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Navigating Between the Powers

Joppa and Its Vicinity in the 1st Millennium B. C. E.*

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Joppa (modern Jaffa) is one of the most frequently mentioned sites in current scholarly literature on ancient Israel. This is due to its dynamic historical and archaeological exploration through the ages. First mentioned in the Egyptian sources of the 2nd millennium B. C. E. (Harris Papyrus, el Amarna letters, Papyrus Anastasi I) and later in varied historical sources, it became one of the most visited sites by 18th- and 19th-century explorers,¹ and one of the first to be

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¹ Tsafirir / Di Segni / Green, 1994, s. v. Ioppe; for descriptions of Joppa as a main port of entry for 18th- and 19th-century pilgrims, see, e. g., Tolkowsky, 1924; Kark, 1984; Bar/Cohen-Hattab, 2003; for two of the most notorious personages associated with Joppa, see Mulzer, 2006.

a) Andromeda, the princess of the Greek mythological Ethiopian/Phoenician kingdom, who according to non-literary post-classical traditions, was chained to a wall of rock as a sacrifice to a sea monster off the coast of Joppa and was saved by Perseus (e. g., Strabo, *Geographica* I, 2, 35; XVI, 2, 27; Conon the Mythographer apud Stern, 1984, 353–354; Pomponius Mela, *Chronographia* I, 11, 64; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* V, 69, 128; Pausanias, *Graeciae Descriptio* IV, 35, 9; Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 34, 1–3). In Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder (1st century C. E.), and in Solinus (3rd century C. E.), Joppa is referred to as an ancient city having been founded before the flood, related to a period before Deucalion (for additional references, see Lipiński, 2004, 328–330). The mention of Andromeda, most probably in relation to Joppa in the 4th-century B. C. E. Periplus of pseudo-Scylax (below), lends support to the idea that this Greek myth was established prior to Hellenistic times; several alternatives can be put forward—in the Late Bronze Age (via Mycenaean presence), in the Early Iron Age (via Philistine presence) or in the Late Iron Age or Persian times (via the presence of Greek mercenaries[?]; for a late 5th- / early 4th-century date, see Harvey, 1994). In addition to Joppa's connection to the myth of

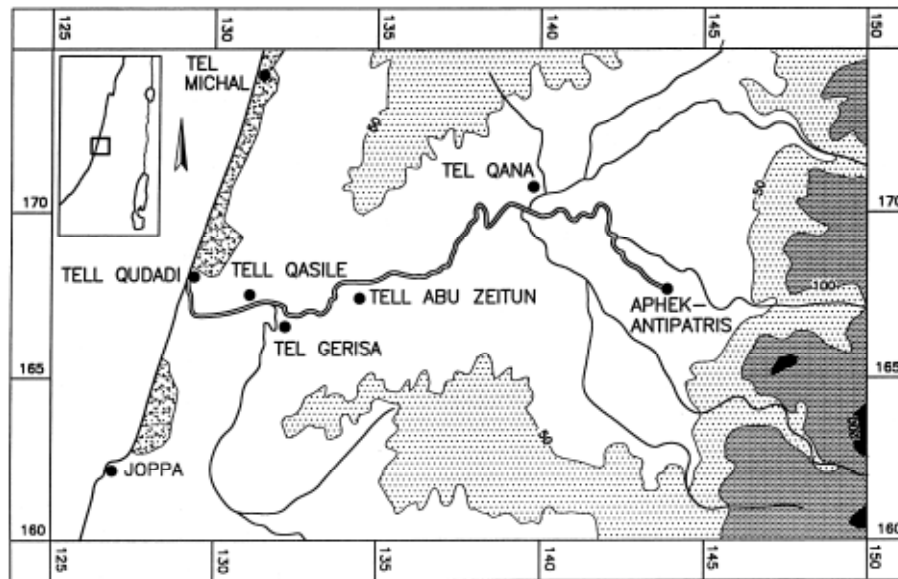


Figure 1: Location map

excavated under the State of Israel (below). The site lies in the central coastal plain of Israel, at the southern edge of the Sharon Plain, south of the city of Tel Aviv, on a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean (fig. 1). Its territory or agricultural hinterland through certain periods was probably delimited by the two rivers to its north and south, the Yarkon and the Šoreq respectively, which are located some 20 km apart, with Joppa almost equidistant from them.² On the east it was delimited by the western slopes of the Samaria mountain ridge, which

Andromeda, it is worth pointing out an Egyptian account, which tells how Thoth, a general of Thutmose III, captured Joppa by hiding armed warriors in 200 baskets that an additional 300 soldiers carried into Joppa, claiming they contained gifts for the governor (Pritchard, 1969, 22–23). The resemblance of this tale to that of the Trojan horse is striking (Goedicke, 1968).

- b) The prophet Jonah, who according to the Hebrew Bible was swallowed by the “great fish” after disobeying God’s order to go to the city of Nineveh and to prophesy against it, attempted to flee to Joppa in order to sail to Tarshish (Jonah 1:3). Jonah is also mentioned in 2 Kings 14:25, as a prophet in the time of King Jeroboam II, from the village of Gath-Ĥefer (in the Galilee). However, most researchers place the composition of the Book of Jonah in the post-exilic period—despite intentional archaizing, it reflects the realities and polemics of a much later period (Craig, 1999; Bolin, 2009, both with further references). The story of Jonah is also mentioned in the New Testament in Matthew 12:38–41 and Luke 11:29–32; Jonah is regarded as a saint by a number of Christian denominations.

² The exact location of the Yarkon River as a biblical toponym somewhat differs from the modern stream of the same name; see Rainey, 1990, 63, fig. 3.

is about 17 km from the coast. As one of the very few closed harbors of the central coastal plain, with a few others anchorages to its immediate south,³ Joppa gained a leading role in marine and land trade, connecting the lowlands and highlands of the country and beyond, as has been amply demonstrated by the routes that stretched between the site and Jerusalem throughout various periods.⁴ Joppa thus became one of the most important sites of the central coastal plain and the southern Levant (fig. 2).



Figure 2: Aerial photograph of Joppa (left: taken in 1917 showing the town; right: taken in 1965 showing the ancient mound [courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority])

It is also one of the most excavated (but largely unpublished) sites in Israel. Organized archaeological excavations started during the late 1940s on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, and were directed by P. L. O. Guy. In 1952, Guy's excavations were continued by J. Bowman and B. S. J. Isserlin for the University of Leeds. Much more extensive excavations were carried out by J. Kaplan between 1955 and 1974 on behalf of the Museum of Antiquities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Starting in 1998, Z. Herzog directed two seasons of excavations on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University (henceforth TAU). In addition, the unprecedented construction activity on the slopes of Joppa's mound and its immediate vicinity resulted in numerous salvage excavations, conducted mainly on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (henceforth IAA) as well as on behalf of TAU.⁵

³ Galili/Sharvit, 1991; Raban, 1994; 1997.

⁴ Cf. Fischer/Isaac/Roll, 1996.

⁵ See Peilstöcker, 2000b, for a summary of IAA excavations. Since then, many different excavations carried out by the IAA (some of them in collaboration with the University of California, Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology) have taken place at various

The aim of the present study is twofold: First, it summarizes the archaeological remains unearthed during excavations in Joppa and the sites in its immediate surroundings dated to the 1st millennium B. C. E.; second, it tracks the shifting of land control and the modification of settlement patterns among sites in the region. Such a summary of the available published material, and some that is unpublished, may help clarify Joppa's fate during that time, and the changing nature of its status in comparison to the other contemporary powers. The importance of such a study lies in the overview approach gathered from new archaeological data, i. e., surveys and excavations, against the background of a critical interpretation of the historical sources. Indeed, compared to our historical and archaeological knowledge on the importance of Joppa as an Egyptian government center during the Late Bronze Age, its history and status during the Iron Age is still unclear. As Singer rightly pointed out, "the fact that at a much later period, during the campaign of Sennacherib [701 B. C. E.], Joppa was under the jurisdiction of Ashkelon tells us nothing about Iron Age I".⁶ In fact, the same holds true for the Iron Age IIA (late 10th–9th centuries B. C. E.), that is, very little is known about that period, as well as later periods in Joppa's history during the first millennium B. C. E. (the 7th–6th centuries B. C. E.). Even for better-documented periods in Joppa's history, such as that of Sidonian hegemony under the Achaemenids, which presumably continued into Hellenistic times under the Diadochi (the successors of Alexander the Great), the Ptolemies and the

locations scattered around the mound; most revealed later-period remains that are not discussed in this paper; short preliminary reports on other digs with 1st-millennium B. C. E. remains appear in Peilstöcker, 2005 (Iron Age and Hellenistic); 2009 (Iron Age and Hellenistic); Peilstöcker et al., 2006 (Hellenistic); Peilstöcker/Burke, 2009 (Iron Age, Persian and Hellenistic); Dagot, 2008 (Hellenistic); Arbel, 2008 (Iron Age and Hellenistic). For a summary that gathers all excavation permits issued for Joppa's archaeological investigation until 2007, see Peilstöcker, 2007; and also Arbel/Peilstöcker, 2009.

⁶ Singer, 1994, 308. According to Singer:

"It is hard to surmise to whom the city fell with the Egyptian retreat; in any event, it is surprising that, as an Egyptian seat of government, Joppa did not become a Philistine center, unlike its sister cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod. Joppa is not mentioned in descriptions of the struggles between the Philistines and Israel in the Books of Judges and Samuel; accordingly there is no evidence supporting the hypothesis that it was included within the boundaries of Philistia" (ibid.; and contra Aharoni, 1979, 18).

It seems, however, that there is no other way to see Joppa but as part of Philistia during the Iron Age. Its geographical setting, a certain amount of Philistine pottery discovered in the Iron Age I Stratum IIIB (Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993a, 656, 658), its possible subordination to one of the Philistine centers during the Iron Age IIA (below), and its certain subordination to Ashkelon toward the end of the 8th century B. C. E. (below), all point to Philistine hegemony or affiliation. Needless to say, however, the Canaanite population of the region around Joppa did not disappear after the arrival of the Philistines, but was incorporated into a new social and political order (Gadot, 2008).

Seleucids, a comprehensive archaeological-historical summary is yet to be written. This article, therefore, represents an initial attempt to gather all the relevant data concerning the history and archaeology of Joppa during the first millennium B. C. E.

Iron Age IIA–IIC

Kaplan had already pointed out the sparseness of Iron Age IIA finds discovered at Joppa, and that this period is much better represented archaeologically by the neighboring Tell Qasile.⁷ It seems, however, that even the poor data on the Iron Age IIA at Joppa collected so far, when considered together, permits one to reach some conclusions.

A couple of Iron Age hand-burnished sherds from Joppa, apparently from an Iron Age IIA horizon, were already mentioned in the University of Leeds excavation report.⁸ In 1960, during Kaplan's excavation below the floor of the Ottoman bathhouse (*Ḥamam*, Kaplan's Area B) adjacent to the present-day Tel Aviv-Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, part of a glacis was discovered, running from north to south.⁹ According to Kaplan, it sloped up from east to west and its external revetment was made of small stone slabs. Beneath these slabs, alternate layers of sand and beaten earth were found, and underneath these was another layer of sand and beaten earth. The total thickness of the combined layers of this glacis is 5 m; its preserved length was not reported. Initially, the glacis was dated by the finds to the 9th century B. C. E.¹⁰ In 1964, an additional excavation was carried out near the *Ḥamam*. It consisted of a trench, 30 m long and 4.5 m wide. A glacis, structurally similar to that discovered in 1960, was found in the eastern sector of the trench. It was generally dated to the Israelite period,¹¹ with no attempt to suggest a more precise dating.¹² In addition, Kaplan mentioned remains from the Iron Age IIA, found in Area A during the excavations in 1970.¹³ There is, however, a certain degree of confusion as to the dating of the remains mentioned above. In the latest publication, the glacis from Area B is described as belonging to the 8th century B. C. E., which makes it contemporaneous with Level IIIA of Area A.¹⁴

While sorting the finds in the warehouses of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Museum of

⁷ Kaplan, 1972, 85.

⁸ Bowman/Isserlin/Rowe, 1955, 242, 247, pl. III, 1a–1b.

⁹ Kaplan, 1961; 1964a, 275, photo on page 274.

¹⁰ Kaplan, 1961; 1964a.

¹¹ Kaplan, 1964b.

¹² For Kaplan's original drawing of a section of Bronze through Iron Age fortifications in Area B, see Burke and Burke, 2008, 71, fig. 1.

¹³ Kaplan, 1970.

¹⁴ Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993a, 658.

Antiquities, where the material from Kaplan's large-scale excavations is stored, it was possible to detect the Iron Age IIA pottery mentioned in Kaplan's preliminary reports.¹⁵ In addition, a few typical Iron Age IIA sherds, mainly red-slipped and hand-burnished kraters, were located among the finds of Area A from the 1970 excavations. The relevant finds from Area B, located within and near the *Ḥamam*, were also detected, and seem to be from the same chronological horizon, i. e., Iron Age IIA. It should be noted that Area B's assemblage, though relatively small, is richer than that of Area A. It includes local pottery as well as Cypriot imports (such as a Black-on-Red juglet). The dating of the glaciis unearthed in Area B, however, remains unclear, as does its connection with the above-mentioned finds, which may point to domestic activity in this area during the Iron Age IIA.

Recent archaeological excavations undertaken on the summit of the mound of Joppa (Kaplan's Area A) on behalf of TAU have revealed a number of Late Iron Age I/IIA fills with pottery.¹⁶ The large-scale excavations, undertaken on behalf of the IAA on the eastern slope of the mound, unearthed additional remains that may be attributed to the Iron Age IIA chronological horizon. The remains discovered in IAA Areas A–D consisted of a number of Iron Age IIA occupation layers, walls and pits.¹⁷ The pits are of particular interest since some of them may represent the receiving vats of Iron Age IIA winepresses, similar to those discovered in the course of a salvage excavation conducted a few years ago on behalf of TAU.¹⁸ The excavated area, which was designated as Area F, was located on the eastern slope of the mound, along Yefet Street, to the south of Rabbi Pinḥas Street.¹⁹

The remains that can be attributed to Iron Age IIA (Stratum IX) were exposed on virgin soil (fig. 3). The traces of five Iron Age IIA installations were unearthed within the boundaries of the excavated area. The installations are round or elliptical-shaped pits, dug in the local fossilized dune sandstone (*kurkar*

¹⁵ We are grateful to H. Katz, the IAA's chief curator, for her kind permission to study the material from Kaplan's excavations at Joppa; and to T. Shacham, then head of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, who assisted us in tracing the finds from these excavations.

