Buried History

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2009 Volume 45

Buried History

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Cover: *The administrative text referring to Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn BM 114789*

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Editorial

We apologise for the delay in producing this edition of *Buried History*. We hope that we can still produce the next edition before the end of the year.

The journal begins with a tribute to Professor Donald Wiseman who died on 2nd February 2010. He made a significant contribution in many areas throughout his life and the tribute attempts to highlight some of these. The Institute had his support from its inception and more recently was fortunate to have him as an Honorary Fellow. The tribute was prepared with the kind assistance and advice of an early student of Professor Wiseman, Professor Alan Millard.

The first paper is by another student of Professor Wiseman, Terence Mitchell, who was also a colleague of Professor Wiseman's at the British Museum. Before taking up his position at the BM, Terence was employed briefly by Walter Beasley, the founder of the Institute. He was also for a time the Institute's representative in the United Kingdom. Terence has retired from the British Museum but has maintained his connection with the Museum and, as demonstrated by his paper, has also remained active in research.

The paper by Dr Erica Hunter on the Hebrew inscriptions at Jām, Afghanistan, is on the fringe of the *Buried History* field of interest, however it does have some Melbourne input. The inscriptions at Jām were part of archaeological work undertaken recently by David Thomas of La Trobe University, and we are pleased to give it coverage amongst our readers. Erica has made a significant contribution to the analysis of Mesopotamian cursing bowls and in fact has the publication of the Institute's cursing bowl in her program.

The Institute's mummy has been the subject of some research by Janet Davey and Pamela Craig in the past as reported in *Buried History*. Janet is now pursuing formal research and her work on the mummy is part of that endeavour. The advances in digital analysis and presentation have been significant since the mummy was first scanned late last century. The Institute gratefully acknowledges the support of the Victorian Institute for Forensic Medicine in the current research project.

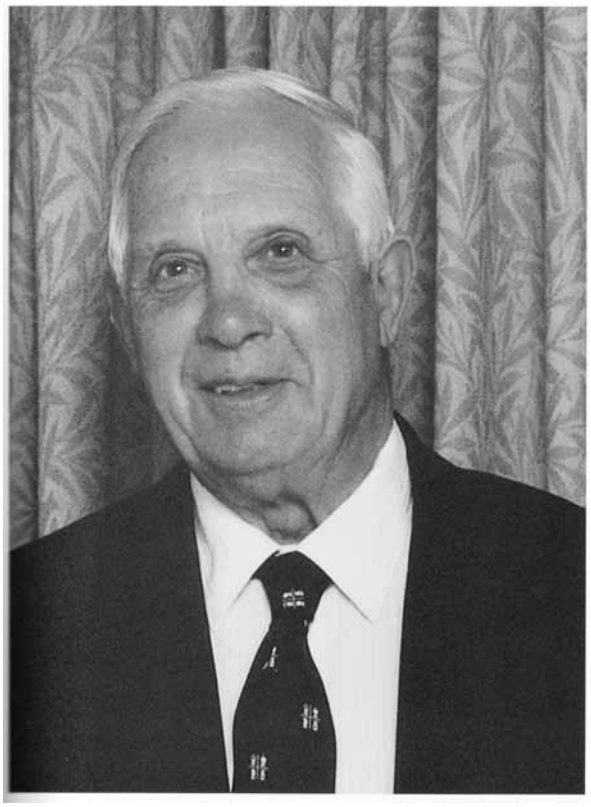
Dr Anne Gardner lectures in ancient history at La Trobe University and has been working for some years on the circumstances in the southern Levant at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. The paper published here is a follow-on from that work. The remains of the building at Jericho about which she writes no longer exist and the original building awaits an adequate interpretation. Anne offers a suggestion.

The Institute has a significant collection of archaeological material from the two main excavators of the Middle Building at Jericho, Professor John Garstang and Dame Kathleen Kenyon. Most of the material derives from tomb locations and not the Tell. The existence at the Institute of Kenyon Jericho material is generally known, but the Garstang collection is not.

We have been pleased to include material from Scott Charlesworth in past editions. In this issue Scott reviews Richard Bauckham's *Jesus and the eyewitnesses*. This book has been the subject of significant comment in other journals and we are pleased to present Scott's views.

As always we thank our reviewers and all who have contributed to this issue of *Buried History*.

Christopher J. Davey



Professor Donald John Wiseman OBE DLit FBA FKC FSA (1918-2010): A Tribute

When Professor Donald Wiseman died at home on 2nd February 2010, aged 91, the Institute lost one of its Honorary Fellows and a friend. Professor Wiseman was a supporter of the Institute from its foundation in 1947 and a most significant person in the study of the ancient world of the Bible. This tribute has been adapted from an obituary in *The Daily Telegraph* 16 February 2010 with information from Professor Wiseman's autobiography *Life above and below,* (Privately published, 2003), personal reminiscences, and some helpful comments and information from Professor Alan Millard.

Before retirement in 1982, Professor Wiseman had been an assistant keeper at the British Museum and Professor of Assyriology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, The University of London. Professor Wiseman had distinguished military service, a long publishing record, an eminent academic career, broad archaeological experience and was an influential archaeological and academic administrator. His evangelical perspective led him to encourage many Christians in their faith.

Donald Wiseman was born at Emsworth, Hampshire, on October 25 1918. He was the third of five children and grew up in Upper Norwood, London. His father, Air Commodore Percy Wiseman, was a serious scholar of the Bible and was able to combine his work as an accountant in the RAF, which often took him to the Middle East, with the writing of two books, *New Discoveries in Babylonia about Genesis* (1936) and *Creation Revealed in Six Days* (1946). These works attempt to reconcile the biblical account of creation with theories of evolution. Donald Wiseman later republished these works under the title *Clues to Creation in Genesis* (Marshall, Morgan and Scott: London, 1977).

His parents were members of the Open Brethren, and so the initial experience of family worship and regular attendance at Sunday gatherings played a formative role in Donald's life. Lengthy Brethren meetings can be a trial for children who sit throughout with their families and Donald remembered, on one occasion at least, occupying himself by learning the Hebrew alphabet from the section headings of Psalm 119. Donald also remembered being fascinated by the cuneiform tablets brought from Iraq by his father and how he puzzled over the fact that they remained in their house unread.

At Dulwich College, Donald joined the Christian Union and, at weekends, attended the Upper Norwood Boys' Crusader Class, broadening his knowledge of the Bible. At the age of fourteen he made a personal Christian commitment and was baptised. He played rugby and cricket and had interesting experiences with family and friends, many of whom were missionaries, that helped him appreciate practical activities such as carpentry, brick-laying and gardening, and understand life abroad in a world of foreign languages.

Thoughout his life Donald demonstrated practical hands-on abilities and a confidence in foreign places.

After leaving school, Donald went to King's College, London, to do a general arts course. During his first summer vacation he visited William J. Martin, a friend of his father and a lecturer in Semitic languages at Liverpool University. Martin persuaded him that, in the face of the many attacks on the reliability and relevance of the Bible, it would be most useful to concentrate on periods of history and languages directly related to biblical history.

As a result of this counsel Donald turned to studying Hebrew, for which he won the University McCaul Hebrew prize, and Assyrian with Sidney Smith of the British Museum. He completed the senior Hebrew syllabus with Professor S.L. Brown, but had to fend for himself where Assyrian was concerned because Smith was fully committed to moving British Museum material out of London and was helping Jewish academics flee Germany. Donald also received a good grounding in archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology, then in Regent's Park, where the lecturers included Gordon Childe and Kathleen Kenyon. While at King's, he joined the Officer Training Corps and the University of London Air Squadron, to the dismay of some fellow members of the Christian Union who frowned on his attendance at war studies lectures.

On the outbreak of war he was commissioned as an acting pilot officer in the RAFVR and served as personal assistant to Air Vice-Marshal Keith Park, AOC No 11 Fighter Group, during the Battle of Britain. Later he was posted to Fighter Command and joined a special intelligence group handling the Ultra signals, deciphered at Bletchley Park.

In 1942 he became senior intelligence officer of the Mediterranean Allied Tactical Air Forces and accompanied the First Army in the race for Tunis, providing General Alexander with daily briefings on German military planning. He followed the campaign to Sicily and then to Italy and was promoted to Group Captain.

For his wartime service, Donald was twice mentioned in despatches and in 1943 was appointed OBE (Military). The next year he won an American Bronze Star. His citation recorded that 'the intelligence material gathered through

Figure 1: *Wiseman's war medals including OBE (mil) Africa Star, and US Bronze Star. Photo: Wiseman 2003*

Figure 2: *Wing Commander Wiseman briefing General Alexander at the daily war conference 1943. Photo: Wiseman 2003*

his selfless and earnest work' had enabled the Allied commanders to plan and launch the air operations which brought victory to the Allied Armies in Italy.

Donald was demobbed in 1945 and took up an exhibition in Oriental Languages at Wadham College, Oxford, which he had been awarded before the war, studying Hebrew under Professor GR Driver and Akkadian (Assyrian and Babylonian) under Oliver Gurney. After taking his finals in 1948 he was invited to join the staff of the department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum as an assistant keeper.

For the next four years his primary task was the translation of the 450 cuneiform tablets excavated by Leonard Woolley at Alalakh in Syria, work summarised in *The Alalakh Tablets* (British School of Archaeology at Ankara: London, 1953). This work was made possible in part by a financial contribution from the Australian Institute of Archaeology, and in recognition of this the Institute received eleven Alalakh tablets.

Speaking at the Service of Thanksgiving on Friday, 4th June 2010, at All Souls' Church, Langham Place, London, Professor Alan Millard commented that the tablets

> *had been found in a part of the Syrian region where no others had been found previously, so held many problems. I should explain that cuneiform tablets are usually cushion-shaped and the signs three-*

Figure 3: *Nimrud 1951, Donald (left) with Agatha and Max Mallowan. Photo: Mallowan*

> *dimensional, pressed into the clay, which makes them difficult to photograph, so scholars normally make two-dimensional drawings of the signs. Donald drew the signs neatly, carefully marking any damage. He was given only a short time to work on them as many had to be returned to the Antioch Museum. For that reason, rather than translating every one, he developed a catalogue style which gave enough basic information for those who could not read cuneiform. This method was to serve him and scholarship well throughout his career, enabling him to make over 1,000 ancient documents available for others to study. In fact, his foundational work on those tablets from Alalakh, published in 1953, has supplied and continues to supply material for numerous doctoral theses, essays and monographs.*

The immediate post-war years saw the mounting of several major archaeological expeditions in the Middle East. In 1950, Donald was invited by the archaeologist Max Mallowan to join him and his wife, the novelist Agatha Christie, to act as site epigraphist at the excavations of the Assyrian capital Kalhu at Nimrud, 24 miles south of Mosul in Iraq. He returned to the excavations for several seasons, compiling a catalogue of the cuneiform tablets unearthed there. The Australian Institute of Archaeology was a financial supporter of the Nimrud excavations and received a number of significant objects; these included some cuneiform tablets which were sent to the Institute after they had been baked and translated by Professor Wiseman.

He became a close personal friend of Mallowan and Agatha Christie and was responsible for building Agatha a work room at Nimrud where her typewriter would not be interfered with. When someone posted a note on the door of this room reading: 'If you want to get rid of your mother-in-law, apply here', Agatha was less than pleased, but was delighted when Donald provided a substitute written in cuneiform saying: 'Bêt A-ga-ta' – 'Agatha's House'. Professor Wiseman's favourite memory of Agatha was her patient conservation of Nimrud ivories and tablets removing dirt from them with one of her knitting needles.

Over the next 25 years, Donald was involved in several excavations in Iraq and Turkey. He was responsible for publishing cuneiform material from Nimrud and Tell al-Rimah. Professor Wiseman was involved with the oversight of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and British Institute in Amman for Archaeology and History. He was the Chairman and then President of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq and the Editor of its journal *Iraq*.

Donald left the British Museum in 1961 to take up a chair in Assyriology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, where he remained until his retirement in 1982. He taught and supervised the research of an impressive number of scholars who subsequently held significant academic positions around the world. On retirement, he was made an honorary member of the School and elected a fellow of King's College, London.

Professor Wiseman published a number of notable papers and books. In addition to those already mentioned, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 BC) in the British Museum* (British Museum: London, 1956), documents the history of the Babylonian kings from Nebuchadnezzar. It includes the precise date when the Babylonian army captured Jerusalem and took the young king Jehoiachin prisoner to Babylon, 15/16 March, 597 B.C.

The Vassal-Treaties of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon were found by Professor Mallowan at Nimrud and were published by Donald with commendable haste in *Iraq* XX. He also edited a number of substantial volumes which drew together many significant scholars including *The New Bible Commentary* (IVF: London, 1953) the *New Bible Dictionary* (IVF: London, 1962, 1982, 1996) and *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (IVP: London, 1980).

In 1979 he was invited by the Iraqi government to take part in its symposium on Babylon. He surveyed the possible locations of the 'Hanging Gardens' which King Nebuchadnezzar had built for his Queen, Amytis. He felt that the site by the Ishtar Gate and Processional Way which had been generally accepted as the most likely location for this wonder of the ancient world could not be correct because of its distance from the palace where Amytis resided. Instead he suggested that the site probably lay further west, by the river Euphrates, where the foundations of a massive tower had been discovered and where it could have been conveniently accessed from the palace.

A group of American evangelical Christians had set up a committee in 1965, with W. J. Martin as one of its members, to work on a new translation of the Bible. In 1966 Donald

Figure 4: *Professor Wiseman at home with a cuneiform envelope. Photo: Wiseman 2003*

was invited to join the project and made an initial draft translation of the books of Kings and Chronicles. When the translation was complete, he led a small group to turn the American text into British English and secured its publication by Hodder and Stoughton as the *New International Version* in 1979. The NIV remains one of the most popular English Bible translations and its success was a source of much satisfaction for Professor Wiseman.

In 1947 Donald had been instrumental in forming an Old Testament study group of the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research. He was chairman of the Tyndale House for Biblical Research from 1957 to 1986. During this time the Tyndale Fellowship has made a significant contribution to biblical scholarship. At the suggestion of Professor Wiseman, in 1954 the Institute resolved to provide an annual amount to fund a Biblical Archaeology lecture to be sponsored by the Tyndale Fellowship and a student bursary for a person to undertake studies in Biblical Archaeology.

Professor Wiseman was in regular correspondence with Walter Beasley, the founder of the Australian Institute of Archaeology. He suggested people that the Institute may sponsor, hosted Beasley when he visited London and arranged for the Institute to receive a significant collection of replicas of objects held by the British Museum. On one occasion when Walter Beasley was trying to trace word parallels in Sumerian and Aboriginal languages Professor Wiseman counselled that he was likely to run into 'many difficulties' and be 'severely criticised' and he referred to the unfortunate experience of a Dr Ball who had attempted a similar exercise with Chinese. Donald contributed a number of papers to *Buried History* including, Ai in Ruins (1971) and Notes on Some Recent Discoveries in the Ancient near East (1975).

In 1969 Professor Wiseman was elected a fellow of the British Academy and served as vice-president of the Academy in 1982 under Sir Isaiah Berlin. He was president of the Society for Old Testament Studies in 1980 and edited for the society a volume of *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1973). In 1983 Professor Wiseman delivered the Schweich Lectures entitled *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* which were published under that name in 1985 (British Academy, Oxford University Press: Oxford).

When ever possible, Donald gave talks to Christian Unions on the connections between the Bible and archaeology. He wrote *Illustrations from Biblical Archaeology* (The Tyndale Press: London, 1958) and also appeared on BBC programmes on the subject. His experience of ancient Near Eastern texts and archaeology led him to argue for the reliability of the Old Testament and its historical background.

Professor Wiseman visited Australia and New Zealand in 1970. In Australian he spoke at the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne and at a number of Christian gatherings including a service at St Andrews Cathedral and a conference at Belgrave Heights.

Donald Wiseman demonstrated a practical and steady approach to all aspects of his life. He was an excellent organiser, served on innumerable committees and through effective advocacy, brought many of his ideas to fruition. Sometimes when a committee discussion stalled, he would carefully draw the various aspects of the matter at hand together and then suggest a 'wise' course of action. His proposals were always practical and satisfied many of the competing interests. It is this quality that made him an archaeological statesman.

Donald was for some years an elder in the Open Brethren assembly at Cheam, where he initiated a monthly *Christian viewpoint* series of lectures and discussions, but when a preoccupation with the Toronto Blessing developed he joined the congregation of Banstead Baptist church.

In 1948 Donald Wiseman married Mary Ruoff whom he had met at Oxford where she was studying to be a health visitor. Her father was an acquaintance of his father's on the Council of the Scripture Gift Mission. Mary, who died in 2006, and he are survived by their three daughters Gillian, Mary and Jane.

The Australian Institute of Archaeology can attribute much of its early success to the sober advice and assistance offered by Professor Wiseman. I studied under him in the 1970's and fondly remember his teaching, helpful opinions, kind guidance, gracious demeanour and sense of humour.

