2021-03-31

The Middle Maccabees archaeology, history, and the rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom

Archaeology and Biblical Studies

The Middle Maccabees

Archaeology, History, and the Rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom

Edited by
Andrea M. Berlin
Paul J. Kosmin

ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES

Number 28

SBL PRESS

THE MIDDLE MACCABEES

Archaeology, History, and the Rise of the Hasmonean Kingdom

Edited by
Andrea M. Berlin and Paul J. Kosmin

SBL
SBL PRESS

SBL PRESS

Atlanta

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

9
The Upper Galilee and the Northern Coast

Andrea M. Berlin

The northernmost of all the regions treated in this volume may be called, for simplicity, the upper Galilee. Although today this name is used only in modern-day Israel, in topographic terms it forms a single, well-delineated, continuous mountainous massif extending across southern Lebanon and northern Israel (fig. 9.1). On the west, the mountains come straight down to the sea, with the city of Tyre occupying a narrow strip of land at roughly the midpoint. On the north is the Litani River, whose course runs from the interior Beqaa Valley out to the coast. On the east the formation sheers off dramatically at the Ḥula Valley, a wide marshy zone crisscrossed by streams fed by the Jordan River. The massif's highest points are at the inland corners: in the northeast at Rabb ath Thalathin, in Lebanon (719 m/2359 ft asl), and in the southeast at Mount Meiron, in Israel (1208 m/3963 ft asl).[1] The southern edge is delineated by the drop in elevation just south of the Meiron formation, as well as by a substantial water course, the Naḥal Keziv, which issues from the mountain's western side and comes out at Akhziv, immediately south of modern Rosh HaNiqra, the ancient Ladder of Tyre. To the south of this line is the lower Galilee, a gentler topography with lower hills and wider valleys (see Leibner in this volume).

Throughout much of the first millennium BCE and into the first few centuries CE, the upper Galilee comprised the *chora* of Tyre. Regularly in this long span of time, the city's rulers (whether kings or councils) installed structures at key points on the east and south that demonstrated their city's wider geographical sphere. In the early first millennium BCE,

1. For a topographic map of southern Lebanon, see https://tinyurl.com/SBLPress1734a1.

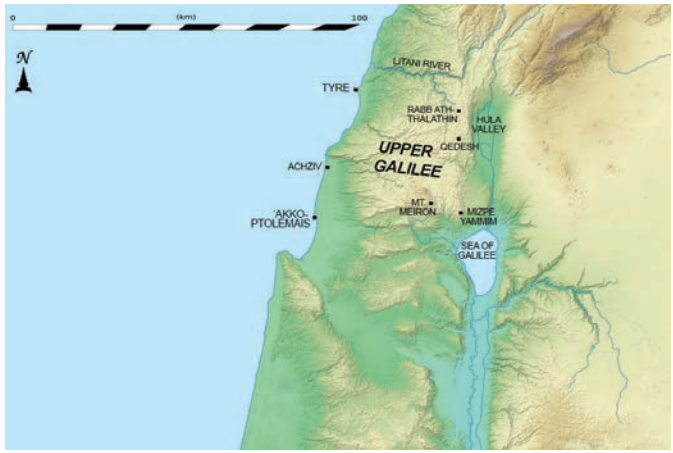


Fig. 9.1. Upper Galilee. Detail of relief map of Israel and southern Lebanon. Source: Eric Gaba/Wikimedia Commons. Place names added by Andrea Berlin.

when native Iron Age polities controlled their own respective territories, the border structures were forts.[2] From the mid-first millennium through the early centuries CE, when the region was under outside imperial rule—Achaemenid, Ptolemaic/Seleucid, Roman—it was sanctuaries that demonstrated the extent, or diminution, of the city's authority. Under the Achaemenids, there rose a watch tower and shrine to Astarte, the city's primary female deity, atop Mount Mizpe Yammim, a strategic height at the southeastern corner of the Mount Meiron formation, from whose summit can be seen the Sea of Galilee to the southeast and the Mediterranean to the west (Berlin and Frankel 2012, 25–78). Under the Ptolemies, that facility was abandoned and a sanctuary to Astarte established above a pass on the southern edge of the Ladder of Tyre ridge, at a site known today as Khirbet Maʿsub (Ḥorvat Pi-Maẓẓuva; Friedman and Ecker 2019, 60–72).

2. Almost as soon as Tyrians and Israelites can be recognized in the archaeological record as distinct entities, around the end of the second millennium BCE, material remains indicate that both staked a claim to the upper Galilee via authoritative physical constructions such as forts, administrative centers, and shrines. On Phoenicians in Galilee in the early first millennium BCE see Lehmann 2001; Gal 1988, 79–84; 1992, 36–53. A similar back-and-forth ensued around the Sea of Galilee basin: from ca. 1200 down through the eighth century BCE, control passed back and forth between Israel and Aram-Damascus; on the pattern of expansion and retreat, see Sergi and Kleiman 2018.

The retreat from Mizpe Yammim, so far inland that it overlooked the Sea of Galilee, to Khirbet Maʿsub, which marked a coastal pass, reveals the radical truncation of Tyrian territorial extent by—and on behalf of—the Ptolemies. Under Roman rule, in the first and second centuries CE, Tyre was again allowed a more expansive domain. The city marked its eastern extent with the construction of a sanctuary to Baal-Shamin at the foot of the mound of Kedesh, where a temple and elaborated forecourt overlooked the Ḥula Valley and indicated entry into "greater Tyre."[3] These structures were signposts, material adjuncts to topography, illustrations of Giles de Rapper's (2010, 259) observation that shrines are "places where the social production of the border takes place."

That border, and the resumption of local Tyrian authority over inland upper Galilee in the first century CE, demonstrates that years of Greek imperial rule neither overwrote the region's geographic logic nor erased its cultural memory. What Ptolemaic and Seleucid control did do was create new spheres of interaction—political, administrative, and military—and also new colonial relationships, ones that will have acted on local Tyrian consciousness. Absent firsthand accounts by native historians, we must look to the material world for a sense of their tenor and impact. Remains from sites on the southeastern outskirts of the upper Galilee—the placement and type of sites, dates of their settlement and abandonment, and the specific types of goods acquired by their inhabitants—illustrate at least some aspects of the new dynamic.

From the Achaemenids to Seleucus IV: A Shifting Colonial Landscape

Under the Achaemenids, the Tyrian royal house had been not only maintained but favored. The kings were important allies and the fleet a critical addition to the Persian military force.[4] In what seems to have been a mutually advantageous quid pro quo, in exchange for naval assistance and political compliance, Tyre was granted control over all of inland upper

3. On the temple see Fischer, Ovadiah, and Roll 1984, 146–72. For discussion of its function within the *longue durée* of Tyrian territorial control, see Berlin and Herbert 2015, esp. 432–33; Sabar 2018, esp. 17–18.

4. Herodotus (*Hist.* 7.98; 8.67) cites the presence of Matten, king of Tyre, with Xerxes at Phalerum, in the preparations for the battle of Salamis and also at the battle. For full discussion see Elayi 2006a. On the Tyrian royal line throughout the Achaemenid era, see Elayi 2006b, esp. 21–25; Kokkinos 2013, esp. 45–49, 60–61.