¹⁶ Herzog, 2008; Z. Herzog and L. Singer-Avitz, personal communications, for which we are grateful.

¹⁷ Cf. Peilstöcker, 2000a; 2000b; Peilstöcker/Sass, 2001; and M. Peilstöcker, personal communication, for which we are grateful. For additional, albeit meager Iron Age IIA remains, discovered in the vicinity of the northern slopes of the mound and consisting of pottery sherds (in the main), see Peilstöcker, 2005, fig. 2: 1–8; 2009; Peilstöcker/Burke, 2009; Arbel, 2008; Arbel/Peilstöcker, 2009, 36.

¹⁸ Fantalkin, 2005.

¹⁹ Old Israeli Grid 126900–162240/127000–162285. Area F was adjacent to Areas A–D and ca. 13 m southwest of Area E of the IAA excavations; see Peilstöcker, 2000a, figs. 93–94.

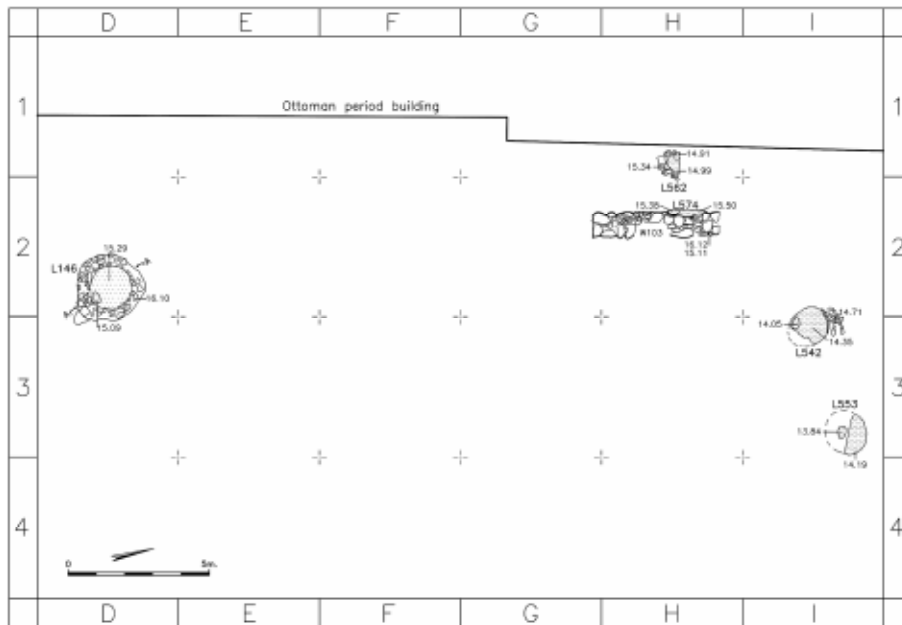


Figure 3: Site plan of Stratum IX in Area F at Joppa

in the local idiom). Some of these were found cased with small- and medium-sized fieldstones covering their exterior. Their inner parts were coated with several layers of a thick chalky plaster mixed with crushed shells. The upper parts of the installations were found damaged, thus their original depth is unknown. The floors of the installations gently sloped toward small oval depressions found at the bottom of each pit. Although all of the installations were found damaged, they could be identified, with a high level of certainty, as receiving vats of winepresses; all built in the same technique, using a similar type of chalky plaster, which includes a considerable amount of crushed shells. The fact that the plastered walls of one of the installations (Locus 146; fig. 4) were preserved

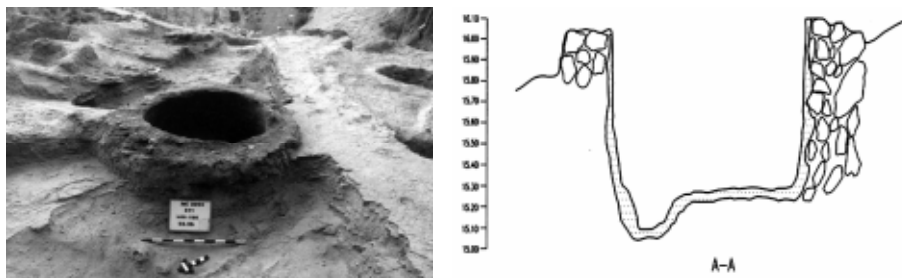


Figure 4: Iron Age IIA winepress (Locus 146) from Area F at Joppa (photo and section)

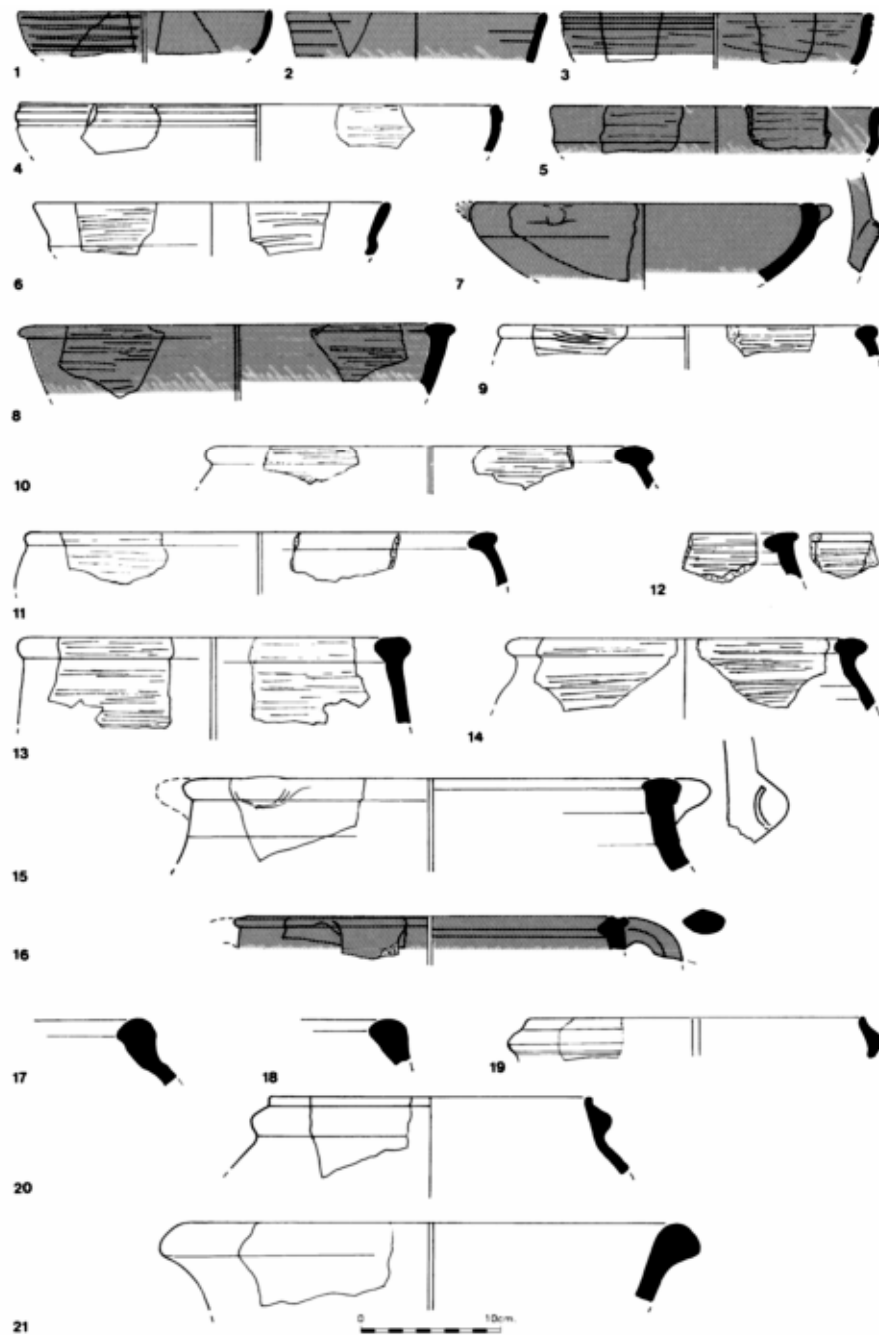


Figure 5: Iron Age IIA pottery assemblage from the winepress (Locus 146) at Joppa (cont.)

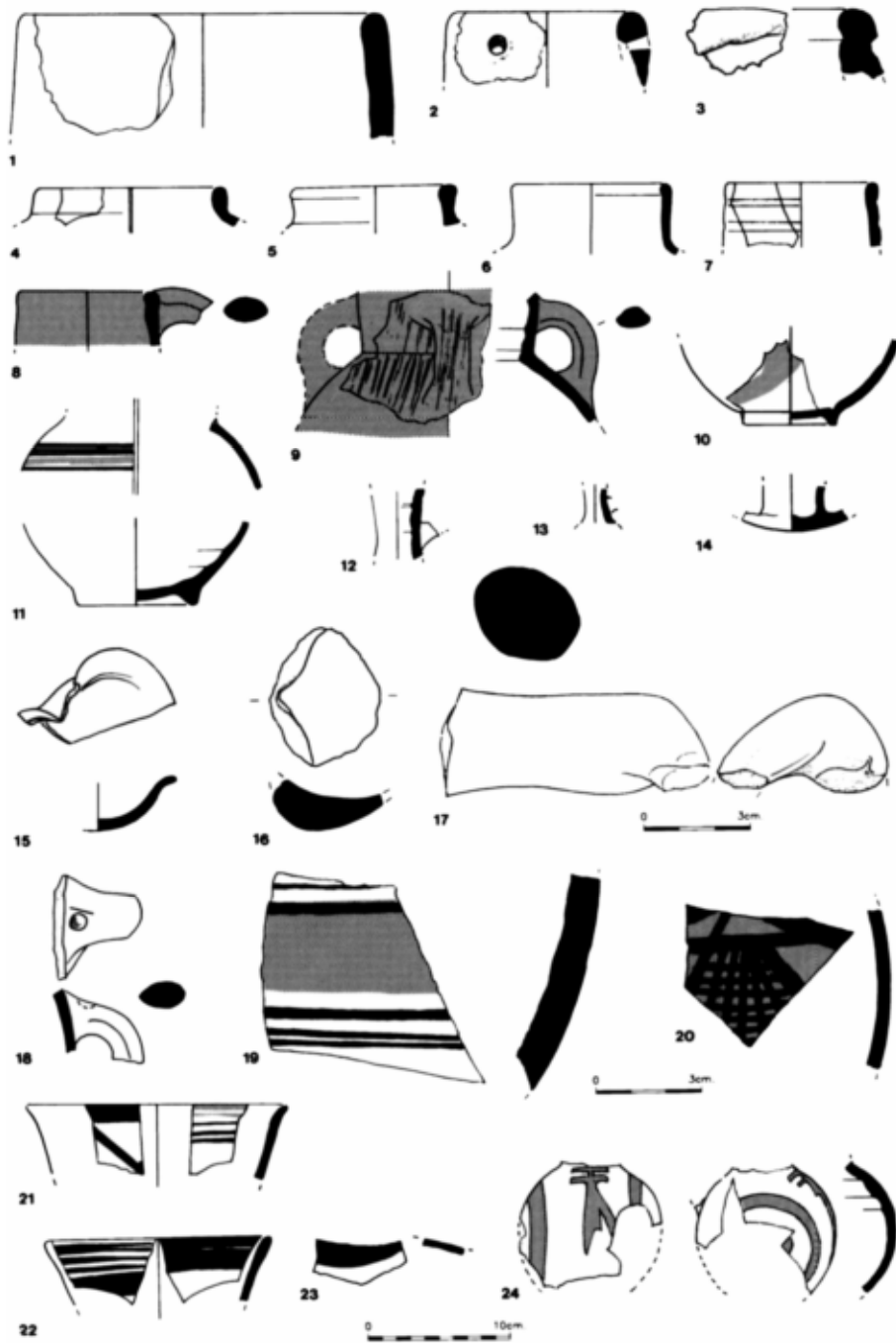


Figure 6: Iron Age IIA pottery assemblage from the winepress (Locus 146) at Joppa

to a height of at least one meter suggests that the whole installation should be identified as a comparatively large collecting vat, and that treading was not conducted in the same pit, but on a separate treading surface, which was located on a higher level. The treading surface, however, was not observed around this pit, and was probably destroyed over time. The crucial point, however, which permits the suggestion of the same dating for all installations discussed, is the pottery discovered (fig. 5–6). The rich ceramic assemblage exposed in Stratum IX is homogenous in date. Its most prominent feature is a thick, red hand-burnished slip appearing on bowls and kraters. In terms of absolute chronology it may be securely placed within a 9th-century B. C. E. horizon. The main assemblage was exposed in Locus 146, and doubtless reflects the latest utilization of this installation. The nature of material discovered (pottery, bones, shells, stone artifacts) and its state of preservation (fragmentary and worn) may permit it to be defined, with a high level of certainty, as a refuse dump. Using Schiffer's terminology, it represents secondary refuse, i. e., the finds were exposed in a space the inhabitants did not originally intend for refuse, but that was eventually used for that purpose.²⁰ The use of abandoned structures and installations for trash disposal is a well-known phenomenon.²¹ Moreover, the several layers of plaster that covered the inner parts of the installations discovered may suggest their prolonged use. Although the pottery unearthed should be placed in the 9th century B. C. E., the installations could have been erected earlier. The general date of the 10th–9th centuries B. C. E. for their operation, with a 9th century B. C. E. date for their termination seems logical.²²

The group of winepresses discovered in the course of TAU excavations on the eastern slope of the mound of Joppa has a number of close parallels from neighboring sites, dated to the same chronological horizon. Quite similar installations were discovered around Tell Qasile (fig. 7),²³ Tel Michal (fig. 8),²⁴ Lod²⁵ and Rishon Le-Zion.²⁶ All these winepresses belong to the same type, which seems to be the outcome of a local development and suitability to a particular geographical and geological environment;²⁷ hence the plastering, which includes a large amount of crushed shells, contrary to the use of bedrock in the central mountain ridge.²⁸ Based on the presence of this group one can

²⁰ Schiffer, 1985.

²¹ Cf. Stanislawski, 1973; Fantalkin, 2001a, 46–47.

²² Fantalkin, 2005.

²³ Ayalon, 1993; 1994; Ayalon/Harpazi, 2001.

²⁴ Herzog, 1989, 73–75, fig. 6.9, pls. 18–19.

²⁵ Yannai/Marder, 2000.

²⁶ Segal, 2000.

²⁷ Cf. Avimelech, 1950–1951.

