works.
'En Tut[51]	1	c. 1.5 (w), 7 steps	c. 10 BCE–50 CE	Large "public" pool built in a courtyard; agricultural storage vessels found in the courtyard.

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[42] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 252; Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 240; Rick Bonnie only lists two pools at Arbel, both are dated from the 6th century CE. Arbel caves west is also listed by Bonnie but no information is provided for this pool. The Second Temple period dating is based on a single Hasmonean coin found inside the pool; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[43] Included as post-135 CE pools, see Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 25.

[44] David Amit and Yonatan Adler, "The Observance of Ritual Purity after 70 C.E.: A Reevaluation of the Evidence in Light of Recent Archaeological Discoveries," in *"Follow the Wise" – Studies in Jewish History and Culture in Honor of Lee I. Levine*, eds. Ze'ev Weiss et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 121–143, 127.

[45] See fn. 43 above.

[46] Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 182; Ze'ev Yeivin, "Chorazin" *NEAEHL* 1:301–304, 302. Lawrence notes one pool as Rabbinic; Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 253.

[47] See fn. 43 above.

[48] Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 249.

[49] Yardenna Alexandre, "En Rani," *HA-ESI* 117 (2005): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=158&mag_id=110.

[50] See fn. 43 above.

[51] Gerald Finkielsztejn and Amir Gorzalczany, "'En Tut," *HA-ESI* 122 (2010): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1412&mag_id=117.

Evlayim/'Ibellin[52]	1	1.5x1.5x1.6 (w/l/d), 3 steps	Early Roman, but no clear dating from Bonnie	Underground chamber with a hewn arched opening. Suggested hiding complex but could be of different period. 6 by 12 metre excavation.
Gamla[53]	4	Area B (bathhouse): 2.3x2.5x4.4 (l/w/d), 8 steps, later 11 Area B (domestic): 1.2x1.3x1.65 (l/w/d), 5 steps Area A "synagogue": 4.5x4.0x1.55 (l/w/d), 4 steps remain. Oil Press R: 2.5x1.6x1.5 (w/l/d), 3 steps	Second Temple Period	Area B bathhouse is in the same room as a bathtub. Hoss notes that Area B is next to a kitchen. The second Area B pool is assumed to be domestic but is unclear. There is the possibility that the pools of Areas A and B could have been used for meal preparation.[54] Both pools in Area B appear to have become storage pits.[55] Final press in Area R is associated with an oil press.
Gush Ḥalav[56]	1	1.75 (l), 5 steps	Early Roman, out of use between 76–125 CE	No details on location aside from within a building. Suggested by Bonnie to be in domestic settings.

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[52] Rafeh Abu Raya, "Evlayim (B)," *HA-ESI* 120 (2008): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=896&mag_id=114; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[53] Yonatan Adler, "Second Temple Period Ritual Baths adjacent to Agricultural Installations: The Archaeological Evidence in Light of the Halakhic Sources," *JJS* 59.1 (2008): 62–72, 64; David Goren, "The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Hasmonean Quarter (Areas D and B) and Area B77," in Syon and Yavor, *Gamla II*, 113–152, 137–139, 145–147; *idem*., "Oil Presses at Gamla," in *Oil and Wine Presses in Israel from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods*, eds. Etan Ayalon, Rafael Frankel and Amos Kloner, BARIS 1972 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 75–81, 77; Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 183–184; Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 253; Danny Syon, "Gamla: City of Refuge," in Berlin and Overman, *First Jewish Revolt*, 134–153, 135; Yavor, "The Architecture and Stratigraphy," 58, 105.

[54] Hempel, "Making Dinner," 63.

[55] Goren, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 139, 146–147.

[56] Moshe Hartal, "Gush Halav (B): Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 125 (2013): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=4378&mag_id=120; Strange, "Gush Ḥalav" 399.

H. Kamon[57]	1	1.0x0.5x0.7	No construction date, out of use during the first quarter of the 2nd century CE	Possibly domestic settings.
H. Kur[58]	1	None provided	No information given[59]	No information given.
H. Usha[60]	1	4 steps	Early Roman	Cave hewn through the base of the pool; excavators suggest that this happened no later than the Bar Kokhba revolt. Oil press from the Second Temple period in the vicinity.
Huqoq[61]	3/4	4.5x4.6x2.4, 12 steps	Roman[62]	Close to agricultural installations, could be of late period as no clear Hellenistic or Early Roman strata identified.
'Isfiya[63]	1	None provided	Post-135 CE[64]	
Karm er-Ras[65]	4	Area S: 4.3x2.3x2.2 (l/w/h) (domestic, large "communal" building), 6 steps; Area C: 1.9x1.4x1.68 (l/w/d) (domestic),	Early Roman	Two in domestic settings and a larger one possibly connected to an agricultural processing area. Fourth connected to an agricultural area

[57] Moshe Hartal, "A Settlement from the Roman Period at Horbat Kamon," *Atiqot* 70 (2012): 39–49, *83 English summary; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[58] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[59] See fn. 43 above.

[60] Aviram Oshri, "Horbat Usha," *HA-ESI* 124 (2012): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1971&mag_id=119.

[61] Matthew J. Grey and Chad S. Spigel, "Ḥuqoq in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 362–378, 371–372; Jodi Magness, "Ḥuqoq – 2011: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 124 (2012): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1959&mag_id=119. Magness mentions eastern and southern *miqva'ot* but only details the southern. Bonnie only records two pools at Huqoq and provides date ranges for one.

[62] See fn. 43 above.

[63] Amit and Adler, "Observance of Ritual Purity," 127.

[64] See fn. 43 above.

[65] Yardenna Alexandre, "Karm er-Ras near Kafr Kanna," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 146–157, 150; *idem.*, "Karm er-Ras (Area S)," *HA-ESI* 120 (2008): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=675&mag_id=114; *idem.*, "Karm er-Ras (Areas C, D)," *HA-ESI* 120 (2008): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=602&mag_id=114; *idem.*, "Karm er-Ras (Areas H, J)," *HA-ESI* 120 (2008): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=611&mag_id=114.

		6 steps; Area H: (domestic), 3 steps		(production of oil/wine).
Kefar 'Othnai[66]	6	1.1-1.4x2.5xc.2.5 (l/w/d) (assumes private), 3 steps; 1.5x1.0 (l/w), 4 steps	Early Roman (at least one)[67]	The clearly early Roman pool is in a domestic setting. A second is in the vicinity of a wine press. The context of the remaining pools is unclear.
Kefar Shiḥin (Shikhin)[68]	3	None provided	Early Roman	Close to a cemetery.
Kh. Qana[69]	3	1x1.7x2 (w/l/d), 5 steps; 4.0x3.0 (w/d), 5 steps	1st–2nd CE, Bonnie provides 1st BCE ranges for two of these pools and that they fell out of use during the 2nd century CE, the third is not given	Settled from the Late Hellenistic period, two possibly in connection to agricultural installations. Richardson suggests that the third could have been connected with a *columbarium* (dovecote).[70]
Kh. Shema'[71]	2	2.4x1.6	Early Roman, both out of use between 2nd and 4th centuries CE[72]	One potentially industrial, but no other information given.
Kul'at Ibn Man[73]	5	None provided	Early Roman period[74]	Within refuge caves, identified from a group

[66] Amit and Adler, "Observance of Ritual Purity," 127, 133; Boaz Zissu, Yotam Tepper and David Amit, "*Miqwa'ot* at Kefar 'Othnai near Legio," *IEJ* 56.1 (2006): 57–66.

[67] See fn. 43 above.

[68] Strange, "Kefar Shikhin," 91.

[69] Douglas R. Edwards, "Khirbet Qana: From Jewish Village to Christian Pilgrim Site," in *Late-Antique Petra, Nile Festival Building at Sepphoris, Deir Qal'a Monastery, Khirbet Qana Village and Pilgrim Site, 'Ain-'Arrub Hiding Complex and Other Studies*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, vol. 3 of *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, JRASup 49 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2002), 101–132, 115; C. Thomas McCollough, "Khirbet Qana," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 127–145, 138–140.

[70] Peter Richardson, "Building Jewish in the Roman East," in *Building Jewish*, 327–345, 330; McCollough, "Khirbet Qana," 138.

[71] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[72] See fn. 43 above.

[73] Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 237, lists 3 caves while Yinon Shivtiel and Amos Frumkin, "The Use of Caves as Security Measures in the Early Roman Period in the Galilee: Cliff Settlements and Shelter Caves," *Caderno de Geografia* 24.41 (2014): 83, report 5.

[74] Stuart Miller categories these pools as being of the Late Roman period; Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 23.

				of between 20–50 cisterns.
Magdala[75]	5+[76]	2.3x2.15x2.0 (l/w/d), 7 steps; 1.8x1.73x2.05 (l/w/d), 7 steps; 2.66x1.85x1.93 (l/w/d), 7 steps; 2.2x1.98x3.1 (l/w/d), 7 steps	1st BCE–1st CE	Located in rich residential areas (Areas A and F). Filled with water from nahal Arbel. One other inside the bathhouse.
Meiron[77]	1	None provided	Second half of 1st century BCE, out of use 101–250 CE[78]	Domestic settings.
Meroth[79]	2	None provided	Post-135 CE[80]	One possibly in a burial context. The second near a synagogue and small in size.
Nazareth[81]	1	None provided	1st–3rd CE[82]	Located under a church.
Parod[83]	1	None provided	Post-135 CE[84]	No information given.
Qeren Naftali[85]	1	None provided, at least 6 steps[86]	1st BCE	In Hasmonean fortress, went out of use

[75] De Luca and Lena, "Mosaic of the Thermal Bath," 5; Reich and Zapata-Meza, "Preliminary Report," 63–71; Reich and Zapata-Meza, "Domestic Miqva'ot," 109–125; Marcela Zapata-Meza and Andrea Garza Díaz-Barriga, "Migdal – 2015: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 129 (2017): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=25336&mag_id=125. The identification of the residential pools is contested by De Luca and Lena. See, Stefano De Luca and Anna Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 280–342, 306–307.

[76] Yonatan Adler has mentioned to me the existence of around a dozen further pools at Magdala. I await their publication before adding them to my lists. Marcela Zapata-Meza, "Domestic and Mercantile Areas," in Bauckham, *Magdala of Galilee*, 89–108, 106, also reports a 12 stepped installation in Area C4.

[77] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[78] See fn. 43 above.

[79] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 321; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329; Zvi Ilan, "The Synagogue and Study House at Meroth," in *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery*, eds. Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher, StPB 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 256–288, 259.

[80] See fn. 43 above.

[81] James F. Strange, "Nazareth," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 167–180, 176.

[82] Although see Richard A. Freund and Daniel M. Gurtner, "Nazareth," *ESTJ* 2, 538–540, 539, who suggest that the pool should be dated to roughly the same period as a structure there identified as "a synagogue, similar to Galilean synagogues of the 3rd and 4th centuries CE."

[83] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.

[84] See fn. 43 above.

[85] Mordechai Aviam, "The Hellenistic and Hasmonean Fortress and Herodian Siege Complex at Qeren Naftali," in *Jews, Pagans*, 59–88, 85–86.

[86] An image of the pool can be found in Aviam, "Transformation from *Galil*," 12.

				sometime during the 1st century BCE.
Sasa[87]	1	1.8x1.1	Post-135 CE[88]	No information given.
Sepphoris[89]	3+[90]	Various[91]	1st BCE–1st CE	See discussion below [2.1.2.6]
Sheikh Nashi[92]	1	None provided	Not stated but the main quantity of pottery is H and ER	Wine and oil press installations
Summaqa[93]	1	None provided	Post-135 CE[94]	
Suwa'id Humeira[95]	1	None provided	1st BCE	In context with Hasmonean period buildings.
Tel Rekhesh[96]	1	None provided	1st CE	Within an Iron Age administrative structure. The excavators suggest that the plaster was possibly made into a *miqveh* during the Early Roman period.
Yafi'a[97]	1	None provided	Roman Period	Chalk vessels from the Early Roman period also found along with two Jannaeus coins.

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[87] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 329.
[88] See fn. 43 above.
[89] Galor, "Stepped Water Installations," 201–213 ; Eric M. Meyers, Carol L. Meyers and Benjamin D. Gordon, "Sepphoris: B. Residential Area of the Western Summit," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 39–52, 45
[90] The value for the minimum number of pools constructed during the Second Temple period has been drawn from Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 184.
[91] Complete measurements and details can be found at https://zenodo.org/record/1482679#.XVP9nehKhPZ.
[92] Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 155–156.
[93] Amit and Adler, "Observance of Ritual Purity," 127.
[94] See fn. 43 above.
[95] Danny Syon, "Suwa'id Humeira," *HA-ESI* 123 (2011): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1880&mag_id=118.
[96] Shuichi Hasegawa, Hisao Kuwabara and Yitzhak Paz, "Tel Rekhesh – 2015: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 130 (2018): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=25387&mag_id=126. The authors attribute the plastered installation to Iron Age IIC in a later publication; Shuichi Hasegawa, Hisao Kuwabara and Yitzhak Paz, "Tel Rekhesh – 2016: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 131 (2019): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=25534&mag_id=127.
[97] Yardenna Alexandre, "Yafi'a," *HA-ESI* 124 (2012): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2084&mag_id=119.

Yodefat[98]	2	One with 3 steps[99]	1st BCE–1st CE	Each located in a domestic setting close to a cave with an oil press in.

2.1.2.6   *Sepphoris[100]*

Sepphoris presents a unique Galilean case, worth discussing in detail. Around forty

ritual immersion pools have been identified in Sepphoris, mostly from the Western Quarter,

but also in other areas of the site. This preponderance of finds may be in part due to the

extensive excavations at Sepphoris, although there is a concentration of pools at Sepphoris,

which has not been found anywhere else in Galilee. Bonnie provides a breakdown of the

pools in each area of Sepphoris, along with the total amount of excavated area. Some pools

from Bonnie's appendix (3 from the Western Quarter, 2 from the Hilltop) are missing from

this table.[101] It is unclear why they are not included.

Area	Pools (n)	Pools (%)	Excavated Area (m^2)	Excavated Area (% of total excavations)	Pools per 1000m^2 (n)
Western Quarter	25	71.4	4950	10.2	5.05
Hilltop	2	5.7	6400	13.2	0.31
Northern Slope	2	5.7	990	2	2.02
Lower Eastern Plateau	6	17.1	36000	74.5	0.17

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[98] Mordechai Aviam, "Yodefat – Jotapata. A Jewish Galilean Town of the Second Temple Period: The Results of an Archaeological Project," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 109–126, 113.
[99] Noted by Chancey and Porter, "Archaeology," 181.
[100] For a short overview see Ze'ev Weiss, "Sepphoris," *ESTJ* 2, 724–726.
[101] Table from Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 294, Bonnie's appendix detailing the pools of Sepphoris can be found on pages 330–331.

The pools can be divided into two types of setting, those in caves and those cut into bedrock, which Stuart Miller suggests reflects their chronological development.[102] I am not convinced by this proposal as topography may be more important for understanding why some pools were built into caves and others into bedrock. There is some debate about the identification and dating of the Sepphoris pools, with much of the discussion devoted the question of typology.[103] With regard to dating, Stuart Miller argues that the earliest pools in the Western Quarter date to the 1st century CE rather than BCE, and that other pools may have been constructed any time during the Early Roman period (i.e. up to 135 CE).[104] Ilan follows a similar dating and suggests that male washing was on the decline towards the end of the Second Temple period, and only declined further after the fall of the Jerusalem Temple. At the same time, women's bathing practices became more prevalent. Ilan links this development with the appearance of "smaller miqvaot, found in Sepphoris." Ilan proposes that this is "because women are physically smaller than men, but also because they are as a rule of a lesser social status. One could argue that the decline of male immersion was intrinsically tied with the rise of female immersions."[105] Against this, I would suggest that Galilean domestic pools often appear to be smaller than some of the large communal pools found in the region. I also do not think that women's purification bathing practices were in the minority at any

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[102] Miller, "Non-Existent Monolithic 'Miqveh'," 218.

[103] See Eshel, "Note on 'Miqvaot'," 132; Eric M. Meyers, "Yes, They Are," *BAR* 26.4 (2000): 46–49. Eshel offered a rejoinder to Meyers, conceding that some pools of Sepphoris could be considered *miqva'ot* but that more evidence should be published so proper conclusions could be drawn. One pertinent thought Eshel notes, is that the Sepphoris pools would become dirty quite quickly, and this should be kept in mind when considering how immersion may have been done, and any assumptions about how the water was changed; Hanan Eshel, "We Need More Data," *BAR* 26.4 (2000): 49. To add to Meyers' critique, ritual bathing pools surely had a developmental history. To argue that a ritual immersion pool "must" have certain features is to argue that these earliest installations conformed to a fixed typology. Such a typology may indicate that ritual immersion pools were copied from a central source. Here see Fatkin, "Invention of a Bathing Tradition," 56, arguing that Hyrcanus I was the innovator. Some of the pools are almost certainly later than the Second Temple period. James F. Strange suggests that these pools under the villa were constructed only after the First Revolt; Strange, "Sepphoris: A," 30.

[104] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 184–188.

[105] Ilan, "Since When," 95.

given point. Indeed, the earliest narrative descriptions of purification bathing involve women:

Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:2–4) and Judith (Jdt 12:7–8). Furthermore, Bonnie has argued that the

Sepphoris pools, on the whole, are earlier in origin than Stuart Miller suggests.[106] At the

present time, we cannot be sure exactly how many of the Sepphoris pools originated in our

period of interest. At least some appear to have done, and it seems likely that the pools at

Sepphoris were used some of the time as ritual immersion pools, but we do not know who

used them.

Overall, Sepphoris is a Galilean anomaly. No other site appears to have the same

density of ritual immersion pools as the Western Quarter.[107] Some scholars have attempted to

connect this prevalence of pools to later traditions of priests settling in Sepphoris.[108] Whether

this was the case or not, Sepphoris' total of ritual immersion pools is atypical of Galilean

settlements, large and small. Sepphoris should then be treated carefully in future discussions

of a "purity culture" in Galilee as it is not representative of the rest of the region. Its continued

settlement into later periods also make it difficult to clearly affix elements of the city's

architecture to a particular time.

2.1.3   Interpreting Remains of Ritual Immersion Pools

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[106] Bonnie is currently working on a new method for dating these pools. See also Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 301.

[107] Further excavations may challenge this perspective. I have been made aware of many pools discovered at Magdala by Yonatan Adler [fn. 76 above], although these pools have yet to be published and as such, cannot form part of my analysis here. Further, of the published pools of Magdala, their use is debated. See Joseph Scales, "The Limits of Evidence: The *Miqveh* as an Indicator of Jewish Purity Practices in Second Temple Period Galilee," in *Purity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Tenth Schwerte Qumran Conference, 10th-12th February 2019*, eds. Laura von Bartenwerffer, Lutz Doering, and Jörg Frey, WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, [Forthcoming]).

[108] Marianne Sawicki, *Crossing Galilee: Architectures of Contact in the Occupied Land of Jesus* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 125–126. Stuart Miller finds this hypothesis to be unlikely. See Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 211.

Artefacts are silent. Any theory one places on their purpose, use, status or meaning is to some extent hypothetical. The use of an artefact is unintelligible without either a framework by which one can interpret some form of answer to these questions, or a text which explains said artefact. As such, this section discusses some theoretical presumptions concerning the purpose, use, status and meaning of the ancient Jewish ritual immersion pools, which are drawn from Second Temple Jewish texts. In most discussions of ritual immersion pools, the Mishnah is used as a way to interpret how these facilities were used. On the one hand, it should not be supposed that there was a direct continuum of practice which developed in a linear fashion from Jewish texts of the 2nd century BCE, through to the bathing installations of the 1st centuries BCE and CE, to be finally codified in the Mishnaic passages.[109] On the other hand, I would suggest that one can recognise an association of ideas which connect these three distinct groups of evidence. Each group contains the notions of immersion in water for a purpose unique to Jewish sensibilities. While ritual immersion pools cannot be said to contain the implicit notion of purification practice, they are often located in places or associated with activities that would suggest that purification might be a desired purpose. This explanation would account for the presence of such pools by tombs, near agricultural processing installations, by communal structures, in bathhouses, by the Temple Mount and in the homes of the priestly class. In all of these examples, one can discern a possible reason that involves the question of ritually pure status. Lawrence argues that there are three noticeable tendencies in the emerging presence of ritual bathing practices during the late Second Temple period.

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[109] Kazen raises much the same point; Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?*, rev. ed., ConBNT 38 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 7. See also the issues raised in Yonatan Adler, "Toward an 'Archaeology of Halakhah': Prospects and Pitfalls of Reading Early Jewish Ritual Law into the Ancient Material Record," *Archaeology and Text* 1 (2017): 27–38; Benjamin G. Wright III, "Jewish Ritual Baths–Interpreting the Digs and the Texts: Some Issues in the Social History of Second Temple Judaism," in *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, eds. Neil Asher Silberman and David B. Small, JSOTSup 237 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 190–214.

Firstly, biblical texts were appealed to as authoritative for practice. Secondly, Levitical regulations were conflated and sometimes merged together. Thirdly, the range of purity practices expanded, as did the groups to whom those practices applied. All this suggests that there was a general "systematic" development of these practices but not according to any particular ideology beyond the importance of ritual bathing.[110] Ritual washing practices were not worked out along a linear trajectory, but different groups and authors drew from a set of loose ideas about the efficacy of water for purificatory purposes, which eventually began to be codified in the Mishnah. Even then, we should not suppose that these proscriptions were followed by everyone, or that they existed beyond a set of ideals which laid out a theoretical framework for ritual washing. Non-Jewish sources do not furnish us with any additional information concerning the nature of specifically Jewish washing practices. Whatever the "common" washing practices of Jews were in the late Second Temple period, these were not so peculiar as to be noted by Greco-Roman authors.[111] Jewish practices may have resembled those familiar to Greek and Roman authors, or they may have been largely out of public view, or even not something that Greek and Roman authors came into contact with outside of Palestine.

It is by no means certain that ritual immersion pools were the most common form of bathing installation; few studies have been done into Late Hellenistic bathing culture in Palestine and according to Katharina Galor, "the archaeological record is biased towards

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[110] Lawrence, *Washing in Water* 190.

[111] A search of Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, returns no mention of Jewish washing, bathing, or purification practices. Cohen, "Common Judaism," 81, and Erich S. Gruen, "Roman Perspectives on the Jews in the Age of the Great Revolt," in Berlin and Overman, *First Jewish Revolt*, 27–42, 35–37, each note that particularly the Roman authors were aware of Jewish circumcision, the rejection of multiple gods, Sabbath observance and the avoidance of pork. Cohen additionally adds the rejection of divine images and some knowledge of certain festivals, but the details of these practices were confused. On ancient ritual washing practices, see Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "Rituals of Purification, Rituals of Initiation: Phenomenological, Taxonomical and Culturally Evolutionary Reflections," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, eds. David Hellholm et al., BZNW 176/1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 3–40, 6–9.

stepped pools and bathtubs, since other types of containers broke and disintegrated more easily."[112] The ritual immersion pools are often appealed to as a key indicator of Jewish ethnic presence.[113] This stance, and also the extent to which ritual immersion pools can be taken as typical of purity interests has already been questioned by Milton Moreland.[114] While there is a strong correlation between ritual immersion pools and other indicators of Jewish settlement, the individual users of any given pool can rarely be determined. There is nothing in my mind to stop a non-Jew using such an installation or having one in their own home if they opted to use this form of bathing.[115] Attempts to connect ritual immersion pools strictly to Second Temple period Jews in general assume too much. Some go further and connect these pools to particular groups in the Second Temple period which overstates the case.[116] I have also questioned the extent to which these installations should be taken as indicators of purity practices.[117]

These reservations must temper any study of these installations. While these pools were likely used for ritual purification by Second Temple period Jews, this does not mean that all such pools were used for this purpose or used in the same way. Similarly, while many pools have been found, attesting to widespread practice, the pools themselves do not indicate that their use was a common practice only for Second Temple period Jews. We are therefore

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[112] Galor, "Stepped Water Installations," 203, here discussing how movable, terracotta bathtubs and basins are more likely to have broken and are less likely to be identified. I have discussed the scholarship on Greek and Jewish bathing practices elsewhere; Joseph Scales, "Bathing Jewish, Bathing Greek: Developing an Approach to De-Categorising Hellenism and Judaism," (forthcoming).

[113] See for instance Aviam, "Transformation from *Galil*," 16; Chancey, *Myth of Gentile Galilee*, 66–68; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 112.

[114] Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 139; Craffert, "Digging up 'Common Judaism'," 45.

[115] Indeed, it appears that such pools were used by non-Jews in the Levant at Maresha (above pg. 80 fn.16) and Samaria-Sebaste (above pg. 81 fn.17).

[116] E.g., Jürgen Zangenberg, "Common Judaism and the Multidimensional Character of Material Culture," in Udoh et. al., *Redefining First-Century*, 175–193, 176–178, who critiques Martin Hengel and Roland Deines' assertion that the Pharisees were the predominant users of ritual immersion pools. See also Shivtiel, "Artificial Caves," 75, who attributes immersion pools in caves to priestly use or another group. See also Deines, "Religious Practices," 91–95, where he attributes the phenomena of ritual immersion pools and stone vessels in part to the Pharisees.

[117] Scales, "Limits of Evidence."

confined to limited conclusions about their use. There are good grounds for connecting ritual immersion pools to purification practices, on the basis of their typology [see 2.1.2.3] and from some texts which were circulating during the late Second Temple period that may describe bathing practices. As Deines notes, "an artefact, just like a text, needs a context and co-texts: The context is the historical setting in which it originates, and has its task as well as meaning; co-texts are similar and related items, that allow one to see parallels, specific differences within the same category, and synchronic and diachronic developments."[118] Without drawing from Jewish texts which discuss washing for the purpose of purification, we are left with almost no information about the use of these ritual immersion pools. However, the use of texts in this case must always be cautious. If all the evidence is drawn together, then we reify "Judaism" as a single category, which encompasses all texts and artefacts into a single conception. Rather, we should allow for a variety of practices, identities for whom these pools were meaningful, and refrain from describing the users and use of these pools with certainty.

2.1.4   Literary Evidence on Ritual Bathing

While there are no direct textual references to purpose-built ritual bathing installations in Second Temple period literature, certain texts do contain some regulations for what would constitute such a bathing installation or incorporate a ritual bath in their narratives. These texts include Leviticus 11:36; Judith 12:7–8; 1QS 5:13; CD 10:10–13; 4Q414 2 2:3, 4; 4Q512

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[118] Roland Deines, "Non-literary Sources for the Interpretation of the New Testament: Methodological Considerations and Case Studies Related to the Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum," in *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagskultur: Wechselseitige Wahrnehmungen – III. Internationales Symposium zum Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti 21.–24. Mai 2009, Leipzig*, eds. Roland Deines, Jens Herzer and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, WUNT 274 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 25–66, 30.

1–6 12:4–6. The relevance of these texts for considering ancient Jewish attitudes towards ritual baths will be examined below.

Lev 11:36 [MT; LXX; NRSV]

36 אַ מַעְיָן   ר מִקְוֵה־מַיִם יִהְיֶה טָה ר וְנֹגֵעַ בְּנִבְלָתָם יִטְמָא

36 πλὴν πηγῶν ὑδάτων καὶ λάκκου καὶ συναγωγῆς ὕδατος, ἔσται καθαρόν. ὁ δὲ ἁπτόμενος τῶν θνησιμαίων αὐτῶν ἀκάθαρτος ἔσται

36 But a spring or a cistern holding water shall be clean, while whatever touches the carcass in it shall be unclean

In the midst of regulating clean and unclean food, Leviticus 11 refers to a cistern or spring. If an unclean carcass falls into the water, the water remains clean. This provides the conceptual space for clean water, which would then likely be preferred for ritual ablutions. The key term in the above passage is the מִקְוֵה־מַיִם which the Greek translators render straightforwardly as συναγωγῆς ὕδατος ("gathering of water"). This translation appears to understand the phrase as non-technical. The Greek adds λάκκου as an additional body of clean water. Stuart Miller notes that the spring and a cistern are similar enough as they are fixed in place, whereas the water in a vessel (Lev 11:34) *is* able to become unclean. The movement of the water, whether flowing or stationary does not matter.[119] Later rabbinic sources relied on the logic of this regulation to establish some criteria for a *miqveh*.[120] This is not explicit in the verse itself, although it is readily intelligible from its implications. If water found in springs or cisterns (or lakes) is clean, then it can be used for certain bathing practices found elsewhere in Leviticus.[121] This purpose, and the qualification for the type of water

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[119] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 38.
[120] Jacobs, "Römische Thermenkultur," 222.
[121] For example, Lev 14:5–6; 15:13 each regulate that purificatory washing use מַיִם־חַיִּים. See Katz, "He Shall Bathe in Water," 378–379 [see 2.1.2.3].

which could be used in this manner, may have influenced the design of pools for ritual

immersion.

Jdt 12:7–8 [LXX; NRSV with amendments in bold]

7 καὶ προσέταξεν Ὀλοφέρνης τοῖς σωματοφύλαξιν μὴ διακωλύειν αὐτήν. καὶ παρέμεινεν ἐν τῃ παρεμβολῃ ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο κατὰ νύκτα εἰς τὴν φάραγγα Βαιτυλουσὰ καὶ ἐβαπτίζετο ἐν τῃ παρεμβολῃ ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος.

8 καὶ ὡς ἀνέβη, ἐδέετο τοῦ κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ κατευθῦναι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς εἰς ἀνάστημα τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς.

7 So Holofernes commanded his guards not to hinder her. She remained in the camp for three days. She went out each night to the valley of Bethulia, and bathed **in the spring of water** in the camp.

8 After **coming up**, she prayed to the Lord God of Israel to direct her way for the triumph of **her** people.

A number of scholars have connected this description of full immersion washing to the

appearance of ritual immersion pools throughout Palestine.[122] The passage is one of the

earliest narratives which explicitly connects a full-body immersion in water with purification.

Judith's bath in a spring reflects the situation of narrative, where she is temporarily amongst

an Assyrian army and thus would have likely been unable to bath in a fixed bathing

installation. In Judith 10:2, Judith bathes in her own home, although it is unclear whether in

this case she was bathing for purification.[123] I have suggested that Judith 12:7 references a

conception of warfare purity.[124] In this case, her bathing is unconnected to most of the above

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[122] Renate Egger-Wenzel, "Did Judith Go to the Miqweh?" in *On Wings of Prayer: Sources of Jewish Worship – Essays in Honor of Professor Stefan C. Reif on the Occasion of his Seventy-fifth Birthday*, eds. Nuria Calduch-Benages, Michael W. Duggan and Dalia Marx, DCLS 44 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 101–124, 116–118; Thomas Hieke, "Torah in Judith: Dietary Laws, Purity and Other Torah Issues in the Book of Judith," in *A Pious Seductress: Studies in the Book of Judith*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, DCLS 14 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 97–110, 103; Wills, *Judith*, 327–332.

[123] Renate Egger-Wenzel suggests that Judith also ritually washing in Jdt. 10:3 as well as in 12:7; Egger-Wenzel, "Did Judith Go," 106–107, 118–122.

[124] Joseph Scales, "Preparing for Military Action: Judith's Purificatory Washing in Judith 12:7," *VT* [Forthcoming].

installations, although may provide some context for identified pools in certain Galilean locations [see 4.3.1.6.1; 5.6.4].

1QS (1Q28) 5:13b [text and first translation: *DSSR*, 1:14–15; second translation: *DSSSE* 1:81]

<div dir="rtl">13 אל יבוא במים לגעת בטהרת אנשי הקודש כיא לוא יטהרו</div>

13 None of the perverse men is to enter purifying waters used by the Men of Holiness and so contact their purity.

13 He should not go into the waters to share in the pure food of the men of holiness, for one is not cleansed.

This passage connects a form of bathing or immersion with eating preparation, but also more particularly pure items and possessions of the community.[125] Other manuscripts containing material from the Community Rule (4Q256 and 4Q258) contain much of the same material but lack the reference to the waters.[126] Hannah Harrington suggests that the "purifying waters" are likely a ritual bath, whether a bath taken prior to sharing in a communal meal, or "an initiatory bath."[127] However, it should be noted that this passage itself does not refer to purification prior to general communal meals.[128] Stephen Hultgren argues that the subject of the passage is one who is not in the community itself, but an outsider.[129] In this case, this verse may attest to more widespread bathing practices. If an outsider were

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[125] Charlotte Hempel, *The Community Rules from Qumran: A Commentary*, TSAJ 183 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 181–185; *idem*., "Making Dinner," 57–62, argues that 1QS 5:13b is not simply about food itself but extended notions of "purity" which include harvests, preparing and serving food.

[126] Charlotte Hempel, "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, eds. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam with Andrea E. Alvarez, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 67–92, 85.

[127] Hannah K. Harrington, "Purification in the Fourth Gospel in Light of Qumran," in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, eds. Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher, EJL 32 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 117–138, 120.

[128] Cecilia Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 511–520, 518–519. See also *idem*., "Daily Life," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 544–555, 552, contra Stephen Pfann, "A Table Prepared in the Wilderness: Pantries and Tables, Pure Food and Sacred Space at Qumran," in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates – Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002*, eds. Katharina Galor, Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jürgen Zangenberg, STDJ 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 159–178, 174.

[129] Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 286–287 n.123.

excluded from the "purity" of the community – prohibited from even entering the water – then

it may follow that an outsider could be expected to attempt to take a purificatory bath. Similar

passages in 4Q256 and 4Q258 both also forbid that the "men of injustice" touch the "purity"

but do not include the detail keeping them from entering the waters.[130] Alison Schofield

suggests that the במים directly refers to the physical "*mikva'ot* of Qumran."[131] Hempel

compares this with 1QS 3:4, 9; 4Q414; 4Q512 which establish boundaries between the

community and "the people of injustice," and also the language of sanctification and

purification by water in Exodus 19:10.[132]

CD 10:10b–13 cf. 4Q266 frag. 8, 3:9–10; 4Q270 frag. 6, 4:20–21 [text and first translation: *DSSR* 1:98–99; second translation: *DSSSE* 1:567–569]

10 על הטהר במים אל

11 ירחץ איש במים צואים ומעוטים מדי מרעיל איש

12 *vacat* אל יטהר בם ה כלי וכל גבא בסלע אשר אין בו די

13 מרעיל אשר נגע בו הטמא וטמא מימיו במימי הכלי

10 About purification by water. A man may not

11 wash himself in water that is filthy and too shallow to make a ripple.

12 *vacat* A man may not purify any dish in such water or in any stone cistern that does not have enough water in it

13 to make a ripple and that something unclean has touched, for its water will defile the water of the vessel.

10 Concerning purification with water. No-

11 one should bathe in water which is dirty or which is less than the amount which covers a man.

12 [Blank] No-one should purify a vessel in it. And every cavity in the rock in which there is not the amount

13 which covers, if an impure person has touched it, he has defiled its water ‹like› the water of a vessel.

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[130] Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 101, 130.
[131] Schofield, *Qumran to the Yaḥad*, 101, 270.
[132] Hempel, *Community Rules*, 92–93. Cf. 1QS 8:17 whereby some are prohibited from touching the purity (235).

This section from the Damascus Document preserves an early reference to the quality of water which one can wash in for the purpose of purification.[133] The water should not be dirty (cf. Zech 3:3; human waste in Deut 23:14; Ezek 4:12). This probably does not mean crystal clear water, but simply that it is not opaque. The water should also be sufficiently deep that it can cover a person. Jodi Magness argues that the verb ירחץ indicates simply washing in a pool rather than full immersion, which could have been indicated by *tabal*.[134] This may have depended upon personal preference; the fact that these waters should cover a person implies that the whole body could be immersed. The text does not specify the stance of the person immersing, so presumably the immersing person could squat in the water. One could implicitly read that the person must fully immerse in the water although the requirement is only that there is a sufficiently large enough body of water such that one *could* fully immerse, not that they *must*. The verse also assumes that one might dip vessels in the same water that they themselves wash in. Any rock cavity with water only containing a small volume is potentially impure.[135] Thus, if one were out and drank from a small body of water, they would likely have contracted impurity. The line also notes that water in a vessel is similarly made impure if it has been touched (drank?) by an impure person. Harrington suggests that CD 10:11–13 relies on Lev 11:36.[136] Yair Furstenberg notes that this passage resonates with rabbinic requirements for *miqva'ot*.[137] This seems likely, as all these texts operate within a tradition which defines some kind of bodily states as impure and regulates that washing must be done to remove this impurity. Leviticus 11 provides a guide to what water could be

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[133] Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 91 n.217.
[134] Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 139.
[135] Cf. 2 Kgs 3:16; Isa 30:14; Jer 14:3, which all seem to be water acceptable for drinking.
[136] Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity and Sanctuary of the Body in Second Temple Judaism*, JAJSup 33 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 82 n.36.
[137] Yair Furstenberg, "Complex Purity: Between Continuity and Diversity in Ancient Judaism," *Archaeology and Text* 1 (2017): 121–122.

considered pure and is a source that attests to these kinds of conceptions about purity in ancient Jewish thought.[138] While some scholars have suggested that this text may refer to purpose-built pools, this is suppositional as the ruling would apply more generally to other bodies of water.[139]

4Q414 2 2:3, 4 [text and translation from DJD 35, 141–142; *DSSR* 2:655] par 4Q512 42–44 2 [underlined and drawn from DJD 7, 275]

1 ותטהרנו לחוקי קודש[כה]

2 לראשון לשלישי ולש[ביעין]

3 באמת בריתכ[ה]

4 להטהר מטמאת[...]

5 ואחר יבוא במים] ורחץ את בשרו וברך]

6 וענה ואמר ברוך א[תה אל ישראל]

7 כי ממוצא פיכה נ[פרשה טהרת כול להבדל]?(מכל]

8 אנשי נדה כא[שמתם בל יטהרו במי רחץ]

9]ד[רכי רצונ]כה ... ראני]

10 אהלל שמכה כ[...]

11 [...]ים לה[...]

1 and you will purify us according to [your] holy laws […]

2 for the first, the third, and the se[venth…]

3 in the truth of your covenant[…]

4 to be purified from the impurity of[…]

5 And afterwards he will enter the water[and wash his body and bless.]

6 He will recite and say: Blessed are y[ou, God of Israel, …]

7 by what comes of Your lips [the purification of all (people) has [been required. To be separated(?) from all]

8 impure people according to their g[uilt, they could not be purified in water of purification…]

9 [… the w]ays of [Your] will [… and I]

10 praise Your name […]

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[138] See above and again Jacobs, "Römische Thermenkultur," 222.
[139] Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 49, and Schofield, *Qumran to the Yaḥad*, 270, suggest that this text is about physical ritual immersion pools, perhaps even those at Kh. Qumran.

This text is highly fragmentary but appears to contain "liturgies that were to be recited by those who were participating in certain purification rites."[140] It includes an instruction which may have been followed concerning the actual process of bathing in a ritual immersion pool. Although line 2 is quite fragmentary, it appears to be regulating washings on the first, third and seventh days. There are three elements to the purificatory process: confession, forgiveness and thanksgiving. The passage possibly follows Numbers 19 (cf. 11QT 49:17–20) insofar as the process may take seven days, although it differs by the addition of a first day bath and contains details beyond the act of washing itself. Esther Eshel suggests that first day immersion was widespread, following the presence of ritual immersion pools near cemeteries and examples of first day immersion in Tobit.[141] Regular bathing on particular days would have been much easier to do in one's own home, and this would also limit the potential for spreading any impurity throughout the community.

4Q512 1–6 12:4–6 [text from DJD 7, 272, translation from *DSSR* 2:667]

4 כב]...[ח במי דוכ]י[ן] [...]ל בליחות עולם

5 ומי רחץ לטהרת עתים]...[בגדיו ואחד] יוזה עליו]

6 את מימי ה]ד[יה לטהרו ואת כול]...[

4 … […] in purify[ing] waters […] on the eternal tablets,

5 and waters for bathing for the temporary cleansing […] his clothes. And then [they (?) shall sprinkle over him]

6 the waters [for sprinkling] so as to cleanse him and all […]

This document is a fragmentary papyrus dated to the beginning of the 1st century BCE.[142] This text has been used to reconstruct some of the missing elements from 4Q414. It contains

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[140] Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 216.

[141] Esther Eshel, "4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse Contaminated Person," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, eds. John Kampen, Moshe Bernstein and Florentino García Martínez, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–10. See also Eshel's comments in Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts*, DJD 35 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 137–139.

[142] Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 216.

"the prayers and blessings that are to be recited by those who have recently been cleansed."[143] The above section contains only the material directly related to the acts of bathing and laundering. The qualification "for sprinkling" in line 6 appears to be an additional instruction added as a superscription to the text.

2.1.5 Ritual Immersion Pools as Spaces

The aftermath of these pools might indicate how later generations understood them. There is some discussion about whether they were used as waste dumps.[144] While it is tempting to clearly distinguish between ritual and non-ritual space, it is unclear whether this can be applied to ritual immersion pools. Knott proposes that "ritual practice itself is… spatial practice transformed by religious meaning, and often – though not always – *performed in the context of a space set apart as sacred* and by an appropriate ritual practitioner" [my own emphasis].[145] No direct evidence which shows us who used these pools or their conceptions about what they were doing is currently known.[146] Due to the lack of textual reference, we do not know how these pools were understood by their users. Thus, we rely on either later texts, analogy, or theoretical models to examine how these pools were used. Therefore, from the outset I do not think it reasonable to assume that there was or was not a strict division between ritual and other uses for these pools. For instance, there are references to spring water

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[143] Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 217.
[144] For instance, Marcela Zapata-Meza, Andrea Garza Díaz-Barriga and Rosaura Sanz-Rincón, "The Magdala Archaeological Project (2010–2012): A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Migdal," *Atiqot* 90 (2018): 122, suggest that the ritual immersion pools in the domestic areas of Magdala became waste dumps after the revolt. Bonnie also argues that there is no reason to assume that pools could not have been used in this way, contra Stuart Miller; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 301. Though see Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 51–52, nn. 19, 20, who suggests that the vessels found in the bottom of the pools were dropped when being rinsed.
[145] Knott, *Location of Religion*, 43.
[146] See comments in Hidiroglou, "L'Eau et les Bains," 39.

being used for ritual purification (e.g., Jdt 12:7–9) yet we might assume that these springs could also be used as sources of drinking water. The use of a given installation could well depend on the social location, age or gender of the user, and this might change over time, or according to the user's requirements. With regard to some of the pools where their context is well excavated, some statements can be made about their usage, which will then lead to some reasonably well-founded assumptions about how they could have been conceived of as religious spaces.[147] This section will then be divided according to the contexts of the known ritual immersion pools of Galilee.[148]

2.1.5.1   *Domestic Contexts*

Ritual immersion pools found in domestic settings vary greatly in terms their size and number of steps.[149] Sepphoris is an (unusual) example of how widespread and integrated ritual bathing could be in a Galilean settlement. The pools are found in most of the domestic units on the Western Quarter, attesting to the common practice of ritual bathing in the household. This might suggest that the residents here felt the need to be able to ritually purify in a household setting. However, this might overstate the case by synchronically examining the evidence. Further studies will have to shed light on the periods through which these pools were in use. Outside of Sepphoris, most pools found in a domestic context are the only pool excavated and reported in a given site. Their installation marks a special concern on the part of the household for having a convenient and often restricted space within their home. One could imagine that these pools would be regularly used; household spaces, even if viewed as

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[147] Hoss, "Die Mikwen," 70–71, suggests the contexts of installations neat synagogues, agricultural presses, cemeteries and bathhouses indicate something about their usage.
[148] These divisions follow my categories in an earlier article. See Scales, "Limits of Evidence."
[149] Sites include Arbel (3), Er Reina (1), Karm er-Ras (2), Kefar 'Othnai (1), Magdala (4), Sepphoris (at least 3, but possibly as many as 36) and Yodefat (2).

special would receive at least some regular use. It is unclear who and in what circumstances these domestic pools would have been used. One would imagine that these pools would have been used to counter impurities which arose regularly during everyday life, such a bodily emission or contact with impure substances [see 3.3.1.2; 3.3.2.3]. Alternatively, these pools may have been principally for guests, similar to how parlours were once used in well-to-do households. In this case, providing communal meals or allowing guests to purify when visiting could have been a public statement about the stringency of your household. Richardson suggests that these installations show how important purity concerns were in domestic settings. They may have shown a household's position on purification rituals, or that the household had certain "social pretensions."[150] Personal washing rituals could be both quite secret, but also openly acknowledged. If one had built or had had built the facilities to wash regularly within one's own home, then it would signal to the community your own stringency. Yet any washing would also be kept largely from public view. Those who washed in local water sources would have perhaps more obvious "purity capital" but those who could afford to do so in their own home would add an impression of wealth and grandeur to their own purity practices. Domestic washing may also be related to dining. An analysis of organic residues in a large dwelling in Magdala in the rooms around two ritual immersion pools suggests that food consumption or preparation may have included a washing ritual.[151]

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[150] Richardson, "Building Jewish," 330.
[151] Zapata-Meza, "Domestic and Mercantile Areas," 107–108.

2.1.5.2   *Agricultural Contexts*

Adler notes that many ritual immersion baths have been located in the vicinity of

agricultural installations, typically wine and oil presses.[152] Leviticus 11:34 suggests that

liquids are an issue for impurity, so careful attention may have been paid to proper

purification procedures around consumable liquid production. Adler suggests that the notion

of the *tevul yom* could account for these baths, which would allow the workers to limit their

own likely impure status, and not pass on impurity to the wine and oil they produced.[153] This

would signal to any buyers that the press operated in such a way as to produce pure oil and

would likely have had a certain market cachet.[154] Josephus reports that certain Jews opted to

use their own oil, distinct from foreign oil (ἀλλοφύλῳ ἐλαίῳ, *Ant.* 12.119–120). Josephus

further accuses John of Gischala of using the Jew's preference for pure oil (ἔλαιον ᾧ

χρίσονται καθαρόν) over Greek oil (Ἑλληνικῷ, *Life* 74–76, cf. *War* 2.591–592 although with

minor differences). It should also be noted that the production of wine and olive oil was a

seasonable enterprise. Grapes would be harvested between Elul and Kislev, while olives were

collected from Kislev to Adar. The processing would be done over Nissan and Iyar.[155] Oil

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[152] Galilean sites include el Ma'aser (1), Gamla (1), Horvat Usha (1), Huqoq (1), Karm er-Ras (2), Kefar 'Othnai (1), Khirbet Qana (2), and Sheikh Nashi (1). On the presses known from Galilee, also including the presses of Yodefat (2), see Mordechai Aviam, "Viticulture and Olive Growing in Ancient Upper Galilee," in *Jews, Pagans*, 170–180, although the presses noted are not all from the Hellenistic or Early Roman period. This catalogue further shows that not all such presses had ritual immersion baths in their vicinity, or that the evidence for this notion has not yet been excavated. Further presses are reported in Etan Ayalon, Rafael Frankel and Amos Kloner, eds., *Oil and Wine Presses in Israel from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods*, BARIS 1972 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009). For Galilean and Golan presses, see pages 19–51, 65–81, 85–98, 105–117.

[153] Adler, "Ritual Baths adjacent to Agricultural," 67–69. Oil could be used for lamps, ointments and consumption, see Sandra Fortner and Andrea Rottloff, "Fisch, Flachs und Öl. Schraubengewinde Wirtschaftliches Leben und Handel rund um den See Gennesaret in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit," in *Leben am See Gennesaret: Kulturgeschichtliche Entdeckungen in einer Biblischen Region*, eds. Gabriele Faßbeck et al., ZBA (Main: von Zabern, 2003), 130–137, 133–135; Martin Goodman, "Kosher Olive Oil in Antiquity," in *Judaism in the Roman World*, 187–203.

[154] Marianne Sawicki, "Spatial Management of Gender and Labor in Greco-Roman Galilee," in Edwards and McCollough, *Archaeology and the Galilee*, 7–28, 15; Zissu and Amit, "Classification of the Second Temple," 254.

[155] Ze'ev Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London: Routledge, 1994), 366, although drawing from later sources, the seasons when such fruits could be harvested would not have changed.

production in particular indicates a level of regional stability. Aviam has also suggested that

oil presses were perhaps royal investments from the Hasmoneans or other powers.[156] Olive

trees take many years to grow to maturity so can be a significant investment in time and

resources.[157] A handful of oil and wine presses in the northern territory have associated

presses, although not all known press installations have pools nearby. This may indicate that

only some producers of oil and wine were known for their observance of purification rituals,

and that their products had a certain value attached to them. Exactly how these purification

rituals affected the final product is unclear.

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[156] Aviam, "People, Land, Economy," 15. See also Jürgen Zangenberg, "Archaeological News from the Galilee: Tiberias, Magdala and Rural Galilee," *Early Christianity* 1.3 (2010): 476, who suggests that some civic structures in Magdala were also perhaps paid through Hasmonean investments.

[157] Mordechai Aviam, "The Beginning of Mass Production of Olive Oil in the Galilee," in *Jews, Pagans*, 51–58, 56; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 121–122.

2.1.5.3   Bathing Complexes
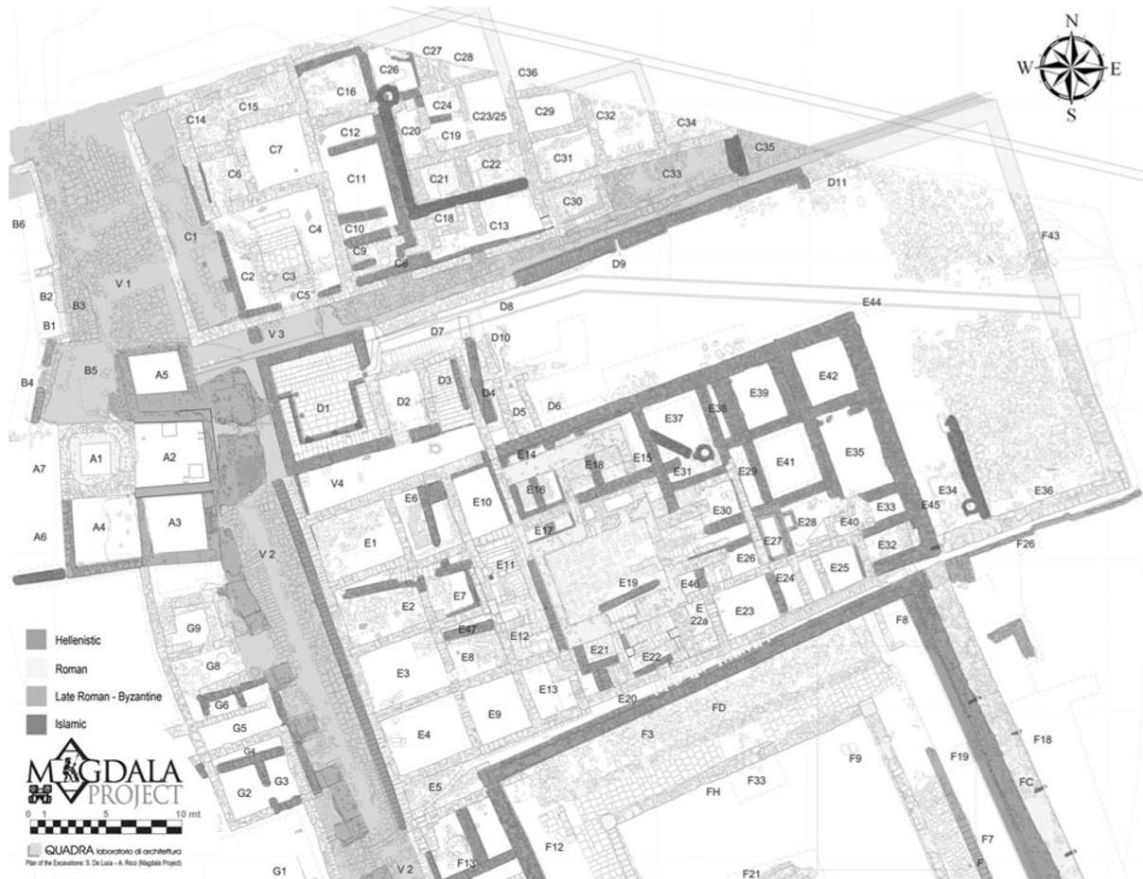
Figure 3 – Magdala Bathhouse Plan, from De Luca and Lena, "Mosaic of the Thermal Bath," 2

The Magdala bathhouse contains a number of installations (C3, D1, D3, E11, E12, E19,

E22 and E2/E7) which are typologically similar to Jewish ritual immersion baths.[158] However,

if they were not associated with a Jewish settlement, then their assumed function would

simply be bathing for leisure or cleanliness. Indeed, most of these pools are interpreted as

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[158] De Luca and Lena suggest that the complex may have been initially a Greek style *gymnasion* as it has a Late Hellenistic layout (as far as can be determined from the initial facilities) with cold-water facilities and a *palestra*; De Luca and Lena, "Mosaic of the Thermal Bath," 5. Greek and Roman bath usage differed, with Greek style baths being focussed more on sport and education, while Roman baths were primarily for leisure and recreation; Garrett G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 76. Hoss notes that the bathhouse did not have an important social role in Palestine, as this most business transactions were performed in the marketplace or other public spaces. Hoss further argues that the bathhouse did not have an important social role in Palestine, as most business transactions were performed in the marketplace or other public spaces. This would indicate that the Palestinian public bathhouses followed Greek patterns of usage; Stefanie Hoss, "From Rejection to Incorporation: The Roman Bathing Culture in Palestine," in *Spa: Sanitas per Aquam, Tagungsband des Internationalen Frontinus-Symposiums zur Technik- und Kulturgeschichte der antiken Thermen. Aachen, 18.-22. März 2009*, eds. Ralf Kreiner and Wolfram Letzner (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 259–264, 263.

nothing more than conventional bathing pools. Stefano De Luca and Anna Lena grant that only a single pool (E2/E7) functioned as a ritual immersion pool; its placement close to an entrance suggests that it was used either upon entering or exiting the complex and transition into or out of the bathhouse may have required a ritual washing.[159] However, none of the pools has a clear connection with any cultic artefacts or structures. I suggest that each pool potentially had a multiplicity of uses, both for ritual and non-ritual purposes. I do not see why there should be a strict division between these types of spaces, only that their use as ritual immersion pools may have distinguished them from other pools for certain users.[160] As the bathhouse was constructed adjacent to the large public square, presumably the entrance to the town from the port, the complex could have been intended as a resort for travelling merchants and visitors from cities in the Decapolis or beyond.[161] However, it appears likely that Magdala's residents also frequented the bathhouse as similarly designed bathing facilities have been found in domestic structures in the town.

Figure 4 – Plan of Gamla Bathhouse, from Berlin, Gamla, 136

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[159] De Luca and Lena, "Mosaic of the Thermal Bath," 4–5.

[160] Inge Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths. Vol I – Text* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), 104, notes that at least in the context of ritual immersion pools found in bathhouses, that the pools could certainly serve multiple purposes.

[161] Similar bathhouses have been found in Zaragoza (Spain), Cattigara (India) and Baelo Claudia (Spain) which provided facilities for travellers, see Santiago Guijarro, "Magdala and Trade," in Bauckham, *Magdala of Galilee*, 161–183, 165 n.14.

Figure 5 – Photo of Gamla Bathhouse

The second ritual immersion pool associated with other bathing facilities is in Gamla, found alongside a bathtub.[162] These facilities are located in a room accessible from a public street (Area B, Unit B6).[163] This pool may have been associated with conventional bathing, but also could have been used for ritual bathing. The configuration is reminiscent of some of the bathing suites of the Upper City houses in Jerusalem where ritual immersion pools have been found close to bathtubs. Both were constructed during the Hasmonean period, i.e., before the first third of the 1st century BCE.

2.1.5.4   Military/Emergency Contexts

Some ritual immersion pools are found in contexts which would have been used for military purposes or during times of emergency. These include the fortress at Qeren Naftali, and the refuge caves at Akhbara, Arbel, Evlayim/'Ibellin, and Kul'at Ibn Man. Purity was an important matter during warfare in some ancient Jewish texts.[164] The pools located inside refuge caves are interesting insofar as they clearly required much effort to construct for what

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[162] David Amit, "The *Miqva'ot*," in Syon and Yavor, *Gamla II*, 193–196, 193 suggests that this pool is a domestic pool. See also Goren, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 132–139, for development of the complex, bathtub dimensions and associated finds.

[163] Andrea M. Berlin, *Gamla I: The Pottery of the Second Temple Period*, IAA Reports 29 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2006), 80.

[164] See a full discussion in Scales, "Preparing for Military Action."

would have been inessential water usage.[165] Clearly those who constructed such pools

considered bathing to be important enough to warrant the effort, if indeed these pools were

not simply accessible cisterns. The existence of these pools may indicate the need for purity

and facilities which could enable the user to achieve this status was important in a moment

where bodies were threatened – so important that purity would need to be maintained even in

(hopefully) short term and exceptional periods.

2.1.5.5   *Communal Structures*

I will return to discuss the communal structure at Gamla in more detail below [4.3.1],

yet it is worth briefly discussing the role of ritual immersion pools close to communal

structures. There are some textual references to pools in these contexts: water facilities are

noted in the Theodotus inscription (*CIIP* 9) which describes the facilities of a Jewish

communal structure [see 5.2.2]. Anders Runesson, Donald Binder and Birger Olsson suggest

that the inscription "likely refers to ritual baths that pilgrims could use for purification

rites."[166] Additionally, an Egyptian papyrus document records that a "Jewish/Judean prayer-

house" (Ἰουδαίων προσευχῆς) was supplied with water, and for that matter, probably charged

for a more substantial quantity of water than nearby baths, fountains and a brewery (*CPJ*

II.432 [see 5.3.5]).[167] Scholars have Immersion pools are located beside a few other Jewish

communal structures, although the number of such structures known from the 1ˢᵗ century CE

are quite limited.[168] For instance, the most well-known pool associated with a "synagogue" is

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[165] That said, Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 217, points out that one could have bathed even if the pools were only partially full.

[166] Anders Runesson, Donald D. Binder and Birger Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins to 200 C.E.: A Source Book,* AJEC/AGJU 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 54.

[167] Nathalie LaCoste, *Waters of the Exodus: Jewish Experiences with Water in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, JSJSup 190 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 55–57.

[168] For instance, the structures of Herodium and Delos. For Herodium, see Lidia D. Matassa, *Invention of the First-Century Synagogue*, eds. Jason M. Silverman and J. Murray Watson, ANEM 22 (Atlanta: SBL Press,

located outside of a structure in Gamla. Reich has argued that during the Second Temple

period, "*miqva'ot*" were frequently paired with "synagogues."[169] Building on this argument,

Stephen Catto suggests that "we can make a clear connection between ritual washing and the

extant archaeological sites of synagogue buildings that we have available."[170] This kind of

statement overstates any such connection. Even if most of the structures argued for by both

Reich and Catto can be identified as "synagogues," most of them lack a clear connection with

any immersion pools.[171] Furthermore, this phenomenon is only known from Palestine and is

not known from Early Roman period structures outside of the region.[172] A second type of

communal structure with attached pools is the public bath. Two potential structures are known

to have existed in the Second Temple period from Galilee. A clearly identified complex is

located in Magdala [see 4.4.1]. These pools in this structure may have had multiple functions,

but theoretically could have been used for ritual immersions.[173] Elsewhere, a ritual immersion

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2018), 166, 170–173, shows how the proposed "synagogue" at Herodium was identified as such in part thanks to two water installations close by. This can be seen in Hanswulf Bloedhorn and Gil Hüttenmeister, "The Synagogue," *CHJ* 3:267–297, 272; Carsten Claußen, "Synagogen Palästinas in neutestamentlicher Zeit," in Alkier and Zangenberg, *Zeichen aus Text und Stein*, 351–380, 364. Claußen also notes that ritual immersion pools have been found close to proposed "synagogues" in Masada, H. Etri and Kh. Umm el-Umdan, *ibid.*, 378. The closest pool itself is arranged in three parts and quite shallow, "barely deep enough to reach the knees of an adult," (173) and the second pool was not constructed until the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. The combination of these pools has led to the accepted conclusion that the *triclinium* of Herodium was converted into a "synagogue." However, the identification of both the nature of the room itself and the use of the pools is unclear, yet their proposed use compounds the specific assumption about the nature other. Second Temple period "synagogues" will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5. For Delos, see Susan Haber, "Common Judaism, Common Synagogue? Purity, Holiness, and Sacred Space at the Turn of the Common Era," in McCready and Reinhartz, *Common Judaism,* 63–77, 71; Matassa, *Invention*, 64.

[169] Ronny Reich, "The Synagogue and the *Miqweh* in Eretz-Israel in the Second-Temple, Mishnaic, and Talmudic Periods," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 289–297, citing the examples of Gamla, Masada, Herodium and Jerusalem (Theodotus inscription).

[170] Catto's discussion mostly draws from disputed evidence from Delos and pools at Qumran; Stephen K. Catto, *Reconstructing the First-Century Synagogue: A Critical Analysis of Current Research*, LNTS 363 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 115.

[171] Against the identification of these structures as "synagogues" see Matassa, *Invention*.

[172] Inge Nielsen, *Housing the Chosen: The Architectural Context of Mystery Groups and Religious Associations in the Ancient World*, CS 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 170 n.247. Second Temple period communal structures have frequently been proposed as "synagogues" on the basis of near-by ritual immersion pools.

[173] Ronny Reich, "The Hot Bath-House (*balneum*), the *Miqweh* and the Jewish Community in the Second Temple Period," *JJS* 39.1 (1988): 102–107, allows for the use of bathhouse *frigidaria* as *miqva'ot*. While some of his writing seems to maintain an exclusive boundary between Roman and Jewish bathing facilities, he does permit that facilities may have had a multiplicity of uses.

pool and a bathtub were discovered in a room in Gamla, which may once have functioned as a small bathing complex [see 2.1.5.3]. What may be said, is that for at least some communal structures, the thought was made to include facilities wherein one *could* ritually immerse before or after activities associated with those structures. In some settlements, public life may have been marked by ritual immersion. It is also noteworthy, perhaps because only larger settlements had public structures, that "public" immersion pools are found in larger settlements. It might also be presumed that in these sites, class differences were more readily apparent, and the ability to publicly display purification practices would have been important for one's social standing.

2.1.5.6   *Poorly Preserved Contexts*

Many ritual immersion baths have been found in unclear contexts, or at least reported without accompanying details of their surroundings.[174] Little can be said about the use of these installations, but they add to the notion that Galileans were at least partially invested in ritual purification.

2.1.5.7   *Summary*

In many of these settings, we may locate potential conditions which would result in ritual concerns [see 3.4]. These rituals themselves mark boundaries between pure and impure, and these rituals also take place in bounded spaces.[175] The pools are located exclusively in

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[174] Pools are reported from ʿEn Tut (1), Gush Ḥalav (1), Horvat Kamon (1), Huqoq (2/3), Kefar Shikhin (3), Khirbet Qana (1), Khirbet Shemaʾ (2), Nazareth (1), Suwaʾid Humeria (1), Tel Rekhesh (1, although unclear how exactly the installation functioned) and Yafiʾa (1), without context.

[175] Kathryn M. Lopez, "Standing before the Throne of God: Critical Spatiality in Apocalyptic Scenes of Judgment," in *Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces*, eds. Claudia V. Camp and Jon L. Berquist, LHBOTS 490 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 139–155, 145.

places which also attest to some notion of Jewish control and identity. Most of the clearly identified pools have been found in Second Temple period Galilean sites where Hasmonean coins were also found.[176] While the context of many of these immersion pools cannot determine whether the pools were used exclusively for ritual purposes, there is a clear difference in regular bathing and ritual bathing. As Mira Balberg points out, "immersion in a *miqveh* and taking a bath may seem like comparable activities, the latter is not a ritual because each individual decides when, where, and how to do it, whereas the former is a ritual because the time, place, and manner of the activity are determined by an external authority."[177]

The available contexts of many of these pools suggests that bathing practices and reasons for purificatory purposes were quite varied. This suggests that while (im)purity conceptions were part of Galilean life and identity; these conceptions were broad and likely not observed universally. Ritual immersion pools offer an insight into a ritual practice which was brought into the household and public structures during the 1st century BCE. Spaces devoted to ritual cleansing indicate that purity was an important matter for some Galileans, so much so that they made efforts to facilitate regular and convenient immersion. Furthermore, the relative prevalence of domestic pools as opposed to pools associated with other clear contexts suggests that Galilean bodily space as expressed through such artefacts was a household matter. This indicates that households choose to create these spaces for themselves. Ritual immersion pools were not for the most part a feature of local elites' exertion over communal space, but where these pools can be connected with Jewish practice, personal expressions of bodily space orientated around conceptions of purity.

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[176] Exceptions include En Rani, Evlayim, H. Kamon, H. Kur, H. Usha, Huqoq, 'Isfiya, Parod, Sasa, Sheikh Nashi, Suwa'id Humeira, and Tel Rekhesh. The pools from these sites are usually dated after 135 CE or the excavations have been so limited that there have been virtually no coin finds. The lack of Hasmonean coins at these sites may also point to a dated construction after 70 CE.
[177] Balberg, "Ritual Studies," 85.

2.2   Stone Vessels

2.2.1   Origins and Development

The second type of artefact which relates to (im)purity is the stone vessel. These are typically made out of chalk or limestone and begin to appear in the Palestinian archaeological record during the 1st century BCE.[178] Their appearance coincides with Herod the Great's well-known building efforts across his kingdom. This has led scholars to connect the two events. Stuart Miller argues that is it "likely that stone vessel usage was a spin-off of the increased use of stone during the Herodian period for construction purposes."[179] Alternatively Jensen argues that this cannot account for the prevalence of stone vessels which are often found far away from sites with extensive limestone building projects. The earliest forms of these vessels were likely the sometimes crude "mug" forms, later developments in stone working techniques, such as lathe-turning, might indicate that the stone vessel industry benefitted from widespread construction during the Herodian period using such stone working methods. Regardless of the precise impetus for the beginning of mass production, the earliest of these types of stone vessels began to be made at the end of the 1st century BCE.