Galilee, as seen by a series of settlements along the eastern edge of the plateau.[5] At the southeastern corner stood the fortified shrine of Mount Mizpe Yammim, where the offerings included over one hundred small perfume juglets made in Tyre, reflections of multiple journeys from the coast to this spot (Berlin and Frankel 2012). About 10 km due north was a reoccupied Assyrian-era building at Ayelet ha-Shachar (Kletter and Zwickel 2006, 179), and another 10 km north was the large village of Kerem Ben Zimra.[6] Finally about 10 km north of that was Kedesh, a high, ancient, double mound where, circa 500 BCE, the Tyrian royal house built an enormous compound (about 2,400 m^2/20,000 ft^2) at the southern end of the lower mound (Herbert and Berlin 2003; Berlin and Herbert 2013).

The plan and finds of the Kedesh compound show that it functioned as both a ceremonial reception center and a depot for the collection and disbursement of agricultural commodities. Facing east was a grand entry court, with π-shaped colonnade that led into a long, narrow hall where two larger columns framed the entrance into a second open-air courtyard in the building's western half. Small luxuries testify to the occupants' economic and social position: stone dishes, perfume bottles of glass and alabaster, small lumps of kohl, bracelets, earrings, a faience amulet of Horus, a green jasper scarab with a fine male profile carved on the underside, a glass seal of the Persian king dominating two lions, and another with Tyrian Melqart in a similar pose. The scarab and seals are Phoenician in material, technique, and style—and in the case of the seal with Melqart smiting two lions, specifically Tyrian. A final item reflecting a connection between Tyre

5. A fresh review of archaeological evidence from Dor suggests that it was also at the end of the sixth/early fifth century BCE that the Sidonians received their own award of expanded territory: see Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011, esp. 141. The land grants to the kings of Tyre and Sidon reflect an imperial approach that balanced remediation of the more severe effects of Babylonian deportations, a strategic need to balance the power bases of local elites, and the particular assistance that each group could make toward larger Achaemenid interests (Kuhrt 1983, esp. 93–94 and n. 49). Elspeth Dusinberre's (2013) authority-autonomy model of empire, in which different aspects of interaction reveal a particular power's priorities, impulses, and organizing principles, offers a useful explanatory construct.

6. This building may have formed the center of an extended settlement whose residents used the ancient citadel mound at Hazor as their necropolis (Bonfil and Greenberg 1997, 161). For information on Kerem Ben Zimra, I thank the site's excavators, Emmanuel Eisenberg and Alon de Groot, for showing me the site and engaging in a helpful discussion of the area's topography.

Fig. 9.2. View of the compound at the southern end of the lower mound of Kedesh, looking southeast. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition. Photograph by Sky-View Photography.

and Kedesh is a clay bulla that had sealed a papyrus document at Kedesh. The seal used to impress the bulla was Neo-Babylonian in origin, likely made in Nippur and owned by a member of the Tyrian diaspora who had once lived there and returned to Tyre (Brandl et al. 2019, 211–41).

As at Mizpe Yammim, at Kedesh also a great deal of the pottery was Tyrian in origin. This included most of the utilitarian vessels, such as cooking pots, dishes, and juglets. Yet the compound's primary intent is seen by the largest single component of the ceramic corpus: locally made large jars, some with wide mouths for dry goods and others with narrow mouths for liquids. These will have transported agricultural produce—grain and grapes (or wine)—back to the coast, and perhaps even specifically to the court.

Ptolemy I (or II) transformed the whole of the upper Galilee (recoded it, in Kosmin's formulation) from local and Tyrian to foreign and imperial, instantiated in terms both cosmic and quotidian.[7] To begin, new sanctuar-

7. For a full discussion of this transition see Berlin and Herbert forthcoming; see also Berlin 2019, esp. 411–14; Kosmin 2014a.

ies reflected the new order. At the northeastern corner of the Ḥula Valley, in a cave in the face of Mount Hermon that also marked one of the headwaters of the Jordan River, the Ptolemies established a sanctuary to the Greek god Pan, a special protector of the new royal house (Berlin 1999). At this same time, the Astarte shrine at inland Mizpe Yammim was abandoned. To compensate, the Tyrians expanded the old Astarte sanctuary at Umm el-ʿAmed, located on the city's outskirts and at the northern edge of the narrow pass at the Ladder of Tyre, and also established a new sister sanctuary to Astarte at Maʿsub, at the corresponding southern side of the pass (Friedman and Ecker 2019, 67).[8]

Second, various fertile tracts in both upper and lower Galilee were appropriated as "King's Land." Throughout these areas there now appear a series of small, poor settlements, likely homesteads for tenant farmers whose output fed Ptolemaic supply chains (Frankel, Getzov, and Degani 2001, 61–62; Aviam 2007). At the most thoroughly excavated of these settlements, Tel Anafa in the Ḥula Valley, finds indicate that residents engaged in farming, raising sheep, and textile production (Berlin 1997b, 18–19; Herbert 1994, 12–14). They likely worked under the eye, and on behalf of, various Ptolemaic officials, some settled here and others periodically traveling through—as, most famously, Zenon—all of whom put a human face onto the abstraction of the new governing authority.

The sharpest bite to Tyrian sensibilities may have been the takeover and refurbishing of their palatial compound at Kedesh. On the evidence of a gap in the datable imported pottery, the building itself seems to have been abandoned in the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. John Grainger's (1991, 35–36) reconstruction of events offers a likely context: Alexander's rapid approach down the Levantine coast; the Persian king's demand that Tyre put up a stout resistance; the resultant seven-month siege and eventual capture of the city; and, last, the erasure of the Achaemenid-compliant Tyrian royal line. The excavations show that the building was extensively modified. The columns were taken down and disassembled, their drums used as building blocks for walls. The once-grand entry court was closed off and subdivided into a series of small chambers. The main entrance was

8. An inscription found at the latter site records the dedication of a portico in the temple to Astarte; it is dated to the twenty-sixth year of Ptolemy III Euergetes and the fifty-third year of the Era of Tyre (222/221 BCE). On the adjacent hill of Khirbet el-ʿAbbasiyah, M. Prausnitz (1976) excavated a structure built "in the Phoenician style," which he identified as a likely temple.

now through a modest single opening on the north, which led to a large reception room.

The most radical alterations were those meant to enlarge the building's capacities as a depot for the collection and shipment of agricultural commodities. In the southern wing were built rooms with heavy plastered floors and large plastered bins of various sizes and shapes, seemingly for the collection and measurement of dry goods such as grain (fig. 9.3 bottom). Storerooms were inserted on the north and west; here stood large jars, each with a capacity of about 130 liters (fig. 9.4; Stone 2012, figs. 3.13–14). Residue analysis of two jars showed that they had held bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), an unusual grain for this time and place; this was likely the strain known from Ptolemaic papyri as Syrian wheat, whose cultivation began during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Berlin et al. 2002, 115–21). It is probable that under that ruler the Ḥula Valley was drained and turned into a laboratory for agricultural experimentation, carried out by tenant farmers at sites such as Tel Anafa and overseen by officials at Kedesh.

With the transfer of Coele Syria and Palestine into Seleucid hands at the beginning of the second century, several aspects of the colonial landscape remained intact. Officers and officials who had transferred their allegiance were kept in place and allowed to retain their agricultural holdings. The most well-known of these was Ptolemais, son of Thraseas, who served now as both governor and high priest, as documented in the Hefzibah inscription (Honigman et al. 2017, 165).[9] Another indication of official continuity was the maintenance throughout this broad area of the Ptolemaic monetary zone (see Lorber and Fischer-Bovet in this volume). An extraordinary material reflection of close Ptolemaic-Seleucid relations was the gift, in 190 BCE or shortly thereafter, of a Ptolemaic gold mnaeion, the largest regularly minted gold issue in the Greek world, conveyed by some high Ptolemaic official to a similarly situated Seleucid counterpart, which was discovered in the now-Seleucid-controlled compound at Kedesh (and which had at some point been secreted in a nook inside a wall in a rear storage room; Lorber 2010, esp. 50-52).