Christopher J. Davey

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Nebo-Sarsekim (Jeremiah 39:3) mentioned in a recently noticed Babylonian text

Terence C Mitchell

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Abstract: A recently published cuneiform tablet (BM 114789) dating from the 6th century BC mentions a man who can be identified with the Nebo-Sarsekim known in the account given by Jeremiah (39:3) of the last days of Jerusalem. The tablet also includes a number of titles mentioned in Jeremiah the meaning of which has hitherto been uncertain. The new evidence illuminates the history of the Babylonian administration established in Jerusalem after 597 BC.

Introduction

Reports appeared in many newspapers recently giving an account of a cuneiform text dating from the 6th century BC which mentions a man who can be identified with the Nebo-Sarsekim known in the account given by Jeremiah (39:3) of the last days of Jerusalem. This cuneiform tablet, BM 114789 (Figure 1), which is dated to 595 BC, was acquired by the British Museum in 1920, and is one of a group of economic texts being prepared for publication by Professor Joseph Jursa of the University of Vienna. It is part of the collections of the Department of the Middle East (formerly Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities) in the British Museum, which holds over 100,000 cuneiform tablets and fragments. The text concerns a Babylonian official named Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn *rab-ša-rēši*, who is clearly to be identified with biblical Nebo-Sarsekim who has the title *rab-sārîs*. This paper first appeared in *Faith and Thought* 46 (April 2009) and is republished here with permission of the Editor.

The tablet

The tablet was included in the recent British Museum exhibition *Babylon: Myth and Reality* held during the winter of 2008-2009, and was illustrated in the exhibition catalogue (Finkel & Seymour 2008: 145 fig. 128)

The text was published by Jursa (2008) and reads:

> 1½ manu of gold, the property of Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn, *rab ša-reši*, which he sent to Esangila in the care of Arad-Bānītu *ša-rēši*,: Arad-Bānītu has handed [it] over in Esangila. In the presence of Bēl-usāti son of Alpaia the royal *ṭābiḫu* [and of] Nādin son of Marduk-zēr-ibni.
>
> Month šabaṭu, day 18, year 10, Nebuchadnezzar.

Figure 1: *The administrative text referring to Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn BM 114789 35mm high 54mm wide Photo: C.J. Davey, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

In this, 1½ manu was the equivalent of about 1.65 lbs (756 grammes), a quantity of gold appropriate for a senior man such as Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn (*rab ša-reši*) to present to Esangila (perhaps better known as Esagila), the temple of Marduk the principal god of Babylon. The title *rab ša-reši*, 'chief of the head', indicates that he held an office near to the ruler, superior to that of Arad- Bānītu, *ša-rēši* '(he) of the head', who conveyed the gift to the temple. *Ṭābiḫu*, literally 'butcher', the title of Alpaia, the father of one of the witnesses, perhaps indicates in this context some such office as 'bodyguard', since the man in charge of the king's food was in a position which virtually amounted to that.

All three of the Akkadian titles in this text, *rab ša-reši, ša-reši*, and *ṭābiḫu*, are found also in the Old Testament, in the Hebrew transcriptions *rab-sārîs*, *sārîs* and *ṭabbāḥ*.

Akkadian *rēšu*, the common word for 'head' (Reiner and Roth 1999: 277-89), is found in the phrase *ša-rēši*, literally 'of the head', in contexts which show that this usually has the meaning 'attendant, soldier, officer, official' (Reiner and Roth 1999: 292-6; Brinkman 1968: 309f). There is evidence, however, that in some contexts in Middle Assyrian (c 1500-1000 BC) and Neo-Assyrian (c 1000-600 BC), and possibly in Old Babylonian (c 2000-1500 BC), as well as in the literary dialect known as Standard Babylonian (late second to late first millennium BC) it had the meaning 'eunuch' (Brinkman 1968: 309f; Reiner and Roth 1999: 296). The longer phrase *rab ša rēši*, mentioned in Middle Babylonian (c 1500-1000 BC) and Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian (c 1000-600 BC) texts, referred to a more senior official (Akkadian *rab* meaning 'chief' or the like) who can be described as 'commander of the court attendants or officers' (Reiner and Roth 1999: 289f).

The Akkadian phrases *ša rēši* and *rab ša rēši*, were borrowed in Hebrew in the forms *sārîs* and *rab-sārîs*, very possibly early in the first millennium BC before the rise of the Assyrian Empire (Tadmor 1995: 324), in which case they could have had the specific meanings 'eunuch' and 'chief eunuch', and it has indeed been argued by Tadmor that Hebrew *sārîs* always had the meaning 'eunuch' in the Old Testament (1995: 319-21). In some contexts this was clearly the case (Is. 56:3-4; Est. 2:3; and probably 2 Ki. 20:18), and even Potiphar the Egyptian official whose wife tried to seduce Joseph (Gen. 37:36; 39:1), could have been a eunuch, his wife possibly having sought solace with the young Hebrew because of what Potiphar was. In other passages, however, this translation could be debated (1 Sam. 8:14-15; 1 Ki. 22:9; 2 Ki. 8:6; 9:31-33; 23:1; 24:15; 25:19; Jer. 29:2; 34:19; 38:7; 41:16).

Hebrew *ṭabbāḥ* had the meaning 'butcher, cook' (1 Sam. 9:23-24), from *ṭābaḥ*, 'to slaughter', but it could also designate an official in a senior position not directly connected with food, 'provost' or something of the kind.

The passage in the Hebrew text at Jeremiah 39:3 which contains the name of Nebo-sarsekim runs *nērgal śar-'eser samgar-nĕbû śar-sĕkîm rab-sārîs nērgal śar-'eser rab-mag*. The Rabbinic scholars (Masoretes) who preserved the Hebrew text were evidently not themselves familiar with some of the details of this passage. The hyphen (called *maqqēp* in Hebrew) was only introduced by them early in the Christian era, and it is not found, for instance, in any of the Biblical manuscripts from Qumran. In this passage it is used correctly in most of the forms, but the link in *samgar--nĕbû* is incorrect, and this error was carried over into the Authorised Version, which renders the passage as though it gives a list of six personal names, including one repeated twice: 'Nergal-Sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, Rab-saris, Nergal-Sharezer, Rab-mag'.

After the decipherment of cuneiform it became clear that three of these forms, *samgar, rab-sārîs* and *rab-mag* were Babylonian-Assyrian official titles: *samgar*, Babylonian *simmagir*, 'royal commissioner' or something of the kind; *rab-sārîs*, Babylonian and Assyrian *rab ša reši*, mentioned above; and *rab-māg*, Babylonian *rab mugi*, another official whose role has not been precisely identified. This means that *nērgal śar-'eser*, found twice, and *nĕbû śar-sĕkîm* were personal names, and that the passage in Jeremiah 39:3 should be rendered in English as 'Nergal-sharezer, *samgar*, Nebo-sarsekim, *rab-sārîs*, and Nergal-sharezer, *rab-mag'*.

The New International Version (1979) does better than the Authorised Version, though it takes Samgar as a place name, with the translation 'Nergal-Sharezer of Samgar, Nebo-Sarsekim a chief officer, Nergal-Sharezer a high official', and the English Standard Version (2001), though it recognizes that rab-saris and rab-mag were titles of officials, wrongly retains the *samgar-nĕbû* of the Hebrew text, with 'Nergal-sar-ezer, Samgar-nebu, Sarsekim and Rab-saris, Nergal-sar-ezer the Rab-mag'.

The history of the time

The main historical events of this time have been summarized in the table on page 10. In this the Babylonian kings are placed on the right, and the kings of Judah on the left, with the headings Jerusalem and Mizpah, indicating that after the final Babylonian conquest, the capital was moved to the latter site.

When Nebuchadnezzar succeeded Nabopolassar as king of Babylon in 604 BC, Jehoiakim (strictly Jehoiaqim) was the Judaean king in Jerusalem. He had been placed there by the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho, with his name changed from Eliakim (2 Ki. 23:34). When he died in 598 BC he was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (strictly Jehoiakin) who surrendered Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar on 16 March 597 BC after a short siege, and was deported with his family to Babylon where he was relatively well treated (2 Ki. 24: 10-15). At that time Nebuchadnezzar placed Mattaniah, Jehoiakin's uncle, on the throne in Jerusalem with a change of name to Zedekiah (2 Ki. 24:17 = Jer. 37:1).

After some years Zedekiah rebelled against Babylonian rule and Nebuchadnezzar made a final destruction of

Figure 2: *The Babylonian Chronicle that refers to the first capture of Jerusalem in 597BC, BM 21946. Photo: C.J. Davey Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

Jerusalem (2 Ki. 25:1-3; Jer. 39:1-2; 52:3-7) in 586 BC Zedekiah escaped from the city before its fall, but was captured, blinded, and taken captive to Babylon (2 Ki. 25:4-7; Jer. 39:4-7). With the principal figures of Judah in Exile in Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah, a member of a distinguished Judaean family, as governor of Palestine (2 Ki. 25:22). Since Jerusalem had suffered destruction, he made his capital at Mizpah (2 Ki. 25:23), about eight miles to the north. Gedaliah was subsequently murdered by dissidents (2 Ki. 25:25; Jer. 40:13-41:2)

While the date of the first fall of Jerusalem is known to have been 597 BC, that of the final fall, given above as 586 BC, is uncertain. This is because the series of tablets known as Babylonian Chronicles which give brief annual summaries of the events of Babylonian history between 747 and 539 BC have gaps in the sequence. One of the tablets BM 21946 (Figure 2), covers the years 605-595 BC and therefore includes 597, the year of the first Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem, but there is a gap of thirty-seven years in the series, and the next surviving tablet BM 25124, covers only the year 557 BC, and the following one BM 35382, the so-called Nabonidus Chronicle, covers the years 556-539 BC Though there is thus this gap in the in the evidence, it is generally agreed that the final destruction of Jerusalem took place either in 587 or 586, most probably 586 BC

Concerning the final destruction in 586 BC, I will take the liberty of quoting from a contribution I made to the *Cambridge Ancient History* in 1991:

> The Book of Jeremiah reports, in a slightly confused passage, that when the Babylonians had gained possession of Jerusalem a group of senior officers, including Nergal-sharezer, *samgar*, Nebu-sarsekim, *rab-sārîs*, and Nergal-Sharezer, *rab-māg*, sat in the Middle Gate, presumably thus establishing themselves as a military government (Jer. 39:3). The three titles are those attaching to senior positions in the Babylonian hierarchy: *simmagir*, something like 'royal commissioner', the *rab ša rēši*, and the *rab mugi*, another official of uncertain responsibility. It is not clear, however, whether there were two Nergal-sharezers or whether one man of that name occupied both the offices of *simmagir* and *rab mugi*; and the identity of the *rab ša rēši* is uncertain, because, according to the account in Jeremiah, only a little over a month later, when it is hardly likely that a new man had assumed the office, he is named Nebushazban (Jer. 39:13). There is at present no satisfactory explanation for this. The name *Nērgal śar-'eser* presents no difficulty, since it clearly represents Babylonian *Nergal-šar-usur*, and there is a strong possibility that the man in question was the son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, the Neriglissar of the Greeks, who twenty seven years later became king of Babylon (559-556 BC). The administration established by these officers was only an interim one, set up to deal with immediate issues until further instructions were received from Nebuchadnezzar, who had evidently remained at Riblah. About a month later Nebuchadnezzar sent one of his senior officers, Nebuzaradan (Babylonian Nabu-zer-iddin), to Jerusalem to complete the neutralization of the city. This officer, who is designated *rab ṭabbāḥîm* ('chief cook') in the Old Testament (2Ki. 25:8, 11; Jer. 39:9-10.), is known from a passage in a building inscription on a clay prism of Nebuchadnezzar listing court officials, among whom he is named first, with his office, *rab nuḫatimmu* ('chief cook'), or, perhaps, 'master of the royal kitchen', clearly the designation of a man of rank and importance (Mitchell 1991: 407f).

I would add today, concerning the titles in this passage, that, while Akkadian *nuḫatimmu* means 'cook', Hebrew *ṭabbāḥîm*, plural of *ṭabbāḥ*, is more precisely 'butcher' than 'cook' from *ṭabāḥ* 'to slaughter', found also in Akkadian *ṭābiḫu*, 'butcher' from *ṭabāḫu*, 'to slaughter'.

It is clear that Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn, *rab ša-reši*, named in the tablet, can be identified with the Nebu-sar-sekim, *rab-sārîs*, of the Biblical account. This equivalence can be seen more clearly perhaps by comparing the names with consonants only: Babylonian *nb-šrskn* and Hebrew *nb-śrskm*. Concerning the consonants š and ś, the Biblical Hebrew script has marks introduced in the Christian era

by the Masoretes, which make a distinction between them, whereas the cuneiform writing system represents both š and ś by the same syllabic characters, all conventionally transliterated as š.

Conclusion

In 1991, I wrote 'the identity of the *rab ša reši* is uncertain', but the information supplied by this new tablet removes that uncertainty, and since the man in question, Nabû-šarrūssu-ukîn, is shown by the text to have held the office of *rab ša-reši* already in 595 BC, nearly ten years earlier than the reference to him in Jeremiah, there would be no real problem in assuming that in the shifting situation when the Babylonians were setting up an administration in Jerusalem, he was replaced in that office by a different man, Nebushazban. This means that my comments in 1991 that 'it is hardly likely that a new man had assumed the office', and that 'there is at present no satisfactory explanation for this', can be set aside. This illustrates the process of changing conclusions in the light of new evidence.

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BC	**Jerusalem**	**Babylon**
	Jehoahaz	Nabopolassar
609	----------	
	Jehoiakim (<Eliakim)	
	[Appointed by Necho	
		604 ----------
598	----------	
	Jehoiachin	
597	----------	
	[Taken to Babylon]	Nebuchadnezzar
	Zedekiah (<Mattaniah)	
	[Appointed by Nebuchadnezzar	
	[Rebelled	
586	----------	
	[Taken to Babylon	
	Exile	
	Mizpah	
	Gedaliah	
	[Appointed by Nebuchadnezzar	
	[Murdered	
		561 ----------
		Amel-Marduk
		(Evil Merodach)
		[Jehoiachin released
		559 ----------
		Nergal-šar-usur
		(Neriglissar)
		556 ----------
		Lābāši-Marduk
		555 ----------
		Nabu-na'id
		(Nabonidus)
539	----------	
	[Return of the Jews	Cyrus

***Table**: A timeline showing events and kings in Jerusalem and Babylon*

Men Only: Hebrew-script Inscriptions from Jām, Afghanistan

Erica C.D. Hunter

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Abstract: In 2005, the *Minaret of Jām Archaeological Project* team documented five tombstones with inscriptions in Hebrew script at Jām in central Afghanistan. Three of these inscriptions have never been recorded before, and they bring the total number of tombstones with inscriptions in Hebrew script found at the site to seventy-four. The tombstones indicate that there was a sizable Jewish population present at the summer capital of the Ghūrid dynasty, but curiously they only relate to males. The analysis of the inscriptions supports earlier suggestions that the Jewish community in Afghanistan originated from Persia.

Introduction

The world heritage listed Minaret of Jām towers over the ephemeral ruins of what is thought to be Fīrūzkūh, the twelfth-century summer capital of the little-known Ghūrid dynasty (Figure 1). The site is also important for the discovery in 1962 of a cemetery marked by tombstones with inscriptions in Hebrew script (Figure 2). Graves can still be seen eroding out of the wadi bank. Recent plans to build a road close to the site prompted the formation of the *Minaret of Jām Archaeological Project*. This multi-disciplinary project conducted two seasons of fieldwork at the site in 2003 and 2005 (Thomas *et al*. 2004; Thomas & Gascoigne 2006).

During the latter season, local villagers alerted the Project to a tombstone (*Inscription 1*) that was discovered amongst the building materials being used by workmen who were repairing gabions at the base of the minaret. Rubbings and photographs were taken of the tombstone that is now stored in the *Ministry of Information and Culture* rest-house at Jām for safekeeping. This is also the location of another tombstone (*Inscription 2*), whilst a third tombstone (*Inscription 3*) was found in a *wadi* nearby, at the supposed site of Ghiyath al-Din's Governor's house at Kush Kak. The author thanks David Thomas, *Minaret of Jām Archaeological Project* for permission to publish these inscriptions and their photographs. A longer version of this paper appears in the *Journal of Jewish Studies* LXI:1 (Spring 2010).