²⁸ Worthy of mention is a winepress discovered at Ashkelon dated to the end of the 7th century B. C. E. (Stager, 1996, 64, photo on page 67) that preserves the same construc-

hypothesize the existence of a developed wine production in the central coastal plain during the 10th–9th centuries B. C. E.²⁹

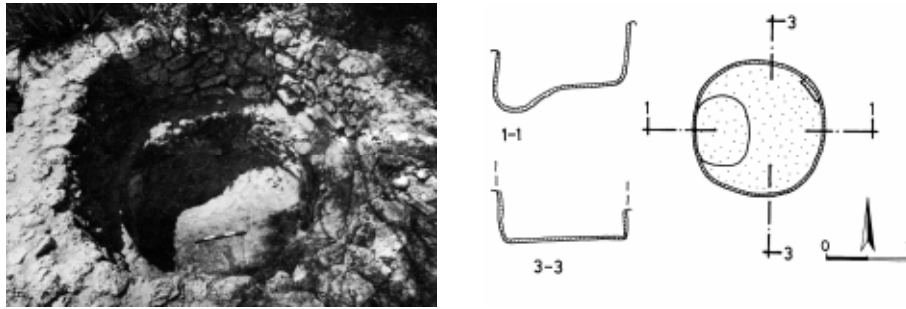


Figure 7: Iron Age IIA winepress from Tell Qasile
(photo and section, modified after Ayalon, 1994, 54, figs. 2-3
[courtesy of Eretz Israel Museum, Tel Aviv; drawings: Ora Paran])

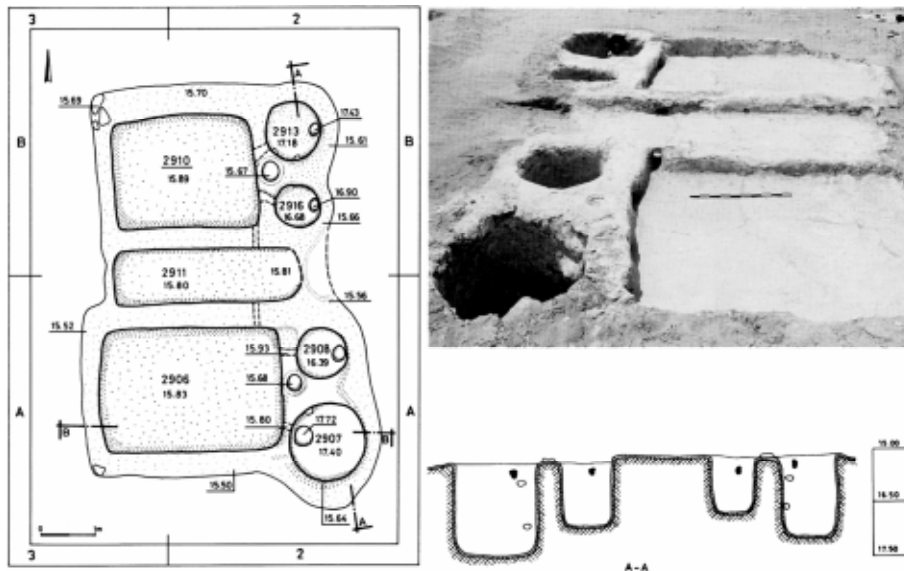


Figure 8: Iron Age IIA winepress complex from Tel Michal
(photo and section, modified after Herzog, 1989, 74, fig. 6.9, pl. 18
[courtesy of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University])

tion technique.

²⁹ Cf. Herzog, 1989. A possible forerunner of these winepresses comes from the Late Bronze Age context of Tel Aphek, cf. Kochavi, 1989, 76, figs. 60, 79.

To sum up the matter of the Iron Age IIA remains, the archaeological data collected so far shows that contrary to the Bronze Age and Iron Age I, where remains were discovered mostly on the summit of the tell of Joppa, the settlement was extended eastward during the Iron Age IIA.³⁰ Even if remains of a glaciis discovered near the *Hamam* indeed belong to the 9th century B. C. E., it seems that during the Iron Age IIA the nature of settlement at Joppa differed somewhat from that of previous periods.³¹ Unlike its high administrative status as an Egyptian center during the Late Bronze Age (with a possible cultic function of particular significance),³² the settlement at Joppa seems to have lost its administrative importance during the late Iron Age I and Iron Age IIA, which perhaps shifted to Tell Qasile.

Remains from the Iron Age I/IIA in the vicinity of Joppa were reported from Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa, Tell Abu Zeitun, Bené Braq (Tel Messubim) and Azor.³³ The Iron Age I/IIA remains unearthed at Tell Qasile doubtlessly provide the best sequence in the region under discussion.³⁴ Since the results of the excavations were extensively published, they should not be revisited here in detail. However, even before embarking on a brief summary of Tell Qasile's finds it is advisable to clarify the issue of chronology.

The current debate over the chronology of Iron Age Palestine, has resulted in

³⁰ Cf. Peilstöcker, 2000b, 1349. The discovery of a group of Late Bronze Age pit-graves in Peilstöcker's excavations (Peilstöcker, 2000a, 49*; Arbel/Peilstöcker, 2009, 35–36) is in line with this assumption that Late Bronze Age settlement was mainly restricted to the mound, thus the tombs were located outside main settlement on the mound.

³¹ A number of earlier studies, which directly and indirectly addressed the question of Joppa and the Yarkon region during biblical times should be mentioned (cf. e. g., B. Mazar, 1983; Rainey, 1990; Raban, 1994; 1997; Fischer/Isaac/Roll, 1996, 180–190).

³² The poorly preserved remains of the structure discovered in Area A, the so-called "Lion temple", were identified as belonging to a pre-Philistine stratum, and dated by the excavators to the transition between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries B. C. E. (Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993a, 658; see also Burdajewicz, 1990). It consisted of a rectangular hall (4.4 × 5.8 m) with two bases for columns along the long axis. The most recent investigation, however, suggests that the temple should be placed in the LB IIA (Z. Herzog, personal communication). Likewise, A. Mazar has pointed out that although this structure predates Philistine settlement in the region, it might have served Sea People mercenaries in the service of the Egyptian troops at Joppa. Thus the skull of a lion, with half of a scarab seal near its teeth, found on the floor of the structure, may point to an unusual (mercenary?) cult that was carried out in the temple (2000, 220).

³³ In previous scholarship, the establishment of a fortress at the site of Tell Qudadi (often erroneously mentioned as Kudadi) was attributed to either to the 10th century (Yeivin, 1960) or the 9th century B. C. E. (Avigad, 1993), i. e., the Iron Age IIA. A renewed study of ceramic finds from the site, however, has shown that the fortress was not erected before the second part of the 8th century B. C. E. (Fantalkin/Tal, 2009; and below).

³⁴ Cf. B. Mazar, 1950–1951; Ritter-Kaplan, 1985; A. Mazar, 1985; 2009; Dothan/Dunayevsky/Mazar, 1993; Mazar/Harpazi-Ofer, 1994.

two main perspectives: Modified Conventional Chronology,³⁵ and Low Chronology.³⁶ According to the Modified Conventional Chronology model, the Iron Age I/IIA transition occurred sometime during the first half of the 10th century B. C. E.³⁷ By contrast, according to the Low Chronology perspective, the late Iron Age I accommodates the better part of the 10th century B. C. E. Low Chronology assumes that in both northern and southern Palestinian sites, the Iron Age I/IIA transition occurred in the late 10th century B. C. E.³⁸ Tell Qasile was founded as a Philistine outpost during the later part of Iron Age I (strata XII–XI) and developed into a well-planned town in Stratum X, with a temple occupying its center, large courtyard houses surrounding it and smaller pillared houses on the outskirts of the site (fig. 9). Following the destruction of Stratum X, the town shrank in size, which reflects its general decline during the Iron Age IIA (Strata IX–VIII). According to B. Mazar, the destruction of Stratum X occurred as a result of David’s conquest of Jaffa and the Yarkon region.³⁹ Kempinski, in contrast, has suggested destruction by earthquake and A. Mazar has considered both options as legitimate possibilities.⁴⁰ The current skepticism concerning the historicity of King David’s conquests,⁴¹ however, supports the notion of an earthquake as a major cause for the destruction of Qasile X.⁴² Following his initial investigations of Tell Qasile, B. Mazar suggested that Stratum IX should be dated to the 10th century B.C.E. and Stratum VIII to the 9th century B. C. E.⁴³ In contrast, A. Mazar, after conducting his own excavations at Tell Qasile, suggested condensing both Strata IX and VIII into the 10th century B. C. E., i. e., the days of the United Monarchy, in accordance with what used to be regarded as Conventional Chronology.⁴⁴ In response to the challenges posed by the Low Chronology, A. Mazar had come up with the notion that the Iron Age IIA assemblages continue well into the 9th century B. C. E. (Modified Conventional Chronology). However, most recently, he has returned to his original views concerning the dating of Tell Qasile strata, arguing that, “the conventional chronology, dating the end of Stratum X to between 1000 and 980 B. C. E., should

³⁵ E. g., A. Mazar, 2005.

³⁶ E. g., Finkelstein, 2002a; 2005.

³⁷ Cf., e. g., A. Mazar, 2005; 2007; 2008; Ben-Tor/Ben-Ami, 1998; Ben-Shlomo/Shai/Maier, 2004; Bruins / Mazar / van der Plicht, 2007.

³⁸ Cf., e. g., Finkelstein, 2005; Finkelstein/Piasetzky, 2006a; 2006b; 2007; Gilboa/Sharon, 2001; 2003; Boaretto et al., 2005; Fantalkin/Finkelstein, 2006; Sharon et al., 2007.

³⁹ B. Mazar, 1951, 23; 1986, 71.

⁴⁰ Kempinski, 1989, 89–90; A. Mazar, 1985, 127.

⁴¹ Cf., e. g., Fantalkin, 2001b.

⁴² A. Mazar, 2009, 330.

⁴³ B. Mazar, 1950–1951, 195.

⁴⁴ A. Mazar, 1980, 127–128.

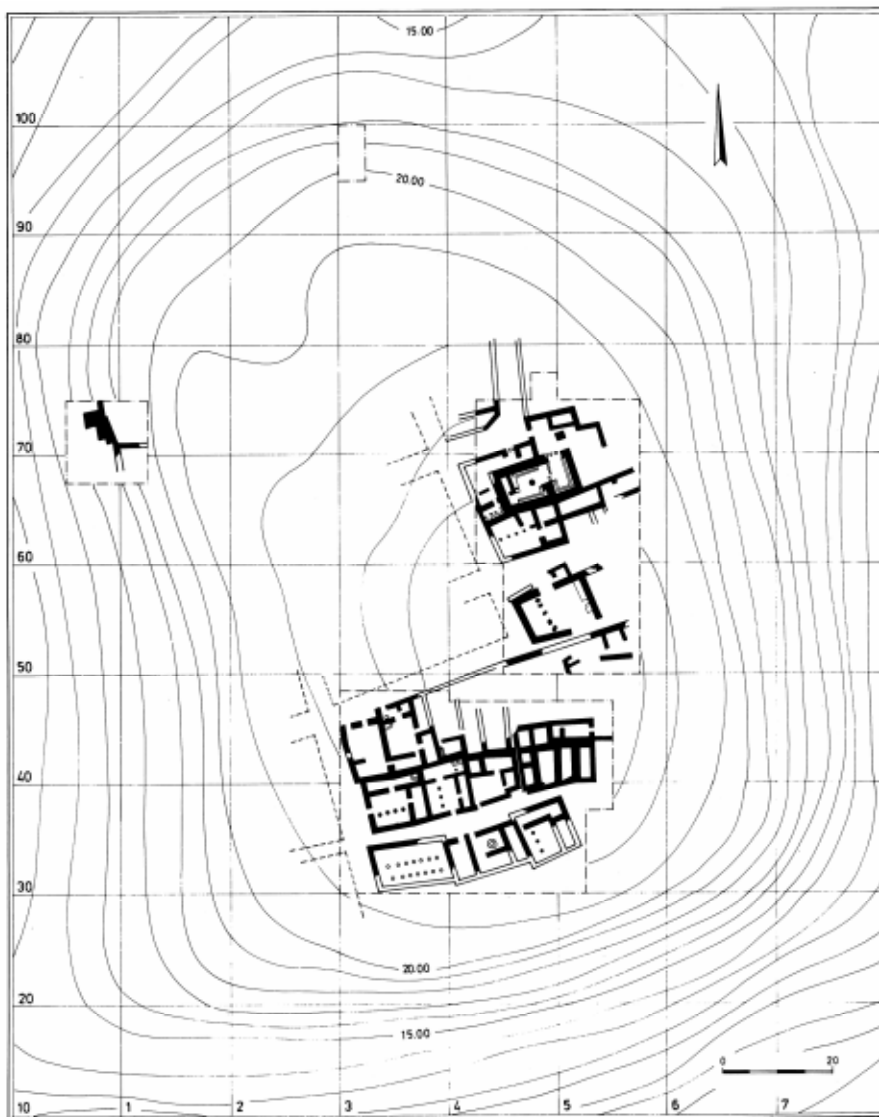


Figure 9: Plan of Stratum X at Tell Qasile
(modified after Mazar, 1994, 17, fig. 9 [courtesy of A. Mazar])

be maintained”.⁴⁵ In our view, there is no justification for returning to such a high dating other than desire to keep the historicity of the United Monarchy at any cost.⁴⁶ Moreover, the radiocarbon dates obtained from the samples that came from destruction layer of Qasile X, despite their ambiguity, seem to point

⁴⁵ A. Mazar, 2009, 334.

⁴⁶ See also Lipiński, 2006, 98, n. 12.

to the first half of the 10th century B. C. E. as the most plausible date for its destruction.⁴⁷ In this case, Qasile strata IX–VIII should be pushed to the period from the second half of the 10th to the first half of the 9th century B. C. E.⁴⁸ In any case, in our opinion, there is no justification for attributing the remains discovered at Tell Qasile IX–VIII to Israelite settlers. It seems more likely to posit that the area around Joppa continued to be in Philistine hands after the destruction of Tell Qasile X (including a strong element of Canaanite ancestry), similar to the situation observed during the late Iron Age I and toward the end of the 8th century B. C. E. Joppa's absence from the conquered Canaanite cities in Joshua 12 and its exclusion from the territory of Dan⁴⁹ both point in the same direction.