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[178] For an overview, see Roland Deines, "Stone Vessels," *ESTJ* 2, 757–760.

[179] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 174. Deines notes that this was prompted by the building works of Augustus, under whom many works were undertaken in stone and marble. This helped develop stone working techniques and tools such as the lathe; Roland Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit: Ein archäologisch-historischer Beitrag zum Verständnis von Joh 2,6 und der jüdischen Reinheitschalache zur Zeit Jesu*, WUNT II/52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), 43.

Some of the known forms of stone vessels appear to replace *Eastern Terra Sigillata* (ESA) ware in terms of their general appearance and likely their usage.[180] These vessels indicated that local materials were sought out to create vessels for dining purposes, among other possibilities, and that in some households, they replaced forms which had been in use in prior generations. This marks a change in domestic tableware, which once relied in part on imports from outside the region, but now could be constituted of locally sourced ware. These vessels would have been in use for quite a while. A given vessel is thought to have had a life span of around a decade, and not lasting beyond 20 years.[181]

2.2.2   Vessel Forms and Purposes[182]

Scholars have identified various subgroups within each of the below groups. I have presented only general forms as many stone vessels from Galilee are incomplete and only suggestive of their original form or are not reported in great detail.[183] Some types of vessels,

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[180] This is the case especially with *Eastern Sigillata A* (ESA) ware, see Berlin, *Gamla I*, 151; Morten Hørning Jensen, "Purity and Politics in Herod Antipas's Galilee: The Case for Religious Motivation," *JSHJ* 11.1 (2013): 15.

[181] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 308. Jodi Magness notes that while stone vessels may have been more expensive, their durability may have made them a good investment as an alternative to ceramics; Magness, *Stone and Dung*, 74.

[182] Descriptions of how these vessels were carved can be found in David Amit, Jon Seligman and Irina Zilberbod, "Stone Vessel Production Caves on the Eastern Slope of Mount Scopus, Jerusalem," in *New Approaches to Old Stones: Recent Studies of Ground Stone Artifacts*, eds. Yorke M. Rowan and Jennie R. Ebeling (London: Equinox, 2008), 320–342, 325–331. Also, at length, Yitzhak Magen, *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period: Excavations at Ḥizma and the Jerusalem Temple Mount*, ed. Levana Tsfania, JSPub 1 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 116–131.

[183] For breakdowns of various stone vessel forms see Jane M. Cahill, "Chalk Vessel Assemblages of the Persian/Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods," in *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh. Volume III: Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports*, eds. Alon De Groot and Donald T. Ariel; Qedem 33 (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 190–274, 200–218; Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 49–60; Shimon Gibson, "Stone Vessels of the Early Roman Period from Jerusalem and Palestine: A Reassessment," in *One Land – Many Cultures: Archaeological Studies in Honour of S. Loffreda*, eds. G. C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and L. D. Chrupcała, SBFCMa 41 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2003), 287–308, 292–294; Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 22–51, 65–115.

such as cooking pots, casseroles, jugs, jars and lamps all would have some benefits if they

were made of stone, yet these forms are rare or non-existent.[184]

2.2.2.1   *Mugs*

Figure 6 – Photo of Stone Mugs

Mugs are the most commonly found identifiable stone vessel form. They have been

reported from 17 sites.[185] At least three sub-types have been identified. The first two sub-

types were completely hand-carved, with the second having some exterior decoration (a form

of this decoration can be seen above, figure 6). The third sub-type was turned on a lathe to

remove the interior of the vessel.[186] The mugs have handles and often feature a spout

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[184] Zangenberg, "Pure Stone," 553. Zangenberg does note that some shapes, such as closed vessels would be difficult to produce, which may account for the lack of objects such as jars and jugs (550). Furthermore, I would be curious to know whether stone vessels could be made in such a way that would function as well as ceramic vessels when intended to cook food.

[185] Sites include Bethlehem ha-Galil, Capernaum, Er-Reina, Gamla, H. 'Ofrat, Huqoq, Kafr Kanna, Karm er-Ras, Kefar Hananya, Kh. Wadi Hamam, Magdala, Migdal Ha-'emeq, Nabratein, Nazareth, Sepphoris, Tel Rekhesh, and Yodefat. Additionally, "cups" have been recorded from Gush Ḥalav, Suwa'id Ḥumeira, and Yafi'a.

[186] Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 40. Mugs of the third type have been found at Er-Reina and Bethlehem ha-Galil.

orientated 90 degrees from the placement of the handles. Mug form stone vessels hold small

quantities of liquids. They have often been called "measuring cups," which alludes to their

supposed function. The use of this terminology has declined in scholarly literature due to the

fact that these vessels have no standard volumetric measurements.[187] Alternatively, they have

sometimes been identified as ancient forms of natla cups, especially the spouted versions of

these vessels. Such an arrangement allows for easy pouring, although the single spouted

versions would only work effectively pouring from one hand onto the other. In some cases,

such vessels have two handles, which would make pouring from either side easier.[188] This

addition may indicate such a usage for these vessels. Stuart Miller considers this interpretation

to be an anachronism, which connects hand-washing rituals to a specific vessel form.[189]

Aviam has otherwise suggests that these mugs, as they are shaped differently from ceramic

ware, may have had a ritual use. He suggests that the spouted variety may have been used to

fill oil lamps.[190]

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[187] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 51 provides a range of volumes between 0.07 and 0.6 litres. See also Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 99, with arguments against A. Ben-David; Jonathan L. Reed, "Stone Vessels and Gospel Texts. Purity and Socio-Economics in John 2," in Alkier and Zangenberg, *Zeichen aus Text und Stein*, 381–401, 389. Similar comments made in Ronny Reich, David Amit and Rachel Bar-Nathan, "Volume-Measuring Devices from the Late Second Temple Period," in *Studies in Memory of Dan Barag*, eds. Robert Deutsch and Boaz Zissu, *INJ* 18 (Jerusalem: INJ, 2014), 59–68, 59, based upon analysis of mugs found at Masada. Kazen notes that even if this is the case, they still could theoretically be connected to handwashing; Thomas Kazen, *Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism*, ConBNT 45 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 162.
[188] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 51; Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 40.
[189] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 176.
[190] Aviam, "People, Land, Economy," 33.

2.2.2.2   *Large Kraters*

Figure 7 – Photo of Stone Kraters

Large krater forms are often well made and are of considerable volume.[191] They are thought to have been status symbols and indicators of a wealthy household as the process by which they were crafted was quite complex. Their rarity might be due to their difficult manufacturing process, and would likely have made them quite an expensive item.[192] While some scholars have compared the large krater form to Greek calyx vessels, there are sufficient typological differences for the former to have been greatly influenced by the latter.[193] They have been reported from 8 sites; notably not all of these sites appear to have been urbanised, although krater fragments have been found in all of the four large, 1st century CE, Galilean sites – Gamla, Magdala, Sepphoris and Tiberias.[194]

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[191] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 53–55.

[192] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 181.

[193] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 314. Mark A. Chancey, "Stone Vessels," in *EDEJ*, 1256–1257, 1256, notes that the krater has been compared to the *labrum* (Greco-Roman washbasin).

[194] Sites include Capernaum, Gamla, Kh. Qana, Kh. Wadi Hamam, Magdala, Nazareth, Sepphoris, and Tiberias

2.2.2.3   Bowls and Trays

These vessels are typically large tableware forms. They were sometimes made by hand and sometimes using the lathe.[195] Although often reports include only the general type "bowl" and often do not indicate whether these bowls were small or large, bowls have been reported from as many as 13 sites.[196] Shallow or small bowl forms have been compared with *terra sigillata* wares.[197]

2.2.2.4   Miscellaneous Stone Objects Related to Stone Vessel Forms

This category includes artefacts such as stone lids and stoppers. Stoppers have been recovered from 5 sites, while lids are known from 4.[198] Other rare forms known from sites in Galilee include loom weights (presumably made from the same chalkstone as the other vessels), stone toys, and lamps. Stone tables have also been found in the Upper City excavations in Jerusalem, although as far as I am aware, none have been reported from Galilee. Stuart Miller suggests that these small artefacts may have been cheaper and by covering an open vessel, kept the contents from becoming impure.[199] Many of the lids supposedly do not fit known stone vessel forms which may suggest that they were intended to cover ceramic vessels.[200] Another form of reported vessel is an inkwell; a fragment of one has been found in Gamla.[201] Reich suggests that stone scale weights may also be an example of

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[195] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 57–58; Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 20, 22, 40, 46.
[196] Sites include Capernaum, 'En-Tut, Er-Reina, Gamla, H. 'Ofrat, Huqoq, Karm er-Ras, Kh. Shema', Magdala, Nabratein, Sepphoris, Yafi'a and Yodefat.
[197] Chancey, "Stone Vessels," 1256.
[198] Stoppers have been reported from Er-Reina, Gamla, H. 'Ofrat, Nabratein, and Sepphoris, while lids are known from Er-Reina, Gamla, Karm er-Ras and Yafi'a.
[199] Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 176.
[200] Reed, "Stone Vessels and Gospel Texts," 389, commenting on vessels known from Galilee.
[201] Shimon Gibson, "Soft Limestone Vessels," in *Gamla III: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976–1989 – Finds and Studies Part 2*, ed. Danny Syon, IAA Reports 59 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2016), 49–81, 75–76.

purity concerns (one such limestone weight has been recovered from Gamla).[202] However, I

am unclear how stone weights would aid in avoiding purity. Perhaps their use in weighting

out meat would have allayed some purity fears, although there is no evidence to indicate that

this was the case.

2.2.3   Prevalence

Due to limestone nature as a soft and workable material, limestone vessels often

weather away.[203] An example of this can be seen from the report of finds at et-Tell. Among

the fragments listed, there are very few diagnostic remarks made about the original form of

many of the fragments. The images in the report show the extent to which these fragments

have become deformed.[204] As such, reports of a handful of stone vessels at a given site may

be an indicator that there were many used, or excavators may have been fortunate and

discovered most of the few that ever were present. We can make more definitive statements

about the nature of sites which have yielded a large number of vessels. Sites with fewer stone

vessel finds, such as et-Tell where only 22 fragments had been reported in over 15 years of

excavations, permit fewer clear conclusions about the table-culture of the settlement. While it

is often remarked that stone vessels are not found in any great quantities in sites outside of

Judea or Galilee, it should also be acknowledged that many sites within Galilee also do not

yield great quantities of stone vessels.[205] The hard and fast borders between "Jewish and non-

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[202] Ronny Reich, "The Distribution of Stone Scale Weights from the Early Roman Period and Its Possible Meaning," *IEJ* 59.2 (2009): 178. Reich suggests that this was a preference in Jerusalem, while such weights are rare in other places. The weight recovered from Gamla may have been taken there as a souvenir.
[203] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 161.
[204] Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Revised List of Limestone Vessels Found on Et-Tell (Bethsaida) from 1987–2012," in *Bethsaida in Archaeology, History and Ancient Culture: A Festschrift in Honor of John T. Greene*, ed. J. Harold Ellens (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 134–151.
[205] Magness, *Stone and Dung*, 70.

Jewish" settlement are much more permeable than would initially appear from a distribution map.

2.2.4   Locations where Stone Vessels Have Been Found in Galilee[206]

Due to the often rather vague reporting, it is difficult to determine the range of stone vessel types found across Galilee. The presence of a stone vessel of vessels in a given site is often noted, often without any details about the quantity or the types found. In some cases, this may be due to the deformed nature of the fragments, which limits the identification of both forms and the number of vessels. The below table is rather incomplete. Sites have been recorded where others have noted of the presence of stone vessels at that site, and where details could be found, they have been included. Where a site is reported, but no minimum quantity has been recorded, or the forms found reported, one should assume only a minimum amount of these vessels. The following table includes eighty sites, of which thirty have an indication of the number of vessels, and only nine have yielded more than ten fragments.

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[206] I have not included Meiron in my table, following Deines' dating of the single find of a mug handle in a 3rd or 4th century CE context which falls outside of my period of interest. See Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 152.
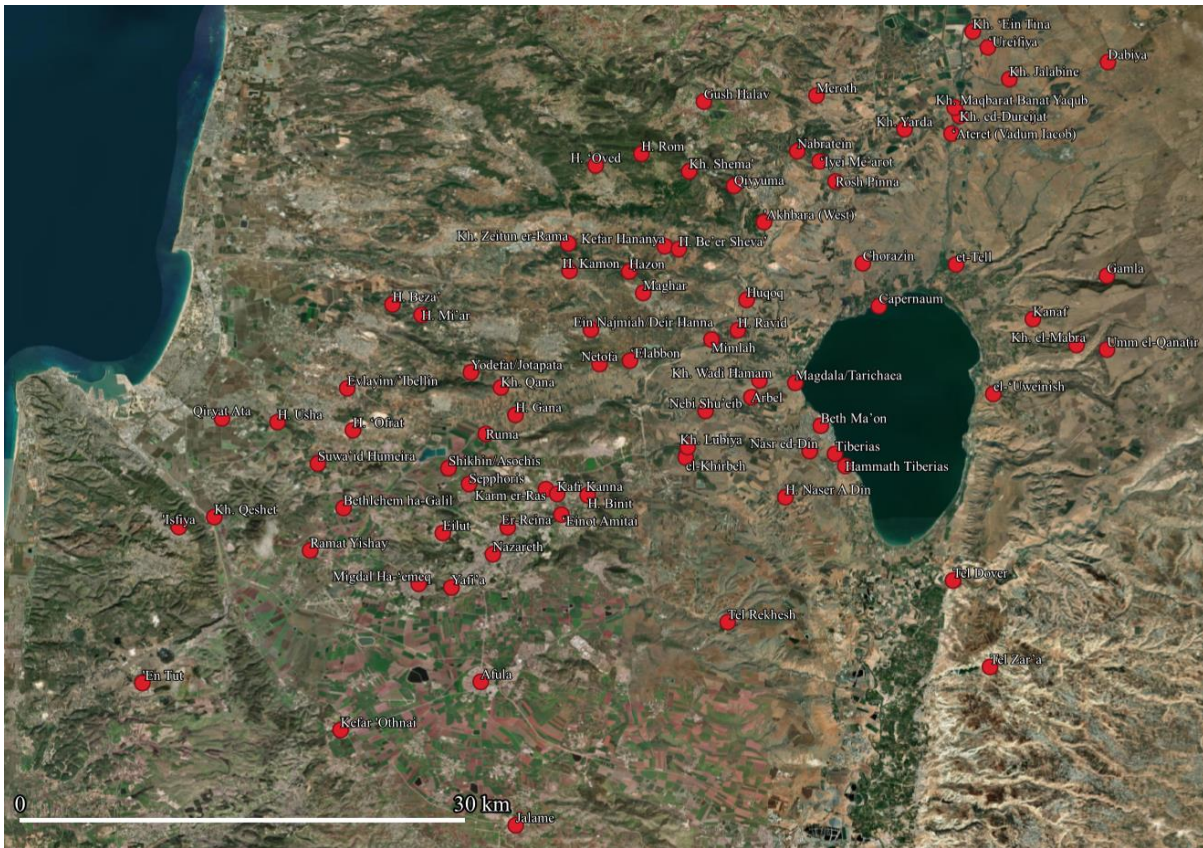
Figure 8 – Stone Vessel Finds in Galilee

Table 3 – Locations of Stone Vessel Finds in Galilee

Site Name	Context	Minimum Quantity reported (fragments)	Types Found
Afula[207]	No details		No details
'Akbara (West)[208]	No details	1	No details
Arbel[209]	No details	2	No details
'Ateret (Vadum Iacob)[210]	No details		No details
Beth Ma'on[211]	No details		No details

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[207] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 369.

[208] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[209] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[210] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[211] Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity," 209 n.19.

Bethlehem ha-Galil[212]	Stone vessel workshop	2	Mug, cores
Bethsaida (et-Tell)[213]	Areas A and C, from end of 1st century BCE	22	Many unclear fragments, 4 show signs of lathe-turning, 9 of hand-carving, the rest unclear
Capernaum[214]	Found in domestic areas (Areas 1–7, 9, 11–12), 100 BCE–70 CE, stone vessel workshop[215]	277	Reported as mostly mugs, < 2% of assemblage kraters.[216] Cores also reported[217] and bowls[218]
Dabiya[219]	No details		No details
Eilut[220]	No details		No details
Ein Najmiah/Deir Hanna[221]	No details	1	No details
'Einot Amitai[222]	Stone vessel workshop		No details
'Elabbon[223]	No details		No details
el-Khirbeh[224]	No details		No details
el-'Uweinish[225]	No details		No details
'En Tut[226]	ER, also found with some coins of Jannaeus, Archelaus and Herod, and Herodian lamps		Bowls
Er-Reina (En Rani)[227]	Stone vessel workshop, Hellenistic/ER, also	640	Around 600 cores from vessel manufacture; mug

[212] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 335; Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 167.

[213] Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Betsaida und et-Tell in frührömischer Zeit. Historische, archäologische und philologische Probleme einer als Wirkungsstätte Jesu angenommenen Ortslage – Teil II," *ZNW* 101.2 (2010): 184–185; *idem.*, "Limestone Vessels," 134–151.

[214] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333. Some details in Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 148–151.

[215] Andrea M. Berlin, "Jewish Life before the Revolt: The Archaeological Evidence," *JSJ* 36.4 (2005): 430.

[216] Reed, "Stone Vessels and Gospel Texts," 395.

[217] Gibson, "Stone Vessels," 291.

[218] Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 167.

[219] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 368.

[220] Aviam, "Distribution Maps," 119; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 335.

[221] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[222] Yuval Gadot and Yonatan Adler, "A Quantitative Analysis of Jewish Chalk Vessel Frequencies in Early Roman Jerusalem: A View from the City's Garbage Dump," *IEJ* 66.2 (2016): 209.

[223] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[224] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[225] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 369.

[226] Finkielsztejn and Gorzalczany, "'En Tut."

[227] Amit and Adler, "Observance of Ritual Purity," 141; Abdalla Mokary, "Er-Reina: Final Report," *HA-ESI* 124 (2012): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2061&mag_id=119; Gilad Bezal'el Jaffe, "Er-

	some materials swept into a stream		handle and side, bowl fragment and bowl lid, cores of various sizes, stoppers and loom weights (around 40 broken vessels)
Evlayim/'Ibellin[228]	No details		No details
Gamla[229]	Domestic and public contexts, by Area: R (280), S (126), T (14), M (12), G (10), A (9), H (8), and K (2). All 1st century BCE–70 CE. Stone vessel workshop[230]	487	Inkwell, mugs (48.03%), bowls (lathe and hand-carved, 27.72%), goblets (2.67%), kraters, cores and unfinished bowls, lids, stoppers, platters, loom weights, possible toy
Gush Ḥalav[231]	No details	2	Cup
Hammath Tiberias[232]	No details		No details
Ḥazon[233]	No details		No details
H. Be'er Sheva'[234]	No details		No details
H. Beza'[235]	No details		No details
H. Binit[236]	No details		No details
H. Gana[237]	No details		No details
H. Kamon[238]	No details		No details
H. Mi'ar[239]	No details		No details
H. Naser A Din[240]	No details		No details

Reina: Final Report," *HA-ESI* 124 (2012): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2153&mag_id=119.

[228] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[229] Berlin, *Gamla I*, 19; Gibson, "Soft Limestone Vessels," 49–81; *idem*., "Stone Vessels," 291, 293, 304–305; Danny Syon and Zvi Yavor, with Nimrod Getzov, "Gamla 1997–2000," *Atiqot* 50 (2005): 43, 51, 58.

[230] Berlin, "Jewish Life," 430.

[231] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[232] Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity," 209 n.19. At least some of these fragments are from after 135 CE; Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 26.

[233] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[234] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[235] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[236] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[237] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[238] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[239] Aviam, "Distribution Maps," 119.

[240] Aviam, "Distribution Maps," 119.

H. 'Ofrat[241]	Agricultural installations and building (Area A), ER period	4	Possible mug, two stoppers and a bowl/basin
H. 'Oved[242]	No details		No details
H. Ravid[243]	No details		No details
H. Rom[244]	No details		No details
Huqoq[245]	Other pottery fragments of 1st century CE, but could be as late as 4th century CE	4	Two mugs, lathe-turned cup and bowl
'Iyei Me'arot[246]	No details		No details
Jalame[247]	No details		No details
Kafr Kanna[248]	Domestic structure, 1st–3rd century CE	1	Mug handle
Kanaf[249]	No details		No details
Karm er-Ras[250]	ER domestic building, along with basalt grinding stones, suggesting food production context		Mugs, lids, small bowls, large basins
Kefar Hananya[251]	Pottery workshop	1	Mug handle
Kefar 'Othnai[252]	No details		No details
Kh. Bine West[253]	No details		No details
Kh. ed-Dureijat[254]	Survey find	1	No details
Kh. 'Ein Tina[255]	Survey finds	2	No details

[241] Yardenna Alexandre, "Ḥorbat 'Ofrat in the Late Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods," *Atiqot* 92 (2018): 59.

[242] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[243] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 368; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[244] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[245] Grey and Spigel, "Ḥuqoq," 371.

[246] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[247] Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity," 209 n.19. At least some of these fragments are from after 135 CE; Amit and Adler, "Observance of Ritual Purity," 139; Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 26.

[248] Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 160.

[249] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 368.

[250] Alexandre, "Karm er-Ras near Kafr Kanna," 150; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[251] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333; Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 152.

[252] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 370.

[253] Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity," 209 n.19. For map references see H. Binit above.

[254] Shaked and Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement," 30.

[255] Shaked and Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement," 30.

Kh. el-Mabra[256]	No details		No details
Kh. Jalabine[257]	Survey find	1	No details
Kh. Lubiya[258]	No details		No details
Kh. Maqbarat Banat Yaqub[259]	Survey finds	10	No details
Kh. Qana[260]	1–100 CE	3	Kraters
Kh. Qeshet[261]	No details		No details
Kh. Shema'[262]	No details	1	Bowl rim
Kh. Wadi Ḥamam (H. Veradim)[263]	1st–2nd century CE	3	A krater; mugs
Kh. Yarda[264]	No details		No details
Kh. Zeitun er-Rama[265]	No details		No details
Magdala[266]	Areas A, B and E (IAA/UAMS), 25 BCE–100 CE	2	Mugs, bowls, cups and kraters
Maghar[267]	No details		No details
Meroth[268]	No details		No details
Migdal Ha-'emeq[269]	No details	2	Mug
Mimlah[270]	No details		No details
Nabratein[271]	Stone vessel workshop, 1–150 CE	65	10 lathe turned bowls, 4 lathe turned stoppers, 8

[256] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 368.
[257] Shaked and Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement," 30.
[258] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.
[259] Shaked and Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement," 30.
[260] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.
[261] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 335.
[262] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.
[263] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 369; Uzi Leibner, "Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam in the Early and Middle Roman Periods," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 343–361, 351.
[264] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 368.
[265] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.
[266] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334; Dina Avshalom-Gorni, "Migdal: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 121 (2009): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1236&mag_id=115; Zapata-Meza, Díaz-Barriga and Sanz-Rincón, "Magdala Archaeological Project," 97, 119.
[267] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.
[268] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.
[269] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 335, Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 167.
[270] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.
[271] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333; Reed, "Stone Vessels and Gospel Texts," 385. At least some of these fragments are from after 135 CE. See Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 26.

			mugs internal lathe, 7 hand carved mugs, 6 tub fragments, 7 mug cores
Nasr ed-Din[272]	No details		No details
Nazareth[273]	1st century BCE–1st century CE	4	Mugs, krater (3 or fewer vessels), cores and broken remains (possible workshop)
Nebi Shu'eib[274]	No details		No details
Netofa[275]	No details		No details
Qiryat Ata (Kafrata)[276]	No details		No details
Qiyyuma[277]	No details		No details
Ramat Yishay[278]	Early Roman stratum with KH and Shikhin Ware, also white mosaic tesserae		No details
Rosh Pinna[279]	No details		No details
Ruma[280]	No details		No details
Sepphoris[281]	Mainly domestic settings, 100 BCE–70 CE.[282] Stone vessel workshop.[283]	116	Mugs, stoppers, jars, bowls, cores, large kraters (15), 55% lathe turned vessels, 40% hand carved.[284] These were

[272] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 369. At least some of these fragments are from after 135 CE. See Miller, *Intersection of Texts*, 26.

[273] Workshop found 3km north of Nazareth. See Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 145–146; Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 160; Strange, "Nazareth," 175.

[274] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[275] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[276] Aviam, "People, Land, Economy," 31.

[277] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[278] Yardenna Alexandre, "Ramat Yishay: Final Report," *HA-ESI* 122 (2010): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1338&mag_id=117.

[279] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 333.

[280] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334.

[281] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334; James F. Strange, Thomas R. W. Longstaff and Dennis E. Groh, *Excavations at Sepphoris: Volume I – University of South Florida Probes in the Citadel and Villa*, BRLA 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 57, 59, 62, 70, 91, 107, 212. Sepphoris also has finds post-dating 135 CE.

[282] Some of these fragments may be later than this period. Maya Sherman et al., "Chalkstone Vessels from Sepphoris: Galilean Production in Roman Times," *BASOR* 383 (2020): 79–95, demonstrate the continued production and use of stone vessels in Sepphoris after the 2nd century CE.

[283] Berlin, "Jewish Life," 430.

[284] Percentages given for a total of 127 fragments across all strata. Reed notes that kraters make up 15% of the assemblage at Sepphoris, similar to their relative quantity in the City of David, Jerusalem excavations (20%), see Reed, "Stone Vessels and Gospel Texts," 395, 398.

			mostly produced at Reina[285]
Shihin[286]	Early Roman/Roman	3	No details
Suwa'id Humeira[287]	1st century BCE–1st century CE with three Herodian lamp nozzles		Cup
Tel Dover[288]	No details		No details
Tel Rekhesh[289]	Large farmstead, 1st–2nd century CE	20	Mostly lathe-turned and hand finished (likely mugs)
Tel Zar'a[290]	No details		No details
Tiberias[291]	63 BCE–200 CE	2	Kraters
Umm el-Qanaṭir[292]	No details		No details
'Ureifiya[293]	Survey finds	3	No details
Yafi'a[294]	LH-ER		Bowls and cups, unclear lamp type object without stratigraphical context
Yodefat[295]	100 BCE–70 CE	120	~50% hand carved (probably mugs) and ~50% lathe-turned, about 80 rims, handles and bases, bowl types, one lid, and a table fragment

On the basis of accessible data, the evidence for widespread usage of stone vessels in

the late Second Temple period in the northern territory of the Hasmonean kingdom is rather

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[285] See Meyers, Meyers and Gordon, "Sepphoris: B," 48–49.

[286] James Riley Strange, "Shihin – 2012: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 128 (2016): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=25154&mag_id=124.

[287] Syon, "Suwa'id Humeira."

[288] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 369.

[289] Mordechai Aviam et al., "A 1st-2nd Century CE Assembly Room (Synagogue?) in a Jewish Estate at Tel Rekhesh, Lower Galilee," *TA* 46.1 (2019): 133.

[290] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 369.

[291] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 334; Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 147.

[292] Adler, "Archaeology of Purity," 368.

[293] Shaked and Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement," 30.

[294] Yardenna Alexandre, "Yafi'a: Final Report," *HA-ESI* 124 (2012): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2084&mag_id=119.

[295] David Adan-Bayewitz and Mordechai Aviam, "Iotapata, Josephus, and the Siege of 67: Preliminary Report on the 1992-94 Seasons," *JRA* 10 (1997): 164; Aviam, "Yodefat," 122–123.

meagre. What can be said, is that if the few sites from where many vessels have been

recovered are representative of Early Roman Galilean material culture, then we might suppose

that other sites may yet reveal such quantities of stone vessels if further excavations are

undertaken. Unfortunately, the state of reporting is such that it is extremely difficult to make

any definitive statements as the distribution of stone vessels in Galilee beyond a vessel being

discarded at any given settlement some time in antiquity.

2.2.5   Interpreting Stone Vessels

Stone vessels dating to the Second Temple period are most commonly found in

Jerusalem.[296] The fact that they are found in this location of heightened holiness, a significant

settlement in ancient Judaism, combined with later Mishnaic interpretations about the use of

stone vessels, has led many to argue that these artefacts are closely connected to purity

conceptions.[297] While they are most prevalent in Palestine, and particularly settlements which

from the textual record appear to have been inhabited by Jews, stone vessels have also been

found in sites which are commonly thought to be "non-Jewish." This suggests that either Jews

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[296] Their prevalence in Jerusalem is not as significant as once thought. Cf. Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 161, with Gadot and Adler, "Quantitative Analysis," 202–219. Here the authors conclude that when the quantities of stone vessels *relative* to the quantities of ceramic vessels from an ancient Jerusalem dump and the finds from Gamla are analysed, the vessel profile of Jerusalem is not unique. Gamla has a very similar ratio of stone to ceramic vessels. Jerusalem is still notable in the sheer variety of forms found.

[297] For instance, Hanan Eshel, "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery, Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998*, eds. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon and Avital Pinnick, STDJ 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52, 45 n.2, cites m. Kelim 10:1; m. Miqw. 4:1; m. 'Ohal. 5:5; 6:1; m. Parah 5:5; m. Yad. 1:2 as texts which guide our understanding of stone vessels. Similarly, in the *EDEJ* entry on stone vessels, Mark Chancey cites in addition b. Šabb. 58a and John 2:6 [see 2.2.6]. See Chancey, "Stone Vessels," 1256; and the extensive discussion of rabbinic sources in Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 192–246; Susan Haber, *"They Shall Purify Themselves" – Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*, ed. Adele Reinhartz, EJL 24 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 194. While they may accurately reflect earlier viewpoints, I refer readers to my comments above on the use of rabbinic sources for archaeological remains from the 1st century BCE and CE [see 2.1.3].

used stone vessels in these places, or that the commodity was desirable to non-Jews.[298] As with ritual immersion pools, there is little in the way of contemporary references to these artefacts which could offer an explanation of what these vessels were used for, or what meaning they may have held for their users. John Poirier suggests that they could have been used for handwashing, particularly in preparation for meals.[299] This would account for some forms of these vessels (the mugs) but does not explain the usage of other forms. Andrea Berlin includes stone vessels as part of "Household Judaism." As the stone which formed these vessels came from the local regions, the vessels may have created a sense of dependence on the land itself. Berlin suggests that they may "have communicated a pride of place, a place suffused with an increasingly visible and material Jewish identity."[300] Jürgen Zangenberg points out, however, that the use of the same medium to create stone vessels "is not sufficient reason to assume that they were motivated by one and the same purpose."[301] It is thought that the skill require to produce even the most basic forms of stone vessels would have meant that they were an expensive household item. There is no direct evidence for this, although especially for the large forms, this seems to be likely. Finds from the Upper City of Jerusalem indicate that the large krater forms were displayed. Douglas Oakman argues that this would suggest that "stone vessels were thus a mark of status and not simply an indication of purity concerns."[302]

The interpretation of stone vessels is also complicated by the discovery of hundreds of fragments at Kh. Qumran. Adler points out that the scholarly discussion of how to reconcile

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[298] Stuart S. Miller, "Some Observations on Stone Vessel Finds and Ritual Purity in Light of Talmudic Sources," in Alkier and Zangenberg, *Zeichen aus Text und Stein*, 402–419, 417. Roland Deines notes that a few such vessels have been found in Jordan, the coastal plain and Samaria; Deines, "Non-literary Sources," 32.
[299] John C. Poirier, "Purity beyond the Temple in the Second Temple Era," *JBL* 122.2 (2003): 257.
[300] Berlin, "Household Judaism," 214.
[301] Zangenberg, "Pure Stone," 554.
[302] Oakman, "Debate," 353.

the presence of stone vessels at Qumran, with the statements about stone vessels impurity in the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll proceeds from the very fact that these scrolls were found at the site. He writes, "if not for the texts discovered in the caves adjacent to the site, there would be no reason to imagine that the residents of Kh. Qumran related to the chalk vessels they used in a manner disparate from the way any other Jews related to such vessels."[303] While Adler attempts to reconcile these passages with the assumed status of stone vessels [see 2.3], the fact that there are competing theories around the use of these same vessels should alert us to the possibility that these vessels were not always used in the same way, or that people attached the same meaning to these vessels in all places. Yet, on the basis of the widespread acceptance of these vessels in Galilean settlements of all sizes and locations, it appears that the stone vessels, whatever their original purpose, were accepted generally among ancient Galileans as suitable vessels. It is unclear how these vessels were used, aside from the general facts that they appear to have been modelled after other forms of table vessels, they are found in built-up and rural settlements, and that there are many texts which theoretically relate purity conceptions to the use of stone.

2.2.6   Literary Evidence Relating to Stone Vessels

Various Jewish texts either relate stone vessels to purity conceptions or provide some kind of theoretical approach to such vessels. For instance, whereas some texts mandate the breaking of ceramic vessels if they become impure, stone vessels are either not mentioned, or stone as a medium itself appears to remain unaffected by sources of impurity (Lev 11:33).

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[303] Yonatan Adler, "The Impurity of Stone Vessels in 11QTª and CD in Light of the Chalk Vessel Finds at Kh. Qumran," *DSD* 27.1 (2020): 78.

John 2:6 is the earliest recorded reference to stone vessels and connects them specifically to

purification.

John 2:6 [author's own translation]

6 ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ λίθιναι ὑδρίαι ἓξ κατὰ τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κείμεναι, χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δύο ἢ τρεῖς.

6 there lay six stone water-pitchers for the purpose of Jewish purification, each containing two or three liquid measures [c. 25–39 litres].[304]

This verse alludes most clearly to the known stone vessels. These vessels appear to have

had quite a large capacity. Deines discusses the history of interpretation of this verse,

including the notion that the measurements for these vessels were thought to be exaggerations

until the krater forms were first discovered. The krater forms themselves hold a greater

quantity of liquid than even the standard volumes in translations (i.e., 66 litres).[305] While this

verse explicitly connects stone vessels and purification conceptions, it says very little about

how these vessels were used. Their presence at a wedding scene, filled with water may

indicate that purification with water was used in public occasions, but this becomes

speculative, especially as the text itself is one of the last in this discussion to have been

written.

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[304] The same word is used in 3 Kgdms 18:32 translating סָאתַיִם which is identified by Josephus in his rewriting (here termed a σάτον) as being equal to one and a half Italian *modii*, (*Ant*. 9.85). According to Dominic Rathbone, a *modius* is a unit of dry measurement, being 8.62 litres in volume and weighing 6.8 kilogrammes of wheat. See Dominic Rathbone, "Earnings and Costs: Living Standards and the Roman Economy," in *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems*, eds. Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 299–326, 301. See also *HALOT* 2:737. In other passages, this term translates בַּתִּים (2 Chr 4:5) and is added to clarify measurements in Hag 2:16. Notably in this verse, the dry measurements are translated in the LXX as σάτον (volume of barley) and the wet as μετρητής (wine). Clearly the term was not used consistently for a particular unit, whether a *bath* or a *seah*. Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 142, drawing from the figures in presented in Angelo Segrè, "A Documentary Analysis of Ancient Palestinian Units of Measure," *JBL* 64.3 (1945): 357–375, argues that John 2:6 records the capacity of these vessels as between two and three Hellenistic *baths*. According to Segrè a Hellenistic *bath* consisted of 21.83 litres (361). Thus, Magen arrives at a figure of between c. 44 and 66 litres for the vessels mentioned in John 2:6 and notes that these would be smaller than the typical krater vessel.

[305] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 266–275. See also the brief mention in Chancey, "Stone Vessels," 1256.

Lev 11:32–35[306] [MT; NRSV]

32 ל אֲשֶׁר־יִפֹּל־עָלָיו מֵהֶם בְּמֹתָם יִטְמָא מִכָּל־כְּלִי־עֵץ א בֶּגֶד א ־עֹ ר א   שָׂק כָּל־כְּלִי אֲשֶׁר־יֵעָשֶׂה מְלָאכָה בָּהֶם בַּמַּיִם וכ י ָ א וְתָמֵא עַד־הָעֶרֶב וְטָהֵר

33 וְכָל־כְּלִי־חֶרֶשׂ אֲשֶׁר־יִפֹּל מֵהֶם אֶל־ כ   כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יִטְמָא ואת תְּשַׁבֹּר

34 מִכָּל־הָאֹכֶל אֲשֶׁר יֵאָכֵל אֲשֶׁר יָב א עָלָיו מַיִם יִטְמָא וְכָל־מַשְׁקֶה אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׁתֶה בְּכָל־כְּלִי יִטְמָא

35 וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יִפֹּל מִנִּבְלָתָם עָלָיו יִטְמָא ָ נ ר וּכִירַיִם יֻ ָ ץ טְמֵאִים הֵם טְמֵאִים יִהְיוּ לָכֶם

32 And when they are dead, anything that they fall upon shall be unclean, any vessel of wood, or cloth,[307] or skin, or sackcloth, any vessel used for any purpose, they shall be put into the water, and they will be unclean until the evening, and then they will be clean.

33 And if any of them falls into any ceramic vessel, everything in it shall be unclean and you shall break the vessel.

34 And any food that could be eaten shall be unclean if any water from any such vessel comes into contact with it, and any liquid that could be drunk shall be unclean if it was in any such vessel.

35 Everything on which any part of the carcass falls shall be unclean; whether an oven or stove, it shall be broken in pieces; they are unclean, and shall remain unclean for you.

If these verses are considered authoritative for everyday life, then most forms of vessel can become unclean through contamination in the event that an unclean creature's body is found in them. David Wright suggests that all utensils are made impure, even metal (cf. Num 31:23). The verses here focus on organic materials. Everything apart from fired earthenware can be purified (cf. Lev 15:12).[308] This provides the theoretical model for the use of stone vessels.[309] Unlike ceramic vessels, they would not have to be broken, so they likely were appealing insofar as they would not have to be replaced as frequently. These rulings apply to the household and most readily to the consumption of food and drink. Dining in a house which had stone vessels to serve, or eat food, or hold drink, would signal to members of the household and guests that the household took measures to prevent impurity. A guest could

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[306] Noted by Yonatan Adler, "Religion, Judaism: Purity in the Roman Period," in *OEBA*, 240–249, 245.
[307] LXX uses ἱματίου ("garments") here.
[308] David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature*, SBLDS 101 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 94–95.
[309] As noted by Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 138. See also Adler, "Impurity of Stone Vessels," 79–80; *idem.*, "Purity in the Roman Period," 245, citing also Lev 15:12.

trust that their hosts carefully avoided impurity and likely purified when required. This would

likely assist in establishing a household's position in the community.

Lev 15:4 [MT; NRSV]

4 כָּל־הַמִּשְׁכָּב אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב עָלָיו הַזָּב יִטְמָא וְכָל־הַכְּלִי אֲשֶׁר־יֵשֵׁב עָלָיו יִטְמָא

4 every bed on which one with the discharge lies shall be unclean, and everything on which
he sits shall be unclean

Here the Greek text places the term σκεῦος in the second clause where the MT uses הכלי

yet retains the sense of seat. This may open the interpretation to show that in the conceptions

of the translators, any vessel could be rendered impure through contact with a man who is

impure through irregular discharge. No exception is made for seats made of particular

materials.

Num 19:14–15 [MT; NRSV]

14 זֹאת הַ   רָה אָדָם כִּי־יָמ ת בְּאֹהֶל כָּל־הַבָּא אֶל־הָאֹהֶל וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר בָּאֹהֶל יִטְמָא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים

15 וְכֹל כְּלִי פָת חַ אֲשֶׁר אֵין־צָמִיד פָּתִיל עָלָיו טָמֵא ה א

14 This is the law when someone dies in a tent[310]: everyone who comes into the tent, and
everyone who is in the tent, shall be unclean for seven days.
15 And every open vessel with no cover fastened on it is unclean.

If vessels have to be covered to keep them from becoming impure, then they must be

able to become impure.[311] This may be interpreted maximally, so that *everything* has to be

purified or destroyed as *everything* is open to defilement.[312] This text may provide some

context for the stone stoppers and lids which have been discovered. That these stone artefacts

seem to "fit" ceramic vessels suggests that the lids and stoppers provided a defence for "aerial

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[310] LXX uses οἰκίᾳ ("house") here and subsequently.
[311] Wright, *Disposal of Impurity*, 96.
[312] Adler, "Impurity of Stone Vessels," 82.

defilement."[313] Thus, stone vessels (or more specifically stone lids) may have provided a kind

of pre-emptive barrier against impurity in the household.[314] One might imagine that these

stoppers were popular in poorer households; if the household wanted to observe these kinds of

purity requirements, then they would have had to break and replace ceramic vessels. Using

lids may have actually been cost efficient, and perhaps shows that poorer households were

also interested in observing purity conceptions. If this verse were generally held to be

authoritative, then it is unclear why ceramic lids would not have had the same effect. We may

posit that stone lids and stoppers had a kind of double preventative function against impurity.

Num 31:20, 22–23[315] [MT; NRSV]

20 וְכָל־בֶּגֶד וְכָל־כְּלִי־ע ר וְכָל־מַעֲשֵׂה עִזִּים וְכָל־כְּלִי־עֵץ . תִּחַטָּא

22 א   אֶת־הַזָּהָב וְאֶת־הַכָּסֶף אֶת־הַנְּחֹשֶׁת אֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל אֶת־הַבְּדִיל וְאֶת־הָעֹפָרֶת

23 כָּל־דָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־יָבֹא בָאֵשׁ _ עֲבִיר בָאֵשׁ וְטָהֵר א   בְּמֵי נִדָּה יִתְחַטָּא וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָבֹא בָאֵשׁ _ עֲבִיר בַמָּיִם

20 You shall purify every garment, every article of skin, everything made of goats' hair, and every article of wood.

22 Gold, silver, bronze, iron, tin, and lead,

23 everything that can withstand fire shall be passed through fire, and it shall be clean. Nevertheless it shall also be purified with the water for purification; and whatever cannot withstand fire, shall be passed through the water.

Here are the processes by which items captured in warfare are purified. Earthenware is

absent from the list. Following the ruling of Numbers 19:15, clay vessels are susceptible to

impurity.[316] Thus, Avraham Faust suggests that pottery is not mentioned here because pottery

cannot be purified.[317] Otherwise, Adler suggests that pottery was probably not considered

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[313] See Gudrun Holtz, "Temple and Purification Rituals: From Torah to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Scrolls and Biblical Tradition: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki*, eds. George J. Brooke et al., STDJ 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 196–216, 210, on the description of this kind of defilement as "ariel."

[314] Fitted stone lids would likely have been more costly, so it appears that stone would have been intentionally chosen over ceramic lids.

[315] As noted by Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 138.

[316] Wright, *Disposal of Impurity*, 96.

[317] Avraham Faust, "The World of P: The Material Realm of Priestly Writings," *VT* 69.2 (2019): 187.

valuable war booty, and therefore was not usually collected.[318] In either case, this verse does

not mention stone vessels as an object which required purification. Stone vessels are also not

required to be broken following defilement, as ceramic vessels were (cf. Lev 11:32–35). Thus,

there is theoretic space for stone vessels to be considered insusceptible to impurity; if a) they

do not explicitly need to be purified and b) they do not need to be broken, then stone vessels

could be considered insusceptible toward impurity.

CD 12:15b–17a cf. 4Q255 frag. 9 2:2–4 [text and first translation: *DSSR* 1:102–103; second
translation: *DSSSE*, 1:571]

15 ...וכל העצים והאבנים

16 והעפר אשר יגואלו בטמאת האדם לגאולי שמן בהם כפי

17 טמאתם יטמא הנ[ו]גע בם

15 *vacat* Every piece of wood or stone

16 or dust that is desecrated by human uncleanness, by reason of oil stains: according to their

17 uncleanness, whoever touches them will become unclean.

15 And all the wood[319] and stones

16 and soil[320] which are defiled by man's impurity, while with stains of oil in them, in accordance with

17 their uncleanness will make whoever touches them impure.

The ruling records that materials which have already been stained with oil can become

impure. Hanan Eshel argues that wooden, stone and dust vessels can be defiled only if they

are stained with oil, which was considered by the Qumran community to be a vehicle for

impurity (cf. *War* 2.123; 11QT 49:11).[321] This then means that stone vessels (and also

wooden and dust vessels) are insusceptible to impurity in most circumstances for the Qumran

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[318] Adler, "Impurity of Stone Vessels," 80–81.
[319] Any sort of wood, cf. Deut 16:21, as noted in *HALOT* 2:864.
[320] Following Vered Noam, "Qumran and the Rabbis on Corpse-Impurity: Common Exegesis–Tacit Polemic," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 397–430, 423.
[321] Jodi Magness, "The Impurity of Oil and Spit among the Qumran Sectarians," in *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Elior*, eds. Daphna V. Arbel and Andrei A. Orlov, Ekstasis 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 223–231, 223–224.

community had they followed this ruling.[322] This would account for the presence of the 200 or so stone vessel fragments found at Qumran, as presumably the Qumran community members also found the vessels to serve a useful halakic purpose. Yitzhak Magen considers this passage to have originated prior to the beginning of industrial stone vessel production in the 1st century BCE. The text does not have the same positive perspective on stone vessels as the later texts in the Mishnah and John 2, which reflect the widespread acceptance of stone vessels.[323] However, if Ian Werrett is correct, then the passage only indicates that raw materials are in themselves insusceptible to impurity, unless they are stained with oil, in which case stone vessels may or may not qualify as raw materials.[324] Adler argues that the passage here and a similar reference in 11QT 49:14–15 [discussed below] are both associated with corpse impurity. The ruling from the scrolls which concerns the defilement of stone vessels draws from the language of Number 19:14–15, 18; 31:19–23, which notes that *all* vessels in a household are defiled by a corpse. Thus, the scrolls only determine that stone vessels become impure in this instance.[325] Harrington had offered this interpretation earlier, that stone *could* be considered impure in some circumstances, but not all.[326] This would still allow for stone vessels to be barriers against further impurity, except in the case of a household death. Vered Noam argues that all the household materials were included because the household is also a worked object, and thus susceptible to impurity.[327] Some households may have had such a stringent position, but then it would be difficult to prove that a given household believed this from that household's domestic assemblage.

[322] Eshel, "CD 12:15–17," 49–52.
[323] See Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 144–145.
[324] See the discussion in Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 38–41. Werrett does not address the issue of stone vessels specifically here, but later in connection with 11QT 49:11–16.
[325] Adler, "Impurity of Stone Vessels," 68–69. Adler here discusses the history of interpretation of these passages and also the stone vessel fragments found at Qumran.
[326] Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 21, 49, also commenting on 11QT 49:12–16.
[327] Noam, "Qumran and the Rabbis," 427.

Copper Scroll (3Q15) 3:1–4 [text and first translation: *DSSR* 2:948–949; second translation: *DSSSE* 1:234–235]

<div dir="rtl">

1 בחצ[ר]... תחת הפנא הדרו

2 מית]חפר[אמות תשע כלי כסף וזהב של

3 דמע מזרקות כוסות מנקיאות

4 קסאות כל שש מאות ותשעה

</div>

1 In the courtyard of […], underneath the southern

2 corner, <dig down> nine cubits: votive vessels of silver and gold,

3 sprinkling basins, cups, bowls,

4 and pitchers, numbering six hundred and nine.

1 In the courtyard of […], underneath the South corner

2 at nine cubits: gold and silver

3 tithe-vessels, goblets, cups, jars,

4 vases; total: six hundred and nine.

Deines suggests that the tithe-vessels of line three may refer to stone vessels (cf. 3Q15 1:9; 3:9; 5:6; 8:3; 11: 1, 4, 10, 14).[328] These vessels may have been used to hold the ashes of the red heifer (Num 19:9).[329] Judah Lefkovits suggests that these "vessels" were of five varieties: vessels used in the temple; garments worn by priests; tools used in the temple's Wood Chamber; objects donated to the temple; dedicated objects named for certain places.[330] The connection between this reference and stone vessels does not appear to have been discussed by many scholars and it remains a possibility. The text does not add much to our discussion here.

11QT (11Q19) 49:14–15 [text and first translation: *DSSR* 1:684–685; second translation: *DSSSE* 2:1268–1269] (Harrington, Purity Texts, 21 includes 12–16, later (76) also vv. 5–6)

<div dir="rtl">

14 יצא המת ממנו יטהרו את הבית ואת כול כליו רחים ומדוכה

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[328] Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße*, 187, cf. the altar vessels in 11QT 33:13–14.

[329] Judah K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: A Reevaluation – A New Reading, Translation and Commentary*, STDJ 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 505–545, 524

[330] Lefkovits, *Copper Scroll*, 545.

15 וכול כלי עץ ברזל ונחושת וכול כלים אשר יש להמה טהרה

14 the dead body will leave it, they shall purify the house and all its vessels, (including) mills and mortars,

15 and all vessels made of wood, iron and bronze, and all vessels that may be purified.

14 the dead person is brought out from it, they shall cleanse the house and all its utensils, the mills, and the mortar,

15 and all the utensils of wood, iron and bronze, and all the utensils for which there is purity

This passage is an expansion on Numbers 19:18 which requires all household vessels to be sprinkled, although changes the domicile from a tent to a house.[331] These verses specify what types of material are included in this requirement and add the "mills and mortar" to the standard lists of types of vessels from passages such as Leviticus 11:32 and Numbers 31:21–22.[332] A supply of water within the household would help with such a regulation.

2.2.7   Stone Vessels as Spatial Producers

Stone vessels are participants in spatial production. Their presence in a household allows that the residents could observe purity regulations and may have taken steps to limit the effects of impurity in their domicile. Dividing the forms of stone vessels into "replacement" forms and "innovative" forms suggests that their purpose was varied. Stone vessel forms which "replaced" other known tableware pottery and cooking vessels substitute ordinary vessels for ones which project a sense of purity observance within and outside the household. Guests would note that food was served upon, prepared with, or stored within stone vessels, and thus be aware that the hosts were particular about a kind of purity observance. This is a performative aspect of ritual behaviour. Purity conceptions embodied

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[331] Noam, "Qumran and the Rabbis," 416.
[332] Adler, "Impurity of Stone Vessels," 70–71.

and enacted through these types of vessels sacralises both human action and domestic locales. This sacralisation would likely have been heightened when purity was threatened, and in some cases avoided through the use of stone vessels, particularly at mealtimes. This would suggest that sacred spaces were enacted in Galilean households through ritual practices designed to limit impurity. It is probable that meals in households which did not use stone vessels were also sites of sacred space creation, but stone vessels provide more secure and widespread evidence that meals were being ritualised throughout Galilee during the 1st century CE and possibly earlier. These vessels guard against impurity, allowing for a greater degree of control over what comes into contact with the body. A guest would likely be unaware if their host had encountered a source of impurity [see 3.3.2], but conceptions about stone vessels as insusceptible to impurity would create a space of control.[333] The vessels indicate that their owners were concerned about their meals and preparing food, and would likely assure a guest that their hosts had curated a space of ritual purity in their household.

Stone vessels further distinguish their users from non-users; tableware and table practices may demonstrate one's cultural location. The use of stone vessels may also distinguish a settlement from another. The sheer number of settlements where stone vessels have been found in this region, compared to the surrounding areas suggests that, whether by design or through continued use, stone vessels were a signifier of a particular kind of outlook or social requirement that could be satisfied by the possession and use of such vessels. Contemporary texts only suggest a mechanism by which stone vessels could be conceived of as limiting impurity; they do not describe whether these vessels functioned in such a way. I would tentatively suggest that stone vessels were marketed initially for their durability (based on their expected 10 to 20-year lifespan), and then became indicators that the owners were

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[333] Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 519.

concerned with maintaining purity in their own household or business. This appears to be the case because of the earliest and most widespread stone vessels are the mug forms. Later forms were more finely worked which suggests that the earliest vessels were used by individuals, and then later forms began to replace tableware. This may be a similar trend to that seen in Gamla during the 1st century CE [see 4.3.1.6.3]. When this development took place, and how quickly after the outset of stone vessel production in the Early Roman period is uncertain.

2.3 Ritual Immersion Pools and Stone Vessels, Space and Identity

Ritual immersion pools and stone vessels have been taken to be indicators of Jewish identity [see 1.2.3]. For instance, Sanders suggests that full-body immersion "was common to one and all: aristocrats, priests, the laity, the rich, the poor, the Qumran sectarians, the Pharisees and the Sadducees."[334] Hoss points to them as evidence of Hasmonean expansion. It is unclear whether these are tied to the state or to an identity, although Hoss states that because Jews now lived at quite a distance from the Jerusalem Temple, these helped with the observance of religious obligations.[335] Berlin considers ritual immersion pools to be a feature of "Household Judaism." Following changes in the 1st century BCE and CE to the ceramic profile of many settlements in Judea and Galilee, Berlin argues that the homelife of Jews in the region was distinctive. Household items which distinguish this type of household include ritual immersion pools, stone vessels, Herodian oil lamps, locally made and undecorated pottery consisting of large storage jars, particular forms of cooking pots, small personal bowls

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[334] Sanders, *Judaism*, 222–223. See further *idem*., "Common Judaism Explored," 11–23, cf. Eric M. Meyers, "Sanders's 'Common Judaism'," in Udoh et al., *Redefining First-Century*, 153–174.
[335] Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 118.

and dishes.[336] While discussing the pools of Sepphoris, Marianne Sawicki describes their role

as "defensive borders against threats to "Jewishness" from without and from within." The

pools also function as signals of household strictness to potential marriage partners, and

agricultural pools have a rhetorical power.[337] While many of these scholars' insights draw

attention to how these materials may have functioned within Judaism, they often ignore or

dismiss the possibility that this was not an exclusive function for these artefacts. While Adler

notes that stone vessels are "conspicuously almost entirely absent from the non-Jewish sites,

such as the Greek cities of the Decapolis and those along the coastal plain as well as the entire

region of Samaria," this still homogenises regions like Galilee as Jewish and places outside as

non-Jewish.[338] In some cases, these materials have been assigned to a particular sub-group

within Judaism. Martin Hengel and Deines attribute both "*miqva'ot*" and stone vessels to

"Pharisaic influence."[339] Deines later describes these phenomena as "common features of

everyday Jewish life" although notes that it is unclear what stone vessels were used for and

who used them.[340]

The direct connection between ritual immersion pools and/or stone vessels with Jewish

identity is widespread in scholarship but relies on certain assumptions about what constitutes

ancient Jewish identity, the demographics of late Second Temple period Palestine, and how

archaeology and groups interconnect.[341] As argued earlier [see 1.3.5], ancient Jewish identity

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[336] Andrea M. Berlin, "Manifest Identity: From *Ioudaios* to Jew – Household Judaism as Anti-Hellenization in the Late Hasmonean Era," in Albertz and Wöhrle, *Between Cooperation and Hostility*, 151–175, discussion of ritual immersion pools on 169. See also *idem*., "Household Judaism," 212.

[337] Sawicki, "Archaeology as Space Technology," *MTSR* 6.4 (1994): 342.

[338] Adler, "Religion, Judaism," 247.

[339] Martin Hengel and Roland Deines, "Review: E. P. Sanders' 'Common Judaism', Jesus, and the Pharisees," *JTS* 46.1 (1995): 34; Deines, "Pharisees." Against this position, see Zangenberg, "Common Judaism," 177, who argues that material remains may or may not point to exclusively particular forms of Judaism. This point has been mentioned above but it can be reiterated here, not just as a claim against the use of these materials by particular groups, but also insofar as it draws attention to the potential for non-religious/ritual uses for these artefacts.

[340] Deines, "Non-literary Sources," 35, 37.

[341] This position is not universal; Eric Meyers is open to at least the possibility that non-Jews used stone vessels; Meyers, "Sanders's 'Common Judaism'," 160. Furstenberg, "Complex Purity," 126, also approaches this

was highly variegated. Many forms of practice and belief are documented in text of the period, and even where a few key conceptions are known, these were by no means the only viable forms of Jewish expression. There is a difference between arguing that these artefacts were used by Jews, that these artefacts were *only* used by Jews, and further, that these artefacts were used only by Jews *and* were a marker of their identity. Alternatively, it could be argued that these artefacts helped mark out a form of Jewish identity, but that they were not exclusively used by Jews.

Even when scholars take a more nuanced approach, they still typically assign these materials specifically to Jewish use. For instance, Mark Chancey suggests that unless remains are distributed heavily, then we cannot say more than that a portion of a settlement was Jewish.[342] While he refrains for identifying a settlement as solely Jewish, he maintains that these materials were used by Jews and the presence of these artefacts indicates the presence of Jewish people. Thus, there is a direct connection between the use of these artefacts and the identity of the users. I do not deny that this was often the case, as both ritual immersion pools and stone vessels can be successfully related to ancient Jewish purity conceptions, even if these conceptions were not universally shared. However, when these materials stand in for identity, we may fail to recognise demographic diversity in the ancient world.[343] Recalling the material discussed in the introduction [see 1.3.4.2] and as put by Whittaker, "archaeology cannot dig up ethnicity."[344] As Craffert points out, the link between ritual immersion pools and Jewish identity is often a circular argument; a settlement is Jewish because it has such

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possibility: "archaeology reveals that we are actually facing a compound of varying cultural expressions within a shared space."

[342] Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity," 215, here also includes the presence of ossuaries, bone boxes for secondary burial, but these finds do not date to the time before the First Jewish War so have not been discussed here. See similar sentiments in Miller, *Intersection*, 177, concerning stone vessels' role as identity markers.

[343] See the reservations of Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 134.

[344] Whittaker, "Ethnic Discourses," 189–205.

pools, and a pool is Jewish because it is in a Jewish settlement.[345] Therefore, I have aimed to be explicit in describing and imagining a subsection of the use of these artefacts, only that use *within* ancient Judaism.

These artefacts suggest that purity conceptions were widespread across ancient Galilee, even if we cannot be sure if they were widespread in any given settlement. Whether all of these artefacts were used all the time as ritual items that dealt with or prevented impurity transmission, it does appear that in some cases they were likely intended to be used in this way. Spaces and locales of life which frequently are featured in ancient Jewish purity conceptions [see 3.3] are also areas where these artefacts are found, i.e., around consumption, harvesting, the experience of daily life, during times of crisis, and communal gatherings [see 5.6]. These artefacts were used to varying degrees to construct the environment of Galilee, an environment that conveyed the importance of bodily purity. Both ritual immersion pools and many stone vessels are also connected by a core component, limestone. This medium is an essential ingredient in the stone vessels, but also a core constituent of the plaster which enables ritual immersion pools to hold water.[346] Whether this was a conscious connection or not, limestone clearly was an important material for ritual purity in the late Second Temple period. This provides us an insight into ancient Galilean lives. The overall picture of Galilee as a space where purity mattered has been conveyed in scholarship. This should be tempered with the limits of the available evidence. One form of Galilean social space was indeed like this. However, this is only one part of Galilean history. These artefacts, while widespread, do not currently appear to have been evenly spread across the region. Certain sites, such as Sepphoris and Gamla appear as exemplars of this kind of Galilean space, while other sites have not currently offered the same quantity of materials. Therefore, it appears that Galilee

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[345] Craffert, "Digging up 'Common Judaism'," 45.
[346] Bonnie, "Bath/Mikveh."

was constituted of various spaces, one of these being concerned with a material culture that was concerned with (im)purity. It appears that their adoption in more built-up population centres may have been a form of "power-geometry" [see 1.4.2]. The power these sites exuded over the rest of the region may not have been received positively. Stone vessels were marketed widely, but it is unclear whether they were "popular" in many settlements. The Galilean stone workshops exported this form of spatial control, and the focus of scholarship on these particular artefacts continues this domination over other, more opaque forms of Galilean spatial expression. One further consideration suggests that these materials had some significance for space creation. Compared to the surrounding regions, ritual immersion pools and stone vessels are indeed quite prevalent. This may indicate that the region itself was considered to be important [see 6.2]. As Karen Wenell notes, ritual immersion pools "could hardly be moved. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that they indicate a claim – if not to land itself – to the right to practise purity in the land and thereby maintain its holiness as its inhabitants"[347] As the pools marked off spaces especially for ritual purification, it also suggests a link between habitation in this particular region and maintaining some kind of holiness [see 3.4.1].[348]

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[347] Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 77.
[348] Wenell, *Jesus and Land*, 103.

3. Purity in Late Second Temple Period Judaism

The increasing number of stepped pools and stone vessels found in Galilee from the Hasmonean and Herodian periods attests to a widespread concern for purity. These phenomena should be understood as related to bodily space and were apparently designed to help the user attain purity or remove bodily impurity. This chapter discusses how purity is thought to have functioned in late Second Temple Judaism. Firstly, I introduce how the body and bodily space is a helpful lens through which to understand (im)purity conceptions. Secondly, I briefly present the relevant texts which were circulating during the Hasmonean and Herodian periods which include (im)purity conceptions related to the body. Thirdly, I examine the kinds of impurity and the rituals which were alluded to in such texts. Finally, I discuss the purpose of these (im)purity conceptions and how this illuminates our understanding of ancient Galilean identity.

3.1 The Body in Relation to Purity, and Purity in the Bodily Sphere

I will approach purity here in relation to human bodies. It has long been recognised that impurity conceptions derive from embodied existence. Mary Douglas writes that the body "provides a basic scheme for all symbolism."[1] Douglas, in her influential work *Purity and Danger*, understands (im)purity as a symbolic system which adopts a notion of "dirt" for acts

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[1] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1991), 163–164, later in *idem.*, *In the Wilderness: The Doctrine of Defilement in the Book of Numbers*, JSOTSup 158 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 25. I am concerned that this focus draws upon the halakah widely known from Jesus' teaching that defilement comes from outside of the body, not from within (Mark 7:15 par. Matt 15:11). I would not argue that this is the case in many of the texts that will be discussed below. Clearly there are sources of impurity discussed in various texts that originate outside of the human body and have the potential to cause impurity.

which are religiously or morally problematic.[2] Douglas later developed her own work on the

subject in response to the critiques of biblical scholars. These later works recognised the

different approaches to purity and bodies in Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.[3]

According to Douglas, the presentation of the human body in Deuteronomy is a "body-

politic" while in Leviticus, it is a "body-cosmic."[4] On the one hand, Deuteronomy places the

body within a social setting which is occupied by a variety of purity concerns. Leviticus on

the other hand is understood to construct the body as a symbolic microcosm, strictly ordered

by purification practices. Douglas' insight highlights a set of key notions: bodily experience is

varied; often differently managed; and even in cases where the body is moved in the same

ways, often might be conceived of as representing or achieving something altogether

different. The body is a mediated object of discourse and gives shape to purity conceptions.[5]

Thus, a ritual act [see 1.3.1.4] which engages with conceptions of (im)purity can have many

meanings and any given meaning may be conveyed in different ways. Rituals have to be

enacted by bodies, and ritual manages space.[6] Not only does the body form ritual, but rituals

also take part in the formation of bodies.[7] Purification in particular can be understood as a

type of ritual activity which alters one's bodily condition. Tweed describes purification as a

type of "corporeal crossing" which is a "transforming" process of changing the condition of

the human being.[8] (Im)purity conceptions therefore entail notions of what constitutes a

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[2] See particularly Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 94–113; elsewhere *idem.*, "Critique and Commentary," in Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: The Haskell Lectures, 1972–1973*, SJLA 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 137–142.

[3] See works cited above but also Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[4] Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature*, 14.

[5] Dorothea Erbele-Küster, *Body, Gender and Purity in Leviticus 12 and 15*, LHBOTS 539 (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 155, 162–163. See also Hoss, "Die Mikwen," 51.

[6] See further Knott, "Spatial Theory," 172–173.

[7] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 100, here using the language of "religion."

[8] Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling*, 143, 152.

"body," of how space is organised around and through a body, and also the role of ritual in bodily experience and change.

The social rules that regulate spatial practice, and especially the ritualised spatial practice of purification, relate to what the body comes into contact with. Jon Berquist connects issues of impurity directly to bodily boundaries. As he puts it, "any transgression of the boundaries of the whole body renders the affected people unclean; thus, the law must prescribe ways for people to become clean again and restore them to full functioning in society."[9] While I disagree with his proposition that everything which transgresses bodily boundaries results in impurity, Berquist does discuss the central place of the body for impurity and what the body means when related to other bodies in the community. Even though many texts note that "the land" is defiled, and by implication could be pure, the central concern for how ancient Jews should relate their religious practice around purity regulations was for their own bodily spatial practice [see 1.4.3.1].

While every bodily experience is different, broad similarities exist according to how bodies are socially organised. For instance, gender often distinguishes how bodies operate in space. Purity conceptions in ancient Judaism were thoroughly gendered.[10] Furthermore, ethnicity, class, age and disability also have implications in the exact way bodies can experience and generate space. Bodily experience, with all the variabilities of how one's body is constituted and the meanings which are given to these different constitutions in the culture one is placed in, is fundamentally subjective. Thus, the following analysis draws attention to the instances where different bodies experience the same phenomena and spaces differently. This analysis is only partial, as our sources are typically male-orientated, and tend to reflect

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[9] Jon L. Berquist, *Controlling Corporeality: The Body and the Household in Ancient Israel* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 58.
[10] Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour*, 3.

idealised situations and regulations rather than how (im)purity may have been embodied in everyday life. The following analysis is intended as a foundation for future work and not a final account of ancient Galilean bodily space.