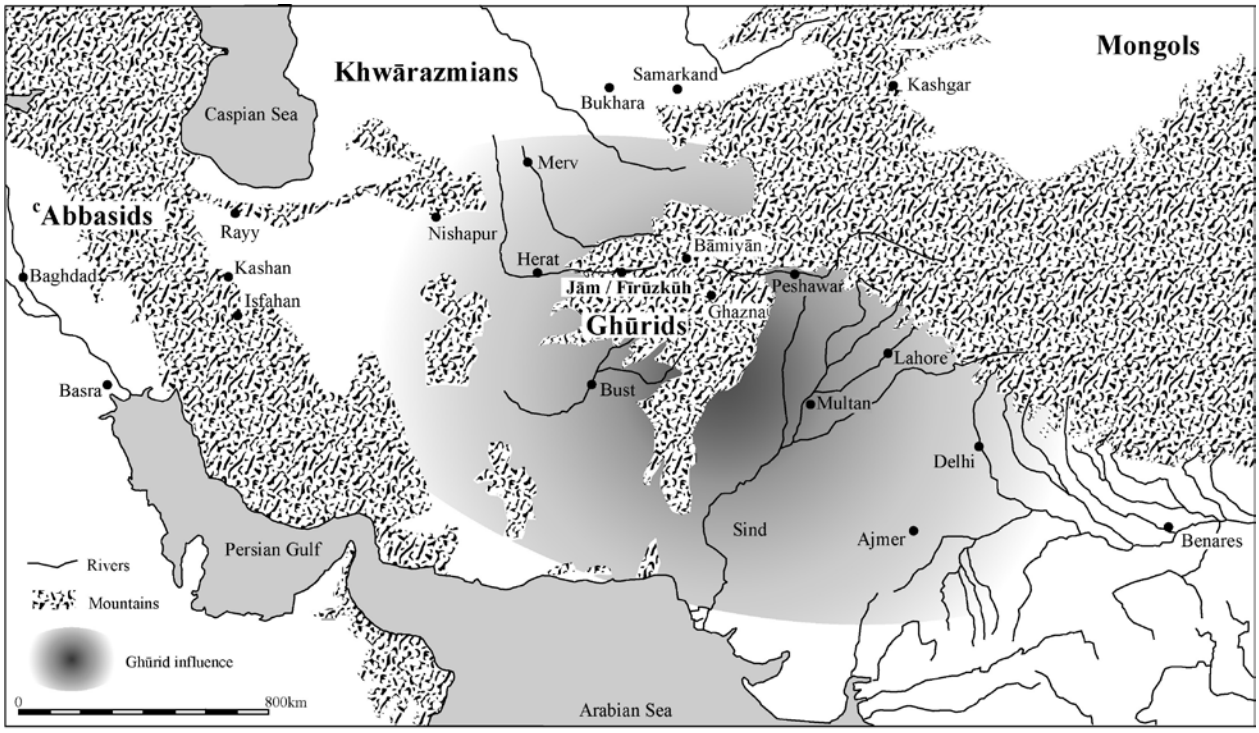

Figure 1: *The Ghūrid 'world' at the end of the twelfth century.*

The Inscriptions

Tombstone No.	Provenance
Tombstone 1	Gabion materials
Tombstone 2	Village guesthouse
Tombstone 3a, 3b	*in situ*, in *wadi*

Table 1: *Provenance of inscribed tombstones from Jām*

Gheraldo Gnoli (1964), Eugen Rapp (1965, 1971, 1973) and Shaul Shaked (1981, 1999) have published various tombstones since the first discoveries in 1964. The three new inscriptions bring the tally of published tombstones to seventy-four.

The inscriptions are written in Hebrew script, but include many Persian loan-words indicating that the Jewish community probably originated in Persia and moved eastwards to Afghanistan (Fischel 1965: 152).

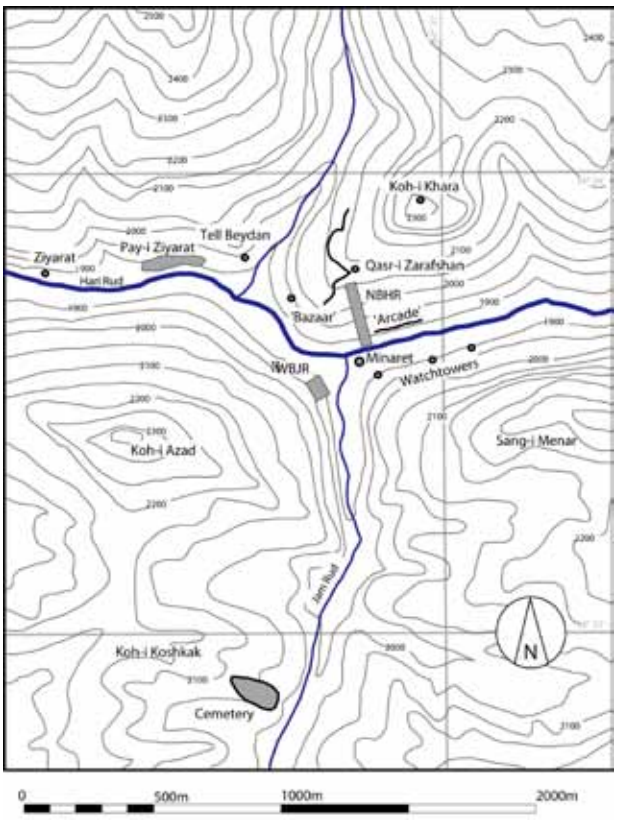

Figure 2: *A contour plan of Jām.*

Tombstone 1 (Figure 3)

Location: Stored at the *Ministry of Information and Culture* rest-house, Jām.

Discovered amongst the building materials being used by workmen repairing gabions.

Figure 3: *Tombstone 1. Copyright David Thomas*

{….} בן דויד

{….} *bn dwyd*

Translation: {….} son of David

Commentary: The inscription, midway on the face of a single block, is in an advanced state of deterioration. Several characters can be detected, suggesting בן 'son' followed by the patronym ד{י}דו 'David'.

Tombstone 2 (Figure 4)

Location: Stored at the Ministry of Information and Culture rest-house, Jām.

זרגר רוז{י} שבת יה [א]

zrgr rwz{y} šbt yh ['']

Translation: goldsmith, the day Saturday, the 15th …

Commentary: The single line records the deceased's occupation; זרגר 'the goldsmith' is a transliteration of the Persian noun زرگر (Steingass 1932: 615). This stone probably formed part of a composite tombstone and date of death, but is incomplete as the block has been broken at both ends. The upper and lower registers of the stone-face show no trace of characters from a preceding or following line.

{י}רוז 'day' is another Persian loan-word روز 'day' that has been transliterated, together with the *izafe* (Steingass 1932: 592). שבת 'Shabbat', Saturday commonly occurs in inscriptions where it is combined with a number to indicate the day of the week, in this case יה '15th'.

Figure 4: *Tombstone 2. Copyright David Thomas*

Figure 5: *Tombstone 3 (a). Copyright David Thomas*

Figure 6: *Tombstone 3 (b). Copyright David Thomas*

Tombstone 3 (Figures 5 & 6)

Location: Remaining *in situ* in *wadi.*

Two sides: side (a) 2 lines, side (b) 1 line.

Side (a) 2 lines:

line 1: 11 characters, line 2: 15 characters

יעקב בן אברהם

yʿqb bn ʾbrhm

Translation: Jacob son of Abraham

בן יצחק מערוף בו{תק}

bn yṣḥq mʿrwp bw{tq}

Translation: son of Isaac known as "the strong"

Side (b) 1 line on one face:

line 1: 9 characters

סאל הזאר תנט

s'l hz'r tnṭ

Translation: year one thousand 459 [Seleucid i.e. 1148 C.E]

Commentary: The 3 lines of the inscription, which follow the natural contours of the unhewn tombstone, record the name of the deceased "Jacob son of Abraham son of Isaac, known as 'the strong/steady'" together with the year of his death. This is given, as was the norm, in Seleucid dating: 1459, i.e. 1148 C.E. The inscription supplies Jacob's patronyms (father and grandfather) יעקב בן אברהם "Jacob son of Abraham son of Isaac", together with his sobriquet מערוף בו{תק} "known as 'strong, steady'". מערוף is a transliteration of the Persian term معروف "known as". The adoption of a 'nick-name' by a member of the community occasionally occurs in other inscriptions where, in each case, the name is introduced by מערוף + the inseparable prefix Beth.[1] Jacob had no accompanying epithets indicating rank or position, as sometimes occurs in other inscriptions e.g. הלוי "Levite", הכהן "priest" and התגר "merchant".[2] Without any epithets, the deceased appears to have been an ordinary member of the community. Side (b) is singular in that its dating formula combines both Persian and Hebrew numerals. סאל "year" is the transliterated Persian loan-word سال and הזאר "thousand" is the transliterated Persian numeral هزار "thousand"[3] which, in combination with the Hebrew date

תנט, forms the year of the deceased's death. תנט is typically distinguished by the supralinear incision cut by the mason at the juncture of the stone's two faces.[4]

Conclusion

The tombstones provide fascinating insight into the religious demography of Afghanistan during the medieval period, attesting a Jewish community at Fīrūzkūh for nearly two hundred years. The dating of *Tombstone 3* to 1148 C.E. places it just a couple of years after the alleged founding of Fīrūzkūh (d. 541 A.H./1146-7 A.H.) (Bosworth 1961:119). The prosperity that was realised under the Ghūrid dynasty would have encouraged mercantile communities to the city. Ghur still retained in the eleventh century its reputation as a pagan land that supplied slaves to markets in Herat and Sistan.[5] The Jewish community may have been involved in such –and other– merchandise including luxury items, even before the establishment of the Ghūrid capital, as Ralph Pinder-Wilson has suggested (1985: 180 n. 37). Their situation may have been akin to that in Kabul and Ghazna where, during Ghaznavid times, colonies of Indian traders were permanently resident (Pinder-Wilson 1985: 124 n. 27).

However, there is an enigma surrounding the cemetery at Kush Kak. To date, all recorded tombstones only name men, suggesting that the cemetery was an exclusively male preserve. Given that the Jewish community spanned numerous generations and was serviced by religious personnel, it seems extraordinary that no females were commemorated. Undoubtedly, the commissioning of tombstones was expensive, and was probably the prerogative of the influential or wealthier echelons of the community. As such, female members of the community may have been buried with husbands or male family members, their presence remaining unrecorded. Alternatively, women may have been buried elsewhere. Whatever the case, the tombstones' male only affiliation is exceptional and raises important questions about the composition of the medieval Jewish community at Fīrūzkūh and its burial practices that beg excavation and further investigation.

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Endnotes

1 Cf. Rapp, 1965, inscription 11.2 = Gnoli, 1964, IX.2, Rapp, 1965, inscription 11.2 מערוף במלך "known as king", Rapp, 1971, inscription 35 maʿrūf barāwuh "known as wistful"

2 Shaked, 1981, pp. 80-81 discusses the various titles of public office which occur on the tombstones, commenting specifically on תגר "corresponding to Arabic and Persian tājir", with a footnote reference to the term's usage in the Genizah documents where it designates major mercantile activity. Cf. S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley: 1971) II, p. 190 and n.33.

3 Steingass, 1932, p. 1497 هزار. The author extends her thanks to Nicholas Sims-Williams for discussion about this word.

4 Inscriptions usually employ *plene* dating, but occasionally abbreviated dates are given. Cf. Rapp, 1965, inscription 1.3 סאל תכז i.e. 1427 Seleucid = 1115 C.E.

5 Bosworth, 1961, p. 121, reiterates on 122 that Ghur was valuable for slaves.

Mummified Child – A Further Investigation

Pamela J.G. Craig and Janet Davey

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Abstract: An Australian Institute of Archaeology mummified child from the Graeco/Roman Period of ancient Egypt has been re-investigated using Computerised Tomography (CT) scan images loaded into a Vitrea Workstation. The Vitrea Workstation produces volume rendered images and three dimensional (3D) reconstructions from the original CT scan data and allows for a more complete examination of the mummy within the wrappings. Most results from the original report published in this journal have been confirmed, some may have alternate explanations and there are a number of new findings. The child's injuries are more extensive than first reported and may suggest death due to traumatic injury. The body's preparation for burial is unusual with the inclusion of supporting panels of an inorganic material.

Introduction

Mummification of children in the Graeco/Roman Period (c. 332 BCE – c 395 CE) was not remarkable and appears to reflect the wealth of the parents or guardians (Ikram and Dodson 1998: 12). Elaborate rhomboid or diagonal bandaging, gold leaf decoration on tissue, cartonnage masks embellished with gold leaf and decorative body panels have been found and published (Walker 1997). Within the wrappings, many of the child mummies have been preserved to the elaborate standard recorded in Herodotus' account in *The Histories* (Herodotus 1954). There are some variations on this standard in individual mummies and this may suggest regional differences in mummification practices or changes due to Hellenistic or Roman influences (Ikram and Dodson 1998: 164-165).

All mummies examined to date, by the authors, have been wrapped in linen of varying thicknesses and quality. There is no definitive evidence of cotton or other fabrics having been used in mummy bandages in the Graeco/Roman Period or in the previous periods of ancient Egyptian history.

The majority of Graeco/Roman child mummies arrived in museums without provenance and in most cases, without any identifying documentation such as the name of the deceased on external bandages or recorded on external cartonnage decoration (Dawson 1968: 29-39). Some of these mummies may be attributed to a particular region of ancient Egypt on stylistic grounds; however this is reliant entirely on the external decoration rather than provenance.

Very little is known of the lives and cause of death of children from the Graeco/Roman Period. Modern medical and scientific methods offer the means to investigate the mummified remains in order to determine conditions that occurred peri-mortem or post-mortem (Notman, Tashjian et al. 1986). In the case to be discussed questions to be answered relate to the type of mummification, the age of the child and to any injuries that may have caused death. These questions were initially addressed in the report of a study by a multi-disciplinary team on the Australian Institute of Archaeology mummified child, Figure 1 (Davey and Craig 2003). Since that report imaging technology has advanced justifying the re-scanning of the mummy in 2005 and a new analysis with the assistance of Vitrea Workstation software.

Figure 1: *The child mummy at the Australian Institute of Archaeology. Photo: Rudy Frank*

Figure 2: *A three dimensional computer image of the child mummy and the adult sized mask.*

Description of the Specimen

Records of Sotheby and Company sales show that on the twenty sixth of April 1965 the mummy was purchased in London for the collection of the Australian Institute of Archaeology (Sotheby 1965: 26). Unfortunately the sales records do not include any information that could indicate provenance.

Linen bandages of varying quality and thickness encase the mummy of a small child, of unknown provenance. A cartonnage mask, which is of adult size and a chest panel cut to size, adorn the upper part of the body, Figure 2.

A decorated linen panel covering the lower section of the body complements these upper pieces of cartonnage, Figure 3. This panel is richly decorated with polychrome images of ancient Egyptian deities that are rendered in fine detail. Although the quality of the lower panel is in reasonably good condition, the cartonnage panels are of lesser quality with much of the paint in a very poor state and in some areas the detail is lost. Visual inspection of the mummy indicates that its condition is poor in some areas and in particular in the mid posterior region where there is extreme damage to the linen bandages which exposes the substance that lies beneath the linen. In moving the mummy for a number of scientific and medical examinations, it was noted that the remains were relatively heavy and the reason for this was unknown.

The mask is unusual and has been described by Mann, who suggests that the cartonnage mask and body panels may be securely dated to the Graeco/Roman period and various sites in ancient Egypt, for example the mask is from Akhmin, the lower body panel is from Kharga Oasis, suggesting that recycling was taking place at the time (Mann 2006).

Although the body accoutrements have been stylistically identified, this does not necessarily mean that the child's remains are neither from the area noted nor from a particular time period. Dr John Taylor, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Ancient Egypt and the Sudan at the British Museum, originally suggested that the mask is that of an adult and has possibly been added to enhance the commercial value of the mummy; during a period when there was a trade in mummified human remains (Taylor 2004a).

Figure 3: *The lower body panel decorated with fine images of ancient Egyptian deities.*

Figure 4: Two views of the opaque material that lies posterior to the left knee (see arrows), comparing the plain film image (left) and the Vitrea Workstation 3D reconstruction.

Radiography

Radiography has been used for non-invasive studies of ancient Egyptian mummies since shortly after its invention by Wilhelm Roentgen in 1895 (Boni 2004). The plain film x-rays provided a unique modality to study ancient Egyptian mummified bodies non-invasively. Plain films are an excellent two dimensional imaging method for viewing the internal structure of mummies and artefacts without interfering with the linen bandages or burial accoutrements. They can provide sufficiently high detail to identify injuries, inclusions and genetic defects, however, there are limitations due to the production of x-ray images from a static x-ray source and film with resultant superimposition of anatomical features (O'Brien, Battista et al. 2008). This superimposition gives rise to difficulties in interpretation of some images and although these images are useful in mummy research they have largely been superseded by CT generated images (Hoffman and Hudgins 2002). The virtual removal of sections of mummies is not possible with plain film x-rays although they are valuable in initial studies particularly when deciding if a mummy is suitable for CT scanning as in the case of the mummy being described. A CT scanner produces volumetric image data as there is a dynamic x-ray beam that rotates around the object. The volumetric data has an assigned grey scale number (Hounsfield number) that varies according to density, with the densest structures appearing as white (Hounsfield 1976).