Antiochus III did introduce one crucial change: a new and generous set of endowments for native cults and their local sanctuaries. The most famous, because it is recounted in Josephus (*Ant.* 12.138–144), were the

9. This Ptolemais was succeeded in turn by two brothers, so that the same family maintained authority in this area at least into the time of Seleucus IV (Lorber 2010, 50–52; 2 Macc 3:5).

Fig. 9.3. Kedesh compound, bin rooms in the southern wing. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

financial dispensations for Judeans and their temple in Jerusalem; but a few key epigraphic finds allow us to recognize the pattern elsewhere, including to an expatriate Sidonian community at Yavneh-Yam, as explained in a series of documents preserved in a detailed inscription (CIIP 3.2267) and to both the people of Byblos and the Idumeans at Maresha, as can now be understood from consideration of what Hannah Cotton-Paltiel, Avner Ecker, and Dov Gera (2017, esp. 11–14) term the "apologetic preamble" of the Heliodorus inscription, of which one copy was found at the former site and two at the latter. While no discoveries so far involve the city of Tyre or any Tyrian sanctuary, it would stand to reason that they too benefited from some encouraging benefaction, just as the Byblians, Sidonians, Idumeans, and Judeans.

Fig. 9.4. Large storage jar from the northwest storeroom of the Kedesh compound. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

From the two native accounts that are preserved to us, that of Josephus regarding the Judeans and that of the Sidonians at Yavneh-Yam, we can recognize each party's deep cultural pride in being (as they represent it) singled out for royal favor and concomitant financial largesse—and also their respective feelings of betrayal when that favor was taken away, as it was by Seleucus IV, the son and successor of Antiochus III.[10] That monarch imposed a fresh round of apparently punitive temple taxes, for whose need a variety of reasons may be generated, beginning with the huge war indemnity resulting from the loss at Magnesia (and likely other obligations as well). The discovery of three identical copies of the so-called Heliodorus inscription from cities as far removed from one another as Maresha and Byblos reveals the measure's breadth: it will have touched every sanctu-

10. So Cotton-Paltiel, Ecker, and Gera (2017, 12), who write that it was likely "the creation of some new tax on temples … that may be taken to lie behind the fantastic and grossly exaggerated 'robbery of the Temple' by no other than the king's viceroy, Heliodoros, in the Second Book of Maccabees." Honigman (2014, esp. 321–27) reaches a similar conclusion.

ary and every community of Coele Syria and Palestine—including also the Tyrians, even if we lack the direct evidence (Cotton-Paltiel, Ecker, and Gera 2017, 12).

From Antiochus IV to Demetrius II: Tyrian Revival and Reaction

The new tax regime squeezed sanctuaries of some of their assets and impinged on ethnic pride, yet it represents only one aspect of life in the years following its imposition. The other was a world of material comforts, enjoyed by residents of northern cities and towns, those along the coast and also inland throughout Galilee and as well as the Jezreel and Beth Shean Valleys: fine slipped table vessels from Cyprus, Cilicia, and Asia Minor; unguents and perfumes; bone pins and silver jewelry; wine from an array of Aegean and Mediterranean producers.[11] The wide variety is everywhere, testifying to a robust supply chain and market network.

During these years there is one critical new body of evidence that indicates change in the upper Galilee, one that bears on both Tyrian interests and also their relationship to Seleucid officialdom. That evidence comes from the compound at Kedesh, which on archaeological evidence was extensively remodeled in the time of Antiochus IV. During these years the building continued to be used for the bulk collection and storage of agricultural commodities; in fact, new facilities were built in the southern wing, including two new bins (fig. 9.3 top), and a third very large one that was given its own room. This latter large bin had a drainage hole, which indicates that it was used for liquid, perhaps wine. New rooms for entertaining were added in the central reception area, nicely decorated with plastered, painted walls, and mosaic floors.

The final and most substantial addition was in the northwestern corner, where a three-room archive complex was installed, its use revealed by the discovery here of 2,043 clay sealings. Despite the absence of a single document, the nature of the archive, and by extension the functioning of the compound in these years, can be understood thanks to close study of the sealings themselves by Donald Ariel, Anastasia Shapiro, and most of all Sharon Herbert.[12] The critical insight, based on a combination of

11. For ʿAkko, see Berlin and Stone 2016; for Dor see Nitschke, Martin, and Shalev 2011; for Philoteria see Greenberg, Tal, and Da'adli 2017; for Tel Iztabbah and Beth Shean, see Ariel 2005.

12. All of the information in the next paragraphs about the sealings derives from

Fig. 9.5. Kedesh compound, archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

clay analysis, iconographic study, and a calculation of the number of seals represented versus the number of impressions made, is that, with two key exceptions detailed below, the archive was almost completely unofficial and its individual users overwhelmingly locals.

Petrological analysis shows that most of the sealings were formed of clay available in the immediate vicinity, indicating that almost all of the documents themselves were written and sealed at the site.[13] All of the impressions were made from signet rings whose iconography was almost uniformly Hellenic in subjects and styles: 50 percent depict Greek gods, 20 percent epic and mythic heroes, 16.5 percent naturalistic portrait heads, 11 percent realistic images of symbols, animals, or plants. These examples account for 97.5 percent of the corpus. Fantastic animals comprise another 2 percent, and non-Greek deities such as Ashtarte and Harpocrates a mere 0.2 percent.

---

the research of Herbert and Ariel and will form part of their forthcoming volume. I thank them both for sharing their ideas and results with me. For now see Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24; Ariel and Naveh 2003; Herbert 2005, 2008.

13. With thanks to Shapiro for sharing the results of her petrological study.

The conclusion that the vast majority of the archive's users were private individuals as opposed to administrative officials is based on the ratio of seal rings used one time versus those used multiple times, as represented via the sealings themselves.[14] Of the total number of individual seal rings that can be accounted for from the 1,713 readable impressions, 1,309 (76 percent) were used only once. Since it is generally presumed that an individual regularly owned and used a single seal ring to represent him- or herself, these figures suggest that the Kedesh archive contained documents written and/or witnessed by over thirteen hundred people. In marked contrast, of the twenty-two thousand impressions found in the imperial tax archive at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, just 22 percent derive from seals used only once, while 78 percent were made from seals used multiple times (some as many as eight hundred or so). The low percentage of single-use seals at Seleucia seems to correlate with that archive's more controlled character; there the majority of items will have been sealed by officials repeatedly using the same seal. The Kedesh archive presents an almost exactly opposite picture: the large number of single-use seals reflects regular visits by private individuals acting on their own behalf. Indeed, of all the individual seals represented by the impressions found at Kedesh, fewer than ten definitely derive from official and/or imperial communications, a scant 0.3 percent of the total. Most of these were singletons, such as a large impression of the Seleucid anchor and one from the *koinon* of Tyre, double-dated to both the Tyrian and Seleucid eras (Ariel and Naveh 2003, 64–70). Overall, the archive seems to have been an essentially low-level records office used primarily by locals with a strong affinity for Greek culture.