3.2   Jewish Literary Sources of Purity and Body Conceptions

This section focuses on texts which were circulating in the Hasmonean and Herodian Periods. Here, I establish a general notion of how (im)purity was related to the body during the late Second Temple period in order to gain an insight into the general conceptions that were held by ancient Galileans. This is not to suggest that all such conceptions were widely acknowledged, but without direct evidence from Galilee, we must draw from contemporary Jewish sources to describe a broad spectrum of beliefs and practices which were probably familiar to ancient Galilean Jews. I have selected texts for discussion because they include regulations concerning purification, or avoidance of impurity. As a result, most of these texts are "legal" in some way, insofar as they contain instructions for purification and the reasons why one might need to purify. Such "legal" texts present an idealised form of practice which we can understand as informative of how purity was conceived but not necessarily how it was practised. I introduce the sources to show the variety of purity conceptions that were known to be circulating during the late Second Temple period.[11]

The conception(s) of (im)purity in Second Temple Judaism was clearly influenced by the Pentateuch, and many texts adopted or adapted regulations straight from the Pentateuch.

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[11] I will not discuss the history of scholarship in this area; overviews of the history of scholarship have been expertly written in Haber, *They Shall Purify Themselves*, 10–70; Wil Rogan, "Purity in Early Judaism: Current Issues and Questions," *CurBR* 16.3 (2018): 309–339. For a short overview of the topic, see Christine E. Hayes, "Purification and Purity," *ESTJ* 2, 641–644. See also the division of approaches in Kazen, "Levels of Explanation," 77.

Harrington argues that the Torah has a systematic understanding of the purity laws, and that purity rituals recorded only in late Second Temple period texts can be understood under the rubric of "biblical purity laws."[12] Harrington identifies trajectories of interpretation which demonstrate the importance of the Torah in purity discussions. While various "conceptions of purity" are found in the Hebrew Bible, the Book of Leviticus has perhaps the most developed "system." The main forms of disagreement within Second Temple literature were over the proper procedures for removing impurity, and how best to interpret the laws of the Torah.[13] While these texts offer explanations of the Torah and show the development of certain purity conceptions from authoritative texts, I would allow for the possibility that purity conceptions developed outside of Jewish texts. With regard to Galilean Jews, we must allow for the likelihood that their purity observance included practices which are not found in extant contemporary texts. Practices related to the removal of impurity or preservation of purity likely developed alongside the production or rewriting of texts that concerned purity. It would also be wrong to assume that the texts were the sole generators of purity conceptions. As Tracy Lemos points out, the priests "care about defilement because Israelites in general cared about defilement."[14] The main texts discussed below are principally works that describe what the authors considered "proper" behaviour, usually through rules applying to an imagined and idealised state of affairs. How closely these rules were observed is unknown. For the purposes of this study, the composition dates of these texts are irrelevant. The fact that these texts

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[12] Hannah K. Harrington, "Did the Pharisees Eat Ordinary Food in a State of Ritual Purity," *JSJ* 26.1 (1995): 49. In agreement with this view see also Jacob Milgrom, "The Dynamics of Purity in the Priestly System," in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus*, eds., M. J. H. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz, JCP 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 29–32, 32.

[13] See for example Vered Noam, "Josephus and Early Halakhah: The Exclusion of Impure Persons from Holy Precincts," in Maeir, Magness and Schiffman, *Go Out and Study the Land*, 133–146, 145, who concludes that the Qumran community, Josephus and the rabbinic sages all agree on corpse impurity, but mitigate its severity.

[14] T. M. Lemos, "Where There Is Dirt, Is There System? Revisiting Biblical Purity Constructions," *JSOT* 37.3 (2013): 289.

represent some of the views and conceptions of purity circulating within late Second Temple

period Judaism is sufficient for their inclusion in my discussion.

3.2.1   Leviticus

We can be confident that traditions associated with the Book of Leviticus were

influential by the 3rd century BCE.[15] The impact of the book can be seen in many other Jewish

works which adopt or adapt Levitical proscriptions.[16] Furthermore, we can also assume that it

was a source that informed the practice of some Jews during the late Second Temple period.

Leviticus is concerned with the maintenance of purity for the sake of the sanctuary (temple)

cult.[17] Regulations affect either the priests, or those who want to access to the sacrificial

system.[18] Christophe Nihan suggests that the function of purity regulations in Leviticus is to

maintain a division between the sanctuary and the world. The community forms a "fence"

around the sanctuary to protect its holiness.[19] Therefore, a community concerned about the

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[15] A recent volume addressing the formation of the Pentateuch attests to the widespread discussion on this topic. See Jan C. Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Konrad Schmid, eds., *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). See also David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Carr concludes a section on the Hasmonean period with the observation that by the middle of the 2nd century BCE, certain texts, while continuing to be reworked in minor ways, had begun to become solidified as "scriptures." Further texts were also produced but these did not become part of "the Hebrew Scriptures of later Judaism"; Carr, *Formation*, 178–179. Within literature on purity, Jonathan Klawans follows Jacob Milgrom's rough dating of the Priestly and Holiness sources in Leviticus; Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 21–22. Jonathan Lawrence dates the Priestly Source of Leviticus sometime around the 5th century BCE; Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 195.

[16] For instance, Eugene Ulrich provides 13 manuscripts/fragments of Leviticus in the Qumran library, see Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 779.

[17] Elizabeth A. Castelli, "The Body," CCAMR, 252–280, 263.

[18] See Eyal Regev, "Priestly Dynamic Holiness and Deuteronomic Static Holiness," *VT* 51.2 (2001): 246–247, who distinguishes the Priestly school from the Deuteronomic school. The Priestly school restricts holiness to the priests, whereas for the Deuteronomic school, all the people are holy. See also Baruch J. Schwartz, "Israel's Holiness: The Torah Traditions," in Poorthuis and Schwartz, *Purity and Holiness*, 47–59, 54–55, who agrees with this distinction between the two traditions.

[19] Christophe Nihan, "Forms and Functions of Purity in Leviticus," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 311–367, 336. This two-fold division is a common theme in Leviticus. Nihan explains

holiness of the temple might have considered their own purity practices to be connected with maintaining the sanctity of the temple. This conception is also linked to keeping the land pure (e.g., Lev 20:22–24). Many of the regulations in Leviticus were consciously reinterpreted in later texts, which developed elements of purity practices unrelated to the cult.[20]

The principal sources of impurity in Leviticus are: corpses (e.g. 21:1–4, 11–12; 22:4); skin diseases (e.g. 13–14); abnormal genital discharges (e.g. 15:3–15, 28–30); childbirth (e.g. 12:2–5); menstruation (e.g. 15:19–24); seminal emission (e.g. 15:16–18); unclean animal carcasses (11:24–40).[21] These all involve the breach of bodily boundaries, or the body's contact with something considered defiling.[22] Dorothea Erbele-Küster suggests that the terms טמא ("unclean") and טהר ("clean") "describe and distinguish between bodies that comply with cultic prescriptions, and bodies that do not."[23] Thus, bodies are key to conceptions of purity, and this has wider implications for a person's relationship with the divine. While in Leviticus this often explicitly relates to the cultic sphere, one can already see the potential for later developments of these conceptions in daily life removed from temple cult activities. There is also a concern that the land might be defiled (e.g., Lev 18:24–25).[24] Importantly, purity can be

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the purity system in Leviticus as organized around three distinctions: priests/laity; male/female; animals fit/unfit for offering. See *ibid*., 319. See also Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOTSup 106 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), particularly 65–88.

[20] Lawrence identifies Josephus, Philo, the Community Rule, the Temple Scroll, the Damascus Documents and Miqat Ma'aśê ha-Torah[a] as being heavily influenced by the ritual washing concepts of the Priestly source in Leviticus. Further ritual washing elements can be seen in Judith, the Letter of Aristeas, Second Maccabees, the War Scroll (1QM), additionally in the Community Rule (1QS), 4QToḥorot (4Q274) and 4QAramaic Levi[a] (4Q213); Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 187.

[21] These references are principally drawn from Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 11. These passages are well attested at Qumran, being found in 4QLev–Num[a]; 4QLev[b]; 4QLev[d]; 4QLev[e]; 11QpaleoLev[a]; 11QLev[b]. At least 6 of the 13 Leviticus manuscripts found at Qumran contain purity regulations.

[22] On the bodily aspect of the Levitical regulations, see David Tabb Stewart, "Sexual Disabilities in the Hebrew Bible," in *Disability Studies and Biblical Literature*, eds. Candida R. Moss and Jeremy Schipper (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 67–87, particularly 69–71, wherein the author carefully distinguishes conceptions of purity/impurity and blemished/unblemished and the application of these categories to persons and animals.

[23] Erbele-Küster, *Body, Gender and Purity*, 138.

[24] On this see, Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 26, 33.

attained over a period of time and often in combination with washing.[25] My analysis will

focus on how ritual washing works and creates a spatial dynamic of bathing.[26]

3.2.2   Numbers

Purity is an important matter for the sanctuary in Numbers (e.g., Num 5:1–4).[27]

Numbers only details a few impurities, which may be because the text of Numbers addresses

cultic matters more than everyday practices. It acknowledges the purity issues associated with

skin diseases and emissions (Num 5:2–3), but records exclusion as a "treatment" for these.

Human corpses are further sources of impurity, which are repeatedly mentioned in Numbers

(e.g. Num 6:9–12; 19:11–22; 31:19–20).[28] Numbers has a clear system of waiting, bathing,

laundering and sprinkling to deal with the effects of corpse impurity.[29] Christian Frevel has

written in detail on the role of purity in the Numbers, principally how Numbers centres on a

holy sanctuary that requires the removal of impurity.[30] Mary Douglas has also provided an

analysis of Numbers which examines how the text is organised around the central matters of

defilement and purification. Its principal function is to protect the sanctuary rather than

mandate social behaviour.[31] The book of Numbers' conception of purity forms part of later

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[25] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 26.

[26] One such attempt can be found in Thomas Kazen's work, where he analyses impurity conceptions through metaphorical frameworks and blending theory. Blending theory is an interpretative tool designed to analyse how concepts relate to one another. Kazen uses this to show how dirt can be identified with impurity so the related idea of washing away dirt is mapped over to impurity, which can also be washed away. See Thomas Kazen, "The Role of Disgust in Priestly Purity Law: Insights from Conceptual Metaphor and Blending Theories," *JLRS* 3.1 (2014): 76–81.

[27] Christian Frevel, "Purity Conceptions in the Book of Numbers in Context," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 369–411, 379.

[28] Portions of these passages are also found in 4QLev–Numª and 4QNumᵇ.

[29] Sandra Junker, "The Disorderly Body: Considerations of The Book of Numbers, 19 and Ritual Impurity after Contact with a Corpse," *SIDA* 23 (2011): 201, notes that Numbers envisions impurity as a "contagious illness" to be combatted through isolation of the impure and some "counter actions."

[30] Frevel, "Purity Conceptions," 369–411.

[31] Douglas, *In the Wilderness*, particularly 150, 155.

texts known from the Qumran library.[32] Already, the two influential works of Leviticus and Numbers which concern purity conceptions do not display the exact same requirements or even share all of the same concerns about defilement.

3.2.3   Deuteronomy

While the connection between human bodies and states of impurity is infrequently appealed to in Deuteronomy, the human body is a key component of Deuteronomy's spatial language.[33] Eyal Regev argues Deuteronomy has an interest in "non-cultic institutions" while holiness is the prerogative of the priests in Leviticus.[34] Only humans, objects and animals can become impure and there is no requirement for foreigners to observe purity regulations.[35] The notion that human bodies should be washed to remove impurity is only found in the context of warfare (e.g. Deut 23:10–11).[36] Both Deuteronomy and Numbers influence later Second Temple documents, but their influence can usually be more readily detected in similar conceptions of defiling forces than in how impurity might be removed through bathing rituals. Deuteronomy is widely attested in the Qumran library, being found in at least 28 manuscripts and fragments.[37]

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[32] There are at least six manuscripts/fragments of Numbers itself, among other references in later texts. See Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 779; Harrington, "Did the Pharisees," 49, and *idem*., "Holiness and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 8.2 (2001): 124–135, for more on how the Dead Sea Scrolls incorporate Numbers.

[33] Michaela Geiger, "Creating Space Through Imagination and Action: Space and the Body in Deuteronomy 6:4–9," in George, *Constructions of Space IV*, 44–60.

[34] Regev, "Priestly Dynamic Holiness." Baruch Schwartz follows a similar understanding; Schwartz, "Israel's Holiness," 57–58. See further Udo Rüterswörden, "Purity Conceptions in Deuteronomy," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 413–428, 415.

[35] Rüterswörden, "Purity Conceptions," 415, 427.

[36] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 34 n. 36, notes that a similar instance in Deuteronomy is where the elders of a town wash their hands to show their innocence (Deut 21:6–11), but this is not explicitly associated with purity.

[37] Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 779. It must be said that only a few of these fragments contain references to pure and impure things.

3.2.4   Damascus Document (CD)

The Damascus Document (CD) consists of two, combined manuscripts (CD A and CD B) known from the 10th and 12th centuries found in the Cairo Genizah. Approximately ten manuscripts featuring text present in these genizah fragments have been found at Qumran.[38] The document appears to have originated before the foundation of the Qumran community (possibly as early as the 3rd century BCE) but continued to be developed and worked into other texts like the Community Rule.[39] There is a significant amount of material within the document which relates to purification conceptions.[40] Cecilia Wassen identifies the text's concern for the transmission of impurity through touch.[41] Harrington shows that the Damascus Document is concerned with purity regulations around offerings (CD 11:17–22) and details the impurity caused by the death of a person within a house (CD 12:17–18).[42] The

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[38] This phrasing is meant to draw attention to the notion that a text is not a stable thing, but rather there are conceptions of a text with multiple versions being attested to in various documents known from the Qumran library and elsewhere. In doing so, I reject the understanding that the most complete manuscripts we have of a given "text" represent a notion of the text itself. Instead, I consistently have tried to use the manuscript numbers for the documents from the Qumran library to note from where the cited information is known. With regard to the documents of CD itself, Manuscript A (CD 1–16) is a 16-sheet document from the 10th century CE, while B is a 12th century CE, two-sheet document (CD 19–20). There is also a small parchment fragment, alongside ten fragments from Qumran Caves 4, 5 and 6. For an introduction to the history of the Damascus Document and the text itself, see Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), chapter 2 for the physical description of the manuscripts. See also a short description of the manuscripts in Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour*, 107–108.

[39] Liora Goldman, "Damascus Document (D)," in Brooke, et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 303–306, 304, summarizes the substantive work of Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction*, STDJ 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 25–26. See also, *idem.*, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*: *Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 77–78.

[40] Antje Labahn, "Aus dem Wasser kommt das Leben. Waschungen und Reinigungsriten in frühjüdischen Texten," in Hellholm et al., *Ablution, Initiation*, 157–219, 203–207; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 19–106. A brief discussion of "bodily imperfections," purity and the Damascus Document can be found in Alexandria Frisch and Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Body in Qumran Literature: Flesh and Spirit, Purity and Impurity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 23.2 (2016): 165.

[41] Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, AcBib 21 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2005), 49. Wassen's analysis examines the various manuscripts individually, paying special attention to gendered differences and purity regulations in the Damascus Document.

[42] Harrington discusses the purity rules of the Damascus Document in Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 46–49.

document also details the regulations for the amount of water required to wash in, and that

one should not draw water on the Sabbath but drink where one is washing (CD 10:10–13;

11:1–2).[43] Lawrence lists fifteen references to ritual and metaphorical washing in CD A and a

single reference from CD B.[44] While discussing specifically the manuscripts from Qumran,

Martha Himmelfarb notes that "4QD's [Damascus Document manuscripts in Cave 4] rules of

impurity attempt to resolve the tension between the laws of Leviticus as they are written and

the requirements of its understanding of the Torah's system of impurity."[45] Further, there is

no systemic synthesis of impurity and sinful behaviour in 4QD.[46] The Damascus Document

relies on the purity conceptions in Leviticus to frame its own regulations, often seeking to

clarify areas of ambiguity.[47] Here we note that the Damascus Document synthetically reworks

varied purity conceptions to create a coherent system, presumably to provide some kind of

guidance around purity behaviours. This further suggests that purity practices reflected a

variety of conceptions, such that some found it necessary to rework different conceptions

together, and that this process was ongoing in the late Second Temple period.

3.2.5   Temple Scroll(s) (11QT)

The Temple Scroll(s) documents various legal and eschatological positions. Michael

Wise dates the composition of the Temple Scroll(s) to around 150 BCE, comparing the

columns 43 and 52 with the supposed letter of Demetrius written to the Jews (1 Macc 10:34–

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[43] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 112, 144.
[44] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 249–250.
[45] Martha Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512," *DSD* 8.1 (2001): 15. 4QD refers to the following manuscripts which contain material known from CD: 4Q266–273.
[46] See discussion in Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin," 10–27.
[47] Martha Himmelfarb, "The Purity Laws of 4QD: Exegesis and Sectarianism," in *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond*, TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 161–173.

35).[48] There are at least three manuscripts which are thought to attest to the Temple

Scroll(s).[49] Joseph Angel dates the largest manuscript (11QT/11Q19) to between 25 BCE and

25 CE based on palaeography, and there are some earlier fragments of the scroll from other

caves.[50] According to Molly Zahn, it is an example of late Second Temple period "rewriting"

as the composer(s) incorporated many Pentateuchal texts into it.[51] The Temple Scroll(s)

presents an idealised vision of how the temple should properly function, including stringent

purity regulations around corpse defilement (e.g. 11QT 45:17; 49:11–16, 21; 50:8, 11; 64:2),

and both sexual relations and those with skin diseases are banned from the temple city.[52] The

relevant material from the Temple Scroll mostly comes from columns 45 to 51.[53] Thus, 11QT

follows Levitical procedures, but it is not known if it included the requirement to sacrifice on

the 8th day (Lev 15:13–15 cf. 11QT 45:15–16).[54] Jacob Milgrom describes 11QT as a

"homogenization" of Levitical material concerning (im)purity; 11QT is thus another example

of the variation in purity conceptions in the late Second Temple period.[55] Additionally,

Lawrence provides a total of eighteen references to ritual washing in the 11QT.[56]

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[48] Michael Owen Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*, SAOC 49 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 189–194.

[49] 4Q524; 11QT, 11Q20. See Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour*, 144–146.

[50] Joseph L. Angel, "Temple Scroll," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 351–354.

[51] Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 24–25, 110–119. Also Wise, *Temple Scroll*, 235–241.

[52] See further Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 52, 72, 74, 88. On the subject of corpse-defilement and the Temple Scroll, see Nóra Dávid, "Death, Burial, and Sacred Space in the Temple Scroll," in Økland, Vos and Wenell, *Constructions of Space III*, 123–134.

[53] This section is called "Purity Regulations," by Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour*, 146. Wise determines that these sections are woven together from multiple sources including a "Temple Source," a "Deuteronomy Source," and diverse sources of "Laws," all combined with "Redactional compositions." See Wise, *Temple Scroll*, 195–198. See further Labahn, "Aus dem Wasser," 169–175; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 107–179.

[54] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 87.

[55] Jacob Milgrom, "Deviations from Scripture in the Purity Laws of the *Temple Scroll*," in *Jewish Civilization in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, ed. Shemaryahu Talmon, JSPSup 10 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 159–167, 163.

[56] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 248–249.

3.2.6   Miqṣat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah (4QMMT)

Miqṣat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah (hereafter 4QMMT) originates in the proto-Qumran community, during the Hasmonean period.[57] The text of the 4QMMT is found across multiple document fragments, but has long been assembled into a composite text, usually called 4QMMT A, B or C. When discussed below, I have provided the composite text references found in DJD, but also given the manuscript and fragment numbers.[58] A number of the laws discussed in the document relate to matters of cultic practice and their implications for purity.[59] Hempel has identified categories of "practices which the authors [of 4QMMT] find unacceptable."[60] Within these, a variety of material relates to "cultic purity and propriety;" here the document is particularly concerned with observing purity while consuming food.[61] Lawrence lists eight references to ritual washing and one metaphorical use of washing language in 4QMMT.[62]

3.2.7   Community Rule (1QS)

The longest manuscript of the Community Rule (1QS or 1Q28) has been dated to the early 1st century BCE with some earlier manuscripts dated to the late 2nd century BCE (e.g.,

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[57] Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue*, STDJ 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 5–17.

[58] Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*, DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 44–63.

[59] Labahn, "Aus dem Wasser," 191–194; Hanne von Weissenberg, "Miqṣat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah (MMT)," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 322–325, 323.

[60] Charlotte Hempel, "4QMMT in the Context of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Beyond," in *Interpreting and Living God's Law at Qumran: Miqṣat Maʿaśeh ha-Torah – Some of the Works of the Torah (4QMMT)*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz, SAPERE 37 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 117–136. See also the brief discussion in Eyal Regev, "Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity at Qumran," *DSD* 10.2 (2003): 246–247.

[61] Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 53.

[62] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 247. See further Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 180–209.

4Q255).[63] I have included the Rule of the Congregation in this discussion as the text shares a

manuscript with one of the lengthy manuscripts of the Community Rule (1QS).[64] Some

sections of the Community Rule are deeply concerned with purification (e.g. 1QS 3:3–12;

5:13–14). Purity conceptions are quite detailed in some places within this text, which includes

a developed system of washings, blessing and boundary creation.[65] Touching is also reported

as a significant vector by which impurity can be conveyed, requiring regulations around not

just food consumption, but also how food is gathered and prepared.[66] The Community Rule

further distinguishes between insider and outsider in terms of purity as one must be pure to be

accepted within the community (1QS 6:13b–23; 7:20–23).[67] Purification is continually

required by the document (e.g. 1QS 3:7–8; 11:9).[68]

3.2.8   Purification Rules (4Q274)

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[63] Stephen Hultgren, "Serekh ha-Yaḥad (S)," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 341–343, 341. For a detailed description of the manuscripts see Hempel, *Community Rules*, 15–30 (1QS), 30–34 (4Q255), 34–36 (4Q256), 36 (4Q257), 37–38 (4Q258), 38–44 (4Q259), 44 (4Q260), 45–46 (4Q261), 46–47 (4Q262), 47 (4Q263, 4Q264), and 48 (5Q11).

[64] Corrado Martone, "Rule of the Congregation (Sa)," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 338–340, 338.

[65] A brief discussion of "bodily imperfections," purity and the Community Rule and the Rule of the Congregation can be found in Frisch and Schiffman, "Body in Qumran Literature," 164–166, 168–169. See also Labahn, "Aus dem Wasser," 195–203.

[66] See Hempel, *Community Rules*, 92–95, 150–151; *idem.*, *Qumran Rule Texts*, 41. Especially on 1QS 3:7–9, see *idem.*, "Making Dinner" 57, 61–62. Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 235–236, records nineteen passages from 1QS, three from 1QSa, and one from 4Q256, which reference washing for purification, initiation, or as a metaphor.

[67] Gudrun Holtz, "Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'Ritual-Physical' and 'Moral' Purity in a Diachronic Perspective," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 519–536, 531, 533. Charlotte Hempel notes that this section is probably a later development of the administration process within the Qumran community, with 1QS 5:7c–9a and CD 15:5b–10a being an earlier, less elaborate procedure; Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts*, 29–30. See further Harrington's list of texts under "stages of acceptance to community based on purity," from Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 132. Klawans also notes that "sins – especially those of outsiders – are described as impurities"; Jonathan Klawans, "The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism," *JJS* 48.1 (1997): 8, although see also reservations against this conflation in Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin," 31–34.

[68] Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 54–55.

A manuscript named Purification Rules (4Q274) is a fragmentary source which contains a number of references to impurity and some procedures for purification.[69] Additional manuscripts are known and grouped as Purification Rules (4Q276–278). Bodily secretions are a source of impurity (4Q274 fragment 1 1:3–5, 8; fragment 2 1:3).[70] Liquids are seen as particularly problematic, as they are able to convey impurity (4Q274 fragment 3 1:6–9; 2:4–9).[71] Jessica Keady has written an overview of the fragments and analysed the constructions of male and female impurity in the manuscript.[72] Harrington notes that bathing is required in this manuscript prior to eating, but that "bathing does not put everyone on the same level of purity."[73] Wassen notes how this document makes provisions for people undergoing a process of purification to participate in communal meals; Purification Rules actually innovates ways to assist in the creation of communal identity by facilitating the integration of those who were likely impure.[74] This document attests to some late Second Temple period proscriptions around impurity, and provides insights into various practices which sought to achieve a state of purity and in what circumstances this may have been important.

3.2.9 Ritual of Purification (4Q414; 4Q512)

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[69] The document is discussed by Labahn, "Aus dem Wasser," 187–190; Cecilia Wassen, "The (Im)purity Levels of Communal Meals within the Qumran Movement," *JAJ* 7.1 (2016): 113–120; *idem*., "Purity and Holiness," 515–518; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 214–215. Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 239, records five references to ritual washing from 4Q274.

[70] Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 97.

[71] Vered Noam, "Halakhah," in Brooke et al., *Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 393–401, 395.

[72] Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour*, 127–133.

[73] Hannah K. Harrington, "Holiness in the Laws of 4QMMT," in Kampen, Bernstein and García Martínez, *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, 109–128, 119. See further Thomas Kazen, "4Q274 Fragment 1 Revisited – or Who Touched Whom? Further Evidence for Ideas of Graded Impurity and Graded Purifications," *DSD* 17.1 (2010): 53–87; Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 517–518.

[74] Wassen, "(Im)purity Levels," 121–122.

The Ritual of Purification is formed of two manuscripts which share some material (4Q414; 4Q512).[75] The document contains details of two prayers, one to be recited before immersion and one to be recited after.[76] The prayer itself consists of a confession, appeals for forgiveness and thanksgiving.[77] These manuscripts couch purity conceptions in the language of sin and wrongdoing, but Himmelfarb suggests that this is probably an "evocative" use of language to convey the importance of observing purity regulations.[78] As seen above [see 2.1.4] the Ritual of Purification forms one of the few texts which actually describes a format for ritual washing. It provides an insight into one form of purity observance which may have been reflected in Galilean practice.

3.2.10   Josephus and Philo

Jewish conceptions of purity continued to be developed during the 1st century CE and after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. Philo of Alexandria (c. 20 BCE–40 CE) for example, acknowledges that washing achieves purification (*Spec. Laws* 1.261–262).[79] Lawrence records twenty-four passages from Philo's works in which purification is discussed (namely *Hypothetica*, *That Every Good Person Is Free*, *On the Special Laws*, and *On the*

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[75] Labahn, "Aus dem Wasser," 176–184; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 215–216, 216–217.

[76] This practice makes it difficult to accept Jacob Milgrom's statement that "purification is a silent ritual; neither prayer nor incantation is recited"; Milgrom, "Dynamics of Purity," 30. Milgrom thus frames ritual as being opposed to magic, using the false dichotomy of religion versus folk tradition/magic. Many liturgical texts do involve bodily terms which, according to Angela Harkins, "use embodiment language to construct detailed sensory landscapes of religious geography for a reader to visit"; Angela Kim Harkins, "Religious Experience through the Lens of Critical Spatiality: A Look at Embodiment Language in Prayers and Hymns," in *Experientia Volume 2: Linking Text and Experience*, eds. Colleen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, EJL 35 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2012), 223–242, 242.

[77] Eshel, "4Q414 Fragment 2," 3–10. See further Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," in Flint, VanderKam and Alvarez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 200–212.

[78] Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin," 36–37.

[79] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 50.

Contemplative Life).[80] These references are a mixture of recorded ritual washing practices, and metaphorical uses of washing language. Josephus Flavius (c. 37–100 CE) discusses some purity regulations, primarily connecting pollution to the sanctuary; he mentions impurity caused by bloodshed affecting the temple.[81] Lawrence provides a list of twenty passages related to purity in *Antiquities* and eleven passages (mostly related to Essenic practices) in *War*.[82]

3.3   Categories of (Im)Purity

Purity and impurity will be analysed through the lens of bodily space. As such I have divided sources of impurity found in (mostly the above) texts which were in circulation during the late Second Temple period into two principal categories: sources of impurity which originate within the body, and sources which originate outside the body with which the body comes into contact. Within each of these categories, there are a few subcategories divided according to the source of impurity. Here, I am interested in impurity which can be contracted through direct contact, in what has been termed a "contagion."[83] I have treated purity as a property of certain physical conditions, objects, or living beings, and impurity may be taken as a contagious force.[84] While a conception of purity as relational is helpful for understanding

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[80] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 232–233.

[81] Steve Mason, "Pollution and Purification in Josephus's *Judean War*," in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, eds. Carl S. Ehrlich, Anders Runesson and Eileen Schuller, WUNT 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 181–207, 204.

[82] See tables in Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 231–232.

[83] Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 34.

[84] Contra Mary Douglas, "Impurity of Land Animals," in Poorthuis and Schwartz, *Purity and Holiness*, 32–45, 35, where Douglas argues that purity is a relation rather than a property, a relation associated with the proper place of a person or thing. Veikko Anttonen argues that sacredness is a "property of a relation" rather than a property of an object; Anttonen, "Space, Body," 191. Hyam Maccoby also treats at least corpse impurity as a state of being for both people and objects, see Hyam Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality: The Ritual Purity System and Its Place in Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21.

the effects of impurity, I suggest that impurity often functions as a property (i.e., corpses are impure, regardless of their placement). The relational approach further emphasises how impurity concerns the interaction between human and divine spheres yet, for the most part, this divine sphere was not present in Second Temple period Galilee, but in Jerusalem. Therefore, the relational model may not be an immediate concern for many Galileans. The case could be made that the Galileans understood that their actions affected the Jerusalem Temple from afar, but this kind of conception tends to emphasise the negative effects of immoral behaviour rather than the lack of ritual observances.[85]

The following passages have been selected for presentation as they clearly show the connection between the body and purity. By framing the concept of impurity as related to bodily space, there is an implication that purity is the default state envisioned by ancient Judaism. However, all indications from texts of the period indicate that purity is a state that must be consciously achieved. Certain actions can avoid impurity and certain actions purify. Being pure takes work and is a skill which must be practised and developed.

3.3.1   Impurities Generated from the Body

This category includes impurity which arises from three principal sources: skin diseases, genital emissions, and immoral behaviour.

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[85] Cecilia Wassen, "What Do Angels Have against the Blind and the Deaf? Rules of Exclusion in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in McCready and Reinhartz, *Common Judaism*, 115–129, 115, draws attention to the concern about evil spirits found in many of the documents from the Qumran library. The exclusion of impurity is in part related to these kinds of beliefs. More recently Charlotte Hempel has called attention to these kinds of beliefs for understanding various elements known form many late Second Temple period texts.

3.3.1.1   Skin Diseases

Skin diseases were treated in a similar manner to other physical impairments insofar as one suffering from such an affliction was excluded from mixing with others.[86] Yet of all the bodily afflictions discussed in Second Temple period literature, only skin diseases and irregular genital emissions are clear conditions which result in impurity and require purification procedures.[87] In influential texts like Leviticus, these skin conditions are of particular importance for the cult, yet they may also have been a significant aspect within more broadly conceived communal activities. Leviticus discusses the procedures for exclusion and purification for people who contract skin diseases (Lev 13:2–46; cf. similar procedures for mould on the walls of domiciles Lev 14:2–47). In these cases, the person must be removed from the immediate community (taken out of either the camp or the city). Once this has been done, they must wait a period of time (usually seven days) and then various procedures are undertaken, such as laundering, bathing, shaving, and making an offering. The maximal purification procedures are required of the person who is the source of impurity. Fewer activities are required of those who come into contact with the source of impurity. The process involves treatment and rehabilitation into the community. A second situation concerns

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[86] I use the phrase "skin disease" to allude to the various conditions described below and as a gloss for צרעת which may have indicated many conditions known to modern medicine. See further, Hector Avalos, *Illness and Health Care in the Ancient Near East: The Role of the Temple in Greece, Mesopotamia, and Israel*, HSM 54 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 315; Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 98–99. While on occasional physical ailments are discussed alongside skin diseases in some scholarly treatments of impurity, I have excluded disabilities from this discussion. See for instance discussions in Berquist, *Controlling Corporeality*, 27–31; Junker, "Disorderly Body," 199. The conditions of blindness and lameness result in exclusion from certain spaces, but these conditions are not discussed in terms of purity. I thank Jonathan Stökl, Thomas Kazen and Candida Moss for their comments here.

[87] For analyses which discuss the conceptual overlap between disease and impurity, see Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 249; Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality*, 47. According to Jon Berquist, this notion stems from a conception of an ideal body; Berquist, *Controlling Corporeality*, 19–20. Berquist goes on to argue that the conception of the ideal body symbolises the idealisation of ancient Israelite society. Aside from the issue of the text not being a sure guide to actual ideology in ancient Israelite society, Philip Davies points out that while there might be an overlap between symbolic systems of purity, and society, they are still distinct systems; Philip R. Davies, "Food, Drink and Sects: The Question of Ingestion in the Qumran Texts," *Semeia* 86 (1999): 153, arguing against Mary Douglas' work in particular.

the Sons of Aaron, who upon contracting a skin disease, must refrain from eating food

offerings, and wash themselves (Lev 22:3–9 cf. broader physical ailments in Lev 21:17–23).

We may note that Leviticus appears to be primarily concerned with male bodies and whether

they are suitable to serve in the cult [see 3.2.1]. As such, there is little explicit concern about

female bodies avoiding this kind of bodily impurity.

Outside of Leviticus, many sources do not indicate any procedure for purification, only

noting the exclusion of those with skin diseases (e.g., Num 5:2–3; 12:10–15; 4QMMT B 64–

72; 11QT 45:17–18; 46:16–18; 48:14–17 cf. *Ant.* 3.261). Some texts which describe those

affected by skin diseases as being excluded from others may rest on (im)purity conceptions,

although they may not.[88] They are excluded from sacred space, which in these texts is the

wilderness camp (Num), a structure containing sacred food (4QMMT), the temple city

(Temple Scroll), the temple (Temple Scroll), and other cities in the land in an idealised

eschatological setting (Temple Scroll). Where procedures are recorded and/or preserved, they

include submitting to an examination, washing, shaving, and making an offering are typical

elements of purification procedures for those who has recovered from skin diseases.

Of my six divisions of impurity, this category is the most visible to others. Most texts

deal with what appear to be permanent conditions. Skin diseases could clear up, but as far as

can be ascertained from the texts, this was less common, or less commonly discussed.[89] Thus,

there is not a lot of movement between pure and impure within this category. A permanent

skin disease would render oneself permanently impure or at least potentially threatening as a

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[88] Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 106, specifically discussing the Elijah/Elisha narratives.
[89] Jonathan Reed discusses malaria in two treatments of disease in ancient Galilee. His point is that disease was a common occurrence and people often were not particularly healthy. Reed argues that high mortality rates led to instability in Early Roman Galilee, although I do not see why there is any reason to assume that mortality rates were unusually high in Galilee during this period. If such mortality rates caused severe instability, then the ancient world was constantly unstable, at which point comments about the particular instability of Early Roman Galilee become meaningless; Reed, Instability in Jesus' Galilee," 343–365; *idem*., "Mortality, Morbidity, and Economics in Jesus' Galilee," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 242–252.

source of impurity to those who wished to maintain a state of purity. The below table includes

passages from various Jewish texts which record impurities associated with skin diseases,

noting their context and specification (if any) for purification.

Table 4 – Skin Diseases and Purity Conceptions

Text	Context	Specifications for purification
Lev 13:2–46	Regulations for skin diseases, priest (professional) examines in all cases and determines course of treatment	Laundering (v. 6, 34), shaving hair (v. 33), exclusion (v. 46)
Lev 14:2–32	Ritual for cleansing skin diseases	Sprinkling (v. 7), laundering (v. 8), shaving (v. 8), bathing (v. 8), offering (v. 10)
Lev 21:17–23	Rules for the sons of Aaron, no physical impairments	Exclusion, but permitted to eat holy food
Lev 22:3–9	Rules for the sons of Aaron, refraining from eating sacred donations if they contract skin disease among other issues	Bathing (v. 6) but this is for other conditions
Num 5:2–3	First commandment after enrolment of the Israelites regarding skin diseases, but also discharges and corpse contact	Exclusion
Num 12:10–15	Miriam's skin condition	Exclusion
2 Kgs 7:3	Four men with skin conditions	Possibly exclusion
2 Kgs 15:5	Azariah lives with a skin condition for 52 years	Exclusion
2 Chr 26:21, 23	Uzziah lives with a skin condition until he dies	Exclusion
4QMMT B 64–72 (4Q396 1–2 iii)	Skin conditions	Exclusion, washing, shaving, offering if mistake
4Q274 1 1:1–4	A person remaining a distance of 12 cubits away from the *purity* when he speaks, northwest of dwelling places. Unclean people who touch this person have to bathe and launder, then can eat	Exclusion, bathing, laundering
11QT 45:17–18	Concerning those with skin disease	Some procedure but now lost

11QT 46:16–18	Places outside of the temple city for the impure (skin disease, irregular and regular discharges) to temporarily stay	Exclusion
11QT 48:14–17	Making places in every city for those with skin diseases	Exclusion/quarantine
Spec. Laws 1.117–118	Priests who has a skin condition, but also here eye problems, and issues with their hands or feet	Exclusion from officiating, but also from touching holy food/objects if with a skin condition
Ag. Ap. 1.281–283	Moses banned those with skin diseases from living in settled communities. If their affliction is cured, then they must wash, shave and sacrifice	Exclusion (v. 281), washing, shaving, sacrifice (v. 282)
Ant. 3.261, 264	Skin diseases and those with irregular seminal emission banned from the city	Bathing (v. 258), exclusion, sacrifice upon becoming healthy

3.3.1.2　　　　*Genital Conditions and Bodily Emissions*

Included within this subcategory are impurities arising from all kinds of genital

emissions, both regular and irregular, and childbirth. There are also a few texts which deal

with other bodily emissions, namely spittle and excrement.[90] Most of these conditions would

be relatively private, with childbirth being the most visible. Regular genital emissions would

perhaps be the most common source of impurity. These would include genital emissions

during sexual intercourse, nocturnal male emissions and menstruation. For whatever reason,

some bodily fluids were a commonly identified source of impurity, while others were not

(e.g., urine).[91] I have distinguished genital emissions from other physical conditions because

of their largely regular and unavoidable nature. Men and women, almost inevitably and

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[90] Not everyone is convinced that defecation should be understood as a matter of impurity. Hyam Maccoby notes that the ruling on defecation is about what is considered unseemly rather than impure. The ruling is buried between a regulation for a clear issue of impurity and a clause which provides the stated reason for keeping these requirements, that the holiness of the Lord is present in the camp; Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality*, 65.

[91] Jacob Milgrom has suggested that this the concern over reproductive functions is life-affirming and a rejection of death. See Milgrom, "Dynamics of Purity," 32. Defecation and spit are quite rare sources of impurity, blood is only in certain cases, and urine never is; Davies, "Food, Drink and Sects," 152.

invariably, will have experienced impurity via a genital emission.[92] Thus, the purification

procedures in this section are likely to have been the most widely practised.

Leviticus covers most emissions which are considered defiling. Childbirth renders the

mother impure and requires that she refrain from entering the sanctuary for a certain period of

time, then make an offering once being allowed to re-enter (Lev 12:2–8 cf. *Ant*. 3.269). The

later work of Jubilees provides an explanation for the different timeframes for male and

female children (Jub. 3:8–13). There is no indication that parturient women would have to

bathe after childbirth although they may have been considered vectors for impurity. The

Temple Scroll describes special places in every city for women who have given birth to wait

out their time of impurity, so it may not be spread to others (11QT 48:14–17). Such an idea

may be utopian and is not attested elsewhere as something actually practised. However, the

Temple Scroll does attest to the idea that parturient women were seen as sources of impurity,

for which bathing may have been a treatment.

Leviticus further regulates purification procedures for both irregular and regular genital

discharges. There is a single term, זָב ("one suffering a discharge"), which is attributed to both

men and women.[93] Objects which are sat upon become vectors for impurity (Lev 15:4, 20,

26). In the case of irregular male discharges, pottery and spittle also are impurity vectors (Lev

15:5–12). Laundering and bathing are required for all discharges (Lev 15:13, 16–18, 21–22,

27) while all irregular discharges also require sacrifice once they have ended (Lev 15:14, 29).

Any Sons of Aaron with regular genital discharges are further excluded from eating sacred

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[92] Saul M. Olyan, "Gender-Specific Pollution in the Hebrew Bible," in Bauks, Galor and Hartenstein, *Gender and Social Norms*, 159–167, notes that gender specific emissions typically appear to have been more serious in terms of the resulting period of impurity for women than for men. See also Kazen, "Levels of Explanation," 90.
[93] Erbele-Küster, *Body, Gender and Purity*, 103–106. Erbele-Küster points out that "the man's urinary system and the woman's internal genitalia are understood as analogues, though the neutral reference point of the regulations is the male body." See also Jessica M. Keady, "Reviewing Purity and Impurity from a Gendered Perspective: The War Scroll (1QM) as a Case Study," in Keady, Klutz and Strine, *Scripture as Social Discourse*, 149–158.

food and must bathe as part of their purification (Lev 22:3–9). The "Ritual of Purification"

has a similar injunction, although the ruling is for any man having had a nocturnal emission

(4Q514 frag. 1 1:4–10). The text further mandates laundering along with washing. The

Temple Scroll applies a similar ruling. Men are banned from the temple city if they have

regular seminal emission (11QT 45:11–12; 46:16–18 cf. 48:14–17 where they are not

excluded from other cities).[94] They are banned from the temple itself for a longer period and

must bathe and launder on the first and third day to purify (11QT 45:7–10). One type of

emission that may not be considered defiling is defecation. There are three cases where

defecation (one including spittle) appears to be treated like a genital emission, but it is unclear

whether these are matters of purity (Deut 23:12–13; 11QT 46:13–16; *War* 2.147–149).[95]

The typical treatment for impurity generated from bodily emissions is some kind of

water ritual, whether sprinkling, bathing or laundering. However, certain texts like Numbers

maintain an exclusionary principle for the impure and leave out details about potential

purification procedures (Num 5:2–3). Ilan suggests that there are only a handful of Second

Temple period texts which include a notion of female bathing.[96] Some other texts reiterate

material known from earlier ones, such *Against Apion* 2.203 which paraphrases Leviticus

15:18.

Table 5 – Bodily Emissions and Purity Conceptions

Text	Context	Specifications for purification
Exod 19:10–15	Abstinence from sex as preparation while at Sinai	Laundering (vv. 11, 14), avoidance of sexual contact (v. 15)
Lev 12:2–8	Childbirth	Sacrificial offering (vv. 6–8)

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[94] This may have been an actual practice. Josephus notes that Moses had similar proscriptions which banned all with regular genital emissions from the city. See *Ant*. 3.261, 263.
[95] On spit, see Magness, "Impurity of Oil and Spit."
[96] Ilan, "Since When," 87–89.

Lev 15:2–15	Irregular male genital discharge	Laundering and bathing, contaminants include seats and pottery both parties touch, and spit (vv. 5–12), laundering and bathing (v. 13), sacrifice (v. 14)
Lev 15:16–18	Regular male genital discharge, both with and without sexual contact	Bathing, both man and woman (vv. 16, 18) laundering/washing of cloth and skin objects (v. 17)
Lev 15:19–24	Regular menstruation, the impurity can be passed to a sexual partner, whereupon it has the same potential for spreading	Laundering (vv. 21–22), bathing (vv. 21–22)
Lev 15:25–30	Irregular female discharge of blood	Laundering (v. 27), bathing (v. 27), sacrifice (v. 29)
Lev 18:19	Avoidance of sex during menstruation	Avoidance
Lev 22:3–9	Rules for the sons of Aaron, refraining from eating sacred donations if they have had a genital emission	Bathing (v. 6) but for other conditions
Num 5:2–3	First commandment after enrolment of the Israelites regarding skin diseases, discharges and corpse contact	Exclusion
Deut 23:10–11	Regular male genital discharge	Bathing
Deut 23:12–13*	Defecation	Going out of the camp, covering the excrement
Pss. Sol. 8:12	Defiling the sanctuary with menstrual blood	N/A
Jub. 3:8–13	Childbirth, explanation for the timeframes proceeding from creation narrative	Exclusion (vv. 9, 10, 13)
1QM 7:6–7	Exclusion of those with nocturnal emission from battle; defecation to be done at a distance from the camp	Exclusion, separation
CD 5:6–7	Defiling the sanctuary by not separating clean from unclean and by laying with a woman menstruating	Defilement

CD 12:1–2	Sexual intercourse	Avoidance
4Q274 frag. 1 1:3–5	A man with irregular discharge, not permitted to eat, passes on impurity to utensils, beds and seats	Bathing and laundering
4Q274 frag. 1 1:4–8	Menstruation	Bathing and laundering (v. 9)
4Q274 frag. 1 1:8–9	Man with seminal emission	Bathing and laundering
4Q274 frag. 2 1:4–5	Man with seminal emission	Immerse utensils, avoid pure food, launder, bathe
4Q277 frag.1 1:10–13	Man with seminal emission	Wash hands, bathe
4Q512 frags. 10–11, 1–7	Irregular seminal emission	Laundering, bathing, says a blessing
4Q514 frag. 1 1:4–10	Seminal emission	Refrain from eating, laundering and bathing on the first day
11QT 45:7–10	In the renewed temple city, regulations for a man with nocturnal emission	Laundering and bathing on first day, laundering and bathing on the third day[97]
11QT 45:11–12	Sexual contact, although it is only the man who must purify[98]	None
11QT 45:15–17	Male with irregular discharge	Laundering and bathing on the seventh day
11QT 46:13–16*	Excrement being done away from the temple city	Going out of the temple city
11QT 46:16–18	Places outside of the temple city for the those with irregular and regular genital discharges to temporarily stay	Exclusion

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[97] The requirement to bathe on the third day is added above the next verb, perhaps an afterthought to include both procedures on the first and third days.
[98] The verb יבוא suggests that the text is only interested in regulating the purification procedures of the male partner. It may assume that the woman follows the same actions but does not state it here.

11QT 48:14–17	Making places in every city for men with irregular genital emissions, menstruating women, and parturient women	Exclusion/quarantine
Spec. Laws 1.118–119	Priest with a nocturnal emission should not take consecrated food	Exclusion from touching holy food/objects
Ag. Ap. 198, 203	Nocturnal emissions and sexual contact	Bathing
Ant. 3.261, 263	Menstruating women banned from the city, also those with nocturnal emissions and those having had sexual intercourse	Bathing (v. 258), sacrifice
Ant. 3.269	Childbirth	Exclusion, sacrifice
War 2.147–149*	The Essenes avoid spitting, and care is taken when they defecate	Bathing

3.3.1.3   *Immoral Behaviour*

Scholarship has argued that moral purity is related to but different from ritual purity.[99]

Jonathan Klawans is a key example of such discussion.[100] For Klawans, moral impurity is

caused by sin, and must be atoned for or leads to expulsion from the community.[101] Moral

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[99] For an extensive treatment, see Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 200–262.

[100] Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 43–60; *idem*., "Impurity of Immorality," 2–3. Christophe Nihan prefers to use physical or biological in the place of ritual as there is a ritual aspect to moral impurity; Nihan, "Forms and Functions," 321. Nihan further points out examples which break this two-fold distinction of (im)purity (344–349). Christian Frevel and Nihan argue that some aspects of Levitical purity do not fit neatly into these categories and beyond Leviticus, the distinction is not clear at all; Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan, "Introduction," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 1–46, 19–20. Frevel and Nihan grant that the distinction can be helpful for heuristic purposes. Similarly, Lemos, "Where There Is Dirt," 282, argues that Leviticus does not have any "system" of purity, but the book is a collection of other sources of purity conceptions. These sources were not neatly synthesized into clear distinctions between moral and ritual (im)purity. Lemos argues that the authors/editors of Leviticus did not create a system of purity that was completely original, and that we should not expect such a compilation to be logical or adhere to a strict set of rules. Similarly, Hector Avalos argues that "one single Ur-principle, if it ever existed, that would encompass all notions of purity in ancient Israel will probably not be found"; Avalos, *Illness and Health Care*, 307.

[101] Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 22–23, 26, 32. Klawans admits that the distinction between ritual and moral (im)purity does not cover all purity conceptions (food laws do not fit well into this schema) and that the terms "ritual" and "moral" are not straightforward but fit well enough. Thomas Kazen argues that this divide is artificial; purity can be divided into these two groups, but this does not mean that they were conceived as two separate groups. The only semantic difference which is applied in Leviticus is that תועבה ("abomination") and תנף

impurity, however, does not lend itself immediately to an analysis of Galilean material culture. Immoral deeds do not typically require purification in the Hebrew Bible. However, late Second Temple period texts feature purification rituals for moral failings. Wassen (cf. Himmelfarb [see 3.2.9]) cautions against overreading the connection between ritual purification and moral defilement in texts of the Qumran library, stating that there is "little evidence that inner and outer impurity made up a 'single conception of defilement'."[102] Texts like the Letter of Aristeas 305–307 also seems to contain the notion that physical washing is a sign that the translators of the law have done nothing evil before they pray (cf. *Ant*. 12.106). Philo also connects the two principles, noting the hypocrisy of those who enter the Jerusalem Temple having washed but retaining an unclean heart (*Unchangeable* 8–9). Elsewhere, Philo distinguishes between the two types of impurity, namely body and soul, each requiring their own forms of purification (*Spec. Laws* 1.257–258, 261–263). Philo's general approach is to treat purity as a metaphor or allegory for a philosophical argument, although this is not always the case.[103] One might also think of John the Baptist's practice of ritual immersion for the forgiveness of sins (*Ant*. 18.117–118 cf. Matt 3:6, 11; Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3).

3.3.2   Impurities Generated outside of the Body

Within this category, impurities arise from three forms of contact: animals, persons, and substances.

("pollution") only apply to moral impurity. These are only related terms, the more central term תמא ("unclean") is used for both moral and ritual impurity. See Kazen, *Issues of Impurity*, 16; on the semantic difference between ritual and moral (im)purity, see *ibid*., 26.

[102] Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 514.

[103] Jacob Neusner, "The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism," *JAAR* 43.1 (1975): 21.

3.3.2.1   Contact with Impure Animals

While dietary laws may or may not be couched in purity language, certain living and dead animals were understood in particular texts to be sources of impurity. The majority of these references are found in Leviticus where the treatment varies. Leviticus regulates behaviour in the event that someone touches an unclean carcass (Lev 11:24–25, 31, 39–40; 17:15–16; 22:3–9). All three passages in Deuteronomy concerning things pure and impure are associated with the consumption of meat (Deut 12:15, 22; 15:22), although these are not about contact with impure animals per se.[104] Deuteronomy differs from Leviticus, insofar as it simply requires avoidance of unclean things. It does not convey any method for removing such kinds of impurity. In Leviticus, any impurity caused often only lasted for a short period, but for some professions, this would mean that impurity was a regular state (e.g., butchers). Further, the abundance of "swarming creatures" may have made remaining pure quite difficult for rural Galileans. This may be why there is no requirement to bathe or launder for touching these creatures, as for many this may have been relatively common.

Table 6 – Contact with Impure Creatures and Purity Conceptions

Text	Context	Specifications for purification
Lev 11:24–25, 31	Dealing with impurity contracted from the carcasses of impure animals	Laundering
Lev 11:39–40	Touching carcasses of permitted animals; eating or carrying the same carcasses	Waiting until evening; laundering, bathing[105]
Lev 17:15–16	Eating animals which have not been killed to be butchered	Laundering, bathing

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[104] Rüterswörden, "Purity Conceptions," 413. See further C. L. Crouch, "What Makes a Thing Abominable? Observations on the Language of Boundaries and Identity Formation from a Social Scientific Perspective," *VT* 65.4 (2015): 532–534.

[105] The Septuagint adds that those who pick up the carcasses of domesticated animals must wash themselves to become pure. This is not added for those who eat these animals. Thus, the Septuagint envisions that one who prepares food will become unclean in the preparation and must wash.

Lev 22:3–9	Rules for the sons of Aaron, refraining from eating sacred donations if they have come into contact with swarming creatures	Bathing (v. 6)
4QMMT B 21–36 (4Q397 1–2; 4Q394 3–7 iii; 4Q396 1–2 i)	Avoiding bones and hides of unclean animals, slaughtering in the camp/sanctuary	Avoidance
11QT 47:7–18	Details of what animal products can be brought into the temple city	Proper sacrificial procedures
11QT 48:6–7	Dietary regulations for unclean animals	Avoidance

3.3.2.2   Contact with Impure Persons

In this subcategory I have included association with impure persons, both living and dead. The most prevalent impurity here comes from corpses, with many texts detailing rituals and timeframes for purification when a person has contact with the dead. This widespread notion that death requires purification rituals is found in other cultures beside ancient Israel and Judah and has even been argued as the cause for all purification practices.[106] Corpse impurity can be understood as an external impurity of another body, in this case a dead one, being contracted upon touch.[107] There are also instances where the corpse makes an enclosed space unclean and those who spend time in such a space must purify. The Temple Scroll regulates burial: one cemetery for every four cities (11QT 48:11–14). In reality, many tombs were not marked, and one would not know if one had come across a tomb when travelling.[108]

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[106] For instance, Thomas Kazen has argued that corpse impurity seems to have been influenced by Persian religion; Kazen, *Issues of Impurity*, 6–8. Jacob Milgrom's explanation of purity as about death anxiety is perhaps the best known, but this has also been noted by Hannah Harrington; Milgrom, "Dynamics of Purity," 32; Hannah K. Harrington, "Purity and Impurity," in *EDEJ*, 1121–1123, 1123. Mary Douglas also reduces *most* purity concerns to the opposition between death and life. See Douglas, *In the Wilderness*, 23. Against this reading, see Stewart, "Sexual Disabilities," 78, using the example of the priest who has had an emission.

[107] While it is not my focus, I wish to draw attention to the discussion in Yitzhaq Feder, "Death, Afterlife and Corpse Pollution: The Meaning of the Expression *ṭāmēʾ la-nepeš*," *VT* 69.3 (2019): 408–434, who examines conceptions about the dead, spirits and purity. The source of impurity around dead bodies may be associated with these kinds of notions, although I would still propose that the נפש ("soul," "living being," "people," see *HALOT* 2:711–713) refers to something understood to be constituent of the body.

[108] Jodi Magness, "Disposing of the Dead: An Illustration of the Intersection of Archaeology and Text," in Maeir, Magness and Schiffman, *Go Out and Study the Land'*, 117–132, who discusses burial practices in Second

In some of its regulations, the Temple Scroll (e.g.,11QT 49:16–21) draws from conceptions like those in Numbers 19:14–22, but adds extra bathing and laundering requirements.[109] Leviticus is more concerned with cultic officials avoiding dead bodies at all costs, although regulates bathing where this is unavoidable (Lev 22:3–9). Outside of corpse-purification, some texts are particularly concerned with maintaining separation between Israelites/Judahites and gentiles (e.g., Ezra 6:21–22; 9:1–2; Jub. 22:16–17; 30:7–15).[110]

Table 7 – Contact with Impure Bodies and Purity Conceptions

Text	Context	Specifications for purification
Lev 21:1–4	Rules for priestly contact with dead bodies, only close family, but not for wives	Avoidance
Lev 21:11–12	Further rules for priestly contact with dead bodies, specifically the high priest, not contact with dead bodies whatsoever	Avoidance
Lev 22:3–9	Rules for the sons of Aaron, refraining from eating sacred donations if they have come into contact with corpses or men with genital emissions	Bathing (v. 6)
Num 5:2–3	First commandment after enrolment of the Israelites regarding skin diseases, discharges and corpse contact	Exclusion
Num 6:6–12	Regulations for the Nazarite avoiding or contracting corpse impurity	Avoidance (vv. 6–7), shaving (v. 9), sacrifice (v. 10)

Temple Judaism, suggesting that many burials would not have been easy to identify as very few graves were marked or in clearly visible cemeteries. Luke 11:44 may suggest that many graves were indeed unmarked.

[109] Hultgren, *Damascus Covenant*, 270–272. See also the discussion of first day washing in the late Second Temple period in Hannan Birenboim, "*Tevul Yom* and the Red Heifer: Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakah," *DSD* 16.2 (2009): 254–273.

[110] Harrington draw attention to specifically this kind of impurity found in various texts known from the Qumran library; Hannah K. Harrington, "Keeping Outsiders Out: Impurity at Qumran," in García Martínez and Popović, *Defining Identities*, 187–203. See also Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 8–11, terms this as a concern for "genealogical purity" which is important around intermarriage.

Num 19:11–22	The impurity of corpses, regulations surrounding them, and ritual for removing impurity	Washing on third and seventh days (v. 12), sprinkling on third and seventh days (v. 19), washing on the seventh day (v. 19), laundering on the seventh day (v. 19), exclusion (v. 20), laundering for the officiating person (v.21)
Num 31:19–20	Rules regarding corpse defilement after battle, rules observed by both the soldiers and their slaves	Purification (possibly laundering or bathing, cf. 31:24) on the third and seventh days, washing items made of skin, goats' hair and wood
Ezra 6:21–22	Separation from other peoples' pollutions	Separation
Ezra 9:1–2 (cf. 9:11–14)	Separation from other peoples' pollutions, specifically marriages	Separation
Ezek 44:25–27	Priests avoid dead bodies who are not close family	Bathing (here cleansing, translation)
Tob 2:3–9	Tobit removing a corpse from the marketplace	Bathing (vv. 5, 9) before eating and again after burial
Jub. 22:16–17	Abraham advising Jacob to separate from Gentiles, and avoid eating with them	Separation
Jub. 30:7–15	Avoiding marriage with foreigners, specifically the marriage of women to foreigners	Putting the responsible parties to death (vv. 7, 8, 9)
T. Levi 9:9–11	Advice from Levi against promiscuity, passed on from Isaac, selecting a blameless wife	Avoidance (v. 9), bathing, before entering, while sacrificing and after (v. 11)
1QM 14:2–3	Returning from a battlefield	Laundering, bathing
4QMMT B 39–41 [see 3.2.6]	Ammonites, Moabites, people of mixed heritage, men with mutilated genitals	Exclusion, also from further marriages (v. 41)
4QMMT B 72–74 (4Q396 1–2 iv)	Determining what counts as a corpse, in this case, all bones. This adds further information to an assumed other regulation	N/A
4Q266 frag. 5 2:5–7	Sons of Aaron who have been held captive	Some exclusions from meetings and pure food

4Q274 frag. 1 1:9	Related to impurity contract from those with genital emission impurities	Refrain from eating, bathing and laundering
4Q277 1:1–10	Ritual for purification of corpse impurity	Sprinkling, bathing
11QT 45:17	Regulations for entry to the temple city	N/A
11QT 48:11–14	Regulations for burial	Keeping separate places between every four cities for the disposal of the dead
11QT 49:5–21	Regulations for corpse impurity, everything within an enclosed space becomes impure. Special attention is given to liquids, pottery and open vessels, mills, mortars, wood, iron and bronze utensils, and clothing	Cleaning the house (vv. 12–15), laundering and washing on first, third and seventh days, sprinkling on the third and seventh days
11QT 50:4–8	Regulations for coming across a corpse, remains, blood or grave	Sprinkling (v.3), other regulations lost but likely in keeping with regulations in the previous column
11QT 50:8–9	Coming into contact with someone with corpse impurity	Laundering and bathing
11QT 50:10–16	Regulations for a woman who suffers a miscarriage	Waiting one day upon contact, laundering and washing on the first, third and seventh days when entering the same house, with sprinkling on the third and seventh days
Spec. Laws 3.205–207	Corpse impurity, exclusion from the temple	Bathing on the 3rd and 7th days, washing and laundering for death in a household
Ag. Ap. 2.198, 205	Corpse impurity	Purification (bathing and laundering?) of the deceased's household and its inhabitants
Ant. 3.262	Corpse impurity	Bathing, sacrifice if longer before bathing
War 2.150	The Essenes wash when coming into contact with the more junior members "as if they had mingled with a foreigner"	Bathing

3.3.2.3   *Contact with Impure Substances*

Contact with impure substances appears to have been a particular concern around food preparation. Purity precautions may have been observed generally by Jews preparing food or dining, but outside of dietary laws, there are few references to actual substances which can convey or cause defilement. Washing hands before a meal was a common ancient Near Eastern practice, and there are a few references to this kind of practice in ancient Jewish literature.[111] Tobit washes before eating, although as has been discussed above, this could have been simply to remove corpse-impurity. The meal which Tobit eats is during the Festival of Weeks so purity may have been understood as more necessary during this meal than at other times (Tob 2:1, 5). Tobias and his relatives at Ecbatana also wash before eating in Tobit 7:9.[112] Josephus notes that the Essenes washed before eating (*War* 2.129). Philip Davies argues that ingestion itself is a way of maintaining a boundary around the Qumran community, or at least the ideological community in the Community Rule.[113] Those who prepare and serve the food must keep themselves pure.[114] In 4QMMT (B 55–58), streams of liquid also appear to be a concern around the possibility that they could convey impurity.[115] One particular substance appears to have been an issue for purity: oil. Olive oil was a common product – many presses are known from Galilee, and olive cultivation appears to have expanded in Galilee during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[116] It had a variety of

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[111] Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 10.

[112] This only appears in the longer G^{II} recension and is attested in the Sinaiticus manuscript. Some manuscripts mention both bathing and hand washing, while some have neither, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 229–230. Tobias and the angel do not wash before they eat in 6:6, although Tobias does wash his feet in the Tigris River, presumably to clean his feet after a day's journey (6:2).

[113] Davies, "Food, Drink and Sects," 157. See also Wassen, "(Im)purity Levels," 113–117.

[114] Hempel, "Making Dinner," 61–62.

[115] Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 83.

[116] Nili Liphschitz, "The Olive (*Olea europaea*) in Eretz Israel During the Hellenistic-Early Arab Periods," in Ayalon, Frankel and Kloner, *Oil and Wine Presses*, 441–444. See also Aviam, "Viticulture," 170–180.

uses, from consumption, to cosmetics, to illumination and beyond.[117] Activities such as olive

oil production appear to have required workers to ensure that they did not pass on impurity

during the process. This can be seen in the installation of ritual immersion pools and the use

of unusual implements near Galilean oil presses.[118] Some documents from the Qumran library

suggest that certain groups treated oil as especially potent in terms of its capability for

defilement (e.g. CD 12:16; 4Q513 1 1:2–8; 11QT 49:7–12 cf. *War* 2.123).[119] It is unclear how

this concern for either avoiding oil, or only using "pure/non-gentile oil" developed, but the

sole or desired use of Jewish-made oil is simply assumed in some texts (e.g. Jdt 10:5; 12:1–4;

Tob 1:10–11).[120] At least some of this concern was about sharing meals with non-Jews, but

oil and more generally liquids appear to have been conceived of as vectors which easily

transmitted impurity, and as such, precautions had to be taken [see 2.1.5.2].

An additional substance which could cause impurity is noted in Leviticus: marks on the

walls of houses (Lev 14:33–53). The MT of Leviticus 14 employs the same terminology as

skin diseases in chapter 13, but these are different conditions. The procedures to deal with this

involve the emptying of the structure, inspection from a priest, waiting for a period of time,

and scraping the substance away. If anyone enters the household, then they contract impurity.

Additionally, if they eat or sleep inside, they have to launder their clothes. If the substance

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[117] On consumption, see Safrai, *Economy of Roman Palestine*, 107, 132. On cosmetics, see Roland Deines, "Bad, Baden," in *Calwer Bibellexikon: Band 1*, eds. Otto Betz et al. (Stuttgart: Calwer, 2003), 151–152, 152. On illumination, see Varda Sussman, *Roman Period Oil Lamps in the Holy Land: Collection of the Israel Antiquities Authority*, BARIS 2447 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 3. For other uses, see Fortner and Rottloff, "Fisch, Flachs und Öl," 133–135; Goodman, "Kosher Olive Oil," 187.

[118] Liora Kolska Horwitz, "Partners in Purity: Second Temple Olive Presses and Scapulae Scoops," *NEA* 74.4 (2011): 241–246.

[119] Magness, "Impurity of Oil and Spit," 224–228. Although see Steve Mason, "Essenes and Lurking Spartans in Josephus' *Judean War*: From Story to History," in *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, ed. Zuleika Rodgers, JSJSup 110 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 219–261, 241–242, who suggests that this avoidance of oil was a literary parallel designed to show the "manliness of the Jews." However, Mason downplays other evidence which suggests that oil was discussed in terms of purity during the Second Temple period.

[120] Goodman, "Kosher Olive Oil," 199.

does not spread, then a ritual is conducted by a priest involving the slaughter of a bird, and

sprinkling a mixture inside the house.[121]

Table 8 – Contact with Impure Substances and Purity Conceptions

Text	Context	Specifications for purification
Lev 11:33–34	Impurity of liquids which were held in vessels that carcasses fell into	Breaking the vessel
Lev 11:37–38	Impurity of wet seeds which have touched a carcass	Avoidance, or making sure seeds are kept dry
Lev 14:34–47	Marks in the walls of households	Empty the household (v. 36), priestly examination, laundering for those who sleep and eat in the house (v. 47), sacrifice and sprinkling
Lev 22:3–9	Rules for the sons of Aaron, refraining from eating sacred donations if they eat carrion meat	Avoidance
1QS 5:13	Keeping a sinner from the pure food of the congregation	Exclusion
1QS 6:24–7:25	Various restrictions around food consumption following wrongdoing	Exclusion
1QM 9:8	Priests avoiding going into the midst of the battlefield to avoid defilement by unclean blood, oil is profaned by blood	Avoidance
CD 6:17	Touching food after a year then drink after two	Exclusion
CD 12:15–17	Wood, stones and dust defiled via oil stains	Avoidance
4QMMT B 55–58 (4Q394 8 iv)	Streams are not pure	Avoidance?
4Q274 frag. 3 1:6–9	Regulations concerning food, liquids are a concern	Avoidance
4Q274 frag. 3 2:1–9	Regulations concerning food, liquids are a concern	Avoidance

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[121] See Wright, *Disposal of Impurity*, 76, 89, 98.