Manipulation of the raw data from the machine by the software, enables images to be obtained at any angle, with cross-sectional and structural information which can then be interpreted. Specialist software can also enable the production of 3D volumetric reconstructions pertaining to bony or soft tissue structures, assigning various colours to the Hounsfield numbers and producing an image that is visually easy to interpret.

A 'fly through' function on the Vitrea workstation allows the operator to view the internal organs in sequence. This function produces virtual endoscopic images and replaces the extremely intrusive manual endoscopic examination (Wildsmith 2008). Using the workstation it is possible to virtually remove bandages or tissue to view the skeletal system and any foreign objects or artefacts.

Previous Investigation of Mummy

The mummified and wrapped child mummy discussed in this paper, was first CT scanned in 1995 at the Peter MacCallum Cancer Institute and again in the late 1990's, at the same location. CT scan and plain film x-rays from these investigations were reported in the 2003 paper published in this journal (Davey and Craig 2003). In 2005, the mummy was scanned for a third time at the Victorian Institute of Forensic Medicine using a Toshiba Aquilion 16 slice helical scanner set for 0.5mm slices. The fine slice function was selected to produce images of high quality and the images were reconstructed then transferred to the Vitrea Workstation. The Workstation produces volume-rendered images and 3D reconstructions from the original scan data, as described above. The Vitrea images facilitated a more accurate interpretation of the body, skeleton and inclusions within the wrappings. Access to various aspects of the mummy, in the 3D images, has provided new information that was not available previously.

An example of this is where an object of significant density, in the area of the child's left knee, was tentatively identified as adipocere; commonly know as 'grave wax' which is the putrefaction changes of fat, post mortem. The Vitrea workstation images show that the dense object is posterior to the left knee and is therefore extra- corporeal. It could possibly be a piece of dried soil similar to that found elsewhere on the body. Two views of the density near the left knee comparing the plain film and the Vitrea Workstation 3D reconstruction, Figure 4.

Dimensions

A function of the Vitrea workstation allows for the measurement of various parts of the body within the wrappings. The body of the child within the wrappings is approximately 748 mm from the crown of the head to the heels. As the cranial cavity is in disarray, it was not possible to determine the exact apex of the skull. The circumference of the skull is approximately 135mm. The length of the left foot is approximately 102mm. The body is compressed and flattened along its length, to 20.8 mm at mid thorax, 11.9 mm at the abdomen and 32.8 in the area of the lower abdomen. It must be remembered and taken into account that the body has been mummified and desiccation removes the fat and moisture within the body, so that any measurements relate to the dimensions of the skeleton. The mummification bandages vary in thickness depending on the area measured. At the thickest it is 65.5 mm above the thorax and then decreases to 49mm above the legs and 43.4 mm above the pelvis. The linen under the body is approximately 8mm in thickness which may be due to compression by the mass of the body, the inorganic support material and the weight of the upper section of linen bandages.

Mask

The 3D images show that the adult sized cartonnage mask is supported by extra linen bandages and in some sections it appears that the fabric is attached to the linen that encases the body. This suggests that possibly the extra linen was placed under the mask at the time of wrapping the body and therefore the placement of the mask is ancient rather than modern; as was previously thought (Davey and Craig 2003). The purpose of the linen packing under the mask probably represents a support for the mask which stands above the body and may have deteriorated or collapsed without the padding.

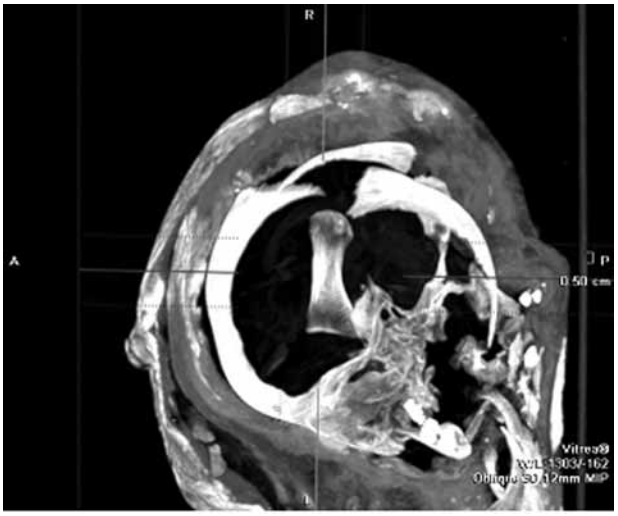

Figure 5: *A view of the adult first metatarsal (centre) and linen packing within the cranium*

Skull

The previous medical and scientific study of this mummified child by the present authors suggested that there had been extreme trauma to the cranial cavity. It is not possible to determine whether or not this was ante-mortem or post mortem. If post-mortem, it may have been due to rough handling by the morticians or that the child had been buried and subsequently exhumed before being mummified (Davey and Craig 2003). The re-formatted 3D reconstructions indicated that there is more extensive damage than had been previously thought. The left side of the cranial cavity is in extreme disorder and may have been caused by injury prior to death. The cranium is not complete. The anterior cranial fossa is present and intact. The cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone is also intact indicating that the brain was not removed via this route contrary to usual practice (Herodotus 1954: 127). With the extreme trauma to the cranium it is not possible to determine if the brain was removed via any other route. Remnants of a desiccated brain are not visible within the cranial cavity; however there is significant packing of fabric. The first metatarsal of an adult foot is seen in association with the intracranial bandages and it measures 49mm in length, Figure 5.

The pituitary fossa is shallow. The right petrous temporal bone is present, but the left cannot be identified. The posterior cranial fossa is missing. An examination of the facial bones showed no evidence of a direct facial fracture. There is a misalignment of the right zygomatic arch, but no fracture of the maxillary bones (Martini 2006: 209-211). The mandible is present and intact however the left condyle of the temporomandibular joint is not visible and there is possibly a subcondylar fracture. The right condyle is in normal position in the glenoid fossa.

The body of the mandible rests on the chest in the unnatural position that is seen in all Graeco/Roman child mummies that have been studied by the authors to date. The reason for this is unknown and appears to be peculiar to the Graeco/Roman Period

Thoracic Cavity and Abdomen

No organs are visible within the thorax or abdomen. There is a traumatic diastasis of the pubic symphysis with a separation approximately 31mm between the pubic bones together with antero-posterior compression of the pelvis. The genitalia are not visible.

The posterior aspect of the sternum has also been compressed towards the anterior aspect of the vertebral column.

Figure 6: *A view of the thorax and abdomen showing disorder of the ribs.*

There is significant damage to the thoracic cavity with most ribs in disarray, Figure 6. The degree of disorder suggests a possible antemortem injury of extreme severity.

Position of Hands

The child's arms are complete and in correct anatomical position and the hands are loosely clenched with the right hand adjacent to the lateral aspect of the right thigh and the palmar aspect of the left hand is resting on the anterior aspect of the left upper thigh. The position of the hands suggests that the soft tissue is intact, Figure 7. The cartilaginous growth centres of the bones of the hands are unusually radio-opaque for a growing child (Cain 2009).

Inclusions

A modern screw sits outside the linen wrapping and is posterior to the right ulna, Figure 8. In previous x-ray examination it appeared that the screw was sitting directly behind the ulna however the Vitrea images show that it lies in a different position and does not appear to form any function associated with the mummified body.

Two previously undetected inclusions are those of some type of extra corporeal material lying posterior and anterior on either side of the child's body. A large panel of this material is posterior to the body and extends from the upper thorax to below the genital region. The second panel lies anterior to the thoracic and abdominal areas, extending

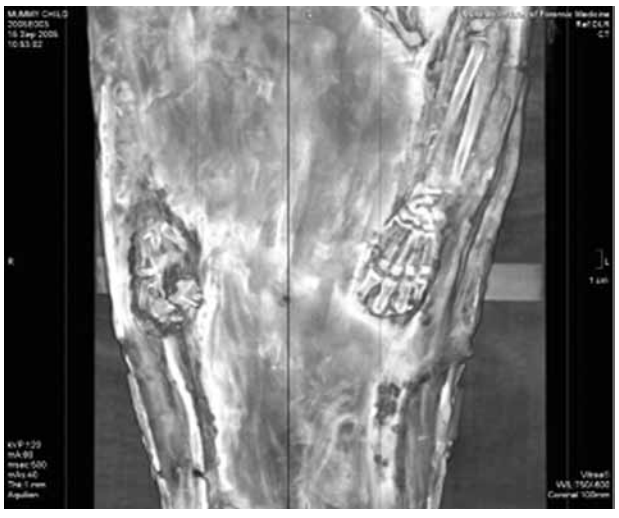

Figure 7: *The child's hands shown in relaxed positions.*

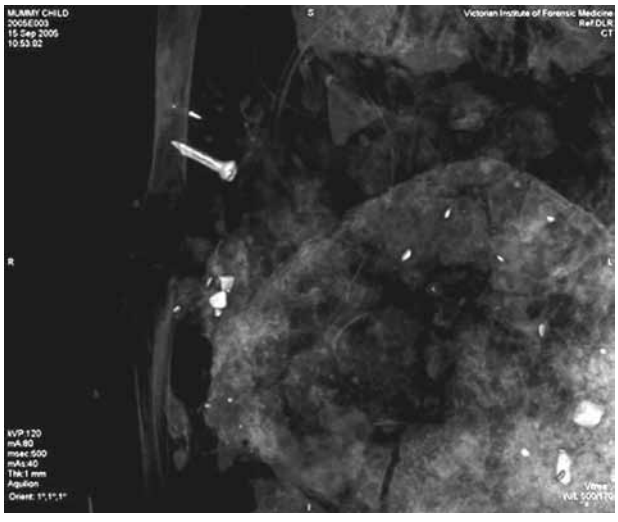

Figure 8: *A modern screw (arrowed) lies posterior to the body and wrappings.*

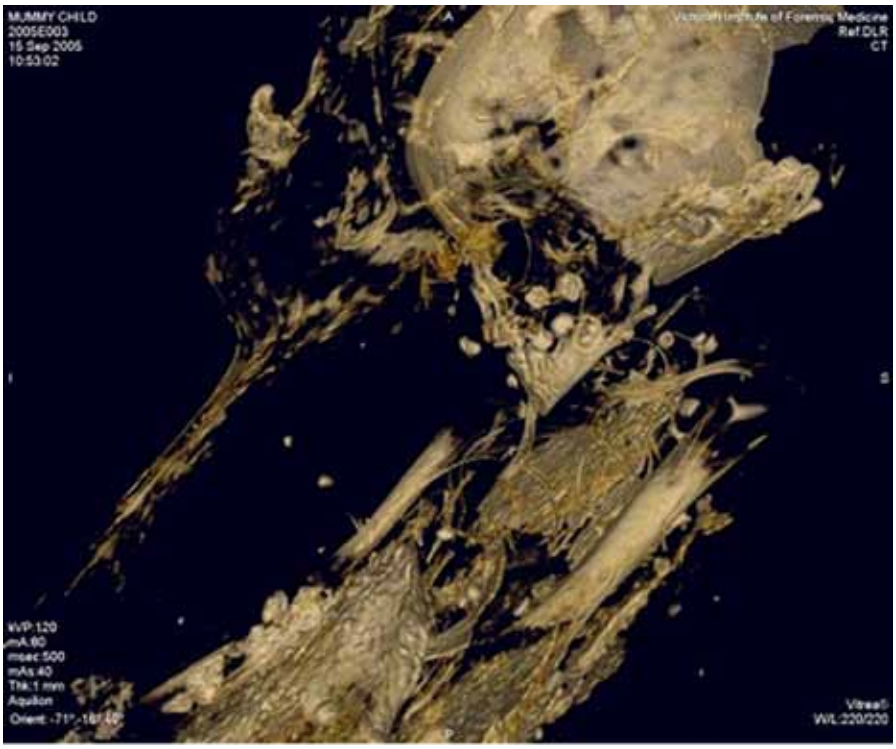

Figure 9: *All teeth are visible either in the mouth or in the surrounding area.*

from the mid thorax to slightly below the genital area. In the original plain films it was not possible to identify the extent or nature of these radio-opacities. In the area of the upper thorax there is another panel of inorganic material that sits between the linen on the body and the linen packed under the mask. A smaller slightly irregular piece of inorganic matter lies approx 57 mm below the head of the femur towards the region of the knee.

Legs and Feet

The tibia appears bowed but the cortication of the diaphysis of the tibia and femur appears macroscopically of normal radio-opacity. The right foot appears higher than the left foot and is on a slight angle. The feet are in good anatomical order and do not appear to be damaged, suggesting that the soft tissue is intact. The length of the left foot from the heel to the big toe is approximately 108 mm. The radio-opacities in the epiphyses are similar to those observed in the hands.

Teeth

The teeth are largely intact and in position in the mandible but many tooth crowns can be seen to be scattered throughout the cranial, cervical and thoracic regions, Figure 9. Manipulation of the bone algorithm in the 3D reconstructed images allowed the teeth to be easily seen. In addition a tomographic reconstruction of the maxilla and mandible allowed all teeth, both deciduous and their permanent successors to be identified and the dental age re-assessed confirming the earlier estimation of an age of four to four and a half years.

Discussion

The child mummy may be securely dated to the Graeco/Roman Period by the position of the mandible on the upper thorax. The possibility that the wrapped and mummified child was adorned, at time of death, with a Graeco/Roman mask appears to carry some weight now that linen packing has been identified under the mask. This tends to indicate that although the mask was originally constructed and possibly used for an adult mummy it had been modified to fit the child mummy. The two body panels cannot be confidentially identified as being placed on the mummy at time of mummification as there is no evidence to support this theory.

The hypothesis suggesting that the child's body had been buried and exhumed prior to mummification seems unlikely due to the identification of a number of injuries that suggest a violent or traumatic death rather than compression injuries caused by burial under soil or sand. These injuries include a compressed skull fracture and sub-condylar mandibular fracture which in themselves would be sufficient to cause death. The chest injuries may have occurred at the same time but this is difficult to determine as the ribs of a child are easily disarranged.

It has not been possible to identify any internal organs which may mean that they have been removed as part of the mummification process or that they are now unidentifiable within the thorax and abdomen. These areas of the body have been flattened and this may been caused by the mass of the linen bandages above the body. The relative decompression of the bandages under the body is difficult

to explain. There is a possibility that the body was not completely desiccated and there may have been a level of residual moisture that leaked into the linen facilitating the flattening of the lower bandages.

Although soft tissue is difficult to identify, the hands, arms, legs and feet are in good anatomical order which would not be possible if the soft tissue had decomposed. The relaxed position of the hands is unusual, as most Graeco/Roman child mummies have them arranged in a more rigid style with the fingers stiffly extended.

The opacities at the epiphyses of the phalanges are puzzling as this is not expected in a young child (Greulich and Pyle 1959: 84-92). That the mummification process has caused this opacity is a possible explanation but the testing of this hypothesis would require more extensive investigation than is proposed for this study. It is more likely that this is due to some disease process than a taphonomic or post-mortem process. It has not been observed previously .

The brain is not visible which may mean that it was removed or it may have desiccated but is now not visible in the radiographs due to the extreme trauma to the skull and the inclusion of fabric packing. There is no evidence of exacerbation via the cribriform plate of the ethmoid bone, as it is intact. There is a possibility that the brain may have been removed via another route such as the fractured and missing petrous temporal bone but the damage to the skull does not allow for any further investigation into this matter. The inclusion within the cranium is not unusual in mummified bodies (Raven and Taconis 2005: 189). What is extremely unusual is the inclusion of an adult first metatarsal; the purpose of which is unknown and may be accidental, for example the toe bone was lying within the linen before it was inserted into the cranial cavity, accidentally being included in the packing. Another example of a possible unexplained inclusion is found in the remains of British Museum mummy Nesperennub which was discovered to include a pottery bowl that had been left within the wrappings after becoming attached to the cranium during the mummification process (Taylor 2004b: 38-39).

The scattered teeth are easily explained. Exfoliating deciduous teeth and developing permanent successors have no roots and are therefore liable to dislodgement once the soft tissues of the periodontal tissues disintegrate. Rough handling of the body will allow these teeth to fall from their sockets into neighbouring structures. The previous study concluded that the child has a dental age of between four and four and a half years by modern standards of dental development (Scheuer and Black 2004: 174-177). In estimating the child's age it must be taken into consideration that this child lived approximately two thousand years ago and children's development may have been different from modern children (Davey and Craig 2003).

Conclusion

The use of the Vitrea Workstation software in conjunction with high definition CT scans has allowed for a more thorough and extensive investigation of the mummified child that was not previously possible. Many of the previous observations have been confirmed and where there were uncertainties in identifying sections of the remains, it was now possible to view areas that were not accessible with earlier x-ray examinations. Interpretation of the data has been a key component of this study and the expert opinion of various medical and scientific colleagues has been relied upon where there were uncertainties.

