

An Early Roman Hiding Complex at ‘Enot Sho‘im, Central Lower Galilee

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Following a report that a tractor disturbed a subterranean hiding complex at ‘Enot Sho‘im, a survey and archaeological excavation were conducted at the site for several days. Study of its abundant datable finds showed that it had probably been sealed since the 2nd or 3rd century CE. This article introduces the site and furnishes new information about subterranean hiding complexes in the Galilee.

KEYWORDS Subterranean hiding complexes, Roman Galilee, First Jewish Revolt, Bar Kokhba Revolt, Galilean pottery

The site

‘Enot Sho‘im is a large site located on the eastern slopes of the Nazareth mountain ridge, about a half km south of the village of ‘En Mahal. The remains at the site are covered by olive groves; nevertheless, an abundance of pottery is scattered on the surface and building stones are incorporated into terrace walls. The site is recorded as Schin/Si‘in in 16th-century Ottoman tax census reports and as Chirbet Schin in Karl Zimmermann’s list of Galilean sites of the mid-19th century (Grootkerk 2000: 295). Later in that century, it was surveyed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, which recorded two pools built of hewn stones and documented its name as ‘Ayun esh-Sh‘ain (Conder and Kitchener 1881: Vol. I, 377). In the early 20th century, Oehler suggested that the site should be identified with Σιγῶφ (Sigoph) /σωγαναί (Soganae), one of Flavius Josephus’s fortifications in the Galilee, which most scholars recognize today at Sakhnin (Oehler 1905: 63–64; *War* 2.573; *Life* 188). Following the entry Σίών in Eusebius’s *Onomasticon* (“In the tribe of Issachar. Today near Mount Tabor”), Abel suggested that the site should be identified with biblical Sṭon, which is mentioned as a town in the land of the tribe of Issachar (Josh 19:19) (Abel 1938: 464). Interestingly, Jerome’s 4th-century CE Latin

translation of the *Onomasticon* states: “Seon or Soen: In the tribe of Issachar. Today a village is shown near Mount Thabor” (Klostermann 1966: 158–159).

‘Enot Sho‘im offers an impressive view of Mount Tabor, situated about 3 km to the southeast. The pottery finds (see below) indicate that it was settled in the 4th century CE, and thus it is possible that Jerome was indeed referring to this place (see also Avi-Yonah 1951: 123). The site was surveyed in the past by Zori, who reported the presence of Persian, Byzantine and Islamic pottery, and later by Gal, as part of the Mount Tabor Map Survey, which recorded three adjacent sites containing flint tools and pottery from the Paleolithic until the Ottoman period (Zori 1977: 104–105; Gal 1998: 39–40).

Fieldwork

The fieldwork included a survey and precise mapping of a subterranean complex, the excavation of three spaces in the complex and a surface survey of the surrounding area in order to sketch the site’s boundaries and examine its periods of settlement.¹ The site is located at the bottom of a spur descending southward, toward Nahal Barak ben Avinoam, and is separated by a deep ravine from the main site of ‘Enot Sho‘im, located about 300 m to the west (Fig. 1). Based on the surface survey and the distribution of the pottery, the size of the site in which the hiding complex is located was assessed to be ca. 6 dunams. The 90 identifiable pottery sherds collected during the survey date the site’s settlement activity from the Hellenistic to Umayyad periods, and again in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. The quantities of pottery from the Early, Middle and Late Roman periods, as well as an abundance of imported red-slipped ware from the Byzantine period, are especially prominent. A coin of Constantius II (351–354 CE) and a Mamluk coin were also found on the surface. Above the spur on which the site is located, Gal documented a concentration of agricultural installations and a necropolis containing cist tombs, shaft tombs with *arcosolia*, and a burial cave with *loculi*. This area yielded pottery from the Roman and Byzantine periods (Gal 1998: 35).

¹ Mapping of the complex was done by Boaz Langford and Yinon Shvitiel of the Cave Research Unit, Department of Geography, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The digitization was performed by Vladimir Boslov. The excavation and survey of the site were directed by Uzi Leibner and were carried out in two days, with a team of ten volunteers from the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University. The coins were cleaned by Miriam Lavi of the Conservation Laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University, and were identified by Gabriela Bijovsky of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The pottery (Fig. 9) was drawn at the computer laboratory of the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University. The accompanying table was prepared by Evie Gassner. The map of the site was prepared by Roi Sabar. Photography of the finds was done by Tal Rogovsky. We extend our gratitude to all. Thanks are also due to Katia Cytryn-Silverman who assisted in identifying the Islamic period pottery, to Orit Peleg-Barkat and Yoav Farhi who assisted in identifying the finger-ring, to Yoel Elitzur with whom we discussed the identification of the site, and to Bezalel Bar-Kochva with whom we consulted regarding several Greek terms in Josephus’s writings.