4Q284a frag. 1, 1:2–8	Purity required when gathering fruit, ones which leek while being gathered	None
4Q513 13:4–5	Oil potential defiles	Avoidance?
4Q514 1 1:4–10	One with seminal emission not eating while impure	Avoidance
11QT 49:7–12	Procedures for purifying the house of a dead person, special attention is paid to wet food and drink. Oil, wine and water stains must be cleaned	Removal of foods and drink (implied), cleaning out stains
Ant. 12.119–120	Using pure oil (cf. *Life* 74; *War* 2.591)	Avoidance
War 2.123	Oil seen as defiling by the Essenes[122]	Avoidance

This brief survey shows that purity discourses were an important component of Second Temple period texts, being found in many different genres and from very different authors. Purity was clearly a key part of bodily religious and ritual practice for Jews of the late Second Temple period. We should conceive of Galilean religious practice as involving the observance of purity, and avoidance or treatment of impurity. The conventions of purity observation probably varied across the region. We should not suppose a uniformity in either the expression or motivation of similar forms of purity practices.[123]

Examining the diversity of purity conceptions in late Second Temple period Judaism through the lens of bodily space demonstrates that there were competing notions of what caused impurity, that impurity affected men and women in different ways, and that there were different processes for achieving purity. Impurity appears to have been an aspect of bodily

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[122] Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 73–74. However, Josephus may have been deliberating drawing on Spartan representation in Roman literature, using common tropes of "manliness" to show the good character of the Essenes, who themselves represent the best of Jewish practice. See Mason, "Essenes and Lurking Spartans," especially 238–250. See further the references to the Essenes washing regularly in cold water and as part of their initiation, *War* 2.137–142.

[123] Similarly, Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 297, argues that Jesus is presented in the gospels as having a different stance towards purity from his contemporaries, and we should expect there to be variety in purity practices and conceptions.

existence, whether it arose from the normal course of life, or was the result of a point of contact with something defiling. Galilean bodily space appears to have been orientated around the avoidance or the ritual removal of impurity, and it is through the conceptions outlined above that we might understand some of the key areas of life where ideas about what constituted the proper way of living and existing in communities (i.e., in relation to other bodies) indicate important parts of Galilean religious identity. Galilean bodily space was distinguished from Judean space insofar as we can clearly rule out that many of these practices were linked to participation in the Jerusalem Temple cult. As such, Galilean space allows us to foreground Judaism with its own vibrant sense of bodily space and move beyond perspectives which limit such practices to "priestly" spheres, or as temple-based expressions of religious identity.

3.4   Purposes of Becoming Pure/Avoiding Impurity

Purity is intrinsically linked with holiness across many ancient Jewish texts. People, objects and places can be holy, but to be holy or to gain access to holiness, purity regulations must be observed.[124] Purity then is a status which requires work and must be maintained for the sake of holiness. Therefore, it must be asked why did the Galileans create distinct spaces so they could maintain purity? What holiness did they try to achieve through the building of specific installations and vessels which could facilitate pure practices? As will be discussed below [6.3], the Galileans lived with a similar material culture to Jerusalem. The phenomena of stepped pools and stone vessels indicate that around certain places, purity practices were scrupulously followed. These phenomena are not found outside of Palestine, despite some

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[124] Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 511.

attempts to identify them (such as at the Ostia Synagogue). The only major difference that I can identify between Jews of the Second Temple period in the diaspora and in Galilee which could account for the differences in material culture is that the latter group lived in the land, under the jurisdiction of the temple authorities at least during the Hasmonean period. It seems reasonable that the Galileans could have conceived of themselves as living in a "Holy Land," which required them to follow purity regulations.[125] I suggest that these materials were used to perform ritual actions which dealt with impurity, the subsequent impact of which enacted or maintained a sense of sacred space in ancient Galilee.[126] This kind of space was created on a bodily level. It had to be managed by carefully and considerately monitoring what the body came into contact with, or where the boundaries of the body were breached.

3.4.1   The Holiness of "the Land of Israel"

The concept of the "land of Israel" as a holy place is common in many ancient Jewish texts.[127] The land can be defiled and the consequence for misdeeds is expulsion (e.g., Lev 18:27–28; 20:22; Num 35:33–34; Deut 4:26–27; 21:23; Jer 3:1; Ezek 36:17–18; Ezra 9:11–14; 1 Macc 3:29; Jub. 23:18; 1QS 8:6–7, 10; 9:4 cf. 1QSa 1:3).[128] Maintaining holiness is

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[125] Klawans argues that if the land can be understood as holy then it can also be defiled by the impurity of the people; Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 32–33, contra David Wright.

[126] In different contexts but each referring to washing prior to entering temples, see Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *Sacred Power, Sacred Space: An Introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 8; Anders Runesson, "Purity, Holiness, and the Kingdom of Heaven in Matthew's Narrative World," in Ehrlich, Runesson and Schuller, *Purity, Holiness, and Identity*, 144–180, 148.

[127] This is not to claim that they share the same concept of the "land of Israel," define it by the same borders or even have the same notion that the land is a physical reality. Naomi Koltun-Fromm, "Holiness," *ESTJ* 2, 343–345, 344, credits the priestly texts as being principally interested in this cultivation of holy space, directed managed by a ritual purity system. See also Betsy Halpern Amaru, "Land, Concept of," *EDEJ*, 866–868.

[128] On the nature of the land and defilement in Jeremiah, see Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 27; in Ezekiel, see Crouch, "What Makes a Thing Abominable," 536; Rachel Havrelock, "The Two Maps of Israel's Land," *JBL* 126.4 (2007): 651–652; Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 26; Michael Konkel, "The System of Holiness in Ezekiel's Vision of the New Temple (Ezek 40–48)," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 429–455; Seth D. Kunin, *God's Place in the World: Sacred Space and Sacred Place in Judaism*, CRS (London:

essential for the sanctuary and requires that the people in the land keep the law. As Harrington

puts it, "holiness is not mere separation *from* the world but a separation or dedication to

perform the divine will *in* the world."[129] Holiness and purity are connected in Leviticus 10:10

and Ezekiel 22:26. While holiness is not the opposite of impurity, holiness does highlight the

contrast between distinct modes of bodily existence.[130] According to Bonnie, the late Second

Temple period saw the emergence of a "wider range of practices… associated with ritual

washing [which] suggests a greater diversity and innovation than before, but also hints at the

greater significance" of ritual washing.[131] Some scholars have termed this diversification and

innovation "extra-temple" or "non-priestly" purity, which begins to appear in texts from the

late 3rd century BCE. Poirier suggests that the rise of "extra-temple" purity can be understood

as a desire for Jews to observe purity "for its own sake."[132] Regev connects "non-priestly"

purity to "individual piety" by those "were seeking holiness in their everyday life."[133] Regev

further points to the focus on the body in purification rituals and the individualisation of these

procedures as a late Second Temple period development, when "the body becomes a project

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Cassell, 1998), 25–27; Smith, *To Take Place*, 56–57, 73; in Ezra-Nehemiah, see Benedikt Rausche, "The Relevance of Purity in Second Temple Judaism according to Ezra-Nehemiah," in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 457–475, 474; in the Community Rule, see Klawans*, Impurity and Sin*, 88. Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality*, 200–202, argues that this expulsion should not be conceived of as a purificatory process, but instead is a punishment. Other texts have been levied in support of the idea that impurity in the land can affect the temple from afar (Lev 15:31; Num 19:13, 20), but Maccoby argues that these are conditional clauses about what might happen *if* a defiled person enters the temple or causes a priest to become impure. See *ibid*., 172–173, contra Jacob Milgrom.

[129] Hannah K. Harrington, "Holiness," *EDEJ*, 749–750, 750.

[130] Erbele-Küster, *Body, Gender and Purity*, 139–140.

[131] Bonnie, "Bath/Mikveh."

[132] Poirier, "Purity beyond the Temple," 251–256. Poirier points to passages in Tobit, the Sibylline Oracles, Aristeas, Philo's *Special Laws* and Josephus' *Antiquities*, and draws on the phrasing of E. P. Sanders. With regard to the Qumran community, see also Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality*, 184; Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 512.

[133] See Eyal Regev, "Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism," *JSJ* 31.2 (2000): 176–202, particularly 187. Regev draws on examples from Tobit, Pseudo-Aristeas, the 3rd Sibylline Oracles, Judith and the Dead Sea Scrolls to prove his point. These texts are paired with material finds of stone vessels and stepped pools to argue that purity concerns grew during the late Second Temple period. See Eyal Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity and Its Religious Aspects according to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings," in Poorthuis and Schwartz, *Purity and Holiness*, 223–244, 239.

which requires effort as part of an individual's piety."[134] Each of these approaches emphasizes the individual impetus for following Second Temple period innovations in purity conceptions.

However, Thomas Kazen has argued against the use of this terminology, as it frames the priestly material as the only source of purity regulations. Kazen posits that purity also developed out of concerns unrelated to the temple cult and that these should be taken as the basis for some of the later expansions of purity practice. Further, many of the practices known from the late Second Temple period go above and beyond what was expected of priests in the Torah.[135] Kazen's work on the biological causes (e.g., the emotional response of disgust) behind impurity conceptions helps to reframe purity as a more-than-cultic ideology.[136] Lemos has argued in a similar vein. After examining the diverse range of purity discussions in many biblical texts, Lemos concludes that "marking a distinction between purity and impurity was an important part of life throughout ancient Israel."[137] That is, purity was important for people outside of the temple-cult. From the early 1st century BCE, it is clear that many Jews in Galilee were also concerned with purity, which is shown by the introduction of stepped pools and stone vessels in the archaeological record. The fact that these material remains appear in stone before they were discussed in text suggests that purity concerns were more widespread than texts might indicate. Rather culture is often produced "out there," and then later represented in texts. Therefore, not *all* behaviour related to purity should be subsumed to "systems" derived from texts we understand to have been authoritative. Rather, those texts indicate, through common concerns, something of the more general purity conceptions held by the population. If we find a cause of impurity addressed in multiple texts from different viewpoints, then we

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[134] Regev, "Pure Individualism," 192.
[135] Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 69.
[136] Kazen, *Issues of Impurity*, 9. See also *idem.*, "Role of Disgust." I thank Thomas Kazen for his valuable inputs on these points.
[137] Lemos, "Where There Is Dirt," 289.

have good reason to think that it was believed to be a cause of impurity by Jews more generally. Furthermore, while we are aware of certain "extensions" of purity conceptions in the Second Temple period to cover actions and practices like "defecation, festivals, marriage, and gleaning the harvest," we cannot determine whether these actions and practices were first associated with (im)purity in the texts or if this association preceded its record in extant works.[138] It is probable that these actions and practices were widely thought of to have caused impurity or required purity. Certainly, the Second Temple period was a time of religious innovation, and some practices may have originated from interactions with other cultures, or in reaction to debates between groups, but we cannot know. We should not assume that earlier texts such as Leviticus form a complete catalogue of all purity practices within emerging Judaism during the Second Temple period. This is not to say that everyone would have observed purity regulations to the same degree. Certain texts appear to show a desire for purity regulations and conceptions known in older texts such as Leviticus and Numbers to be clarified or synthesised. We are aware of halakic disagreements taking place during the late Second Temple period which attests to the ongoing formulation of purity conceptions during this time, and also the lack of agreement or standardised practices.[139]

All this is to say that while we should not expect to define clearly how Galilean Jews understood purity, there were, in all likelihood, wide ranging practices with which they would have been familiar. It should not be held that that Galilean Jews followed Levitical regulations (or any other biblical regulations) "to the letter." Some may have interpreted the laws one way, some another, some may have rejected purity regulations, while others attempted to follow more than was regulated. The range of sources of impurity which are attested in

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[138] Jonathan Lawrence lists this four actions and practices as extensions of purity in the Second Temple period, see Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 115.

[139] Yair Furstenberg has argued that disputes between Jesus and the Pharisees were centred on disagreements about purity halakah. See Furstenberg, "Defilement Penetrating the Body," 184.

multiple texts indicate the types of impurity which Galilean Jews may have acknowledged,

and these will assist in our interpretation of Galilean material remains.

3.4.2   Boundary Management in Everyday Life

While we should not assume that every act of purification was an attempt to secure

holiness, whether for the land, nation, community or individual, there does appear to have

been a general conception that purity was an integral part of maintaining holy or sacred

spaces. According to Frevel and Nihan, "purity is a category of participation or exclusion and

integration or disintegration in a social respect."[140] This could be thought of as occurring

within a "religious sphere," which Seth Kunin describes as a kind of pathway which allows

for movement between mundane and divine spaces. He notes that the spaces of the

Tabernacle, the wilderness camp and the outside world were clearly distinct, and that

movement between these was strictly controlled if not outright forbidden.[141] This then implies

that purification is a process which allows entry into a sacred space. However, this was likely

not the case in all circumstances. Veikko Anttonen argues that purity should, at least

sometimes, be understood as a feature of mundane life, rather than always a process designed

to bring the participant into a state of sacredness.[142]Anttonen proposes that purity regulations,

especially those that manage women's social roles, tend to manage boundaries in life.

Procreation, birth, and menstruation all involve washing rituals, are bound up with the

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[140] Frevel and Nihan, "Introduction," 15.
[141] Seth D. Kunin, "Neo-Structuralism and the Contestation of Sacred Place in Biblical Israel," *Temenos* 41.2 (2005): 210–211.
[142] Anttonen, "Space, Body," 194. This may be tempered with the position of Frevel and Nihan, who argue that purity concepts in the ancient Mediterranean always related to the divine in some way; Frevel and Nihan, "Introduction," 37.

rhythms of life, and have the potential to disrupt social organisation.[143] Candida Moss notes

that in the ancient world, bodies were viewed as distorted when the boundaries of the body

were open or porous. This applies to more than just (im)pure bodies, but also those afflicted

by sickness. "Boundaries must be regulated and checked, and invaders must be fended off.

Sickly bodies were those that failed in this effort to remain impermeable. They were porous,

and it was this porosity that permitted a *daimon* or other agent to enter and contaminate the

body."[144] As discussed above, bodily emissions were regularly viewed as sources of

impurity.[145] Sexual activity was controlled via purity regulations. As David Stewart explains,

the priest with a seminal emission would not be physically impaired from his temple duties,

but he would be "socially disabled by them – he is restrained. These restraints do not seem to

be about dirtiness but what we could describe as 'power leaks'."[146] Purity in part is about

managing perceived dangers such as breaches in bodily boundaries.[147] Ritual can manage

these dangers and is the key means through which anxiety about impurity is expressed and

dealt with.[148]

In some instances, women were probably more valuable than men as agents in activities

which required purity. While Ilan notes that women may have had a large role in post-mortem

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[143] Anttonen, "Space, Body," 195.

[144] Candida R. Moss, "The Man with the Flow of Power: Porous Bodies in Mark 5:25–34," *JBL* 129.3 (2010): 513.

[145] Erbele-Küster, *Body, Gender and Purity*, 119–126, who notes that Leviticus 12 and 15 aim to control bodily boundaries through purity regulations. Her discussion reveals the multifaceted function of purity regulations around menstrual impurity, which affects cultic, ethical, physical and gendered boundaries in the thought world of the text. Erbele-Küster is careful to note that there is no direct evidence for these practices as relating to a taboo around menstrual blood. Avraham Faust has argued that Iron Age four-room houses allow for the easy isolation of individuals, and that excavations from Tel 'Eton shows that one room in particular lacked pottery, with its entrance way marked by a square of crushed limestone and a stone basin being found near the entryway. This may reflect the ideology of isolation found in Numbers 5, but it is far from certain that this is the only explanation for the arrangement of the room; Faust, "World of P."

[146] Stewart, "Sexual Disabilities," 81.

[147] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 122, describes four kinds of social pollution: "danger pressing on external boundaries," "danger from transgressing the internal lines of the system," "danger in the margins of the lines," and "danger from internal contradiction."

[148] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 128.

care, as their impure status had less consequences than for men, there are instances where women could be viewed as less susceptible towards impurity in the first place.[149] For example, women who had gone through menopause, and particularly those who were also widows, would have more limited means of becoming regularly impure. Thus, their status as pure could generally be trusted. This may have afforded them social cachet whereby tasks which required participants to be pure, for fear of passing on any impurity, could be done with relative safety by these women. Purity regulations would often require self-examination and self-reporting.[150] As such, one would have to trust that other members of one's community were as scrupulous in their observance of purity. Therefore, if a given woman had only a few ways to become impure, then the community would not even have to extend her the courtesy of trusting her word, but simply know that she was pure. One's sense of bodily space would be dependent on assumptions about other's bodily spaces. As impurity is transmitted between bodies, bodily space must incorporate a sense of community, that is existing in relation to other bodies.

Purification can be thought of as an act of bodily expression which is designed to have some kind of effect upon the community. Thus, while purity boundaries often concern personal action, in many cases impurity threatens the whole community. Concerns about intermarriage exemplify this kind of anxiety.[151] While the areas of impurity which concern the

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[149] Ilan, "Gender Issues," 58.

[150] Keady, *Vulnerability and Valour*, 126.

[151] For a consideration of Second Temple period Jewish approaches towards impurity and intermarriage, but also the threat of gentiles toward the temple, see Beate Ego, "Purity Concepts in Jewish Traditions of the Hellenistic Period," trans. Judith Spangenberg, in Frevel and Nihan, *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, 477–492, 481; Hannah K. Harrington, "How Does Intermarriage Defile the Sanctuary?" in Brooke et al., *Scrolls and Biblical Tradition*, 177–195; *idem.*, *Purity Texts*, 112–116; Konkel, "System of Holiness," 439.

body such as food and drink,[152] corpse contact,[153] skin diseases,[154] bodily discharges

(including sexual contact),[155] and childbirth[156] all appear to regulate personal behaviour, the

failure to manage these forms of impurity threatens more than an individual. Therefore, bodily

impurity was a community concern, and this would have been an ever-present issue for those

who wished to ensure their own state of purity. As Wassen observes, "impurity was a

common part of everyday life among Jews in the late Second Temple period and it was

mostly unavoidable."[157] While Wassen therefore downplays the significance of purity

conceptions unrelated to the cultic sphere, this line of argumentation might actually indicate

that purity was something that Galileans had to consciously consider in their everyday lives.

An ancient Galilean would probably have to suspect that they could contract impurity from

almost anyone; even if one assumed that their neighbours were following Levitical

regulations, the majority of these (i.e., those concerning cultic participation) would be

inessential practices while living in Galilee, and as such, while one could be outwardly

scrupulous, they might not regularly wash for the purposes of purification. Furthermore, it

would be more or less impossible to know if one's neighbour were observing the same purity

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[152] Harrington, "Did the Pharisees," 49–54; *idem.*, "Holiness and Law," 126; *idem.*, *Purity Texts*, 132–133; Hempel, "Making Dinner," 49–65; Wassen, "(Im)purity Levels of Communal Meals," 102–122; *idem.*, "Purity and Holiness," 518–519. Poirier proposes that the reason why the Pharisees washed their hands before meals was probably related to their "regimen of prayer and Torah-study." Some ancient Jews did regard purification as a proper beginning to these activities, but this does not exclude eating and drinking from a perceived danger of impurity. As in the Miqat Ma'aśê ha-Torahᵃ and the Community Rule, purification before preparing food or eating was required by some groups. See John C. Poirier, "Why Did the Pharisees Wash Their Hands," *JJS* 47.2 (1996): 233.

[153] Yonatan Adler, "Ritual Baths adjacent to Tombs: An Analysis of the Archaeological Evidence in Light of the Halakhic Sources," *JSJ* 40.1 (2009): 55–73; Dávid, "Death, Burial, and Sacred Space," 123–134; Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 132–133; Konkel, "System of Holiness," 448; Magness, "Disposing of the Dead," 125–130; Noam, "Josephus and Early Halakhah, 136, 146; Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 515–516.

[154] Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 132–133; Noam, "Josephus and Early Halakhah," 146.

[155] Ego, "Purity Concepts," 481; Harrington, *Purity Texts*, 132–133; Noam, "Josephus and Early Halakhah," 136, 146; Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 516–517.

[156] Ego, "Purity Concepts," 483; Noam, "Josephus and Early Halakhah," 146.

[157] Wassen, "Purity and Holiness," 519; *idem.*, "Do You Have to Be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple? Sanctuary Metaphors and Construction of Sacred Space in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul's Letters," Ehrlich, Runesson and Schuller, *Purity, Holiness, and Identity*, 55–86, 70. Elsewhere, Wassen notes that "biblical laws in general do not even prescribe avoidance of ritual impurity, except in connection to the sacred." See Wassen, "Jewishness of Jesus," 21.

rituals as oneself. Purity was then a hypothetical status, which the more scrupulous would have to make sure they had achieved, perhaps quite publicly. One might think of the ritual immersion pool outside of the Gamla communal structure [see 4.3.1.3]. Entering this pool would have been a public declaration that one was purifying. This is related to an important dimension of the bodily sphere; whether one's impurity, or conversely purity, would be visible. Here I mean visibility in a broader sense than simply being able to see that someone was impure due to a skin condition. Rather visibility includes a notion of how communities self-regulate and manage the conditions which lead to impurity. A community would usually know if someone had died in an individual's family, or if one had given birth, and quite possibly if one had committed some moral transgression. Many other purity conceptions would have required that members of the community self-examined, or that one could take precautions to prevent the contraction of impurity (i.e., stone vessel usage), or deal with the potential that one may have become impure (i.e., ritual immersion pools). If one were particularly suspicious of others or knew for a fact that they disagreed over how to practise purity conceptions, then one may often have been in a state of potential impurity.[158]

3.5   The Place of Purity in Hasmonean and Herodian Galilee

Each of the above categories refers in some way to a sphere of life. We can assume that some of these spheres included a sense for Galileans that certain phenomena would cause impurity, certain spaces might require one to think about how pure one should be, and particular rituals and periods of time would remove impurity. Galilee presents a unique

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[158] Cecilia Wassen, "Pure, Impure, and in between: Discourses on Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (paper presented at the 10th Schwerte Qumrantagung: Purity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, Schwerte, 11 February 2019). Similar comments made in Wassen, "(Im)purity Levels of Communal Meals," 108.

example: we can be confident that the Galileans were aware and engaged in purity discourses which were widespread in late Second Temple Judaism (not just in the land), while also sharing a material culture with the area immediately around Jerusalem, an area that shows room was made for objects and installations with the purpose of negating impurity. These same stone vessel forms and stepped pools which are found commonly in Galilee, just as in Judea, suggest that the same concern for purity observation was present in Galilee as in Judea where the influence of the temple might be more consciously felt. There is no reason why places outside of the land should not have similar installations, but almost none have yet been found outside of Hasmonean or Herodian territory. This suggests that, for some, living in the land meant observing some kinds of purity procedures which were not found outside of "the Holy Land."

Many of the sources of impurity in this discussion only mattered in Levitical regulations when one wished to participate in activities in the sanctuary. For the Galileans, regular temple visits were out of the question. The distance between even the most southerly reach of the region and Jerusalem is far too great for short visits, and the time and cost of travelling would have made such a pilgrimage difficult for many Galileans of a lower economic status. Therefore, the presence of installations and objects in Hasmonean and Herodian Galilee which were crafted with the intention that they be used for some kind of purificatory practice strongly suggests that the Galileans were observing a kind of "household purity."[159] The material culture of Galilee appears to be a middle ground, negotiated between temple-proximity as in Judea, and a general Jewish culture of purity observance.

Galilee as a region was distinct from Judea [see 6.1]. The regions' shared material culture related to purity and bodily space may suggest that these artefacts which scholars have

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[159] Here combining Andrea Berlin's terminology with purity discussions in an effort to avoid terms which relate purity to the cult. See Berlin, "Household Judaism," 214.

connected to purity practices associated with the Jerusalem Temple may have made a faulty causal identification. If Galileans used such materials without direct access to the Jerusalem Temple, then it follows that such artefacts were likely not directly associated with cultic practice. At the very least, we may re-evaluate an idea of ancient Jewish purity conceptions as generating out of concerns about temple space, and instead think further about bodily space.

Purity creates community boundaries but these boundaries between pure and impure have to be enacted by and through bodies. Purity creates a lived space of obedience to divine commands and/or cultural practices. Purity observance could have been viewed as an important part of living "in the land." Some may have viewed themselves as somehow guarding the temple from afar by properly observing purity halakah.[160] This also protects one's identity against pressing cultural forces. For example, the Maccabean rebellion is portrayed initially as a refusal to break sacrificial laws, but there is also the implication that the consumption of pork or food sacrificed to idols was an abomination (1 Macc 1:43–48; 2:24–25; 2 Macc 6:1, 5, 7, 18–31; *Ant.* 12.268–270). Purity seems to be one of the principal aspects of bodily space for at least some Galilean Jews, who went to some effort to make sure that they properly prevented impurity. Following Knott's areas of consideration for bodily space (constitution, experience, activity and meaning), a number of comments can be made about purity and bodily space in late Second Temple Judaism.

First, purity is *constituted* as a categorical distinction generally related to conceptions found in the Torah. There are expansions in later texts, but generally they follow similar patterns. There are things or actions which render the body impure. This impurity can be removed through certain actions, often involving ritual washing. In most cases, touch spreads impurity, and exclusion minimizes the risk of "contagion." Impurity is not a negative category

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[160] Suggested by Roland Deines at the 10th Schwerte Qumrantagung.

but regularly needs be dealt with if one wishes to interact with the sanctuary or other Jewish sacred spaces. This may be a localised conception about the purity of a household or could relate to the experience of living in a sacred land. We know that this was the case for some purity conceptions, but this does not mean that every act of purification was in order to access sacred space.

Second, purity is *experienced* as an ideal to be attained and preserved. With every encounter, one can potentially become impure. There is no way of knowing if others were also as scrupulous in their observation of purification procedures, so purity would always be a temporary status. Certain measures could be taken to avoid impurity, such as celibacy (although this would not prevent seminal emissions or menstruation), but the only way to ensure that one was pure would be to purify. Thus, purity would have been closely associated with the rituals undertaken to achieve purity. The acts of purification are visible in many cases; mainstream sacrifice in late Second Temple period Judaism was a public event after all. Shaving would also be very noticeable. Washing one's body and clothes was perhaps less so, although this would depend on where one washed.

Third, *activities* related to purity and impurity affect space. Knott notes that "ritual practice itself is… spatial practice transformed by religious meaning, and often – though not always – performed in the context of a space set apart as sacred and by an appropriate ritual practitioner."[161] Activities related to the most basic aspects of life (birth, sex, illness, consumption and death) can all affect the purity of their immediate surroundings. Impurity occupies enclosed spaces. In the cases of death and "mildew," a house must be purified. Beyond this clear example, the body itself is a space where the boundaries of the self are regulated, and infractions often result in impurity. The above division of impurities

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[161] Knott, *Location of Religion*, 43.

originating inside and outside the body helps demonstrate the importance of clear delineation of bodily space. Most kinds of ritual impurity migrate or contaminate through proximity, often where one body touches another source of impurity. Therefore, purification and impurification (or rather defilement), alter the lived reality of the person undergoing such a process. Their body becomes a vehicle which can convey impurity to others (once defiled), or they must wash, shave and wait a time *with their body* to purify.

Fourth, by relating (im)purity conceptions directly to bodily space within Second Temple Judaism, we gain insight into the importance and *meaning* of these conceptions for everyday life. Religious practice was not simply cultic observance but lived experience according to an understanding of halakah. As put by Kazen, "purity is important because of the holiness of the temple and God's presence in the midst of Israel. But at the same time, it is clear that purity was a desirable state for many people during the first century, regardless of whether they were going to visit the temple or separate *terumah* in the near future."[162] Through the above analysis, the importance of ritual purity can be partially understood for ancient Galilean Jews.

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[162] Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 73.

4. Jewish Communal Structures in Late Second Temple Period Galilee

This chapter discusses the available archaeological evidence of structures which were built for community meetings. I limit the discussion to remains known from Galilee (and Gamla) [for justification of this inclusion see 1.2.4] which were built and used by communities in the 1st centuries BCE and CE. The remains in question are of large structures which include areas suitable for meetings. I describe these remains as those of "purpose-built communal structures."

For the most part, the structures in the below discussion have been identified by archaeologists as "synagogues." However, I avoid using this terminology, drawing inspiration from the work of Penelope Allison who has articulated a problem with the nomenclature commonly employed for excavated architecture at Pompeii. Allison argues that rooms have often been labelled by assessing the probable function of a given space, then finding a counterpart in the ancient work of Vitruvius which can then be applied to this space. She notes that "while this labelling of spaces can be a useful process for exploring the nature of past behaviour, it does not actually demonstrate that this label was used for this particular space in the Roman period, nor can it elucidate the activities that took place therein."[1] In other words, the name given to a particular room implies that we know how a room was and was not used. This homogenises what can be said about ancient spaces according to a particular source and can flatten our perspective on diverse ancient behaviour and use of space. Thus, in an effort not to make initial assumptions about the activities which took place in

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[1] Penelope M. Allison, "Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Roman Domestic Space," *AJA* 105.2 (2001): 184–188, with reference to domestic structures, particularly in Pompeii.

"synagogues" in the foreground of the discussion, I introduce these structures using differentiated and general labels where possible.[2] Monika Trümper offers some helpful distinctions and guidance for an investigation of ancient structures which may have been open to the public, and those which were reserved for private groups. Access is a key distinguishing feature, and although any indications of personnel who could have managed such access are gone, certain architectural features may indicate the intended users of a structure. Trümper suggests that accessibility is a helpful guide to who may have used a bathhouse, and this same criterion can be applied to other communal structures.[3] By examining each structure in its own context, and considering the varied possibilities for these buildings' use, we can arrive at an idea of what these spaces meant for their ancient producers and users.[4] This chapter begins the discussion of communal spaces. This and the following chapter examine how Galilean communal space was centred around community gatherings, using the evidence for purpose-built structures in Galilee as the starting point for considering how communal space was arranged, before examining the wider context of late Second Temple period Jewish communal structures [see chp. 5].

4.1   Issues for Interpreting Second Temple Period Communal Structures

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[2] The only caveats are that I will use "synagogues" for when other modern scholars have explicitly identified the structures in this way and synagogues for structures identified as such dating to the 3rd century CE or later. Structures later than the principal period of inquiry may present the same issues, but inscriptional evidence is far stronger in later period. I will leave the methodological cautions to others working on this period.

[3] Monika Trümper, "'Privat' versus 'öffentlich' in hellenistischen Bädern," in *Stadtkultur im Hellenismus. Band 4: Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform*, ed. Martin Zimmermann (Heidelberg: Verlag Antike, 2014), 205–249, 214. This is a more suitable criteria than inscriptions which indicate ownership or operating authorities. Functionality is a more suitable indicator than labels designed to bestow prestige.

[4] Here I intend to recall the language of Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 43–44. See the discussion in the introduction on this language [1.4.1].

While the study of ancient Galilee has been greatly enriched over the last 40 years through a large number of excavations, there is still much work that could be done. Even in the case of well excavated sites, much of what once stood either has yet to be uncovered or has been lost. Continued excavations, salvage operations and construction will undoubtedly reveal more structures which should be incorporated into the discussion below. Furthermore, it is likely that communal meetings took place and left no indication of their presence, either due to the meeting taking place in an open area, or in a room which otherwise resembles a typical living space. This expectation should be tempered with the fact that many archaeologists are interested in finding ancient "synagogues" and as such, spaces which can be interpreted as an example of an early "synagogue" are often described in such terms. A well-known case of "overinterpretation" is the fountain house of Magdala, which when discovered was reported as a "synagogue." This identification has been challenged and it appears now that a consensus has been reached about the structure's original function as a fountain house.[5] An additional case [see 4.2.1] is the "synagogue of Capernaum." The meagre remains from the 1st century CE do not really indicate much, but many have accepted them as belonging to the well-known synagogue attested in some of the gospels (Luke 4:33–38; Mark 1:21–29; John 6:59). If this structure were not mentioned in these sources, then I suspect that there would be less acceptance of the significance of the 1st century CE remains. As such, texts have clearly driven some interpretations and will continue to do so. My approach here will be to present the known facts and some imaginative reconstruction about each these remains separately, before discussing the context of late Second Temple period Jewish communal structures [chp. 5].

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[5] On the Magdala fountain see, Rick Bonnie and Julian Richard, "Building D1 at Magdala Revisited in the Light of Public Fountain Architecture in the Late-Hellenistic East," *IEJ* 62.1 (2012): 71–88. On the "synagogues" of Delos, Jericho, Masada, and Herodium, see Matassa, *Invention*.

The structures discussed below have often been grouped together on the basis of a number of shared features. These features include benches around the walls which look onto a central open space, columns, and rectangular floor plans.[6] In some cases, "synagogues" have been identified on the basis of an associated ritual immersion pool [see 2.1.5.5].[7] The "typology" for what scholars have identified as "early synagogues" has been criticised by Rachel Hachlili who notes that these criteria are circumstantial. A clear feature of late antique "synagogues" is the presence of a Torah shrine. Structures in Palestine of the 1st century CE entirely lack anything approaching this. Thus, these early communal structures are distinctive insofar as they *lack* any determinative features.[8] The discussion below is confined to what can be known about these structures and what this information may reveal about communal activities in Galilean settlements.

4.2   Proposed Galilean Communal Structures of the Late Second Temple Period

There are a number of proposed purpose-built communal structures in ancient Galilee which will be discussed in this section. These structures have been selected for discussion because they are evidence of communal facilities in Second Temple period Galilee. Usually, any "public" structure which does not have another clear function (i.e., a bathhouse) is

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[6] These points of commonality are discussed by James F. Strange, "Archaeology and Ancient Synagogues up to about 200 C.E.," in *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins until 200 C.E.: Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001*, eds. Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, ConBNT 39 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003), 37–62, 40–41, 50–51. Strange draws these features out of an analysis of proposed "synagogues" at Gamla, Masada, Herodium, Qiryat Sefer and Horvat Etri.

[7] Andrea Rottloff suggests that the Gamla "synagogue" was identified as such because the ritual immersion pool was in such close proximity. See Andrea Rottloff, "Gamla – Das Masada des Nordens?" in Faßbeck et al., *Leben am See*, 110–116, 115.

[8] Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues – Archaeology and Art: New Discoveries and Current Research*, HdO 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 23, 52.

described as a "synagogue." The three well excavated and documented 1st century CE

structures of Galilee, two found in Gamla and one in Magdala, will be discussed in the

following sections [4.3; 4.4]. The other proposed communal structures include building

remains in Capernaum, Chorazin, Khirbet Qana, Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam, Sepphoris and Tel

Rekhesh. These have not been given lengthy discussions due to the limited published

information available about their excavations, clear evidence that they were built prior to the

First Jewish War, and/or the lack evidence showing how they were originally configured.

4.2.1   Capernaum

Capernaum lies on the northern end of the Lake of Gennesareth.[9] During the 1st century

CE the settlement was a large village, being home to somewhere between 600 and 1000

people. It was located on the "border" between the territories of the sons of Herod the Great,

Antipas and Philip.[10] A reconstructed limestone, Byzantine period synagogue is dated

between the 4th and 6th century CE. Beneath this structure lies thick, basalt walls and pavement

sections thought to have been built in the 1st century CE.[11] As the basalt walls are thicker than

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[9] An overview of the site and the excavations there can be found in Sharon Lea Mattila, "Capernaum," *ESTJ* 2, 130–132; *idem.*, "Capernaum, Village of Naḥum, from Hellenistic to Byzantine Times," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 217–257.

[10] Jürgen Zangenberg, "Kapernaum – Zu Besuch in Jesu ,eigener Stadt'," in Faßbeck et al., *Leben am See*, 99–103. Sharon Lea Mattila, "Revisiting Jesus' Capernaum: A Village of Only Subsistence-Level Fishers and Farmers?" in Fiensy and Hawkins, *Galilean Economy*, 75–138, 85, suggests that the population of the 1st century CE would likely have been under 1000 people. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 152, provides an estimate of between 600 and 1500 residents, allowing for a density of between 100 and 150 people per hectare and a site size of between 6 and 10 hectares. On the site being a border town, see Vassilios Tzaferis, "Capernaum," *NEAEHL* 1:291–296, 292, who cites Matt 9:9 and the possibility of a customs office.

[11] A good overview can be found in Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues*, 23–26, 61–63. See also Catto, *Reconstructing*, 99–102; Claußen, "Synagogen Palästinas," 353–354; Tzaferis, "Capernaum," 294. Discussions about the date of the later structure which touch on the 1st century CE walls can be found in Doron Chen, "On the Chronology of the Ancient Synagogue at Capernaum," *ZDPV* 102 (1986): 134–143; Gideon Foerster, "Synagogue Studies: Metrology and Excavations," *ZDPV* 105 (1989): 129–135; Mattila, "Capernaum, Village of Naḥum," 225.

the walls of contemporary domestic structures in the vicinity, they have been suggested to be the remains of a public building.[12] I have been unable to find figures for the dimensions of nearby 1st century CE domestic walls, but the basalt walls beneath the later synagogue measure c.1.2–1.3 metres wide.[13] Furthermore, Sharon Mattila has argued that the extant basalt stone walls of domestic buildings at Capernaum may be remnants of what once stood as they are probably missing the facings of the dressed walls.[14] This lack of secure comparison between the "thick" walls beneath the Byzantine synagogue and other 1st century CE structure walls leads me to reject this structure as a suitable candidate for lengthy discussion. Aside from these "thick" walls, there is little archaeological evidence for a 1st century communal structure. Therefore, there is no significant evidence available which could warrant an extensive section dedicated to the archaeology of a 1st century CE Capernaum communal building. Beyond conjecture, little can be said about the space of this building.

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[12] On this see Anders Runesson, "Architecture, Conflicts, and Identity Formation: Jews and Christians in Capernaum From the First to the Sixth Century," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 231–257, 239. Runesson elsewhere describes the structure as a "public assembly building" due to its large size and placement in the village; *idem.*, "Persian Imperial Politics, the Beginnings of Public Torah Readings, and the Origins of the Synagogue," in Olsson and Zetterholm, *Ancient Synagogue*, 63–89, 83. Against the theory that the walls were a foundation for the later synagogue, Rick Bonnie argues that they cannot be. The earlier walls are offset from the later ones, the later blocks had to be tapered to fit the earlier wall, and the earlier wall is much poorer quality than the later; Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 183–184.

[13] Measurements for the walls of the synagogue can be found in Lee I. Levine, "The Synagogues of Galilee," in *Galilee 1*, 129–150, 144.

[14] Mattila, "Revisiting Jesus' Capernaum," 124–129.
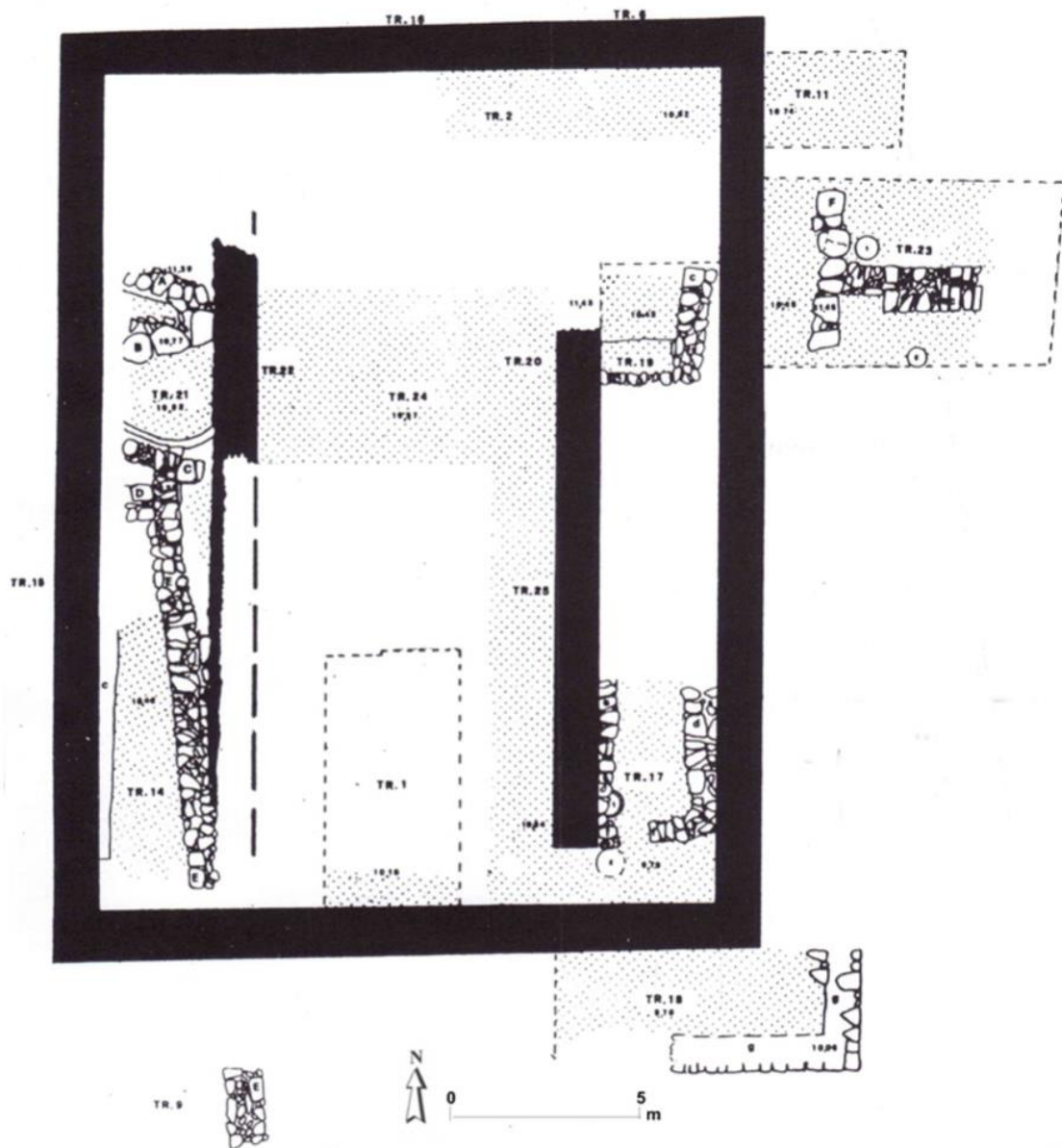
Figure 9 – Capernaum 1ˢᵗ century CE basalt remains, from Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues, 25

4.2.2   Chorazin

Chorazin lies on the northern end of the Lake of Gennesareth and is identified as the town attested to in Matthew 11:21//Luke 10:13. The earliest ceramic evidence suggests that occupation at the site began sometime during the 1ˢᵗ or 2ⁿᵈ century CE.[15] A 1ˢᵗ or 2ⁿᵈ century CE

[15] Ze'ev Yeivin, "Chorazin," *NEAEHL* 1:301–304, 302.

"synagogue" was reported at Chorazin by Jacob Ory in 1926.[16] It was initially reported as

being 16.7 by 22.8 metres. It has not been found since, despite many surveys.[17] With so little

information, there is nothing that can be said about this structure as, if it ever existed, there is

no way to determine its layout or even an accurate date.

4.2.3   Khirbet Qana

Khirbet Qana is located in the middle of Lower Galilee. During the late Second Temple

period it was a small settlement. Thomas McCollough suggests that the population was

around 1200 people.[18] The site, if identified correctly as Cana, was mentioned by Josephus as

a place where he quartered in *Life* 86. A structure measuring 20 by 15 metres was discovered

in excavations. This structure has been cautiously dated to between the 1st and 3rd century CE

on the basis of ceramic readings, Carbon-14 dating of some building material and the style of

a found capital. Its features include eight columns, plastered benches and some pieces of

painted fresco.[19] A side room, lined on three sides with a single bench row, is adjoined to the

main room. The structure continued to be used into the Byzantine era, and later remodelling

included the addition of a *bema* platform, which McCollough believes confirms the

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[16] Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 32.

[17] Claußen, "Synagogen Palästinas," 356; see also Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 174. Photographs of architectural elements *in situ* are presented by Dan Urman, "Early Photographs of Galilean Synagogues," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 174–177, and plates with the photographs themselves are found at the end of the volume. These may or may not be the earlier structure, and perhaps document the later 4th-6th century synagogue at the site.

[18] McCollough, "City and Village," 58. See also *idem*., "Final Report on the Archaeological Excavations at Khirbet Qana: Field II, the Synagogue," ASOR Blog (2013): http://www.asor.org/blog/2013/11/19/final-report-on-the-archaeological-excavations-at-khirbet-qana-field-ii-the-synagogue/; *idem*., "Khirbet Qana," 141–142. See also Edwards, "Khirbet Qana," 110–115, which covers the periods of occupation between the 1st century BCE and 2nd century CE.

[19] Levine, "Synagogues of Galilee," 137–138. It is unclear whether the fresco piece came from the structure under discussion, or whether it is assumed to have belonged to a "public building" by virtue of its quality. See Peter Richardson, "Khirbet Qana," 68.

structure's later, if not original, use as a synagogue.[20] Recently, McCollough has published

more precise dating, which demonstrates that this structure was built no earlier than the end of

the 1st century CE.[21]

4.2.4   Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam

Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam is located between the Arbel cliffs and Mount Nitai, on the

western side of the Lake of Gennesareth. The site was settled during the 1st century BCE where

some domestic structures have been identified. Uzi Leibner suggests that beneath the remains

of a later synagogue lie parts of a "public" building (Area A).[22] Soundings from the interior of

this structure reveal copious ceramic and numismatic remains from the 1st centuries BCE and

CE.[23] Little can be said about the structure beneath the later synagogue, although the

excavators suggest that they could be those of a 1st century "synagogue."[24] All that remains

are four rooms, three of which were sealed behind later walls while the fourth was

incorporated into the later structure. This fourth room contained some low benches around its

walls which may suggest that it functioned as a meeting space.[25] Bonnie asserts that there is

not enough evidence to suggest that there was a 1st century communal structure here.[26] I agree

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[20] McCollough, "Khirbet Qana," 141.

[21] See C. Thomas McCollough, "The Synagogue at Khirbet Qana in Its Village Context," in *The Synagogue in Ancient Palestine: Current Issues and Emerging Trends*, eds. Rick Bonnie, Raimo Hakola and Ulla Tervahauta, FRLANT 279 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021), 81–95, especially 89.

[22] The later synagogue measures 17.2 by 14.7 metres. On this structure, see Uzi Leibner, "Excavations at Khirbet Wai Hamam (Lower Galilee): The Synagogue and the Settlement," *JRA* 23 (2010): 227–235.

[23] Leibner, "Excavations," 234.

[24] Leibner, "Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam," 349–350.

[25] Leibner, "Khirbet Wadi Hamam," 348–350. Some painted plaster fragments have been found nearby, which may indicate that the early structure was decorated. Leibner notes that "only public buildings in Jewish villages of this period that are known from historical sources are synagogues." I would query this as fragments of painted plaster are also known from Yodefat and Gamla, associated with domestic structures, and benches have also been found in domestic rooms at Magdala. These sites may not qualify as "villages," but this distinction seems to be fairly arbitrary.

[26] Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 185.

with this assessment; while there may have been a public structure which was replaced later by a synagogue, no remains directly support this idea. Further excavations may reveal more, but aside from the possibility that a public building existed during the 1st centuries BCE and CE here, nothing can really be said about the structure's arrangement or features.
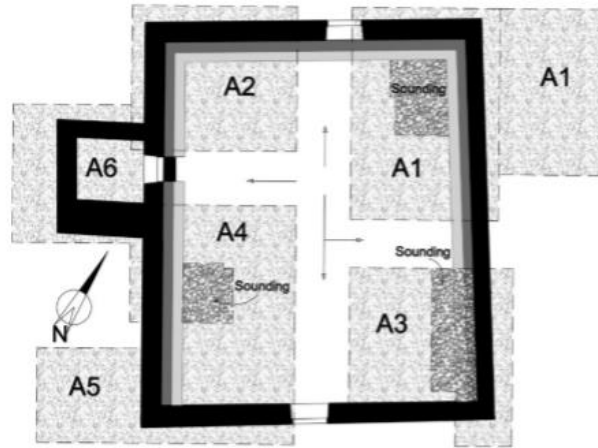
Fig. 5. Schematic plan of the synagogue, showing areas of excavation and locations of soundings.
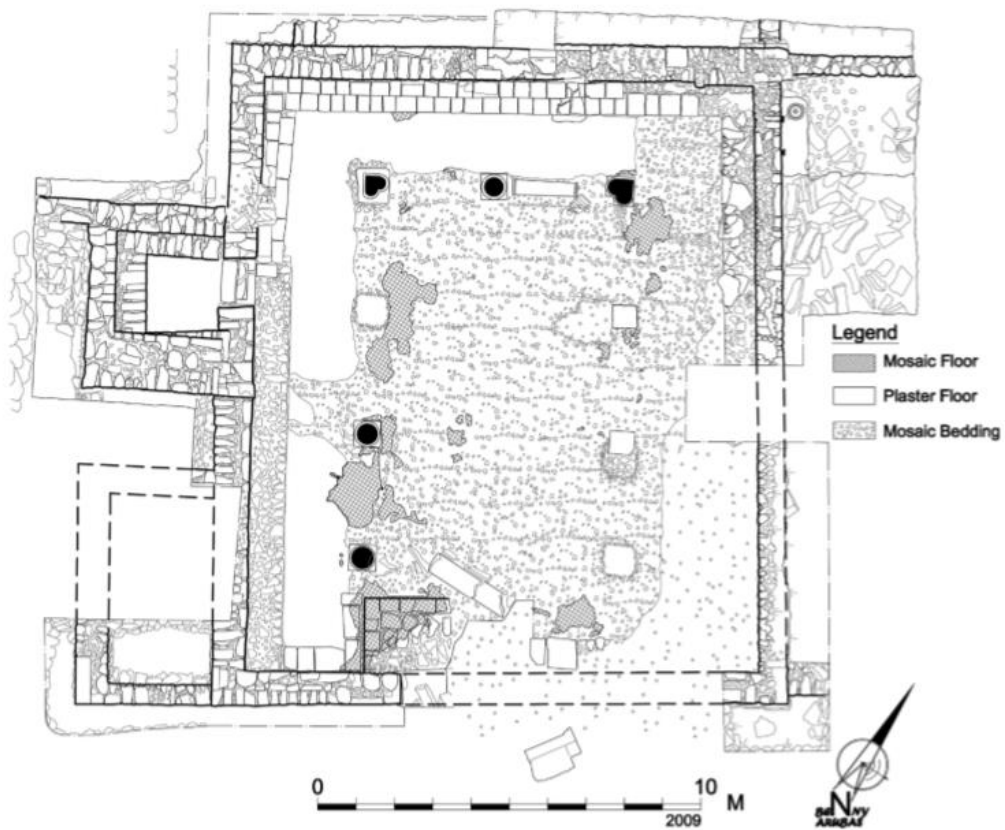
Figure 10 – Plans of Kh. Wadi Ḥamam structure, from Leibner, "Excavations," 229

4.2.5   Sepphoris

Sepphoris (Saffurieh) is a site located in the centre of Lower Galilee, halfway between the Mediterranean and the Lake of Gennesareth. The town was populated until 1948 when the residents were removed and a forest planted over the remains.[27] During the 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE, Sepphoris was quite a minor city if an important one for the region.[28] Herod Antipas gave the city the name *autokratoris*, which was likely a reference to the Roman Imperial dynasty, or simply an indicator that the city was effectively autonomous.[29]

A 40 by 60 metre structure has been discovered and named the "Basilical Building."[30] Chancey describes the presence of the structure as the earliest and only sure indicator of a Greco-Roman character for the city in the 1st century CE.[31] The excavators have suggested that it was built by Antipas, perhaps prior to his foundation of Tiberias.[32] However, there is some debate about this date. The method for arriving at this estimation assess the so-called "Herodian" stone blocks which were used in the structure's construction. As such, Ze'ev Weiss, followed by Nathan Schumer, suggests that the structure was actually built around the end of the 1st century CE, if not during the 2nd century CE. The structure's ground plan aligns with the 2nd century street plan, suggesting that the structure may have been built following

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[27] Eric M. Meyers, "Archaeology and Nationalism in Israel. Making the Past Part of the Present," in Alkier and Zangenberg, *Zeichen aus Text und Stein*, 64–77, 68–70.

[28] Jensen, *Herod Antipas*, 161–162, 184. The settlement was evidently quite important during the 1st century BCE, having been selected as the seat of regional authority under Gabinus in 57 BCE [see **Error! Reference source not found.**], and remained an important site for the remainder of the Early Roman period and beyond. See Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society*, 46.

[29] Eric M. Meyers, "Sepphoris: City of Peace," in Berlin and Overman, *First Jewish Revolt*, 110–120, 112.

[30] Chancey, "Cultural Milieu," 134.

[31] Chancey, "Cultural Milieu," 136. See also McCollough, "City and Village," 54; Root, *First Century Galilee*, 107.

[32] James F. Strange, "The Eastern Basilical Building," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture*, eds. Rebecca Martin Nagy et al. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996), 117–121, 117. Tiberias was likely founded between 18 and 20 CE. See Katia Cytryn-Silverman, "Tiberias, from Its Foundation to the End of the Early Islamic Period," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 2*, 186–210, 186.

these later paved roads.[33] The uncertainty over the dating prevents a full discussion of the

structure as an example of a late Second Temple period communal structure. If a clear dating

were available, then the structure may be similar to Gamla Building S [see 4.3.2], although it

is far larger and has a central courtyard.

4.2.6   Tel Rekhesh
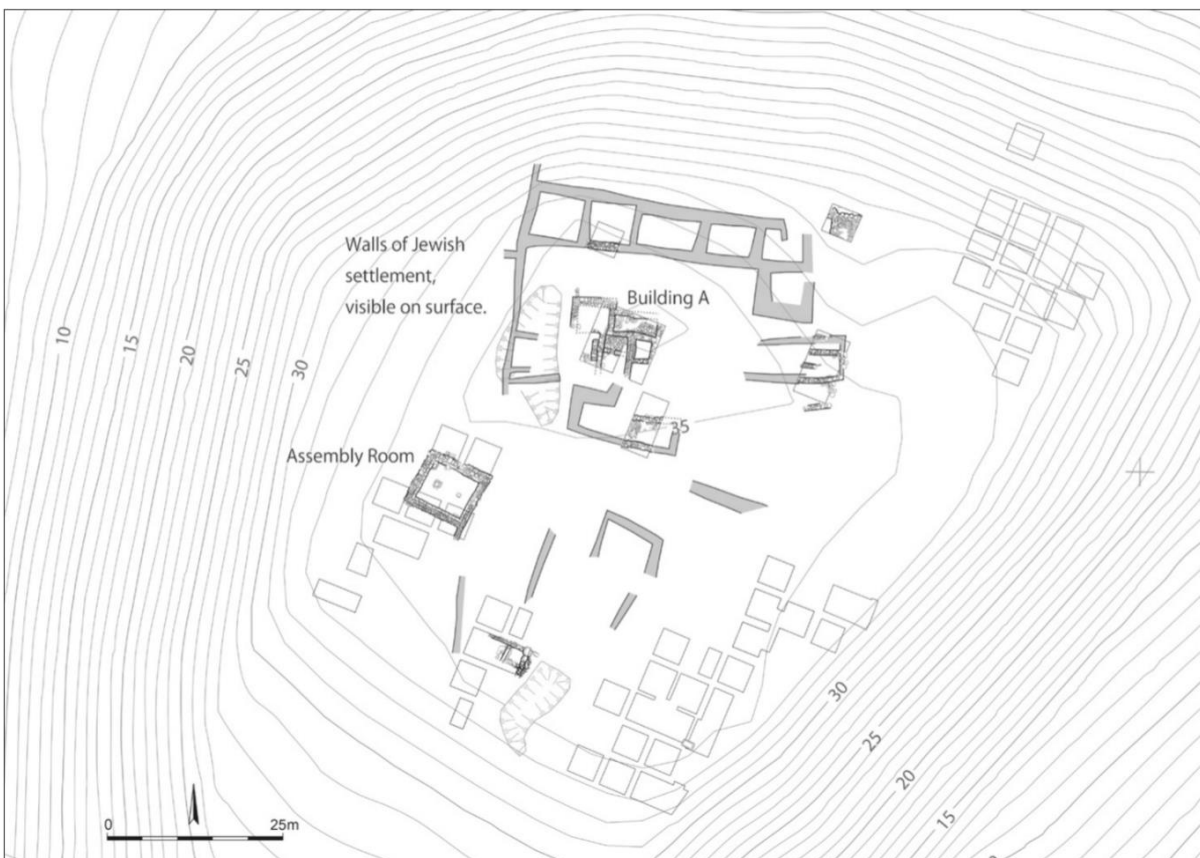
Figure 11 – Tel Rekhesh Site Plan, from Aviam et al., "Assembly Room," 130

Tel Rekhesh is in the south-eastern end of Lower Galilee, below the Lake of

Gennesareth. A large structure (Building A) was reported in 2011 by Akio Tsukimoto, Hisao

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[33] Weiss, "Josephus and Archaeology," 399–400; Nathan Schumer, "The Population of Sepphoris: Rethinking Urbanization in Early and Middle Roman Galilee," *JAJ* 8.1 (2017): 99. On the street plan, see Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 50.

Kuwabara, Yitzhak Paz and Shuichi Hasegawa as a late 1st or 2nd century CE farmstead, measuring at least 30 by 50 metres in size.[34] More complete excavations have revealed a complex of multiple structures which covers 70 by 45 metres. These structures were arranged around a courtyard and lie at the top of a hill on a so-called acropolis.[35] The site was occupied during the Iron Age and subsequently resettled in the Early Roman period.[36] The largest structure consisted of a complex of rooms and courtyards (at least six rooms and two paved courtyards). Some of the rooms were decorated with frescoes and some had beaten-earth floors. The excavators suggest that these latter rooms were storage rooms.[37] A room south of this complex, identified by the excavators as an "assembly room," has been found with external measurements of 9 by 9 metres, lined with "benches" and with two pillar bases. It has been termed a "private synagogue."[38]

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[34] Akio Tsukimoto et al., "Tel Rekhesh – 2009: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 123 (2011): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1678&mag_id=118. Aviam et al., "Assembly Room," 139, suggest that the lack of Hasmonean coins found at the site may demonstrate that the structure was built shortly before the outbreak of the War, if not after.

[35] Aviam et al., "Assembly Room," 129–130.

[36] Yitzhak Paz et al., "Excavations at Tel Rekhesh," *IEJ* 60.1 (2010): 22–40. This report contains little information about the Early Roman period remains.

[37] Shuichi Hasegawa and Yitzhak Paz, "Tel Rekhesh – 2013: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 127 (2015): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=24892&mag_id=122.

[38] Aviam et al., "Assembly Room," 134, 141.

Figure 12 – Tel Rekhesh Structure Plan, from Aviam et al., "Assembly Room," 138

The benches line all four sides of the room, interrupted only by the metre-wide entrance in the northern wall. They are about 40 cm wide and vary in height. Based on the figures provided in the above plan, they measure between 20 and 60 cm tall, although these figures are quite general. The benches could have had a similar use to those in the original configuration of the "Masada synagogue" which according to Lidia Matassa's reconstruction, had two rows of benches aligning the walls, the lowest of which was 1 metre high. This configuration, along with six columns, existed sometime between the room's original construction during the time of Herod the Great and the occupation of Masada during the First Jewish War. Matassa suggests that the room was originally a stable on the basis of the "bench" height and the rough quality of the floor.[39] The room was renovated into a meeting structure in renovations during the First Jewish War. This is a potential explanation for the

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[39] Matassa, *Invention*, 132–134. It should be noted that the "benches" in the "Masada synagogue" were plastered rather than blocks, and as far as can be seen, of much greater height.

"assembly room" of Tel Rekhesh, fitting with the identification of the site as a farmstead. Further, there is little in the way of distinguishing features which attest to some kind of clear function, or expressly show that the structure was built to host communal meetings. Finally, the structure cannot be dated to before the First Jewish War.

4.2.7   Summary

It is notable that at least three of the above structures continued to be used in later periods when they became synagogues (Kh. Qana), or lie beneath later synagogues (Capernaum, Kh. Wadi Hamam). This may support the hypothesis that synagogues were built upon older synagogues, and that Roman era synagogues may lie beneath many synagogues known from the Byzantine period.[40] However, evidence does not fully support this. Did later synagogues get built on earlier structure that had similar functions, or do excavators expect to find similar structures beneath synagogues and thus interpret remains in this way? Many of these structures may have been built after the First Jewish War. They are usually located in settlements smaller than the following three structures. Capernaum, Chorazin, Kh. Qana, Kh. Wadi Hamam and Tel Rekhesh were villages or smaller settlements where no other administrative or communal spaces have been found dating to the 1st century CE. One could imagine a need for communal spaces in such sites, although it is unclear where the financial resources to build and maintain such structures would have come from. No inscriptions record any donors, and the only site discussed above possibly referenced in textual sources is at Capernaum (Luke 4:33–38; Mark 1:21–29; John 6:59). As such, the evidence could be used to argue for two opposite prospects. Firstly, the presence of communal structures at even quite

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[40] Suggested in Leibner, "Khirbet Wadi Hamam," 350.

small settlements suggests that these types of buildings, consisting of benches arrayed around an open space, were widespread in the region. If excavations reveal similar structures in many locations outside of textual attestation, then it could follow that there was an abundance of communal structures in all sizes of population centres. Alternatively, each of the above structures lack clear indications that they were either built to facilitate communal meetings, or that they were built during the Second Temple period. When each case is examined, there appears to be little in the way of supporting evidence for other structures outside of Gamla and Magdala that were purpose-built as communal structures. In either case, we could make some conclusions about the prevalence of such structures in the Galilee. With the first conclusion, we may argue that communal structures were a key part of community organisation, that settlements large and small made efforts to facilitate gatherings in purposely designed buildings. If we reject this, then we at least implicitly argue that such structures were not widespread, and that there are specific qualities associated with the sites that have known structures that the other sites lack. I will leave readers to form their own conclusions concerning the extent to which the types of spaces discussed below at Gamla and Magdala can be extrapolated to the entire region.

4.3   Gamla[41]

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[41] Sometimes written out as "Gamala" which is derived from *Life* 46; *War* 1.105; *Ant.* 13.394. The site is located at Tell es Salām. For a short overview, see Danny Syon, "Gamla," *ESTJ* 2, 280–282.

Figure 13 – Gamla Spur Looking Southwest

Gamla (es-Sâlam) is an identified settlement in the occupied Golan Heights.[42] The site

lies in what was ancient Gaulanitis [on the inclusion of Gamla in the discussion of Galilee,

see 1.2.4], on a ridgeline or spur between two valleys. Its accessibility was limited from all

directions other than the east, which made it a reasonably secure place in times of conflict,

although of course meant it was easy to besiege. Other than some older coinage, few remains

have been found at the site which date to before the 1st century BCE. According to Josephus,

the town was settled during the Hellenistic period, and came under Hasmonean control after

the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus incorporated it into his territory (*Ant*. 13.393–394;

War 1.103).[43] Gamla became a prosperous settlement and regional hub. In the 1st century CE,

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[42] A short history of the excavations can be found in Dan Urman, "Public Structures and Jewish Communities in the Golan Heights," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 373–617, 513–518.

[43] Earliest coins from Gamla are dated to around 280 BCE, although this was likely already an antique coin by the time Gamla was settled. See S. Gutman, "Gamala," *NEAEHL* 2:459–463, 460. Gamla is mentioned also by Suetonius in *Tit*. 3. There is some debate about the start of Hellenistic period occupation at the site. See the

the town was quite large and accommodated between 3000 and 5000 people.[44] During the

First Jewish War, the town was besieged and subsequently conquered by three Roman legions

in September or October 67 CE.[45] The settlement was never rebuilt.[46] Gamla's material

remains include Hasmonean and Herodian coins, numerous stone vessel fragments, ritual

immersion pools, and evidence of supposed Jewish slaughtering practices. The residents also

participated in the First Jewish War and the Jewish community is attested to in literature of

the period.[47] Two structures which were probably used communally have been revealed in

excavations. The first of these is often called a "synagogue" (Area A), hereafter Building A,

while the second has been coined the "basilica" (Area S), hereafter Building S.[48]

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comments and arguments made in Zvi Uri Ma'oz, "Four Notes on the Excavations at Gamala," *TA* 39.2 (2012): 102–103; Danny Syon, "Introduction – A History of Gamla," in *Gamla III: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations, 1976–1989 – Finds and Studies Part 1*, ed. Danny Syon, IAA Reports 56 (Jerusalem: IAA, 2014), 1–20, 3–4. Ma'oz argues that there is not enough evidence for a permanent settlement prior to Jannaeus' conquest around 80 BCE, while Syon argues that the amount of Seleucid coins, Rhodian amphorae and delphiniform oil lamps point to Seleucid occupation from the first half of the 2nd century BCE.

[44] Chad S. Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating Capacities: Methodology, Analysis and Limits*, TSAJ 149 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 84–86, drawing from the population estimates published in Danny Syon and Zvi Yavor, "Gamla – Old and New," *Qadmoniot* 121 (2001): 2–33, provides an estimate of between 3000 and 4000. Syon later suggested a population of around 5000 during the 1st century CE, which expanded to 9000 during the First Jewish War (drawn from *War* 4.80). See Syon, "Introduction," 9, 11.

[45] Overviews of the siege, both the account of Josephus (*War* 4.1–83) and the remains found belonging to the time, are discussed in Kenneth Atkinson, "Noble Deaths at Gamla and Masada? A Critical Assessment of Josephus' Accounts of Jewish Resistance in Light of Archaeological Discoveries," in Rodgers, *Making History*, 349–371; Mordechai Aviam, "The Archaeological Illumination of Josephus' Narrative of the Battles at Yodefat and Gamla," in Rodgers, *Making History*, 372–384, 376–377; Rottloff, "Gamla," 110–116; Syon, "Introduction," 11–17.