The remains of the Iron Age I/IIA settlement discovered at Tel Gerisa consisted of several stages. The first, which is contemporaneous with Tell Qasile X, was estimated at three dunams and, according to Herzog, was a small village near the central town of Tell Qasile. The second stage had two phases (contemporaneous to Tell Qasile IX–VIII?) and was even smaller, no more than two dunams. According to Herzog, “the remains uncovered point to a farm that was established at the southern end of the mound, whose inhabitants cultivated the area of the mound itself”.⁵⁰ The reported Iron Age II remains from Tell Abu Zeitun are scanty and consisted of a brick-wall and pottery.⁵¹ A few Iron Age I/IIA remains were unearthed during the limited soundings conducted at Tel Messubim,⁵² which could be identified with ancient Bené Braq. The mound of Azor has not yet been excavated; however, a considerable cemetery discovered at the site points to the existence of a prosperous settlement during the Iron Age I/IIA.⁵³

The nature of the late Iron Age I/IIA remains exposed in Joppa and at the sites in its vicinity permits consideration of the possibility that as in the late 12th

⁴⁷ Sharon et al., 2005, 84–87; Finkelstein/Piasetzky, 2007, 75; A. Mazar, 2009, 330.

⁴⁸ If Tell Qasile Stratum X continues well into the 10th century B. C. E., it is obvious that one can hardly postulate any direct Israelite rule over the region discussed during the days of the United Monarchy (for such an attempt, see however Faust, 2007a). Moreover, the very notion of the golden United Monarchy in current scholarship is considered an artificial creation, being a reflection of political and territorial aspirations and ideologies of later times (see, e. g., Van Seters, 1983; Thompson, 2000; Na'aman, 2002; Finkelstein/Silberman, 2001; 2006; Fantalkin, 2008).

⁴⁹ Joshua, 19:40–46.

⁵⁰ Herzog, 1993, 484.

⁵¹ Kaplan, 1993.

⁵² Finkelstein, 1990, with earlier references.

⁵³ Dothan, 1993; Bloch-Smith, 1992, 156–157, 160–162, 178–179, 183, 185; Ben-Shlomo, 2008; for the general discussion, see also Fischer/Isaac/Roll, 1996, 253–256. According to Dothan (1961; 1993), the pottery unearthed in the communal burials from the 10th–9th-century B. C. E. horizon (his Group C) consisted mostly of local bowls and juglets, and Cypriot White-Painted, Black-on-Red and Bichrome ware types.

and 11th centuries B. C. E., during the late Iron Age I (first half of the 10th century B. C. E.), the settlement at Tell Qasile may have dominated the region under discussion, while Joppa, Tel Gerisa and Tell Abu Zeitun were of lower status. Due to the fact that the mound of Azor has not yet been excavated, and given the limited scope of excavations at Tel Messubim, their status remains unclear. Mazar suggests that the economy of Tell Qasile was based on maritime trade conducted by ships that used the nearby Yarkon estuary as an anchorage.⁵⁴ Gadot hypothesized that Tell Qasile may have served as a mediator between the small farmsteads located next to the Yarkon River, where agricultural surplus was produced, and the large city-states to its south, in the heartland of Philistine territory.⁵⁵ To this observation we may add an additional dimension, which has to do with the cultic significance of the Tell Qasile temples. Considering the notion that during various historical periods the Yarkon, being the widest of the country's Mediterranean coastal waterways, was considered a political, social and even cultural border,⁵⁶ the establishment of the Philistine cultic center at Tell Qasile is of particular significance. Located in the northern frontier zone, far from the Philistine core-area, this hub of cultic activity with its series of successive temples, may have had a special symbolic dimension in the Philistines' mental maps, serving as a focal point in defining the space between the 'civilized' Philistine-inhabited world to the south and the 'other' world to the north. Likewise, Qasile's temples, similar to Aegean frontier sanctuaries, may have had facilitated relations between the indigenous populations around the Yarkon River and the Philistine settlers.⁵⁷

The question of direct subordination, however, is not that simple. Though it seems plausible to assume that during the Iron Age I/IIA Tel Gerisa was subordinated to Tell Qasile,⁵⁸ the status of Joppa and Tell Abu Zeitun, as well as Azor and Tel Messubim, is definitely uncertain. The fact that Joppa, Azor, Bené Braq (Tel Messubim) and Beth Dagon are mentioned in the 701 B. C. E. prism stela of Sennacherib as belonging to Šidqa, king of Ashkelon,⁵⁹ may suggest

⁵⁴ A. Mazar, 2009.

⁵⁵ Gadot, 2006; 2008; and see also Higginbotham's observation that goods from Aphek could have been transferred to Joppa's port for further shipment (2000, 127).

⁵⁶ Rainey, 2001; Gilboa, 2005, 66–67.

⁵⁷ For useful discussion concerning the notion of 'frontier sanctuaries' in the Aegean world, see de Polignac, 1995, 34–35; such a comparison is especially warranted given the Aegean pedigree of Philistine immigration in the first place (cf. Barako, 2000; Finkelberg, 2006).

⁵⁸ Cf. Herzog, 1993.

⁵⁹ Luckenbill, 1924, 31, lines 68–72; Pritchard, 1969, 287. According to Aharoni, 1979, 49, Azor, Bené Braq and Beth Dagon should be considered Joppa's hinterland. Such a reconstruction, however, is not supported by the Assyrian account, which mentions the four cities as belonging to the Ashkelonian enclave in the same breath, that is, without distinguishing Joppa's leading role as in Aharoni's reconstruction. Furthermore, Beth

that a similar situation had existed earlier. The question is how far back can we assume a similar political condition?⁶⁰ According to Gadot, the appearance of the Ashkelonian enclave in the region of Joppa in 701 B. C. E. may have been an outcome of a colonization process that had started some 400 years earlier.⁶¹ Gadot bases his claim on the well-known fact that after the beginning of the Philistine phase in the history of Ashkelon, its hinterland shrank and almost emptied of rural settlements.⁶² Ashkelon was therefore forced to initiate trade with more distant localities and it is highly plausible that during the Iron Age I, Ashkelon extended its power (colonized?) or at least significantly tightened its trade connection with the central part of the Israelite coastal plain.⁶³ According to Na'aman, however, the appearance of the Ashkelonite enclave east of Joppa at the time of Sennacherib's campaign to Palestine was the outcome of the policy of Tiglath-pileser III, who may have transferred Joppa and surrounding towns to Rukibtu, king of Ashkelon, in 732 B. C. E.⁶⁴

It seems to us that the possibility that Ashdod dominated the region under discussion during the 9th and the main part of the 8th centuries B. C. E., should not be excluded either. Ashdod, already a major center in the Iron Age I, expanded in the 9th century B. C. E. and reached its maximal area in the 8th century B. C. E.⁶⁵ It thus may be hypothesized that during the 9th–8th centuries B. C. E., Ashdod's power extended up to the Yarkon region, including Joppa and the surrounding sites.⁶⁶ In this reconstruction, one may posit that after Sargon II

Dagon is even mentioned before Joppa.

⁶⁰ Cf. Aharoni, 1979, 389; Singer, 1994, 308.

⁶¹ Gadot, 2006, 31; it should be noted that Na'aman, 1981, 180, hinted at such a possibility a long time ago.

⁶² See in this respect Finkelstein, 1996; 2000, and, most recently Shavit, 2008, according to whom the absence of developed hinterlands around the Philistine city-states may be explained by Aegean concepts of urban settlement, imported by the Philistine migrants in the 12th century B. C. E.

⁶³ Moreover, examination of the provenance of some cultic and administrative finds from Aphek and Tell Qasile shows that they were probably made at Ashkelon, thus indicating strong ties between Ashkelon, Aphek and Qasile (Yellin/Gunneweg, 1985; Yasur-Landau, 2002, 413; Gadot, 2008, 64).

⁶⁴ Na'aman, 1998, 219–223; 2001, 262; 2009, 352. It should be noted that such a scenario, although entirely plausible, is based on a hypothetical restoration of lines 12–13 in the Ann. 18 (Tadmor, 1994, 220–221; and see Wazana, 2003).

⁶⁵ Finkelstein/Singer-Avitz, 2001; Shavit, 2008, 147–148.

⁶⁶ If the Iron Age IIA installations uncovered at Joppa were indeed erected as early as the 10th century B. C. E. (on this possibility see above), we are on even more shaky ground when considering possibilities for a 10th-century B. C. E. dominating polity. There are at least two candidates that could have dominated the region under discussion: Gath and Ekron, and plenty of complicated scenarios may be suggested. For instance, Ekron may have had dominated the region up to the Yarkon area during the first half of the 10th

conquered Ashdod in 711 B. C. E., its subordinated settlements, in particular Joppa, Azor, Bené Braq and Beth Dagon, were given to Ashkelon and were taken away by Sennacherib following Şidqa's rebellion in 701 B. C. E.⁶⁷ Although aggressive Neo-Assyrian imperial policy in Palestine may have started as early as the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II appears to be the prime figure behind the major changes in the region discussed.⁶⁸

Clearly, there is no shortage of possible scenarios concerning the fate of the region of Joppa during the Iron Age IIA/IIB. It should be stressed, however, that our knowledge regarding the settlement at Joppa during the Iron Age IIB/IIC is even less satisfactory than in the Iron Age IIA. The reported 8th-century B. C. E. remains are not impressive; according to the excavators, they included a rough stone wall and an adjoining stone floor as well as two cattle burials with stone markers.⁶⁹ A few similar dated remains were exposed during the IAA excavations on the eastern and northern slopes of ancient Joppa.⁷⁰ In addition, 8th-century B. C. E. pottery was attested in several places in Tel Aviv, such as Hill's Square (Giv'at Beth Ha-Mitbahayim), and in areas bordering Yehoshua Ben Nun and Yoḥanan Hyrcanus Streets.⁷¹ According to Kaplan and Ritter-Kaplan, they may represent the military camps that were established on the eve of Sennacherib's campaign.⁷² It seems, however, that they should be interpreted as

century B. C. E., until its destruction (in the course of the campaign of Sheshonq I? cf. Finkelstein, 2002b, 138; 2002c, 116). It is possible that during the first half of the 9th century B. C. E., Gath had controlled this region, at least until its destruction in the course of Hazael's campaign (Maier, 2004), and that afterward, Ashdod took its place, as suggested above.

⁶⁷ According to Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, 2001, after the conquest of Ashdod in 711 B. C. E. by Sargon II, the settlement on the mound ceased to exist and was replaced by Ashdod-Yam on the coast. As a result, Ashdod-Yam came to be the center of a new Neo-Assyrian province. For a slightly different interpretation, see Na'aman, 2001, 260–262, who suggests that the construction of an Assyrian emporium at Ashdod-Yam was the main cause for Ashdod's rebellion. It seems, however, that the discovery of the Neo-Assyrian residency near Tel Ashdod, built most probably after the rebellion of 711 B. C. E. (Kogan-Zahavi, 2007), undermines Finkelstein's and Singer-Avitz's reconstruction concerning the shift of the settlement to Ashdod-Yam (for additional critique, see also Ben-Shlomo, 2003; 2005; Shavit, 2008, 149).

⁶⁸ For the general picture, see Na'aman, 1994; for the mass deportations, see Na'aman/Zadok, 1988; 2000; for the intensive building activity, especially on the southern coast, see Finkelstein/Singer-Avitz, 2001; Na'aman, 1995, 111–112; 2001; all summaries with earlier references.

⁶⁹ Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993a, 656, 658. Herzog, 2008, reports on some poor Iron Age IIB finds on the mound.

⁷⁰ Peilstöcker, 2000a; 2000b; 2005; 2009; Peilstöcker/Sass, 2001; and Burke, 2009; Arbel, 2008; Arbel/Peilstöcker, 2009, 36.

⁷¹ Tal/Fantalkin, 2009, 90.

⁷² Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993b, 1454.

belonging to Joppa's agricultural hinterland rather than to military encampments.⁷³ The chronological gap at Tell Qasile and Tel Gerisa during the 8th century B. C. E. may be connected to the establishment and operation of the fortress at Tell Qudadi (fig. 10).

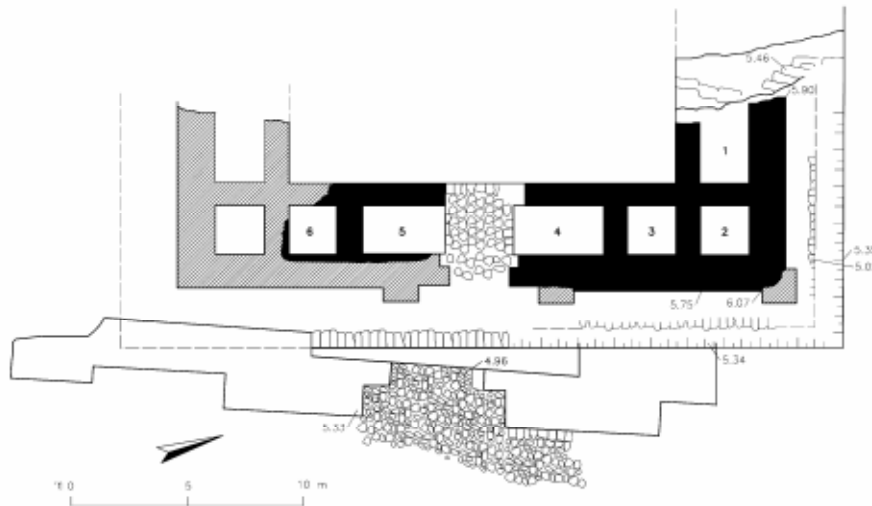


Figure 10: Plan of the fortress at Tell Qudadi and an aerial photograph taken in 1981, looking south-east (aerial photograph courtesy of Z. Herzog)

⁷³ A quite similar case for identification of military sites in what appear to be traces of agricultural estates may be observed in Kaplan's artificial creation of the so-called Yan-nai Line in the same region but at a later period (Kaplan, 1971; see, however, Fantal-kin/Tal, 2003, and below).

The pottery assemblage from Tell Qudadi, excavated some 70 years ago,⁷⁴ was never published and has only recently been studied by the authors.⁷⁵ The preliminary results of this research have shown that contrary to the previous consensus,⁷⁶ the fortress at Tell Qudadi was not erected before the mid-late 8th century B. C. E. The earliest attested pottery, which may be connected with the first phase of the fortress, can be safely placed within the second half of the 8th-century B. C. E. horizon. The second fortress, built over the ruins of the first, shows continuity in its ceramic repertoire. Two burnt layers and two floors found above the rooms of the first fortress, however, suggest that the second fortress continued well into the first half of the 7th century B. C. E. It should be emphasized that the ceramic assemblage from this phase lacks certain characteristics of assemblages from the late 7th / early 6th centuries B. C. E. as we know them from the strata associated with the Neo-Babylonian destructions. Based on the ceramic evidence it seems that the duration of the site's occupation corresponds roughly to the period of Neo-Assyrian domination in the southern Levant. This conclusion permits us to assume that the fortress was constructed and maintained on behalf of the Neo-Assyrian rule. It is highly unlikely that other candidates controlled this strategic coastal region during the period of Neo-Assyrian rule. One may assume therefore that the fortress at Tell Qudadi belongs to the series of fortresses built on behalf of the Neo-Assyrians in the Mediterranean basin of the major Palestinian estuaries.