The cause of the child's death cannot be determined, however, the previous hypothesis of the body being exhumed from a permanent or temporary grave may be discarded. The Vitrea workstation software has allowed for a more thorough investigation of the evidence and it appears that the child suffered severe trauma and died as a result of the injuries. Although there is head injury it can be determined that some form of mummification or preservation of the body was carried out by ancient embalmers. It is possible that the extra corporeal material and the linen packing within the cranial cavity provided some stability to the child's remains. The provenance of the body remains unclear although it does seem probable that the adult sized mask was attached to the body at the time of mummification.

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The Function of the Middle Building in Late Bronze Age Jericho

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Abstract: The Middle Building is one of the few structures dated to the Late Bronze Age at Jericho. It has been recognized as a residence but also hypothesized to have been a fort. On the basis of its location and some features it shares with the Stratum IXb structure at Tell Halif, it is argued that the Middle Building in Jericho was more than a private dwelling. Rather, it is likely to have been a way station that was part of the Egyptian administration.

Jericho is not mentioned in the Amarna Letters or in the Egyptian historical texts from the Late Bronze Age so its status at that time is unknown. The site has been extensively excavated, initially by Sellin and Watzinger 1907-1909, then Garstang 1930 - 1936 and Kenyon 1952-1958, but only a few remains from the LBA have been found (cf Bienkowski 1986: 1-4). More recently an Italian – Palestinian team has reinvestigated Early Bronze Age Jericho and its surrounds (Nigro et al. 2005; Nigro & Taha 2006; Nigro 2007).

Garstang (1936: 74-75) discovered a room with Late Bronze Age pottery beneath Iron Age remains north of the 'Palace' area[1], while Kenyon (1957: 261) found the foundation of a room, a floor, a mud oven and dipper juglet, as well as some artefacts in tombs. Kenyon (1957) attributes the paucity of the remains to LBA structures having been washed away. Neev and Emory (1995: 103), who investigated the geological, climatological and archaeological background to the destruction of Sodom, Gemorrah and Jericho, concur. They state that "a wet sub-phase happened between the Late Bronze and Iron Ages" resulting in the disappearance of most of the LBA layer. While not denying the possibility of erosion, Bartlett (1982: 97) disagrees, pointing out that if there had been Late Bronze Age occupation against the Middle Bronze Age walls,

> *traces of this erosion would have been found in the wash at the foot of the tell. But while this can be found for the MB period, it cannot be found for the LB period.*

Figure 1: *A view from the north-west of the Late Bronze Age Middle Building being excavated Jericho 1933. Infrastructure associated with the spring can be seen on the left at the base of the Tell. Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Garstang Archive, Album J33, Plate 1.*

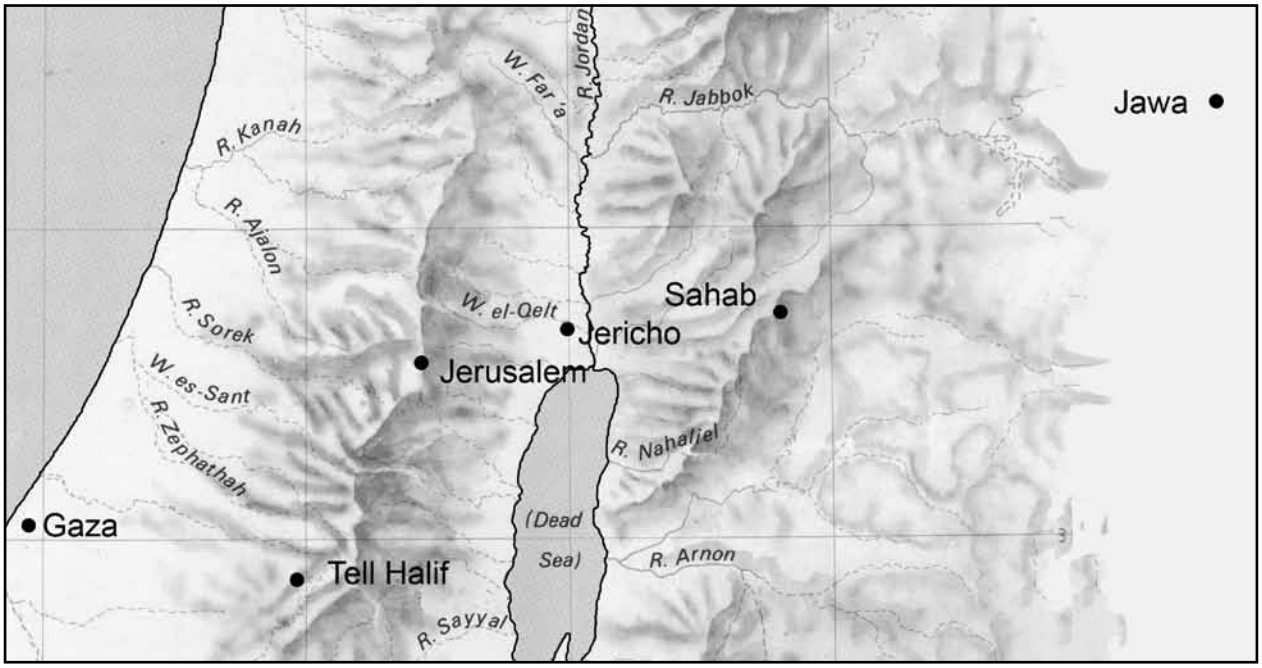

Figure 2: *A map of the southern Levant with the place names referred to in this paper.*

Bienkowski (1986: 122) concurs with Bartlett on this issue. Archaeologists, then, are divided as to whether Jericho was more substantial in the Late Bronze Age than the extant remains suggest. However, they seem to agree that what has been termed the Middle Building does date from the Late Bronze Age. Garstang and Kenyon wavered as to which phase of that age it should be assigned[2] but Bienkowski's reconciliation of their data led him to state, "There seems to be no alternative but to date the Middle Building to LBIIa/early LBIIb, c.14th/early 13th centuries B.C." (1986: 117). He bases this judgement on several points:

- The Middle Building sits on top of part of the burnt black destruction layer (called the 'Streak' by Garstang) of the Middle Bronze Age city which had been washed down the hill.
- The pottery associated with the Middle Building was LBIIa/LBIIb
- The Middle Building is "in the same statigraphic position as an adjacent structure firmly dated to the second half of the Late Bronze Age, which was also associated with LBIIa pottery."

Nigro (1996: 61) though, thinks that LBIIb is more appropriate. He says (1996: 53) that a secure date is not possible, based on the excavation, because Garstang did not follow stratigraphical criteria so that the date of the ceramics does not necessarily give a date for the building itself. The third point made above by Bienkowski is at odds with this criticism. Thus the possibility of a date in LBIIa cannot be excluded.

The Middle Building

First described by Garstang (1934: 105-16 cf. Garstang and Garstang 1948: 123- 24), the Middle Building measures 14.4m x 11.8 m and has seven rooms, one of which Garstang (Garstang and Garstang 1948: 123) asserts was a courtyard, a judgement with which Bienkowski cautiously agrees (1986: 112). The foundations of the building are stone and they supported a mud brick superstructure although only a little of that remains. Nevertheless, Bienkowski (1986:112) draws attention to a notation in a surveyor's notebook indicating the find of wooden beams on the floor of one of the rooms and says they suggest collapsed roof timbers.

It should be noted that there were difficulties associated with the excavation of the Middle Building because of the presence of the later "Hilani" structure on top of it whose foundations intruded into the remains of the Middle Building. The finds inside the latter were not extensive and the "barren floors" led Bienkowski (1986:118) to think that there may have been "an orderly exodus rather than a sudden end". Nevertheless, some LBA pottery was found in the Middle Building, as were a damaged cuneiform tablet and a small terracotta figurine of a naked woman broken off above the knees. The pottery is listed and discussed by Bienkowski (1986: 98-102; 118-120) although he makes it clear that not all the pottery sherds from the excavations were preserved. Much of the pottery was locally made and was similar to the LBA pottery found in tombs. However, whereas some Cypriot ware was found in the Middle Building, none was apparent in the tombs. This may suggest that the occupiers of the Middle Building were of a higher social status and/or wealthier than those interred in

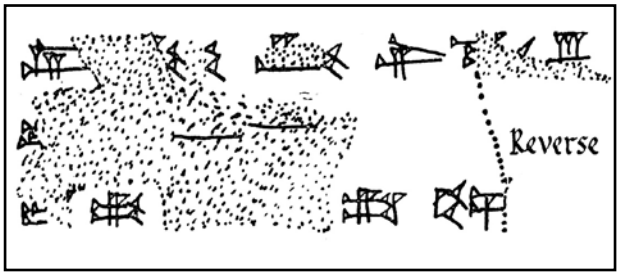

Figure 3: *Sidney Smith's drawing of the cuneiform tablet found at Jericho 1933, Rockefeller Museum 1485, from Garstang, 1934: 117.*

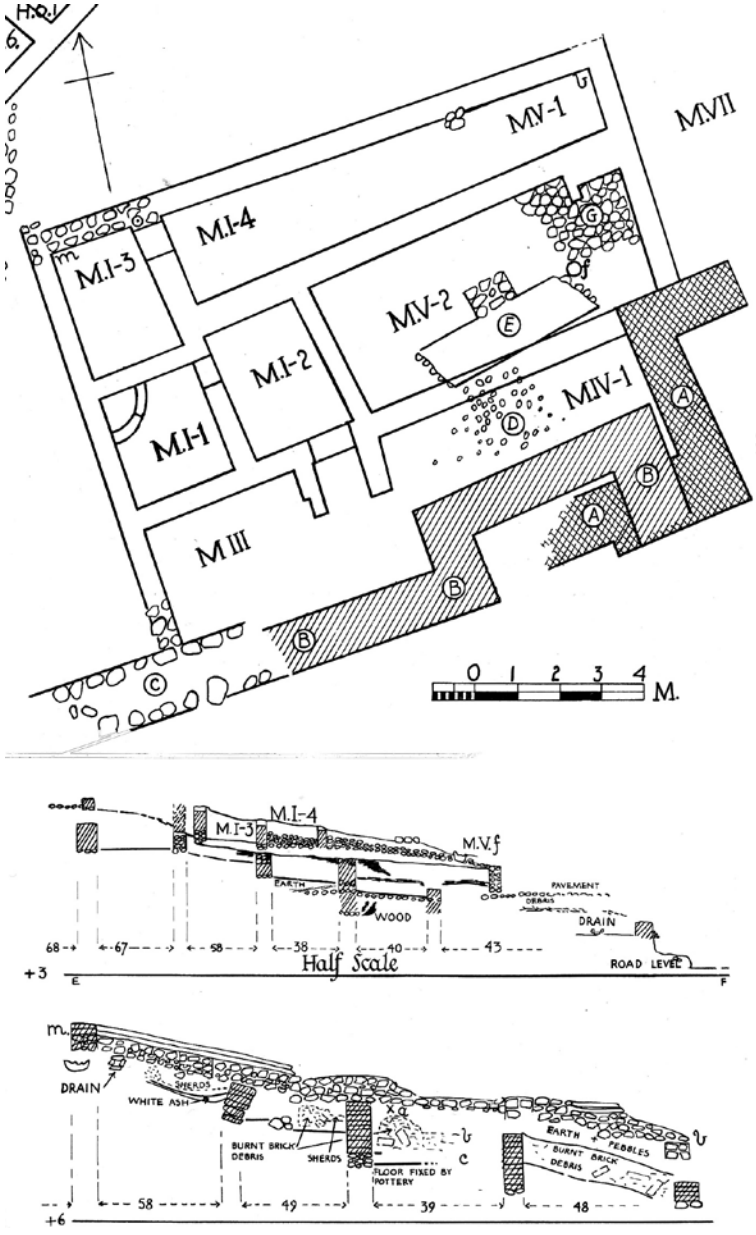

Figure 4: *Middle Building plan and sections from Garstang, 1934: pl. XIV*

the area. Bienkowski (1986:113) says the figurine found in the Middle Building, but whose present whereabouts is unknown, is likely to date from the Late Bronze Age. Further, that it provides a parallel to the figurine found in a tomb at Alalakh[3], although he notes that similar types of figurines do appear elsewhere in Bronze Age Canaan and Syria. The damaged cuneiform tablet, of which there is a drawing and a report by Sidney Smith in Garstang (1934: 116-117), is now housed in the Rockefeller Museum[4] (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 96). A drawing is reproduced in Figure 3.

Smith (in Garstang 1934) says that the signs resemble those used in the Amarna Letters from the Phoenician coastal towns, rather than from Mittani, Assyria or Asia Minor[5]. They look similar also to the signs used in the Jerusalem Amarna Letters. It should be noted that like tablet 11 from Hazor[6] and tablet 2 from Shechem[7], both of which date from the Late Bronze Age, the writing on the Jericho tablet continues onto the obverse side. Smith (cf Garstang, 1934: 117) surmises that the Jericho tablet was a "business note recording some name or names" while Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 96) translate the only legible portion as "s[o]n of Ta[g]utaka". Hazor 11 and Shechem 2 also cite names[8]. However as the context is missing from all three tablets it is not possible to be certain about whether they should be characterized as belonging to the sphere of business, other administrative matters or taxation.

To return to the Middle Building: Garstang (Garstang and Garstang 1948: 179) says that it was "clearly a residence (for it had both hearth and oven)". Nevertheless, he draws attention (ibid) to what he thinks is some curious features: one room was like a stable and the structure had "its own stout inclosing wall which was laid out noticeably askew from the old lines of the city". According to Garstang (1934: 105), the wall was built in three stages. Bienkowski (1986: 112) comments that it "must be integral to the Middle Building, since it is on the same axis, but cuts the lines of the earlier MB 'storerooms' and is overlain by the later Iron Age 'Hilani'." Bienkowski (1986: 117) considers the question of the function of the Middle Building. He points out the evidence of domestic occupation on the Tell discovered by Kenyon (outlined above) and draws attention to Garstang's find of a room with LBA pottery beneath Iron Age remains north of the Palace area (cf Cook, 1936: 74-75), thus concluding that the Middle Building was not the only occupied dwelling of the time. Because of the thick enclosure wall, he wonders whether

it was a small fort although seems to reject the idea when he says, "there is nothing to suggest that it was used for military purposes" (Bienkowski 1986: 117). However, given the evidence from the slightly later times of Seti I and Ramesses II of Egyptian concern to protect/ regulate the other fords across the Jordan[9], it is most probable that Jericho was equipped to deal with any potential problem that might arise. This does not mean necessarily that the building was used exclusively as a military installation, nor merely as a dwelling place as Garstang implied.

Are there any further clues to the function of the building? Bienkowski (1986: 117) says,

> *"The closest known parallel to the Middle Building is the LBIb 'residency' at Tel Halif..."*

It is proposed now to investigate the building at Tell Halif in order to see if it can shed any light on the purpose of the Middle Building from Jericho.[10]

Tell Halif

Jacobs (1987: 67-86), one of the excavators of Tell Halif in the northeastern Negeb, gives a description of the architectural features of the building likened by Bienkowski to the Middle Building in Jericho. Further, Jacobs (1987) gives an assessment of the function and place of Tell Halif in relation to the Egyptian Empire.