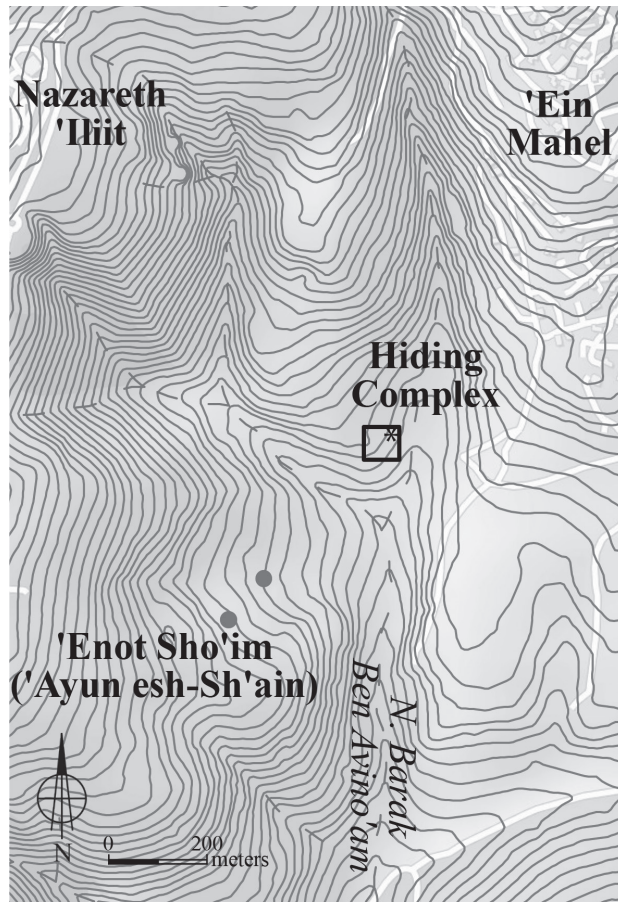


FIGURE 1 'Enot Sho'im—location map.

The hiding complex, located on the higher part of the site, branches out at the bottom of a bell-shaped pit measuring 3×3 m in diameter and depth (Space A1 in Fig. 2). The pit is not plastered and appears to have been used originally for some kind of dry storage. The complex is hewn into Senonian-Palaeocene chalk (Mount Scopus Group) and comprises two winding branches—north (A) and west (B). It was hewn quite meticulously and chisel marks are easily discernible on the walls and ceiling of the complex. About 20 niches for oil lamps were counted in the complex; they are semicircular, measure 10×12 cm each and were hewn into the upper part of the walls near the ceiling. The tunnels are on the average ca. 60 cm wide and 60–80 cm high and movement within them is difficult. The overall length of Tunnel A is ca. 25 m and along its course there are five rooms of varying sizes (A2–A6). Tunnel B is ca. 30 m long and has four rooms (B1–B4). The beginning of Tunnel B is currently blocked and access to this part of the complex is from above, where the tractor broke through the ceiling of Space B1. The damage caused by the tractor also exposed remains of a dwelling above this space, which had a wall preserved to a height of five courses (1.5 m), a small section of a floor covered by a burnt layer containing finds and a threshold found *ex situ*.