[46] As of June 2018, the Israel Nature and Parks Authority leaflet to the Gamla Nature reserve shows the presence of a memorial to the "residents of the Golan Heights who were victims of terror or fell in the line of duty during their military service. The names of the fallen are inscribed on the rock face situated on the lower level of the site. The upper level features a quotation from the Roman-Jewish historian Josephus Flavius, who described Gamla's location. The site symbolizes the link between the people who lived at Gamla during the Second Temple period and today's inhabitants of the Golan Heights."

[47] See Berlin, *Gamla I*, for general information on the Gamla finds, on coins, 64, 100, see further Danny Syon, "Coins," in Syon, *Gamla III: Part 1*, 109–231; ritual immersion pools, Berlin, *Gamla I*, 75, 104; Amit, "*Miqva'ot*." On butchery practices, which are similar in both Gamla and Yodefat but different from typical Roman period Mediterranean practices, see Carole Cope, "The Butchering Patterns of Gamla and Yodefat: Beginning the Search for *Kosher* Practices," in *Behaviour behind Bones: The Zooarchaeology of Ritual, Religion, Status and Identity – Proceedings of the 9th ICAZ Conference, Durham 2002*, eds. Sharyn Jones O'Day, Wim Van Neer and Anton Ervynck (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004), 25–33; *idem.*, "Butchering Patterns," in Syon, *Gamla III: Part 2*, 331–342.

[48] Maps of the excavations are not quite precise in how they label discrete areas. The remains of this structure are discussed with finds from Area A by Syon, Yavor and Getzov, "Gamla," 38–40.
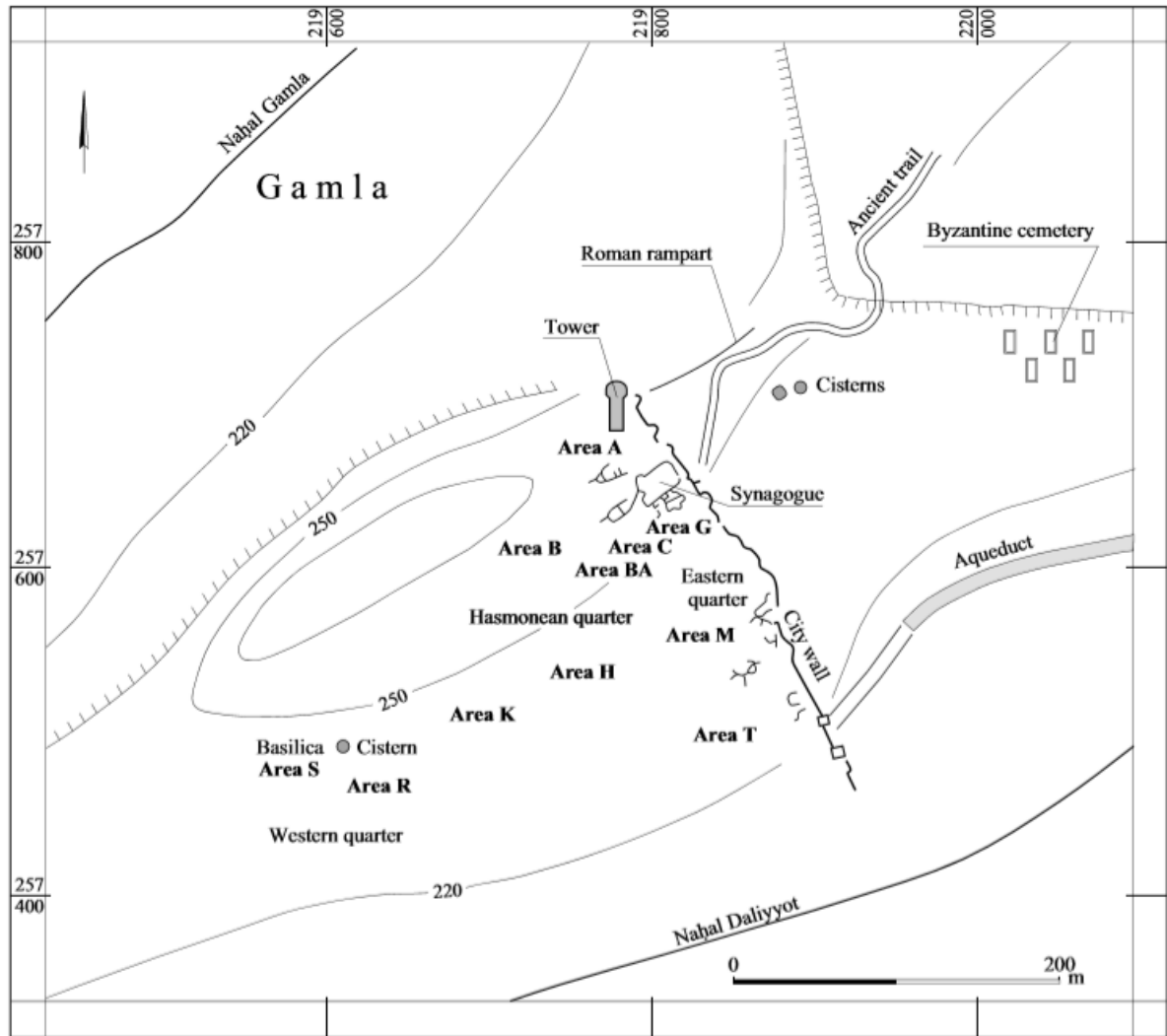
Figure 14 – Gamla Plan, from Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 37

4.3.1   Overview of Building A

4.3.1.1   Date

Building A was probably constructed around the beginning of the 1st century CE.[49] A

Herodian lamp fragment found beneath the floor level of the structure dates the construction

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[49] The building has been dated earlier by its excavator to be from the middle of the 1st century BCE; Lester L. Grabbe, "Synagogues in Pre-70 Palestine: A Re-assessment," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 17–26, 22. However, Zvi Ma'oz redated the structure to the Herodian period, having identified three strata at Gamla. These are fixed to the time of the First Jewish War, the Herodian period and the Hasmonean period on the basis of coin finds. See Z. Ma'oz, "The Synagogues of Gamla and the Typology of Second-Temple Synagogues," in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. Lee I Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 35–41, 36. S.

after the design of these lamps, which began to be produced towards the end of the 1st century

BCE [see6.3.3]. This does not prohibit an earlier date as the building's floor could have been

altered at some point, but the eastern end of the town only seems to have been occupied from

the late 1st century BCE.[50] Therefore, the date of the structure should probably be ascribed to

the first half of the 1st century CE although the building could have been constructed any time

up to the outbreak of the First Jewish War. No inscription or textual record exists which

mentions this structure, so more precise dating is not possible at this time.

Gutman, "The Synagogue at Gamla," in Levine, *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, 30–34, 34, reports that coins of Alexander Jannaeus were found beneath the floor of the structure which would indicate that the structure was no earlier than the reign of Jannaeus.

[50] Berlin, *Gamla I*, 150. Rachel Hachlili, "Synagogues in the Land of Israel: The Art and Architecture of Late Antique Synagogues," in *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Ancient World*, ed. Steven Fine (New York: Yeshiva University Museum; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 96–129, 97, suggests that the structure was built before the end of the 1st century BCE. It might be important to note that this lamp was found in the north-eastern ancillary room and thus may only securely provide a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of this room. However, the complex seems to be of a single design and construction phase so even if this find only dates the room, there are strong implications for the date of whole structure. See Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 75 n.1.

4.3.1.2   Location
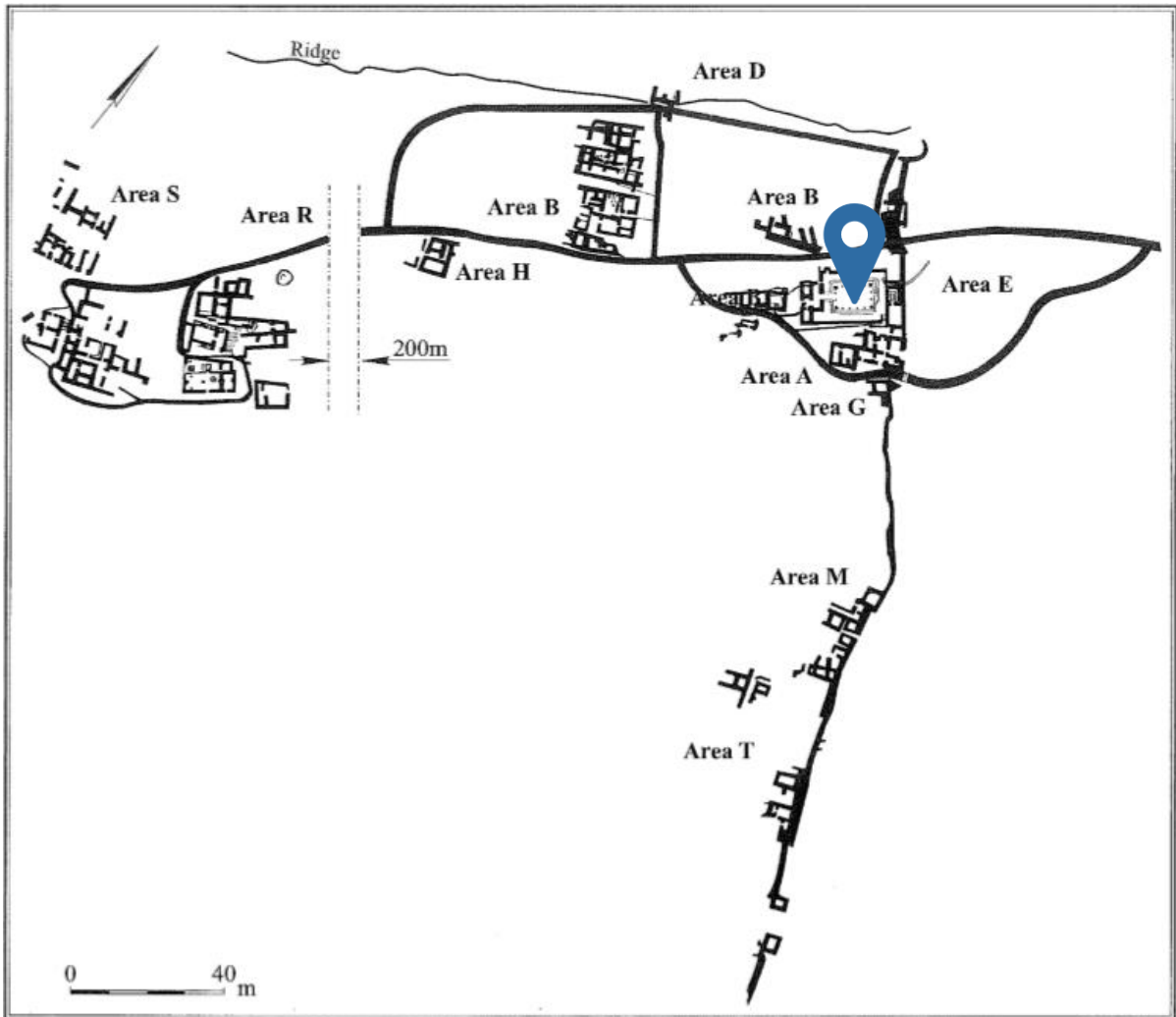
Figure 15 – Gamla Plan, from Berlin, Gamla, 3

Building A indicated by:

The structure is located beside the town's principal access route, which lies on the

north-eastern end of the Gamla ridgeline.[51] The structure is orientated on a southwest-

northeast axis, which positions the front entrances in the direction of Jerusalem.[52] This is

unlikely to be for an ideological reason as the Gamla spur is aligned in this general

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[51] Levine compares this placement to that of an ancient city gate as the principal public space of a city; Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 35.
[52] This is the typical reported orientation, but Matassa corrects this to, a more precise, east-northeast by west-south-west. See Matassa, *Invention*, 193.

direction.[53] This alignment seems to match the topography and the building was probably

built on this bearing foremost to follow the gradation of the spur. The building is approached

from the southern side via a paved exedra which extends at least 8.7 metres towards the

southern end of the ridgeline.[54] Its size and placement, considered along with the paucity of

other public buildings at Gamla (the only other large, non-domestic building will be discussed

below), makes this structure a good candidate for a communal meeting structure. It would

also be one of the first buildings encountered by visitors to the town. The street south of

Building A constituted a formal entry way to Gamla.[55] The clear ascent toward the structure

would have made this building easily accessible and prominent. As the entrance faced

towards the town, those who met in the building presumably would have been primarily from

the town and not visitors coming from other settlements. Visitors could have viewed the

impressive structure as they approached the settlement, as they do today, but access was

aimed at people coming from within the town.

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[53] An occasional feature of synagogue identification that is sometimes applied to Second Temple period structures is an orientation towards Jerusalem. This orientation was common in synagogues from late Antiquity onwards but there is no evidence that this was done in the Second Temple period. Peter Richardson provides a helpful diagram of the buildings of Delos, Capernaum, Gamla, Masada, Herodium and Ostia, which shows that they have no uniform orientation towards Jerusalem. See Peter Richardson, "Pre-70 Synagogues as *Collegia* in Rome, the Diaspora, and Judea," in *Building Jewish*, 111–133, 129. Furthermore, if praying in the direction of Jerusalem were a concern of the congregants, then they would have to turn away from the centre of the hall of the northern end to do so. The building was clearly not designed to project a focal point to somewhere outside of the structure. The orientation is often taken from the direction in which congregants would face when praying towards the Torah shrine, which is usually located on the wall closest to Jerusalem. See Rachel Hachlili, "The Origin of the Synagogue: A Re-assessment," *JSJ* 28.1 (1997): 45; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 303–305. Levine suggests that external and internal orientation should be carefully distinguished and while many Palestinian synagogues from the Roman and Byzantine periods are externally orientated towards Jerusalem, this should not be assumed in all cases.
[54] Gutman, "Synagogue at Gamla," 32.
[55] Zvi Yavor, "The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Eastern and Western Quarters," in Syon and Yavor, *Gamla II*, 13–112, 22.

4.3.1.3   Layout[56]
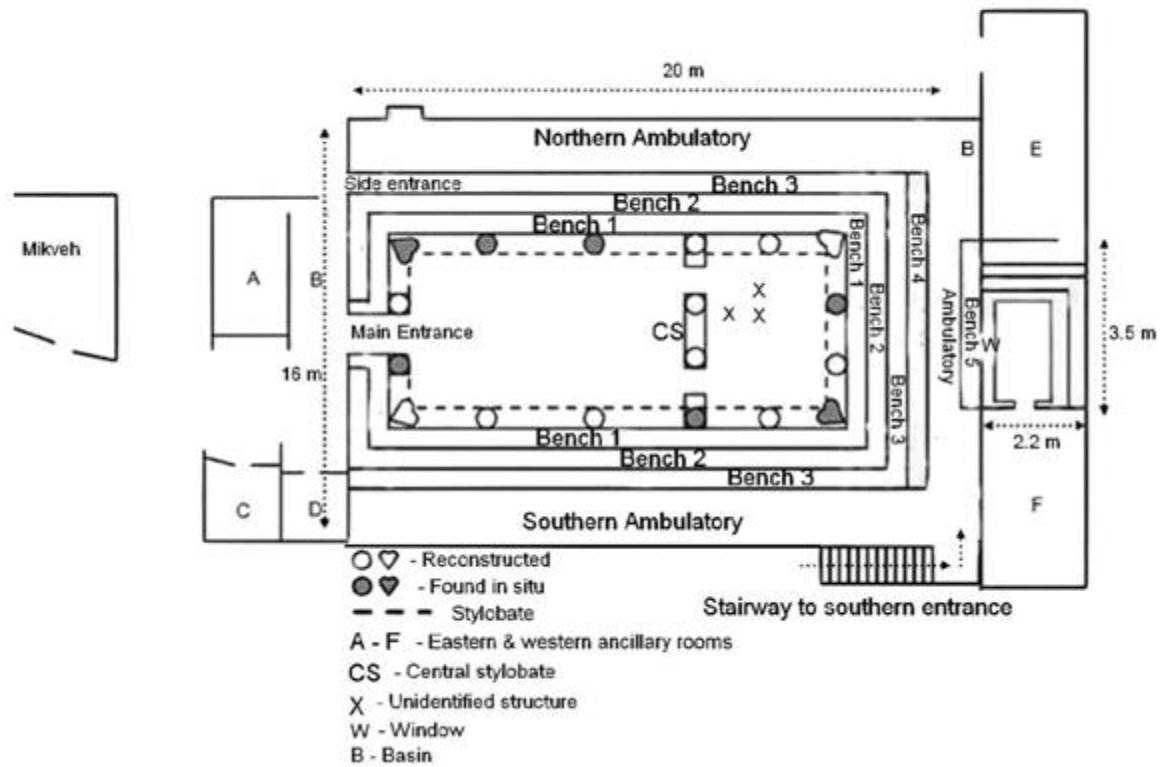
Figure 16 – Gamla Building A Plan, from Matassa, Invention, 194

NB the labels for "Northern" and "Southern Ambulatory" indicate cardinal directions used below.

The structure is accessed via two entrances, one in the west and one in the south. The

western area of the complex consists of four rooms (A, B, C and D above), which were added

at a later date than the initial construction of the complex.[57] The purpose of these rooms is

unclear, although Zvi Yavor suggests that they could have been used as storerooms.[58] There

are two entrances from a corridor (room B) into the central hall. The larger of the two

entrances (1.5m width) provides access to the lower floor of the central hall. The second door

(0.85m width) opens onto the northern ambulatory of the hall.[59] The main hall is the largest

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[56] For a proposed reconstruction of the structure, see Faina Milshtein, "A Graphic Reconstruction of the Gamla Synagogue," in Syon and Yavor, *Gamla II*, 189–191.

[57] The clearest plan for this entryway and room arrangement can be seen in Strange, "Archaeology and Ancient Synagogues," 41. Matassa, *Invention*, 194 shows a similar arrangement. Rooms C and D are the rooms on the right of someone entering the complex, while B is the passageway. Room A is the room opposite the doorways.

[58] As suggested by Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 57.

[59] Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 42.

area within the structure and consists of two tiers, which are bridged via a series of benches

between two and five levels deep.[60] These benches only discontinue where the largest

doorway opens into the hall.[61] The lower open space is lined with columns. While some bases

are missing, there seem to have been four running across each width of the hall and six along

each length. The columns in the corners were heart shaped. Seth Schwartz suggests that this

layout allowed for the central area to be "free for ritual activity, which was thus entirely

surrounded by the observing congregation."[62] A short section of pavement divides the central

hall into two uneven areas, the western portion one and a half times the length of the eastern

portion. A square structure was laid into the floor on the eastern side of the pavement.

Matassa suggests that this could be a "*prototype* aedicule," which is a screen designed to

block some part of the meeting hall from view.[63] No other trace of this aedicule remains. A

circular basin is built in the north-eastern corner which is fed by two cisterns placed beyond

the city wall.[64] A channel runs from the basin along the northern ambulatory and delivers

water into the ritual immersion pool outside of the structure.[65] The basin could have been used

for small ablutions.[66] There are four rooms (one not shown on the above plan) along the

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[60] The above plan provides rough measurements, but according to Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 42, the exterior wall measurements are more precisely 16.1 m (western), 19.9 m (northern), 16.6 m (eastern), and 19.5 m (southern). The east and west walls are 0.9 metres thick. The central floor area of the hall is 7.2 by 11.2 metres, 13.4 by 9.3 metres if the benches are included, and 19.6 by 15.1 metres in total. Various authors provide the larger measurements of 13.4 by 9.3 metres, presumably including the steps, see Claußen, "Synagogen Palästinas," 367; Dennis E. Groh, "The Stratigraphic Chronology of the Galilean Synagogue from the Early Roman Period through the Early Byzantine Period (ca. 420 C.E.)," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 51–69, 59; Gutman, "Synagogue at Gamla," 31–32; Gutman, "Gamala," 460; Ma'oz, "Synagogues of Gamla," 37; Urman, "Public Structures," 516. Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 33, provide the less specific 12 by 10 metres. Among these works is a significant amount of rounding and conflicting figures. Of the measurements for the central floor space, and central hall including the steps, Ma'oz and Groh provide the same figures, and these are the ones presented above.
[61] The benches are each 30 cm high and 40cm deep, see Matassa, *Invention*, 197. However, the original excavator reports a higher figure of about 50cm, see Gutman, "Synagogue at Gamla," 32.
[62] Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 225.
[63] Matassa, *Invention*, 208. Matassa refers to the pavement as a stylobate, which is a pavement base which would have supported columns. There is no trace of columns and the purpose of the pavement is not apparent.
[64] This wall was only constructed in preparation for the First Jewish War.
[65] Matassa, *Invention*, 193–195.
[66] Meyers and Chancey, *Alexander to Constantine*, 213.

eastern side of the structure.[67] One of these rooms measures 3.5 by 2.2 metres and has two or

three levels of benches around three sides. The room has a high opening into the main hall.

The purpose of this room is unknown although some scholars have suggested that it was a

study room, or perhaps a women's gallery.[68] The southern entrance allowed access directly to

the main hall from a street on a lower level of the town via about a dozen steps. The doorway

is around 0.85 metres wide.[69] The complex measures 25.5 by 17 metres, which is larger than

any comparable building in the region and is orientated around the central hall.[70] The hall is

the only room that is immediately accessible from the outside. After the western ancillary

rooms had been added, the main hall lay beyond only a passageway. The layout attests to the

structure's function as a public meeting space. The focus of any who were sat around the

benches would be towards others, further suggesting that the space was built to facilitate

public engagement.

To the west of the complex lies a ritual bathing installation (4.5 metres away, labelled

Mikveh above). A channel which runs out from within the main structure feeds into the pool,

and Reich suggests that rainwater from the roof of the structure could also have been collected

into the pool.[71] The pool is relatively large (4 by 4.5 metres, 1.55 metres deep) and was

constructed sometime after the structure was built. There are two phases of construction in the

pool, neither of which are securely dated. In the first phase a larger pool than now remains

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[67] Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 43. These were filled in to bolster the town wall in preparation for the siege.

[68] For a study room, see Gutman, "Gamala," 461; Graham H. Twelftree, "Jesus and the Synagogue," in *HSHJ* 4, 3105–3134, 3111; Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 56. For a women's gallery see Ma'oz, "Four Notes," 106. For an overview, see Matassa, *Invention*, 198–199.

[69] Matassa, *Invention*, 196; Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 52.

[70] Claußen, "Synagogen Palästinas," 367; Urman, "Public Structures," 516. Hachlili, "Synagogues in the Land," 96 gives slightly different measurements of 24.2 by 18.5 metres Levine, "Synagogues of Galilee," 136, provides 21.5 by 17.5 metres. The Gamla structure is larger than many excavated synagogues, indeed being the largest meeting building known in the region until it was superseded much later. Of Chad Spigel's data, the next chronological structure which is comparable in size to Building A is the synagogue of Meiron, constructed during the 3rd or 4th century CE. See Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 333.

[71] Reich, "Synagogue and the *Miqweh*," 290.

was dug and plastered. Then, in the second phase, a retaining wall was added, and steps were

placed against the southern wall.[72] Of the steps, only four remain though there is evidence of

two further upper steps that have degenerated. North of the pool is a small cistern (not

featured on the above plan).[73] The immersion pool is placed between the two main roads that

run through the town from the eastern entrance.[74] The pool is often used as evidence that

Building A was a "synagogue."[75] There is no reason why this must be the case, but the

presence of a presumably communal ritual immersion pool just outside the structure suggests

that their usage was connected. Any who attended a meeting or event in the structure may

have immersed before or after the event.

4.3.1.4   *Capacity*

An estimation of the capacity of the structure may further assist in understanding some

of its functions. Chad Spigel has provided a suitable methodology for establishing seating

capacities in ancient communal buildings.[76] Spigel discusses the Gamla building at length,

establishing a maximum capacity of between 407 and 536 people in the main hall depending

upon the assumed seating layout and volumetric requirements per person.[77] Spigel does not

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[72] Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 57–60. Ma'oz, "Four Notes," 104–107 contests this reconstruction and argues that the pool was built only during the war preparations because the water channel that ran through the structure was added after it had initially been built. I am unable to see why this had to be during these preparations however and not any time before that. On the pool generally, see Hoss, *Baths and Bathing*, 183–184.

[73] Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 33. Levine dates the ritual immersion pool to the time of the First Jewish War but provides no citation or argument here; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 52, 310 n. 81.

[74] Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 52 n. 41.

[75] This draws parallels between the proposed "*miqva'ot*" located nearby the Masada and Herodium "synagogues" and the mention of water installations in the Theodotus Inscription [see 5.2.2]. See Reich, "Synagogue and the *Miqweh*," 289–297.

[76] Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 51–74.

[77] Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 82. These estimates are based on various estimates of where people would have sat and the amount of space per person assumed. A lower capacity was given by Meyers and Chancey, *Alexander to Constantine*, 213–214, of 250 occupants, 150 seated on the benches and 100 on the floor. They do not provide a methodology for this estimation.

discuss the small room with benches but this could have seated about twenty although

probably usually held fewer.[78] Given a population of between 3000 and 5000 inhabitants, the

building was clearly not designed to accommodate everyone at once.[79] Furthermore, this

estimate is the maximum amount of people who could have possibly attended a single event

or meeting, whereas one might expect the building to be less than full at some meetings. Even

so, a space where at least one tenth of the town's population could meet at once was surely the

locale where important communal meetings took place. Anything that required a large number

of participants, or that many people wanted to participate in, could be accommodated in such

a structure.[80]

4.3.1.5   Decoration

Building A is not decorated beyond a few carved motifs. A lintel fragment was found

close to the western entrances with a carved rosette.[81] Rosettes were common features in

artwork of Hellenistic and Early Roman Palestine, popularly used in bathhouses.[82] As such I

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[78] The room has benches around all four sides. The southern side "bench" is probably a threshold, while the western bench is quite narrow, possibly too narrow for seating. There are three tiers along the northern side and two along the eastern. The benches along the north and east walls are between 0.4 and 0.5 metres wide. Yavor suggests the room could seat 25 people; Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 56. Matassa, *Invention*, 199 n.717, records that Danny Syon managed to fit 20 people in the room. This would have been quite tight, so a group which could have met comfortably in this room would likely have been quite small. The window opening into the main hall remains curious and I am at a loss to explain why this feature was included for such a small number of people.

[79] Spigel analyses the capacity of the structure against the population of the town; Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 84–86.

[80] Aviam, "Archaeological Illumination," 372, notes that as of 2000, 0.75 out of 14 hectares at Gamla had been excavated, equating to slightly more than 5% of the site. There have been some subsequent excavations but generally, much of the site is unknown. There could have been further communal structures at Gamla.

[81] The lintel could have come from either of the entrances. Matassa suggests that the fragment probably came from the smaller of the two entrances due to the size of the lintel; Matassa, *Invention*, 196. Lee Levine argues that the decoration may be more suitable for the main entrance; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 52; Matassa, *Invention*, 201. A further carved lintel was found in Area S and is thought to have belonged to the large building in the Area [see 4.3.2.5].

[82] Rachel Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements: Themes, Issues, and Trends – Selected Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 7–8.

would disagree with the notion that this symbol indicates the structure's religious nature.[83] The interior columns were headed by Doric capitals, although one Ionic capital has been found.[84] These designs are rather crude. The Doric capitals are carved with a basic meander pattern while the Ionic is of low quality. Orit Peleg-Barkat suggests that the structure is marked as "more special" than the other buildings in Gamla by its decorations, and that the artisans sought to show this, although their execution was poor.[85] Zvi Ma'oz suggests that the floor of the central hall was carpeted, as the ground of the lower level is beaten earth. No traces of any carpets remain but this is a possibility.[86] Ma'oz goes on to state that "the synagogue at Gamla was *richly adorned* with various architectonic ornaments" [emphasis mine].[87] While this description may be an exaggeration, the building was certainly marked out from contemporary structures in the vicinity.

4.3.1.6   Usage

The building is usually identified as a "synagogue" because many scholars expect there to have been synagogues in 1st century CE Jewish settlements. No decoration or features of this structure are explicitly "religious."[88] Such an identification usually implies a range of activities for which the building may have been used. While this is certainly possible, and perhaps even quite likely given the communal nature of many of these functions [see 5.6], there is no indication that these functions took place in this structure. However, the features

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[83] Paul V. M. Flesher, "Palestinian Synagogues before 70 C.E.: A Review of the Evidence," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 27–39, 38.
[84] Matassa, *Invention*, 197.
[85] Peleg-Barkat, "Architectural Decoration," 171.
[86] Ma'oz, "Synagogues of Gamla," 38.
[87] Ma'oz, "Synagogues of Gamla," 39.
[88] Rottloff, "Gamla," 114, identifies the structure as a "synagogue" on the basis of the ritual immersion pool.

and layout of this building do suggest that the hall was a public space.[89] The proximity of a ritual immersion pool to the structure indicates that the pool was probably used in connection with the use of Building A.[90] Activities which required washing were discussed in the previous chapter [see 3.4], and there appears to have been the expectation in some texts that communal meetings and meals would require purity (e.g., 1QSa). I do not claim that "synagogue" attendance required ritual purification, but that in this singular case, an immersion pool was built close to Gamla Building A deliberately, probably to be used in connection with the use of the communal structure itself.[91] As Susan Haber keenly points out, a single pool would be unable to meet the bathing needs of large groups of people.[92] If the meeting room was quite full, and everyone were required to bathe, then the whole group of 400 to 500 would have needed hours just to process in and out of the pool. It seems more likely that not all attendees to any large gathering would have been able or expected to bathe in this pool. Further, as only three other pools have been found in Gamla, it appears likely that the majority of any large group may not have regularly immersed prior to these kinds of gatherings. Therefore, while purity may have been a concern for some at these meetings, the likelihood is that many were not concerned enough to require further pools to be built. Visitors to the structure may have washed prior to preparing or consuming a communal meal, or perhaps before public prayer. Such a space could have accommodated a range of possible activities and I do not see why rituals needed to be consistently practised by all visitors. The use of this pool may have been limited and who was able to bathe in it may have been

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[89] Matassa, *Invention*, 205; Anders Runesson, *The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historical Study*, ConBNT 37 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001), 177.

[90] Although see Anders Runesson, "Synagogues," *ESTJ* 2, 766–772, 767, who suggests that the proximity of the pool to the structure may simply indicate that this area was a place for public structures.

[91] Elsewhere in Area B a ritual immersion pool is located in a bathhouse [see 2.1.5.3]. This suggests that the pool outside of Building A was purposely placed here and at the very least, these two facilities occupied the same communal space and were thus linked.

[92] Haber, "Common Judaism, Common Synagogue," 68.

regulated. Alternatively, this limited capacity for attendees to wash may indicate that the

meetings were only for a small number of people. I favour the former suggestion, as this

tallies with the previously discussed availability of these pools at sites more generally in

Galilee. Pools were a useful space for the maintenance of purity, but this was limited in scope

in any given settlement. The closeness of the pool indicates that the structure was a space for

activities which were discussed previously i.e., prayer, food production, consumption,

blessings, or acts of religious repentance. Aside from these purposes, the layout of and

material recovered from Building A allows for additional activities: meetings, trading, meals,

and shelter.

4.3.1.6.1   Meetings

The benches are laid out in a similar way to those in a Hellenistic *bouleuteria* or

ekklesia.[93] The similarity may represent that the structure's architects depended or drew on

these institutions as models. However, the benches may simply be arranged in the most

suitable design to accommodate meetings. I prefer not to ascribe dependency of design

outside of clearly traced influences in this case. The layout directs attention to the centre of

the hall which suggests that attendees could speak to an audience or listen to a speaker.[94] The

gaze of participants was not directed towards a speaker's podium, or an object, or to a place

outside of the structure. Instead, the focus for any attendee was the other representatives of the

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[93] This comparison is made by Claußen, "Synagogen Palästinas," 369; Lee I. Levine, "The First Century C.E. Synagogue in Historical Perspective," in Olsson and Zetterholm, *Ancient Synagogue*, 1–24, 2; Runesson, "Synagogues," 767. A number of scholars have suggested that these Hellenistic institutions were the inspiration for "synagogue" construction. It may be that the institutions had similar functions and as such were modelled with these purposes in mind rather than dependent upon one another. See here Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 69, and Eric M. Meyers and Carol L. Meyers, "The Material Culture of Late Hellenistic – Early Roman Palestinian Judaism: What It Can Tell Us about Earliest Christianity and the New Testament," in Deines, Herzer and Niebuhr, *Neues Testament und hellenistisch-jüdische Alltagshultur*, 3–23, 17.

[94] Strange, "Archaeology and Ancient Synagogues," 43–44. See here a diagram which shows lines of sight for those seated around the hall. If the view was often blocked, then listening and speaking were possibly more central to the activities than being seen.

community themselves. Public announcements could have been made in this space, and it

appears that the structure would be public facing. This should be tempered with a

consideration of the thick walls and lack of windows.[95] The activities that took place inside

were not visible to the outside. Only those who were permitted to attend these meetings, or

had the free time and ability, could have had this form of representation. Those who could not

be present were surely excluded to some degree. Even if this were simply because they could

not spare the time, then their exclusion would have been class based. Jorunn Økland discusses

how a similar arrangement is described in the Temple Scroll, whereby the thick walls and

hidden spaces exclude all manner of groups from parts of the temple complex. In both cases,

power is mediated through spatial management, whether imaginary or built.[96] The quality of

the construction suggests that the building was important which reflects the high social status

of the activities that took place within it.[97] The large cupboard in the northern wall, close to

the western entrance may have held scrolls.[98] In this case, the structure could have been used

for study, whether of sacred texts or other literature. If these scrolls were kept in the building,

then they were probably intended to be used principally in this building, and further, they

were intended to be read aloud to a large group.[99] This may indicate that such scrolls were

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[95] No trace of low widows remains, although some openings set higher in the structure's walls would likely have let in some light. See the reconstructions in Milshtein, "Graphic Reconstruction," 189–191.

[96] Jorunn Økland, "The Language of Gates and Entering: On Sacred Space in the *Temple Scroll*," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003*, eds. Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons and Lloyd K. Pietersen, LSTS 52 (London: T&T Clark International, 2005), 149–165, 161–162.

[97] James F. Strange, "Ancient Texts, Archaeology as Text, and the Problem of the First-Century Synagogue," in *Evolution of the Synagogue: Problems and Progress*, eds. Howard Clark Kee and Lynn H. Cohick (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 27–45, 39. James Strange suggests that this structure could have served a community for liturgical purposes, although this is based on its assumed use as a "synagogue."

[98] Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 54. The niche is 1.2 metres across, 1.2 metres deep and is preserved to a height to 2.2 metres. The idea that the cupboard held scrolls was suggested by the initial excavator, S. Gutman. Lidia Matassa objects to this idea on the basis that the aisle would have been too frequented with traffic to make this a suitable place to store scrolls See Matassa, *Invention*, 197–198. We do not know how busy the upper landing would have been so this does not seem to be a good reason to reject the theory.

[99] Large scrolls could take up relatively little space so the small niche in Building A's northern wall could well have accommodated several; Lindsey A. Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, JSJSup 184, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 24.

liturgical texts, which by their nature are regularly read and intended to be heard. The

meetings may also have featured ritual acts, such as prayer or blessings. These are potential

activities indicated by the presence of the ritual immersion pool. As such, Building A also had

the potential to be the religious centre of the community, whereby ritual authorities could

conduct activities.

4.3.1.6.2   Trading

The open space provides a suitable place for trade. This may not have been the primary

space for this kind of practice as there would have had to be a limit on how many traders and

buyers could have physically fit. An open marketplace has not yet been found, although

merchants may have brought goods to the town limits and sold them there.[100] In this case, the

immersion pool may have had a more mundane purpose, for travellers to wash themselves or

their feet before entering Building A or the town proper (cf. Tob 2:6). Further, a key

commodity produced in Gamla was olive oil.[101] Two presses have been discovered, one in

Area R and one in Area B. A hoard of 27 silver coins (consisting of 20 Tyrian Sheqelim and 7

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[100] Peter Richardson notes that no marketplace has been found in Gamla, yet the settlement produced its own products and required some means of distributing them; Richardson, "Khirbet Qana," 60. Further, a great many vessels from production sites outside of the town must have been purchased from somewhere, likely brought to the site to be distributed there. Andera Berlin reports that 33% of the vessel assemblage from Area R (occupied during the 1st century CE) consists of Kefar Hananya ware, see Berlin, *Gamla I*, 18. On Kefar Hananya ware see Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, for Gamla, 56. Adan-Bayewitz notes that the spread and relative quantity of KH ware declines steadily the further away from the production site a settlement is. Some outliers include large towns which presumably were draws for merchants and also relied upon products being brought from outside the town itself. This pattern of declining distribution suggests that the vessels were sold by the potters themselves or by travelling merchants who went directly outward to settlements to sell their wares. See *ibid.*, 212–219, 231.

[101] Mordechai Aviam suggests that oil presses were royal investments [see 2.1.5.2], likely start-up businesses receiving beneficence from political leaders associated with the Hasmoneans or Herodians. The cultivation of olive trees required regional stability for the industry to begin because the tree themselves take years to grow to a point where they can be harvested. This secure industry then in turn lead to an improvement in the stability of the agriculture and trade economy; Aviam, "People, Land, Economy," 15. New oil presses were built in Galilee following arrival of the Hasmoneans. Press production increased during the Early Roman period. See *idem.*, "Olive Oil," 54–56. See also *idem.*, "Viticulture," 170–180, for more on wine and oil production in Galilee, and Edwards, "Identity and Social Location," 367. On the production of olive oil, see Rafael Frankel, "Introduction," in Ayalon, Frankel and Kloner, *Oil and Wine Presses*, 1–18.

Neronian Imperial tetradrachms) was found in the vicinity of the press in Area R, and at least 330 coins have been recovered. In the main hall of oil press Area R alone 155 coins were found.[102] This illustrates the economic prosperity of the oil industry in Gamla, and Building A may have been a suitable venue for the distribution of this product.[103] This use of this structure as a trading venue could have been analogous to a *nundinae*, or regular, periodic markets which took place every 8 days. Markets lists are known from 1st century CE Campania and Latium which show that traders rotated around various settlements.[104] This might further explain how Golan pottery wares were distributed or how Kefar Hananya Ware arrived at Gamla.[105] Whether or not Building A functioned as such a site for trade activity is uncertain, although this is a possibility.

4.3.1.6.3   Meals

A further potential activity could have been the consumption of communal meals. Andrea Berlin suggests that the ritual immersion pool may have been for such a purpose. The construction of Building A coincides with a general trend in dining habits, away from more intimate, small, and complex dining settings towards "a considerably more simple and

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[102] For reports on the presses themselves, see Berlin, *Gamla I*, 86–89, 104–111; Goren, "Oil Presses;" Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 102. Aviam, "People, Land, Economy," 28–29, discusses the Gamla presses in context with the wider impact of the oil industry in Galilee. For a breakdown of the coin hoard, see Danny Syon, *Small Change in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee: The Evidence from Numismatic Site Finds as a Tool for Historical Reconstruction*, NSR 11 (Jerusalem: Israel Numismatic Society, 2015), 66.

[103] Oil could have been purchased straight from the presses, or even taken out to market in the local area.

[104] See the overview in Claire Holleran, *Shopping in Ancient Rome: The Retail Trade in the Late Republic and the Principate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 181–189. The evidence for these markets is quite limited, and scholars speculate about where such markets may have taken place. The *nundinae* are recorded in the west of the Roman imperial sphere. A few scattered remains attest to some kind of organised market system in Galilee, such as two weight from Tiberias inscribed with the names of *agoranomoi* (market-officials) and a jar fragment from Sepphoris with the title "overseer/manager" inscribed upon it; Marcus Sigismund, "Small Change? Coins and Weights as a Mirror of Ethnic, Religious and Political Identity in First and Second Century C.E. Tiberias," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 315–336, 332–335; Chancey, "Cultural Milieu," 129.

[105] Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, 212–219; Ben David, "Kefar Hananya Kitchenware."

communal manner." [106] During the 1st century BCE, Gamla residents had used "elegant serving dishes" and, on the basis of the size of cooking vessels, had cooked smaller quantities of food which would have served a typical household unit. [107] However, from the 1st century CE, the residents began to use less *Eastern Sigillata A* ware (ESA), which was good quality ware common in the region, and there is little evidence of the continued use of serving dishes. Thus, the residents probably served straight from cooking vessels to personal ware and gathered around these pots to eat in larger groups than before. Similar ceramic profiles are known from Capernaum, et-Tell and Yodefat during the 1st century CE. ESA ware was available, but the residents of these places did not buy it. Berlin offers two possible explanations; that the Phoenician suppliers of ESA ware were restricted from selling in this region, and/or that the residents of these settlements did not need these types of vessels for their dining habits.[108] *Triclinia* designed for association meals have also been found in rooms lined with benches, and the layout of Building A could have been drawn from this kind of structure [see 2.1.5.5].[109] Inge Nielsen notes that banqueting installations are "in most pre-70 synagogues."[110] It is thought that refugees took shelter in the structure during the First Jewish

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[106] Berlin, *Gamla I*, 150.

[107] Berlin, *Gamla I*, 150.

[108] Berlin, *Gamla I*, 150–151. Berlin argues this on the basis of the vessel types and quality. Berlin suggests that this shift away from imported vessels towards simple and local ceramic ware represents a feature of "Household Judaism" which became popular during the 1st century CE; Berlin, "Household Judaism," 209–211. Berlin elsewhere has characterised this behaviour as "Anti-Roman"; *idem.*, "Romanization and Anti-Romanization in Pre-Revolt Galilee," in Berlin and Overman, *First Jewish Revolt*, 57–73, also for more on the disappearance of ESA ware from sites Berlin identifies as Jewish. A comparison with the abandoned and resettled site of Tel Anafa demonstrates the change in ceramic usage. Berlin reports about 50 red-slipped table vessels from Gamla and roughly 75 from Tel Anafa for the period between 150 and 100 BCE. During the 1st century BCE, there have been about 475 such vessels recovered from Gamla, and about 2000 from Tel Anafa. The shortfall of red-slipped ware occurs between 1 and 50 CE, where only about 25 vessels have been found in Gamla, compared to the 800 or so from Tel Anafa; Berlin, "Romanization," 62. On ESA ware and its prevalence in Galilee, see Berlin, "Jewish Life," 445–446; Mattila, "Revisiting Jesus' Capernaum," 99–102.

[109] Peter Richardson, "An Architectural Case for Synagogues as Associations," in Olsson and Zetterholm, *Ancient Synagogue*, 90–117, 104–105. See also Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, "Meals," *ESTJ* 2, 472–476, 474, and further G. Anthony Keddie, "*Triclinium* Trialectics: The *Triclinium* as Contested Space in Early Roman Palestine," *HTR* 113.1 (2020): 63–88.

[110] Inge Nielsen, "Synagogue (*Synagogé*) and Prayerhouse (*proseuché*): The Relationship between Jewish Religious Architecture in Palestine and the Diaspora," *Hephaistos* 23 (2005): 90.

War and probably prepared meals in the main hall. Remains of fireplaces have been discovered in the northern ambulatory of the main hall.[111] This practice may have been restricted to the War period but opens up the possibility that this space was also used for meals at other times. In fact, the only activities which we know for certain took place inside Building A include the preparation of meals.

Meals, and the conditions of how one eats, are important for identity. As Per Bilde notes, "it matters *what* you eat and drink, but a meal is also *how* you eat, *where* you eat, *with whom* you eat, and under *which circumstances*."[112] The act of eating in such a setting, surrounded by other figures in the local community, binds that community together. Thus, if we assume that meals took place in such a structure, then we may understand that a key aspect of ancient Galilean space was the provision of meals, served on dishes made locally, prepared by those who had purified, consuming food which was considered pure or acceptable [see 3.3.2.3].

4.3.1.6.4   Shelter

As mentioned above, during the crisis period of the First Jewish War, the building became a residence for refugees. Thus, the space was given over to the wider community, at which time the usual activities which took place in this building would have had to adapt or been put on hold. Building A thus ultimately was a structure which served the needs of the community whether those needs were related to social affairs or survival.

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[111] Gutman, "Synagogue at Gamla," 32; Syon, "Gamla: City of Refuge," 146.
[112] Per Bilde, "The Common Meal in the Qumran-Essene Communities," in *Meals in a Social Context: Aspects of the Communal Meal in the Hellenistic and Roman World*, eds. Inge Nielsen and Hanne Sigismund Nielsen, Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 1 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998), 146–166, 145.

4.3.2   Overview of Building S

The so-called Gamla "Basilica" (Building 2100) was discovered in Area S, which lies

on the western end of the Gamla ridgeline. Basilica is a technical term for a particular type of

structure, so I will refrain from using it below. There is much less to say about this structure

than Building A, although it is worth presenting due to the building's apparent public nature.

The comparison between this structure and Building A illuminates the different spaces which

were created and used in ancient Gamla.

4.3.2.1   Date

Danny Syon states that Building S can be dated with certainty to the 1st century CE.[113] It

is unclear exactly what finds he used to date this structure, although he does mention that

some lamps and limestone fragments were found in fill layers which may provide some

indication.[114] Further, Area S appears to have been built after the end of Herod's reign which

would date the structure to no earlier than the beginning of the 1st century CE. This makes the

building roughly contemporaneous with Building A [see 4.3.1.1].

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[113] Syon, "Introduction," 8.
[114] Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 57–59.

4.3.2.2   Location
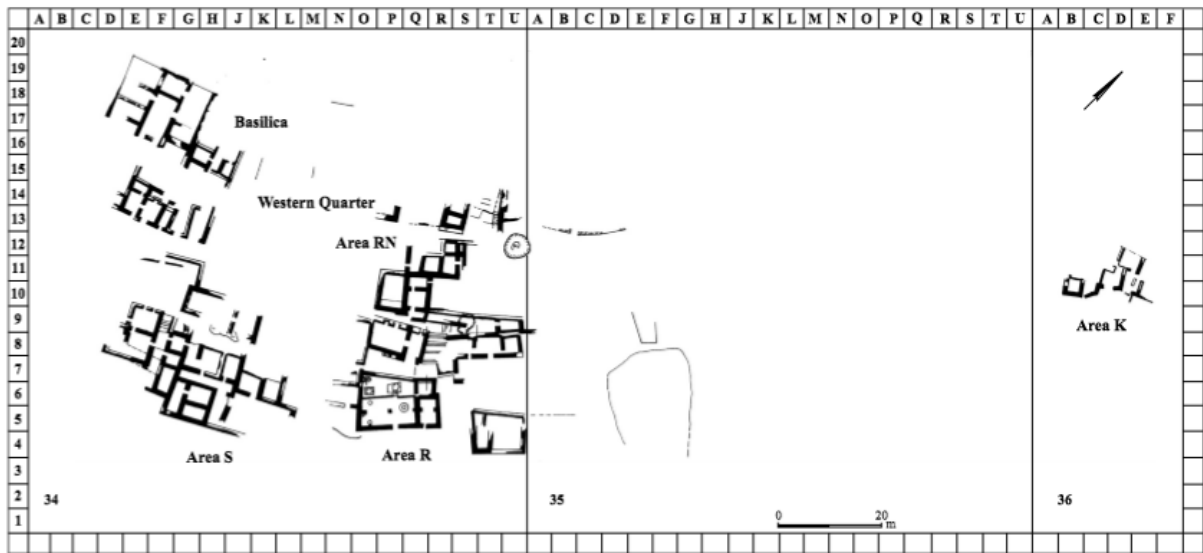
Figure 17 – Gamla Area R Plan, from Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 47

Area S is located on the western end on the Gamla ridgeline. The Area was quite built up, with residential and industrial structures being found nearby. This sector of Gamla consists of terraced levels of ground. Building S is the northern-most structure currently revealed, although it was constructed some way down from the ridgeline as can be seen in the site plans [see figure 14].

4.3.2.3   Layout[115]

Figure 18 – Gamla Building S Plan, from Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 53

The structure is a roughly square building (16 by 15 metres) and is divided into smaller

units. Walls bisect the structure, creating at least six closed areas. A central aisle between 3.9

and 4.7 metres wide and the full 16 metres long, runs south to north with a threshold crossing

the width of the aisle about two-thirds of the way up the area. On the Western side of the aisle

are three or four areas, each about 6.5 metres across and between 2 and 4 metres wide. The

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[115] For a proposed image of the structure, see Milshtein, "Graphic Reconstruction."

eastern aisle is about 4.5 metres across and divided into two roughly equally sized areas.

Corbels have been found *in situ* and scattered within the structure which either indicate an

impressive ceiling, or perhaps attest to a second floor. As far as I can tell, no stairs have been

found.[116]

4.3.2.4   *Capacity*

Spigel's "rule of thumb" figure (one person per $0.929m^2$) roughly estimates an

unfurnished room's capacity. This figure tallies well with more specific estimations based on

known seating configurations and can be a fairly reliable estimate when information about

how seating was arranged is no longer accessible [see 4.3.1.4]. If this figure is applied to the

eastern rooms of the structure, then each could hold about 33 people.[117] This may seem to be

sufficient space for at least a small meeting.[118] The central aisle would be able to hold around

57 to 69 people using the rule of thumb method. Rooms of this size could potentially

accommodate meetings, although these would be small, if they ever happened.

4.3.2.5   *Decoration*

A lintel similar to the one associated with the Building A was found in Area S. This

lintel also featured a rosette, flanked by carved palm trees.[119] James F. Strange notes that the

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[116] The most detailed information, complete with diagrams and photographs, can be found in Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 52–59.

[117] Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 54.

[118] It should be noted here that of Spigel's data set, the smallest structure considered has an estimated seating capacity of 58–74 persons, putting even the smallest structure beyond the size of Building S; Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 159–161, 329. This structure is only 7 by 7 metres, however.

[119] See Orit Peleg-Barkat, "Architectural Decoration," in Syon and Yavor, *Gamla II*, 159–174, 168. Steven Fine notes that the palm tree lintel is associated with a "synagogue" although it may be that either he has confused the two different lintel pieces, that he thinks there remains a further potential "synagogue" unexcavated in Gamla, or that the "basilica" should be identified as a "synagogue"; Stephen Fine, *Art and Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 141.

palm trees may be indicators of Jewish identity [see 6.3.1.2].[120] The palm branch eventually

shifted into a representation of the lulav (temple offering bundle for Sukkot). It may have

always held this kind of connotation although this is unclear.[121] Comparative iconography can

be found on Hasmonean bullae seals which featured rosettes and palm trees, along with

cornucopiae.[122] These symbols may then reflect the design repertoire of Jewish craftworkers

and artisans or that the building was designed for Jewish use. The association of these

symbols with the Hasmoneans may be significant. The rosette of this lintel is apparently of

better quality than the one incised into the lintel found associated with Building A.[123] It may

be that this structure was more important than Building A, as greater care was taken with the

artwork, more symbols connected with the Hasmoneans were employed, and the smaller

capacity may have meant that the use of this structure was limited to community elites.

4.3.2.6   Usage

Syon argues that the spatial arrangement of the structure indicates that it was not used as

a "synagogue" but instead was an administrative or justice centre. This can be compared to

the argument of James F. Strange, who suggests that the Sepphoris "Basilical Building" may

have been used for assembly, courts, shopping and offices.[124] This structure was far larger,

but Building S could have been the site of some of these kinds of activities. The structure was

clearly built for public functions, but the smaller sizes of the rooms suggests that these

functions would have to have taken place on a smaller scale than allowed for in Building A.

Syon writes that there would not have been sufficient space in any given area of Building S to

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[120] Strange, "Archaeology and Ancient Synagogues," 41.
[121] Steven Fine details the use of the palm branch as a Jewish symbol in Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 140–145.
[122] Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 98.
[123] Yavor, "Architecture and Stratigraphy," 42.
[124] Strange, "Eastern Basilical Building," 117–118.

permit communal meetings.[125] However, there is a possibility that small groups could have met – the rooms in the eastern side (4.5 by 8 metres) could have accommodated small gatherings and are larger than the "study room" of Building A. The lack of stone benches does not preclude the possibility that wooden benches once existed in the rooms. In fact, many large iron nails were recovered from the floor of the eastern aisle, which may have come from a large piece of furniture.[126] This item of furniture would have been a very expensive piece which further attests to the significance of Structure S.[127] A stone vessel fragment which has been tentatively identified as a piece of an inkwell was found in the structure. This suggests that documents were produced in this structure.[128] The structure seems to have been used as a refuge place during the First Jewish War as "traces of a hearth were discovered, together with a complete storage jar."[129] Its use for shelter and as a place to prepare food may have been restricted to the First Jewish War.

4.3.3   The Spaces of the Gamla Structures

Both of these structures will be discussed using language and thought drawn from Knott's method of analysing spaces through their constitution, experience, activity and meaning [see 1.4.2]. All of these arise from embodied spatial existence, i.e., the fact that the human experience and construction of space is performed through the body. Simply

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[125] Syon, "Introduction," 8–9.
[126] Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 57.
[127] Askin notes that tables were not used by scribes, who instead typically read from their laps while sat on the floor. For a brief discussion; Askin, *Scribal Culture*, 25.
[128] Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 57; Gibson, "Soft Limestone Vessels," 74. It is notable that there is more evidence that texts were once present in Building S than in Building A. This may cause us to reimagine the settings in which we consider activities like reading texts to have taken place as for the most part, these settings are not described.
[129] Syon and Yavor, "Gamla," 57.

occupying a space indicates something about that space. The types of bodies deemed

acceptable to occupy certain spaces shows the kinds of cultural values placed on those bodies.

Structures which limit or enable bodily expression and participation fashion their spatial

perception in their context, and these reflect choices made in their construction or adaptation.

The constitution of the Gamla structures has already been discussed above, and now I will

examine how bodies may have experienced these structures, what forms of spatial activity

could have taken place, and some potential meanings that these structures had for the Gamla

community.

4.3.3.1   *Experiences*

Building A was designed and used to facilitate meetings where words could be spoken

and heard. No decoration directs attention in the room, no architectural feature indicates a

focal point. Building S does not allow for experience on the same scope as Building A. The

smaller enclosed rooms would not allow for the same experience of community. Further, if

meetings did take place, they would have been much more intimate and clear public speaking

would perhaps be less important. Building A's adjacent ritual immersion pool demonstrates a

concern for purity for at least some of its users. The basin in the north-eastern corner also

demonstrates that an aspect of the structure's usage included washing with water. This

washing should probably be understood in terms of ritual at a very basic level. It was ritual in

the sense that the people of Gamla, and more widely Galilee, took pains to incorporate

installations where water could be stored for the purpose of washing into the urban

environment. These pools functioned as a means to cleanse oneself of impurity. Usually,

ritual washing within an ancient Jewish context maps readily onto Catherine Bell's notion of a

"rite of affliction."[130] In this case, we cannot tell whether the pool was used for such rites although this may have been likely. Otherwise, the washing could be connected to a "rite of passage" or a "political rite."[131] Thus, personal purity was part of some of the activities for which Building A was designed. Of the other three Gamla pools, one is associated with oil production, another with a more regular bathing installation, and the third lacks any clear indication of its purpose outside of domestic settings. Thus, Building A was clearly viewed and experienced differently from almost any other structure in Gamla. The main purpose of the structure was to facilitate gatherings as indicated by its layout. Purity was therefore an issue for at least some of these gatherings. Those who attended any meeting may have felt a broader sense of personal ritual obligation towards others in these meetings, heightened by the knowledge that bathing prior to any session would have been fairly noticeable and that others were conducting themselves according to a conception of bodily purity. Building A was at least some of the time a performative ritual space, where those present visibly enacted rituals around their participation. With regard to Building S, its decoration and impressive size suggest that those who regularly met or worked inside had some social standing. The raised floor at the northern end of the central aisle may show that this area was for announcements or declarations. The elevation of the speaker could have created a perception of importance to whoever held authority in such a place.

This reflects a social elevation of those who were able to stand and speak clearly. One can easily imagine how exclusion simply on the basis of performative ability would be manifest in such places. Furthermore, it is conceivable that social pressure prevented any who were not respected or bold enough to occupy such a position from doing so. Thus, Building S conveys a greater sense of order and procedure than Building A simply from the design and

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[130] Bell, *Ritual*, 115–120.
[131] Bell, *Ritual*, 94–102, 128–135.

focal points. Whereas in Building A, one could speak from almost anywhere, seated or

standing, Building S has a particular site from which to act.

4.3.3.2   *Activities*

The design of Building A suggests it was constructed to be a meeting place. Ancillary

facilities, perhaps for storage, or smaller meetings, were added around the central hall, and

their purpose probably derived from the needs of a gathering. The ritual immersion pool

connected to this building attests to the structure's status, whether by virtue of the activities

that took place within it, or the people who attended. The use of the pool probably was

associated with at least some activities that took place within the structure, yet the capacity for

attendees to immerse was limited. If the building was not intended to fit a large number of

people for at least some events, then its great lengths of benches would be difficult to explain.

Even if the building was filled to a quarter of its capacity, around 100 people, then this would

still require nearly an hour for all to immerse prior to any meeting.[132] As many were gathered

in this place, the usual rules for purity observance may have been heightened. We can

associate some possible ritual activities with Building A, namely, the consumption of

communal meals, prayer, and reading. Building S was possibly a place for writing,

judgement, administration and group meals at least during the War period, and both buildings

became temporary refuges during the First Jewish War and as such became domestic places.

Ultimately, the distinct ways in which these locales were used demonstrates the variety of

spaces that were created in Gamla during the 1st century CE. In every instance, these spaces

were for the needs of the community and were adaptable. We can detect this adaptability

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[132] Assuming roughly 30 seconds to enter the pool, immerse, and ascend, per person.

through the traces left behind by bodies which moulded these structures to the needs of the users.

4.3.3.3   Meanings

Returning to the meaning of these structures and following Jonathan Smith's insight into the role of place as a medium which "directs attention," we can interpret the ritual function of the structure as the creation of communal space and identity.[133] In any group setting, the flows of social power dictate to a large degree the form of social space. Massey argues that space is organised and enacted through "power-geometry." Places are full of difference and conflict, where power is conveyed, collects and changes.[134] With special regard to Building A, where someone sat in the meeting could have been determined by their social standing. Similarly, popular figures may have had groups gather round them, a visible signal of where influence and local power resided. Further, the exclusiveness of the meetings where important things for the community were decided would also carry some cachet, as only around 10–15% of the populace could attend any given meeting. We should also expect in any social group for power dynamics to formulate how space is produced. Walls and entryways take part in this, shielding areas and activities from view, bounding activities and keeping them separate from those outside.[135] From the choices made in construction, we know that the structure was important. Everything about its size, decoration (even if meagre), and location point to the high status that Building A, and presumably anything that took place inside, possessed.

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[133] Smith, *To Take Place*, 103.
[134] Doreen Massey, "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place," in Bird et al., *Mapping the Futures*, 59–69, 61, 67. See also *idem.*, *Space, Place and Gender*, 264–265.
[135] The process of this power-geometry is described well by Økland, "Language of Gates," 154.

It is also important to note that spaces are gendered, and the ways in which they are gendered "vary between cultures and over time."[136] It is often the case in archaeology that material phenomena are gendered through modern assumptions about ancient social structures.[137] Trümper expresses how gendered divisions may have functioned anywhere on a spectrum between total and no gendered segregation. Trümper further notes that when a space is used for multiple purposes, then gender differentiation would have had to be more explicitly maintained. She provides the example of the open agorai and fora in Rome where certain buildings were off limits to women. In this case, while gender segregation is not apparent from archaeological remains, there must have been some social pressure which kept this segregation.[138] Another example is that of public baths. We know that men and women both used Greco-Roman baths and there were a number of strategies for segregating these spaces. In some cases, bath officials set specific times when men or women could attend, in other cases, paired facilities might suggest that they were intended to serve two genders.[139]

There is no evidence to suggest that Building A was divided along gender distinctions. The small "study room" may have functioned in this way, but this is only if one makes a number of assumptions. To assume that gender was inscribed into the structure of Building A by the provision of a "women's gallery," we would have to make at least five separate assumptions, that: activities in Building A were gendered; gendered activities were segregated; those activities required at least some kind of participation by both genders; women were in the minority for any given activity; the window was included so that divided groups could participate in a single activity. I see no secure basis for any one of these

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[136] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, 186.
[137] Penelope M. Allison, "Engendering Roman Domestic Space," *BSAS* 15 (2007): 348.
[138] Monika Trümper, "Gender and Space, 'Public' and 'Private'," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 288–303, 292, 297–299.
[139] Fagan, *Bathing in Public*, 27; Trümper, "Gender and Space," 300.

assumptions, and thus, do not think that there is sufficient evidence to interpret the ancillary room as a women's gallery. This is supported by Bernadette Brooten's analysis of proposed "women's galleries" in ancient synagogues. Brooten examines a variety of archaeological evidence which was available at the time for such an architectural feature and firmly dismisses the notion that ancient synagogues generally separated men and women.[140] There is no indication in Building S that any such division of spaces occurred. Although it is technically possible that gender segregation existed, there is no evidence in favour of this interpretation.

At present, excavations have not revealed any other structures that are similarly organised around the facilitation of communal events. Thus, these locales were spaces of importance for the community, maybe even *the* spaces of importance. Politically, Building A was the public embodiment of local power, where decisions could be announced, policy discussed, and representation of local interests made. Building S appears to have been more limited in its outward scope and perhaps was more important to the administration of Gamla. Once the crisis of the war took hold, the structures became a refuge for those who had lost everything. In times of peace, these buildings were for the use of social elites, yet in times of conflict, they came to be used by those without secure social foundations.[141] Massey again helps to formulate this kind of change, how "flows and interconnections" take part in placing "different social groups and different individuals."[142] Outside forces, like the outbreak of the First Jewish War, changed the nature of these spaces and we note here that the users of a

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[140] Bernadette J. Brooten, *Women Leaders in the Ancient Synagogue: Inscriptional Evidence and Background Issues*, BJS 36 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1982), 106. See also Eric M. Meyers, "Ancient Synagogues: An Archaeological Introduction," in Fine, *Sacred Realm*, 3–20, 18.

[141] I suggest that those who use the structures outside of crisis periods were social elites because the buildings' very design demonstrates their importance. This importance must have been transferred in some degrees to their regular users. Access aided this social elevation.

[142] Massey, "Power-Geometry," 61.

given space were the ones who ultimately controlled spatial construction.[143] Buildings A and

S are clearly communal in nature. They are the most monumental buildings in Gamla,

attesting to the status they must have had. The effort and cost of constructing them also

reflects the importance of these places, and that the activities that took place within were

important for the communities of Gamla over the last half century of the town's occupation.

4.4   Magdala[144]

The ancient site of Magdala is generally identified with the present site of Migdal

(*tower*, *fortress*) located roughly 7 km north of Tiberias along the shore of the Lake of

Gennesareth.[145] During the Hellenistic period, the site occupied between four and six hectares,

expanding to over nine hectares in the Early Roman period.[146] In the year 2000 and based on

the excavations up until that point, Jonathan Reed suggested that Magdala had a population of

between 1000 and 1500 during the 1st century CE.[147] Further excavations have dramatically

increased this estimate although no secure suggestion was offered in Richard Bauckham's

recent 2018 volume, *Magdala of Galilee*. Here, Aviam and Bauckham merely offer that the

site probably had a population of over 10,000 prior to the First Jewish War.[148] The ancient

site, consisting of structures and finds excavated beneath the ruins of al-Majdal, was slightly

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[143] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 43–44.
[144] For a short overview, see Jordan J. Ryan, "Magdala (Taricheae)," *ESTJ* 2, 443–446.
[145] Richard Bauckham and Stefano De Luca, "Magdala As We Now Know It," *Early Christianity* 6.1 (2015): 97, suggest that the name comes from either the tower or the "towering cliff" which Magdala separates from the sea.
[146] Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 215. Of the total 448 sherds recorded in Leibner's survey, 22 come from the Hellenistic period and 132 come from the Early Roman period (101). Measurements originally given in dunams (which is 1/10th of a hectare).
[147] Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus*, 83. This estimate is slightly conservative. If Magdala was an urbanized site as early as archaeological excavations suggest, then it is likely that there were more than 170 people per hectare.
[148] Mordechai Aviam and Richard Bauckham, "The Synagogue Stone," in Bauckham, *Magdala of Galilee*, 135–159, 158.

closer to Tiberias than modern Migdal.[149] This site was also known as Migdal Nunaiya in

Talmudic sources (b. Pes. 46a).[150] It is often identified with Tarichaea (meaning *fish-pickling,*

fish-salting), a Galilean city mentioned by various ancient authors.[151] Regardless of the site's

ancient name, impressive finds have been discovered in excavations.

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[149] Al-Majdal was depopulated and destroyed in 1948, see Richard Bauckham, "Magdala as We Now Know It: An Overview," in Bauckham, *Magdala of Galilee*, 1–67, 20.

[150] This tract discusses the time needed for bread to become leavened, which is 1 *mil* or 2000 cubits and identifies this distance with the distance between Tiberias and Migdal Nunaya.