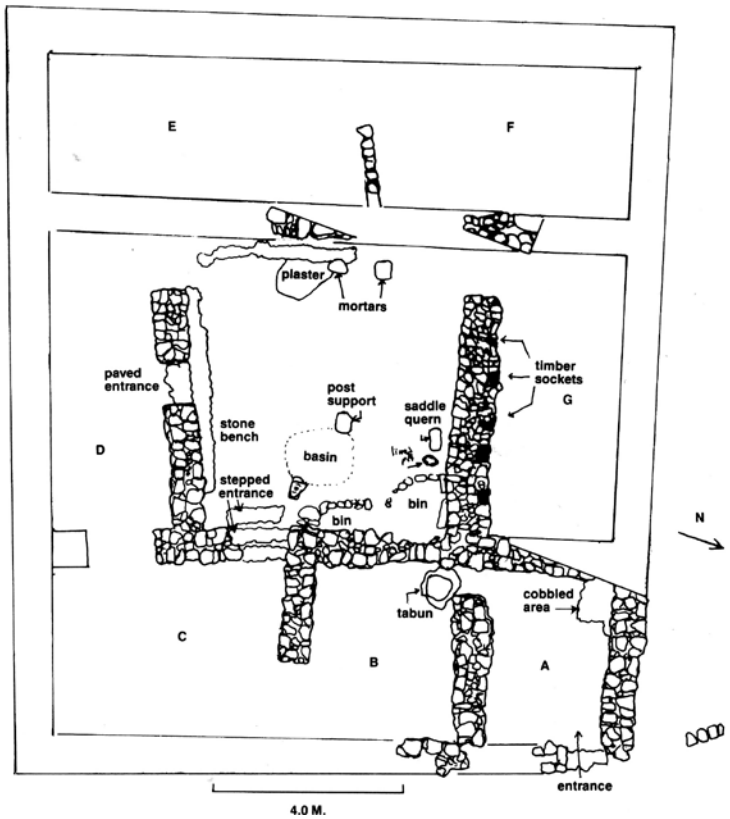

Figure 5: *Plan of the Late Bronze Age building at Tell Halif, from Jacobs, 1987: 70*

The building was found in Stratum IXB and dates from LBIb (Jacobs 1987: 69)[11], thus predating the Jericho structure by at least a century. Like the Middle Building, the LBIb residency at Tell Halif was not built according to an Egyptian architectural design even though, like the one at Jericho, it was constructed during the period of Egyptian overlordship[12]. The building at Tell Halif measured approximately 17m x 14m, so was slightly larger than the Middle Building at Jericho (14.4m x 11.8m) (measurements given in Bienkowski 1986: 117), although it should be noted that both were rectangular. Like the Middle Building, its foundations were made of stone (cf Seger 1993: 556) and its superstructure of mudbrick. Bienkowski (1986: 117) thinks a further feature they may have had in common relates to the use of wooden roof beams[13]. The building at Tell Halif had a well defined central courtyard (6m x 6.5m) (Seger 1993: 556) with 7 rooms arranged around its four sides although there is no indication that any of the rooms had doors (Jacobs 1987: 72). Jacobs goes on to say that entry to the structure was gained through an exterior door to one of the rooms[14] and points out that this was a fairly common feature of the courtyard house. If there was a courtyard in the Middle Building at Jericho, it was not nearly as well defined as the one at Tell Halif although, as seen above, Bienkowski cautiously agrees with Garstang's conclusion that one of its seven rooms fulfilled this function. However, it was not square or central. As Nigro (1996: 7, 52-53) points out, its largest room was on one of the edges of the structure.

Northern elements abound in the building at Tell Halif. Although the earliest examples of the architectural design of the courtyard structure have been found in Mesopotamia, the largest number has been discovered at Ugarit (Jacobs 1987: 69)[15]. The inclusion of upright wooden beams set into the wall of one room (Room G) in the house at Tell Halif reflects a technique that was normal practice further north in Syria, Anatolia, Crete and Mycenae (Jacobs 1987: 73), but not in Canaan[16]. Indeed, Jacobs (1987: 73; note 11) says that the size of the beams used means they would have had to have been imported from Lebanon or Syria. That the central room was roofed was deduced from the find of a large stone in the middle of the room, which would have functioned as a base for a pillar, and piles of charred wood which appear to have been the remnants of beams which stretched from the pillar to the walls, thus providing the framework for the roof (Jacobs 1987: 73). It is even possible that there was a second storey for the remains of a staircase were apparent in Room G (Jacobs 1987: 74). The find of a lamp well above the level of the floor of Room G but mixed with fallen bricks and charred wood also suggests another storey (Jacobs 1987: 83, ftnt 12)[17]. The partial (or possibly the full) roofing of the central room again reflects the practice

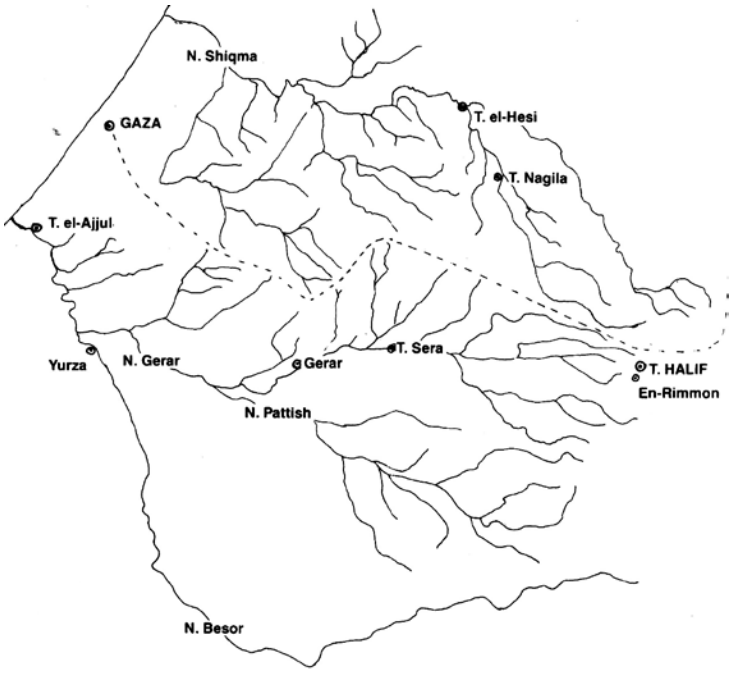

Figure 6: *A map with wadi systems and possible route between Gaza and Tell Halif from Jacob 1987: 68*

of the north (Jacobs 1987: 73). One type of pottery found in the central room also exhibits a northern origin. This is a 'krater with a strainer spout and a "basket" handle' (Jacobs 1987: 74; fig.8)[18] which closely resembles a find labelled "Hittite" at Alaca Hüyük (cf Zübeyrkoşay 1951: pl. lxiv) in north-eastern Anatolia. As well as highlighting the northern aspects of the architecture, Jacobs draws our attention to its costliness in terms of the materials used. The importation of wood has already been mentioned, but to this should be added the "fine metaled surface" of the floor of Room G (Jacobs 1987: 72). Here it should be noted that both the large wooden beams and the metalled floor belong to Room G, marking it as distinctive from the other rooms.

Jacobs (1987: 79-81) demonstrates that Tell Halif was the only town in the northern Negeb in the Late Bronze Age and that habitation was almost totally limited to the Tell itself. He thinks this was due to the fragile eco-system where dry farming would have had to be practiced. So, why was there a town in the region at all? Jacobs (1987: 79-81) shows that occupation appears to have alternated between Tell Halif and Tell Beit Mirsim over the span of the Early to Late Bronze Ages. The move from Beit Mirsim to Halif was, in Jacob's opinion, the result of the former being destroyed at the end of the MBA. The poor settlement (Stratum X-MB IIC/LB IA - cf Jacobs 1987: 69) at Halif which followed was begun, posits Jacobs (1987: 81), by "the displaced citizens of Beit Mirsim". This settlement was superseded in a generation. Jacobs says,

> *What had begun in Stratum X as a village of thin-walled houses was replaced in Stratum IXB with a large and handsome building (69)*[19]

In Jacob's view,

> *The only cause sufficient to account for the dramatic, nearly overnight, changes in the prosperity of the town must have been that of a revived economy of the entire region under the urging and for the benefit of Egypt. It is likely that Halif's location on one of the major routes inland to the Judean hills- especially from a town belonging to Egyptian royalty (Gaza's epithet was "That -Which-the-Ruler-Seized) – guaranteed its successful and rapid growth. (76)*

Tell Halif's position on the trade route is surely the key here. However, it may be possible to extend this observation a little further. There were no settlements close to Tell Halif. Jacobs underlines the isolation of Halif when he says,

> *Not a single farmhouse, industrial site or even grave belonging to the Late Bronze Age has been found away from the tell by the team which has systematically conducted a survey of the region around Tel Halif (79)*

yet he does not draw the obvious conclusion that Halif was not primarily an agricultural centre, rather its function was to support the trade route. Seger (1993: 557) says it is likely that during this period it was a "special-use site", "probably a trading station maintaining connections between the coastal highway and areas in the Judaean hills." He may be correct that it was a trading centre, but it is likely to have been a way station as well[20].

Way Stations in the Ancient Near East

What is known from the literary record about way stations in the Ancient Near East? Dorsey (1991: 43- 47) gathered together some data about them. On page 43 he quotes a statement made by Shulgi, King of Ur, in the Neo-Sumerian period,

> *I...built there [along the highways] "big houses"*
>
> *Planted gardens alongside of them, established resting places,*
>
> *Settled there friendly folk,*
>
> *[So that] who comes from below, who comes from above,*
>
> *Might refresh themselves in its cool [shade],*
>
> *The wayfarer who travels the highway at night,*
>
> *Might find refuge there like in a well-built city.*
> (translated by Kramer in Pritchard 1969: 585).

The evocative imagery in these words of Shulgi conveys to us several notions: that in way stations people could rest; were welcome whoever they were; could cool down and sleep in safety. Casson (1974: 36) comments that "who comes from above" in Shulgi's statement is indicative of high administrative officials whereas "who comes from below" probably indicates traders. It should be noted that

Shulgi's way stations were government controlled and that the people who ran them did so with his approval[21]. Further evidence of a general nature has come down to us about way stations from Ancient Near Eastern sources of a later period. From the extant Neo-Assyrian literature, Dorsey (1991: 45) adduces that way stations were government operated, had the responsibility of accommodating travellers, passed on official correspondence and had to be loyal to the king. With the exception of passing on correspondence (of which Shulgi said nothing), all the aspects of way stations in Neo-Assyrian times were present over a thousand years earlier in the time of Shulgi and presumably they continued to be present throughout the intervening period. Another later source is the Hebrew Bible[22]. From its evidence, Dorsey (1991: 46) tentatively concludes that way stations were located in wilderness areas where there were no towns or villages where one could be accommodated. He is surely correct for this very situation is reflected in Shulgi's statement which says that way stations provide, "refuge … like in a well-built city". This implies that they acted as substitutes for cities and, as such, were likely to have been built to withstand attack and to be found in sparsely populated areas. Nevertheless, they need not have been the only structure in a given location. A way station would have required workers such as cleaners, cooks, stable hands and others who would have needed to house themselves and their families. Not all way stations were in isolated locations though some, at a time later than Shulgi, appear to have been built in close proximity to a city and this is the case with the one at Knossos (cf Evans 1928: 103-39)[23].

What did way stations look like? Shulgi said that he built "big houses", so they resembled residences. However, the remains of his structures have not been uncovered. Casson's survey (1974: 88-90; 200-211) of way stations/ hostels/inns throughout the ancient world from Minoan to Byzantine times indicates that the size of the structure varied from place to place according to the amount of traffic along a particular route. One feature that appears to have been consistent though was the presence of a courtyard, either square or rectangular, when a structure was located outside a city.

Was the Stratum IXB Building at Tell Halif a Way Station?

- Tell Halif was certainly in a sparsely populated area, thus fulfilling one of the two possible general locations for a way station. Further, skirting the wadis, it was on a route leading from the Via Maris to the Judaean hills and so travellers are likely to have passed through it.
- The building itself would have been defendable as there was probably only one entrance – originally through room A leading to the other rooms that gave access to the central courtyard. Where the later entry was located is not clear to the excavator or the present writer[24].
- The large number of pottery vessels, as well as evidence of grain, wine and lentils, but not of cooking, discovered in the central room, (Jacobs 1987: 74-75), may suggest that the building at Tell Halif was a way station[25].
- The cobbled area of the floor of Room A may suggest the presence of pack animals[26], prior to its final phase[27].
- It is probable that the central courtyard at Tell Halif contained "a pool". Jacobs (1987: 74) describes the "pool" - which he calls a "basin" - as follows:

  One of the features of the room worth noting is a sloping sunken area (c.1.9m. x 1.5 m. across) of the floor near the eastern entrance. The "basin" had been carefully maintained through all three phases of the house, and in the final phase its edge had been rimmed by small vessels, particularly bowls and jugs. It can only be surmised (since nothing was detected in the "basin" except a water jug that had apparently rolled into it) that the basin was used in some chore that required the containment of a liquid.

  However, it is noteworthy that a pool of a similar size was found at the way station at Knossos excavated by Evans (1928:116).
- Additional support for Tell Halif having been a way station comes from the international finds there. The "Hittite" pottery has already been mentioned, but Egyptian amulets were found also, as was a bulla sealed with a Mittanian style cylinder seal (Jacobs 1987: 82). All this leads to the conclusion that people from a variety of geographical locations passed through Tell Halif.
- This is not surprising for it would have been on the most direct route from central Transjordan to Gaza and/ or the Via Maris and thence to Egypt.

It is highly unlikely then that the building at Tell Halif was simply some rich man's dwelling house. More probably, it was his business premises; a business run with the blessing of the Egyptians for the facilitation of travel, whether of administrative officials or merchants. One could hazard a guess that the lavishly appointed Room G was the owner/manager's office and that it reflected his northern origin (or close contact with the north) as well as his wealth, which he derived from those passing through his portals[28]. He may even have been connected with a merchant company himself and have moved south to facilitate business[29]. Nigro (1996: 5) asserts that Halif was an outpost of Lachish and, if so, it will have been overseen by the ruler of the latter.

The Middle Building at Jericho Revisited

To return to a discussion of Jericho: the conclusion about the function of the Stratum IX building at Tell Halif may well be applicable to Jericho also.

- Jericho, like Tell Halif, was in a sparsely populated area and its importance increases with the realisation that it had a fresh water spring. Further, it was almost equidistant between Sahab[30] in Jordan, and Jerusalem. As such, it would have been an ideal place for a way station.
- The buildings at Jericho and Tell Halif, while not having a central courtyard in common, had some similar features: both were rectangular; had foundations of stone and a superstructure of mudbrick; had wooden roof beams although due to the lack of remains of the mudbrick superstructure of the Middle Building, it is unknown whether there were any wooden beams set into the wall as at Tell Halif. A pool, presumably for bathing, was evident at Tell Halif and, although none was found in the Middle Building at Jericho, it is possible that the presence of a spring at Jericho, close to the Middle Building, may have obviated the need for a purpose built pool. Like the Building at Tell Halif, the Middle Building at Jericho contained artefacts from much further north, suggestive of travellers passing through the area.
- A cuneiform tablet was found at Jericho and, even though most of it was illegible, it is an indication that the Middle Building was not merely a domestic dwelling. As the building was apparently abandoned in an orderly fashion, the logical conclusion is that the tablet had been compiled by, or sent to whoever was in charge rather than being in transit to somewhere else. This suggests that the person in charge was educated and/or a scribe was present, linking with what has been found out from Neo-Assyrian texts about the role way stations played as far as official correspondence was concerned.
- The Middle Building at Jericho was protected by very thick walls. These may have served a dual purpose – defence against erosion as well as defence against marauders who had often been prevalent in the area

Can it be concluded that the Middle Building at Jericho was part of the Egyptian network? Yes. The time of its construction, most probably during the fourteenth but possibly the thirteenth century BCE, its location at a crossroads and its proximity to a fordable area of the River Jordan strongly indicate this. Further pointers in this direction are the function of the building as a way station, adduced from its similarity to Tell Halif, and the probability that its overseer was the recipient or generator of a cuneiform tablet. Further, it is only 36kms/22.5 miles from Jerusalem which, according to the Amarna Letters (EA 285- EA 290), was part of the Egyptian Empire. Indeed, Nigro (1996: 5) thinks that Jericho may have been an outpost of the Jerusalem city state and the similarity in the style of the signs between the Jerusalem Amarna Letters and those used on the Jericho tablet would support such a suggestion.

As far as the relationship between trading centres and way stations is concerned, it is probable that there was a link between them and that the presence of one brought about the appearance of the other. However, neither is likely to have been primary. As Al-Maqdissi (2008: 42) points out, the presence of oases along the way will have given rise to the route from Mari to Qatna across the Syrian Steppe in the first place and way stations will have developed subsequently. Tell Halif was close to a wadi and in a spot that anyone travelling from the southern end of the Via Maris to the Judaean hills or beyond would have had to pass. A fresh water spring was located at Jericho and so anyone travelling from Transjordan to Jerusalem or south to Egypt would have passed that way. Consequently, way stations appeared at both Tell Halif and Jericho[31]. However, way stations were primarily "government installations" designed, according to the much earlier Shulgi, to support personnel travelling on government business and secondarily to provide secure accommodation to traders who were passing through. It may be that their function was even broader by the Late Bronze Age, but to investigate that would require a further paper.