A number of Neo-Assyrian goals may be deduced from this pattern: first, the protection of land and sea trade-routes by means of strongholds,⁷⁷ which were

⁷⁴ Tell Qudadi (also known as Tell esh-Shûna) is a medium-sized mound that rises about 8 m above sea level, and is located within the city limits of Tel Aviv on the northern bank of the Yarkon estuary into the Mediterranean. Tell Qudadi apparently controlled the ford of the Yarkon estuary and its main purpose was to protect and regulate maritime trade along the central coast of Palestine. The mound also afforded a view of the settlements on the banks of the Yarkon River in antiquity. Trial excavations at the site were carried out as early as 1937 under the direction of P. L. O. Guy on behalf of the British Mandatory Department of Antiquities. Extensive excavations were consequently carried out in 1937–1938 under the direction of E. L. Sukenik and S. Yeivin, with the assistance of N. Avigad, on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

⁷⁵ Fantalkin/Tal, 2009.

⁷⁶ In Yeivin's opinion, it was established during the 10th century B. C. E. at the behest of King Solomon, in order to protect the approach from the sea and prevent possible hostile raids against inland settlements located along the Yarkon (Yeivin, 1960). He proposed that the establishment of the fortress at Tell Qudadi pointed to the existence of a developed maritime policy in the days of the United Monarchy. Avigad, in contrast, suggested that the fortress was erected sometime in the 9th century B. C. E., and could be attributed to the Kingdom of Israel, and that it was destroyed in 732 B. C. E., in the course of the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III (Avigad, 1993; see also A. Mazar, 1985, 128).

⁷⁷ It is possible that the the fortress in the sand dunes of Rishon Le-Zion (Levy/Peilstöcker/Ginzburg, 2004) was founded to protect the Assyrian routes of communication

established along the eastern Mediterranean coast with a focus on supervising and controlling Phoenician trading activities; second, the creation of a 'new architectural landscape', which would project imperial power over this strategic frontier; and third, guarding the imperial road network, which enabled communication by the imperial civil bureaucracy, and the transport of troops and expeditions to troubled areas and frontiers. On the local level, the chronological gap, attested at Tell Qasile and Tel Gerisa during the 8th and the main part of the 7th centuries B. C. E., shows that by erecting the fortress at Tell Qudadi the Neo-Assyrian rulers deliberately cut off these inland settlements along the Yarkon River from the profitable maritime trade, which was farmed out to Phoenicians. It is more than plausible that such a policy was one of the main reasons behind the anti-Assyrian revolts in various cities of southern Palestine.⁷⁸

It appears clear that a shift in the settlement pattern is evidenced in the region under discussion toward the end of the 8th century B. C. E. and during the main part of the 7th century B. C. E. Logically, it should be connected to the consequences of the Neo-Assyrian campaigns. As for the 7th century B. C. E., a few years ago, Na'aman suggested that after the rebellion of Ashkelon in 701 B. C. E., the region of Joppa was transferred to Padi, king of Ekron, and served as a main port of trade for his kingdom.⁷⁹ Such a reconstruction with regard to the destiny of the Ashkelonite enclave after Senacherib's campaign may make sense, according to a number of scholars, given that Padi, king of Ekron, was a Neo-Assyrian royalist.⁸⁰

The earliest mention of Joppa in the Bible is in the description of the boundaries of the tribe of Dan.⁸¹ According to Na'aman, the territory of the kingdom of

and should be understood in that context.

⁷⁸ As a telling example, one may consider the establishment of a Neo-Assyrian stronghold in Ashdod-Yam as a possible cause for Ashdod's rebellion (Na'aman, 2001). A completely opposite scenario was suggested by Tell Qudadi's excavators, who assumed that its fortress was established at the estuary of the Yarkon River in order to prevent sea-borne raids against inland settlements. In fact, the renewal of the settlement activity at Tell Qasile Stratum VII, which should be placed in the last quarter of the 7th century B. C. E., followed the cessation of activity at the fortress of Tell Qudadi, which should be connected to the Neo-Assyrian withdrawal from Palestine.

⁷⁹ Na'aman, 1998, 223–225; 2001, 262.

⁸⁰ Cf. Finkelstein, 2002b, 140; and see also Schniedewind, 1998, 75; Na'aman, 2003.

⁸¹ Joshua, 19:46; for a detailed analysis of the town-list of Dan, see Na'aman, 1991; 1998, both with earlier references. It should be noted that the fact that Joppa is mentioned neither in 'early' Philistine references in the Bible (e. g., Joshua 13:3; 1 Samuel 6:17) nor in the late monarchic and exilic texts regarding the Philistines (e. g., Jeremiah 25:20; Amos 1:6–8; Zephaniah 2:4; Zechariah 9:5–6), may be of some significance. According to Finkelstein:

“The Biblical references to the Philistines do not contain any memory of early Iron Age I (12th and 11th centuries B. C. E.) events or cultural behavior. A few texts, such as the Ark Narrative and the stories about the importance of Gath,

Ekron in the 7th century B. C. E. roughly overlapped the inheritance of Dan (in particular the western border of the town-list of Dan) in the boundary system of the Israelite tribes.⁸² It should be noted, however, that such a reconstruction does not take into consideration the reassessment of the finds of Tell Qudadi. Likewise, the general decline of the Yarkon region during the late 7th century B. C. E., including the absence of the late 7th-century B. C. E. remains at Joppa (to the best of our knowledge) and Tel Gerisa, and the modest remains from Stratum VII at Tell Qasile, make it difficult to accept that Joppa had served as a main port of trade for Ekron.⁸³ The ports of Ashkelon, Ashdod-Yam and especially Yavneh-Yam might be considered better candidates for serving Ekron's oil-trade. We concur therefore with Na'aman's more recent proposal, according to which it is reasonable to assume that following Sennacherib's campaign, most of Ashkelon's inland enclave was annexed to the province of Samaria, while the coast of Joppa was transferred to the province of Dor.⁸⁴ Indeed, this scenario provides a reasonable explanation to the fact that later on, the Great Achaemenid King transferred the territories of Dor and Joppa to 'Eshmun'azor II, king of Sidon (and below). Although after the Neo-Assyrian withdrawal from *Ebir nāri* in the 20s of the 7th century B. C. E.⁸⁵ Palestine's coastal plain did not experience a significant change due to immediate Egyptian intervention,⁸⁶ the Yarkon region shows signs of decline after the destruction of the Neo-Assyrian fortress of Tell Qudadi.⁸⁷ The poor remains discovered at Tell Qasile VII should

seem to portray late Iron Age I/IIA realities. However, most of the Philistine material, even if historically stratified and containing seeds of early tales as well as evidence for more than one redaction, is based on the geographical, historical and ideological background of late-monarchic times" (Finkelstein, 2002b, 156).

It seems that the absence of the late 7th–6th centuries B. C. E. remains attested at Joppa so far, and relatively poor remains from the 9th–8th centuries B. C. E., provide a reasonable background for the absence of references to Joppa in the biblical accounts regarding the Philistines.

⁸² Na'aman, 1998, 225; see, however, Niemann, 1999.

⁸³ Ekron continued to produce olive oil in large quantities even after the Assyrian withdrawal, during the days of Egypt's short-lived domination in the late 7th century B. C. E. (Gitin, 2003; Na'aman, 2003; Fantalkin, 2004).

⁸⁴ Na'aman, 2009, 355.

⁸⁵ For the date of the Assyrian withdrawal, see Na'aman, 1991, 33–41.

⁸⁶ Fantalkin, 2001a, 146–147.

⁸⁷ The Egyptians seem to have invested efforts in the ports of Ashkelon and Yavneh-Yam rather than in Joppa's; this includes stationing Greek garrisons at Ashkelon and at Mezad Ḥashavyahu, nearby Yavneh-Yam (Fantalkin, 2001a, 140; forthcoming). The rationale behind the establishing of the fortress at Mezad Ḥashavyahu is logistic. These, and most probably additional hitherto undetected fortresses, served as focal points for collecting supplies for Egyptian troops on their way to Phoenicia and northern Syria and on their way back to Egypt (Fantalkin, 2006, 202–203). We may only guess what might

be viewed as an unsuccessful, short-lived attempt on the local level to renew the settlement on the mound. There is no justification, however, to identify these remains with Judean expansion of any kind,⁸⁸ for it is clear that Josiah's modest territorial advances, if there had been any save perhaps for Bethel, did not encompass the coastal plain.⁸⁹

It took many years, through the so-called "Neo-Babylonian gap",⁹⁰ with an absence of archaeological finds from Joppa attested so far, until it renewed its role as an important center under Achaemenid rule.

Persian Period

In Achaemenid times Joppa witnessed a major change in its political status and affiliation. It was now under the direct hegemony of the vassal kings of Sidon, as can be deduced from the tomb inscription of 'Eshmun'azor II—*'yt dar wypy 'rst dgn h'drt 'š bšd šrn*—"Dor and Joppa the mighty lands of grains in the Plain of Sharon" (fig. 11).⁹¹

The borders of 'Eshmun'azor's "Plain of Sharon" are somewhat ambiguous; as a regional unit, the borders of the Sharon Plain stretch between two streams; the Tanninim (*Crocodelos*) at the foot of the Carmel mountain ridge in the north and the Yarkon in the south, and to the western slopes of Samarian hills on the east. Some historical accounts related to the coastal plain⁹² have led some scholars to delimit the Sharon Plain's southern border to the region of Lod.⁹³ It

have happened to the development of the region of Joppa in terms of imperial investment had Egyptian rule lasted longer.

⁸⁸ A. Mazar, 1985, 113–114.

⁸⁹ Cf., e. g., Na'aman, 1991; Fantalkin, 2001a.

⁹⁰ Cf. Stern, 2000; despite some recent revisionist attempts aimed at undermining the extent of the Neo-Babylonian destruction in Palestine (e. g., Carroll, 1992; Barstad, 1996; Blenkinsopp, 2002), it is absolutely clear that both the Philistine city-states and the Kingdom of Judah suffered a major blow (in some cases even a fatal one), inflicted by the Babylonians (see, e. g., Lipschits, 2005, 185–271 passim; Faust, 2007b, albeit with some differences in their opinions).

⁹¹ Donner/Röllig, 1966–69, § 14.1.19; Pritchard, 1969, 662; Elayi, 1990, 242–243; Briant, 1996, 505–506, 977. The date for the reign of 'Eshmo'azor II and the chronology of the kings of this dynasty is disputed; see Kelly, 1987; and more recently Elayi, 2004, 26–27, fig. 2; 2006, Table 1; where the years 539–525 B. C. E. are suggested. New dates are consequently given to the regnal years of the Sidonian dynasty. If we are to accept High Chronology, the Sharon Plain and its coastal harbors were given to Sidon toward the end of the 6th century B. C. E., most probably as tribute for the participation of the Sidonian fleet in Cambyses' and/or Darius' campaigns to Egypt. For the campaigns, see Herodotus III, 1 ff.; IV, 166–167, 200–203; and Kelly, 1987, 46–49; Briant, 1996, 61–72, 488–500, 914–916, 972–975.

⁹² On these accounts see Rainey, 1989, 12–15; 2001; Tal, 2005a, 82–83.

⁹³ E. g., Schwartz, 1991, 45.

is in the Persian period however, that Joppa is clearly defined as part of the Sharon region, rather than Philistia as was probably the case during the Iron Age.⁹⁴

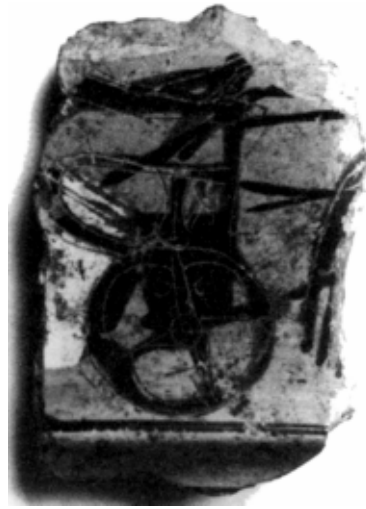


Figure 11: Attic Black Figure fragment of the late 6th century BCE from Joppa, evidencing Joppa's Early Persian-period occupation (after Wenning, 2004, 58, fig. 1 [courtesy of R. Wenning])

Another historical reference to Joppa is the customary completion of the site-name in the 4th-century B. C. E. *Periplus of pseudo-Scylax*.⁹⁵ There we find the following:

Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων · [Ἰόππη πόλις ἐκτε-]θῆναί φασιν ἐνθαῦτα
τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήται · Ασκά]λων πόλις Τυρίων (...)
“Doros a city of Sidonians, [city of Ioppe] where it is said Andromeda
was exposed [to the monster] Ascalon a city of Tyrians (...)”

This is the accepted completion by most scholars. Galling is of the opinion that Joppa's affiliation to Sidon is clear and that the mythological reference serves as an ethnographical coordinate.⁹⁶

A further indication of Joppa's Sidonian hegemony comes from the coins retrieved from the site, as 20 out of 24 documented coins attributed to the Persian period (from the excavations carried out by J. Kaplan) are Sidonian.⁹⁷ Obviously it was Sidonian suzerainty that controlled all centralized (socioeconomically

⁹⁴ For a general discussion concerning Phoenician geography during the Persian period, see Elayi, 1982; Lipiński, 2004.

⁹⁵ Cf. Galling, 1964, 198–200; Stern, 1984, 8–12.

⁹⁶ Cf. Galling, 1964, 200.

⁹⁷ Cf. Meir, 2000. Information on coins from recent excavations is not yet published.

speaking) and rural civilizations in the vicinity of Joppa and the entire Sharon Plain during Persian times.