[151] Mentioned by Pliny the Elder in *Nat.* 5.71, by Strabo in *Geogr.* 16.2.45, Cicero in *Fam.* 12.11 [366]; Suetonius in *Tit.* 3. Josephus frequently mentions the site in *Ant.* 14.120; 20.159; *Life* 96, 128, 132, 156–157, 159, 163, 168–169, 188, 276, 304, 404; *War* 1.180; 2.252, 573, 596–599, 602–609, 635; 3.457, 463–466, 473–492. Lidia D. Matassa, "Magdala," *EncJud* 13:335; Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Magdala," BNP 8:125–126. The case for matching these two names is rather weak, but no other alternative site has yet presented itself as a suitable candidate for either of these names. The scholars who dispute the identification of Magdala with Tarichaea employ textual arguments to suggest that Tarichaea should not be identified with a site north of Tiberias but south. See Nikos Kokkinos, "The Location of Tarichaea: North or South of Tiberias?" *PEQ* 142.1 (2010): 7–23; Smith, *Historical Geography*, 452–454; Joan E. Taylor, "Missing Magdala and the Name of Mary 'Magdalene'," *PEQ* 146.3 (2014): 205–223. Taylor argues that the survey work of K. R. Dark, "Archaeological Evidence for a Previously Unrecognised Roman Town near the Sea of Galilee," *PEQ* 145.3 (2013): 185–202, demonstrates that there were two close settlements during the Late Hellenistic period at the mouth of the Ginnosar Valley. The field finds are separated by a bare strip of about 150 meters, with many architectural remains being found as ornaments in local gardens around modern Migdal (189). However, the removal and dispersal of remains provides no proof for Dark's claims. The hypothesis lacks any clearly associated archaeological remains and thus is not sound. This view has gained little traction and no alternative site which could credibly be identified as Tarichaea has been found. See also the brief remarks against this claim in Stefano De Luca and Uzi Leibner, "A Monastery in Magdala (Taricheae)?" *JRA* 32 (2019): 391.
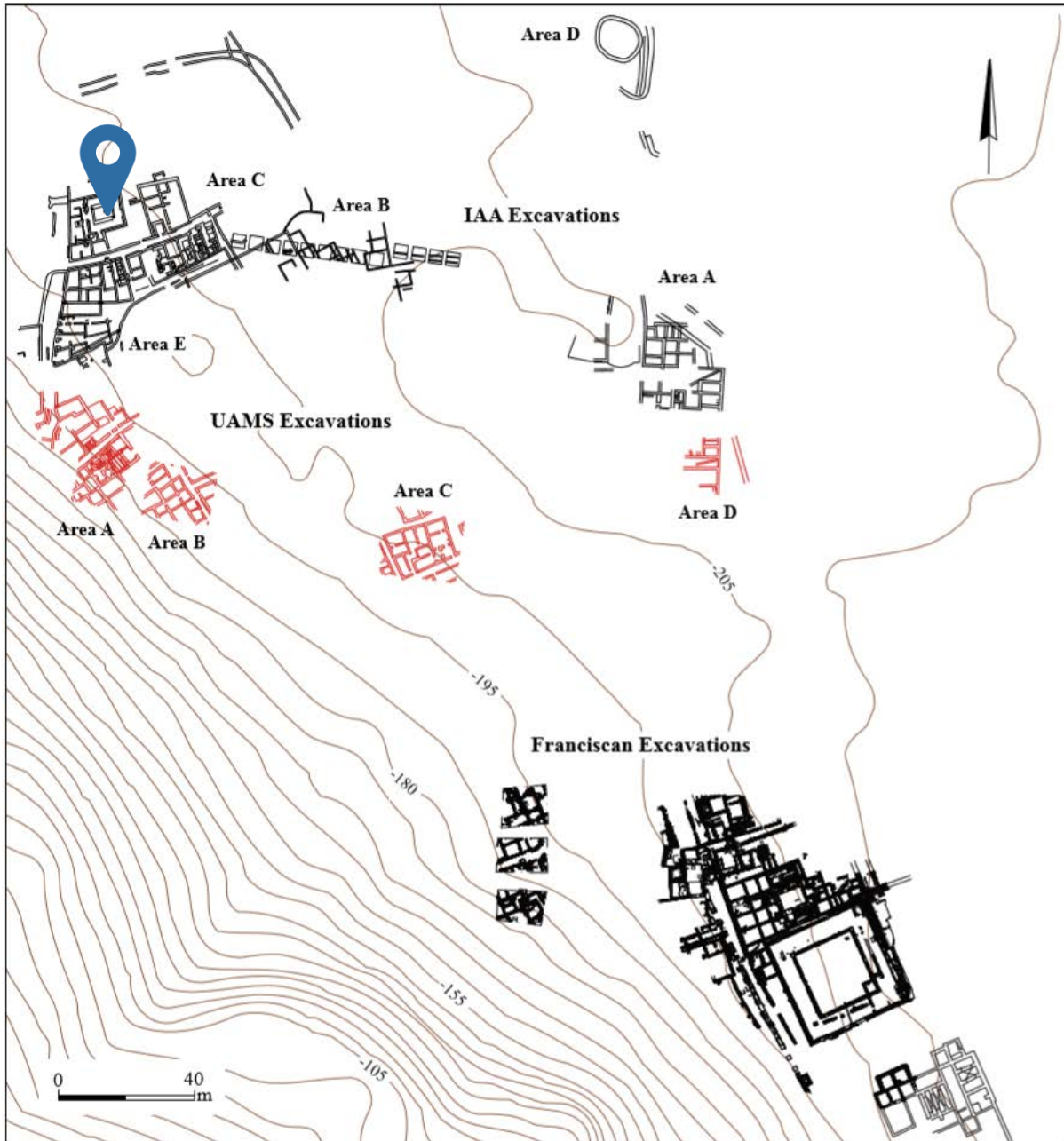
Figure 19 – Magdala Plan, from Zapata-Meza, Diaz Barriga and Sanz-Rincón, "Magdala Archaeological Project," 84

The structure discussed is indicated by

There are two excavation areas in Magdala. The northern area is operated by the Israel

Antiquities Authority and Universidad Anáhuac México Sur (IAA/UAMS). The Studium

Biblicum Franciscanum (SBF) operate the southern area.[152] A "synagogue" was claimed to have been found during the 1970s in excavations in the SBF area and published by Virgilio Corbo. This structure (D1) appeared to be lined with "benches" (more accurately a staircase) and its ceiling was supported by columns. Scholars such as Ehud Netzer, and more recently Bonnie and Julian Richard, have rejected the identification of D1 as a meeting place. The arguments in favour of the initial "synagogue" identification relied upon the assumption that this structure could not be identified as any other kind of structure. Since then, Bonnie and Richard have convincingly compared the original layout of D1 to *stoa*-shaped fountains of the Greco-Roman Near East.[153] Therefore this structure has been thoroughly rejected as a candidate for a Jewish meeting structure, and instead forms part of the Magdala bathhouse. A communal structure was revealed in 2009 as part of the IAA/UAMS excavations. This structure was richly adorned and contained multiple rooms, stone benches and columns.[154] The following discusses this structure.

4.4.1   Overview of the Building

4.4.1.1   Date

The structure shows signs of three phases of construction and use, although the exact chronology is unclear from the preliminary reports. The excavators note that the first phase began sometime around the mid-1st century BCE and that the structure "was probably not used as a synagogue" at this time. They provide no explanation for this interpretation. After this

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[152] Good overviews of the excavations can be found in De Luca and Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae." For a history of the excavations, see Bauckham, "Magdala," 10–13.

[153] For the full arguments and comparisons, see Bonnie and Richard, "Building D1."

[154] Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Arfan Najar, "Migdal: Preliminary Report," *HA-ESI* 125 (2013): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2304&mag_id=120.

phase, there were further developments to the interior of the structure. A coin (issuing authority not provided) dated to 43 CE was found beneath the mosaic covering of the eastern aisle of the main hall, suggesting that this second phase was completed during the first half of the 1st century CE.[155] During excavation a layer of white plaster was removed from the floor. This plaster seemingly formed part of the ceiling and collapsed sometime before 80 CE.[156] We can therefore be sure that this building was in use during the 1st century CE and possibly earlier as there are two distinct layers prior to 80 CE.

4.4.1.2 *Location*

The structure is located in the northern extreme of the Magdala excavations, in Area C of the IAA/UAMS excavation project. The building was not in the centre of the settlement as it was a later addition than some of the other public structures in the town.[157] The immediate area around the structure was also well-built which probably indicates that this was a relatively affluent area of the town, populated by the wealthy.

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[155] De Luca and Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae," 312.

[156] Avshalom-Gorni and Najar, "Migdal." A coin minted in 80 CE was recovered on top of the white plaster ceiling collapse within the mail hall.

[157] Notably the bathhouse and *quadriporticus* in the SBF area. For an overview, see Bonnie, *Being Jewish*, 45. Further dating for various structures at Magdala is presented by Veronica Rossi et al., "New Insights into the Palaeoenvironmental Evolution of Magdala Ancient Harbour (Sea of Galilee, Israel) from Ostracod Assemblages, Geochemistry and Sedimentology," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 54 (2015): 361. For an easily assessable and good overview of the bathhouse facilities, see Anna Lena, "Magdala 2008: Prelimnary Report," *HA-ESI* 125 (2013): http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=5433&mag_id=120.

4.4.1.3   Layout

Figure 20 – Magdala Structure Main Hall, from Hachlili, Ancient Synagogues, 33

The structure has three rooms: the main hall, a side "reading room" and a vestibule from which one could enter the building. Figure 20 shows the main hall; the side room was not fully excavated when the photo was taken but lies on the right side of the image, while the entry vestibule is on the upper side. The main hall has an area of 120 square metres.[158] Bonnie provides the dimensions of the outer walls as 11.2 by 11 while the inner walls measure 9.5 by 9.3 m.[159] The main hall is lined with a single row of benches around all four walls. A further

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[158] Levine, "Synagogues of Galilee," 138.

[159] Rick Bonnie, "Monumentality and Space: Experiencing Synagogue Buildings in Late Second Temple Palestine," in *Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism*, eds. Raimo Hakola, Jessi Orpana and Paavo Huotari, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology (Leuven: Peeters, [Forthcoming]). I am grateful to Bonnie for sharing a pre-published version of this chapter and for his helpful comments.

two rows of benches line a square cornered by four columns. Four columns stand around the

centre of the room, creating a small middle square surrounded completely by an aisle. The

western room is suggested to be a study room or *bet midrash*.[160] The benches of the western

room are different from other contemporary communal structure benches as they are not

complete blocks but stand on legs (see figure 21).

Figure 21 – Magdala Structure Stone benches in the Side Room

4.4.1.4   Capacity

The Magdala structure seems to have been used for communal purposes. Bauckham and

Stefano De Luca suggested that the main hall could hold a gathering of roughly 120 people,

who presumably attended for religious purposes.[161] Bonnie has recently applied Spigel's

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[160] Mordechai Aviam, "The Decorated Stone from the Synagogue at Migdal: A Holistic Interpretation and a Glimpse into the Life of Galilean Jews at the Time of Jesus," *NovT* 55.3 (2013): 207.
[161] Bauckham and De Luca, "Magdala," 109. This information is drawn from the excavators' initial news reports.

methodology for determining "synagogue" capacities to the Magdala structure and arrived at an estimated capacity of 95–158 people.[162] Thus the proportion of the residents of the city who could have met in such a structure would have been quite small: using Jonathan Reed's old figures of about 1500 residents, then this structure could have held around 10%, but using the larger figures from Bauckham and Aviam, the structure may have held as few as 1% of the total population [see 4.4].[163]

4.4.1.5   Decoration

The walls of the main hall were frescoed with "dark red, mustard yellow and blue panels set within black and white frames." No evidence of painted images remains.[164] These frescoes are similar to ones found in private settings at Sepphoris, Gamla and Yodefat.[165] Painted stucco was also applied to the columns. The aisles of the main hall and floor of the side room were mosaic, laid in geometric patterns. These patterns match mosaics laid in the bathhouse in the SBF excavations and were probably made by the same artisans, therefore specifically religious meanings should not be ascribed to these mosaics. The rich decorations suggest that the structure was built with donations although no inscription has been found which would alert us to exactly who paid for this structure. The designs of the mosaics include meander patterns and a rosette which is located in the aisle at one end of the main hall.[166] The ceiling was also plastered. The inside of the structure would have been quite vibrant, although not particularly unusual compared to other structures in Magdala.

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[162] Bonnie, "Monumentality and Space."
[163] Bonnie, "Monumentality and Space," arrives at the structure holding between 4% and 9% of the population, drawing from population estimate of 1700 to 2200 people.
[164] Avshalom-Gorni and Najar, "Migdal."
[165] Berlin, "Jewish Life," 449; De Luca and Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae," 312–313. It is presumed that the frescoes in domiciles in these three sites indicate that the structures in question belonged to rich families.
[166] Bauckham and De Luca, "Magdala," 108.

Figure 22 – Magdala Structure, Stucco Remains

The most notable decoration of the Magdala structure is the so-called "synagogue stone/ashlar." It has been discussed by a number of scholars who read the various motifs in a variety of ways. There is no doubt that the stone carries a number of elements of Jewish

iconography and most likely alludes to the Jerusalem Temple.[167] The most obvious allusion is the depiction of the menorah, already in this period understood to be a symbol for the Jerusalem Temple.[168] Beyond this, the scholarly consensus is that the other symbols are representations of objects and aspects related to the temple. The suggested list of identifications includes: the golden altar; amphorae representing olive trees from Zechariah 4:10–14; arches representing the exterior of the holy of holies; incense vessels; wheels of a chariot with fire, suggesting the divine presence; a zodiac; rakes for the ashes of burnt offerings; and showbread loaves.[169] Regardless of the exact identification of each pictorial carving, almost all suggestions relate to the Jerusalem Temple cult, while some other images may be representative of the twelve tribes of Israel. The rosette on the upper side of the stone has twelve petals and there are twelve shapes around this which could be representations of showbread or symbolic of the twelve tribes. The wheels too have six spokes and six triangular depictions of flames. Bauckham suggests that the repetition of twelve would have been understood in part as reference to the twelve tribes, and "that the six ivy leaves represent the Leah tribes, while each of the pairs of other objects represents the tribes descended from one of the three other mothers."[170] Bauckham describes the range of potential inspirations for the

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[167] See discussions in Aviam, "Decorated Stone;" Richard Bauckham, "Further Thoughts on the Migdal Synagogue Stone," *NovT* 57.2 (2015): 113–135; Steven Fine, "From Synagogue Furnishing to Media Event: The Magdala Ashlar," *Ars Judaica* 13 (2017): 27–38; Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues*, 40–41. Rina Talgam, Dina Avshalom-Gorni and Arfan Najar are currently writing on the stone.

[168] Aviam, "Decorated Stone," 207. Aviam argues that this is evident from a menorah depiction on a coin of the Antigonus Mattathais. The reverse of this coin shows the showbread table, further supporting the thesis that these symbols were understood by this period to relate to the temple. The menorah was quite a rare symbol in this period. Steven Fine begins his discussion with the representation of the menorah on the Titus Arch. For 1st century CE depictions; Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 148–151. Scholars debate the menorah's meaning in late antiquity, but it seems to have been clearly associated with the Jerusalem Temple while it still stood. See Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 570–572. On representations of the showbread table, see Ze'ev Weiss, "'*Set the Showbread on the Table before Me Always*' (Exodus 25:30): Artistic Representations of the Showbread Table in Early Jewish and Christian Art," in Edwards and McCollough, *Archaeology of Difference*, 381–390.

[169] Aviam, "Decorated Stone," 212–215. Bauckham has some alternate suggestions, these being: amphorae being wine vessels rather than oil; rings for poles to carry the showbread table instead of incense vessels; palm trees instead of rakes; symbols of the twelve tribes rather than showbread; Bauckham, "Synagogue Stone," 116–128.

[170] Bauckham, "Synagogue Stone," 124.

stone's images with some creative imagination: "for the people of Migdal, gathered in their synagogue, the stone would assure them that YHWH, in his sanctuary in Jerusalem, had them always in mind, because they too belonged to the whole twelve-tribe people whose memorial was always before him." The "synagogue stone" represents the deity's presence within the Magdala structure, especially with those in attendance.[171]

The corners of the stone have broken, rounded elements which Aviam suggests were once the bases of stone or wooden legs, upon which a table was placed, and the Torah read from. This is a possibility and would add to the communal feeling based on Torah reading and implied Torah observation. Yet, this reconstruction may be too far a conjecture.[172] The back legs are slightly taller than the front, which would mean that the upper face would tilt forwards slightly. However, the stone feet were possibly meant to be sunk into the floor.[173]

It is worth considering what exactly this iconography may have meant for this structure and its users. Allison notes that Pompeian wall paintings were sometimes used to help identify a given room on the basis of the activities or items depicted. She cautions against this direct connection, as "decorative iconography may not be intrinsically linked to the type of space or indeed to any activities carried out in a space, or these correlations may not be immediately comprehensible to the modern investigator."[174] The uniqueness of the stone is worth consideration although conclusions about the specific connections between this structure and the Jerusalem Temple should be cautious [see 6.3.4].[175]

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[171] Bauckham, "Synagogue Stone," 128–129.
[172] Aviam, "Decorated Stone," 216.
[173] Bauckham and De Luca, "Magdala," 110. However, the synagogue was robbed in antiquity so the stone may have been moved. See De Luca and Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae," 316.
[174] Allison, "Material and Written Sources," 193.
[175] Similar cautions concerning the meanings of the iconography have been offered by Fine, "Magdala Ashlar;" Ze'ev Weiss, "The Synagogue in an Age of Transition, from the Second Temple Period to Roman Times: Recent Developments in Research," in *Synagogues in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Archaeological Finds, New Methods, New Theories*, eds. Lutz Doering and Andrew R. Krause, Ioudaioi: Schriten des Institutum Judaicum Delizschianum 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 25–41, 33–38.

4.4.1.6   *Usage*

The imagery on the "synagogue stone" indicates that the central room was almost certainly used for activities which recalled some practice associated with the Jerusalem Temple. It is likely that it functioned as a general meeting place, possibly for the wealthy residents of Magdala who lived close by and may have helped fund the structure's construction. Activities like trading could theoretically have taken place. The area around the structure includes a commercial area and some lavish domiciles.

Within these latter structures are four immersion pools. Reich and Marcela Zapata-Meza suggested that these pools located nearby could be for the purposes of purification before attending the "synagogue," analogous to the immersion pool outside the Gamla structure.[176] Reich has argued elsewhere that "synagogues" can be identified in part due the presence of "*miqva'ot*."[177] I find this interpretation unconvincing for three reasons. Firstly, the closest of the four pools in these structures lies around 50 metres away from the communal building (Reich and Zapata-Meza note that the distance is c. 70 metres). This hardly compares to the placement of the immersion pool at Gamla, which is only 4.5 metres outside of the main entrance to Building A. Secondly, the Magdala pools are located in large buildings. The southern pair are built into a fifteen-room structure (the so-called "House of the Dice") which has mosaic floors and a courtyard. The northern pair are built into a structure with at least ten rooms and a courtyard. Both these structures are identified as houses occupied by wealthy

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[176] Reich and Zapata-Meza, "Preliminary Report," 70. The authors initial suggest that they were for private use but raise the possibility that they were intended to serve the "synagogue." There is discussion of who would use these installations.

[177] Reich, "Synagogue and the *Miqweh*," 289–297, 297. Reich states that this was only the case for Second Temple period "synagogues" as very few Mishnaic and Talmudic period synagogues had adjacent ritual immersion baths.

families.[178] Finally, the pools are constructed differently to all other known ritual immersion pools. Each pair is connected via a channel, which may indicate that they were part of a thermal circuit. Their identification as "*miqva'ot*" overlooks the fact that their typology is different from all other proposed "*miqva'ot.*" They are not covered in plaster, and they were filled at least in part by groundwater. [179] Their dissimilarity has led De Luca and Lena to conclude that these pools are not "*miqva'ot*" but simply thermal pools similar to others found in the Magdala bathhouse.[180] I am aware of other pools discovered at Magdala, but none have been published which are clearly connected with the structure discussed here.

The construction of the Magdala structure may have relied on donations from the community, but this is speculative as no inscription has been found dedicating the building.[181] It is unknown whether this investment came from local elites, or a more centralised governing power, such as Herod Antipas, Agrippa I, or Agrippa II's bureaucracy. The probable date of the structure would suggest that it was constructed during the reign of Antipas, who presumably built another assembly structure in nearby Tiberias (*Life* 277) [see 5.3.4]. The layout of the structure is similar to Gamla Building A, which suggests that the Magdala structure would have been used for meetings where attendees could speak and be heard easily.

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[178] Bauckham and De Luca, "Magdala," 113. Zapata-Meza, Díaz-Barriga and Sanz-Rincón, "Magdala Archaeological Project," 83–125, report a different configuration of rooms, where the "House of the Dice" has only nine rooms and the northern complex has five rooms. This difference may be due to the period of discussion. Zapata-Meza, Díaz-Barriga and Sanz-Rincón give this configuration standing during the mid- to early-1st century BCE while Bauckham and De Luca discuss the Early Roman period configuration. Alternatively, further excavations may have revealed more rooms, as Zapata-Meza, Díaz-Barriga and Sanz-Rincón were only aware of three pools at the time of publication. Reich and Zapata-Meza do not indicate in their article that the pools are located in such complex houses.

[179] Reich and Zapata-Meza, "Preliminary Report," 63–71; *idem*., "Domestic Miqva'ot," 109–125. In a discussion with me, Yonatan Adler pointed out that in his view, this is not a major difference. Their placement in this part of Magdala means that they could be filled via groundwater and not required usually filling or water retention methods for immersion pools. Thus, they achieve exactly the same set up but with less work. I accept this, although would want to make sure that their interesting typology is not entirely subsumed into a larger category of stepped pools as their construction was clearly different and this may indicate a different type of use. We cannot know if this difference was a meaningful one to those who used the pools.

[180] De Luca and Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae," 306–307.

[181] Bauckham and De Luca, "Magdala," 108.

The side room may have been the site of similar types of activities although the fact that two rooms with benches were built suggests that they may have been intended for different uses. One could also envision that the structure was used for communal meals, although no vessels have been reported from the structure yet. The structure was short lived. During the First Jewish War it was incorporated into emergency defences. Pillar fragments which probably came from within the structure were found in the street outside, likely forming part of a blockade to the west of the structure.[182]

4.4.2   The Space of the Magdala Structure

The rich decoration inside this structure conveys a sense of importance. The iconography clearly representative of the Jerusalem Temple indicates that at least some of the activities in this structure may be connected to ritual practice. It is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of the relationship between this building and the temple, whether the structure was intended to function as a kind of local centre for cultic practice usually associated with the temple, or if the temple was simply a source of iconography from which the artisans could draw. Whatever the reason, this find clearly demonstrates that the structure was important. Once again drawing on Knott's divisions, we may discuss the experiences and activities that took place within the structure, and what these and the structure meant to those who used it.

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[182] Mordechai Aviam, "The Synagogue," in Bauckham, *Magdala of Galilee*, 127–133, 133; Bauckham, "Magdala," 19.

4.4.2.1   Experiences

The setting inside the Magdala structure is similar in layout but much more intimate than in Gamla Building A. The total capacity of between 95 and 158 persons represents a much smaller proportion of the estimated population of Magdala. Once again, the structure is laid out in order to facilitate group meetings. The additional side room would have been able to accommodate smaller events; in comparison with the benched side room arrangement in Gamla Building A, this side room would have been able to accommodate a larger proportion of the people who could fit into the Magdala structure than Building A. This may suggest that the structure was designed to provide particular spaces to different activities. The extravagant décor and the knowledge that possibly as few as one percent of the settlement's total populace could attend any given meeting would impart a large degree of significance to whoever attended such an event. Attendees would recognise decorative elements inside the structure as similar to those in some of the finest domiciles in Magdala and in the bathhouse. In particular, a key focal point in the main hall is the iconographic ashlar block. The stone was found *in situ* [located where a replica has been placed in figure 20], which suggests that it was probably used in the main hall itself. The prominence of the structure, close to the edge of the settlement, would also have portrayed Magdala as an important space. Visitors must have passed by the structure and their impression of Magdala would have included an appreciation of this structure. Sound would have been an important element of experience; the open hall would have facilitated aural experiences.

4.4.2.2   Activities

The Magdala structure has a similar layout to the Gamla Building A. We may therefore assume that similar activities were undertaken within them. As such, the Magdala structure

appears to have been designed to facilitate meetings. The benches allow for some measure of comfort which may have permitted long meetings. The side room also appears to have been geared towards such meetings, as shown by the additional benches. These meetings would have been quite exclusive; so far, no other structure designed for communal meetings has been uncovered and identified in Magdala, and if this structure was alone or one of few, then the meetings would have been highly exclusive. This scarcity of space, combined with the richly decorative elements inside, suggests that the structure was intended for elite use. The carved stone block also indicates that at least some elements of activities within the structure were associated with the Jerusalem Temple, further lending the building a sense of importance. The structure could have been used for almost any small-scale communal activity. The side room may have enabled more intimate meetings, perhaps study sessions, scribal activity, or small group discussions. During the period of the First Jewish War, it appears that the structure was co-opted into the defensive structures of the settlement. Again, understandably, communal structures were adapted to suit the needs of the community during crisis periods.

4.4.2.3   *Meanings*

Once again, Massey's concept of "power-geometry" is helpful here [see 1.4.2]. The Magdala structure is perhaps more clearly a centre of local influence and power than other comparable structures. Furthermore, the connection between this structure and the Jerusalem Temple (or at least iconography associated with "the sanctuary") attests to the structure's claim of authority and importance. By tying its inner space into the larger cultic apparatus, the Magdala structure also has its own authority established. The structure probably was not a Hasmonean innovation, as its first phase appears to have been dated after their prominence.

However, some have argued that this family retained influence beyond their occupation of the region's top offices.[183] As mentioned above, the group which could have met in the structure at any given time would have been in the extreme minority of the settlement's population. In comparison with Gamla's Building A, the Magdala structure was much more exclusive, as evidenced by both the proportion of possible attendees who lived in the settlement, and the decorative elements within.[184] In terms of gendered meanings, there is very little information to inform us about how gender was mediated through the structure's space. The symbols in the artwork are not geared towards a particular gendered profession, nor are the spaces clearly divided in such a way as to segregate. Seating may have also reflected one's social position, although we might assume that any in the room would have been important and influential community figures. The Magdala structure is unique within the settlement. No other structure built to facilitate meetings is known of. Only the bathhouse appears to be designed for public activity, although in this case, geared more towards pleasure. As with Gamla Building A, the structure's meaning may have changed during crisis periods. The building's incorporation into the city defences shows how external forces threatened conventional practices. It would be difficult to imagine that the usual activities held within the structure would not have been affected by such incorporation.

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[183] Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander*, 216–218, suggests that the named Galilean bandits, Hezekiah and Judas may have been Hasmonean family members who resisted Herod the Great. See further Thomas Scott Caulley, "Notable Galilean Persons," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 151–166, 151–153.

[184] Anders Runesson and Wally Cirafesi write that "all Galilean Jews either living in or visiting Magdala for business would likely have been welcome to participate in the city's public gatherings on sabbaths." Their argumentation is based on the layout of the structure and proximity to the marketplace of Magdala. I would argue that the capacity of the structure should demonstrate that such openness towards who could attend ignores considerations of power-geometry. See Anders Runesson and Wally V. Cirafesi, "Reassessing the Impact of 70 CE on the Origins and Development of Palestinian Synagogues," in Bonnie, Hakola and Tervahauta, *Synagogue in Ancient Palestine*, 37–57, 41 n.11.

4.5   Jewish Communal Spaces in Galilee

4.5.1   Connections to the Jerusalem Temple

These three examples from Gamla and Magdala are clearly communal spaces and designed principally for Jewish use. The Magdala structure contains the most illustrative examples of iconography clearly associated with the Jerusalem Temple. While the structures may have served other purposes, religious activity was also a component of the meetings which took place within them. Martin Goodman argues that authority over the constitution of Judaism, while still contested, was probably easier in communities with centralised meeting places. Further, if these centres could be closely aligned ideologically with the Jerusalem Temple, then we might also suggest that the Jerusalem Temple exerted more influence than might otherwise be thought.[185] We may see this in the Galilean sites. The users of the Magdala structure incorporated the symbols of the Jerusalem Temple into their meetings, and indeed all three structures incorporate figural elements. Such artistic features were relatively rare in the region at this time. Some artworks have been found in various sites, and during the Hellenistic period, mosaics and painted walls have been found at Tel Anafa and Jericho.[186] Art in this period in Palestine seems to have been used mostly in private contexts, particularly in the building projects of Herod the Great who began to introduce artwork into the region more thoroughly than before.[187] The enigmatic stone found in the Magdala structure demonstrates a conscious decision to identify the structure, community or activities in some way with the Jerusalem Temple. Furthermore, the artwork and decorative features of all three

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[185] Goodman, "Identity and Authority," 22–24.
[186] Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 87–94; Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic*, 5–15; Herbert, *Tel Anafa I, i*, 62.
[187] Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 88–94, 108, 112.

of the structures discussed above sets them apart from most other buildings in either settlement. While the Gamla structures are both less decorated than the Magdala structure, all three stand out against the relative quality and flamboyance (or lack thereof) of nearby buildings. As Økland argues, "the shapes and symbols envisaged or 'incarnated' in the buildings and facilities, are the results of the needs, wishes and thoughts of the donors, guided by the possibilities suggested by the entrepreneurs whose imagination again was constrained by taste and what was practically possible."[188] Thus, the designs inside these structures may indicate an attempt to establish a connection to the Hasmoneans, or more broadly to the Jerusalem Temple. Strictly speaking, however, none of the above structures, clearly identified or otherwise, appear to have been constructed during the primacy of any of the Hasmonean family, nor even under Herod the Great.

The artisans and those who directed them may not have intended this iconography to recall Hasmonean iconography explicitly, but it nevertheless recalled similar figural motifs used by Alexander Jannaeus. These sites are also interesting to consider from the perspective of their character. Each site was founded as a Hasmonean settlement, shortly after the annexation of the north into their kingdom.[189] Each site further participated in the Jewish War. The inhabitants of each town are presented by Josephus as being more resistant to Rome [see 1.2.1.4] than the residents of Sepphoris and Tiberias. This may show some of the division in the region and perhaps the lasting influence and impact of "Temple Loyalty" in Galilee introduced during the Hasmonean period. The settlement of Gamla is also notable insofar as it minted its own coins during the First Jewish War. These coins explicitly announced that their

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[188] Økland, *Women in Their Place*, 88.

[189] This connection has been suggested by Rick Bonnie, "Hasmonean Memories and Hellenistic Building Traditions: The Appearance and Disappearance of Synagogue Buildings in the Late Second Temple Period," in Bonnie, Hakola and Tervahauta, *Synagogue in Ancient Palestine*, 59–80, 59–60, 69.

producers, likely authorities in Gamla, were loyal to the Jerusalem Temple.[190] These issues

were bronze and were poorly made; the design of the lettering and iconography are rather

crude.[191] They featured a cup on one side similar to the better-known Jerusalem silver Revolt

coins. An inscription starts around the cup and continues of the reverse employing both paleo-

Hebrew and Aramaic letters. According to Joseph Naveh, this reads, "For the redemption of

Jerusalem the H(oly)."[192] The site was destroyed resisting the Roman legions, so ultimately is

remembered for its rejection of Roman rule. This may have been due to an ideology of

"Temple Loyalty" or for other reasons. Nevertheless, Gamla was certainly a space where the

Jerusalem Temple had some importance. The residents of Magdala also appear to have been

relatively pro-revolt. Josephus reports that the anti-Roman group of Tiberias, led by Jesus ben

Shaphat, removed themselves to Magdala (here Ταριχέας) to flee from the pro-Roman party

in Tiberias (*War* 3.450–457) and join the anti-Roman fighters there. The residents there were

also supportive of Josephus' war efforts.[193]

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[190] On the Gamla war issues, see Yoav Arbel, "The Coins Minted in Gamla: An Alternative Analysis," in Syon, *Gamla III: Part 1*, 233–238; Robert Deutsch, "The Coinage of the Great Jewish Revolt against Rome: Script, Language and Inscriptions," in *Judaea and Rome in Coins 65 BCE–135 CE: Papers Presented at the International Conference Hosted by Spink, 13th–14th September 2010*, eds. David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos (London: Spink, 2012), 113–122, 117; David Hendin, "Current Viewpoints on Ancient Jewish Coinage: A Bibliographic Essay," *CurBR* 11.2 (2013): 287–288; Syon, *Small Change*, 69; *idem*., "Yet Again on the Bronze Coins Minted at Gamla," *INR* 2 (2007): 117–122. Root, *First Century Galilee*, 139, points to the contrast between Gamla's revolt issues and the coins minted at Sepphoris in 68 CE in honour of Vespasian.

[191] Deutsch, "Coinage," 117; Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 287–288, also notes that all known examples appear to have been struck from a one obverse and two reverse dies (stamp moulds).

[192] Syon, "Gamla: City of Refuge," 146. Anne Lykke, "The Use of Languages and Scripts in Ancient Jewish Coinage: An Aid in Defining the Role of the Jewish Temple until Its Destruction in 70 CE," in Jacobson and Kokkinos, *Judaea and Rome*, 27–50, 42–43, suggests that this could have been drawn from the phrase "Tyre the Holy" on Tyrian Sheqelim, the minting of which ended around 65 or 66 CE. This designation was common for cities in the Eastern Mediterranean from around the 2nd century BCE (e.g., Ashkelon, Ptolemais, Seleucia in Pieria, Sidon and Tripolis). See Benjamin D. Gordon, *Land and Temple: Field Sacralization and the Agrarian Priesthood of Second Temple Judaism*, SJ 87 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 141.

[193] Morten Hørning Jensen, "Magdala/Taricheae and the Jewish Revolt," in Bauckham, *Magdala of Galilee*, 269–286, especially 271–273 for Jensen's brief remarks concerning the two accounts in *War* and *Life*.

4.5.2   Similarity and Dissimilarity in Galilean Communal Spaces

The structures excavated at Gamla and Magdala provide the entirety of the clear

archaeological evidence for such buildings of this time and show the degree of variance in

public assembly buildings. That said, the layouts of Gamla Building A and the Magdala

Structure are quite similar; both have ancillary rooms, have benches, are lined with columns

and are arranged around an open, rectangular floor space. They also both lie close to the urban

limits of their respective settlements. In terms of decoration, however, they are quite

dissimilar. The decorated stone ashlar found inside the Magdala structure is unique, although

a comparison of the floor plans might show that the stone lay in a similar spot to the inset

stylobate in Building A. This, however, may be quite speculative. There is no proven purpose

to the stylobate in Building A, and there is no way to know if the decorated stone sat where it

was found in the Magdala structure.[194] These structures also appear to be precursors of later

synagogue structures, which were designed following similar layout considerations. Thus, the

earliest known "synagogue-like" structures both come from the northern part of the

Hasmonean/Herodian kingdoms and are found at important towns of the Hasmonean

period.[195] This may further link the development of communal spaces in Galilee to the period

of Hasmonean rule, and perhaps even to the family itself. However, the late dates of all three

of these structures seems to belie the possibility that the Hasmoneans had any direct influence

in the creation of these spaces. The potential link remains intriguing and may require further

study. Returning to the question of how widespread such structures were [see 4.2.7], our

conclusion depends on the extent to which the findings from an analysis of the structures in

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[194] Apparently, the stone block appears to have been moved in antiquity, see De Luca and Lena, "Magdala/Taricheae," 316.
[195] This point was raised in a discussion with Rick Bonnie.

Gamla and Magdala are extrapolated to the rest of the region. These two communities, with relatively large populations, responded to a need or desire to facilitate communal events in a purpose-built structure. These structures were designed to accommodate a select portion of the overall community in a gathering built around communication, but also had the potential for other kinds of communal activities. Aside from a handful of other structures in the region known from the archaeological record, these buildings were the most prominent public buildings and were probably the locus of community life.[196]

4.5.3   Were These Structures Considered Sacred Spaces?

Paulo Barroso lists the features of sanctuaries, which are often distinguished from other structures by: their location; impositional architecture; open spaces; "profane leisure activities;" accessibility; and tourism facilities.[197] While these structures in Gamla and Magdala do not appear to have been sanctuaries, their architecture does distinguish them from other nearby structures. They are large and prominent buildings, include open floor spaces, and employ iconography. If these structures are understood as sacred, then the activities within (even activities that are conventionally mundane) can by association be thought of as sacred. That activities took place in such structures could suggest that these activities had different meanings and perceptions because of their location. Thus, a communal meal in one of these structures may have been understood as significant.[198] The question of the sacredness of these structures is open to debate. Beyond the stone block found in Magdala, the purpose

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[196] Halvor Moxnes proposes that Galilean "synagogues" may have been focal points for village life, see Halvor Moxnes, "Placing Jesus of Nazareth: Toward a Theory of Place in the Study of the Historical Jesus," in Wilson and Desjardins, *Text and Artifact*, 158–175, 168.

[197] Barroso, "Semiosis of Sacred Space," 346.

[198] Smith, *To Take Place*, 109–110.

and use of which remains elusive, there is nothing explicit which attests to the sacred status of these structures. However, this may mistake the nature of late Second Temple period Jewish religious expression. These structures would have been able to facilitate the practice of Jewish communal activities, such as Torah study and reading, communal prayers and meals [see 5.6]. These spaces would have been more suitable than any others for the enactment of these behaviours and practices, and it seems likely that if these practices were important for the Galileans, then these structures, particularly Building A and the Magdala structure, would have been the viewed as the most important centres of communal space production. Thus, Galilean space and identity was significantly affected by structures such as these. Over time, the repeated use of such structures in a way which enacted communal space would have resulted in meaningful expressions of identity, especially as these structures appear to have been, whether by design or the limits of construction, intended for a settlement's minority. As such, they attest to a valuation system in Galilee during this time, locals made elite in part due to their ability to access and use these structures or determine how they were used and who was kept from these locales.[199] How such structures compare or contrast to other known buildings intended to be sacred spaces in the ancient Mediterranean is a question for future research.

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[199] Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and the Genesis of Appropriated Physical Space," *IJURR* 42.1 (2018): 110–112, articulates how various form of capital enable the management of social spaces, determining who can access such spaces. I would understand the community that would have been able to meet in these structures would have attained over time something akin to Bourdieu's description of the "effect of club" which further raises the social capital of the members of this group.

5.   Jewish Communal Structures in the Late Second Temple Period

In this chapter I discuss the textual evidence which attests to Jewish communal structures which were in use during the late Second Temple period. Here, I introduce the inscriptional, textual and papyrological evidence for Jewish communal structures in the late Second Temple period. In particular, I am interested in the names, architectural features and recorded activities associated with such structures. I argue that there was great diversity of such structures and while some activities which are mentioned in these sources may have been practised in Galilean communal structures, we should be cautious in defining a clear typology for Jewish communal structures. Thus, this discussion informs the prior chapter on Galilean communal spaces by broadening our understanding of Jewish communal spaces in late Second Temple period Judaism.

5.1   Terminology and Definition

As with the discussion of archaeological remains, scholars tend to employ the term "synagogue" to refer to a type of Second Temple period building thought to have been a precursor for the synagogue of late antiquity. Often, all the relevant terminology used in antiquity for such structures and communal gatherings is presented in scholarly literature, and then, for the sake of ease, "synagogue" is used as a catch-all term for these diverse buildings and groups.[1] I sympathise with such efforts and will also present a wide range of evidence for

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[1] Hachlili, "Origin of the Synagogue," 38, notes that the LXX translated עדה ("assembly") as συναγωγη ("assembly," "synagogue," "gathering"), although it only distinguished a gathering rather than a gathering-place. A συναγωγη is mentioned in the Old Greek of Susannah 28, where the two elders go down to meet the congregants. The passage suggests that there was a structure where the group met. See Runesson, Binder and

Jewish communal meeting spaces in the late Second Temple period, but will use a broader

term specifically with reference to the structures themselves – "purpose-built Jewish

communal structures."[2] This draws attentions to how little is actually known about the proper

names given to specific ancient buildings believed to be early "synagogues." This also avoids

an issue seen in some studies of Second Temple period "synagogues" which use diverse

evidence to make specific claims about community meetings in places such as Galilee.[3] I have

already presented what can be known for Galilean communal spaces [see 4.5] and will

contextualise those within the spectrum of ancient Jewish practice. I argue that activities that

were said to have taken place in an Egyptian "prayer-house" do not have to have been the

same activities that took place in all supposed "prayer-houses," let alone buildings with

different names.[4] This supposition gives the impression that every Jewish community of the

late Second Temple period conducted communal meetings in the same way, and that there

was a clear concept of what a community meeting should involve. Jones has addressed this

point, noting that "if Jewish communities are identified on the basis of such a range of fixed

material traits, then it also follows that Jewish culture and identity are assumed to be

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Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 95. Runesson, "Synagogues," 766 states that there are 17 Greek and 5 Hebrew terms which have been grouped under the category of "synagogues."

[2] Richard Last has opted to use "Judean-Deity Associations" as a catch-all term, in order to avoid possible anachronism and move away from the term "synagogue" which can appear to indicate "a fixed and bounded concept of Judean culture." See Richard Last, "The Other Synagogues," *JSJ* 47.3 (2016): 336. Such a move has been welcomed by Benedikt Eckhardt, although he does not think that Last's terminology solves the issue without introducing further problems. See Benedikt Eckhardt, "Craft Guilds as Synagogues? Further Thoughts on 'Private Judean-Deity Associations'," *JSJ* 48.2 (2017): 246–260.

[3] For instance, works which include a wider discussion of ancient synagogues usually to provide some insights into "synagogues" in the New Testament," see Catto, *Reconstructing*, particularly chapter 5; Howard Clark Kee, "Defining the First-Century C.E. Synagogue: Problems and Progress," in Kee and Cohick, *Evolution of the Synagogue*, 7–26; Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in His Place*, 144–153; Twelftree, "Jesus and the Synagogue." I follow a similar approach in using evidence to contextualise Galilean archaeological finds but stress the importance of retaining difference and uncertainty instead of using this evidence as if it could fully inform us of what took place in a given Galilean structure.

[4] See Bloedhorn and Hüttenmeister, "Synagogue," 268, who suggest that this was probably the common term for these structures.

monolithic and homogeneous across diverse social and historical contexts."[5] Therefore, the

following discussion contextualises the above analysis of specific Galilean structures.

To categorise the following evidence, I have adopted Runesson's distinction between

two broad concepts which the term "synagogue" described in the late Second Temple period.

The first concept describes a public building which was used for administrative, religious and

political purposes. The second concept covers a semi-public association for communal

gathering, which possibly included Torah reading [see 5.6.1; 5.6.2]. The latter of these

definitions is not attached to a structure, although the group could have met in either public or

domestic spaces.[6] The following references for the most part pertain to the first concept which

limits the discussion to purpose-built spaces for communal activities.

5.2   Evidence from Inscriptions

The following caveat should be raised prior to cataloguing the evidence, a caveat

especially pertinent to inscriptional evidence. Recalling the discussion above [see 1.3.4.2], the

identification of a group, whether ethnic or other, with a particular artefact, structure, location

or term is difficult and often involves making an assumption. Ross Kraemer notes that it is

important to consider evidence which complicates closed definitions of ancient institutions.[7]

In this case, the term συναγωγη ("synagogue") is used in contexts which strongly imply that

the members of that συναγωγη may not have self-identified as Jewish. An inscription from

Kyzikos dedicates a συναγωγη to Zeus. Another συναγωγη which was dedicated to Zeus is

mentioned in a papyrus fragment (*SB* 7835 cf. *IJO* 1.BS20, see below) and there also existed a

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[5] Jones, "Identities in Practice," 34. See also Stern, "Limitations," 316–319.
[6] See Runesson, "Architecture, Conflicts," 245.
[7] Kraemer, "Jewish Tuna and Christian Fish," 145–148.

"synagogue of barbers" in ancient Thrace. These references suggest that the term "synagogue" was not exclusively used by Jews for their own communal buildings or used by others to refer to a specifically Jewish institution. In the same way, προσευχη ("prayer-house") is a term commonly used for "pagan loyalty shrines."[8] Rajak has also documented a list of "non-Jewish" uses of the title αρχισυναγωγος ("synagogue-leader").[9] This further complicates our understanding of inscriptional evidence, which is often decontextualised. Without clear contexts, many inscriptions are assumed to be Jewish simply on the basis of particular key words. Not only do some of the references below have quite an ambiguous relation to a Jewish community, but the identification of such inscriptions as Jewish has certain implications for what kind of Judaism we think may have been practised by the users of these spaces. There is a temptation to synthesise the clearest available evidence to describe a general model for communal practices and then apply this to the majority of purpose-built structures known from antiquity. This approach would be flawed, insofar as it overlooks the variability between regions, time and authors. The below examples of the variable terms for Jewish communal institutions, and the fact that most sources are silent about the architecture of and practices which took place within said structures, demonstrate how little can be said for certain about purpose-built Jewish communal structures. My final analysis will therefore present a range of possibilities for Galilean communal spaces.

5.2.1   North Africa (Ptolemaic/Roman Egypt)

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[8] See Hachlili, "Origin of the Synagogue," 39. Hachlili states erroneously that *synagogue* was used "exclusively" for "Jewish edifices," but points out that *proseuchai* are not solely Jewish structures.
[9] Tessa Rajak, "*Archisynagogoi*: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," in *Jewish Dialogue*, 393–429, appendix 2.

A comparative wealth of North African material related to Second Temple period Jewish communal structures.[10] These inscriptions were made under the Ptolemaic or Roman regimes in Egypt. Some these were created in the second half of the 3rd century BCE and are the earliest known evidence of Jewish communal structures. All together there are at least thirteen different inscriptions attesting to such structures. Of these thirteen, eleven use the term προσευχη ("prayer-house") (*CIJ* 1432, 1433, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1449, *JIGRE* 105, 117, 126), two use συγκροντα ("gathering") (*CIJ* 1432, 1443) while the remaining two inscriptions use συναγωγη ("synagogue") (*CIJ* 1447, *SEG* 17.823). Six of these explicitly state that the structures belong to the Ἰουδαιοι ("Jews/Judeans") (*CIJ* 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, *JIGRE* 117, *SEG* 17.823). On many of these inscriptions, the Ptolemaic dynasty is honoured or credited with establishing the whole or part of the described structure (*CIJ* 1432, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1444, 1449, *JIGRE* 117).[11] A common feature of these inscriptions, which indeed is often the way an inscription is identified as Jewish, is the use of θεος ὑψιστος ("God the highest") (*CIJ* 1433, 1443, *JIGRE* 105). Aryeh Kasher argues that this has nothing to do with Ζεὺς ὕψιστος ("Zeus the highest") as the phrasing is well known from the Septuagint and New Testament (e.g. LXX Gen 14:18–22; Num 24:16; Deut 32:8; 2 Kgdms 22:14; 1 Esd 6:30; 8:19–21; 9:46; Jdt 13:18; 3 Macc 7:9; Pss 56:3; 70:19; 77:35; Sir 7:9; 24:23; 41:8; 50:17; Dan 3:93; 4:2 [Th]; 5:1[OG]; Matt 5:7; Luke 2:14; Acts 16:17; Heb 7:1).[12] However, this does not mean that the phrase should always be associated with Jewish structures. We do know that some inscriptions from self-identified Ἰουδαῖοι (e.g., *CIJ* 1443)

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[10] For summaries of the evidence for Jewish communities in Egypt, see LaCoste, *Waters of the Exodus*, 25–64.

[11] J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Egypt and the Rise of the Synagogue," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 3–16, 5, notes that while the *CIJ* 1440 inscription is dedicated to the king and queen, it is not as devoted as one could have expected. For instance, they are not referred to as divine siblings.

[12] Aryeh Kasher, "Synagogues as 'Houses of Prayer' and 'Holy Places' in the Jewish Communities of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt," in Urman and Flesher, *Ancient Synagogues*, 205–220, 210. See although the discussion of the use of the phrase in Jörg Lanckau, "*Hypsistos*: Cultural Translation of Jewish Monotheism in the Hellenistic Period," *AS/EA* 65.4 (2011): 861–882.

did use this term, but we should not assume that this term on its own, without supporting

terms or contexts, alludes solely to a Jewish structure.

5.2.2   Palestine

A single, yet famous, inscription is known from Palestine, the so-called "Theodotus

inscription." It has been dated to the 1st century CE, prior to the destruction of the Jerusalem

Temple.[13] The inscription has been dated according to the context of its discovery, and the

palaeography of the letters.[14] Millar notes that the example of a Greek inscription expresses

the role of Jerusalem as "outward-looking to the Greek-speaking Diaspora… [which]

illustrates the importation of Hellenistic euergetism, but deployed for distinctively Jewish

purposes."[15] This inscription records several architectural features, such as a travellers'

guesthouse.[16] The structure also apparently had water installations (τὰ χρησ[τ]ήρια τῶν

ὑδάτων), and was reportedly built so that the law could be read and the commandments

taught. We do not know whether these features were typical of such a structure. The presence

of a guesthouse is otherwise unattested in inscriptions concerning Jewish communal

structures. The water features may recall the large water rates charged to a structure in

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[13] Charles Clermont-Ganneau, "Découverte à Jérusalem d'une synagogue de l'époque hérodienne," *Syria* 1 (1920): 190–197. The inscription was discovered around 1914 during the excavation of a well.

[14] Howard Clark Kee argues for a date later than 135 CE, although his hypothesis has not found much support; Kee, "First-Century C.E. Synagogue," 7–26. Contra Kee, John Kloppenborg Verbin has argued that the inscription originates from before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple on the basis of its palaeography and provenance; John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, "Dating Theodotos (*CIJ* II 1404)," *JJS* 51.2 (2000): 243–280. *CIIP* contains a short summary and full bibliography, see Jonathan J. Price, "9. Synagogue building inscription of Theodotos in Greek, 1 c. BCE–1 c. CE," *CIIP* 1.9 (pp. 53–56). Another treatment can be found in Twelftree, "Jesus and the Synagogue," 3107–3110.

[15] Millar, *Roman Near East*, 365.

[16] Martin Goodman argues that the reference to guest rooms and washing (water) facilities may suggest that the synagogue was primarily used by visitors to Jerusalem; Goodman, *Ruling Class*, 127. See also Flesher, "Palestinian Synagogues," 33.

Krokodilopolis-Arsinoe (*CPJ* 432 [see 5.3.5]) and were perhaps similar to the immersion pool in Gamla [see 4.3.1.3].

5.2.3   Black Sea (Bosphorus)

Inscriptions found around the Black Sea tend to employ the term προσευχη for Jewish communal structures (*IJO* 1.BS5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25), but a few use the phrase συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων to indicate a community (IJO 1.BS5, 6, 7, 9 and 18). One inscription also uses the phrase Θεῳ Ὑψίστῳ ("God the highest") (*IJO* 1.BS20). The earliest inscriptions do not contain any descriptions of physical features. They do attest to the presence of Jewish prayer-houses in the region by the end of the 1st century CE, and typically seem to distinguish the community known as the συναγωγη, and the structure known as the προσευχη. Most of these inscriptions contain references to the manumission of slaves. Whether this was a more widespread practice or not is unclear, but at least in these structures public beneficence appears to have been an important practice worth commemorating.

5.2.4   Delos

As far as I am aware, only one group of inscriptions prior to the 2nd century CE has been documented in clear association with a structure, those being the inscriptions from Delos. This is often used as evidence in combination with the remains of a structure on the island to propose the existence of a 2nd century BCE synagogue on Delos. It is difficult to determine the exact nature of this structure and it is unclear what group(s) used it at any given time. Matassa critiques the widespread conjunction of the Delos inscriptions with the commonly given

"synagogue." The inscription in question which refers to a προσευχη was found some 90 metres from the identified synagogue. Furthermore, it is possible that the inscription refers not to a building, but to a prayer or offering.[17] Three further inscriptions which include the phrase θεω(ι) υψιστω(ι) were found within the identified building and these inscriptions were taken to be references for the Jewish God, despite the fact that this formula was also used in Hellenistic cultic sites to refer to Zeus among others.[18] The passages concerning the Jews of Delos in First Maccabees 15:15–23, *Antiquities* 14.145–148 or *Antiquities* 14.213–216 nowhere indicate that there was a communal structure on the island.[19] Of the two Samaritan inscriptions, only one refers to a προσευχη and this may also be referring to prayers or offerings made rather than a structure. Finally, much of the marble was moved and reused in antiquity so there is little chance of knowing for sure which structure any given inscription should be properly associated with.[20]

5.2.5   Summary

From among the inscriptional evidence, the most commonly used term is προσευχη. This term was attached to Jewish communal structures from the middle of the 3rd century BCE. This evidence shows four aspects of Jewish communal structures (or at least aspects commonly record on inscriptions). Firstly, the terminology used for such structures varies, although with a clear preference in some places for προσευχη. Secondly, these inscriptions contain very little information about the activities which took place within these structures.

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[17] See Matassa, *Invention*, 46.
[18] Matassa, *Invention*, 48–50, 55–56.
[19] Matassa, *Invention*, 42–45. However, see Claude Eilers, "A Decree of Delos Concerning the Jews? (Jos. *AJ* 14.231–232)," *SCI* (2005): 65–74, who suggests that the Josephan passage did not actually originate as a Delian decree, but only became attached to Delos at a later point.
[20] Matassa, *Invention*, 52–55.

Thirdly, some inscriptions show that at least some of these structures were not for the exclusive use of Jews (e.g., *IJO* 1.BS7), and evidence from later inscriptions suggests that these spaces were not exclusively male.[21] Fourthly, there are a wide variety of architectural features documented in these inscriptions. Thus, no single type of structure appears to be normative.

Table 9 – References to Jewish Communal Structures Known from Inscriptions

Origin	Inscription Reference	Text[22]	Date	Features
North Africa				
Alexandria	*CIJ* 1433 // *JIGRE* 9 // *SB* 589	ἱεὸν [περίβολον καὶ] | τὴν προς | [ευχὴν καὶ τὰ συγ]κύροντα	2ⁿᵈ century BCE	Enclosing wall (περίβολον), appurtenances (συγκύροντα)
	CIJ 1432 // *JIGRE* 13 // *OGIS* 742	προσε[υχὴν]	36 BCE (37 BCE in *CIJ*)	None
	CIJ 1447 // *JIGRE* 20	συναγωγῆ	Late Ptolemaic or Roman	None
Schedia	*CIJ* 1440 // *JIGRE* 22 // *OGIS* 726	προσευχὴν | οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι	246–221 BCE	None
Xenephyris	*CIJ* 1441 // *JIGRE* 24 // *SB* 5862	Ἰουδαῖοι τόν | πυλῶνα τῆς προσευχῆς	144 (143 in *CIJ*)–116 BCE	Pylon (πυλῶνα)[23]
Athribis	*CIJ* 1443 // *JIGRE* 27 // *OGIS* 96	Ἰουδαῖοι | τὴν προσευχὴν	180 (181 in *CIJ*)–145 BCE	None
	CIJ 1444 // *JIGRE* 28	ἐξέδραν | τῆι προσευχ[ῆι]	180–145 BCE	Hall with seats (ἐξέδραν)

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[21] Kraemer, "Gender," 286. See also the extensive study of Brooten, *Women Leaders*.

[22] Key: \| indicates a line break; \|\| indicates the removal of irrelevant text; […] indicates reconstructed text.

[23] Griffiths, "Rise of the Synagogue," 11–12, points out that the pylon here would also have been a common feature of Egyptian temples.

	// OGIS 101			
Nitriai	*CIJ* 1442 // *JIGRE* 25 // *SB* 7454	Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν προσευχὴν | καὶ τὰ συγκύροντα	144 (143 in CIJ)–116 BCE (*SB* 120/119–116 BCE)	Appurtenances (συγκύροντα)
Krokodilopolis-Arsinoe	*CPJ* 1532A // *JIGRE* 117 // *SB* 8939	Ἰου[δαῖ] | οι τὴν προ[σ]ε[υχὴν]	246–221 BCE	None
Berenice	*SEG* 17.823	συναγωγη || Ἰουδαίων || συναγωγῆς[24]	55/56 CE	Repairs
"Lower Egypt"[25]	*CIJ* 1449 // *JIGRE* 125 // *OGIS* 129	προσευχῆς || προσευχὴν	246–221 BCE according to JIGRE this is a 47–31 replacement of an original from 145–116 BCE	None
Unknown provenance	*JIGRE* 126 // *SB* 6832	προσευχὴν	1st or early 2nd century CE	None
Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh)	*JIGRE* 105	προσε[υχὴν]	Mid-2nd century BCE–early 2nd century CE	None
Palestine				
Jerusalem	*CIIP* 9 // *CIJ* 1404 // *SEG* 8.170	ἀ[ρ]χισυνάγωγος, υἱος ἀρχισυν[αγώ] | γου, υἱωνὸς ἀρχισυν[α]γώγου || συναγωγ[ὴ]ν	1st century BCE–1st century CE	Reading of the law, teaching commandments, guesthouse (ξενῶνα), rooms (δώματα), water installations (χρηστήρια τῶν ὑδάτων)[26]

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[24] Inge Nielsen notes here that synagogue is used for both the structure and the group; Nielsen, "Synagogue (*Synagogé*) and Prayerhouse (*proseuché*)," 67 n.13.

[25] Bought at Cairo, uncertain provenance.

[26] Clermont-Ganneau, "Découverte à Jérusalem," 194, suggests that it is known that ancient synagogues were associated with ritual baths ("On sait, d'autre part, que les antiques synagogues comportent souvent des bassins pour les bains rituels") although does not cite any evidence for this statement.

Greece				
Acmonia	*MAMA* 6 no. 264	ο[ἶ]κον ‖ ἀρχισυνάγωγος ‖ ἀρχισυνὰγωγος ‖ συναγωγὴν εὔνοιάν	1st–2nd century CE	None
Delos[27]	*IDel* 2328	Θεω Ὑψίστῳ	1st century BCE	None
	IDel 2329	προσευχῆι[28]		
	IDel 2330	Θεῶι | Ὑψίστωι		
	IDel 2331	Θεῳ | Ὑψίστῳ		
	IDel 2332	Ὑψίσ | τῳ		
	IDel 2333	-		
	Samaritan inscription 1	Ἰσραελεῖται	2nd century BCE	Records benefactions made at Gerizim
	Samaritan inscription 2[29]	Ἰσραηλῖται ‖ προσευχῇ[30]		
Black Sea				
Found at Kerč (Panticapaea)	*CIRB* 70 // *IJO* 1.BS5	π[ρο] | σευχῆς ‖ προσευ | χὴν ‖ συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων	81 CE	Manumission
Found at Kerč	*CIRB* 73 // *IJO* 1.BS6	[π]ροσευχῇ ‖ προσευχὴν ‖ συναγωγῆς τῶν | Ἰουδαίων	Late 1st–early 2nd century CE	Manumission
Found at Kerč	*CIRB* 71 // *IJO* 1.BS7	προσευ | χῆς ‖ προσευχῇ ‖ συναγω | γῆς τῶν Ἰουδαὶων καὶ θεὸν | σεβῶν	1st–2nd century CE	Manumission

[27] All the inscriptions recorded in *IDel* were found in (one nearby) a single structure, GD 80. Matassa, *Invention*, 46–52, suggests that there is nothing that explicitly identifies these inscriptions as Jewish; the final one (*IDel* 2333) has no associated terminology, although Matassa neglects to mention the presence of two rosettes on the marble fragment. An image can be found in Daniel Schindler, "Synagogue on Delos: Identification and Context" (MA diss., University of North Carolina, 2012), 46. On the importance of rosettes in ancient Jewish artwork, see Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic*, 8–11; idem., *Ancient Synagogues*, 471.

[28] Plassert – although Matassa, *Invention*, 46, translates this as an offering/prayer rather than prayer-house.

[29] Philippe Bruneau and Pierre Bordreuil, "Les Israélites de Délos et la juiverie délienne," *BCH* 106.1 (1982): 469, 471–474.

[30] Bruneau and Bordreuil "Les Israélites," 474–474, translate this as "ex-voto," i.e., a votive prayer rather than a prayer-house. They argue that this is the more likely translation with comparative examples from Delos but suggest that it is possible to translate the word as "Synagogue." See also Matassa, *Invention*, 54.

Found at Kerč	*CIRB* 72 // *IJO* 1.BS9	[συναγω]γῆς τῶν | [Ἰουδα]ίων	1ˢᵗ–2ⁿᵈ century CE	Manumission
Found on Taman' Peninsula (Phanagoria)	*IJO* 1.BS17	[προσευχῆς]	16/17 CE	Manumission
Found at Sennaya	*IJO* 1.BS18 // *SEG* 43.510	προσευχῆ || προ[σ]ευχὴν || συναγω[γῆ] | [ς] τῶν Ἰουδαί | ων	52 CE (51 CE in *SEG*)	Manumission
Found at Anapa (Gorgippia)[31]	*IJO* 1.BS20	προσευχῆι	41 CE	Manumission
Bought in Anapa[32]	*IJO* 1.BS24	προσευχ[ῆ]	1ˢᵗ–2ⁿᵈ century CE	Manumission
Bought in Anapa[33]	*IJO* 1.BS25	[προσευχ]ῆς	1ˢᵗ–2ⁿᵈ century CE	Manumission

5.3   Textual Evidence

5.3.1   Septuagint and Pseudepigrapha

The two most common terms used in the inscriptions mentioned above are προσευχη and συναγωγη. A brief survey of the texts which make up the Septuagint and "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha" demonstrates that for the most part, neither of these terms reflects structure in a technical sense. Συναγωγη appears in various contexts to describe the

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[31] See *IJO* 1.BS20, where the editors record that there are other examples of Jews taking oaths but invoking pagan deities, as the inscription contains a dedication to Zeus (Δία), Earth (Γῆν), and Sun (Ἥλιον). This entailed the freed slave to protection from those gods but did not mean that this person had to become part of the Jewish community or had any obligations to it. See *IJO*, 1:307. Erich Gruen notes that the use of προσευχῆι "makes it nearly certain that this is a Jewish document," especially as the inscription also uses the phrase "Θεῳ Ὑψίστῳ" or "God most high." The inclusion of such a document as Jewish potentially broadens one's understanding of what constituted a Jewish community; Erich S. Gruen, "Hellenism and Judaism: Fluid Boundaries," in Weiss et al., *Follow the Wise*, 53–70, 63. Lankcau, "Hypsistos," 873, argues that the identification of the inscribes is unclear, but rather that it may be evidence of a general belief in a "most high god," shared in by various groups around the ancient Mediterranean.

[32] Now lost.

[33] Now lost.

"congregation/assembly (of Israel/Judah/the Lord/Jacob/the people)."[34] The term is also used

to describe the "assembly of Korah."[35] Otherwise, specific groups are said to be συναγωγες

such as Hasideans, Maccabean rebels, scribes, evil doers/sinners, nations, dead (including

risen bones), children, and possibly musicians.[36] It elsewhere refers to military forces, both

mundane and supernatural.[37] Natural and artificial collections of objects can be said to be

συναγωγες, and non-human entities sometimes form "assemblies."[38] Only in a few cases does

the term appear to indicate a structure.[39]

A further term sometimes used is εκκλησια, often coupled with "of the

people/Lord/Israel/Judah/exiles/God."[40] It appears to refer to a particular time within the

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[34] LXX Exod 12:3, 6, 19, 47; 16:1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 22; 17:1; 34:31; 35:1, 4, 20; 39:2; Lev 4:13, 14, 15, 21; 8:3, 4, 5; 9:5; 10:3, 6, 17; 16:5, 17, 33; 19:2; 22:18; 24:14; Num 1:2, 16, 18; 8:9, 20; 10:2, 3, 7; 13:26; 14:1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 27, 35, 36; 15:14, 24, 25, 26, 33, 35, 36; 16:2, 3, 9, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 33; 17:7, 10, 12; 19:9, 20; 20:1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 22, 25, 27, 29; 22:4; 25:6, 7; 26:2, 9; 27:2, 3, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22; 31:13, 16, 26, 27, 43; 32:2, 15; 35:12, 24, 25; Deut 5:22; 33:4; Josh 9:15, 18, 19, 21, 27; 18:1; 20:3, 9; 22:16, 17, 20, 30; Judg [A] 20:1; 21:10, 13, 16; Judg 20:1; 21:10, 13, 16; 3 Kgdms 12:20, 21; 2 Chr 5:6; Add Esth 10:3; 1 Macc 14:28; Pss 7:8; 15:4; 73:2; 110:1; Prov 5:14; Sir 1:30; 4:7; 24:23; 41:18; 46:14; Pss. Sol. 10:7; 17:16, 43, 44; Obad 13; Isa 56:8; Jer 33:17; 38:13; 51:15; Sus 41, 60; Sus [Th] 41, 60. In some cases, the term is used in the LXX without a Hebrew parallel in the MT. In other cases, the MT uses the following from most to least common in usage: כָּל־ , קָהָל , עֵדָה בְּנֵי.

[35] Exod 38:22; Num 16:5, 6, 11, 16, 19, 24; 26:9, 10; 27:3; Sir 45:18. Cf. the assembly of Abiram in Ps 105[106]:17, 18.

[36] Hasideans (1 Macc 2:42); Maccabean rebels (1 Macc 3:44); scribes (1 Macc 7:12); evil doers/sinners (Pss 21:17; 85:14; Sir 16:6; 21:9); nations (Gen 28:3; 35:11; 48:4; Jer 27:9; Zeph 3:8; Ezek 26:7); the dead (Prov 21:16; Ezek 37:10); children (Jer 6:11); musicians? (Jer 38:4).

[37] Isa 22:6; Ezek 27:27, 34; 32:22; 38:4, 7, 13, 15; Dan 11:10, 11, 12, 13.

[38] Rocks (Job 8:17); water (Gen 1:9; Lev 11:36; Isa 19:6; 37:25; Sir 43:20); hands (Dan 8:25); money (Sir 31:3); animals (Judg 14:8; Ps 67:31); divine beings (Ps 81:1).