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Endnotes

1 Bienkowski (1986: 112) says it is possible the 'Palace' dates to the LBA but there is no certainty. In his opinion there is too little information upon which to base a judgment.
2 Bienkowski (1986:113-118) provides a summary of the varying dates assigned to the Middle Building by Garstang and Kenyon, showing how their views shifted over time.
3 Bienkowski (1986: 113) cites L. Badre, Les Figurines Anthropomorphes en Terrre Cuite a l'Age du Bronze en Syrie, Paris, 1980: pl. XX:51
4 Its registration number is IAA 35.2878; Rockefeller Museum 1485 (Horowitz and Oshima, 2006: 96). Photographs of each side of the tablet appear in Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 231)
5 Smith (cf Garstang, 1934: 117) surmises that the tablet was a "business note recording some name or names".
6 Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 82) give the registration number of the tablet as IAA 1997-3308 and its present location as the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
7 Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 123-25) give the registration number of the tablet as IAA 32.2891 and its present location as the Rockefeller Museum.
8 Hazor 11 has a place name and a personal name on three lines cf. Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 82) while Shechem 2 appears to be the lower half of a tablet upon which is written a list of witnesses cf. Horowitz and Oshima (2006: 124)
9 Cf. The First Beth-Shean Stela (Pritchard, 1969: 253-254) which demonstrates that Seti I sent troops to deal with the attack on Beth-Shean by Hammath and Pella: the First Division of Amun to Hammath; the First Division of Re to Beth-Shean and the First Division of Sutekh to Yenoam. An Egyptian residency and a second large public building in Egyptian style were found in Stratum XII at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (probably Biblical Zarethan) (Tubb in Tubb and Chapman, 1990: 94-110), 1.8 km east of the Jordan and, like Beth-Shean, Hammath and Yenoam, situated close to a ford of the River.
10 It has to be acknowledged that Bienkowski may have over stated the case for the similarity of the two buildings for there is a major difference in their internal layout. Nigro (1996: 7) classifies the Middle Building at Jericho as a "residence with the largest room on the side (of the structure)" but Tell Halif as "a residence with a central square room". Nevertheless, each building appears to have had a tripartite division cf. figure 4 above and figure 5 below.
11 Seger (1993: 556) says the level in which the Building was uncovered was Stratum X, although dates it to the same time as Jacobs.
12 Jacobs (1987: 70,72) points out that the building at Tell Halif predates the Amarna period, thus refuting the claims of several scholars that the architectural design emerged from Egypt in the Amarna period.
13 Bienkowski (1986: 112) comments, "The upright wooden 'roof supports' at Tell Halif recall the possible ceiling timbers at Jericho"
14 Jacobs (1987: 72) supposes a different entry point must have been in use later, as the room which constituted the original entry functioned as a rubbish dump and had had an oven built over the internal entry point.
15 See note 12.
16 Jacobs (1987: 73) cites Kuntilat 'Arjud (cf. Meshel 1979: 29) in the Negeb as the only other place in Canaan where the technique is evident. However, the building there is from a later period – the end of the ninth or the beginning of the eighth century BCE during the reign of Joash, King of Israel, according to the excavator, Meshel (1997: 312)
17 Jacobs (1987: 74, 83) also admits the possibility that the staircase led to the roof, rather than to a second storey. However, a second storey is the more likely option as none of the rooms off the courtyard had doors and the courtyard itself was clearly a storage and "working" room. Bins, a lined pit, querns, ceramic vessels suited to a variety of functions as well as storage jars were found in this room (Jacobs, 1987: 74).
18 The figure is cited as figure 5 by Jacobs on p. 74, but the appropriate drawing on p. 75 is labelled as figure 8.
19 What Jacobs calls Stratum X is listed as Stratum XI in Seger (1993: 556)
20 Warburton (2001:236, note 6) says that the LB1b residence at Tell Halif should have been listed with the Governor's Residencies in Oren (1984: 37-56) and Weippert (1988:272) although Warburton questions whether such buildings had anything to do with governors at all!
21 Nevertheless we are not told of the business relationship between Shulgi and those who ran his way stations – were they direct employees who received a "wage" or were they "franchisees" who had "bought" a business or "concession holders" who were allowed to run the way station as a business for a certain length of time? Did Shulgi employ workmen to build his way stations or did he merely give permission to those who would run them to have them built and thus choose their own architectural design? Our lack of knowledge in these areas continues also into later periods for we do not know the exact terms of the business relationship between other ruling powers and those who ran the way stations. We are thus constrained in our judgement
22 The evidence is limited (Gen 4:27; 43:21; Exod 4:24; Josh 43:3,8; 2 Kgs 19:23; Isa 10:29; Jer 9:1) and was written at a later time.
23 Presumably, when way stations were located close to a city their purpose would have been to afford officials the opportunity to refresh themselves after a long journey prior to entering the city itself and/or because the city was locked up at night and the traveler arriving late would have been unable to gain access. Some way stations may also have been part of a city's outer defence system, for they were located on roads leading to the city as Al-Maqdissi (2008: 42) suggests when he draws attention to way stations on the roads leading to Qatna from four directions.
24 Originally entered through room A, access to room B and beyond was blocked with the construction of a tabun (oven) and room A became a rubbish dump. Jacobs (1987: 72) says that clearly another entrance must have been made in the final phase of the building but offers no explanation as to why the change took place.
25 A fifteenth century way station found at Knossos on Crete had the remains of storage jars and bins for grain in rooms on its lowest floor (Evans 1928: 105). The finds in the central room at Tell Halif reflect, of course, the final phase of occupation and it cannot be taken for granted that all the storage jars were in the same place for the whole period.
26 Evans (1928:105) draws attention to cobbles on the floors of some of the lower rooms at what he asserts was a hostel at Knossos. He says, "A remarkable feature about these

basements was that, in place of the beaten earth or flagging usual in some places, there were everywhere traces of cobble-paving, which, as our Cretan workmen observed, was 'good to keep beasts' hoofs hard' and suggested to them the idea of stabling"

27 However, as this room became a rubbish tip and entry from it to the courtyard was blocked off, the presence of animals in it must have been prior to the latest phase. That Room A was no longer used, implies either that the number of people living in/using the building was lower than it had been earlier or that the building had been extended (another storey added?) and that Room A was no longer suitable for its former purpose.

28 Accommodation, food etc would have required payment. The texts from the trading colony from Assur found in Kanesh (Kulteppe) in Anatolia tell us that in the nineteenth to eighteenth centuries BCE, traders had to pay for food and "datum" along the route. Veenhof (1972: 219-302) thinks that "datum" was a toll paid in successive stages throughout the journey. Although this is about four centuries earlier than the period under discussion, there is no reason to think that such a lucrative strategy ceased with the end of the colony in Kanesh. It is possible that Tell Halif was a stage on a trading route and that the owner/manager collected the necessary payment, much of which, presumably, he would have had to pass on to the Egyptians. However, he probably would have been able to augment his own income from it to some extent.

29 The texts from Kanesh, referred to in footnote 28, mention other karum (merchant centres – literally ports) in Anatolia (listed as 10 by Lewy, 1956: 66, note 280), as well as wabaratum which were lesser settlements (estimated at 30 by Veenhof, 1995: 864). The function of the latter seems to have varied over time. Larsen (1976: 279) thinks they may have been "caravanserai" which expanded to become trading centres and/or military installations designed to protect the trade routes.

30 It is noteworthy that Sahab, adduced to be a trading centre in this period (cf Van der Steen, 2004:283) evidences northern connections, like Tell Halif. Indeed, Ibrahim (1987: 77), one of the excavators of Sahab, comments,"The evidence from Sahab itself throws more light on connections with Bilad esh-Sham (Syria), Egypt and the Aegean world during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The buildings, pottery and other artifacts from Sahab are in many ways similar to those found in other parts of Bilad esh-Sham and should be thought of as an extension of the same culture…"

31 Jericho in the Late Bronze Age was considerably smaller than it had been in the Early Bronze Age (for a recent interpretation of the data from the EBA cf. Nigro et al., 2005). It is interesting that Jawa was also a city in the EBA but much smaller in the MBA. The "citadel" there, dating from the latter period, has defied identification as to its purpose (Helms 1989: 141-168). It may be that, although the population of Jawa was much reduced in the MBA, as was Jericho in the LBA, a presence in each of those locations continued as they were along routes that were in use.

R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the eyewitnesses: the Gospels as eyewitness testimony,* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006, 538 pp, ISBN 9780802831620, USD 58.99

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In this large and closely argued book Richard Bauckham of the University of St. Andrews contends that eyewitness testimony as a category of historiography is 'an entirely appropriate means of access to the historical reality of Jesus' (5). He sets out to supplement Samuel Byrskog's *Story as history – history as story: the gospel tradition in the context of ancient oral history (Leiden: Brill, 2000)*, which demonstrates that ancient historians considered the best kind of historical evidence to be eyewitness testimony deriving from personal involvement in events – by identifying eyewitnesses and eyewitness testimony in the Gospel tradition.

The point of departure is a passage that Bauckham comes back to repeatedly throughout the book. In a lucid analysis of an often discussed fragment of Papias (Eusebius, *HE* 3.39.3-4), he shows that the bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor was probably collecting eyewitness testimony in about AD80-90 from the associates of church elders and disciples of Jesus living in Asia. Papias' preference for 'a living and abiding voice' verifies the important role of eyewitness testimony (autopsy) in the *writing* of historiographic accounts and calls into question the form-critical assumption that oral tradition was passed on through an anonymous collective. A further point of significance is that after the death of eyewitnesses, 'the value of orally transmitted traditions would soon decline considerably' (30).

In chapters 3 and 4 Bauckham proposes that the names in the Gospels 'are of persons well known in early Christian communities' (47). The Evangelists associate traditions with individual disciples. Discrepancies between the women's names in the resurrection accounts, for example, are to be explained because some decades after the events the writers 'were careful to name precisely the women that were well known to them' (51). The minutiae of synoptic relationships aside, this is reasonable. In the same way, individual traditions may derive from minor persons named in the Gospels. On the other hand, as Dunn observes, much of the tradition was transmitted without 'explicit attribution to the first disciples' (2008: 102). Therefore, to press the argument as far as Bauckham does assumes that the mostly implicit instances of attribution attest to a literary practice that was taken for granted.[1]

The data of Ilan (2002) is then used to show that the most popular Jewish names occur in similar proportions in the Gospels and Acts and in Palestinian, epigraphic, literary, papyrological, and earliest rabbinical sources. On this basis, Bauckham argues it is 'very unlikely that the names in the Gospels are late accretions to the traditions' (74). Drawing support from comparison with names in the volume of Jewish inscriptions from Egypt (Horbury & Noy 2007), he concludes that the names favoured by Diasporan Jews were different to those preferred in Palestine. However, the net should have been cast more widely to include Jewish inscriptions in volumes by Lüderitz (1983), and the three-part *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* series (Noy 2004); they have been overlooked, even though the Asia Minor volume is footnoted (447 note 35).

Since the names of the Twelve are accurately preserved in the Synoptics, Bauckham argues that they function as 'a body of eyewitnesses who formulated and authorized the core collection of traditions in all three Synoptic Gospels (97). They qualified as witnesses through having seen Jesus' ministry from beginning to end. This is explicit in Acts 1:21-22 and Luke 1:1-4 and implicit in Jn. 15:26-27 and Acts 10:36-42. Three of the Gospels also use an *inclusio* literary device that presents individuals – Peter in Mark, the Beloved Disciple in John, and the women in Luke[2] – as 'the main eyewitness source' of their respective Gospels (131). This observation has been made before as regards Peter in Mark, but Bauckham suggests perceptively – with reference to similar devices in biographies by Lucian and Porphyry – that it functioned as a literary convention (146). Significantly, Luke appears to affirm and John to modify the Petrine *inclusio* in Mark.

Chapters 7 to 9 comprise an argument that Mark is dependent on early authorised tradition received from Peter. Mark writes his own narrative but manipulates the focalization so as to give readers the perspective of the disciples and Peter, when the focus narrows. This change from a first person plural to a third person plural narrative, first mooted by C.H. Turner, Bauckham calls a 'singular-to-plural narrative device'. But the argument that Mark deliberately linked the singular-to-plural narrative device to his Petrine *inclusio* is difficult to prove. The idea of an early, authorised narrative source is further suggested by instances of anonymity in Mark, perhaps designed to protect living persons from punishment by the Jewish authorities. Bauckham also adduces a somewhat strained translation of the passage from Papias (*HE* 3.39.15) which describes the relationship between Peter and Mark. The most natural sense of the Greek text, at least in the case of ἐμνημόνευσεν, is that Mark and not Peter is the one doing the remembering. If Peter was sitting there while Mark translated his words (211), there would be no need to worry about leaving out or falsifying anything, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. Subsequent arguments about order, particularly in Matthew, also tend to be speculative.

The next three chapters mount a sustained argument against form criticism and the more moderate model of Dunn. Instead of an informal controlled tradition, as

adopted from Kenneth Bailey, Bauckham argues that transmission of Jesus traditions was formal and controlled. The biblical foundation is quite solid. Paul presents himself as an 'authorized tradent' who received tradition from 'competent authorities' (1 Cor. 11:23-25; 15:1-8; 2 Thess. 2:15). 'He thus places himself in a chain of transmission' (265). This was probably the reason for two weeks spent with Peter at Jerusalem (Gal. 1:18). Thus, Paul was the connecting link between teachers appointed in the Pauline churches (Rom. 12:7; 1 Cor. 12:28-29; Eph. 4:11) and the apostles at Jerusalem. In 1 Cor. 15:3-8 Paul takes it for granted that major (the 'twelve') and minor eyewitnesses to the resurrection 'are alive and can be seen and heard' (308).

Bauckham continues to follow Gerhardsson[3] in arguing that transmission of Jesus tradition was not affected by proclamation or apologetic and only moderately affected by adaptations to later context (279). *Contra* Dunn, he argues that prior to the writing of the Gospels the tradition was not controlled informally by an anonymous 'community' ('collective memory'), but formally controlled by eyewitnesses and 'community teachers authorized as tradents' using (varying degrees of) memorization and perhaps writing (293). Instead, Papias shows that the tradition was transmitted by individuals—from the disciples of Jesus, to the elders in the churches of Asia, to the associates of the elders. The same model of transmission is found in Irenaeus, Josephus, regarding Pharisaic tradition, and was also used in the Hellenistic philosophical schools. Writing Gospels had the aim of preserving eyewitness testimony beyond the lifetimes of the eyewitnesses (308).

In a critique of sociological and historical theories of collective memory, oral history is defined as primarily personal recollection, following Jan Vansina, while oral tradition is defined as 'the collective memories of a group passed down across generations' (313). Collective memory is, therefore, 'traditions of a group about events not personally recollected by any of the group's members', which describes the period after the death of eyewitnesses. Bauckham wants to show that personal memories are not subsumed in collective memory, but the argument against form criticism may have resulted here in too sharp a separation. Byrskog argues that this separation restricts interpretative interaction between oral history and oral tradition (2008: 159-66). However, while Bauckham's categories are rigid, he repeatedly states that testimony involves both history and its meaning or interpretation (e.g., see 221, 243, 279, 286).

A more significant criticism is that while the disregard of form criticism for the sources as eyewitness testimony is plainly evident, Bauckham still appears to accept, probably in deference to Dunn, the form-critical presupposition that orality completely dominated textuality in the period before the Gospels were written. While acknowledging that 'writing and orality were not alternatives but complementary' (287), only 2.5 of 508 pages are dedicated to the subject of literacy and writing. As Gamble has shown, studies on ancient literacy have much to say about the limitations of form criticism (1995). Several of Bauckham's reviewers have asked what happened as new Christian communities developed at a large distance from eyewitnesses?[4] Bauckham's response is that travelling teachers who had been instructed by eyewitnesses visited the churches. Such teachers might also have provided written texts of various kinds – testimony collections of Old Testament passages supporting Christian claims, portions of the Greek Old Testament (LXX), Pauline letters, sayings or miracle story collections, passion narratives, and so on – to new congregations. The great majority of early Christians were illiterate, but texts were probably central from the beginning of the movement.

After a survey of psychological theories of collective memory, nine factors that affect memory reliability (events that are unique or unusual, salient or consequential; events in which people are emotionally involved; frequent rehearsal; and so on) are discussed in relation to the Gospels (Chapter 13). Bauckham concludes that eyewitness memory of the history of Jesus scores highly in terms of these criteria of reliability (346). Theological developments inspired by post-Easter interpretative insight were also tempered by eyewitness memory. These are valuable insights.

A case is then outlined for the Beloved Disciple's authorship of the Gospel of John on the basis of internal literary connections and the idiomatic Johannine use of the first person plural 'we' when 'solemnly claiming the authority of testimony' (380; see Jn. 21:24; 1:14-16[?]; 3:10-13; 12:38; 3 Jn. 9-12; 1 Jn. 1:1-5; 4:14). At this point, Bauckham admits that in ancient historiography and in the NT 'the *marturēo* word-group does not itself come from historiographic usage'. In the case of the Gospel of John, seeing and reporting refer to 'literal' eyewitness and are not legal metaphors (unlike the English word 'eyewitness'). This is a strange place, after almost 400 pages of close argument, to bring up a point that appears to speak against the cumulative argument being made.

The reason for doing so is to bring the counter-argument that the cosmic trial motif as found in Isaiah and adopted by John brings the Beloved Disciple's witness '*functionally* very close to historiographic autopsy' (386). This is fine as far as John is concerned, but a Luke-Acts connection (Acts 1:8 and Isa. 49:6) is much more tenuous, because it is undeveloped, in Luke. Further support is found by revisiting in more detail the *inclusio* of eyewitness testimony in John and by arguing that the Beloved Disciple qualifies as an ideal eyewitness (in comparison with Peter) because he enjoyed a special intimacy with Jesus, was present at key events, can provide observational detail, and is spiritually perceptive.