The two key exceptions, referred to above, are groups of multiple impressions whose subject and quantity reflect the existence of an administrative official, whether in person at the site or represented via documentary communication. The first group depict a nude Apollo with bow. Some eighty impressions of this same image were made from four essentially identical seals. The combination of quantity, careful replication, and the image itself—Apollo was an adopted patron of the Seleucids and often appears on coins—suggests that this seal represented a Seleucid

14. I am indebted to Herbert, who made the original identifications of all of the sealings found at Kedesh, developed the idea briefly presented here, and shared her results. A full presentation and explanation will appear in her and Ariel's forthcoming volume on the Kedesh archive.

Fig. 9.6a–b. Apollo and Tanit seal impressions from the Kedesh compound archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

office, perhaps that of the provincial governor or the newly delineated high priest of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, as specified in the so-called Heliodorus inscriptions.

The second group of multiple impressions depicts the Phoenician lunar deity Tanit floating above the phrase "אש על ארץ" (he who is over the land), written in Aramaic or Phoenician. There are nine impressions made from one seal, and a tenth made from an almost identical second seal (Ariel and Naveh 2003, 63). In their 2003 publication, Ariel and Joseph Naveh noted that while the specific title is unique, the first part of the inscription, "אש על" (he who is over), is known from other Phoenician inscriptions at Larnax Lapithos, on Cyprus, the Athenian Piraeus, and Carthage, thus situating the formulation within a Phoenician milieu. As for the image of Tanit, it was stylistically tenacious, being virtually identical to ones known throughout the wider Phoenician world beginning in the eleventh century BCE.[15] In the third and second centuries

15. See Arie 2017 for a study of the now earliest known example of this image, in the form of a small copper alloy charm from Megiddo. For earlier studies of the Tanit symbol see Bertrandy 1992; Avaliani 1999. For the Tanit symbol in the Levant see

BCE, Tanit became common on items with official and administrative functions, such as lead weights, coins, and seals, primarily from the cities of Aradus, Berytus, and Tyre (Arie 2017, 67; for Tanit on city weights of Tyre, see Finkielsztejn 2014).

The language, text, and image of the two Tanit seals send a clear, even assertive message. Unlike the other 98 percent of the seals represented by the impressions found in the archive, these were not Greek in language or style, nor did they reflect Seleucid spheres. They testify instead to a Tyrian office, possibly one newly created, one whose dominion over the land indicates an expansive territorial authority. The holder of such an office would have been a member of a wealthy, well-connected family, likely one with close ties to Tyre. In exchange for control of a broad, agriculturally productive landscape, they will have maintained the security of a large, potentially strategic outpost—a standard quid pro quo between a Seleucid ruler and a member of the local elite. Most notably, however, the message of the seals' design and language was aimed not at the royal patron but rather an audience of locals, including native Tyrians who may have understood it as evoking and also reifying older histories and claims.

The compound's life came to an end in two dramatic steps, both reflected in the archaeological remains. The first step was an abrupt, seemingly hasty abandonment, shown by quantities of goods left behind in almost every room. A plethora of evidence—coins, imported amphorae, a few dated sealings from the archive—provide the date. Most specific are fourteen largely complete Rhodian amphorae found inside the archive complex and in the storeroom next door, of which the three latest dates are 146, 145, and 144 BCE. The chronological congruence with the account in 1 Maccabees of Jonathan's victory over the forces of Demetrius at Kedesh (1 Macc 11:63–73) provides one take on this event (on which see further below), but from what has already been pieced together about the site coupled with what happened here next, it is clear that there is more to the story—or, perhaps more accurately, that what happened here indicates another, very different story.

Dothan 1974, updated in Bordreuil 1987. Additional inscriptions and archaeological finds with the Tanit symbol are noted in Bordreuil 1987, 81–82. The Tanit symbol appears on lead scale weights produced in Aradus as well as Tyre: Finkielsztejn 2015, Aradus: pp. 60–63, nos. 1–2, 5, 10–15, 17–41, 43–54; Tyre: pp. 89–91, nos. 129–46, 150–53. Finkielsztejn (2010, 88) notes that these weights are attributed to Tyre only because of the Tanit symbol found on them.

With the exception of some burning on the walls of a single small room in the southeastern corner, which could be the result simply of an open cooking or watch fire, there is no evidence for damage or destruction at the time of abandonment. But some time later there occurred the second dramatic step. Two infants were placed inside the rear room of the archive complex, one in the center of the room and a second against the back wall within a semicircle of stones. The room's entrance was roughly blocked by a few large stones set within the doorway; and the room was set on fire. The fire brought down the wooden beams of the roof, which in turn brought down the mudbricks of the upper wall portions, which buried the infants along with everything else inside, including about forty small oil flasks lying in a heap in a corner and, of course, all of the documents stored here (Herbert and Berlin 2003, 24–27). The fire was extremely hot, so much so that the inner row of stones of the walls cracked from the heat. No other rooms were affected. The fire was deliberate, the archive room a target. The episode reflects fraught circumstances, a highly emotional state, and a dramatic response.

Fig. 9.7. Infant burial, in situ against north wall of rear room of the Kedesh compound archive complex. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

Two key questions arise: When did this happen, and who was responsible? As to date, the evidence is minimal. Immediately beneath the burned mudbrick, and covering at least the oil flasks found fallen in one corner, was a thin layer of loose, seemingly wind-blown soil, just enough to suggest that some time had elapsed for it to collect. As the oil flasks were themselves unburned, it may be that there had also been enough time for their contents to largely evaporate. These scant clues suggest a short lag between the abandonment, on the one hand, and the infant burials and destructive fire, on the other.[16]

As to those responsible, there are multiple possibilities: (1) Jonathan's soldiers, (2) Seleucid troops, and (3) returning residents, workers, and/or officials. The first option is unlikely on account of the probable time lag; the second unlikely due to lack of motivation (why specifically and only target a local archive?). That leaves returning residents and/or officials as the most plausible agents. Whoever they were, they would have needed a very good reason to conceive and carry out what looks to be both a targeted destruction and a kind of sacrifice. It was not enough to burn the documents; the aim was to ensure that the archive itself could not be returned to official use.

Kosmin has pointed out that the actions at Kedesh fit into a pattern of archive-centered violence. At this same moment, two domestic archives at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris were also deliberately destroyed; in one, before burning, several of the date seal impressions had been gouged out of their clay bullae (Kosmin 2018b, 60–61). At both Seleucia and Kedesh these are acts of intentional erasure, what Kosmin (64) calls "on-the-ground gestures of termination." They reflect the enlarged role of these record-keeping facilities not only in their users' lives but even more so in their minds. As many of the documents in these archives will have been dated according to the new Seleucid era, these actions reveal the emotional impact of the imposition of that system—an alien, relentlessly linearized, and open-ended mode of keeping time—on the

16. Residue analysis indicates that the flasks had contained cedar oil, a preservative for papyrus—yet despite their flammable contents, the flasks showed no signs of burning. They may have been empty at the time the fire was set, either because they were stored empty or because they had already fallen and their contents had leaked out. Danny Syon has noted that if the flasks had been in the active fire, it would show on them, even if empty, and suggests that they were quickly buried in the mudbrick collapse at the initial stages of the fire.

sensibilities of local communities and their own native chronologies (11–13, 19–76).

There is other evidence that this was a charged moment for Tyrians. In 141 BCE the city was granted the status of *hiera* and *asylos*, testament from the current imperial power of what many citizens may have felt to be their natural birthright. We know from Josephus (*Ag. Ap*. 1.107; Kokkinos 2013; see also *Ap*. 1.8, 28, 70) that the Tyrians kept annals, which will have affirmed a sense of their own past and its key events: "For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations" (Thackeray). The evidence combines to suggest, first, a kind of revival of Tyrian identity and empowerment, both territorial and psychological; and, second, a reaction to assert and/or protect it.