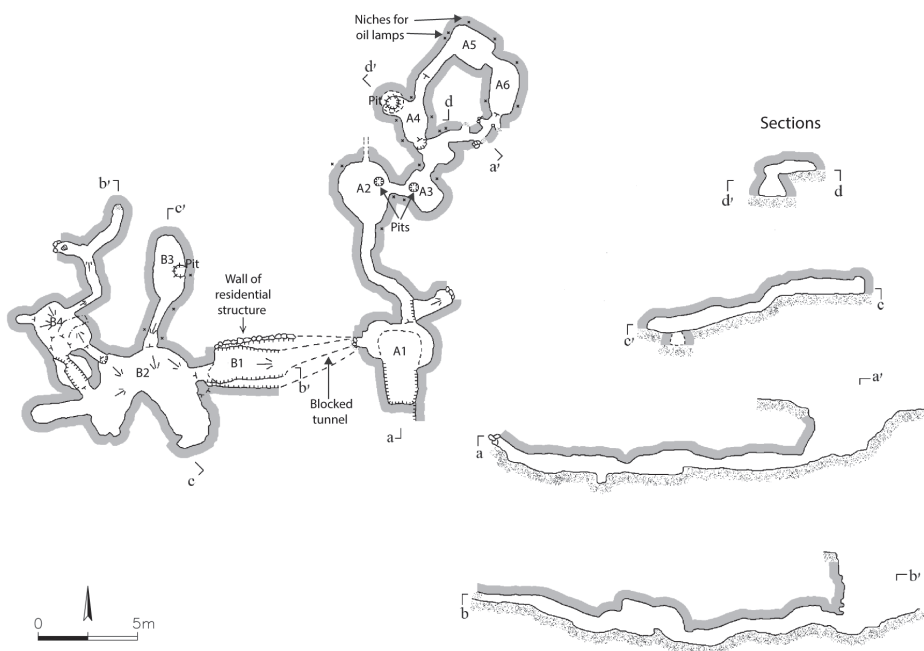


FIGURE 2 Plan of the hiding complex.

Owing to the limited time and human resources at our disposal, it was decided to conduct a thorough survey of the complex (with the help of a metal detector) in order to collect datable finds and then excavate three of the rooms. Rooms A2, A5, and B3, located deep within the complex, were chosen. These appear to have been free of any robbery activity before our arrival. The three rooms were excavated in their entirety, down to bedrock. Neither these rooms nor their environs had entrances or shafts descending from surface level and therefore there was no concern that finds originating outside the complex could have been washed inside. All the soil from Rooms A2 and B3 was brought out and sieved. Space A5, located at a point with difficult access, did not allow us to remove and sieve the soil, which was piled up in sacks and subsequently moved to Room A6.

Room B3 is located at the end of a short tunnel that splits from Space B2. The room is an elongated ellipse measuring 2×4 m, with a maximum height of about 1.1 m. A small bell-shaped pit (ca. 1 m deep) is hewn into the floor of the room near the eastern wall. The room was completely excavated down to bedrock; it had been covered with about 30 cm of light-coloured soil, apparently a result of the weathering of the complex's walls.

Room A2 is located along Tunnel A, ca. 7 m from the entrance. The room is elliptical, its maximum length and width are ca. 2.5×3.5 m and it is 1.3 m high (Fig. 3). Beneath a 40-cm layer, the upper part of which contained dark-coloured soil that may have come from Pit A1, and the lower part of which contained light-coloured soil that resulted from



FIGURE 3 Room A2 after completion of the excavation, looking north.

the weathered walls, bedrock was discovered. A bell-shaped pit was exposed near the centre of the room and was excavated to a depth of ca. 1 m without reaching the bottom. An entrance to another tunnel, blocked about 2 m from where it began, was discovered in the northern wall.

Room A5, located at the deep end of the complex, is a rectangular space (1.5 × 2.5 m) with a maximum height of 1.3 m (Fig. 4). Bedrock was exposed about 30 cm beneath surface level. The quality of the hewing, as well as the preservation of this entire space, is better than those of the other rooms, mentioned above.

The finds

In the course of the survey and excavation of the hiding complex, a coin, a ring, fragments of glass vessels and dozens of identifiable pottery sherds were collected, as well as several restorable pottery vessels found *in situ*. All these objects date to the Early and Middle Roman periods, with no later finds. Thus, it seems that the complex was sealed in antiquity and was not disturbed until its recent discovery. This is of special importance since in most cases the dating of such hiding complexes is problematic owing to the presence of intrusive finds from later periods. The majority of pottery vessels discovered are jars; a few are small vessels such as bowls, jugs and a juglet. Interestingly, neither cooking-pots nor casseroles were found. Most of the vessels are of the types produced in the famous workshop in Shikhin (Adan-Bayewitz and Wieder 1992: 196, Fig. 5), located only 8 km from the site.