The earlier trial excavations in Joppa, namely those of the Department of Antiquities and Museums carried out in 1948 and 1949, reported on finds of that period.⁹⁸ In 1952, the University of Leeds expedition to Jaffa revealed a Persian-period refuse pit and possibly a few segments of ashlar-built walls that may also be attributed to the Hellenistic period.⁹⁹

Joppa's Persian-period remains are marked by Kaplan as Level II, the dating of which is somewhat ambiguous.¹⁰⁰ The following picture emerges from the various publications mentioned herein. Excavations reveal various architectural remains that are related to a single level (Level II), mainly in Area A on top of the mound, in which three phases have been discerned. The earliest phase (Level IIC) is characterized by several silos, 2–3 m in diameter and more than 2 m deep. In the middle phase (Level IIB), only wall segments of an unclear plan were reported. Destruction of this phase is probably related to events during the rebellion of Achoris and Evagoras.¹⁰¹ In the last phase (Level IIA), the foundations of a ashlar-built wall 2.5 m thick constructed in the 'header-and-stretcher' technique was unearthed along with two additional structures, Building M and Building N. Building M was partially preserved, and is made up of an inner courtyard connected to several rooms on three sides. It has three sub-phases, in which minor alterations were made to its inner layout. These three sub-phases date to the early years of 'Abd-ʿaštart I / Straton until its destruction, before the Macedonian conquest (the rebellion of Tennes?).¹⁰² In Building N, only isolated wall sections have been preserved and, therefore, its plan remains unclear.

⁹⁸ Information on these trial digs is mainly archival (IAA).

⁹⁹ Cf. Bowman/Isserlin/Rowe, 1955, 242, 246–247.

¹⁰⁰ See Kaplan, 1959, 77–78; Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993a, 656, who give a date from the second half of the 5th century B. C. E. until the end of the period; contra Ritter-Kaplan, 1982, 64–66, who dates Joppa throughout the entire Persian period.

¹⁰¹ Achoris of Egypt formed an alliance with Evagoras of Salamis ca. 387/386 B. C. E. when the Persians invaded Egypt, Evagoras invaded Phoenicia and captured Tyre and other Phoenician settlements (Diodorus Siculus XV, 2, 3; Isocrates, Evagoras 62–63; Panegyricus 161; Diodorus Siculus XV, 2, 4. See also Elayi, 1990, 175–178).

¹⁰² Artaxerxes III Ochus regained control over the empire by about 355 B. C. E. and by about 351/350 B. C. E. he made an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Egypt (Diodorus Siculus XV, 2, 3; Isocrates, Evagoras 62–63; Panegyricus 161; Diodorus Siculus XV, 2, 4. See also Elayi, 1990, 175–178). The failure of that invasion led Phoenicia to revolt, headed by Tennes, now king of Sidon. Finally, Sidon was taken by Artaxerxes III Ochus ca. 351–345 B. C. E. During this time, coastal Phoenician centers were apparently destroyed as a punitive act under Achaemenid rule (Isocrates, To Philip 101–102; Diodorus Siculus XVI, 40–46. See also Barag, 1966; Elayi, 1990, 182–184; see, however, Briant, 1996, 703–704, 1030–1031).

More recent excavations carried out by the IAA on the eastern slopes of the mound revealed some Persian-period architectural remains.¹⁰³ Architectural remains of Persian date were also recorded in the recent excavations conducted by Z. Herzog on behalf of TAU. They include some stone foundations and ashlar walls with a fieldstone fill typical to Phoenician building technique and identical in their construction and alignment to those uncovered by the Kaplans. The excavator assumes they served as storerooms and workshops and had undergone frequent repair and alteration, because they remained in use until Hellenistic times.¹⁰⁴ Tombs of Persian date were unearthed on the south slope of the mound during excavations carried out in the late 1990s on behalf of the IAA. Those were classified as one jar-burial, four pit-burials and two single-chambered burial caves.¹⁰⁵ In most excavations, and especially those of Kaplan and Ritter-Kaplan, which were more concentrated on top of the mound, finds were rich and included a considerable amount of imported wares from the Greek cultural zone. Joppa's Persian-period neighboring site to its south on the coast, Bir es-Saba' (within the northern city limits of Bat Yam), revealed a beautiful collection of complete Attic-ware vessels that were dated to the second part of the Persian period.¹⁰⁶ This site doubtlessly served as a suburb-anchorage of the main port of Joppa.¹⁰⁷

Other immediate subordinated satellites were documented in the region to the east and south of Joppa. Persian-period finds were documented at Tel Messubim (Bené Braq), and further to the south at Azor, as was the case in Iron Age IIA.¹⁰⁸

In the sand dunes of Rishon Le-Zion, pottery of Persian date was unearthed on a mound where the sub-structure of a fortress of a probable Neo-Assyrian date came to light.¹⁰⁹ A few other rural sites in the sand dunes of Rishon Le-Zion were excavated, among them silos and mud-brick building remains.¹¹⁰ A

¹⁰³ Only preliminary observations were published, see Peilstöcker, 2000a; 2000b; Burke and Peilstöcker, 2009; Peilstöcker/Burke, 2009; Arbel/Peilstöcker, 2009, 36. A seal, inscribed with post-586 B. C. E. Hebrew script, bearing the Yahwistic names *l'nyhw bn šm'yh* (i. e., "belonging to 'Ananiyahu son of Šema'yah"), was discovered in a Byzantine-period fill and dated on paleographic grounds to the late 6th–4th centuries B. C. E. (Peilstöcker/Sass, 2001).

¹⁰⁴ Only preliminary observations were published, see Herzog, 2008, 1792.

¹⁰⁵ Only preliminary observations were published, Avner-Levy, 1998. See also Ayash and Bushnino, 1999. A Persian-period juglet, inked with Persian-period Phoenician script, bearing the inscription *kdhrms* (i. e., possibly "the vase of Hermes"), was recovered from the cemetery (Avner and Eshel, 1996).

¹⁰⁶ Kaplan, 1959, 78; Or et al. n. d., site N^o 133; Stern, 1982, 18 and fig. 234 (in p. 142).

¹⁰⁷ In accordance with a suggestion made by Raban that a bay was connected to the site, cf. Raban, 1994, 110–111, fig. 17.

¹⁰⁸ Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 111, 112, 125, 127; Finkelstein, 1990.

¹⁰⁹ Levy/Peilstöcker/Ginzburg, 2004.

¹¹⁰ See on these Tal, 2005b, and also Peilstöcker, 1999b; 2000d.

few other rural-oriented sites of the Persian period were documented within the city limits of Bat Yam and Ḥolon, to the south and southeast of Joppa.¹¹¹

More notable remains were unearthed at Tel Ya'oz (Tell Ghazza), on the northern bank of the Šoreq Stream, some 1.5 km east of the coastline. In the northern part of the mound (Area D), archaeological excavations carried out by TAU in 1981 uncovered part of a domestic building, which was reconstructed as an open courtyard house, with walls built of *kurkar* in the so-called Phoenician ashlar-pier wall technique. The pottery finds and glass seal retrieved in the building can be generally attributed to the early Persian period, i. e., the 5th century B. C. E.¹¹² A building of the same type and period was discovered in excavations carried out by the IAA in the southern part of the mound (Area C).¹¹³ Both buildings together can attest to the size of the settlement (at least 15 dunams) and its site-plan (somewhat orthogonal). It seems to have been one of the largest settlements in the lower basin of the Šoreq Stream.¹¹⁴ More remains from the Persian period were recently discovered in Gan Šoreq and relate to a rural settlement (yet unpublished). Reference must also be given to Yavneh-Yam, some 2.5 km to the south of Tel Ya'oz, where Persian-period remains are mostly restricted to segmented ashlar-wall buildings, which also demonstrate in part the Phoenician ashlar-pier wall technique.¹¹⁵

The major excavations at Tell Qasile, north of Jaffa, revealed a large, early 5th–4th century B. C. E. courtyard house, of less than one dunam, which the excavators believe stood alone during the Persian period (Stratum VI). It was built on the southern terraces of the tell (Area A), and has three main parts: a built silo, an inner court with rooms along three sides, and another enclosed court, which was reached by stairs from the inner courtyard.¹¹⁶ Renewed excavations at the site revealed several silos in other areas of excavations and a square-shaped well in the northeastern slope of the mound.¹¹⁷

The site at Tell Qudadi, which was active during the period of Neo-Assyrian domination, recovered to a certain extent only during the Persian period.¹¹⁸ However, unlike its previous occupational period, we have no clear evidence for the characterization of the site at that time, since architectural remains are restricted to a wall some 17 m long and 0.75 m thick built in the Phoenician

¹¹¹ Shapira, 1966; Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 142, 146, 147 and 148.

¹¹² Fischer/Roll/Tal, 2008, 129–134, 148–152. The small quantity of the finds does not permit a more accurate date within the Persian period. On the site identification in Persian times, see Tal, 2009a.

¹¹³ Kletter/Segal/Ziffer, 2000.

¹¹⁴ As previously suggested by Dothan, 1952, 112.

¹¹⁵ Fischer, 2002; 2005, 183–185.

¹¹⁶ B. Mazar, 1950–1951, 67–71, 211–214; Stern, 1982, 17–18.

¹¹⁷ A. Mazar, 1990, 244; Mazar/Harpazi-Ofer, 1994, 26–29.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Avigad, 1993.

ashlar-pier wall technique. These remains may imply on the one hand that the settlement, due to its strategic importance, maintained its military character, but on the other hand, it may well have served the fortifications of a civilian settlement. The fortress itself during this period was apparently in ruins or covered by sand. Finds, including local and imported material, may support either interpretation. From the two areas excavated at Tell Abu Zeitun, the excavators concluded that the Persian-period settlement was composed of two non-consecutive strata. The first, Phase Ib, is characterized by several domestic structures, which date to the beginning of the Persian period, whereas the second, Phase Ia, reveals sections of domestic architecture and a brick wall on the eastern slope of the mound, which dates to the second half of the 5th century B. C. E.¹¹⁹ The archaeological evidence from the site of Giv'at Beth HaMitbhayim, consisting of wall sections and large amounts of pottery, is too meager to indicate a substantial settlement at that site.¹²⁰ Other rural-oriented(?) sites within the city limits of Ramat Gan should also be mentioned.¹²¹

The settlement pattern of the central coastal plain in Persian times show that Joppa acted as a regional metropolis, flanked by suburbs and smaller settlements in its immediate vicinity (villages and agricultural estates) or by defined territory as elucidated above, and by other towns and fortresses outside it to the north (Apollonia-Arsuf and Tel Michal) and south (Tel Ya'oz, Yavneh-Yam and Ashdod). All point toward the basic premise of a "Central Place Theory",¹²² and a

¹¹⁹ Kaplan, 1958; 1959, 76–77. According to Stern, it seems doubtful that no settlement existed at Tell Abu Zeitun during the 4th century B. C. E. (1982, 17). The recovery of Late Persian and Hellenistic pottery in recent surveys at the site strengthens his assumption (see Or et al. n. d., site N^o 30, with bibliography). This seems to be the case when one reconstructs the settlement pattern of the region. Due to its strategic importance, Tell Qudadi probably served basically as a military outpost, while Tell Qasile was probably used as an administrative center in light of its reconstruction as a single building on the tell, and the discovery of an inscribed official seal there (see Kaplan, 1959, 75–76; Stern, 1982, 17–18; A. Mazar, 1990, 244). However, it seems that the fortified Persian-period site of some 10 dunams at Tell Abu Zeitun was the main town located on the Yarkon River. Farther to the east, two additional sites should be added: Tel Qana, where surveys revealed Persian-period pottery (Gophna/Ayalon, 1998, site N^o 97), and the vicinity of Tel Aphek, where excavations some 300 m north of it uncovered part of a large building (farmstead?) of Persian date (Kochavi, 1975, 37; Kochavi/Beit-Arieh, 1994, site N^o 32). Furthermore, excavations within the eastern city limits of Petaḥ Tiqwa, some 3 km southwest of Tel Aphek reveal building remains of Persian times (Kochavi/Beit-Arieh, 1994, sites N^o 84 and 85) that may also be connected to the settlement pattern around the river and its sources.

¹²⁰ Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993b, 1454.

¹²¹ Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 43 and 44.

¹²² Following Christaller, 1933. This theory is based on the logical assumption that the socioeconomic relationship between larger, central cites and smaller, 'satellite' sites is best represented graphically, through a series of interconnected hexagons, with the large site in the center surrounded by smaller towns, villages and hamlets, as implemented in a

definite site hierarchy in the region under discussion, which in fact continued into the Hellenistic period.

Hellenistic Period

Joppa experienced a smooth transition between the Persian and Hellenistic periods, as was the case in most Palestinian administrative centers.¹²³ However, we have historical evidence that in the days of the Diadochi the site was destroyed in the aftermath of the Battle of Gaza (312 B. C. E.). In the context of Ptolemy I Soter's victory over Demetrius in that battle, Ptolemy conquered coastal Palestinian and Phoenician centers and devised a plan to expel Antigonos Monophthalmus from Syria. The general Kylex was put in charge of Ptolemy's army but Demetrius managed to capture a great part of the army that camped in Syria. Thus Ptolemy was obliged to choose between a battle in Syrian lands and a retreat to Egypt. The numerical advantage of Antigonos' army forced Ptolemy to retreat to Egypt, implementing a "scorched earth" policy. In the course of this retreat Acco, Joppa, Samaria and Gaza were destroyed, in order to prevent these centers from being used as launching bases for Antigonos' army. As far as archaeology is concerned, we have no evidence that Joppa was destroyed in the year 312/311 B. C. E., nor that Acco, Samaria and Gaza were destroyed.¹²⁴ The death of Antigonos in 301 B. C. E. enabled Ptolemy I to gain control over Palestine and the Ptolemaic dynasty ruled the country for the next 103 years.

The main evidence for Ptolemaic rule of Joppa is epigraphic, revealed in an inscription and coins. Prior to the site's excavations, Conder reported on a dedicatory inscription allegedly found near Joppa that mentions, according to his interpretation, the founding of a temple of 'Eshmun by one *bn 'bd's* in Joppa, which he dated to the 3rd century B. C. E.¹²⁵ In the excavations of Kaplan's Area C, a royal Ptolemaic inscription was found in the foreground of a "burial complex".¹²⁶ The inscription was carved on a marble slab (ca. 0.36 × 0.22 m and

spacial model of the geography of Southern Germany during the 1930s. This model was subsequently applied to various geographical settings while reconstructing political, economic and social aspects of settlement within a pattern of a "site hierarchy" (cf. Lösch, 1954; Haggett, 1965, especially 121–125). Later scholars, such as Johnson, 1972, who suggested that a rhomboid pattern was preferable to the hexagonal one, modified the model without contradicting its basic premises (see, in general, Jansen, 2001, 42–44).

¹²³ Kasher, 1975.

¹²⁴ Diodorus Siculus XIX, 90; Devine, 1984.

¹²⁵ Cf. Conder, 1892. The inscription's authenticity was soon questioned by Lidzbarski, 1898, 131–132, yet supported by Delavault and Lemaire, 1976. However, the latter two scholars suggested a new provenance (at Nebi Yunis), transliteration (which excludes the reading of the word *ypw* as Conder had read it), and date, well into the Hellenistic period (the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. E.); cf. also Tal, 2006, 65.