From Demetrius II to Antiochus VII: Galilee, Unsettled

In the later 140s BCE, Kedesh was one of many places in both upper and lower Galilee where the evidence reflects trouble and abrupt abandonment. Most similar to Kedesh in size and status is Khirbet el-ʿEika, a fortified compound on a strategic height in the lower Galilee, also completely vacated circa 144 BCE—although here the evidence also indicates deliberate destruction (Leibner in this volume). Beyond Kedesh and ʿEika, both places with official administrative and/or military roles, many settlements large and small were suddenly evacuated and not reoccupied. Leibner (in this volume) details the evidence from the lower Galilee and Jezreel Valley. The geographic sweep is impressive: from Philoteria-Beth-Yeraḥ, at the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee to Tel Keisan, just southeast of Akko/Ptolemais.[17]

In upper Galilee, in addition to Kedesh, there are two more places where remains show the effects of these unsettled years. The first is Khir-

17. Among the finds from two large residential *insulae* at Philoteria- Beth-Yeraḥ were forty-six imported stamped amphorae dating down to 145 BCE (Tal 2017, 116). Excavations at Tel Keisan uncovered structures, much imported pottery, and "numerous" stamped Aegean amphorae dating down to ca. 150 BCE, followed by a gap in datable remains until the end of the century, suggesting a prolonged hiatus (Briend and Humbert 1980, 113 on amphorae and pls. 13–14 for imported pottery; Halpern-Zylberstein 1980).

bet esh-Shuhara, a small village or perhaps only rural farmstead about 8 km to the southwest of Kedesh. Here excavators found portions of two small houses, much utilitarian pottery, and a hoard of twenty-two Seleucid silver coins in an unbroken sequence from 148/147–140/139: two issues of Alexander Balas, one of Tryphon, and nineteen of Demetrius II (Aviam and Amitai 2002; Syon 2002, 123*–26*). Because the latest issue was in essentially mint condition, Syon (2002, 125*), who published this hoard, believes that they were buried in or immediately after 139 BCE. The hoard's owners were right to be worried, as conditions did indeed prevent their return. The settlement remained abandoned for about a decade (see further below).

The second place is a small cave, one among several of a group known as the Kokhim Caves, all situated high on a cliff face and accessible only by ropes, in a steep area not too far from the coast, just east of the southern end of the Ladder of Tyre pass. Explorers in 2018 discovered that one of these caves had served as a hideout in antiquity; the date, based on the array of vessels found inside, is mid-second century BCE (Shivtiel, Syon, and Berlin forthcoming). Most of finds were large jars: three imported amphorae—one from Italy, one from Ephesus, and a third from a producer elsewhere in western Asia Minor—and ten Tyrian-made baggy jars, of which four were intact or essentially so.[18] Whereas the amphorae likely held their original contents of wine, the baggy jars were probably for water. Four more intact vessels consist of two small juglets, of which one was wide mouthed and probably used as a dipper; one cooking pot; and one small plate that may have served as a lid for whichever jar was currently in use. The cave's extreme difficulty of access is reflected in the largely intact condition of the finds, which suggests few or no visitors since their original owners managed to secrete them here. That they managed to maneuver into place so many jars of such size indicates both ability and desperation; that everything was left behind suggests that their desperation was warranted.

The material reflections of turmoil across both lower and upper Galilee in the years just after the mid-second century BCE are overwhelming.

18. The jars are made of Phoenician semifine, a ware manufactured in the vicinity of Tyre. For petrographic analysis I thank Anastasia Shapiro, whose report is forthcoming in Shivtiel, Syon, and Berlin (n. 45). For description of the ware, see Berlin, Monnickendam-Givon, Shapiro, and Stone 2019. For description of the petro-fabric, see Shapiro and Waiman Barak 2020. For identifications of the amphorae I thank Gerald Finkielsztejn, whose report is forthcoming in Shivtiel, Syon, and Berlin.

While the archaeological evidence from Kedesh, Khirbet el-ʿEika, and a few other sites indicates a desertion date of circa 144 BCE, at others the timing can be given only as around or shortly after the middle of the century. Not everything need relate to a single moment or a specific campaign; indeed, the evidence from Khirbet esh-Shuhara shows occupation there until 139 BCE. As the regions of upper and lower Galilee comprised the *choras*, respectively, of Tyre and Akko-Ptolemais, and as these cities in particular, and southern Phoenicia in general, were the theater for particularly intense conflict from circa 145–138 BCE (on which see Lorber, Fischer-Bovet, and Coşkun in this volume), there must have been many moments, one after another in quick succession, that could have persuaded locals to leave undefended rural villages and towns. To begin, the death of Ptolemy VI Philometor at Antioch, in battle against Alexander Balas, set off a wave of brutality; the latter's first act was to assert his control over the coastal cities by massacring the garrisons that Ptolemy had recently placed there (1 Macc 11:18; Josephus, *Ant*. 13.4.9). This may be the event that lay behind the supply cache hidden in the Kokhim cave complex—but there are also several more possibilities.

The convolutions of minting patterns in the coastal cities during this precise stretch of time show that all were sites of military preparations. The contestations were first between Alexander Balas and then his son Antiochus VI Dionysus (or more properly, his guardian Diodotus Tryphon), who controlled Akko-Ptolemais, and Demetrius II, who held Sidon and Tyre (*SC* 2.1:26). Fighting continued for six years, by which time Tryphon had claimed authority on his own; yet no one contender could prevail. By 139 BCE Tryphon controlled Antioch, Byblos, Akko-Ptolemais, Dor, and Ashkelon; while Demetrius controlled Cilicia, Tyre, Strato's Tower (also known as Demetrias-by-the-Sea), and Gaza.[19] It is this phase of the conflict that provides the most likely context for the hoard and abandonment at Khirbet esh-Shuhara, shortly after 139 BCE (Aviam and Amitai 2002; Syon 2002, 123*–26*).

By later 139 it was Demetrius's brother Antiochus VII who was fighting for control here. He held Tyre—but he and Tryphon continued to contest the coast city by city. In 138/137 Arados issued an autonomous series that indicated a dispensation by Antiochus in exchange for naval assistance

19. On Tryphon see Houghton 1992. On Demetrius at Tyre see Sawaya 2004, 117–18; Seyrig 1950, 19–20. On Demetrias-by-the-Sea, see Hoover 2007b. Danny Syon reminds me that this identification is not universally accepted.

(Seyrig 1950, 18–19). Meanwhile Akko-Ptolemais and other southern coastal cities continued to mint for Tryphon.[20] All of this provides a vividly enlarged context for Appian's (*Syr*. 68) statement that Antiochus VII's eventual defeat of Tryphon took "great effort."