The dating of the finds can be better determined by recent evidence retrieved from an extensive destruction layer exposed at Khirbet Wadi Hamam in the eastern Galilee. Based on two hoards of coins, the destruction was dated to 125–135 CE, and it appears



FIGURE 4 Room A5 after completion of the excavation, looking east.

that the entire village was damaged and perhaps even abandoned for several decades. The rich assemblage in the destruction layer provides new evidence for the pottery types found in the Galilee in the early 2nd century CE. This enables us to determine which of the vessels found in contexts of the First Jewish Revolt, such as Yodfat and Gamla, no longer existed ca. 130 CE (the pottery has not yet been published; in the meanwhile, see Leibner and Bijovsky 2013). The pottery vessels from the hiding complex are presented in Fig. 9. Below we will discuss a number of significant finds discovered in the various excavated rooms.

The only coin found in the complex was in the entrance to Room A2, at the end of the tunnel leading from Pit A1. The coin, dated to Trajan's rule (98–117 CE), is a *quadrans* minted in Rome; the obverse features the head of Hercules and blurry traces of the inscription: [IMPCAES] TRAI[AN]AVG GE[RM]; the reverse shows a boar and traces of a blurry inscription: [SC] (Fig. 5).² The pottery finds from this room are homogeneous and are characteristic of Early Roman assemblages. Especially noteworthy is a fragment of a 'Herodian' knife-pared oil lamp and a jar with a simple rim and ridged neck (Fig. 9: 16, 13, respectively). The oil lamp is relatively large, with a narrow rim bordered by a low ridge around the filling hole. According to the classification of the sub-types of Herodian oil lamps from Masada, these characteristics are attributed to Type IV, which was common from the mid-1st century CE onward (Barag and Hershkovitz 1994: 47–50). Herodian oil lamps are common mainly in 1st-century CE assemblages. In Judea they were also found in a few contexts of the early 2nd century; most noteworthy are those

² Scholars believe that this type was minted before 103 CE and was originally intended for distribution among the army's legions (see Leibner and Bijovsky 2013: 115–116 and references there).

from Shu'fat, where they were found in a stratum well dated to the period between the First and Second Jewish Revolts (Sklar-Parnes *et al.* 2004: 38; see also Rapuano 2013: 87–88). To date, however, no such lamps are known from clear 2nd-century contexts in the Galilee and this type is absent from the rich assemblages in the destruction layer at Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam.

The jar known as Type T1.3 in the classification of Díez Fernández, is one of the most common forms in Early Roman Galilean assemblages. While Díez Fernández (1983: 135) dates its appearance to ca. mid-1st century BCE, the excavators of nearby Sepphoris place it at the end of the 1st century BCE (Balouka 2013: 37). Both date its existence no later than the second third of the 1st century CE. This jar was also present in the assemblage found with the boat at Ginossar which Adan-Bayewitz dates to the decades of the mid-1st century CE (1990: 92). Evidence for the production of this type was found in pottery kilns that apparently operated until the First Jewish Revolt in both Yodefat and Karm er-Ras (Aviam 2005: 196; Alexandre forthcoming; see also Avshalom-Gorni and Getzov 2002: 78).³ This type seems to disappear after the First Jewish Revolt. It is absent from the early 2nd-century destruction layer at Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam and, in general, no examples are known from 2nd-century contexts. Another jar from Room A2, known as Type T1.5, has a rounded everted rim and a relatively short neck with a ridge at its base (Fig. 9: 14; see Díez Fernández 1983: 107); this form appears in large quantities at 1st-century CE assemblages at sites such as Yodefat and Gamla (Aviam 2005: 126, Fig. 75; Berlin 2006: 48, Fig. 2: 26–27). Eleven complete jars of this type were recently found in a simple hiding complex in Karm er-Ras together with two coins from the second year of the First Jewish Revolt (Alexandre 2008: 77). This jar type was also found in Middle Roman assemblages at Sepphoris and Capernaum (Balouka 2013: 37–38; Loffreda 2008: 118). Large body fragments found at the entrance to Room A2 and in the bell-shaped pit in its centre apparently belong to both these jars.

The only indicative find from Room A5 is the base of a mould-made oil lamp (Fig. 9: 17). In light of the small dimensions of the lamp, its round contours and the shallow ring-base near its margins, it appears to be a local imitation of the Roman discus lamp. Such lamps are common in 2nd-century CE assemblages, although they already appeared in the second half of the 1st century CE and continued into the 3rd (Rosenthal-Heginbottom and Sivan 1978: 85).