[39] A fortress? (Zech 9:12); a structure for assembly (Sus 28, 52 [perhaps a group], each in the Old Greek version). Carsten Claußen, "Meeting, Community, Synagogue – Different Frameworks of Ancient Jewish Congregations in the Diaspora," in Olsson and Zetterholm, *Ancient Synagogue*, 144–167, 151 additionally suggests that Num 16:24 refers to a building. The LXX uses συναγωγη twice, in the first instance where the MT uses עֵדָה and in the second instance, where the MT uses מְשָׁכַּן. Thus, συναγωγη appears to stand in the place of another term for a structure. That said, I would suggest that this is not a case where the term is used as a stand in for a structure but follows the other cases where LXX Numbers references to a συναγωγη of Korah [see fn. 35].

[40] Deut 23:2, 3, 4, 9; 31:30; Josh 9:2; Judg [A] 20:2; 21:5, 8; Judg 20:2; 21:5, 8; 1 Kgdms 17:47; 19:20; 3 Kgdms 8:14, 22, 55, 65; 1 Chr 13:2, 4; 28:2, 8; 29:1, 10, 20; 2 Chr 1:3, 5; 6:3, 12, 13; 7:8; 10:3; 20:5, 14;; 23:3; 28:14; 29:23, 28, 31, 32; 30:2, 4, 13, 17, 23, 24, 25; Ezra 2:64; 10:1, 8, 12, 14; Neh 5:7, 13; 7:66; 8:2, 17; 13:1; Jdt 6:16, 21; 7:29; 14:6; 1 Macc 2:56; 4:59; 5:16; 14:19; Pss 21:23, 26; 25:12; 34:18; 39:10; 67:27; 88:6; 106:32; 149:1; Prov 5:14; Job 30:28; Sir 15:5; 21:17; 23:24; 24:2; 31:11; 33:19; 38:33; 39:10; 44:15; 46:7; 50:13, 20; Pss. Sol. 10:6; Mic 2:5; Joel 2:16; Lam 1:10; T. Job 32:8; cf. Latin terms in LAB 11.8 (*ecclia*); 16:7 (*synagoga/e*); 17:4 (*synagoga*); 22:5 (*synagogue*) 25:6 (*synagoga*); 28:4 (*congregatione*); 29:3 (*synagogam*) – (Vat.lat.488) for the assembly.

phrase τη ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.[41] The term seems to denote a military group in First

Maccabees 3:13, although they are also called πιστῶν ("faithful"). Very rarely, it is used to

describe a group of evildoers.[42] Προσευχη ("prayer-house") is quite uncommon; while the

Jerusalem Temple is called a προσευχη this may be a translation for "house of prayer" (בבית

פִלָּתִי‎ in Isa 56:7 cf. Isa 60:7; 1 Macc 7:37; Matt 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46). Otherwise,

there are two instances of a τόπος προσευχῆς ("place of prayer," 1 Macc 3:46 – at Mizpah; 3

Macc 7:20 – the phrase inscribed on a στήλη ["pillar"]). Outside of the Jerusalem Temple and

some competing cultic centres, there is little evidence for a concept of a purpose-built

communal structure in the Septuagint and Pseudepigrapha.

5.3.2   Dead Sea Scrolls (Qumran Library)

Several texts found in the Qumran library mention activities related to communal

meetings, and/or physical structures designed for communal purposes. These include passages

in the Community Rule (1QS), the War Scroll (1QM) and the Damascus Document (CD cf.

4Q266; 4Q270; 4Q271). Firstly, the Community Rule column six contains a reference to the

"meeting of the many" (מושב הרבים). These meetings appear to refer to nightly meetings which

include reading, study and blessings.[43] The document then goes on to describe the rules for

these meetings which varied between manuscripts.[44] These rules appear to have been adapted

from a rule code like that known in CD 14:3–6.[45] A similar code of conduct for the meetings

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[41] Deut 4:10; 9:10; 18:16.
[42] Ps 25:5 cf. Sir 26:5.
[43] Hempel, *Community Rules*, 176.
[44] For instance, the rules section appears to be shorter in 4Q256 and 4Q258 than in 1QS; Hempel, *Community Rules*, 178.
[45] Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts*, 34–35.

of the Essenes is described by Josephus (*War* 2.132).[46] Other night-time meetings include

those of the Therapeutae [see 5.3.3]. The "many" appear to be full members of an in-group.[47]

There are at least three terms which may refer to purpose-built structures: לבית מועד ("meeting

house") (1QM 3:4); בית השתחות ("house of prostration") (CD 11:22); and בבית התורה ("house

of the law") (CD 20:10, 13). Of these terms, the "meeting house" likely refers to the

Jerusalem Temple.[48] Yet as it is the place where the "chiefs of the fathers of the congregation"

(ראשי אבות העדה) meet, which might suggest that it refers to an alternative structure. Brian

Schultz argues that these people are those mentioned in 1QM 2:3, and thus to some group of

temple officials.[49] Against this, the "chiefs of the fathers of the congregation" are only one of

the groups mentioned in the text. The words written on the associated trumpet in this verse

indicate a connection between this group, the "meeting house" and תעודות אל לעצת פודש

("God's directives for the holy council").[50] As such, an associated phrase for the "chiefs of the

fathers of the congregation" involves some kind of legal instruction and may indicate that the

"meeting house" is a communal structure rather than the Jerusalem Temple. The "house of

prostration" appears to be a clearer reference to the Jerusalem Temple.[51] While this

expression is a *hapax legomenon* to the non-biblical Qumran material, the associated text lists

practices linked to the temple cult.[52] This text is included by some scholars in their

discussions of "synagogues" but as those attending are required to wash, the session is

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[46] Hempel, *Qumran Rule Texts*, 36, suggests that this is similar to "Greco-Roman cultic associations" although see comments below [5.5].
[47] Schofield, *Qumran to the Yaḥad*, 144–147.
[48] Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, STDJ 76 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 247.
[49] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 246.
[50] See *DSSSE* 1:116–117.
[51] Hempel, *Damascus Document*, 154, notes that "it is unclear whether it [the house of worship] refers to the Jerusalem temple, to a sectarian place of worship, or to a synagogue."
[52] Hempel, *Damascus Document*, 155. Harrington, "Holiness," 750, notes that in CD 12:1–2, Jerusalem's holiness follows the paradigm of the wilderness camp.

announced by trumpets, and the following passage discusses the temple city, it appears that it

probably refers to the Jerusalem Temple.[53]

5.3.3   Philo[54]

Philo employs several terms for Jewish communal structures. He uses προσευχη

("prayer-house") in only two works but a total of nineteen times, ἱερα ("temple") six times

across six of his works, ἐκκλησια ("assembly") six times across five of his works, συναγωγη

("synagogue/gathering") five times across four works, διδασκαλεια ("teaching-house") four

times across four of his works, συνοδος ("assembly") three times across two works συλλογον

("association") twice across two works, and περιβολος ("sacred garden wall"), προσευκτηρια

("place of prayer"), σεμνειον ("temple"), and τοπος ("place" here specifically in the context

of a sacred structure) once each.[55] This language appears in twelve writings of Philo's corpus,

and only four of these contain more than three relevant terms. Thus, Philo's references to

Jewish communal structures are rather limited in scope.

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[53] Avi Solomon, "The Prohibition against Ṭevul Yom and Defilement of the Daily Whole Offering in the Jerusalem Temple in CD 11:21–12:1: A New Understanding," *DSD* 4.1 (1997): 1–20. For the proposition that this structure as a "synagogue," see Steven Fine, "From Meeting House to Sacred Realm: Holiness and the Ancient Synagogue," in Fine, *Sacred Realm*, 21–47, 23. However, Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document*, 144–156, argues that the rules of behaviour and purity requirements for the Jerusalem Temple are mapped onto communal meetings in the Damascus Document. The rationale appears to be that the presence of angels in the communal meetings requires such preparation. Wassen discusses the exclusion criteria in CD 15 and compares this with 1QSa 2:3–9 and 1QM 7:3–6. Purity may have been an issue for general Jewish communal meetings outside of the movements behind many of the DSS, but the rationale may be slightly different. It could be based on the acknowledgement of holy materials used in the meetings, such as Torah scrolls.

[54] Many of the following texts are discussed in Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 82–84; Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 70–72.

[55] Philo mentions various suitable places for men to gather in war and peace. These include marketplaces (ἀγοραὶ), council halls (βουλευτήρια), law courts (δικαστήρια), gatherings (θίασοι) and meetings (σύλλογοι) (*Spec. Laws* 3.169). Similar lists of venues are noted in *Abraham* 20 and *Names* 198 where men speak foolishly. These lists also include theatres (θέατρα). Of note here are the gatherings and meetings, which sometimes are used for Jewish gatherings but not exclusively.

Προσευχη is only used by Philo with reference to structures in Egypt (confined to the works, *On the Embassy to Gaius* and *Against Flaccus*). He further uses προσευκτήρια in *Moses* 2.215–216. Beyond this, Philo tends to use ἱερα (*Dreams*, *Flaccus*, *Good Person*, *Moses*, *Spec. Laws*, *Unchangeable*) to refer to various Jewish "temples" that are clearly not the Jerusalem Temple. These could be understood to be other sacrificial cult centres similar to Leontopolis, but the practice of the Therapeutae is similar to other descriptions of non-temple communal activity and is also said to take place in a temple (*Good Person* 80–83). Philo expounds using the example of a woman (presumably Jewish) visiting a temple in Alexandria (*Spec. Laws* 3.171). He further uses the term ἐκκλησια to refer to a Jewish assembly.[56] This term is often combined with ἱερᾶς to indicate the holiness of the community, alluding to its perceived religious nature (*Dreams* 2.184, 187; *Migr.* 69; *Spec. Laws* 1.325, which lists some restrictions on who can attend an assembly, noting that it is a ἱεροῦ συλλόγου "holy gathering;" *Unchangeable* 111 citing Deut. 23:1; *Virtues* 108). The "assembly" incorporates rules for participation in the temple cult and seems to apply these rules to other assemblies that are not explicitly sacrificial. The term συναγωγη features in a few texts (*Agriculture* 44 citing Num 27:16–17; *Dreams* 2.127; *Embassy* 311; *Good Person* 81), although Stephen Catto points out that most instances where Philo uses συναγωγη follow the Septuagint translation.[57] Concerning the use of the term for the Essenes (*Good Person* 81), Heather McKay notes that "it is important to notice that, from the way Philo introduces the word, συναγωγαί, 'which they call synagogues', it is evident that the word 'synagogue' is not his own word; rather, he describes *their institution* by the name *they* give it – synagogue."[58]

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[56] On Philo's use of ἐκκλησια, see Ralph J. Korner, "*Ekklēsia* as a Jewish Synagogue Term: Some Implications for Paul's Socio-Religious Location," *JJMJS* 2 (2015): 66–69.

[57] Catto, *Reconstructing*, 17.

[58] Heather A. McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue: The Question of Sabbath Worship in Ancient Judaism*, RGRW 122 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 75.

Διδασκαλεια are teaching or instructional centres. Philo writes that in these places the law is taught on the seventh day (*Decalogue* 40; *Spec. Laws* 2.62; προσευχαι are described as διδασκαλεια in *Moses* 2.216). Συναγωγαι are identified as teaching centres in the report of Augustus' letter to the governors of Asia (*Embassy* 312). Συνοδος is used by Philo to describe the assembly of the Therapeutae (*Contempl. Life* 40), and according to Augustus' decree Jewish meetings in general are συνοδοι (*Embassy* 312, 316).[59] This can be compared with the συνοδοι that Flaccus banned which Philo describes as being devoted to drunken behaviour which gave way to political intrigue (*Flaccus* 4, 136 cf. the "clubs Isidorus held" in 137). The rest of the terminology employed was also used for non-Jewish sacred places (περιβολος, σεμνειον, τεμενος ["sacred precinct"] and τοπος). This may indicate that Philo tried to convey a similar sense of what these places were for, or that he wished to convey a sense of respect for Jewish communal places.

Philo's extensive vocabulary for Jewish communal structures may reflect the varied terminology in antiquity and should caution against over-synthesising these diverse references into a single type of institution. However, much of the reported material is quite similar. Sabbath meetings happen in διδασκαλεια (*Decalogue* 40; *Moses* 2.215–216; *Spec. Laws* 2.61–64), προσευκτηρια (*Moses* 2.215–216) and a κοινον ("common") συλλογον (*Contempl. Life* 30–33). The law is read in διδασκαλεια (*Decalogue* 40) and συναγωγια (*Dreams* 2.125–127; *Good Person* 81). There are certain restrictions on who can enter ἐκκλησια (*Migr.* 69; *Spec. Laws* 1.325; *Virt.* 108) and ἱερα (*Unchangeable* 8). There was a degree of commonality between these differently named structures, although in the broadest sense this is an inevitable consequence of grouping all these terms under the general label "purpose-built Jewish

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[59] On the Therapeutae as Philo's demonstration of the upstanding symposia of the Jews, see Maren R. Niehoff, "The Symposium of Philo's Therapeutae: Displaying Jewish Identity in an Increasingly Roman World," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 50.1 (2010): 95–116.

communal structures." Despite this commonality, these places were "flexible" in terms of practice.[60] Thus, Philo gives us a broad notion that Jews in many places and under many different names regularly gathered to conduct certain activities. Further, these places were open to certain dedications involving Roman rulers but drew the line at incorporating statues of these rulers.[61]

Table 10 – References to Jewish Communal Structures Known from Philo

Work	Verse(s)	Terminology	Notes
Agriculture	44	συναγωγῆς... συναγωγὴ	Quotation from Num 27:16–17, about the congregation of the Lord
Contempl. Life	30–33	κοινὸν σύλλογον… κοινόν τοῦτο σεμνεῖον	Therapeutae, meet on the seventh day, sit according to age. Wisest gives instruction. The sanctuary has a double enclosure, which sets apart women and men, divided by a wall of 3 or 4 cubits high with a gap for sound
	40	συνόδους	Common assemblies of the Essenes where they meal as being virtuous compared with others
Decalogue	40	ἱερῶν νόμων διδασκαλεῖα	Moses gave the law to thousands so that they might spend time learning the laws at a given time. Meet on seventh day in an assembly to hear the law cf. *Creation* 128
Dreams	1.96	ἱεροῖς	In a discussion of Exod 22.26–27, notes that a poor person can expect compassion at temples
	2.125–127	συναγωγίοις… θίασον	Reading holy books and expounding on them as usual practice in regular company, this is prefaced by a section on an Egyptian official attempting to prohibit laws around the Sabbath

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[60] Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, "Jewish Worship and Universal Identity in Philo of Alexandria," in Frey, Schwartz and Gripentrog, *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, 29–53, 48, lists the main practices as: meetings, teaching traditions, praise, prayer, and singing.
[61] Leonhardt-Balzer, "Jewish Worship," 47.

	2.184	συλλόγου καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἱερᾶς	On a eunuch who is cut off from the congregation and holy assembly, cf. Deut 23:1
	2.187	ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας	High priests required as the officials of the holy assembly
Embassy	132, 134, 137, 152, 156, 157, 165, 346	προσευχάς	Prayer-houses attacked in anti-Semitic outbursts
	138, 148	προσευχαῖς	
	137 cf. 139	τεμένη	Mobs attempting to have prayer-houses turned into sacred precincts for Gaius Caesar
	191	προσευχῶν… πανιέρου	Speaking in defence of prayer-houses to the one who destroys holy places
	311	συναγώγια	Augustus sent a letter to governors of Asia, permitting assembly
	312	συνόδους… διδασκαλεῖα	The gatherings of the Jews are not for drunken feasts, but for the learning of virtue
	316	συνόδων… συμφοιτήσεις	In a letter from G. Norbanus Flaccus, while "meetings" are restricted this would not affect the gatherings of the Jews for first-fruit collections and religious observance
	371	προσευχή	Fear that if the delegation failed, then "prayer-houses" everywhere would be attacked
Flaccus	4	συνόδους	Clubs devoted to drinking and feasting that Flaccus banned
	41, 48	προσευχαῖς	Flaccus commanding images to be installed in prayer-houses, fighting for the preservation of the prayer-houses
	45	προσευχῶν	Overthrowing of the synagogues of Alexandria would lead to trouble throughout Egypt then then across the Mediterranean suggesting Jewish communal structures were known to be distributed commonly

	47, 53, 122	προσευχὰς	Concerns about more widespread furore in prayer-houses outside of Alexandria, further the prayer-houses in Alexandria
	48	ἱεροὺς περιβόλους	Sacred buildings for the purpose of showing gratefulness to benefactors cf. 123 (public and private buildings, δημοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν περιβόλων)
	49	προσευχαί	Throughout the world, reverence for Augustus can be seen in prayer-houses
	51	ἱερῶν	Other temples in the city devoted to honouring the emperor, these are only compared with Jewish structures
	136	σύνοδοι… θίασοι	The "clubs" of Isidorus who also were prohibited by Flaccus
	137	θιάσοις	
Good Person	80–83	εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἳ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί (81)	Essenes, study of their fathers, arrange in rows according to age, younger below elder. One reads aloud and another interprets
	85	θιάσους	The Essenes dwell together in a community
Hypothetica	7.12–13	εἰς ταυτὸν ἠξίου συνάγεσθαι	The Essenes assemble in the same place every seven days to hear the laws, priest present or an elder to read and expounds upon them
	11.2	προαίρεσις… ἑκουσίοις	Essenes have a "persuasion" or "vocation" which is not a descriptive mark of voluntary "associations"
	11.5	θιάσους	Essenes live together in an association
Migration	69	ἐκκλησίας ἱερᾶς	Lists those who are excluded from the assembly citing Deut 23:1–8. Similar to *Spec. Laws* 1.325
Moses	2.215–216	προσευκτήρια… διδασκαλεῖα	Instruction on the seventh day, Steven Fine notes that this passage lacks any mention of Sabbath prayer.[62]

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[62] Fine, "From Meeting House," 22.

Spec. Laws	1.78	ταμεῖα τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων	Money deposited in a centre to then be sent to the temple
	1.325	ἐκκλησίαις... ἱεροῦ συλλόγου	Certain laws keeping assemblies sacred, keeping "effeminate men" and those with crushed genitals, prostitutes from attending
	2.61–64	διδασκαλεῖα	Every seventh day study of virtue, every city had schools where virtues are taught
	3.171	ἱερὸν	Women going to a temple in Alexandria
Unchangeable	8	ἱερὰ (twice)	One should be pure in body and mind before entering temples. Here one becomes pure in body by bathing
	17	ἱερῶν ἁγιστείας	Sacred temples are among a list of things which the "self-lovers" have no regard for
	111	ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἱερᾶς	The mind which loves the body is excluded from the assembly, cf. Deut. 23:1–8
Virtues	108	ἐκκλησίαν	Inclusion of gentiles who come into the Jewish community, welcomed fully after the 3rd generation

5.3.4   Josephus[63]

Josephus has a more restricted vocabulary than Philo for Jewish communal structures.

He uses προσευχη ("prayer-house") to refer to three separate structures in *Against Apion*,

Antiquities and *Life* (three uses for a single structure), ἱερα ("temples") four or possibly five

times across *Against Apion*, *Antiquities* and *War*, συνοδος ("gathering") three times for

meetings in otherwise named structures, and once for an assembly of Galileans at Arbel, and

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[63] Many of the following texts are discussed in Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 48, 50, 76; Jeska, "Josephus und die Archäologie," 124; Lee I. Levine, "The Nature and Origin of the Palestinian Synagogue Reconsidered," *JBL* 115.3 (1996): 425–448, 430.

once again for a gathering of Samaritans at Gerizim.[64] Josephus uses τοπος ("place") twice in

Antiquities to refer to places where Jews can gather to decide their own affairs, both in his

reports of Roman Acta. Σαββατειον ("Sabbath-house(?)") is used once while conveying an

Augustan decree concerning the meeting places of the Jews of Asia (*Ant*.). One structure in

Caesarea Maritima is called a συναγωγη ("synagogue") three times in *Antiquities* (cf. two

times in *War*), as is a structure in Antioch (*War*). Josephus uses θιάσοι ("associations") to

refer to the gatherings of the Jews of Delos, although in this case he allegedly reports the

language of Roman officials (*Ant*. 14.215–216) [see 5.5]. Andrew Krause suggests that all of

these terms were used "to refer to the same institution for Josephus" and that this can be

understood as a rhetorical choice.[65] In *Antiquities*, Josephus presents the "synagogue" as an

ancient institution, the place where the Jews practise their ancestral customs.[66] In *Life*,

Josephus relays his own experiences; these structures are used for assembly, fasting and

communal meals.[67] Furthermore, with reference to the προσευχη in Tiberias, Josephus

provides an insight into the range of activities that took place in public structures (*Life* 293–

303).[68] In *Against Apion*, Josephus presents these structures as teaching venues for the

instruction of the Law, while in *War*, they are holy and important places whose destruction

shows the effects of the First Jewish War.[69] Josephus frequently mentions the existence of the

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[64] These second two gatherings could have been in purpose-built structures although there is no reason or textual support which suggests that they had to.

[65] Andrew R. Krause, *Synagogues in the Works of Flavius Josephus: Rhetoric, Spatiality, and First-Century Jewish Institutions*, AJEC/AGJU 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 7, 33.

[66] Krause, *Synagogues*, 36.

[67] Krause, *Synagogues*, 132.

[68] Whether these activities were typical or exceptional due to the imminent crisis is unclear, but changing situations demanded changes in the use of structures [see 4.3.1.6.4]. Martin Goodman notes that in this example, religious matters and politics are mixed. See Martin Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A.D. 132– 212*, Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies (Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 121.

[69] Krause, *Synagogues*, 145, 168.

ἐκκλησια ("assembly") but this always seems to be a kind of public gathering rather than a

built structure.[70]

Josephus seems to consistently use one term for a given structure. The building in

Caesarea is only ever called a συναγωγη while the structure of Tiberias is always a προσευχη.

The words ιερα, προσευχη, σαββατειον, συνοδος, τοπος and θιάσοι, are all words reported by

Josephus to have been used by non-Jewish officials or authors.[71] Josephus himself, at least

where the words are not identified as those of another, uses only ἐκκλησια, ιερα (possibly),

προσευχη, συναγωγη and συνοδος. This more restrictive vocabulary may reflect the

terminology employed by Jews for their own structures, or simply for someone of Josephus'

class. From the limited data it is uncertain, although it is a fact worth noting that non-Jewish

authors apparently used a wider set of terminology than a Jewish author, even if Josephus did

not correct or change these.[72]

Table 11 – References to Jewish Communal Structures Known from Josephus

Work	Verse(s)	Terminology	Notes
Ag. Ap.	1.209	ιεροῖς	Sabbath practice of praying with outstretched hands in temples until the evening, according to Agatharchides. Josephus notes that while Agatharchides finds the practice ridiculous, others find it to be a noble practice.
	2.10	προσευχὰς	Apion notes that Moses built prayer-houses, which were open-aired, around Heliopolis, facing east. Containing pillars instead of obelisks, with model boats beneath them (11). Josephus then comments on the narrative of Moses' Tabernacle, and Solomon's temple. Josephus is not directly commenting on prayer-houses as such, but that Apion misrepresented Moses' sacred space.

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[70] Korner, "*Ekklēsia*," 64–65.

[71] Shaye J. D. Cohen, "The Temple and the Synagogue," *CHJ* 3:298–325, 301 n.8, notes that the use of the term "temple" reflects a solely gentile usage, citing the passage from Tacitus [see 5.3.6].

[72] The rather unusual term "Sabbath-house" may reflect a Semitic origin. Krause, *Synagogues*, 77, notes that while the term itself is otherwise unattested in the Second Temple period, it is found in later found in a 2nd century CE inscription (*CIJ* 2:752) and thus this is probably a reference to a "synagogue."

Ant.	14.215–216	κωλύων θιάσους συνάγεσθαι… θιάσους κωλύων… συνάγεσθαί	Jews of Delos forbidden to contribute money to common meals and rites, which they are able to do in Rome. Gaius Caesar forbade associations (215). While these are forbidden the Jews can still gather (216).
	14.235	σύνοδοω... τόπον ἴδιον	A place where the Jews of Sardis decide their own affairs.
	14.258	προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι… σύνοδοι… ἱεροποιίαι… ἱερὰ συντελεῖν	The Jews of Halicarnassus' gatherings. In combination with their sacred services. A place for Men and women to observe sabbaths.
	14.260–261	συνάγωνται… τόπον… οἰκοδομίαν καὶ οἴκησιν	Jews of Sardis come together, to have their own place and having food brought to them.
	16.164	σαββατείου	A decree of Augustus for the Jews of Asia, punishment for those who steal from a Jewish structure.
	19.300	Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν	Man from Dora bringing an image to the "synagogue" of Caesarea, cf. *War* 2.285–291.
	19.305	συναγωγὴν Ἰουδαίων... συναγωγῆς	
Life	277	προσευχήν… μέγιστον οἴκημα… συνάγονται πάντες	Tiberias, a huge building, holding a large crowd, general assembly.
	279–280	σύνοδον… προσευχήν… συναγόμενον... σύνοδος	This all on the Sabbath, breaking for a midday meal, but reconvened the following day.
	293	προσευχήν	War council held. A further meeting the following day. Prayer taking place.
	311	σύνοδον τῶν Γαλιλαίων	Josephus convenes a meeting of Galileans to report from Jerusalem in Arbel.
War	2.285	συναγωγὴν	The "synagogue" of Caesarea, awkward passageway due to construction of the owner of the land.
	2.289	συναγωγὴν	Sabbath assembly.
	2.290–291	μεμιασμένου	Area was desecrated due to sacrifice of birds. Various ages present as the youth are singled out for wanting conflict. Copy of the law held at the place.

3.307–308	συμφορῶν … σύνοδος	A gathering of the Samaritans on Gerizim. They were holding out militarily, in a movement similar to Masada, although very unsuccessful due to water shortage.
4.408	ἱεροῖς	Bandits falling upon temples throughout Judea.
7.44–45	συναγωγὴν… ἱερὸν	Antiochus Epiphanes' successors restored to the Jews of Antioch in their "synagogue" their offerings and granted them citizenship. If the temple in v.45 indicates this same structure, then it also has splendid adornment. However, it may be the Jerusalem Temple.
7.144	ἱεροῖς	Temples set fire in the images of the triumphal procession of Vespasian. This may indicate the burning of the Jerusalem Temple, but the plural seems to indicate multiple temples

5.3.5   Egyptian Papyri

Very few features of Jewish communal structures are recorded in Egyptian papyri. Two papyri are known from Krokodilopolis (Arsinoe), while another has been found in Alexandrou-Nesos. There is a fourth reference to a Jewish communal structure in a papyrus with no clear provenance. This last papyrus combines προσευχη with συναγωγη to indicate the group which meets inside the structure. These uniformly use the term προσευχη, usually in combination with Ιουδαιων to clearly indicate the structures' association with Jewish communities. This can be compared with the inscriptional evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt, which also employs the same term – προσευχη. This may reflect regional usage. Philo also only uses the term to refer to Jewish communal structures in Egypt and nowhere else.

Table 12 – References to Jewish Communal Structures Known from Papyri

Origin	Inscription Reference	Text[73]	Date	Features

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[73] Key: | indicates a line break; || indicates the removal of irrelevant text; […] indicates reconstructed text.

Krokodilopolis-Arsinoe	*CPJ* 134 cols. II and III	II – προσευ(χή) ‖ προσευχῆς Ἰουδαίων III – προσευχῆς Ἰουδαίων	Late 2nd century BCE	Possibly with associated sacred land[74] but little else, there may be two structures mentioned in this document.
	CPJ 432[75]	Ἰ[ου]δαίων προσευχῆς	113 CE	Possibly two structures, each supplied with water.[76]
Alexandrou-Nesos (Fayum)	*CPJ* 129	προσευχῆι τῶν Ἰου ‖ δαίων	11th May 218 BCE	None.
Unknown provenance	*CPJ* 138	συναγωγῆς ἐν τῆι προσευχῆι ‖ σ[ύνοδον] ‖ [σ]υνόδου ‖ συνόδου	Second half of 1st century BCE	None.

5.3.6   Greco-Roman Authors

A few Greco-Roman sources contain some references to Jewish communal structures,

but on the whole, there is little information. Juvenal (*Satires* 3.296) mentions a *proseucha*

which has sometimes been assumed to be Jewish.[77] Cleomedes (*De Motu* 2.1.91) notes that

certain phrases come from a Jewish προσευχη in an anti-Semitic passage. He further suggests

that the language may come from beggars in the courtyard of such a structure.[78] Artemidorus

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[74] See the commentary in Gordon, *Land and Temple*, 130–131, here suggesting that the sacred land may not have been attached to the structure, but simply adjacent to it.

[75] Two institutions are mentioned. In line 57, the leader of the Thebian Jews pays for water supply. In line 60 a εὐχείον pays the same amount. Alexander Fuks determines that this εὐχείον is also a Jewish institution because it pays the same fee. I am unsure that this second institution should also be understood as a Jewish religious group. See *CPJ* 432 (p.221).

[76] The notes in *CPJ* show that the "synagogues" pay 128 drachma each month for water supplied, whereas this is nearly twice the amount paid by a bathhouse also mentioned in the papyrus. This may indicate that the structure used a great deal of water, or that its rates were quite high; *CPJ* 432 (pg. 221). Aryeh Kasher suggests that this high water bill could be evidence of ritual immersion pools, handwashing basins and possibly even water supply for neighbours of the structure; Kasher, "Synagogues as 'Houses of Prayer'," 217.

[77] McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 121. For the text, see Braund, LCL, 190–191, who translates *proseucha* as "synagogue."

[78] Robert B. Todd and Alan C. Bowen, eds. and trans., *Cleomedes' Lectures on Astronomy: A Translation of the Heavens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 125; Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue,* 265–266.

(*Oneirocritica* 53) uses the term προσευχη twice.[79] Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.5) mentions the *templis* of the Jews where statues are forbidden.[80] Whether Tacitus was drawing on his direct knowledge of any such structures or recalling the crisis under Gaius and Flaccus where attempts were made to place statues in such structures is unclear. Tacitus may simply be relaying the narrative about the lack of a cultic image in the Jerusalem Temple and applying this to a general Jewish aniconism. The information gained from these sources suggests that such structures may have included open spaces, and that they were not places for statues.

5.3.7   Summary

This discussion demonstrates the sheer variety of terms which were used in the late Second Temple period for communal structures. It is also clear that different authors used them for different rhetorical purposes, and that while there is broad agreement between authors over some of the activities which took place inside such structures, these agreements only marginally coincide between particular pieces of evidence. If these structures did not share a name, scholars might consider them to be quite different from the details of their associated activities and features. As προσευχη was used more in the Diaspora and συναγωγη was used more in Palestine, Lee Levine suggests that "the synagogue in Judaea was thus designated by a term denoting a place of gathering; it was primarily a communal institution whose religious profile was perhaps less prominent than that of its Diaspora counterpart."[81] This distinction might not be secure as the terms are clearly interchanged by Philo and

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[79] McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*, 126, 127. See also Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*, 264–264.
[80] Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogues*, 266–267.
[81] Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 128.

Josephus, even if Josephus seems to consistently label a given city's structure. The term συναγωγη has no etymological association with a religious act whereas προσευχη does. This linguistic fact may reflect more of the surrounding culture than a clear distinction between the two principal terms. As far as we are aware, there were no non-Jewish prayer-houses, shrines or temples within the territory of the Hasmonean kingdom, and Herod chose to build his temples outside of regions which had been predominantly Jewish [see 1.2.2].

These terms may have referred to distinct institutions and no evidence seems to suggest that a Jew from Galilee might be familiar with what went on in a προσευχη in Egypt. It is likely that there were variations on synagogue practice within ancient Judaism, with different communities participating in different activities within a similar setting.[82] What can be said to some degree is that in all the sources there is an idea of communal practice, often prayer, study or reading which forms the highest level of communal participation in Jewish communities. We do not know how widespread these types of institution were; it is likely that many settlements across the ancient world had some form of communal space. I will now consider how this evidence indicates a multiplicity of forms and practices in Jewish communal structures and examine whether comparative analysis of other ancient community groups can offer anything to an analysis of Galilean communal space.

5.4   The Introduction of Jewish Communal Structures

The above discussion has presented the range of terms which were employed for Jewish communal structures. This terminological variance reflects the fact that the evidence does not

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[82] Similarly, Cohen, "Temple and the Synagogue," 298, suggests that "the synagogue is an amalgamation of three separate institutions: a prayer-house, a study-hall or school, and a community centre."

show the existence of a single typology for Jewish communal structures, or a clear set of

activities which would be practised in every communal structures. In a similar way,

discussion of the "origin of the synagogue" also attests to this understanding of diverse

practices within ancient Jewish communal settings. This section analyses the multiple

suggestions for the beginning of institutions within Judaism that focussed on community

formation. There are a variety of explanations which try to give an account of the origin of the

"synagogue." The range of nomenclature for Jewish communal structures is one indicator that

such an institution did not begin at a single point, but rather, Jewish communities around the

ancient Mediterranean began to meet in purpose-built structures at various times and for

various purposes. If there was a common origin for these meeting places, where Jews met

with a clear idea of what they would be doing in such a meeting, then one might expect there

to have been no more than a handful of names given to such an institution. The scholarly

approach of describing all of these structures as "synagogues" amalgamises what was a

diverse category of structures, in diverse communities, that served diverse needs. Beyond a

few regional proclivities (such as the prevalent use of προσευχη in Ptolemaic Egypt) there

was no clearly distinguished terminology used which closely matched a distinct set of

practices. Therefore, I am given to think that Jewish communal structures were gradually

introduced when local groups required such a structure. These structures only later began to

exhibit a clear conceptual design which formalised the institution into the synagogue. This

"formalization" took place over centuries and was by no means a uniform process, which

largely falls beyond the scope of this thesis. What concerns us here is the earliest

archaeological evidence of what would later become a formalized institution. As such, there is

no evidence to suggest that there was a single "origin" of the "synagogue," but rather many *origins* for various community structures.[83]

5.4.1   Prior to the Hellenistic Period

In antiquity, Moses was often credited with beginning the practice of Sabbath worship, and secondarily, instituting a place for Sabbath meetings to take place.[84] This genealogy generates a sense of authority for such structures; their very foundation laid with a Mosaic instruction (e.g., *Ag. Ap.* 2.175; *Hypothetica* 7.12; *Moses* 2.215–216 cf. Acts 15:21). I am unaware of any recent scholarly proposals which argue this case. Regardless, at least in antiquity having specific places for Sabbath meetings and the instruction of the law was presented as being an old and distinguished form of Jewish practice. The sources (namely Philo and Josephus) which attest to the venerable origins of the institution were written over three centuries after our earliest evidence of Jewish prayer-houses in Ptolemaic Egypt, so from their perspective, some of these structures would have indeed being quite ancient. Modern critical scholarship once held that synagogues arose as an institution either during the Judean return from exile or before. J. Morgenstern presents three hypotheses which follow this mode. First, that the institution was developed in Babylonia during the exile. Second, the instruction was founded by Ezra in Jerusalem. Third, during Josiah's reforms as Morgenstern

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[83] For a thorough overview, see Birger Olsson, "The Origins of the Synagogue: An Introduction," in Olsson and Zetterholm, *Ancient Synagogue*, 27–36. This chapter details the key debates in scholarship and some areas of consensus covering the 1990s and early 2000s. Other excellent discussions of the various positions taken by scholars can be found in Hachlili, "Origin of the Synagogue," 34–37; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 23–39; Anders Runesson, "The Origins of the Synagogue in Past and Present Research – Some Comments on Definitions, Theories, and Sources," *ST* 57.1 (2003): 60–76, especially 62–67; *idem.*, *Origins*, 34–35. Krause, *Synagogues*, 15, nicely describes Runesson's theory as "polygenetic."
[84] Heather McKay argues against the direct connection between Sabbath observance and "synagogue" attendance in her work, see McKay, *Sabbath and Synagogue*.

argues that the "synagogue" *must* have developed out of the Jerusalem Temple in response to a major religious reform.[85] The "synagogue" has also been proposed to be a development of the Persian period city gate, although there is not direct continuum between the two public spaces.[86] Other opinions placed the first communal structures in Babylon during the 6th century BCE, which were then institutionalised after the return to Palestine.[87] These theories typically retrojected the question into the "biblical" period and tended to associate the beginning of communal meeting places with a specific person or event.[88] Such an institution required an extraordinary and venerable explanation, so various hypothetical impetuses were offered. None are particularly convincing, and these suggestions have been unable to account for the complete lack of textual or archaeological evidence for such structures that could be distinguished from sacrificial cult centres until the Hellenistic period.

5.4.2   Hellenistic Period Diaspora

The first concrete evidence for purpose-built communal structures appears to come from 3rd century BCE Ptolemaic Egypt. Lester Grabbe argues scholars should follow the evidence

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[85] J. Morgenstern, "The Origin of the Synagogue," in *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida,* vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto per l'oriente, 1956), 192–201.

[86] Lee I. Levine, "The First-Century Synagogue: Critical Reassessments and Assessments of the Critical," in Edwards, *Religion and Society*, 70–102, 94. Levine moves away from a prior article where he put forward the case for the development from the city gate. The article itself stated that there was a gap in the chronology but that the purposes of the buildings showed some significant overlap; Levine, "Nature and Origin," 432–436. However, see his comments in *idem*., "The Synagogue," *OHJDL*, 521–544, 523. On the public function of city gates in ancient Israel and the ancient Near East, see Cat Quine, "On Dying in a City Gate: Implications in the Deaths of Eli, Abner and Jezebel," *JSOT* 40.4 (2016): 400–403, principally on their role as places of judgement. See also the nine functions listed in Natalie N. May, "Gates and Their Function in Mesopotamia and Ancient Israel," in *The Fabric of Cities: Aspects of Urbanism, Urban Topography and Society in Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome*, eds. Natalie N. May and Ulrike Steinert, CHANE 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 77–121, these functions being: sacral space; installing monuments; public performances; royal public appearances; assembly; judicial activities; executions; marketplaces; places of control.

[87] Harold W. Turner, *From Temple to Meeting House: The Phenomenology and Theology of Places of Worship*, *RelSoc* 16 (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 96. Turner further notes the Josainaic reforms as a possible point of origin, and also the theory that there was a separate origin in the Egyptian diaspora.

[88] For an in-depth overview of origin theories prior to the Hellenistic period, see Runesson, *Origins*, 89–123.

and conclude that the "synagogue" originated where the earliest evidence is found –

Ptolemaic Egypt. The appearance of such structures in North Africa during this period may be

due to the distance to Jerusalem; the Leontopolis temple also seems to have been constructed

as a cult centre for those far away from the Jerusalem Temple. Conversely, the earliest

evidence for non-diasporic structures comes from the 1st century BCE at the earliest.[89] This

suggests that diasporic communities began to assemble in purpose-built structures prior to

those living in Palestine. It is uncertain whether these sites were sacrificial centres; for

instance, inscriptions recovered from the temple at Leontopolis also contain references to a

προσευχη and θεος ὑψιστος (*JIGRE* 105). The inscriptions found in Egypt have not been

associated with any known structures, so it may be that such structures did include sacrificial

elements. However, nothing from the inscriptions themselves suggests this as an activity, only

that their architectural features shared some elements with Egyptian temples.

5.4.3   Hasmonean Palestine

On the basis of arguments levied by Grabbe and J. Griffiths, Paul Flesher argues that the

"synagogue" was "imported from the larger Mediterranean world" into Palestine. This does

not have to have been the case. Rather the terminological differences between the Diaspora

"prayer-houses" and the "synagogues" could suggest that they developed due to different

needs and influences.[90] However, this terminological difference appears to be overstated. For

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[89] Lester L. Grabbe, "Synagogue and Sanhedrin in the First Century," in *HSHJ* 2, 1723–1745, 1726, 1745. There is no mention of "synagogue" structures in any of the Maccabean period literature or before. See *idem.*, "Synagogues in Pre-70 Palestine," 19–20.
[90] Flesher, "Palestinian Synagogues," 28. Flesher further argues that the literary and archaeological evidence suggests that "synagogues" were brought to Galilee because the communities there were at a distance from the temple, as at the time of writing, there were no clear examples of "synagogues" in Judea (39). Since then, a number of identified "synagogues" have been uncovered at Qiryat Sefer, Modi'in and Horvat Etri, see Levine,

instance, just from reading the works of Josephus, we are aware of a "synagogue" in Caesarea Maritima, but a "prayer-house" in Tiberias. There seems to be no apparent reason why one term was chosen over another, or any particular indication that one term indicated something that another term did not.

In agreement with Runesson, it seems to me that what one might call a "synagogue" functioned in a variety of different ways in different places at different times.[91] Eventually, some of these disparate institutions coalesced into the synagogue, which can be much more clearly defined from the Byzantine period. If, as many others seem to argue, the synagogue began as a community response to a single crisis or social impetus, then it is difficult to understand why the evidence for Jewish communal structures is so fragmentary between the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE. No single communal need appears to explain 3rd century BCE Ptolemaic structures and 1st century CE buildings around the Black Sea. Even the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple did not generate such an immediate prevalence in synagogue construction effort. It took centuries for the building to become commonplace.[92] Thus, I understand late Second Temple communal structures as being built and used for the purposes of a local community, rather than as a top-down programme of construction, or as a collective type of institution built for one specific purpose.

"First-Century Synagogue," 84–89. A further structure has been identified as a "synagogue" at Horvat Diab. This information was provided by Mordechai Aviam in a lecture, "Galilee of Antipas" (11/07/2018).

[91] Runesson, "Origins of the Synagogue," 68–72. Levine, "Nature and Origin," 426, approaches a similar point.

[92] Contra Gunnar Lehmann, who suggests that the appearance of "synagogues" was linked with the destruction of the temple and the decentralization cultic practice, which explains why they began to appear in the 1st century CE. Certain events seem to have "caused" a rise in the number of Jewish communal structures but there is no evidence to suggest that the destruction of the temple caused more "synagogue" construction than before to somehow replace the temple cult. This shift took place over centuries; Gunnar Lehmann, "Zwischen Umbruch und Tradition. Kultureller Wandel in Palästina während der römischer Kaiserzeit im Licht der archäologischen Quellen, ca. 40 v.u.Z. und 350 u.Z.," in Alkier and Zangenberg, *Zeichen aus Text und Stein*, 136–182, 158.

5.5   Jewish Communal Structures as Greco-Roman Associations

Scholars have proposed that Jewish communal meetings can be understood as a sub-category of Greco-Roman associations.[93] For instance, Richardson has suggested that, as the earliest evidence for "synagogues" comes from the Mediterranean Diaspora, they should be understood as Roman *collegia*. He argues that the types of activities associated with these early structures were often similar to those in Greco-Roman associations.[94] Evidence for this principally comes from Josephus. In *Antiquities* 14.215–216, Josephus records a supposed edict of Gaius Caesar which permits the Jews in Delos to "assemble and feast" as an exception to a ban on the gathering of "θιάσους" (a religious guild).[95] This passage appears to be the basis upon which scholars have supposed that in antiquity, synagogue gatherings were understood to be analogous to known associations in the Greco-Roman world. This passage is part of the so-called Acta, purported documents concerning Jewish legal protections under Roman rulers reproduced by Josephus. According to Miriam Ben Zeev, the Acta are recognised as "basically genuine: copies of copies of authentic Roman and Greek documents."[96] However, this may not inform us of how such meetings were understood;

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[93] Richard S. Ascough, "Paul, Synagogues, and Associations: Reframing the Question of Models for Pauline Christ Groups," *JJMJS* 2 (2015): 27–52; *idem.*, "Methodological Reflections on Synagogues and Christ Groups as 'Associations': A Response to Erich Gruen," *JJMJS* 4 (2017): 118–126. With different terminology but in a similar vein, see also Last, "Other Synagogues," 347, and response by Eckhardt, "Craft Guilds as Synagogues," 246–260.

[94] Richardson, "Pre-70 Synagogues," 111–133. Richardson expands upon this by discussing generally the Jewish voluntary associations of Hellenistic Egypt (including inscriptions, papyri and the excavations from Leontopolis). Further evidence from Philo's description of the Therapeutae (*On the Contemplative Life*) shows a significant overlap between the practices of the Therapeutae and *collegia*: giving up property; living in community; initiation; practices including oracles, prayer, meditation, reading, singing and meetings; sharing meals; observing vigils. See Peter Richardson, "Jewish Voluntary Associations in Egypt and the Roles of Women," in *Building Jewish*, 165–185, 179–180.

[95] Often used in association with Bacchic or Dionysian events or groups, see *LSJ*.

[96] Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, "Greek and Roman Documents from Republican Times in the *Antiquities*: What Was Josephus' Source?" *SCI* 13 (1994): 46–59; *idem.*, "Rights of Jews in the Roman World," *ESTJ* 2, 673–675, 673. See further Claußen, "Meeting, Community, Synagogue"; Krause, *Synagogues*, 55–89; Tessa Rajak, "Document and Rhetoric in Josephus: Revisiting the 'Charter' for the Jews," in *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism: Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume*, eds. Shaye J. D. Cohen and Joshua J. Schwartz,

Levine for instance writes that "the application of the term *collegium* to the synagogue seems

to have been one of Roman convenience and not necessarily reflective of a specific legal

framework."[97] Aside from this passage, Philo also pairs συναγωγίοις with θίασον (*Dreams*

2.127) and notes that during the seventh-day meetings of the Essenes, they go to ἱεροὺς

τόπους (sacred places) called συναγωγαί (*Good Person* 81). The Essenes are further said to

dwell in θιάσους, although importantly these are the groups in which they live in for the rest

of their lives, not only on the seventh day (*Good Person* 85 cf. *Hypothetica* 11.5). Flaccus

initially banned such associations in Alexandria (*Flaccus* 4 cf. 136–137) before also

attempting to prohibit "prayer-house" meetings (*Flaccus* 41). Philo's testimony does not

provide much support for the link between Jewish communal meetings and associations; only

the Essenes are said to live in such conditions, but their Sabbath meetings are not described in

such a way, and Flaccus' attack on associations does not include Jewish προσευχαι until they

refuse to install images. Outside of Jewish sources, Tacitus might be alone in describing

Jewish communal assemblies in a similar fashion. He only notes that the Jews eat together,

and records nothing else about any communal activities; his only comment on any Jewish

structures is that they do not allow statues (*Hist*. 5.5).

If there is little to join associations and "synagogues" together in our Jewish sources,

then what arguments are levied in support of this conjunction? Sandra Walker-Ramisch

defines voluntary associations as "an organized association of persons who come together on

a voluntary, contractual basis (rather than kinship, caste, national, or geographic association)

AJEC/AGJU 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177–189; Eilers, "Decree of Delos." Gruen, "Roman Perspectives," 27–42, offers a balanced view, suggesting that Roman authors appeared to have been generally indifferent to the Jews. See *ibid*., 30–31, especially on the Acta. See also *idem*., "Synagogues and Voluntary Associations as Institutional Models: A Response to Richard Ascough and Ralph Korner," *JJMJS* 3 (2016): 125–131, rejecting the notion that the Jews alone were permitted to assemble as this would likely have resulting in all other associations appealing the ban.

[97] Lee I. Levine, "Synagogues," in *EDEJ*, 1262.

in the pursuit of common interests, both manifest and latent. To the association each member

contributes, by contractual agreement, a part of his/her time and resources."[98] Walker-

Ramisch augments this definition slightly to note that there is no clear distinction between

voluntary and involuntary membership, that an association can be state-run, state-sponsored,

ignored by the state, or banned by the state, and that the association has some kind of

organisational structure.[99] Additionally, Nielsen details nine characteristics of Greco-Roman

religious associations. These include: voluntary membership with qualifiers; metaphorical

kinship language; group cohesion and support; group hierarchy; patronage; group decisions;

regular assembly; communal banquets; and cultic place within a purpose-built structure.[100]

Nielsen concludes her study noting that only the Essenes as described by Josephus, the

Therapeutae as described by Philo and some Diasporic Jewish communities "share a likeness

with religious associations."[101] More basically, Yonder Moynihan Gillihan defines ancient

associations as "social groups that form around a primary common interest."[102] Others, such

as Philip Harland and Richardson have discussed the links between "synagogues" and

"Greco-Roman associations" at length. They point out that these associations were extremely

varied as they created communities around shared household connections, members'

occupations, or cultic affiliations. The membership of associations could further be limited to

ethnic groups and geographic ties. These geographical connections could be both local and

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[98] Sandra Walker-Ramisch, "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and the Damascus Document: A Sociological Analysis," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, eds. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson (London: Routledge, 1996), 128–145, 131.

[99] Walker-Ramisch, "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations," 131. Walker-Ramisch compares this to the community described in the Damascus Document, and notes that while there is some degree of commonality, the separation from others required by the Damascus Document is distinct from the practices of voluntary associations (141).

[100] Nielsen, *Housing the Chosen*, 231.

[101] Nielsen, *Housing the Chosen*, 235.

[102] Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, "Associations," *ESTJ* 2, 86–88, 86.

non-local (i.e., based around a neighbourhood, or around a "country").[103] We should not

assume that members of the same association had similar levels of wealth.[104] Richardson in

particular argues that the identified "synagogues" from the late Second Temple period all

exhibit traits familiar to associations, although this typically takes the form of a central space

surrounded by benches. These structures and the descriptions of "synagogues" in late Second

Temple Jewish literature can parallel and model Greco-Roman associations in terms of

"architecture, functions, organization, popular perceptions, or legal status." Furthermore,

Richardson points out that Josephus' references to "synagogues" or "prayer-houses" are all in

settlements that have strong connections to the Greco-Roman world (i.e., Dor, Caesarea and

Tiberias).[105] Stronger support might be found in a comparison between the structures known

from Ptolemaic Egypt and other local groups.[106]

All of these definitions are essentially heuristic. As far as I am aware, no singular

category of "association" is clearly expressed in ancient Roman law which defines a clear and

unified conception that can include all the known groups, and structures thought to have been

used by such group, that are commonly called "Greco-Roman associations."[107] I recall here

the work of Lutz Doering, who has carefully cautioned against "parallelomania" in textual

comparisons.[108] In a similar manner, I am wary of generalising group meetings to such an

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[103] Philip A. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 29.

[104] Harland, *Associations, Synagogues*, 43.

[105] Richardson, "Architectural Case," 95, 104–105, 111–113. Richardson has elsewhere written more fully on this idea but that the "synagogue" was understood as a *collegia* in the diaspora. See *idem.*, "Pre-70 Synagogues as *Collegia*," 111–133. Anders Runesson, "Synagogues without Rabbis or Christians? Ancient Institutions beyond Normative Discourses," *JBV* 38.2 (2017): 163, suggests a similar point for the structure described in the Theodotus Inscription (*CIIP* 9 [see 5.2.2]). See further in *idem.*, *Origins*, 320, 398–400.

[106] Griffiths, "Rise of the Synagogue," 3–16; Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 218–220.

[107] I thank James M. Tucker for his conversations with me on this matter. This is not to reject that some groups were understood in Roman legal contexts to be of a class called "associations," but that this category should not unduly influence how we contextualise Jewish communal gatherings. See the restrictions on associations reported in Wendy Cotter, "The Collegia and Roman Law: State Restrictions on Voluntary Associations, 64 BCE–200 CE," in Kloppenborg and Wilson, *Voluntary Associations*, 74–89.

[108] Lutz Doering, "Parallels without 'Parallelomania': Methodological Reflections on Comparative Analysis of Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls –*

extent that everything else particular to any ancient group meeting is rendered secondary. This

is not to deny any similarity between Jewish communal meetings which met for a variety of

purposes [see 5.6] and other types of associations in the ancient world, but these similarities

might not shed much light on such meetings. Instead, this perspective may direct our attention

towards aspects of these groups which were secondary or even alien in their constitution.

5.6   Practices Associated with Purpose-Built Jewish Communal Buildings

The following practices are attested to as being associated with Jewish communal

buildings: reading texts; teaching and study; address and decisions; prayers, blessings and

hymns; prostration; giving and receiving charity; festival worship; communal dining.[109]

Runesson establishes four aspects of "synagogue" activity: liturgical; non-liturgical (social);

institutional (administrative); and spatial (gathering for meetings).[110] These categories are

helpful when discussing the potential range and types of practices that may have taken place

within such a communal centre and can help distinguish between information known about

the structure itself, and suppositions brought in from comparative textual study. The majority

of the following practices come from Philo and Josephus. Therefore, we should anticipate that

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Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January, 2003, eds. Steven D. Fraade, Aharon Shemesh and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 13–42.

[109] Other scholars have provided similar lists: Chad Spigel introduces his study of "synagogues" with the following categories of associated activities: "scriptural readings and Targumim," "preaching," "prayers and blessings," "prostration," "giving and receiving charity," "festival worship" and "unknown worship activities"; Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 32–38. Joachim Jeska writes that, according to Josephus, synagogues were used for a variety of purposes: prayer (*Ag. Ap.* 2.10; *Ant.* 14.260); Torah study (*Ant.* 16.43 cf. *Hypoth.* 7.11–13); social and political discussion (*Life* 276–282); storing temple money (*Ant.* 14.215; 16.167f.); storing cultic objects (Kultgegenständen, *War* 7.44); offerings (*Ant.* 14.260); group gatherings (*Ant.* 16.164); Jeska, "Josephus und die Archäologie," 123–124. Aryeh Kasher suggests that the institution coped the Jerusalem Temple by functioning as a place for prayer, gatherings, sabbaths and festivals; Kasher, "Synagogues as 'Houses of Prayer'," 220.

[110] Runesson, "Origins of the Synagogue," 68.

these descriptions may not have been representative of all communal activities conducted in purpose-built communal structures. Both Philo and Josephus always included references to such structures in their work to make particular arguments or to present the Jewish people in a particular light.

5.6.1   Reading Texts

A widely documented practice associated with Jewish communal structures is reading, usually of the Law of Moses.[111] While Josephus and Philo each present Jewish literacy as being widespread, this was likely an idealised presentation of the learned behaviour of the Jews.[112] A communal group may have had a few literate specialists who could read aloud to a gathering (cf. the restrictions on who could read in 4Q266 5 2:1–3; 4Q267 5 3:1–5).[113] This scarcity may indicate that such specialists were in high demand, or that readings were not as often as might be supposed. References to reading texts aloud before a gathering can be found in Nehemiah 8:1–8 (cf. Neh 9:3), and this becomes a common activity associated with communal structures in late Second Temple period texts.[114] Seth Schwartz suggests that the earliest evidence for this practice comes from the 1st century CE.[115] Philo claims that this

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[111] Bilhah Nitzan, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewish Liturgy," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001*, ed. James R. Davila, STDJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 195–219, 200, goes as far to suggest that this was the primary purpose of "synagogues," not prayer, in order to distinguish Second Temple period prayer practices from their assumed place within "synagogues."

[112] Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*, JSJSup 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 121–122.

[113] See comments in Mladen Popović, "Reading, Writing, and Memorizing Together: Reading Culture in Ancient Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls in a Mediterranean Context," *DSD* 24.3 (2017): 454.

[114] However, David Goodblatt suggests that there is little evidence for public reading during the Second Temple period; all the known references come from the mid to late 1st century CE, and that these practices are only/mainly reported from the diaspora; Goodblatt, *Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 34–46. According to E. P. Sanders, by the 1st century CE, it was a common practice; Sanders, *Judaism*, 207.

[115] Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 218.

practice originated with Moses, but also that Sabbath gatherings consisted of repeated meetings in one location, and listening to a priest or elder who reads the laws aloud (*Hypoth*. 7.12–13 cf. *Decalogue* 40; *Dreams* 2.127; *Moses* 2.216; *Spec. Laws* 2.61). The Essenes are noted for this behaviour (*Good Person* 82; *Hypoth*. 7.13). The Community Rule also requires that the law be read in the "meetings of the many" (1QS 6:7 [see 5.3.2]). Sabbath readings are attested in some other manuscripts from the Qumran library (e.g., 4Q251 1:5 cf. Luke 4:16–21; Acts 15:21).

According to a Roman decree, Sabbath-houses were places where sacred scrolls were kept (*Ant*. 16.164). It would make sense for these scrolls to be stored where they were to be used, so reading may have taken place in these Sabbath-houses. The "synagogue" in Caesarea Maritima also appears to have housed scrolls of the law (*War* 2.291–292 cf. *Ant.* 20.115–116; *War* 2.229–231). Josephus also writes that the Jews should gather every week to listen to the reading of the law (*Ag. Ap.* 2.175 cf. *Ant.* 16.43). Finally, the Theodotus inscription notes that one of the purposes for this structure was the reading of the law (*CIIP* 9). While the evidence for such a practice comes from major 1st century CE sources and archaeological finds, there are not actually that many attestations to widespread reading practices in communal structures.[116] In some places we have to infer that reading was a likely activity where scrolls were kept, although whether these were intended for public or private reading is unclear.

5.6.2   Teaching and Study

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[116] Although see the arguments in Mordechai Aviam and William Scott Green, "The Ancient Synagogue: Public Space in Judaism," in *Judaism from Moses to Muhammad: An Interpretation – Turning Points and Focal Points*, eds. Jacob Neusner, William Scott Green and Alan J. Avery-Peck, BRLA 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 183–200 who suggest that the "synagogue" began as an institution for the housing and reading of Torah scrolls.

Teaching and study can be distinguished from reading, even if in some instances study seems to indicate private reading. At least a few sources combine the two practices, but others distinguish between the persons who read and those who address or expound. Philo pairs the activity of teaching with that of reading. An important virtue of the Jewish people is their attention towards the study of the law and ethics (*Good Person* 80). According to his description of the practices of the Essenes, they had one person to read and another to teach or explain in their meetings (*Good Person* 82–83). Elsewhere, Philo suggests that the one who reads to the assembled Essenes is a priest or elder, and they fulfil the combined roles of reader and teacher (*Hypoth*. 7.13).[117] The Therapeutae also had some kind of explanation of the law (*Contempl. Life* 31). Philo also reports that the Romans were aware of some of the Jewish practices in communal structures, including the interpretation of the law (*Embassy* 155–157). Philo suggests that this practice was instituted by Moses and continues during his own time every Sabbath (*Moses* 2.215–216). However, he also suggests that in the event of an emergency, the usual activities of reading and expounding in a συναγωγόις and θίασον would be suspended (*Dreams* 2.127). Acts 13:15 appears to record this kind of practice, although differently from the above instances; the floor is opened for general input rather than the address being made by a particular individual. Jesus appears to have been able to teach in the "synagogue" in some instances (Mark 6:1–2; Luke 4:20–21). In these narratives, it is unclear whether these relate actual practices in communal structures, or if these are ideological frameworks whereby Paul and Jesus are able to bolster their reputation for instruction.

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[117] Goodblatt, *Ancient Jewish Nationalism*, 81, notes that priests are connected with Sabbath practices also in *Contempl. Life* 30–33 (Therapeutae), cf. CD 11:22–12:7.

5.6.3   Address and Decisions

Addresses were not restricted to matters of religion, as is shown by the frequent meetings in communal structures documented by Josephus. While this episode takes place during a time of crisis, the προσευχη in Tiberias is a site of debate and discussion (*Life* 277, 293). Local politics take place and even interrupt Josephus' own prayer (*Life* 295). This was likely a rhetorical episode, highlighting Josephus' own piety and his opponents lack thereof.[118] However, while this episode portrays Josephus in a good light, the communal structure could easily be conceived of as a place for decision making and address. Decisions are also meted out in some contexts. Some of the community matters which appear to have needed resolution were discussed during Josephus' interaction with the Tiberias "prayer-house." Josephus also records that some of the Acta codified the right to decide their own affairs to the Jews of Sardis (*Ant*. 14.235, cf. *Ant*. 14.260–261). In Susanna, the elders accuse Susanna in the "synagogue" and the case is determined there; Daniel questions the elders in this context (Sus 28, 52).

5.6.4   Prayers, Blessings and Hymns

The term "prayer-house" may indicate that these structures were constructed for the purpose of prayer. However, only a few so-named structures are also reported to be sites of prayer. Philo actually redefines the "places of prayer" as "schools of prudence and courage and temperance and justice and also of piety, holiness and every virtue" (*Moses* 2.216 [Colson, LCL]). Philo's aim to express the philosophical nature of the Jewish people is on full

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[118] Krause, *Synagogues*, 131–134.

display here.[119] Philo records prayer as an activity in ἱερὰ (temples, *Unchangeable* 8). Elsewhere he notes that a woman of good standing should go to the temple when it is quiet and offer her prayers and oblations then (*Spec. Laws* 3.171). This might suggest that communal structures were generally accessible at various times, and one could go during quieter periods for personal observations. That said, Philo's misogyny and focus on women who were probably wealthy indicates that this may have been an option for a privileged few.[120] Philo also writes that the Therapeutae prayed prior to their communal meal every 50 days (*Contempl. Life* 66) [see 5.6.7]. Josephus reports that he spent time praying in the Tiberias "prayer-house" (*Life* 295). He also suggests that prayer and Sabbath observance is commendable behaviour, even in the face of military threat. Agatharchides is reported to have scorned this Jewish practice of praying in temples until the evening, which allowed Ptolemy son of Lagus to attack Jerusalem (*Ag. Ap.* 1.209). While Agatharchides uses the plural form of the noun, he may simply be extrapolating Jewish practice in the Jerusalem Temple itself rather than in other communal structures, although Josephus does not correct him on this point. Josephus further records a Sardian decree, that the Jews may gather together to offer prayers and sacrifices to God (*Ant.* 14.260–261). Sacrifices may also be an activity carried out in communal structures, although this activity is only recorded by Josephus here (cf. *Embassy* 156, 311–313 where the Jews can send money to Jerusalem for sacrifices to be made on their behalf). Overall, there is very little information about prayer in communal structures prior to 70 CE. Daniel Falk notes that the liturgical material known from the Qumran library should be distinguished both from Jerusalem Temple practices and later synagogal prayers.[121] Spigel

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[119] Jason M. Zurawski, "Mosaic *Paideia*: The Law of Moses within Philo of Alexandria's Model of Jewish Education," *JSJ* 48.4–5 (2017): 480–505, particularly his comments on Philo's presentation of "προσευκτήρια as Greek philosophical schools" (501).
[120] Dorothy I. Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women*, BJS 209 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 52, 197.
[121] Daniel K. Falk, "Qumran and the Synagogue Liturgy," in Olsson and Zetterholm, *Ancient Synagogue*, 404–434, 428.

suggests that prostration was a known worship practice in Second Temple period Judaism

often in connection with prayer (citing Sir 50:16–21; Jdt 9:1, cf. Neh 8:6; Dan 6:10).[122]

Connecting this practice more specifically to a communal structure, the Damascus Document

details some requirements for entering a "house of prostration," although recalling the

arguments above [5.3.2], it is likely that this practice was one for the Jerusalem Temple (CD

11:22).

Otherwise, Philo reports that the "synagogues" appear to have been used as venues to

express thankfulness (*Flaccus* 48). The Community Rule also contains a reference to

communal blessings (1QS 6:8). Hymns are sung outside of prayer-houses although this may

be in specific circumstances (*Flaccus* 122), and the Therapeutae are said to sing hymns before

and after their banquets (*Contempl. Life* 80, 84).

5.6.5   Giving and Receiving Charity

Philo lists many "public" spaces wherein one might expect to receive charity (*Dreams*

1.96). As his main point in this passage concerns the repayment of debt, it appears that he is

trading on a well-known fact that there are various places where charity is given. However,

this does not explicitly provide any insight to specifically Jewish communal structures, but

rather makes a generic assertion about what can be expected in temples, or even marketplaces.

We may also recall the donations of money being made at such structures for the sake of the

Jerusalem Temple [see 5.3.4]. These could be construed as charity, although they seem to be

an observation of "Temple Loyalty" more than provision for charitable causes. If

manumission can be construed as charitable, then there seems to have been a practice of

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[122] Spigel, *Ancient Synagogue Seating*, 35.

releasing slaves in communal structures and subsequently recording this (*CIRB* 70, 71, 72, 73; *IJO* 1.BS17, 18, 20, 24, 25).

5.6.6   Festival Worship

Some scholars have linked the construction of communal structures with festival observation. Rachel Hachlili notes that "while it stood, the Temple was the only center for national activity, and its ritual was primarily one of animal sacrifice. By contrast, the synagogue was specifically geared to serving the local community. Worship in the Second Temple period synagogues was probably conducted only on Sabbaths and feast-days, not daily."[123] Similarly, Levine suggests that festal and Sabbath activities were the sole initial purposes for meeting, when texts were read, studied and interpreted.[124] There is not a great deal of textual support for this supposition, but a decree of the people of Halicarnassus recorded by Josephus links festivals and Jewish gatherings more generally, before allowing the construction of "prayer-houses" (*Ant*. 14.257–258).

5.6.7   Communal Dining

The right to hold communal meals is recorded by Josephus and closely associated with communal structures (*Ant.* 14.214–215). Food is also required to be brought to the Jews in a Sardian decree (*Ant*. 14.261). This may be for the consumption of food in such a place but may be similar to the reported actions of Augustus to set aside a portion of the grain dole for

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[123] Hachlili, *Ancient Synagogues*, 5.
[124] Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* SASLJS (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1998), 141.

the Jews during the Sabbath out of respect for their Sabbath observance (*Embassy* 158).