1.3 cm thick) (fig. 12). It reads as follows:

1. βασιλέα μέγαν Πτολεμαῖον
2. Θεὸν Φιλοπάτορα τὸν ἐγ βασιλέως
3. Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης
4. Βερενίκης θ[ε]ῶν Εὐερετῶν,
5. Θεοῦ Πτο[λε]μα[ί]ου βασιλέως
6. [φιλ]αδ[έλ]φ[ου] ἔκγονον, Ἀναξικλῆς
7. [... ἱ]ερεὺς τοῦ βασι-
8. [λέως ἀνέθηκεν ...]

“For the great king, Ptolemy the god, Philopator, son of king Ptolemy and queen Bernice Euergetes (good-deed) g[o]ds, brother’s child of Ptolemy the king-god, Anaxikles [the p]riest of the ki[ng dedicated ...]”



Figure 12: Ptolemy IV inscription from Joppa

This dedicatory inscription was rightfully attributed to a temple that was not identified during the excavations. However, it gives us evidence that some kind of Ptolemaic king-cult was practiced at the site in the days of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221/220–204/203 B. C. E.), if not earlier, although our understanding of the Ptolemaic king as a religious figure is not only far from complete, it is also varied and complicated.¹²⁷ The inscription is conventionally dated by some scholars to the summer of 217 B. C. E., i. e., after the Battle of Raphia when Ptolemy IV may have visited the site.¹²⁸ The fact that the inscription is carved on a marble slab, i. e., a rock that is foreign to the Palestinian geological environment, may suggest that it bears a somewhat fixed formula that did not necessarily have religious or social meaning for the local inhabitants of Joppa.

Other evidence, as noted, comes from Joppa’s royal coins; Joppa struck coins from the 25th year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, that is, 260/261 B. C. E. (if Ptolemy II’s first year is 285/84 B.C.E.), and they are quite similar to those of

¹²⁶ Lifshitz, 1962, 82–84; Kaplan, 1972, 88; Lupo, 2003, 193–195; SEG 20, N^o 467.

¹²⁷ Koenen, 1993.

¹²⁸ Lifshitz, 1962, 84; Lupo, 2003, 195.

Acco.¹²⁹ There are silver tetradrachms and bronze coins, which differ in size and weight. A portrait of Ptolemy I (Ptolemy II's father) appears on the obverse of the silver coins and the reverse shows an eagle on a lightning bolt (fig. 13: top). On the bronze coins, Zeus-Ammon appears on the obverse and an eagle on a lightning bolt on the reverse. The inscriptions ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ on the gold coins, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ on the silver coins, and ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ on the bronze coins surround the reverse motifs next to the king's regnal years and Joppa's monogram (a ligature of the Greek letters ΙΟΠ).¹³⁰ Similar issues appear under Ptolemy III Euergetes, between the years 245 and 241 B. C. E. The gold and silver coins bear the same motifs and inscriptions but with different regnal years,¹³¹ whereas on the obverse of the bronze coins, a portrait of Queen Bernice appears surrounded by the inscription ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ, and on the reverse, an eagle on a lightning bolt and around it the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥ (= good-deed king Ptolemy), which also appears in a more abbreviated form.¹³² The question as to why Joppa did not mint coins under Ptolemy IV, whose inscription implies the presence of his king-cult (above), remains open.



Figure 13: Ptolemaic tetradrachms of Joppa
(top: under Ptolemy II; bottom under Ptolemy V)

Joppa minted coins once again, in the fifth year of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, in the days of the Fifth Syrian War. These are silver tetradrachms that bear the portrait of the king on the obverse and on the reverse, an eagle on a lightning

¹²⁹ It should be noted that Svoronos' N^o 794 refers to a gold octodrachm of Ioppe of Ptolemy II's 23rd regnal year (i.e., 263/62 B.C.E.); however, Mørholm rightfully reattributed this coin to Ptolemy III (1980).

¹³⁰ Svoronos, 1904–1908, N^o 795–820, pl. 23, 1–20.

¹³¹ Svoronos, 1904–1908, N^o 794, 1039–1044, pl. 32, 20–25.

¹³² Svoronos, 1904–1908, N^o 1055–1057, pl. 31, 22–28 passim.

bolt surrounded by the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ next to the king's regnal years and Joppa's monogram (fig. 13: bottom).¹³³ We have evidence that the site was under Ptolemaic rule up to the year 199/198 B. C. E. from a coin of the sixth year of Ptolemy V published by Mørkholm.¹³⁴ From an economic perspective, Joppa's royal Ptolemaic coins were in a sense auxiliary coins that met the immediate economic needs of its Ptolemaic rulers, and therefore they were minted at a royal municipal minting authority. In other words, they formed part of a monetary inter-urban economy at its various levels; first and foremost the state/provincial level, i. e., a response to the needs of the government and the army, and second, at the level of the individual—the municipal/urban economy.¹³⁵ It thus may generally be assumed that the political and social status of Joppa under its minting rulers was relatively high, and that the city had a central administrative role.

Other, indirect evidence of Ptolemaic Joppa comes from the papyri of Zenon, the private secretary of Apollonios, the finance minister of Ptolemy II. The site is mentioned in four papyri that are dated within the years 259–257 B. C. E. In PSI 4, 406, Joppa (Ioppe) is mentioned in the context of trading female slaves; one Dionisios is said to have brought an *τερεα* (apparently *ιέρειαν* = priestess) to Joppa who probably practiced prostitution in a temple there.¹³⁶ In PCZ 1, 59011 recto, PCZ 1, 59093 and P. Lond. 7, 2086, the site is mentioned in the context of trade (apparently maritime) either of cosmetic products, carpets or probably slaves.¹³⁷

The maritime role of Joppa is also apparent in another source of the Hellenistic period—a letter from a pseudonymous author claiming to be Aristeas, an official in the court of Ptolemy II, allegedly writing to his brother Philocrates (most probably written by an Alexandrian Jew in the late 2nd or early 1st century B. C. E.). He writes:

ἔχει γὰρ καὶ λιμένας εὐκαίρους χορηγοῦντας, τὸν τε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσκαλῶνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Γάζαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίδα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκτισμένην

“It (Palestine) also possesses harbors, well-situated to supply its needs, as at Ascalon and Joppa and Gaza, and likewise Ptolemais founded by the king.”¹³⁸

The letter summarizes events allegedly surrounding the production of the Septuagint, but it also includes a lengthy description of Palestine and Jerusalem,

¹³³ Svoronos, 1904–1908, N^o 1291, pl. 44, 5.

¹³⁴ Mørkholm, 1981, 5–6.

¹³⁵ See in this respect Jenkins, 1967.

¹³⁶ Durand, 1997, N^o 27.

¹³⁷ Durand, 1997, N^o 37, 45 and 55.

¹³⁸ Letter of Aristeas 115; on the dating see Honigman, 2003, 128–130.

thus suggesting that the author was well-acquainted with Palestine.¹³⁹

The shift to Seleucid rule over Joppa in 198 B. C. E. was most probably smooth and in a sense purely administrative, as was the case in other sites in Palestine. If only the numismatic evidence is brought to bear as a reflection of administrative status within the Empire, Joppa's lack of royal or autonomous Seleucid coins may attest to a lesser status, as the city minted coins only under the Ptolemies in Hellenistic times. The question of whether this lesser status can be reflected in the archaeological record (i. e., the size of Ptolemaic versus Seleucid Joppa) is still open to debate, as excavations on the site's margins with Hellenistic remains have only seen preliminary publication (below). The fact is that the Hasmoneans were able to conquer Joppa under Jonathan in around 146 B. C. E.,¹⁴⁰ and once again in around 144 B. C. E. (by his brother Simon) after which it was garrisoned by Jews.¹⁴¹ However, it is only in 143 B. C. E. when Jonathan was held captive (by Tryphon) that Simon expelled Joppa's pagan inhabitants and resettled it with Jews.¹⁴²

Thus the Hasmoneans accorded Joppa major importance, as it formed their only gateway to the Mediterranean.¹⁴³ It is during that period that Joppa became part of an independent Jewish kingdom although this episode was to come to an end once Rome entered the local arena in 63 B. C. E.

The earlier excavations in Joppa revealed several pits with Hellenistic pottery and few segments of ashlar-built walls that may be attributed to either the Persian or the Hellenistic period.¹⁴⁴ Joppa's Hellenistic-period remains are marked as Level I, consisting of two sub-levels. The first, from Ptolemaic and Seleucid times (Level IB), contains part of a square ashlar-built fort, segments of an ashlar-built wall ca. 2.50 m thick, five round stone floors 0.80–1.20 m in diameter with small basins in Area A, a built burial complex in Area C, and part of an ashlar-built structure in Area Y. The second, from Hasmonean times (Level IA), contains an ashlar-built wall ca. 2.20 m thick and a casemate structure paved with seashells in Area A. We should also mention in this area an altar (ca. 2.40 × 2.40 m) built of field stones that stood in a room measuring ca. 3.90 × 5.30 m, and some sections of walls built of ashlar blocks that in most cases were

¹³⁹ Although nowadays the Letter of Aristeas is considered a literary forgery (cf. e. g., Gruen, 1998; Johnson, 2004; Hacham, 2005; Donaldson, 2006), one cannot discard the possibility that the forger used a number of reliable historical sources, given the realia of some of his descriptions in the archeological record.

¹⁴⁰ 1 Macc. 10:75–76.

¹⁴¹ 1 Macc. 12:33–34.

¹⁴² 1 Macc. 13:11.

¹⁴³ 1 Macc. 14:5.

¹⁴⁴ Information on this trial digs is primarily archival (IAA); cf. also Bowman/Isserlin/Rowe, 1955, 242, 246–247.

constructed on top of walls from the Persian period.¹⁴⁵

Other Hellenistic-period architectural remains have come to light in more recent excavations on the eastern and northern slopes of the mound.¹⁴⁶ Architectural remains of the Hellenistic period were also recorded in the recent excavations conducted by Z. Herzog on behalf of TAU. In fact, Persian-period remains continued in use until Hellenistic times.¹⁴⁷ Tombs of Hellenistic date were unearthed on the south slope of the mound during excavations carried out in the late 1990s on behalf of the IAA. Those were classified as one jar-burial, 25 pit-burials, 15 cist-burials and four loculi tombs, two of which were found undisturbed (fig. 14).¹⁴⁸

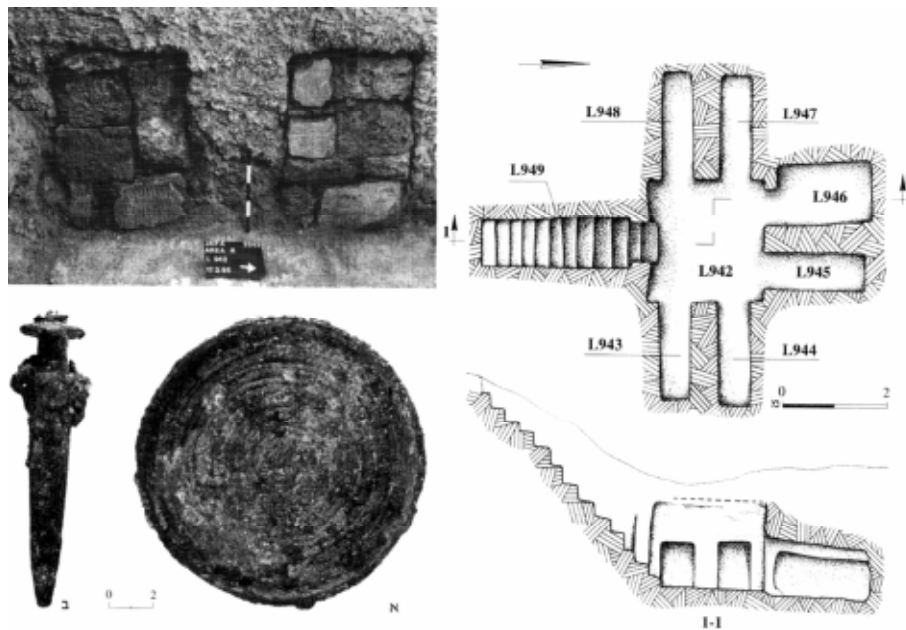


Figure 14: Loculi tomb of the Hellenistic period from Joppa (modified after Avner-Levy, 1998 [courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority])

¹⁴⁵ Kaplan, 1959, 81–82, 88; 1972, 88–89; Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1993a, 656–659. See also Brand, 1995.

¹⁴⁶ Only preliminary observations were published, see Peilstöcker, 1999a; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2005; 2009; Peilstöcker et al., 2006; Peilstöcker/Burke, 2009; Arbel, 2008; 2009a; 2009b: 44–45; Arbel/Peilstöcker, 2009, 36–37; Dagot, 2008; Burke/Peilstöcker, 2009. Hellenistic remains were also recorded in the salvage excavation conducted on behalf of TAU on the eastern slopes of Joppa's mound, mainly in Fantalkin's Area G (Fantalkin, 2005, 5, n. 2).

¹⁴⁷ Only preliminary observations were published, see Herzog, 2008, 1792.

¹⁴⁸ Only preliminary observations were published, see Avner-Levy, 1998. See also Ayash/Bushnino, 1999.

Many sites may have been considered subordinate satellites of the core city of Joppa. To the east and south of Joppa, Hellenistic-period finds were documented at Tel Messubim, and further to the south, at Azor.¹⁴⁹ In the sand dunes of Rishon Le-Zion, architectural remains of Hellenistic farmsteads were excavated on behalf of both the IAA and TAU.¹⁵⁰ A few other rural-oriented sites of the Hellenistic period were documented within the city limits of Ḥolon and Bat Yam.¹⁵¹ Remains were also unearthed further to south at Tel Ya'oz (Tell Ghazza), during excavations carried out by TAU in 1981. On top of the mound (Area A) part of a *kurkar* ashlar-built wall was recovered (ca. 8 m long and 1.1 m thick) orientated along an east-west axis, alongside some decorative architectural items, including stuccoed column drums, fragments of a Doric-order frieze, and other fragments of frescos and stuccos. These together lend support to the reconstruction of this wall as delimiting a monumental structure. The ceramic and numismatic finds may sustain a 2nd-century B. C. E. date.¹⁵² Architectural remains of Hellenistic date were also found at Yavneh-Yam, together with fragmented stucco and a rich pottery assemblage.¹⁵³

To the north and northeast of Joppa, Hellenistic sites were documented in the city limits of Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, modern Bené Braq and Giv'atayim. These are mostly restricted to pottery finds but in some cases, poor architectural remains and tombs also came to light.¹⁵⁴ Kaplan (and scholars who followed him) have argued that a few of these sites¹⁵⁵ should be attributed to the so-called "Yannai Line"—Alexander Jannaeus' defensive alignment against Antiochos XII, erected in ca. 86/85 B. C. E. (according to Flavius Josephus). After studying the finds recovered from these sites, we concluded that Kaplan's interpretation of the excavated remains as belonging to a Jannaeus' defensive line is misleading. We also doubt the validity of Josephus' statement (apparently copied from Nicolaus of Damascus) on the Yarkon region.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 111, 112, 125, 127; Finkelstein, 1990.