It must be the case that Tryphon and Demetrius were jockeying for supporters among several factions and local powerbrokers; as Christelle Fischer-Bovet notes (in this volume): "when rulers—or rulers and usurpers—were at war … then the local elites could take full advantage of their position." Yet in the case of a full list of the cast of actors on the stage in Galilee, our only source is 1 Maccabees. As Eckhardt (2016a, 58–59) has written, in the context of contemporary maneuverings solely in Judea:

> We should not assume that the Seleucids placed all their hopes … in the hands of the Hasmoneans. Even in light of 1 Maccabees, this would be entirely implausible, simply because "the Seleucids" were not a stable entity. The Hasmoneans closely observed the development of the Seleucid throne wars in order to seize opportunities that might arise. They acted on the assumption that the main source of legitimacy was a Seleucid king, but reacted to the fact that there was a certain inflation of them. It would be very unlikely if others in Judea had not done the same thing. Due to the peculiar interests of our main source, we only get to know one group's diplomatic maneuvers—but what happened, e.g., when Jonathan decided to dump Demetrius I for Alexander Balas, or Demetrius II for Antiochus VI? Did the respective Demetriuses give up their Judean ambitions, or did they try to find other partners to work with?[21]

In light of the finds from Kedesh—the presence there of a broadly empowered Phoenician official, the long association of place and region with Tyrian identity and hegemony, the dramatic targeting specifically of what was a local archive—we might reasonably postulate players other than Jonathan and his Judean fighters engaged in Galilee. In light of the widespread pattern of conflict and desertion across both upper and lower Galilee, we might also suppose that some of this will have been the result of a reversal

20. His hold in this area is further illustrated by a sling bullet from Dor that attests to a fifth year of his rule, meaning 137 BCE, on which see Gera (1985); on 159–61 he provides a clear explanation of events.

21. For some specific examples of other Judean power brokers contemporary with the Hasmoneans, see Eckhardt 2016a, 62–70. For a discussion of the model in general see Honigman 2014, 297–99, 304–11.

of fortune and/or clashes between some of these other players, since it is likely that more people were involved than those named and more happened than was recorded in our surviving, Judean-focused sources. Such considerations allow archaeological evidence to make its own contribution to historical reconstruction, to be a corrective lens rather than deployed primarily as illustrations of the particular accounts preserved to us. As historian David Lowenthal (1975, 28) reminds us, what written accounts preserve is "a more emphatic landscape … [one in which] we forget or elide scenes that failed to strike us [and] exaggerate those that did."

Antiochus VII and After: The Upper Galilee, Contested

From the later 140s into the 130s, the Seleucid dynastic conflict, ongoing and closely fought, explains not only the settlement disruption throughout Galilee but more pointedly why so many places remained unoccupied. The many coastal fronts will have meant redeployment away from inland strongholds, such as Khirbet el-ʿEika, or administrative centers, such as Kedesh. The combination of more forces at coastal sites and a depleted inland population in turn will have meant fewer inland markets as well as less protection for small settlements here. In these years, the rural interior will have been a more uncomfortable and possibly also dangerous place to live.

By the later 130s, the overheated Seleucid dynastic contest had cooled down. Antiochus VII had dispatched Tryphon, reasserted Seleucid imperial hierarchies with a siege of Jerusalem and the receipt of five hundred talents from John Hyrcanus, and reunited the imperial core west of the Tigris, from Rough Cilicia to southern Palestine (Coşkun in this volume). That ruler then turned his attention east, to the retaking of Armenia and a confrontation with Parthia. This in turn created an opening for those natives of Coele Syria with territorial interests and needs, of whom the two most motivated were Judeans and Tyrians. The immediately preceding years of turmoil had left large inland areas vacant, including most of Galilee, both lower and upper. On the evidence of scattered finds of small bronzes from the Seleucid mint in Jerusalem (Syon in this volume), Judeans began moving into lower Galilee in the 130s, a process that seems to have been straightforward (Leibner in this volume).[22] There is evidence

22. By the end of the second century, the evidence for Judean settlement in lower Galilee and also central Gaulanitis is even more robust, with new settlements whose

for Judean movement also into the upper Galilee in these same years—but also evidence for equally entitled Tyrians. Two abandoned sites were reoccupied: Kedesh and Khirbet esh-Shuhara; and two new ones built: Tel Anafa and Qeren Naftali. In the first of each of these pairs, the new residents were Tyrians; in the second, they were Judeans. In terms of distance, all four sites are very close—but in terms of lifestyle, cultural outlook, and orientation, their occupants lived in different worlds.

At Kedesh, the northern portion of the compound was reoccupied from the mid- to later 130s through the mid-120s. The new residents built flimsy walls to subdivide formerly large rooms and installed small ovens in corners and corridors. They hauled two of the huge grain jars out of one of the storerooms, placed them upside down within the long entrance corridor, and fashioned them into enormous ovens (fig. 9.8). Their accommodations may have been more comfortable than these sketchy constructions make them sound, however; after all, they were living inside what had been a luxurious administrative compound, with a grand courtyard and decorated reception rooms. In keeping with such surroundings, the new residents owned high-quality household goods, including cast glass drinking cups and red-slipped Eastern Sigillata A plates and bowls, a fashionable luxury tableware made in Cilicia. They had at least two imported Rhodian wine amphorae and used bronze coins from the mints of Akko-Ptolemais and Tyre. While nothing in these remains conclusively identifies the compound's new occupants as Tyrian, a comparison with the goods owned by the people who moved in down the road, at Khirbet esh-Shuhara, offers a suggestively marked contrast.

The reoccupation of Khirbet esh-Shuhara began some five to seven years after that at Kedesh. Its inception can be dated by a near-mint-condition Tyrian shekel of 125 BCE, its duration by fourteen small bronze coins of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus, indicating that people stayed here into the early first century BCE. The Hasmonean coins are common at Judean/Jewish sites but rarely appear at non-Jewish sites (Syon 2002, 126*).[23] Unlike at Kedesh, the new residents of Khirbet esh-Shuhara lived in the most simple, basic circumstances. Except for the single Tyrian

residents use Hasmonean coins and Judean-style household goods (Berlin 2012a, 2013; Syon 2006, 2015; Elgvin 2016, 320–33, provides an up-to-date summary).

23. In his original study Syon had identified some coins also of Hyrcanus II, but since then has reidentified those as being of Alexander Jannaeus (personal communication).

Fig. 9.8. Kedesh compound, two storage jars reused as ovens, circa 130 BCE. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

Fig. 9.9. Hemispherical drinking bowl, Eastern Sigillata A, from the Kedesh compound, circa 130 BCE. Courtesy of the Tel Qedesh Expedition.

shekel, they had no other "foreign" coinage. Their household goods comprised only cooking pots, small plain dishes, and storage jars, all made of rough local clay from the immediate vicinity.

The reoccupation at Kedesh was short-lived; by around 125 BCE or so, the temporary residents had moved out. Perhaps not coincidentally, also right around 125 BCE, an indisputably Tyrian settlement was established at the small, low mound of Tel Anafa, down in the Ḥula Valley. The northern half of the mound was taken up by peristyle courtyard villa, of a size and style commensurate with the houses built by wealthy merchants on the Aegean island of Delos. Amenities included a three-room bathing facility with mosaic floor and large heated tub, and a spectacular upstairs dining room with painted and molded stucco walls and gilded Corinthian pilasters (Herbert 1994, 14–19; Kidd 2018). The occupants enjoyed

a steady supply of imported wine and must have entertained often, as they owned enormous numbers of luxurious imported ceramic and glass table vessels (fig. 9.10a, b; Slane 1997; Grose 2012). Much of their more mundane household pottery was made locally, in the Ḥula Valley; but a significant share of the serving vessels as well as quantities of unguent and perfume bottles came from Tyre (Berlin 1997b, 20–29). The residents seem to have been a well-off family with servants (whose quarters lay on the southern half of the mound).