The lack of reference to the Twelve shows that the tradition in the Gospel of John was that of an individual. Bauckham argues that individual was 'the elder John' mentioned

by Papias. In the absence of any statement by the latter about the author of the Gospel of John, this can only be speculative. Bauckham's cumulative argument is quite strong, but in the end this is another scholarly detour that the book did not really need (as with most of chaps. 8 and 9). The impact that the book might have had is lost because the reader is forced to wade through demanding chapters that are peripheral to the issue at hand. There is also a general lack of signposting throughout the book. More effort should have been made to lead the reader by the hand.

In the final chapter Bauckham returns to the recently raised question of non-legal or natural/informal testimony. It is, he argues, fundamental to all human communication. Moreover, reliance on eyewitness testimony does not adversely disadvantage ancient historiography in relation to modern. The latter must adopt 'more critical attitudes' because historians do not have access to 'living eyewitness testimony' (481). The book is thus rounded out by the argument that such testimony bridges the perceived dichotomy between history and theology in Gospels scholarship. In contrast to a methodology that equates skepticism with historical rigour, Bauckham contends that a 'fundamental trust' in historical testimony is primary. 'Trust in the word of another, spontaneous and essential in everyday life, must in historiography coexist in dialectic with the kind of critical questioning that the archived testimony evokes' (489). This common sense proposal is far from an uncritical stance. Using the Holocaust as an example of a unique event 'at the limits' of human experience, Bauckham argues that its reality could not be understood without the testimony of survivors. In the same way, the Gospel story requires 'witness as the only means by which the events could be adequately known' (501). The uniqueness of the events is also theological in that 'it demands reference to God' (507). Thus, the theological interpretation of the Evangelists becomes 'only theologically understood history' (508).

In the final analysis, the book succeeds as a supplement to Byrskog's *Story as history – history as story*. Together they constitute an important corrective to those who find little that derives from the historical Jesus in the Gospels.[5] The book makes a significant contribution, particularly in the biblical basis it provides for the Gospels as eyewitness testimony. The way forward is to try to ascertain how much variation was allowed in the transmission of the tradition (286-7), that is, to try to understand how far the Evangelists were prepared to go in modifying the direct and indirect eyewitness testimony which they incorporated into their Gospels.

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Endnotes

1 As S. Byrskog (2008: 159) notes, 'the abundant evidence from the ancient historians coupled with information concerning the Gospels from the early Fathers accumulates the impression that the presence and influence of eyewitnesses in early Christianity is historically plausible'.

2 On problems with an *inclusio* involving the women in Luke see Catchpoole (2008: 176). Be this as it may, the contents of the Lukan prologue should not be forgotten.

3 It should be noted, however, that Bauckham does not adopt Gerhardsson's rabbinical model of transmission.

4 Cf. Dunn, (2008: 99): 'The point is that many of these churches at their foundation received their stock of Jesus tradition at second or third hand; Epaphras as the church-founder of the Lycus valley churches (Colossae, Laodicea, Hierapolis) is a good illustrative example (Col. 1.7; 4.12-13)'.

5 It is worth reading Bauckham's responses to his reviewers (2008a, 2008b)

Don C. Benjamin, *Stones and Stories: An Introduction to Archaeology and the Bible,* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010, 386 pp, ISBN 9780800623579, USD 39.00.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

The title of this book by Don Benjamin, who teaches Bible and Near Eastern Studies at Arizona State University, is *Archaeology and …* indicating that the book is organised around archaeology and not the Bible. After an introduction there are five parts, Popular Archaeology, Cultural History, Annales Archaeology, Processual Archaeology and Post-Processual Archaeology. The archaeological material discussed is almost exclusively derived from modern Israel with the exceptions being the Uluburun and Cape Gelidonya shipwrecks.

The arrangement is applied in an interesting fashion. Popular Archaeology begins by discussing pilgrims from the time of Eusebius and then geographers such as Edward Robinson. The archaeology of emperors discusses Napoleon and the beginnings of Egyptology and Assyriology. The archaeology of travellers deals with Edward Lane, David Roberts, Gertrude Bell, Edward Chiera and Donny George with a discussion of Nineveh and a comment about Orientalism.

The next chapter on antiquities dealers critically discusses Belzoni, Dayan and the ethics of collecting antiquities. Strangely this section begins with Burckhardt, one of the most significant nineteenth century travellers and geographers, who would fit well into any of the three preceding chapters, however it is good to address matters of ethics early in the book. The archaeology of missionaries starts with Klein's discovery of the Mesha Stone and then discusses Israelite religion and Atrahasis. One is left feeling that with the appropriate inclusion of Burckhardt, John Gardner Wilkinson and William McClure Thomson, amongst many others, this part could have been more focussed and set the scene of international interest and activity more suitably.

Part Two begins by demonstrating how cultural historians use written texts such as the Bible and ancient annals to interpret material remains found by archaeologists. Biblical Archaeology, a branch of cultural history, is discussed with respect to Albright, Wright, Bright and Kitchen before moving to the origins of ancient Israel as proposed by Alt, Noth and Mendenhall.

At no stage does the book consider Israel Finkelstein's archaeological work and it does not include his most significant study, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1988), in the bibliography. However, Benjamin does follow Faust *Israel's Ethnogenesis* (London: Equinox 2007) arguing that nomadic herders migrated into cities of Syria-Palestine and after the disruption at the end of the Late Bronze Age they settled in the hill country now known as the Occupied Territories. He seems to believe that the people who came to be known politically as Israelites descended from earlier generations of Bedouin or Bedouin-like people.

The next chapter describes the Wheeler-Kenyon archaeological excavation technique and its development. Petrie, Reisner, Badè, Moorey and the Lahav project are also discussed. Arad and Qumran are then used as case studies to show how archaeological sites can be interpreted.

The part on Annales Archaeology discusses its origins with Bloch, Febvre and Braudel and the development of a focus on a broad cultural understanding of the past, rather than specific events. This leads to chapters on agriculture, pottery and architecture. The agricultural chapter deals with grain found at the Syrian site of Abu Hureyra (said to be in Iraq), hunting practices of the Natufians, art at Çatal Hüyük and then Iron Age Palestine farming. The pottery chapter barely mentions pots and has a long discussion about ancient concepts of body and soul. The architecture discussed is almost entirely domestic Iron Age Palestinian and leads into a discussion about Biblical concepts of household.

The development of processual archaeology is described in conjunction with General Systems Theory and in contrast to cultural history. As Benjamin explains, cultural historians aim to derive a story from the stones whereas processualism aims to reconstruct processes. The title of the book is suitably ambiguous in this regard, although Benjamin is certainly more sympathetic to cultural history than most modern archaeologists. Binford's ethno-archaeology is then discussed and Gezer, Tel Miqne and nautical archaeology are used as case studies for processual archaeology. However these chapters do not apply processualism. There is very little scientific analysis of artefacts referred to and the site descriptions apply the biblical story uncritically as a non-processual untrained archaeologist might. There is, for example, a long section on the biblical story of Samson in the Tel Miqne chapter.

The introduction to post-processual archaeology begins with a section on Dever and his arguments with Albright about the use of the biblical text. However, as Dever was a champion of the so called New Archaeology, that is processualism, it is a little confusing to raise that debate in this context. Benjamin describes post-processualism as seeking the evolving worldview of the people who were associated with the excavated artefacts. As a postmodern discipline post-processual archaeology allows a diversity of explanations for cultural change, but is more site-specific distrusting regional generalisations or *meta-stories*. There follows a chapter on household archaeology that includes a discussion of gender studies.

The final chapter in the book considers Biblical Archaeology today. It raises issues of cooperation with funding bodies such as National Geographic, the use of the web, and museum display. It acknowledges the work of people such as Albright and current research. The issue of faith

is raised briefly, but political motivation and bias is not commented upon.

The book concludes with descriptions of the main university-based archaeology programs in North America, a glossary, a comprehensive annotated bibliography and an index.

Albright is seen as the first biblical archaeologist, although it is conceded that 'the first American to excavate in Syria-Palestine was William Matthew Flinders Petrie.' (97). Bliss, who carried on from Petrie in Palestine, was American. The fact is that the book is very American in its outlook, selection of people and material.

It is also focussed on modern and ancient Israel; archaeology and archaeologists working elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia and Egypt are barely mentioned. This restricted focus severely limited the available archaeological scholarship and examples to suitably illustrate archaeological theories. Benjamin does not appear to be political and in fact begins with the statement that:

> *Archaeology is not the plunder of the treasures of ancient cultures, nor proving that the Bible's descriptions of people and events are historically accurate, nor a legal remedy for determining which people today have a legal right to the land (1).*

Benjamin discusses the background to the book on *The Bible and Interpretation* website:

> *I wrote Stones & Stories for at least three reasons. First, I wanted readers to realize how productive the last one hundred years of fieldwork in the world of the Bible has been. Second, I wanted to encourage archaeologists working in the world of the Bible to put at least as much effort into thinking about what they were doing in the field – theory, as they have put into how they are doing fieldwork — practice. Third, I wanted to encourage archaeologists working in the world of the Bible to make a more concerted effort to collaborate more often with archaeologists working in other parts of the world. (http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/benjamin_35790927.shtml accessed 10 October 2009)*

The focus on Old Testament material from modern Israel limits the achievement of the first objective and gives no basis for accomplishing the third. Roger Moorey's *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox 1991) is much more successful in achieving these two objectives. The second objective is partly realised by Benjamin, who also states on *The Bible and Interpretation* website:

> *Stones & Stories is a guide to understanding how archaeologists romance the stones – the artifacts which make up the material heritage of now extinct cultures – in order to get them to tell their stories – to talk about their maker cultures. The book describes the schools or theories of archaeology used by popular and professional archaeologists to persuade the stones in the world of the Bible to talk to us. (http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/benjamin_35790927.shtml accessed 10 October 2009)*

This is partly true. Anyone reading this book will have a basic introduction to some current archaeological thought. However they are not likely to understand the different approaches to archaeological interpretation very well as the case studies do not illustrate them clearly. This is probably not entirely Benjamin's fault. There are very few examples of the application modern approaches to archaeology in the area that Benjamin focuses upon. If he had expanded his horizons east of the Jordan River and north of Damascus he would have found many appropriate examples.

The stated intentions are admirable and the introductions to each part are useful. The book is organised for teaching with conclusions, summaries and study questions at the end of each chapter.

The book is commendable because there is nothing else like it available. Benjamin set himself a daunting task and the fact that much of it does not come off is an indication of the difficulty facing any individual dealing with the large number of disciplines now involved in the archaeological endeavour and the vast amount of excavated and poorly published material. It is also an indication that in the region from which case studies are drawn, there are very few significant examples of the application of modern method and theory.

Shlomo Sand, *The Invention of the Jewish People,* (trans. from Hebrew by Yael Lotan) London: Verso, 2009, 332 pp+xi, index AUD 60.00.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

This book is potentially important in the context of Middle East peace and has implications for much popular Christian theology. However it is its view of southern Levantine history that is significant for archaeologists.

The Hebrew version of the book was published in Israel in 2008 where it has been on bestseller list while in France it won the Aujourd'hui Award. Sand currently teaches contemporary history at the University of Tel Aviv and although his book relies heavily on research and opinions of Jewish scholars, it is causing controversy amongst Israelis because it questions the basis for the Israeli State.

The thesis of the book is that Judaism is a religion and that Jews are not a people in an ethnic, national or biological sense. Sand argues that the modern myth began with Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews* (1853-1876) and has been promoted by Zionist thinkers, especially after 1929. The 1948 *Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel* states that 'After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their Dispersion and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom'. Sand argues that this is fiction.

The Roman capture of Jerusalem in AD 70 led to the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem, but Sand argues that there is no evidence that there was a general expulsion of Jews from Palestine. He also believes that there is credibility to much early twentieth century Jewish thinking which held that the Palestinians, especially the rural village people, largely descend from Old Testament period people such as the Judeans and Israelites and that many of them converted to Islam after the seventh century AD partly as a way of avoiding Islamic taxes. The observations of the nineteenth century historical geographers who found that many village names preserved Old Testament place names would tend to support this view of Palestinian history.

The book also documents the evidence for the conversion to Judaism of people including the Himyars (Yemen), Berbers, Punics and Khazars. There is evidence that some of the Muslim armies entering Spain were composed of Berbers who were proselytized Jews. On the other side of Europe in the seventh century the Jewish Khazar Empire was established and it is from these people that Ashkenazi (European) Jews descend. This latter point has long been known, but Sand adds documentation and describes a variety of modern Jewish reactions. It is ironic that Ashkenazi Jewish Israeli settler movements certainly have no biological link to Old Testament people, the Sephardim (Oriental) Jews may sometimes have such a link, while the Palestinians probably do.

Sand begins the book with a scholarly discussion of academic views of ethnicity, nationality and people-hood and concepts of racism. This section will be difficult reading for those not familiar with the issues and it is not unreasonable to leave it to read last.

The last chapter traces the often bizarre contortions of Israeli scholars, judges and legislators as they try to distinguish Jewishness and identify the people upon whom the State should confer favour. He deals with the impossibility of Israeli nationality, with religion and state, genetics, Israeli marriage laws, the Law of Return and argues that Israel is not a democracy but rather a 'Jewish ethnocracy with liberal features' (307). He states that 'no Jew who lives today in a liberal Western democracy would tolerate the discrimination and exclusion experienced by the Palestino-Israelis' (309). Israel, he states, could not join the European Union or become a state of America because of its undemocratic laws.

For Sand the solution to the current conflict may be achieved by establishing a democratic bi-national state between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. He acknowledges how difficult it will be for Israeli Jews to take such a step, but he suggests that Israelis need to realise that a homogeneous nation-state is now and always was impossible given the ethnic diversity of Palestine and the Jewish migrants.

Discarding the idea of being the 'chosen people' and 'to cease isolating itself in the name of a fanciful history and dubious biology and excluding the 'other' from its midst' (313) will be, in Sand's mind, the hardest issue for Jews to deal with. The other side of the coin for Jews is not considered by him; it is that Judaism has attracted many converts over the years. Christians have also had a similar prejudice believing that Judaism is unappealing and that Jews were only ever born.

The treatment of early Israeli archaeology describes Ben Gurion's interest in the enterprise and the activity of Yadin and Aharoni. Sand adopts the approach of Thomas L. Thompson and Israel Finkelstein over and against the position of Yadin arguing that the Old Testament was written as metaphor in the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. The books main propositions though, do not depend on this aspect of the argument as Sand's historical point of departure is AD70.

If recent archaeological thought has acknowledged anything it is that the past is complex. Sand's perspective is compatible with many modern archaeological trends. The acceptance of complexity, cultural and ethnic diversity, and occupational continuity are now normal. The changes in political entities and ruling elites are not now assumed to be replicated in the country-side.

The culture-history methodology of early twentieth century archaeologists promoted an uncomplicated, even simplistic, interpretation of archaeological evidence with respect to the origins of ancient Israel and the United Monarchy. This

same methodology can be detected in much current Israeli Roman period archaeology. Sand's work warns us that the simple historical propositions on which the State of Israel are based should not be accepted as axiomatic.

Keith Whitelam, *The Invention of ancient Israel* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996) argued that the Palestinians have been denied a history because of Western scholars' preoccupation with Israel, ancient and modern. He assumed that the Palestinians descended from people other than ancient Israel and by adopting a view that the Old Testament was a fabrication he argued that there was an opportunity for the Palestinians to have their own history. If Sand is correct the ethnic divisions assumed by Whitelam, and most Western scholars for that matter, that have led to the dispossession of the Palestinians are not valid.

It is time that some attention was given to the public archaeology of the last two thousand years in Palestine where significant early evidence for Christianity and Islam may be found. Unfortunately much current archaeological inquiry is being driven by the political need to find evidence for the Jewish occupation of Palestine, especially in areas such as Gallilee. If Sand is correct, this evidence may be encountered in many of the remains of the 531 Palestinian villages destroyed by the Israeli forces in 1948.

Speaking at the Al-Jazeera Forum in Doha, Qatar, on 24 May 2010, former South African president Thabo Mbeki, compared the South African and Palestinian experiences and concluded that the main difference is that in Israel-Palestine there is no agreed objective whereas in South Africa the belligerents could and did agree on what was most fundamental regarding the future of the country. The conflict in Israel-Palestine is largely defined by historical concepts, many of which are distorted according to Shlomo Sand. Archaeology has the potential to redress some of the distortion, but only if it is freed from narrow nationalist goals.

The Sand proposition offers freedom to investigate the history, cultures and peoples of the southern Levant more reliably and without the hindrances presented by the myths used to sustain modern Israel and Western Middle Eastern politics. Unfortunately these myths, which determine much of the West's dominant self-image, will ensure that that freedom will be some time in coming. Ultimately Sand is proposing democracy in the southern Levant and the separation of academic inquiry, religion and state; not that controversial one would have thought.

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