¹⁵⁰ See on these Tal, 2005b, and also Peilstöcker, 1999b; 2000d.

¹⁵¹ Shapira, 1966; Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 142, 146, 147 and 148.

¹⁵² Fischer/Roll/Tal, 2008, 126–129, 134–148. The written sources referring to this geographical region in the 2nd century B. C. E., and their credibility may allow us to identify the site of Tel Ya'oz with Hellenistic Gazara, which is documented in a series of events in the 2nd century B. C. E. in 1 Macc. (e. g., 9:52; 13:54; 14:7, 34), see Fischer/Roll/Tal, 2008, 152–155.

¹⁵³ Fischer, 2002; 2005, 187–190.

¹⁵⁴ Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 8, 9, 20, 21, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 39, 43, 44, 59, 63, 69, 73, 74, 75, 76, 82, 84, 87, 90, 98, 100, with bibliography; see also Kaplan/Ritter-Kaplan, 1989; Gorzalczany, 2003; and esp. Tal, 2006, 188–195 passim (for an overview with bibliography).

¹⁵⁵ Or et al. n. d., sites N^o 44, 74, 76.

¹⁵⁶ Fantalkin/Tal, 2003.

The number of Hellenistic (Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Hasmonean) sites discovered in the vicinity of Joppa is the highest ever recorded in the 1st millennium B. C. E. In an attempt to reconstruct the settlement pattern of the region at the time, we may classify these sites according to their character. There are urban or centralized (socioeconomically speaking) settlements, such as Joppa, Tel Messubim, Tel Ya'oz and Yavneh-Yam; rural settlements such as the farmsteads discovered in various locales in and around Tel Aviv (Ramat Aviv, 'Abd el Nabi, Giv'at Beth HaMithbayim), Rishon Le-Zion, Gan Šoreq (South) and Ḥolon. There is also evidence for military presence in modern Bené Braq (Giv'at Yeshivat Wishnitz) and a large number of industrial/agricultural facilities (e. g., silos, wells, winepresses, etc.) in many other Hellenistic sites that are apparently rural in nature. However, the extent of excavation and publication of the latter sites prevents an accurate characterization. Thus it is evident that several urban or centralized centers of varying size and importance coexisted, to which a significant number of satellite settlements were subordinated.

A shift from the urban nature of the region in Ptolemaic and Seleucid times toward a more rural character in Hasmonean times is evident from the rising number of documented Late Hellenistic industrial/agricultural facilities side by side with destruction layers of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries B. C. E. in urban centers that were not resettled (or resettled in part) during Hasmonean times.¹⁵⁷

Unlike the mega-powers of the 1st millennium B. C. E., namely the Neo-Assyrians, Achaemenids, Diadochi, Ptolemies and Seleucids, the Hasmoneans gave Joppa major importance as it formed their only gateway to the Mediterranean, at least in the 2nd century B. C. E.¹⁵⁸ The importance of Joppa and its revenues for the Hasmoneans is reflected in the words of Simon, when Antiochos VII Sidetes sent Athenobios to him to ask back the places the Hasmoneans had conquered (Akra [Jerusalem], Joppa and Gazara) or in exchange to pay 500 talents of silver and an additional 500 talents for the taxes they paid and the damage the Hasmoneans had inflicted:

καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς Σίμων εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ὅτι γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν εἰλήφαμεν οὔτε ἀλλοτρίων κεκρατήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν ἀκρίτως ἐν τινὶ καιρῷ κατεκρατήθη· ἡμεῖς δὲ καιρὸν ἔχοντες ἀντεχόμεθα τῆς κληρονομίας τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν. περὶ δὲ Ἰόππης καὶ Γαζάρων, ὧν αἰτεῖς, αὐταὶ ἐποίησαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ πληγὴν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν· τούτων δώσομεν τάλαντα ἑκατόν. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ λόγον, (...) ¹⁵⁹

“And after hearing him Simon responded him: Not a foreign land we took no foreign things we conquered, but the inheritances of our fathers, which were conquered by our haters sometime without a trial. And when

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Tal, 2006, 201–209; for Gan Šoreq (South), see 'Ad/Dagot, 2006.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Radan, 1988.

¹⁵⁹ 1 Macc. 15:33–35.

time was right we hold to our possessions the inheritances of our fathers. For Joppa and Gazara on which you claim, they did great wounds to our people and land, will put hundred talents for them. And he did not respond to his word.”

This account shows that the Jews never considered Joppa and Gazara their inherited land and therefore were willing to give tribute for them.¹⁶⁰ With the capture of Joppa by Simon, the site became a maritime gateway for the new Hasmonean kingdom and most probably an important source of income. Indeed, Simon’s capture of the port of Joppa was clearly presented as one of his greatest achievements.¹⁶¹ From a Seleucid point of view however this gateway cut their kingdom’s territory and their direct communication with southern Palestine and Egypt. The appointment by Antiochos VII of Kandeibaios ἐπιστρατηγὸς τῆς παραλίας—governor of the coast, in order to recapture the coastal gateway taken by the Jews, emphasizes the importance of territorial continuity in the eyes of the Seleucid kingdom. By contrast, the maritime importance of this gateway to the Hasmonean kingdom is very evident in a decree of the Roman Senate dated to the 120s B. C. E. in which a formal recognition of the right of the Jews to occupy *Ιόππη καὶ λιμῆνες καὶ Γάζαρα καὶ πεγαὶ* “Joppa and its ports and Gazara and its springs” is given.¹⁶²

Epilogue

Despite its undeniable potential, stemming from its geographical location,¹⁶³ Joppa never became a major port-power on the Palestinian coast during the 1st millennium B. C. E.¹⁶⁴ In fact, as early as the aftermath of the military campaign of Thutmose III (ca. 1475 B. C. E.),¹⁶⁵ Joppa was transformed into an Egyptian administrative center with a permanent garrison, also possessing Pha-

¹⁶⁰ Recall that Joppa is absent from the conquered Canaanite cities in Joshua 12 and is excluded from the territory of Dan (Joshua, 19:40–46).

¹⁶¹ 1 Macc. 14:5.

¹⁶² Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, 261.

¹⁶³ Such as central location (in relative proximity to the road that traversed the length of the coastal plain, linking Syria and Phoenicia with Egypt), natural harbor (one of very few in the coastal Sharon Plain and Philistia) and vast hinterland (dominating immense agricultural terrains).

¹⁶⁴ For the concept of port-power with regard to the Palestinian coast, see Stager, 2001 (and cf. already Revere, 1957). It is possible that Joppa enjoyed independent or semi-independent status prior to the Egyptian conquest during the reign of Thutmose III; such a possibility remains, however, uncertain, pending additional archaeological confirmation.

¹⁶⁵ Following Wentz and Van Siclen’s chronology (1977); for the campaigns of Thutmose III, see more recently Redford, 2003.

raonic royal granaries (*šunuti*).¹⁶⁶ It seems that during the years of direct Egyptian rule, Joppa's hinterland was considered a Pharaonic estate, bearing a special status.¹⁶⁷ According to Gadot,¹⁶⁸ new sociopolitical organizations emerged along the Yarkon-Ayalon basin during the Late Bronze – Iron Age I three times in succession. The first system was created by the Egyptians, who turned Joppa into one of their strongholds in Canaan, and the plains along the Yarkon River into royal or temple estates. When the Egyptian system came to a violent end, the second system, of disorder and general decline, may be attested. During this period, the region was marginalized and no single centralized social group had control over the land. The third system emerged only when the Philistines migrated into the region from the south and a new sociopolitical order was established again. Gadot suggests that in the region under discussion, the initiation of a new social order was always brought about by an external political power taking advantage of fragmented local social groups to exploit the region economically. Indeed, given the region's geographic conditions, its utilization was determined primarily by the settlers' ability to control the flow of water. When no effort was made to manage water resources via extensive public projects, swamps and seasonal pools quickly formed, diseases spread and the land became a virtual wasteland.¹⁶⁹ The potential of Joppa's hinterland as a 'grain reservoir' was fully exploited by the Egyptians during the Late Bronze Age and by the Philistines during the late Iron Age I–IIB. However, the notion of external political power taking advantage of Joppa's port and hinterland resources is probably correct for the later periods as well. It seems that after the annexation of the Ashkelonian enclave in the course of Sennacherib's campaign of 701 B. C. E., the Assyrians followed suit, entrusting Joppa and its immediate hinterland into the hands of the governor of the province of Dor,¹⁷⁰ who was the representative of the imperial power, with a seat for his representative at the fortress of Tell Qudadi. "Dor and Joppa the mighty lands of grains in the Plain of Sharon", entrusted to the Achaeminid vassal 'Eshmun'azor II during the period of Persian rule, follows the pattern, most probably reflecting previously existing territorial arrangements. Although the region continued to be exploited economically by the external political powers, it seems that the local population only profited from imperial ambitions, accompanied by the region's development and imperial investments. When the rule of the external political power,

¹⁶⁶ Moran, 1992, 294:22; Na'aman, 1981; Goren/Finkelstein/Na'aman, 2004, 320–325, with further references.

¹⁶⁷ Aphek was probably turned into Egyptian royal or temple estates as well, assuming both economical and political duties (Gadot, 2008, 62).

¹⁶⁸ Gadot, 2008.

¹⁶⁹ Gadot, 2008, 57–59, with further references; and see also Avimelech, 1950–1951; Faust, 2007a; Faust/Ashkenazy, 2007.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Na'aman, 2009b.

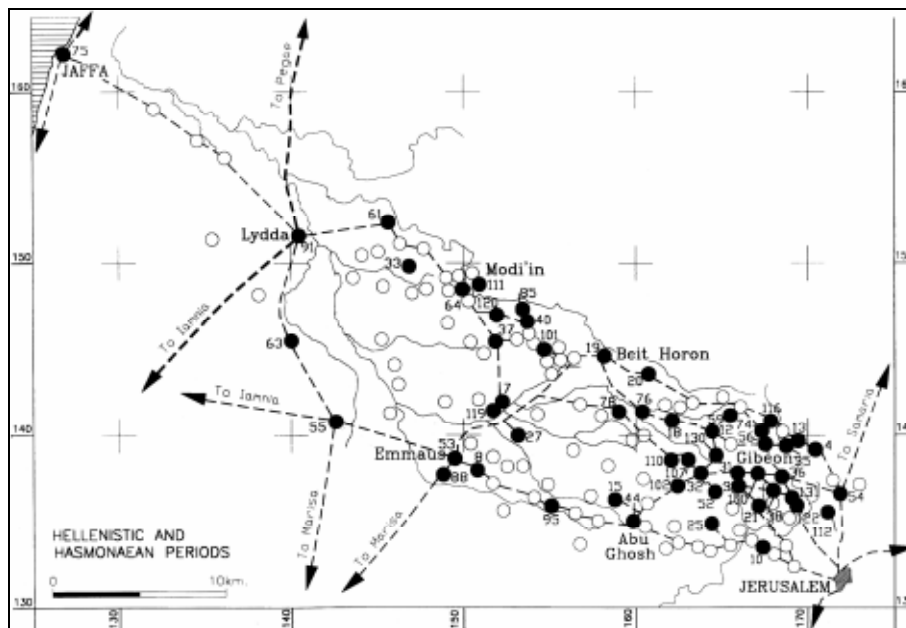


Figure 15: Map showing the Joppa – Jerusalem roads and settlements during the Hellenistic and Hasmonean period (modified after Fischer/Isaac/Roll, 1996, 313, fig. 37 [courtesy of M. Fischer, B. Isaac, I. Roll])

this time Philistine hegemony during the Iron Age I/IIA following by direct Neo-Assyrian involvement during the Iron Age IIB, came to an end, the region was thrown into disarray once again, similar to what happened after the end of the Egyptian system several centuries earlier. Only after direct Sidonian involvement on behalf of the Achaemenid rule, did Joppa show signs of renewal and prosperity. If the minting of coins under the Ptolemies points to a relatively high degree of independence, it was only during that period, and only under the minting kings (Ptolemy II, III and V) that Joppa probably became a semi-autonomous power for the first time during the 1st millennium B. C. E.¹⁷¹ Following the Hasmonean conquests, Joppa receives special attention as their only gateway to the Mediterranean. From the point of view of the Judean rulers, the advantages of having direct access to a wider Mediterranean via Joppa's port, had been realized long before,¹⁷² but were put into practice only during the

¹⁷¹ Needless to say, we do not mean that Joppa enjoyed the status of independent city-state; the notion of 'semi-independent power' should be taken in the context of Ptolemaic empire.

¹⁷² Suffice it to mention the shipment of the cedar timbers from Lebanon for the construction of the Temple (2 Chron. 2:16; Ezra 3:7). Needless to say, Joppa's mention in the book of Chronicles does not reflect the realities of the 10th century B. C. E., but rather those of the Late Persian or even Early Hellenistic period (cf. Knoppers, 2003, 650, n. 103; Mitchell, 2005).

Hasmonean regime (fig. 15). The results of the survey above, however, indicate that Joppa's status as one of the most prominent cities of Palestine in ancient times is rather an artificial construction, at least when analyzed against 1st-millennium B. C. E. realia. It seems that Joppa's prominent role in the Palestinian landscape reflects its role as the main port-town of Jerusalem during later periods (from the Hasmonean period onward).¹⁷³ The existence and maintenance of the main road between Joppa and Jerusalem,¹⁷⁴ which received special attention with the rise of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem's holy sites, is of special importance. Overall, Joppa's fate in the 1st millennium B. C. E. almost always depended upon the external powers and their ability to manage its resources. In the 1st and 2nd millennia C. E., its prominent position reflects the rise of Jerusalem as a supra-religion center of the world—but this should be dealt with in detail in a separate study.

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¹⁷³ On the shift in Jerusalem's centralized status under the Hasmoneans, see Tal, 2009b.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Fischer/Isaac/Roll, 1996.

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