The finds from Room B3 include two restorable jars of Types T1.3 and T1.5, mentioned above (Fig. 9: 4, 5, respectively). Additional vessels of Type T1.5 were also found, but they have a thick wall and higher neck (Fig. 9: 6–7). This type is characteristic of the Middle Roman period and is prevalent in the destruction layer at Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam. Also noteworthy from this room are jar lids typical of the 2nd–3rd centuries CE (Fig. 9: 2–3; see Balouka 2013: 52, LID3) and a flat round lid carved of soft chalk that in all probability was used to cover a jar (Fig. 9: 10). Similar lids, usually lathe-made, were found in Second Temple-period assemblages in Jerusalem, and one similar hand-made lid was found in Sepphoris

³ We wish to thank Yardenna Alexandre for allowing us to publish this information.

(Magen 2002: 24, 31; Zilberstein and Nissim Ben Efraim 2013: Fig. 9.6: 4; Sherman 2013: 15, Pl. 2.13). Another interesting find from this room is an iron finger-ring with a setting for mounting a gem in which one could still discern traces of glue (Fig. 6). The top of the ring is wide and oval while its shoulders are V-shaped. The ring is of the type that was common in the Roman world mainly in the second half of the 1st century and the 2nd century CE.⁴

In summary, the finds discovered at the 'Enot Sho'im hiding complex are dated to the Early and Middle Roman periods. No stratigraphic sequence could be identified and therefore the artefacts were found mixed. Apparently the finds are not all concurrent, a point that suggests a prolonged use of the complex rather than one short period. Some of the finds are of types that belong primarily to the 1st century CE, and it is therefore hard to imagine that they are all residual and were brought there only in the 2nd century CE. These finds, and especially the two jars of Type T1.3 (one of which was restorable) found in Rooms A2 and B3, seem to indicate that the complex had already existed before the end of the 1st century CE since this type is not found in later assemblages. Most of the finds, such as the high-necked jars and the coin of Trajan, indicate continuous activity into the Middle Roman period, in the 2nd and possibly even 3rd century CE.

As noted, the damage caused by the tractor exposed remains of a dwelling above Space B1. At the foot of the wall that survived to a height of about 1.5 m, small sections of a floor were preserved and on top of it a burnt layer with remains of two restorable jars (Fig. 7). Both are of the same type and are characterized by a folded rim, high neck and pronounced ridge at the base (Fig. 9: 18–19). Jars of this form are common at sites in the Galilee, and at nearby Sepphoris are dated to the 3rd century CE (Balouka 2013: 38–39, Pl. 19: 1–6 [Type SJ4a]). Two coins were retrieved that can be associated with the remains in the dwelling above the hideout: the first, which was found in a section made by the tractor, is a rare coin of Trebonianus Gallus (251–253 CE) minted in Neapolis (Fig. 8). The obverse features the bust of the emperor and the reverse Nemesis standing, resting one hand on a griffin sitting on a small column. To the left is Victory holding Mount Gerizim with outstretched arms. The other coin, found in the debris that the tractor cleared from the dwelling, was probably of Caracalla (198–217 CE); the poor state of preservation prevented us from identifying the mint. The few finds from the dwelling are thus homogeneous, all dating to the 3rd century CE.

Discussion

Some 65 subterranean hiding complexes are known in the Galilee but only a few have been excavated.⁵ The majority of these complexes cannot be dated precisely owing

⁴ On the typology and chronology of finger-rings in the Roman world, see Henig 1978: 42–54. Two rings of this type were found in the Burnt House in Jerusalem, destroyed in 70 CE (Nenner-Soriano 2010: 251, Pl. 8.2: 13, 15). On a ring of this type from Gadara dating to the 2nd century CE, and on a hoard of silver rings of this type from mid-2nd-century Britain, see Henig and Whiting 1987: No. 66; Johns 1997: 95–99, respectively.

⁵ On subterranean hiding complexes in the Galilee, see Tepper and Shahar 1985; Shahar 2003; Kloner *et al.* 2008; Shvitiel 2009: 73–191; 2011.



FIGURE 5 Coin of Trajan (98–117 CE) found at the entrance to Room A2.