The Tyrian foothold at Tel Anafa lasted about two generations. Sometime after about 80 BCE the entire place was abandoned, without indication of battle or destruction. Yet the cause may have been hostility all the same. On the edge of the upper Galilee plateau, just across the valley from Kedesh and immediately overlooking the Ḥula, stood the site of Qeren Naftali, the location of a long-abandoned Seleucid watchtower. In the early first century BCE, the Hasmoneans built a fortified enclave here (Aviam 2004b, 59–88). The evidence comprises five coins of Alexander Jannaeus, plain local utilitarian pottery identical to that found at Khirbet esh-Shuhara, and a *miqveh* built into the fortress' western wall. The date in the first century BCE, probably toward the end of the rule of Jannaeus, coincides with the abandonment of the villa at Anafa; perhaps a too-proximate antagonist inclined the Tyrians here to pack up and leave.

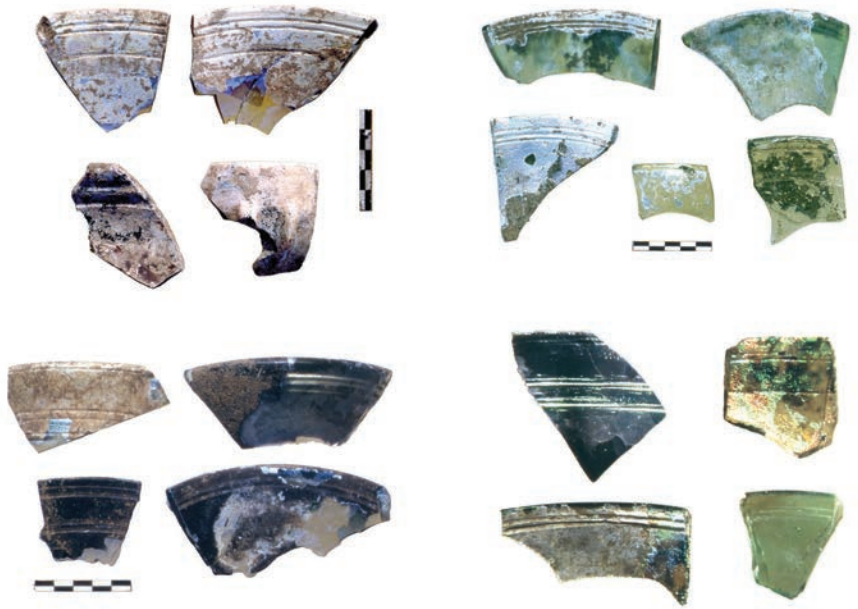
The Judean toehold in the upper Galilee was also short-lived. By the mid-first century CE possession of Kedesh had returned to Tyre, which Josephus describes on the eve of the revolt as "a strong Mediterranean village of the Tyrians, which always hated and made war against the Jews" (*B.J.* 4.105, trans. Whiston 1895). As noted above, Tyre asserted its interests here even more authoritatively in the second century CE with the construction of a monumental temple complex to Baal-shamin (Ovadiah, Fischer, and Roll 1982, 1985, 1986–1987, 1987; Fischer, Ovadiah, and Roll 1984; Berlin and Herbert 2015, 432–33).[24]

From Ground to Page: Galilee as Prooftext

Sites share with stories a critical feature: the ability to be reinvoked, reframed, reenlisted as prooftexts for current needs. Situated side by side,

24. Magness (1990) suggested that the temple functioned as an oracular shrine, a hypothesis rejected by Ovadiah, Roll, and Fischer 1993.

Fig. 9.10a–b. Dishes, Eastern Sigillata A, and glass drinking cups, Tel Anafa, circa 120 BCE. Courtesy of the Tel Anafa Expedition.



they become reciprocal signifiers, each elevating the power of the other.[25] In this relationship, place works both as physical testimony of the past as well as the meaning we seek to cull from it, standing (to borrow an evocative phrase from Vered Noam [2018, 1]) "at the charged interface between … memory and historiography."[26]

At this interface, the questions are not so much about "what happened here" or even "did this event actually happen here." They spring instead from other interests and desires: to stimulate a sense of connection, to restore a sense of community, to strengthen the field of force between history and memory and reconfigure the space between.[27] At this interface sites and the stories about them function, singly or in tandem, in Pierre Nora's (1989, 12) beautiful formulation, as *created memories*, "moments of history torn from the movement of history—like shells on the shore when the sea has receded."

In closing, below I look in brief at two literary moments vis-à-vis the contemporary material testimony described above, in hopes that their juxtaposition deepens our understanding of the larger meaning of Galilee.[28]

The Chronicler

The first literary moment comes (probably) from the Achaemenid era, during which the Chronicler wrote (at least initially). As we now know, at this time all of upper Galilee was part of the territory of Tyre; Tyrian control was part of the Chronicler's real-world backdrop. That fact seems

25. For another phrasing of this concept, see Simpson and Corbridge 2006, 566.

26. Eckhardt (2015a) provides several examples of manufactured evocations of Achaemenid religious policy in the post-Seleucid era.

27. For discussion of these ideas within the context of physical memorials, see Winter 2008, 9–12. For an enlightening analysis of another biblical battle—that of David and Goliath—from this same vantage point of "literature as response," see Yadin 2004.

28. In this approach I acknowledge the work of historian and geographer David Lowenthal (1975, 9), who has written with great insight and sensitivity about "the pull of the past in the present" and the ways in which we deploy objects and landscapes in the service of our selective perceptions of history, rooting ourselves in the past's tangible ground by building preservation, creation of historic sites and trails, manufacture of memorabilia, etc., efforts that allow us to pin down a shifting, often insecure, present: "Buffeted by change, we retain traces of our past to be sure of our enduring identity." See also Lowenthal 1985, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2015.

germane to one particular set of authorial interventions, those having to do with the relationship between Kings David and Solomon and Hiram/Huram of Tyre. The Chronicler followed closely the specific events and exchanges as recounted in 1 Kings, but he regularly, systematically, and deliberately reversed the tone, details, and meaning of every interaction. One proximate example is the exchange of cities in Galilee. First Kings 9:10, 12 reads: "At the end of twenty years, in which Solomon had built the two houses … *King Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee*."[29] Second Chronicles 8:1–2 simply reverses this: "At the end of twenty years … *Solomon rebuilt the cities which Huram had given to him*, and settled the people of Israel in them." As this and the other parallel texts of 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles show, the Chronicler appropriated and inverted the places and claims of another culture,[30] neatly crafting what Michel Foucault (1986, 24) calls "a counter site, an enacted utopia in which the real sites … are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."

---

29. Unless otherwise stated, all biblical translations follow the NRSV.

30. Other examples include:

(1) In 1 Kgs 5:9, 11 Hiram sends lumber and workers for the temple, and in return demands "'food for my household.' … Twenty thousand cors of wheat … and twenty cors of fine oil. Solomon gave this to Hiram year by year." The Chronicler reframes Solomon's annual tribute as a one-time exchange of goods for services, with Solomon dictating terms, suggesting that the two were equals (2 Chr 2:3–16).

(2) In 1 Kgs 5:26 Solomon's wisdom is demonstrated by his execution of a treaty with Hiram; in Chronicles, Solomon's wisdom is manifested by his building of the temple.

(3) In Chronicles Hiram acknowledges the supremacy of YHWH by saying "Blessed is the LORD God of Israel, who made heaven and earth" (2 Chr 2:12, a claim repeated by the Queen of Sheba in 2 Chr 9.8). No such admission appears anywhere in Kings.

(4) In Chronicles Solomon is presented as the most powerful and wealthy monarch in the region, and Huram addresses him as "my lord" (2 Chr 2:14). No such address appears anywhere in Kings.