However, fasting may also have been a practice in such settings (e.g., the fast of the Jews in

Susa who were gathered in an assembly, *Ant*. 11.228). Communal meals appear to be aspects

of ideal group practice, as this activity is afforded a lengthy description in Philo's account of

the Therapeutae (*Contempl. Life* 40, 64–82), and the Essenes (*Good Person* 86; *Hypoth*. 11.5

cf. *War* 2.128–133).[125]

5.6.8   Storing Money

It has been suggested by Levine that "synagogues" became the place for the collection

and storage of communal funds. He notes that large quantities of coins were found within the

Ḥammath Tiberias, Bet Alpha and Meroth synagogue structures, with a further eleven

unnamed structures containing coin hoards.[126] The "right" to gather and collect money was

included within the Acta (*Ant*. 14.215–216 cf. *Ant*. 16.163). Philo also notes that it was

common for money to be gathered in specific structures and then sent onwards to Jerusalem to

pay for sacrifices on behalf of those donating (*Embassy* 155–157, 312, 315). Philo also notes

that there are "banks" in every city for these kinds of offerings (*Spec. Laws* 1.78). Josephus

reports that the offering vessels from within the Jerusalem Temple were stored inside the

Antioch "synagogue" which suggests that these structures could have functioned as stores for

valuable items (*War* 7.44–45).

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[125] See discussion in Bilde, "Common Meal," 154, 158–159.
[126] Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 372 n.95.

5.6.9   Architectural Features

Construction and design practices included a wide variety of architectural features. Inscriptions and some texts present a diverse list of elements associated with Jewish communal structures, including: enclosing walls (*CIJ* 1433); appurtenances (*CIJ* 1433, 1442); pylons (*CIJ* 1441); seated halls (*CIJ* 144); guesthouses (*CIIP* 9); rooms (*CIIP* 9); water installations (*CIIP* 9 cf. *CPJ* 432); pillars (3 Macc 7:20 cf. *Ag. Ap.* 2.10); internal division walls (*Contempl. Life* 30–33); attached to sacred land (*CPJ* 134); and courtyards (Cleomedes, *De Motu* 2.1.91). Most of these features are recorded in only a single source, suggesting that the design of such structures was highly varied.

5.6.10   Summary

As stated above, most of these details come from Philo and Josephus. While they often both agree on a particular activity, there is a huge range of things which could conceivably be done in a communal structure. Furthermore, there does not appear to be a particular set of activities which would be typical for such a structure; rather, for any given structure, there seems to be a different name given to it, and different activities done within it.

5.7   Spaces of Purpose-Built Communal Structures

The variety of terms used, supposed origins, outside views and associated practices suggests that Jewish communal structures were highly varied institutions. This chapter has focussed on textual and epigraphical references to Jewish communal structures known from

the late Second Temple period. These amount to some scattered references from many different geographic areas where some kind of communal institution is recorded. The practices that took place within each of these places may have varied a great deal, although there is some commonality between our sources.[127]

This section will draw together a composite image of "typical" practices which probably would have occurred in Galilean communal structures, and also practised in available spaces around the region. While a space's multi-purpose functionality does not mean that it is not a sacred space, these spaces are usually differentiated from other spaces through the maintenance of clear boundaries or expectations of behaviour within those spaces.[128] Joel Brereton notes that:

> to designate a place as sacred imposes no limit on its form or its meaning. It implies no particular aesthetic or religious response. But if sacred places lack a common content, they have a common role. To call a place sacred asserts that a place, its structure, and its symbols express fundamental cultural values and principles. By giving these visible form, the sacred place makes tangible the corporate identity of a people and their world.[129]

Martin Goodman argues that at least for the diaspora, "synagogues" were conceived of as sacred spaces. They were understood to be holy, meaning that they were treated as being distinct from other buildings. This could be because of the types of activities that took place within them, such as prayer or Torah-reading, or because they housed sacred objects like

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[127] For example, Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 78, notes that "we should not suppose that all synagogues functioned in the same way."
[128] Brereton, "Sacred Space," 7978–7979.
[129] Brereton, "Sacred Space," 7984–7985.

Torah scrolls.[130] Some of this distinction may focus too heavily on the built-structures as the expense of the space which is the human person/community. For instance, in Kunin's formulation, Rabbinic Judaism understands sacred space to be carried by people in their life and practice of Judaism.[131] Alternatively, things can be considered sacred because they are located in or done in a sacred place.[132]

When considering the material remains of Galilean purpose-built communal structures, it appears that these could well have been the sites of many of the above activities. The meeting places would have been suitable for the purposes discussed above, or at the very least their design would not have prohibited such activities. However, we can also note the disconnect. Most treatments of "synagogues" focus on the religious practice of an emerging institution and often are silent about other forms of gathering. Paul Flesher's work is an example of this predilection to discuss the religious aspect of "synagogues" and only secondarily their function as community spaces.[133] A number of the above activities recorded contain religious elements, yet there is also evidence for a whole range of other kinds of behaviours. Thus, Jewish communal structures, somewhat self-evidently, served a variety of communal needs. These appear to have varied between communities and taken on different appearances in different places. Such structures had become important for communities by the 1st century CE and in many ways formed an important locus for life in Palestine and the Diaspora. The reaction to events which threatened the integrity of these structures, particularly those reported by Philo and Josephus, demonstrate how these structures and the

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[130] Martin Goodman, "Sacred Space in Diaspora Judaism," in *Judaism in the Roman World*, 219–231. Goodman shows that the evidence of Philo and Josephus demonstrates that at least some "synagogue sites *could* be treated by diaspora Jews as holy, but attitudes varied" (225).
[131] Seth D. Kunin, "Judaism," in *Sacred Place*, eds. Jean Holm and John Bowker, TRS (London: Pinter, 1994), 115–148, 136.
[132] Smith, *To Take Place*, 104.
[133] Flesher, "Palestinian Synagogues," 30.

functions which they enabled were important for the self-conception of a given community. The practices undertaken within these sites were open for discussion, development and could be adapted to suit local needs. There is no evidence for a widespread programme for "synagogal" practice, but rather areas of activities which were appropriate for groups to engage in. These groups probably found that a purpose-built structure afforded benefits which could not be achieved in other spaces. Thus, a variety of Jewish communities and groups built for themselves, or on occasion others (Theodotus inscription), locales where such activities could be undertaken.

Many of these activities appear to have religious functions, insofar as they ritualise more conventional acts (such as instruction, eating). Many Jewish communities during the late Second Temple period used purpose-built structures to facilitate meaningful activities, which created a local sense of community. These structures were considered important enough to warrant intellectual and physical defence. These structures also appear to have been relatively common throughout the ancient Mediterranean, and Galilee is no exception. The known communal structures from Galilee are marked as significant and can be considered sites of communal space infused with religious and ritual meaning. It is important to note that their function likely included more than what is sometimes emphasised (i.e., Torah reading). We should envision a wider range of practices taking place within the walls of the structures known from Gamla and Magdala, indicated by the suitability of the structures themselves for various purposes, but also the comparative material from elsewhere in Jewish texts.

6.   Regional Space in Galilee

6.1   Galilee as a Regional Space

Having examined how space was constructed through bodily experience and expression, and the spaces in which communities gathered and for what purposes, I will turn to how Galilee was constructed as a region during the 1st centuries BCE and CE. The following analysis examines the material culture of the region and what this shows about Galilean space and identity. The artefacts discussed in the following chapter include commonly used ceramic ware, coins and oil lamps. These artefacts are widespread in Galilee and attest to a sense of regional space which shares in a particular kind of material culture. I discuss how Jerusalem functioned as a focal point of Galilean regional space.

Thus far, this thesis has demonstrated that Galilee was a variable name for a shifting conception of a territory in the Levant, principally used in Jewish sources from between the 2nd century BCE and 1st century CE [see 1.2.4]. This region also had a relatively homogenous material culture, demonstrated by a variety of material finds, such as ritual immersion pools and stone vessels [see chp. 2]. I have discussed how some communities created and managed communal space and will now turn to a consideration of the kind of space which may be termed regional. Galilee can be defined as a regional space, where the contents of a household in Yodefat may be similar to those found in Capernaum, or Gamla, or Sepphoris, or Tiberias. While conditions changed between class, the types of pottery, decoration and public spaces would have been a motif of commonality for all of these settlements. Outside of Galilee, there were some differences in the proportion of imported vessels used in households, as can be seen in the Huleh Valley [see 1.2.3]. The Mediterranean coastline and other areas surrounding

Galilee maintained an economic practice of pottery importation, while this practice decreased

in Galilee from the 1st century BCE.[1] To the east of Galilee, the cities of the Decapolis also had

a distinct material culture. This is not to claim that this culture mapped onto an ethnicity, but

that Galilee was distinguishable as a region by at least some household furnishings and

vessels. Thus, both the available archaeological data and textual record attest to Galilee being

a distinct region. This chapter examines this concept of regionality and what this meant for

questions of identity and religious practice.

6.2   Archaeological Remains which Attest to Galilean Regional Space

6.2.1   Local Pottery Workshops

As indicated earlier [see 4.3.1.6.3], after the middle of the 1st century BCE, Galileans no

longer imported a great deal of pottery and predominantly began to use robust, yet simple

ceramic ware manufactured in the region itself.[2] A number the workshops which made this

ware are known; Kefar Hananya (Kefar 'Inan) and Shihin ware were some of the most

commonly used ceramics across the region.[3] The forms of ceramics from each site are of good

quality, simple design and were exported almost solely to the local area.

The site of Kefar Hananya is located partway between Ptolemais-Akko and the northern

end of the Gennesareth. Thus, the site is situated in the midst of Galilee, bordering both

Lower and Upper Galilee. Kefar Hananya consistently produced pottery for over six

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[1] Andrea M. Berlin, "From Monarchy to Markets: The Phoenicians in Hellenistic Palestine," *BASOR* 306 (1997): 75–88.
[2] Berlin, "Jewish Life," 420–428, 433, 439, 445–446.
[3] Incidentally, both of these are known from rabbinic sources as pottery manufacturing sites. See Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, 23.

centuries, beginning in the middle of the 1st century BCE.[4] Ware from this workshop has been

found at many sites and can be directly compared with ware from another pottery production

site in the Golan, where the ceramics produced were of lower quality than that of Kefar

Hananya. Perhaps due to the lesser quality of this Golan ware, it had a narrower distribution

than Kefar Hananya ceramics.[5] The prominent forms produced in the middle of the 1st century

BCE include three types of cooking pots. These vessels have been found in all parts of the

northern region of Palestine.[6] The ware proved popular enough to be imitated; other

production sites created similar ware which upon cursory examination appear to be that of

Kefar Hananya.[7] The ware seems to have been marketed straight from the site itself; Adan-

Bayewitz suggests that the potters or merchants sold the ware directly to customers. Adan-

Bayewitz identified a strong negative correlation between the percentage of ware found

originating at Kefar Hananya in a given site and the distance from Kefar Hananya to that site.[8]

Mattila suggests that the clear preference for Kefar Hananya ware in Sepphoris, over that

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[4] The definitive work of the pottery of this site is Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, but see also Adan-Bayewitz and Wieder, "Ceramics from Roman Galilee."

[5] Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, 172–181.

[6] Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, 111–119 (form 3A), 124–125 (form 4A), 125–128 (form 4B).

[7] See the finds reported in Avshalom-Gorni and Shapiro, "Pottery Workshop." See also remarks made about the pottery produced at Yodefat in Aviam, "Yodefat," 114.

[8] Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery*, 212–213. This analysis is only based on seventeen sites in Galilee and the Golan, so it cannot distinguish fully whether a merchant travelled directly out of Kefar Hananya to all of these sites, or if local towns functioned as marketplaces for this ware to then be sold on. Sepphoris seems to have functioned in this way, see Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman, "Local Trade;" Marva Balouka, "Roman Pottery," trans. Hani Davis, in *Sepphoris I: The Pottery from Ancient Sepphoris*, eds. Eric M. Meyers and Carol L. Meyers, Sepphoris Excavation Reports 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 13–129, 16. Chancey, "Archaeology, Ethnicity," 209 n.19, suggests that some of the Kefar Hananya ware found in the Golan may actual be local imitation ware, although subsequent surveys have uncovered more evidence of Kefar Hananya ware. See Ben David, "Kefar Hananya Kitchenware," who finds that in the western Gaulanitis, Kefar Hananya ware appears to have been as popular as it was in eastern Galilee (see the results of Leibner, *Settlement and History*, 94–96). This can be compared with the results of a survey form the area around Hippos, to the southeast of the Gennesareth, where very few examples of Kefar Hananya ware have been found. See also Shaked and Avshalom-Gorni, "Jewish Settlement," 28–36, 31, who detail the geographic spread of Kefar Hananya ware in the lower Huleh Valley along with stone vessels and Herodian lamps.

made in the nearby Shihin, demonstrates that local elites were not micromanaging pottery

production or distribution.[9]

6.2.2   Stone Vessels and Ritual Immersion Pools

These phenomena have been discussed fully above [see chp. 2], but it is worth

reiterating here that these artefacts are distributed heavily across Galilee and are relatively

rare outside. A limited number of stone vessels have been discovered in what are commonly

identified as "Gentile" settlements and ritual immersion pools have been documented in sites

considered "non-Jewish."[10] Leaving aside the question regarding the prevalence of such

vessels and installations at any given site, these data suggest there does seem to be some

conception of a clear region which shared in a household material culture distinct from the

surrounding regions. Furthermore, this household material culture is largely similar to that in

Judea. As such, from the material evidence, it appears that one could have a sense of

continuity between Galilee and Judea, even if these regions were distinct. Galilee and Judea

thus shared a material culture which could be utilised for the enactment of Jewish purity

conceptions. These particular phenomena enable such practices, and the absence of such

phenomena outside of these regions in places were know that Jews lived is striking. Two

elements may explain this concentration of such artefacts. The first is that the migration from

Judea to Galilee during the 1st century BCE and after shared a particular kind of material

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[9] Sharon Lea Mattila, "Jesus and the 'Middle Peasants'? Problematizing a Social-Scientific Concept," *CBQ* 72.2 (2010): 312. James Strange reports that 75% of the Early Roman period table ware found in Sepphoris came from Kefar Hananya, which lay 24km away from Sepphoris, while only 15% of such wares came from the nearby site of Shihin (only 1.5km away); James F. Strange, "First Century Galilee from Archaeology and from the Texts," in Edwards and McCollough, *Archaeology and the Galilee*, 39–48, 41.

[10] On stone vessels see Magen, *Stone Vessel Industry*, 148. On ritual immersion pools see my comments above [2.1.2.1].

culture which did not as a whole cross over into other regions. Only the relatively unique circumstances which led to the widespread settlement of Galilee from Judea created this shared material culture. The second element may be related to a general conception that Galilee formed part of a significant region that had some kind of significant meaning for ancient Jews [see 3.4.1]. The creators and users of these artefacts may have understood their efforts as an expression of one or both of these reasons.

The ritual immersion pools and stone vessels allowed their users to partially fulfil purity requirements and create spaces where purity and impurity could be separated. Even if approaches to purification differed, whether over the correct way to properly purify or the nature of purity itself, Galilean space was nevertheless shaped by these concerns. We should not expect that purity conceptions were consistently practised. Even for individuals, it would have been difficult to ensure that they always followed the same procedures.[11] Yet, we should acknowledge that in Galilee there was perhaps a general atmosphere of purity observance, which was a major component of bodily spatial creation. Much of this space creation was done in private household contexts. Bodily space and its connection to ritual was a matter for individuals, but we can see this formulation of bodily space was an integral aspect to the regional formation of late Second Temple period Galilee.

6.3   Archaeological Remains which Attest to Connections to Jerusalem

There are two archaeological phenomena found in Galilee which indicate that the residents were connected to Judea, and particularly Jerusalem. These are the abundance of

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[11] Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakhah*, 87. See also Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 166, who notes that rituals are not always consistently enacted.

Judean coins found in the region, and the presence of a particular type of oil lamp known as the "Herodian lamp." Other finds also suggest that the Galileans had a notion of Jerusalem as their centre, a locus where their religious ideology was placed. This will be discussed in the next section.

6.3.1   Coinage[12]

An analysis of the coins found across Galilee assists in both the reconstruction of economic ties across the region, and in our understanding of the dependence of the region on the Jerusalem authorities. From the time of the incorporation of Galilee into the Hasmonean state [see 1.2.2], the Galileans used coinage minted by the dynasty. Syon has argued that the replacement of Tyrian small change during the 1st century BCE with Hasmonean coinage in the region reflects a "preference/rejection based on ethnic background."[13] If this were the case, then this would have indicated both allegiance to the Hasmoneans as rulers, but also implicitly acknowledged their role as the Jerusalem Temple officiants.[14] Once again, Massey's concept of "power-geometry" is useful to think about how coins stand in for centres

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[12] On the process of minting coins, see Donald T. Ariel, "Judean Perspectives of Ancient Mints and Minting Technology," *INR* 7 (2012): 43–80. For an overview of Jewish coinage, see Hendin, "Current Viewpoints." For the chronology of Hasmonean coins, see Richard Simon Hanson, "Toward a Chronology of the Hasmonean Coins," *BASOR* 216 (1974): 21–23, drawing from evidence of the Meiron survey project, see further Eric M. Meyers et al., "Preliminary Report on the 1977 and 1978 Seasons at Gush Ḥalav (el-Jish)," *BASOR* 233 (1979): 33–58. On chronology, see further David Hendin, "Hasmonean Coin Chronologies: Two Notes," *INJ* 17 (2010): 34–38, which concerns the use of Paleo-Hebrew and varied scripts. For an analysis of the chemical makeup of these coins, see David Hendin, "The Metrology of Judaean Small Bronze Coins," *AJN* 21 (2009): 105–121.

[13] Syon, *Small Change*, 156.

[14] There is a tension here, as Hasmonean coins have been found in abundance at Khirbet Qumran. The residents here were apparently quite hostile towards the Hasmoneans and the Jerusalem Temple, yet they still used much of their coinage. The relation between Qumran and Jerusalem may be more complicated than apparent from the Dead Sea Scrolls (mainly the so-called Sectarian literature), or the ideology of coinage may be less impactful than I have supposed. Of the 1,231 coins initially reported by Roland de Vaux, 673 are coins. Of these, 10 are identified as issues of Hyrcanus I, 1 of Aristobulus I, 153 of Jannaeus, 4 of Hyrcanus II and 6 of Antigonus. A further 119 are illegible, lost or unknown. Therefore, of the total bronze coins, Hasmonean issues make up around 26% and they make up 31% of the identified bronze coins. See Catherine M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community*, STDJ 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 305–317.

of power. Initially, Hasmonean coinage was the medium of economic exchange in the region by virtue of the authority of the dynasty over the region. Once this economy was flooded with Hasmonean issues, the small change may have retained some significance, but could otherwise easily have become simply tokens of exchange that lasted beyond attachments to or directives from the Hasmoneans themselves.

Syon has thoroughly documented the prevalence of Hasmonean coinage throughout Galilee. While some of the elements of this prevalence can be ascribed to Jewish sensibilities, i.e., "Temple Loyalty," it must be noted that just as with other material finds, coinage is not a stand in for ethnic identity.[15] However, Anne Lykke suggests "that the minting of Hasmonean coinage was established within the existing administrative structure of the temple." This is shown in the mixture of religious and political titles that featured upon Jannaeus' coins.[16] The following rulers minted coins in Jerusalem (which were then brought to Galilee) or in Galilee.

6.3.1.1   Antiochus VII Sidetes

Antiochus VII Sidetes (138–129 BCE) was perhaps the last best-chance the Seleucids had at re-establishing their authority in Judea before their final decline. He was the first and only Seleucid ruler known to have minted coins in Jerusalem.[17] Some of these issues have been found in excavations in Galilee which suggests that either there were already commercial links between Judea and Galilee during the reign of Antiochus, or that his issues

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[15] See the recent discussion in Anne Lykke, "Reflections on the Cultural Encounter between the Jews and the Greeks and Romans in Jewish Coin Iconography of the Hellenistic-Roman Period," in *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World*, eds. Mladen Popović, Myles Schoonover and Marijn Vandenberghe, JSJSup 178 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 177–189.

[16] Lykke, "Use of Languages and Scripts," 35.

[17] According to First Maccabees, Simon Thassi was granted the right to mint coins by Antiochus VII (1 Macc 15:6). There is no trace of any coins minted by Simon, although the breakdown in relations between him and Antiochus VII may have complicated the issue (1 Macc 15:27). Uriel Rappaport, "The Emergence of Hasmonean Coinage," *AJSR* 1 (1976): 172, rejects the statement in First Maccabees as Simon never actually minted.

remained in circulation after his death in 129 BCE. His coins have been found at Gush Ḥalav,

Gamla, Yodefat, Shiḥin, Arbel, Beth Shean (Nysa-Scythopolis) and Tel Basul. Syon suggests

that the coins were brought from Jerusalem to these settlements by Galileans returning from

temple pilgrimages.[18] However, this should be tempered with the fact that Antiochus VII

coins make up about 4% (10/256) of the coins found at Tel Anafa, a site not associated in any

way with the Hasmoneans, whereas they are less common in sites which are associated with

Hasmonean settlement.[19] At least some of these Antiochus VII issues were minted at Antioch

rather than Jerusalem. Antiochus VII's minting in Jerusalem ceased once he left in 130 BCE,

which suggests that the local authorities had enough influence over their mint to decide

whether they would continue to mint the king's coinage.[20] The iconography used on this

particular issue included a lily on the obverse and an anchor on the reverse, with the

accompanying Greek inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ("King Antiochus

Euergetes").[21] The anchor functioned as a countermark for Seleucid coins.[22] A mint in

Jerusalem appears to have been first established by Antiochus VII and the city would remain a

centre of coin production for the following century. Furthermore, it is an immediate and

proximate precursor for many of the symbols and terms used on subsequent Hasmonean

coins.

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[18] Danny Syon, "Numismatic Evidence of Jewish Presence in Galilee before the Hasmonean Annexation?" *INR* 1 (2006): 21–24. There were only a few coins found at each of these sites, Gush Ḥalav, Shiḥin, Arbel and Tel Basul each yielding a single coin, Yodefat and Beth-Shean (Nysa-Scythopolis) yielding two and Gamla yielding four.

[19] This can be compared with 0.07% at Gamla (4/5982), 0.44% at Yodefat (2/458), 0.91% at Gush Halav (1/110), 0.45% at Shiḥin (1/221), 3.44% at Arbel (1/29), and 2.12% at Tel Basul (1/47). The sites which have yielded many coins, allowing for a reasonable estimation of the relative prevalence of Antiochus VII issues shows that the presence of his coins was vanishingly small. Coin totals are limited to coins minted between the 3rd century BCE up to 70 CE. The coin totals can be found in Syon, *Small Change*, 138–139, 149–150, 169–170, 196–199. Coin reports from Tel Anafa found in Herbert, *Tel Anafa I, i*, 243–254. Syon adds a further 15 coins to the total from Herbert, but this does not change the final figures much, see Syon, *Small Change*, 138–139, 149–150, 169–170, 196–199.

[20] Oliver D. Hoover, "The Seleucid Coinage of John Hyrcanus I: The Transformation of a Dynastic Symbol in Hellenistic Judaea," *AJN* 15.1 (2003): 33.

[21] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 242.

[22] Lykke, "Use of Languages and Scripts," 37–38.

Figure 23 – Antiochus VII Issue featuring Lily and Anchor

Image Credits: ANS 1944.100.77927. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.77927.

6.3.1.2   *John Hyrcanus I*

John Hyrcanus (134–104 BCE) claimed the role of high priest and was a key figure in Judean politics during the last third of the 2nd century BCE.[23] He was made a military commander under Antiochus VII Sidetes.[24] Following the assassination of his immediate male family members, he assumed a prominent position and was the first Hasmonean known to have minted coins. First Maccabees reports that Simon (Hyrcanus' father) was granted the right to mint, although no issues attributed to him have ever been found (1 Macc 15:1–9; *Ant.* 13.223). The first coins struck in Jerusalem during the Hasmonean period were dated to 132/131 and 131/130 BCE, these being "small lily/anchor bronzes issued in Jerusalem early in the reign of Hyrcanus I as a kind of transitional issue from Seleucid to Jewish coinage."[25] Hyrcanus's coins were minted in the same denominations as Seleucid ones (keeping the same

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[23] Kenneth Atkinson, "Hyrcanus I, John," *ESTJ* 2, 352–353.
[24] Dąbrowa, *Hasmoneans*, 67–82, provides a biography of Hyrcanus I.
[25] Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 264.

weights and rough sizes), introduced by Phoenician mints around the outset of the 2nd century

BCE.[26] Hyrcanus inscribed his coins with his name, the title הכהן הגדל ("high priest"), and

shared the authority of these issues with וחבר יה[ו]דים ("the Council of Jews").[27] In some

instances, Hyrcanus is named as the ראש ("head") of this council.[28] The principal symbols on

John Hyrcanus' coinage include wreaths, double-cornucopiae with pomegranates, palm

branches, lilies and helmets.[29] David Jacobson suggests that the lily reflects the influence of

the Rhodian rose on the designers of Hyrcanus' issues; this symbol would probably have been

familiar to the Jerusalem engravers and this familiarity shaped the design of the lily.[30] The

palm is discussed by Fine, who suggests that the palm branch was introduced to Hasmonean

coins via its use on Tyrian Sheqelim.[31] The use of the palm tree is prevalent in other Jewish

art. It seems to have been inspired by Tyrian coins and was employed on Hasmonean issues

from the time of Alexander Jannaeus who also used it on his administrative bullae. The

Roman procurators (Coponius, Ambibulus, Antonius Felix) and Herod Antipas also used the

symbol on their coins.[32] The wreath was by this point already an old numismatic symbol,

appearing on some of the earliest known coins (5th century BCE in Greece) and was widely

used on Seleucid issues (e.g., Antiochus III).[33] It was often associated with Apollo or Nike

and indicated victory. The Hasmonean usage of the wreath refers to their role as kings, rather

than any association with their priesthood.[34] The wreath and helmet, may also be connected to

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[26] David M. Jacobson, "Herodian Bronze and Tyrian Silver Coinage," *ZDPV* 130.2 (2014): 142–143.

[27] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 242–248.

[28] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 246, types 147 and 148 for example.

[29] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 176–177.

[30] David M. Jacobson, "The Lily and the Rose: A Review of Some Hasmonean Coin Types," *NEA* 76.1 (2013): 22.

[31] Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 140–143. Palm branches have also been found on Hasmonean bullae, Roman provincial coinage, Herodian coinage, lintels in Gamla [see 4.3.2.5], and the Magdala synagogue stone [see 4.4.1.5].

[32] Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 141.

[33] Ido Noy, "The Victory Wreath of Hyrcanus I," *INR* 7 (2012): 33.

[34] Discussion in David Hendin, "Numismatic Expressions of Hasmonean Sovereignty," *INJ* 16 (2007–2008): 85; Noy, "Victory Wreath." Wreaths used in Jub. 16:39; Wis. Sol. 5:15–16; 1 Macc 4:57; 13:34–42; 2 Macc 4:14–16; 14:4.

military exploits. They conveyed a sense of victory and propagated an image of strength.[35]

Finally the double-cornucopiae appears to have followed the use of single (or layered)

cornucopia on Ptolemaic coinage and was adopted into the Seleucid and Hasmonean

iconographic repertoire, what Lykke terms an "iconographic language," around the same

time.[36] The Hasmoneans may have used the cornucopia to present themselves as divine

blessing on the nation in a similar way to the symbol's use in Greek art to allude to fertility

and abundance.[37] Many of the symbols used on the coins of Hyrcanus were drawn from

Hellenistic predecessors and were subsequently adopted by his successors; Hyrcanus perhaps

was aiming to build his own reputation and prowess, and his successors to associate

themselves with established power.[38] This may suggest that Hyrcanus' legacy was generally

viewed as legitimate.

Figure 24 – Hyrcanus I Issue featuring Double-Cornucopiae and Helmet

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[35] Ido Noy, "Head Decoration Representations on Hasmonean and Herodian Coins," *INR* 8 (2013): 39–53. See also Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 208, suggesting that the helmet was adopted from Alexander Balas and Antiochus VII examples.

[36] Lykke, "Use of Languages and Scripts," 38. See also David M. Jacobson, "The Significance of the Caduceus between Facing Cornucopias in Herodian and Roman Coinage," in Jacobson and Kokkinos, *Judaea and Rome*, 145–161, 146–148.

[37] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 203–206.

[38] Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 96–97.

Image Credits: ANS 2013.63.147. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/2013.63.147.

6.3.1.3   *Aristobulus I*[39]

Aristobulus (104–103 BCE) was apparently the first of the Hasmoneans to claim the title of king, at least according to Josephus (*Ant*. 13.301).[40] To date there is no numismatic evidence that Aristobulus ever adopted this title.[41] Further, Strabo actually claims that it was Jannaeus who first adopted the title (*Geogr*. 16.2.40). Kenneth Atkinson argues that we should prefer the account of Josephus, as Strabo reports that Jannaeus declared himself king instead of priest, whereas Aristobulus may have claimed both titles.[42] However, Jannaeus did employ the title of priest up until his "year 25" issues.[43] This title may have made little difference on a day-to-day basis as since at least the primacy of Simon Thassi, the family had exerted the kind of power that was usually the remit of kings.[44] The symbols employed on Aristobulus' coinage include the wreath, and the double-cornucopiae with pomegranates.[45] He followed Hyrcanus' use of the title כהן גדול ("high priest") and also incorporates the authority of the חבר היה[ו]דים ("the council of the Jews") without placing himself at the head.[46] There is no numismatic evidence that Aristobulus claims the title "king."

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[39] Overview in Kenneth Atkinson, "Aristobulus I," *ESTJ* 2, 73–74.

[40] Dąbrowa, *Hasmoneans*, 85, notes that Strabo records that it was Aristobulus' successor, Alexander Jannaeus who first claimed the title of "king" but finds Josephus' account to be more accurate. See Strabo, *Geogr.*, 16.2.40 [762].

[41] Hendin, "Numismatic Expressions," 87–88.

[42] Atkinson, *Hasmonean State*, 83.

[43] M. J. Geller, "Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisee Rift," *JJS* 30.2 (1979): 208–209, suggests this removal may have been an attempt at reconciliation; Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 268, suggests that Jannaeus "simply stopped flaunting" his occupation of both roles; see also the Jannaeus types in Ya'akov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi; Nyack, NY: Amphora Books, 2001), 45–48; Ilan Shachar, "The Historical and Numismatic Significance of Alexander Jannaeus's Later Coinage as Found in Archaeological Excavations," *PEQ* 136.1 (2004): 6–7.

[44] Dąbrowa, *Hasmoneans*, 113. Dąbrowa describes the Hasmoneans as being a "priestly monarchy" (106).

[45] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 177.

[46] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 248–249.

Figure 25 – Aristobulus I Issue featuring Double Cornucopiae and Wreath

Image Credits: ANS 2013.63.202. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/2013.63.202.

6.3.1.4   *Alexander Jannaeus*[47]

Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE) succeeded his brother, apparently elevated by Aristobulus' widow.[48] Many coin issues featured his name, and incorporated a variety of symbols such as anchors, lilies, palm branches, stars sometimes combined with diadems, wreaths which were sometimes overstruck on lilies, and double-cornucopiae with pomegranates which were sometimes overstruck on anchors.[49] Jannaeus' anchor appears to have originated as a Seleucid numismatic motif which was adopted into the Hasmonean repertoire. It had been used by Antiochus VII Sidetes in combination with the lily. Hyrcanus

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[47] For an overview, see Dan Barag, "Alexander Jannaeus – Priest and King," in Maeir, Magness and Schiffman, *Go Out and Study the Land*, 1–5; Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, 45–46; Shachar, "Historical and Numismatic Significance," 5–33.

[48] Kenneth Atkinson, "Alexander Jannaeus," *ESTJ* 2, 14–15. This widow is sometimes identified as Alexandra Salome, although I would reject this identification. See Joseph Scales and Cat Quine, "Athaliah and Alexandra: Gender and Queenship in Josephus," *JAJ* 11.2 (2020): 236.

[49] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 177–178. See also the list of types in David Hendin and Ilan Shachar, "The Identity of YNTN on Hasmonean Overstruck Coins and the Chronology of the Alexander Jannaeus Types," *INR* 3 (2008): 88.

did not continue this, but Jannaeus resumed the use of the anchor, and this was also used by

his Hasmonean and Herodian successors.[50] The anchor was clearly a symbol of propaganda,

both conveying a connection with Seleucid authority and perhaps suggesting naval

supremacy. However, this connection with a navy was most likely fanciful, as there is no

evidence of Hasmonean naval forces.[51] At most they controlled a few ports on the southern

Levantine coast. Oliver Hoover suggests that the anchor appears on Jannaeus' issues to recall

his father's authority and showcase Hyrcanus' Seleucid connections.[52] Jannaeus also used a

Greek inscription in combination with the anchor: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ("Alexander

the King"). He paired the lily with a matching Hebrew inscription: המלך יהונתן ("Yehonatan

the King").[53] Sometimes Jannaeus included the longer Hebrew inscription מלכא אלכסנדרוס שנת

כה ("King Alexander, year 25," sometimes the year is record with Greek letters). Jannaeus

also employed the same appellation as both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, יהונתן הכהן הגדל וחבר יהדם.

The Hebrew titles are paired with a star in a diadem, a palm branch or a wreath, while the

Greek appears to always be associated with the anchor.[54]

Jannaeus was innovative with his coinage, perhaps since he had a quarter of a century to

experiment. He incorporated Greek onto Hasmonean coins for the first time and expanded the

types of iconographies found therein.[55] Jannaeus coins were particularly popular. This was

probably aided by his long reign and the fact that queen Alexandra Salome (76–67 BCE) did

not mint any coins with her name while ruling in her own right. Jonathan Goldstein suggests

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[50] Hoover, "Seleucid Coinage," 34–37.
[51] On this, see Morten Hørning Jensen, "Message and Minting: The Coins of Herod Antipas in their Second Temple Context as a Source for Understanding the Religio-Political and Socio-Economic Dynamics of Early First Century Galilee," in Zangenberg, Attridge and Martin, *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity*, 277–313, 284.
[52] Hoover, "Seleucid Coinage," 35.
[53] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 249, type 214.
[54] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 249–255.
[55] Dąbrowa, *Hasmoneans*, 137; Hendin, "Numismatic Expressions," 88. However, Hyrcanus had used the Greek letter A on some of his coins, see Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 242, type 6.

that "religious scruples drove King Jannaeus to refrain from coining in silver and gold."[56] I am uncertain about the exact religious scruples that Goldstein refers to, but whether the reason was ideological or practical, it is the case that Jannaeus, like every one of his predecessors and successors, refrained from minting gold or silver issues.

Figure 26 – Jannaeus Issue featuring Anchor and Lily

Image Credits: ANS 2013.63.214. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/2013.63.214.

6.3.1.5   *Matthias Antigonus*

After the reign of Jannaeus, his wife Alexandra Salome did not appear to commission any mints bearing her name. Neither did either of her sons, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, who variously held power over the next twenty turbulent years. Judean mints apparently ceased production until the brief reign of Matthias Antigonus (40–37 BCE), who temporarily ruled from Jerusalem in opposition to Herod the Great. The symbols he used include laurel wreaths, single cornucopia, wreaths, double-cornucopiae with pomegranates or ears of wheat,

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[56] Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean Dynasty," *CHJ* 2:292–351, 333.

showbread tables, and menorot.[57] The images of the showbread table and menorah are among

the earliest representations of temple vessels in Jewish art.[58] Erlich links this incorporation to

the threat of Herod the Great and an attempt by Antigonus to bolster his own authority by

connecting himself explicitly with the temple cult.[59] Antigonus employed royal and priestly

titles simultaneously on his coins, a practice from which his predecessors had refrained.[60] For

example, he paired the cornucopiae, wreaths, and the showbread table with the Hebrew

inscription מתתיה הכהן הגדל הבר ידנא ("Mattathias the High Priest and the Council of the Jews")

while pairing wreaths or the menorah with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ ("King Antigonus").[61]

Figure 27 – Antigonus Issue featuring Showbread Table and Menorah

Image Credits: ANS 2013.63.446. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021,
http://numismatics.org/collection/2013.63.446.

6.3.1.6   *Summary of Hasmonean Coinage*

Regev suggests that the lack of any human or animal images on the Hasmonean coins

demonstrates that these were a rejection of paganism and an example of Jewish aniconic

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[57] Isadore Goldstein and Jean-Philippe Fontanille, "The Small Denominations of Mattathias Antigonus: Die Classification and Interpretations," *INR* 8 (2013): 55–71; Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 178–179.
[58] See discussion and detail in Weiss, "*Set the Showbread*," 382; see also Fine, *Art and Judaism*, 148–149.
[59] Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 97, also Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 219–220.
[60] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 219.
[61] Meshorer, Bijovsky and Fischer-Bossert, *Coins of the Holy Land*, 256–257.

sensibilities. He further argues that the influences of Hellenistic images upon Hasmonean coins indicates that the Hasmoneans did not completely reject Hellenism, or at least that the designers and engravers of the Hasmoneans issues saw no problems with the use of Hellenistic numismatic repertory.[62] The Hebrew inscriptions on the Hasmonean coins also show that the minters were attempting to connect the dynasty with a sense of prestige, in some cases using archaic scripts and connecting themselves either with the high priesthood or the kingship.[63]

The proliferation of Hasmonean coins surely had an economic driver, but this appears to have varied between members of the family. For instance, Antigonus used his coins as media for political propaganda. This can also be seen in his use of large denominations which wastes materials but allows for a larger image.[64] Yet Antigonus, along with his forebearers, only ever appears to have minted low value bronze coins.[65] This limited the political impact of a given issue; a large minting run of silver or even gold coins would be a far more impressive undertaking, demonstrating the wealth and implied power of the minting authority. Bronze coins, in comparison (especially when of quite poor quality), are much more restrained.

6.3.1.7   *Herod the Great*[66]

Despite his well-known title, Herod (37–4 BCE) never suffixed himself with "the Great" on his coins, only "king." He used the symbols of *apices*, helmets, shields, tripods, *aphlata*, eagles and caducei.[67] In doing so, he drew from both the Roman and Hasmonean symbolic

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[62] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 182–222. See also Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture*, 168; Erlich, *Art of Hellenistic Palestine*, 96–97.

[63] Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture*, 169.

[64] Goldstein and Fontanille, "Small Denominations," 55–71.

[65] Rappaport, "Emergence of Hasmonean Coinage," 173.

[66] For an overview, see Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 271–273.

[67] Rachel Barkay, "Roman Influence on Jewish Coins," in Jacobson and Kokkinos, *Judaea and Rome*, 19–26, 19; Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 272.

repertoires, although with some minor adaptations. For instance, a caduceus occupies the

place between cornucopiae where Hasmonean versions had employed the pomegranate.[68]

These cornucopiae issues were paired with anchors, demonstrating further that Herod's coins

maintained some iconographic connection with the Hasmoneans, particularly Hyrcanus I and

Jannaeus. Hoover suggests that the use of the symbols employed by the Hasmoneans ended

either after Herod executed his principal connection to the Hasmoneans, his wife Mariamne,

in 29 BCE, or around 7 BCE when he executed her sons.[69] After his victory over Antigonus,

Herod began to use the diadem.[70] Like Hasmoneans had done with their regional

predecessors, Herod continued to mint in the same denominations as had previously been

issued.[71]

Figure 28 – Herod the Great Issue featuring a Tripod and Apex

Image Credits: ANS 1944.100.62798. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021,
http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.62798.

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[68] Barkay, "Roman Influence," 20. Jacobson, "Significance of the Caduceus," 148, 153, suggests that Herod's
use of the caduceus was intended to align Herod with Mark Anthony, who had issued his own coin in 40 BCE
prominently featuring the symbol.
[69] Hoover, "Seleucid Coinage," 36.
[70] Noy, "Head Decoration," 44.
[71] Jacobson, "Herodian Bronze," 145.

6.3.1.8   Herod Antipas[72]

Perhaps due to his lengthy reign, Antipas' coinage is widespread, even outside of the area he directly ruled over. This might show that his authority had a certain cache amongst the residents of Gaulanitis, as many of his coins have been found at Gamla.[73] His coins exhibited floral depictions such as palm branches and barley/wheat, as well as wreaths.[74] While most of his issues appear to have been minted in Tiberias, a single issue is known from Sepphoris which was minted around 1 BCE/1 CE.[75] Antipas adopted a kind of mediating position between the minting practices of the Hasmoneans and other Herodians. He employed only Greek but tended to keep his motifs fairly consistent with Hasmonean iconography. Most of the coins do not incorporate any mention of Roman rulers or symbols used by them (setting aside the wreath).[76] However, one of Antipas' issues (minted in Tiberias) may have been intended to "flatter" Gaius (Caligula) by featuring his name Gaius Caesar Germanicus, although this appears to have failed to impress the emperor if he was ever aware of a minor provincial issue.[77]

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[72] For an overview, see Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 275–276.

[73] Jensen, "Message and Minting," 309.

[74] David Hendin, "A New Coin Type of Herod Antipas," in *Studies in Memory of Ya'akov Meshorer*, ed. Dan Barag, *INJ* 15 (Jerusalem: INJ, 2006), 56–61; Noy, "Head Decoration," 46.

[75] Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 275.

[76] Jensen, "Message and Minting," 311.

[77] Barkay, "Roman Influence," 22.

Figure 29 – Antipas Issue featuring Palm Tree and Wreath

Image Credits: ANS 1944.100.62829. American Numismatic Society, accessed June 3, 2021, http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.62829.

6.3.1.9   Summary of Herodian Coinage

Herodian coinage in general incorporates more iconographic elements known from the Roman numismatic repertoire than Hasmonean coinage does.[78] While the Hasmoneans drew from Seleucid and more general Hellenistic motifs to establish their own mode of numismatic expression, Herodian coins appear to have been consciously connected to other power bases. The Herodian's practice of minting only small change in limited numbers indicates that they were not minting in response to economic needs, but political ones.[79] Antipas' sporadic minting runs attest to this; his issues coincide with important periods in his reign.[80] Compared to the Herodian coins, the Hasmonean issues were clearly more popular in Galilee, remaining in circulation long after the Hasmoneans had fallen from power. This may be in part due to

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[78] Andrew Burnett, "The Herodian Coinage Viewed against the Wider Perspective of Roman Coinage," in Jacobson and Kokkinos, *Judaea and Rome in Coins*, 1–18, 13. See also Barkay, "Roman Influence," 19–26.
[79] Fabian Udoh, "Taxation and Other Sources of Government Income in the Galilee of Herod and Antipas," in Fiensy and Strange, *Galilee 1*, 366–387, 375.
[80] A chart of the issues of Antipas and Philip, along with events in the region can be found in Fred Strickert, "The Founding of the City of Julias by the Tetrarch Philip in 30 CE," *JJS* 61.2 (2010): 224. Strickert misses Antipas' issue which coincided with his refoundation of Sepphoris around 1 BCE/1 CE, although this only adds to the impression, as Philip had apparently founded Caesarea Philippi in 1 CE and issued his first coin.

the nature of bronze coins; the use of a bronze coin as a token of exchange lasted longer than attachment to the figure on the coin itself.[81] Overall, Herodian coinage failed to make much of an economic impact in Galilee, perhaps because the economy already had sufficient supplies of bronze coinage, but possibly because the Herodians did not establish the same kind of connection between themselves and the territories they ruled over.

6.3.2 Coins as Indicators and Enablers of Spatial Management

Spaces are managed through various means. Political spaces in the ancient world were managed through public displays of power, associations with the divine, and tight control over boundaries, among other methods. Those in power use "modes of communication" to control the space around them.[82] One such method is via coinage. Coinage is a rather subtle form of top-down control which reinforces managed public images through the repetition of key terms and symbols associated with particular figures. Coins are able to reach a wide audience and their continued use points to an acceptance of the authority they represent. This is especially true of low denominations which indicate continued fidelity towards an authority by both their users and the authorities who mint and occasionally recall issues.[83] Jannaeus issues for instance are known to have remained in circulation until the outbreak of the revolt against Rome around a century and a half after his death.[84]

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[81] I thank Tine Rassalle for her input on this point.

[82] Doron Mendels uses this language to describe the Ptolemaic environmental creation which was recognizable by the local populace of Egypt. See Mendels, *Memory in Jewish*, 71–72.

[83] Bronze coins have the double advantage for such analysis because they are a common find, usually dropped by mistake and can therefore map the acceptance and usage of currencies much more effectively than larger denominations, which are usually purposely stored. See Syon, *Small Change*, 35, 43.

[84] Syon, *Small Change*, 45.

Moreland notes that numismatic finds do not indicate anything more than de-facto administrative influences.[85] While the continued use of Hasmonean issues beyond the premiership of the dynasty does not mean much beyond the longevity of bronze coin circulation, the subsequent coins minted by revolutionary parties during the First Jewish War attest to an ideology of "Temple Loyalty."[86] Authorities in Gamla created coins to promote the rebellion against Rome and tied their goals with the Jerusalem Temple. The Hasmonean coins in particular demonstrate that Galilean regional space was linked with Jerusalem the city, Jerusalem political authorities, and the Jerusalem Temple. Recalling Lefebvre's distinction between spatial users and producers [see 1.4], I would suggest that while many reasons for Hasmonean and Herodian minting may not have made much impact in terms of the creation of Galilean space, the widespread usage of Jannaeus' coins in particular suggests a connection between Jerusalem and Galilee was established by the first Hasmonean ruler to really make an impact in the region. Subsequent rulers may have attempted to produce a similar kind of effect but did not mint coins to the same extent as Jannaeus.

6.3.3   Herodian Oil Lamps

"Herodian" oil lamps, so called as they appeared during the Herodian period, were a late 1st century BCE or early 1st century CE design of lamp which became quite popular throughout the then Herodian ethnarchies and tetrarchies.[87] Production of the Herodian lamp form ceased around the middle of the 1st century CE, perhaps at the time of the Jerusalem Temple's

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[85] Moreland, "Inhabitants of Galilee," 156.

[86] Bronze coins would last well beyond the reign of their minters. See Gabriela Bijovsky, *Gold Coin and Small Change: Monetary Circulation in Fifth-Seventh Century Byzantine Palestine*, Polymnia: Numismatica Antica e Medievale - Studi 2 (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste; Jerusalem: Israel Numismatic Society, 2012), 8–9.

[87] Jan Gunneweg and Isadore Perlman, "The Origin of the Herodian Lamp," *BAIAS* 4 (1984-1985): 80.

destruction.[88] They appear to have originated mainly in Jerusalem, although there are indications that this design was copied in Galilean workshops. An analysis of lamps collected from a variety of sites (including Gamla, Yodefat, Sepphoris) shows that their chemical makeup closely matches that of soil samples collected from the environs of Jerusalem.[89] Oil lamps were quite lightweight and travelled well, yet their design quality and popularity appears to have led to local artisans producing their own Herodian lamps.[90] Such Galilean workshops have been identified at both Nazareth and Shiḥin, where the potters imitated the Jerusalem lamps by using similar techniques and soil colours.[91] These lamps have quite a simple design. The lamps were made by spinning a lump of clay on a wheel which was shaped into the main body of the lamp. A nozzle was attached and connected to the oil reservoir via a hole perforated in the side of the body. The nozzle was then scraped, shaved or pared (resulting in the occasional term "knife-pared lamps" for this kind of lamp) with a sharp instrument to blend the join between the body and the nozzle, creating an appearance which has been compared to the surface of stone vessels and secondary burial boxes (ossuaries).[92] The lamps have no "discus" impression on the top surface, a shallow concave around the

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[88] Gunneweg and Perlman, "Herodian Lamp," 83, although I would not wish to use the well-known date and effects of the destruction of the Herodian Temple as an all-purpose fixture for dating material finds. However, the destruction of Jerusalem may have stopped the main source of this lamp's production.

[89] David Adan-Bayewitz, Frank Asaro, Moshe Wieder and Robert D. Giauque, "Preferential Distribution of Lamps from the Jerusalem Area in the Late Second Temple Period (Late First Century B.C.E.-70 C.E.)," *BASOR* 350 (2008): 58.

[90] Eric C. Lapp, "Clay Lamps Shed New Light on Daily Life in Antiquity," *NEA* 67.3 (2004): 174; *idem.*, *Sepphoris II: The Clay Lamps from Ancient Sepphoris – Light Use and Regional Interactions*, Duke Sepphoris Excavation Reports 2 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2016), 187, using figures and estimates from Safrai, *Economy of Roman Palestine*, 289, and using the average lamp weight of 50g, suggests that a porter could transport 642 lamps, a donkey 1926, a camel 3852, and a wagon 11,557. Thus, lamps produced in Jerusalem could be transported in great quantities quite easily to Galilee.

[91] Anastasia Shapiro, "A Petrographic Study of Roman Ceramic Oil Lamps," *Strata* 35 (2017): 107–108; Strange, "Kefar Shikhin," 101–103; James Riley Strange and Mordechai Aviam, "Shiḥin Excavation Project: Oil Lamp Production at Ancient Shiḥin," *Strata* 35 (2017): 63–99; Sussman, *Roman Period Oil Lamps*, 3. Lamps were typically manufactured in cities, so the workshops in rural settlements were quite unusual. See Lapp, *Sepphoris II*, 182; Strange and Aviam, "Shiḥin," 93.

[92] Sussman, *Roman Period Oil Lamps*, 3, 78. Sussman suggests that the nozzles themselves may have been considered pure, although this is difficult to ascertain from a finishing process and without textual support.

central filling hole which was often decorated in contemporary lamp forms. An innovative

study by Ameera Elrasheedy and Daniel Schindler tested the production time, brightness and

work required to keep a lamp burning for various kinds of Palestinian lamps. They discovered

that a similar lamp form to the Herodian lamp (i.e., a closed-bodied lamp, 4cm high, 9cm

diameter, Howland type 25C) would burn for a little longer than open lamps and would give

off twice the brightness such open lamps could offer. The wick did not need to be adjusted

frequently, meaning that the lamp could be left burning without constant attention. The

Herodian lamps also had the advantage of having a large oil reserve which enabled the user to

leave a burning lamp for a longer period than if they used different lamp varieties.[93]

Oil lamps served a variety of purposes; they were used for household, communal and

industrial illumination, in burial contexts, presented as offerings or gifts, used in ritual

ceremonies.[94] Lamps are also a common find in refuge caves.[95] Some were highly elaborate in

design and quality. Among others, Mordechai Aviam has suggested that a preference for

Herodian lamps can be linked to a manifestation of religious identity. For example, about

78% of the lamp assemblage from Yodefat consists of Herodian lamps, either from Jerusalem,

or locally made imitations.[96] However, the quality of the lamp meant that it was used widely

and cannot be ascribed to Jewish or non-Jewish use.[97]

As discussed above [see 2.1.5.2], olive oil was an important product in the ancient

Mediterranean, but also significant according to some conceptions of purity within Judaism.

Furthermore, the cultivation of olive tree grooves requires at least a decade of uninterrupted

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[93] Elrasheedy and Schindler, "Illuminating the Past," 39–40. See also Lapp, *Sepphoris II*, 26.
[94] Sussman, *Roman Period Oil Lamps*, 5–6. On the use in temples and shrines, see Lapp, "Clay Lamps," 174.
[95] Lamp niches have been reported in Shivtiel, "Artificial Caves," 69.
[96] Aviam, "People, Land, Economy," 34, here suggesting that these lamps connect Jerusalem, holiness and light. See also Aviam, "Yodefat," 123.
[97] Adan-Bayewitz et al., "Preferential Distribution," 38.

management.[98] The abundance of oil presses and presumably local cultivation in Galilee during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods suggests that for all of the reported strife and conflict, areas of the region were able to establish long-term economic centres of output. Not only was the production of oil a key industry in Galilee, but as we have seen [see 3.3.2.3], oil was often discussed in terms of purity. The production of olive oil, and the use and consumption of oil, was required by some to be a pure activity. The use of oil lamps may be related to this sphere of purity.
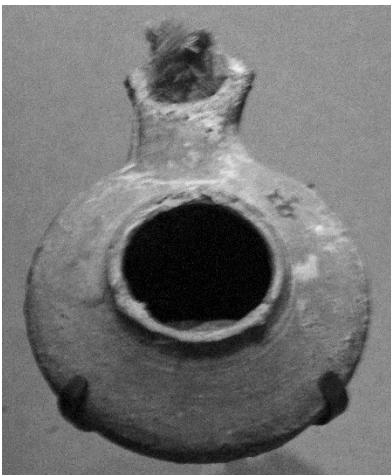
Figure 30 – Photo of Herodian Oil Lamp

6.3.4   Other Connections to Jerusalem and Its Temple

As discussed above [see 4.4.1.5], the Magdala "synagogue" stone (or ashlar) is an interesting example of ancient Jewish art. Furthermore, it explicitly ties at least a portion of the Magdala population to the Jerusalem Temple. Similar connections can be identified between the Gamla authorities during the revolt period [see 4.5.1]. Jerusalem is the most commonly referenced place outside of Galilee in Galilean material culture of the 1st centuries BCE and CE. This may be as expected, but the fact confirms an ideological connection, a form

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[98] Root, *First Century Galilee*, 121–122.

of "Temple Loyalty" made manifest in Galilean regional space and in specifical locales

throughout Galilee. While the direct iconographic connections are few, their presence,

combined with a general orientation towards Judea and the Hasmoneans in Galilee, appears to

clearly tie the conceptualisation of a predominant religious identity in Galilee with Jerusalem.

Josephus detailed some of the Galilean fidelity toward Jerusalem and the temple in his

War and *Life* [see 1.2.1.4]. Additionally, at least 62 Jerusalem coins (dated to years 2, 3 and 4

of the war) minted under the revolutionary authorities during the First Jewish War have been

found in Galilee and the Golan.[99] All of these issues are connected explicitly to Jerusalem;

known inscriptions recorded on such coins include ירושלים הקדושה ("Jerusalem the Holy"), חרות

ציון ("Freedom of Zion"), and גאלת ציון ("Redemption of Zion").[100] This suggests that even after

the end of the conflict in Galilee, coins minted in Jerusalem proclaiming "for the

freedom/redemption of Zion" were in use in Galilee.

Figure 31 – Year 1 Silver Sheqel

Image Credits: ANS 2010.69.1. American Numismatic Society, accessed 3, 2021,
http://numismatics.org/collection/2010.69.1.

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[99] Syon, *Small Change*, 189.
[100] Deutsch, "Coinage," 116; Hendin, "Current Viewpoints," 283–284.

6.4   Galilee as a Regional Space

Many of the above elements of material culture are also found in the material culture of Judea. This is probably partly due to the settlement of areas of Galilee by Judeans migrating northwards during the 1st century BCE. However, some aspects of Judean material culture, such as stone ossuaries, did not appear until after the 1st century CE in Galilee.[101] Galilean settlements were distinct in many ways from settlements of the surrounding areas. We should understand this in terms of degrees. Larger settlements offer us more in terms of evidence for elements related to Jewish spatial production (i.e., stone vessels), but this could be largely due to greater sample sizes rather than homogenous populations. As such, Galilee tends to be defined from the centre rather than its borders.

This chapter has indicated that Galilee can be described as a region through the distribution of varied artefacts, yet much like the borders of Galilee described in our ancient sources [see 1.2.4], this region changed over time and functions as a malleable concept. As discussed above [2.1.2.5;2.2.42.2.4], archaeological phenomena such as ritual immersion pools and stone vessels are often found in only limited quantities. It is therefore questionable whether we can state that a settlement can be a constituted as Galilean on the basis of a handful of stone vessel fragments. As historians and archaeologists, we actively recreate a concept of Galilee built around such phenomena, but we are on much firmer ground when Galilean space is defined from an analysis of larger settlements in the region. Sites like

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[101] Mordechai Aviam and Danny Syon, "Jewish Ossilegium in Galilee," in *What Athens Has to Do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster*, ed. Leonard V. Rutgers, ISACR 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 151–185, 151.

Sepphoris or Magdala provide a plethora of evidence upon which we can think about more marginal settlements. These more marginal cases, like for example Tel Zar'a, which lies in the Decapolis region, and where an unknown quantity of stone vessel fragments have been reported, may or may not form part of our definition of Galilee. The process by which we determine Galilean space is established from key sites and these conclusions are applied other settlements in the region. As such, this methodology does cannot accurately describe the outer limits of Galilee, as any marginal case is up for debate.

As noted at the outset [1.1], not every aspect of the formation of Galilean space can be connected to Hasmonaean influence. Much of the material culture postdates Hasmonean hegemony and we should certainly allow that ancient people had some autonomy over their own cultural expression. Yet from the incorporation of Galilee into the Hasmonean state, the material culture shifted towards expressions which enabled Jewish ritual and non-ritual practices, and embodied Jewish conceptions of religious identity. This can be attributed in part to the "power-geometry" present in Galilee, where cultural and political influences locally and from Jerusalem itself exerted forms of spatial control over how Galilean regional space manifested.

A further aspect of regional space to consider is the clear contrast with regions surrounding Galilee. From stone vessels to a lack of imported ceramic ware, much of the household culture of Galilee differed from households on the coast, towards the north and among the settlements of the Decapolis.[102] That is to say that Galilee was clearly distinct from its neighbours. Simultaneously, Galilean material culture was a close match to contemporary

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[102] Further studies may examine the oft noted distinction between Galilee and Samaria. As much of this territory which was once known as Samaria lies within the West Bank, it is under the legal administration of the Palestinian National Authority, or the State of Palestine, and as such, many excavations are fraught with legal and ethical issues.

Judean material culture. Migration from Judea to Galilee, Hasmonean (and perhaps Herodian) influence, and "Temple Loyalty" are all factors to which this similarity can be attributed. Galilee is distinguishable from Judea because of its lack of a singular central settlement and cultic institution. The notion of a Jewish temple was exceedingly important, and other temples of the Jewish God are known from antiquity, most famously that in Leontopolis. That the Galileans did not at any point establish their own temple may be linked to the centralised authority of the Hasmoneans in Jerusalem. Thus, Galilean space was orientated towards an external space, that of Jerusalem. This is borne out in the numismatic evidence, as coins found in Galilee overwhelmingly originated in Jerusalem. We cannot determine whether Galileans were active in this creation of an external focal point, or if the preponderance of Jerusalem provenance for Galilean material culture was a top-down expression of power bases in Jerusalem. I suspect that there was at least some local, popular support for the Hasmonean dynasty, and certainly for the Jerusalem Temple. If Josephus is to be trusted, then we have some reports of violent actions in support of the Jerusalem Temple taking place throughout the 1st centuries BCE and CE.

7. <u>Summary</u>

In this thesis I have argued that Galilean space during the Hasmonean and Herodian periods exemplifies the diverse nature of Judaism in the late Second Temple period. Galilee was a space of production for Jewish identity before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the establishment of rabbinic Judaism in Galilee. To analyse Judaism in Galilee, I have explored the nature of religious identity in Galilee between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE. This has been achieved through an examination of Galilean material culture and through using the lens of spatial theory to present an examination of ancient Galilean space. Human experience of space proceeds from embodied existence. As such, I have begun with an analysis of Galilean identity and its relation to bodily space, before considering the spaces created when bodies interact i.e., communal space. I then have identified a third level of space, which bound the whole of Galilee together as a regional space. These levels were brought into dialogue with a selection of ancient Jewish sources to establish how Galilean space contributed towards the creation of ancient Jewish identity.

Chapter 1 [Introduction] dealt with a range of methodological perspectives which impact a consideration of Galilean religious and spatial identity. This included a discussion of Galilee as a distinct region, albeit one with shifting borders. I then defined late Second Temple period Judaism as a varied and fluid group identity, with religious and ethnic connotations. Some of this variation can be seen across a range of ancient sources, while some can be established through a consideration of the diversity of human embodied experience. Finally, I introduced spatial theory which allows for a fresh examination of textual and material evidence, revealing a greater understanding of ancient Jewish identity. Chapter 1 established the temporal and geographical scope of the thesis, engaged with ongoing scholarly

discussions about the nature of late Second Temple period Judaism, and highlighted certain aspects of spatial theory which were subsequently used to interpret Galilean remains afresh.

Following this, Chapter 2 [The Material Culture of Purity in Late Second Temple Period Galilee] examined how Galilean bodily space was constructed, with a focus on ancient Jewish conceptions of (im)purity. I explored the material culture of Galilee which relates to bodily expression, specifically ritual immersion pools and stone vessels. This chapter discussed issues related to the identification, prevalence, contexts and possible literary references to these artefacts. Ritual immersion pools and stone vessels were both examples of Galilean spatial production to service the needs of Galileans, as well as active instruments which created spaces themselves. The pools and stone vessels are notable as they can be shown to have participated in the expression of ancient Judaism and enactment of Galilean space. Galilean material culture reveals otherwise unknown aspects of ancient Jewish practice, conceptions about the human body in ancient Judaism, and how ritual was enacted in everyday life. After this analysis came Chapter 3 [Purity in Late Second Temple Period Judaism] which examined a range of sources known to have been in circulation in the late Second Temple period and discussion of how these related to conceptions of (im)purity. This chapter was centred on the relation of these purity conceptions to the human body. The ritual immersion pools and stone vessels previously discussed add weight to the idea that Galilean bodily space was in large part concerned with (im)purity, and ancient Galileans took steps to ensure that they could properly observe purity requirements, even if the exact practices they engaged in are unclear. We can better understand how ancient Judaism was expressed by reading Jewish texts that concern bodily space.

Moving beyond bodily space, I presented evidence in Chapter 4 [Jewish Communal Structures in Late Second Temple Period Galilee] of communal structures known from

Galilee. While Second Temple period "synagogues" have been suggested or identified in eight Galilean sites, I have examined in detail the only three well-documented and dated structures in Galilee – two from Gamla and one from Magdala. Here I presented the known evidence from each of these sites and employed spatial theory to read these structures in a new light. This allowed me to explore some of the ways in which these structures were used beyond the constraints of supposed normative practices as described in texts. Thus, this chapter examined the evidence for known communal structures in Second Temple period Galilee and explored these key examples of Jewish communal space. Chapter 5 [Jewish Communal Structures in the Late Second Temple Period] examined a range of textual sources attesting to Jewish communal structures throughout the Mediterranean. The chapter explored the breadth of Jewish communal spaces that were lived during the late Second Temple period. This provided a context in which to understand the Galilean structures, while allowing for a spectrum of diverse Jewish communal spaces. Chapters 2 and 4 specifically examined Galilean material culture and were each followed by chapters that analysed ancient Jewish texts with the same spatial frameworks. Thus, I contextualised Galilean religious identity and the spaces related to identity formation within broader Jewish identity.

The Hasmoneans attempted to establish new methods of identity formation including new festivals, their own status as temple officiants, political and military leaders, and their practice of ritual purity.[1] Some of this identity formation appears to have taken root in Galilee during the 1st century BCE. Chapter 6 [Regional Space in Galilee] has discussed how Galilee was experienced as a regional space in the late Second Temple period. This construction of Galilee as a region can be seen in the material culture examined throughout the thesis. Interestingly, this region was not orientated around one local site, such as Sepphoris or

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[1] Regev, *Hasmoneans*, 286.

Magdala, but towards Jerusalem. Thus, Galilean regional space has a displaced centre, and attests to what I have termed "Temple Loyalty" which was exemplified by many Galileans. This can be seen in the aspects of material culture which either come directly from Jerusalem, or make reference to the Jerusalem Temple in some way, shape, or form. I argue that the Hasmoneans were largely responsible for this influence, but that Galilean continued to develop "Temple Loyalty" after the rise of the Herodians. Aspects of this identity are connected with purity conceptions, notably some uses of ritual immersion pools and stone vessels. This aspect of identity is principally a form of bodily expression, creating and maintaining a sense of space in many Galilean villages and towns. The Hasmoneans appear to have invested in certain industries and places in Galilee, such as the production of olive oil or the town of Magdala [see 2.1.5.2; 2.1.5.3; 4.4].

Galilean identity was expressed using some innovative artefacts which helped individuals and communities to observe particular practices. There was a general ethos of purification observance and communal gatherings in purpose-built structures which fashioned Galilee into a cohesive region. Across Galilean settlements, there were also a variety of connections between Galilee and the Hasmonean dynasty, and more importantly, the Jerusalem Temple. Spatial theory has permitted a fresh approach particularly to the archaeological evidence. For example, having left behind "synagogue" terminology, structures which could have served communal purposes are able to inform us how Jewish spaces were constructed in Galilee and their variety. We can turn back to our texts and imagine afresh the settings in which these kinds of described activities happened. If we begin to think about the possibility that Torah readings were held inside structures like Gamla Building S, then we might start to reframe our perceptions of the settings for texts like Philo's *Hypothetica*.

This thesis has implications for other areas of study. Beyond scholarship which relies on a robust understanding of Galilee during the Hasmonean and Herodian period, the examination of Judaism in Galilee can be adopted in later periods. The "people of the land" often derided in Rabbinic literature as unknowledgeable or ignorant of the law (i.e., the proper practices of Judaism) should not be viewed as expressing a lesser Judaism, but rather a form of identity that is simply different from Rabbinic norms. Galilee could also be read as a diasporic space. Galilee in many ways appears to have been part of the land, yet the Galileans were quite distant from the Jerusalem Temple. Therefore, it is worth re-evaluating our understanding of diasporic Judaism, as, if there is a contested or unclear conception of the physical boundaries of the land, how do we determine what is and is not diasporic? Finally, Galileans could also be compared to Samaritans, or indeed any other group which complicates our perception of the diversity within ancient Judaism.

Galilee and ancient Galileans have been shown to have participated in a general cultural ethos of "Temple Loyalty." This cultural ethos permeated the whole region, as evidenced by a number of features and events in Galilee's archaeological record and history. I conclude that Galilean religious identity shared in a broader notion of ancient Jewish identity although with its own distinctive features. Galilean households and communities shared a typological set of noteworthy artefacts with Judeans. Their distance from the Jerusalem Temple did not prohibit such a pattern, nor did the fact that the surrounding territories differed significantly. Galilee and Judea were hardly contiguous territory; Galilee cannot be said to be just an extension of Judea. Instead, Galileans made a conscious effort to align with Judean material culture. Galilean identity as presented above is similar to, although distinctive from, Judean identity, integral to a full appreciation of ancient Jewish expression, and should be understood as part of a multifaceted view of ancient Judaism.

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