Vadim Jigoulov (2010, 132–61) devotes a full chapter to the varying treatments of Phoenicia in biblical texts, including a discussion of the discrepant treatments by the authors of Kings and Chronicles of the relationship between Hiram of Tyre and Solomon (134–38). He explains the Chronicler's reversals as in line with his "intent to promote his theological agenda and … to reflect the amicable relationship of Tyre and Judah in his own time," an interpretation that strikes me as overly conciliatory (137–38). Jigoulov (138) further points out that, in the case of the episode of the twenty cities in Galilee, the Chronicler's reversal "still reflects the fact that the cities were under the control of Tyre."

In so doing, the Chronicler inverted Galilee from Tyrian into Judean territory, undoing a discomfiting facet of contemporary reality.[31]

First Maccabees

Among the many ways that we might classify 1 Maccabees, one that is particularly relevant for this discussion is what sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel (2003) calls a time map, a rendition of how a present moment comes to be. By the time the author of 1 Maccabees was writing, the Hasmoneans were in control of territory from Idumea to lower Galilee, and, significantly, were actively contesting upper Galilee, making the account of past events here especially pertinent. The key passage is in chapter 11 of what Eckhardt (in this volume) terms "the Jonathan narrative" (chs. 9–12). It is worth laying out the relevant text in full:

> Jonathan marched out and made a tour of the Trans-Euphrates province, passing through the cities. All the troops of Syria rallied to him as allies.… He marched through the country all the way to Damascus. There word came to Jonathan that Demetrius' commanders had come to Kedesh in Galilee [εἰς κηδες τὴν ἐν τῇ γαλιλαίᾳ] with a large force, intending to divert him from his mission. Jonathan marched to meet them.… Jonathan and his army … encamped by Lake Gennesar [ἐπί τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ γεννησαρ] and then made an early morning march to the plain of Hazor [εἰς τὸ πεδίον ασωρ]. An army of foreigners confronted him in the plain. The foreigners had detached a party to lie in ambush against Jonathan in the mountains while the main body met him face to face. When the ambush party emerged from their hiding place and joined battle, all Jonathan's men fled. Not one of them remained, except

31. It may be pertinent to note that there was another Hiram on the throne of Tyre in the mid-sixth century BCE, and indeed that the Tyrians, just as the Judeans, had lists of kings and their accomplishments going back several hundred years before that (Kokkinos 2013, 46–49). Note that it is also possible that this section of 2 Chronicles was written much later. For such an argument about another portion of the book, see Finkelstein (2015, 670), who argues that the portions of 2 Chronicles that describe the growth of Judah from the days of Rehoboam to the reign of Hezekiah were written "against the background of realities of his own time," which in this case was much later: they were composed to affirm "the expansion of the Hasmoneans, with the actual compilation in the days of John Hyrcanus, … [with] each of the conquests achieved by Judah [finding] expression in the history of the Hasmoneans as described in 1 Maccabees" (672).

> Mattathias son of Absalom and Judas son of Chalphi, commanders of the elite troops. Thereupon, Jonathan rent his garments, put earth on his head, and prayed. On returning to do battle against the enemy, he defeated them and put them to flight. When his own fleeing men perceived what had happened, they turned back and joined him in pursuit all the way to the enemy camp at Kedesh [κεδες], where they themselves then encamped. The number of foreigners killed on that day reached three thousand. Jonathan returned to Jerusalem. (1 Macc 11:60–74, trans. Goldstein 1976)

As has been demonstrated above, the essential historical nugget—a battle between Jonathan, in his role as a Seleucid general, and the forces of Demetrius, occurring circa 144 BCE and ending with a temporary takeover of Kedesh—is well illustrated by abundant material evidence. Also fairly conveyed are the wider circumstances suggested by this account: at this moment Jonathan was in the employ of Tryphon, who controlled Akko-Ptolemais, while Demetrius controlled Tyre, thus making Kedesh the logical place for the latter's army to encamp. Yet the account is quite peculiar nonetheless—for what the author elaborates, for the specific places that he names, and for those he omits—all aspects illustrative of Lowenthal's (1975, 28) "more emphatic landscape."

In a recent article that uses this account as a jumping-off point, Elhanan Reiner (2017) details its many oddities.[32] Two of Jonathan's commanders are cited by name. The battle is described at length, as is Jonathan's dramatic behavior: he rends his garments, puts ashes on his head, and prays, and his prayers turn the tide of battle. He sees the rhetorical flourishes as "clear analogies to the story of Joshua's conquest of Canaan and to Joshua himself, especially Joshua's response to his defeat at Ai (Joshua 7:6)." By creating a similar dramatic circumstance and describing Jonathan's response with identical language, Reiner (2017, 503) argues that the author of 1 Maccabees "sought to indicate a linkage,

32. Reiner understands the animating event as being a battle directly between Demetrius and Jonathan, in which Demetrius marched from Tyre, "the margin of his dominion, in order to halt Jonathan's advance and prevent him from taking control of this territory." As Eckhardt explains in this volume, these are rhetorical choices of the author rather than the real circumstances, but the distinction is irrelevant to Reiner's argument. I thank Uzi Leibner for bringing this article to my notice.

almost an identity, between Jonathan the Hasmonean and Joshua, to put Jonathan on Joshua's pedestal."[33]

Archaeological evidence shows that at this time both lower and upper Galilee were battlegrounds and that locales other than Kedesh were sites of engagement. Yet the author rendered this landscape of turmoil via only three places: "Kedesh in Galilee," "Lake Gennesar," and "the plain of Hazor." The last is the most arresting choice, because by this time the site of Hazor itself had been deserted for at least several centuries. As Reiner (2017, 503) notes, in locating the battle in "the plain of Hazor" the author created a direct link to the final battle of Joshua, that which set the stage for the Israelite settlement of Galilee. In so doing, he "rewrite[es] a biblical story as if it were a contemporary one, as if the new story were in fact the old one." By infusing his account with the uniquely persuasive physicality of place, he elevates this episode into Noam's "charged interface between memory and historiography."

Recalling the rapid back-and-forth of inhabitants and interests in and around Kedesh during the years when the author was writing, one might wonder at which precise point he composed this overdramatized account. When Tyrians reoccupied Kedesh itself? When a small Judean foothold was inserted at Khirbet esh-Shuhara? When the grand Tyrian villa was erected in the Ḥula Valley (the author's "plain of Hazor")? Or when the fortified Judean presence at Qeren Naftali dominated both the Kedesh valley and the lower plain? Whichever circumstance prevailed, this account certainly succeeded in advancing its author's interests: by telling this story, in this way, he obscured other versions, other actors, and even other stories—at least some of which archaeology has now revealed.

---

33. Reiner goes on to claim that the author also sought to link Jonathan's campaign to conquer the land with Joshua's war of conquest. Katell Berthelot (2018a) has vigorously challenged this linkage in her book *In Search of the Promised Land?* Berthelot (2018b, 9) has raised doubts about this precise linkage, but she did agree that "we may nevertheless conclude from the biblical tone used in these … verses that [the author of 1 Maccabees] wanted to associate Jonathan with heroic memories of the biblical past, including some of the battles of Joshua, maybe in order to reduce the impression that Jonathan was acting at Antiochus' command." At the same conference Eckhardt also raised doubts; as he pointed out, "Does the Joshua analogy not break down when Jonathan does not take the country for himself or settle people there, but merely encamps for one night, never to return?"