FIGURE 6 Iron finger-ring with a gem inlay, from Room B3.

to the absence of datable finds or because of the mix of finds from various periods resulting from prolonged use, or surface material that found its way into them. These complexes are restricted to the area that was settled by Jews in the Roman period; many of them are at sites that are known from literary sources or archaeological finds to have been Jewish. However, the absence of a clear date makes it difficult to recognize the historical background for their construction. In the past, scholars have suggested associating these complexes with either the First Jewish Revolt or the Bar Kokhba Revolt, especially on the basis of their plan (see below). The data collected at 'Enot Sho'im are therefore of special importance in the discussion of the hiding complexes in the Galilee, as the site yielded many datable artefacts indicating that the complex was probably not disturbed since the 2nd or 3rd century CE. It is important to emphasize that the complex is located beneath a Roman-period dwelling at a site located in the heart of Jewish Galilee of the Roman and Byzantine periods. In light of the nature of the complex, its dating and its location, it indeed seems likely that its quarrying is connected to the turbulent events of the Jewish revolts against the Romans in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE.



FIGURE 7 The western wall of the dwelling above Space B1, looking west.



FIGURE 8 Coin of Trebonianus Gallus (251–253 CE) minted in Neapolis, found in the dwelling above Space B1.

Shahar and Shvitiel have studied the hiding complexes in the Galilee, categorizing them into two main types (Shahar 2003: 221–229; Shvitiel 2011: 14 [who maintains that these can be further subdivided]).

1. Simple complexes comprising one or more subterranean spaces whose entranceways could be camouflaged. These spaces may once have served other purposes, such as storage, water cisterns or industrial installations; some of them have short and roughly hewn tunnels that connect the various spaces. Such a complex, rich with finds, has recently been excavated at Kabul in the Lower Western Galilee. The excavators concluded that the subterranean spaces were hewn in the Late Hellenistic period, but the connection between the various spaces and their conversion into a hiding complex occurred only in the 1st century CE, around the time of the First Jewish Revolt (Zidan and Alexandre 2012).⁶ According to Shvitiel (2011), there are 22 hiding complexes of this type in the Galilee, all of them created in preparation for this revolt.
2. Elaborate complexes with long and winding, well-hewn tunnels leading into spaces having difficult access. In these cases, it is clear that the spaces were not hewn for daily use such as storage but were prepared in advance as hiding complexes. The characteristics and typologies of these sites are similar to the elaborate hiding complexes in the Judean Shephelah, some of which were dated to the Bar Kokhba Revolt according to their finds and were associated with a statement made by Cassius Dio (69:12.3) regarding the preparation of subterranean hiding complexes by the Jews before this revolt.⁷ Such complexes were discovered, for example, at Khirbet Ruma in the Bet Netofah Valley (one was partially excavated by Rochman), and another was excavated at 'Ibillin by Muqari.⁸ In contrast to Judea, where several elaborate hiding complexes are datable to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, none of the hiding complexes in the Galilee can be dated unequivocally.

Flavius Josephus mentions subterranean hideouts a few times in his description of the First Jewish Revolt in the Galilee, usually using the word ὑπονόμοις (lit., underground)—the very same term Cassius Dio used to describe the complexes of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Tepper and Shahar have discussed these instances, and concluded

⁶ Another complex of this type was discovered by Aviam at Yodefah and was dated to the First Jewish Revolt. A number of such complexes were also excavated by Alexandre in Karm er-Ras near Kefar Kanna; they too were dated to the First Jewish Revolt (Aviam 2005: 63–66; Alexandre 2008). For a comprehensive discussion of the simple complexes and their dating to the First Jewish Revolt, see Kloner *et al.* 2008.

⁷ See, for example, the hiding complex at Nahal Yatir (Alon 1987: 154–159). On the complexes in the Judean Shephelah, their dating and relationship to Cassius Dio's statement, see Kloner and Tepper 1987: 361–380. For an update, see Zissu and Kloner 2003. On the numismatic finds from these complexes, see Zissu and Eshel 2002.

⁸ Both complexes had subterranean spaces, such as water reservoirs and storage units that preceded the hewing of the tunnels and their preparation as hiding complexes. Both complexes also yielded finds from later periods. On Khirbet Ruma, see Cohen 1983: 37–43; Tepper and Shahar 1985: 290–293; Rochman 1985a; 1985b. On 'Ibillin, see Muqari 1999: 18*–20*.

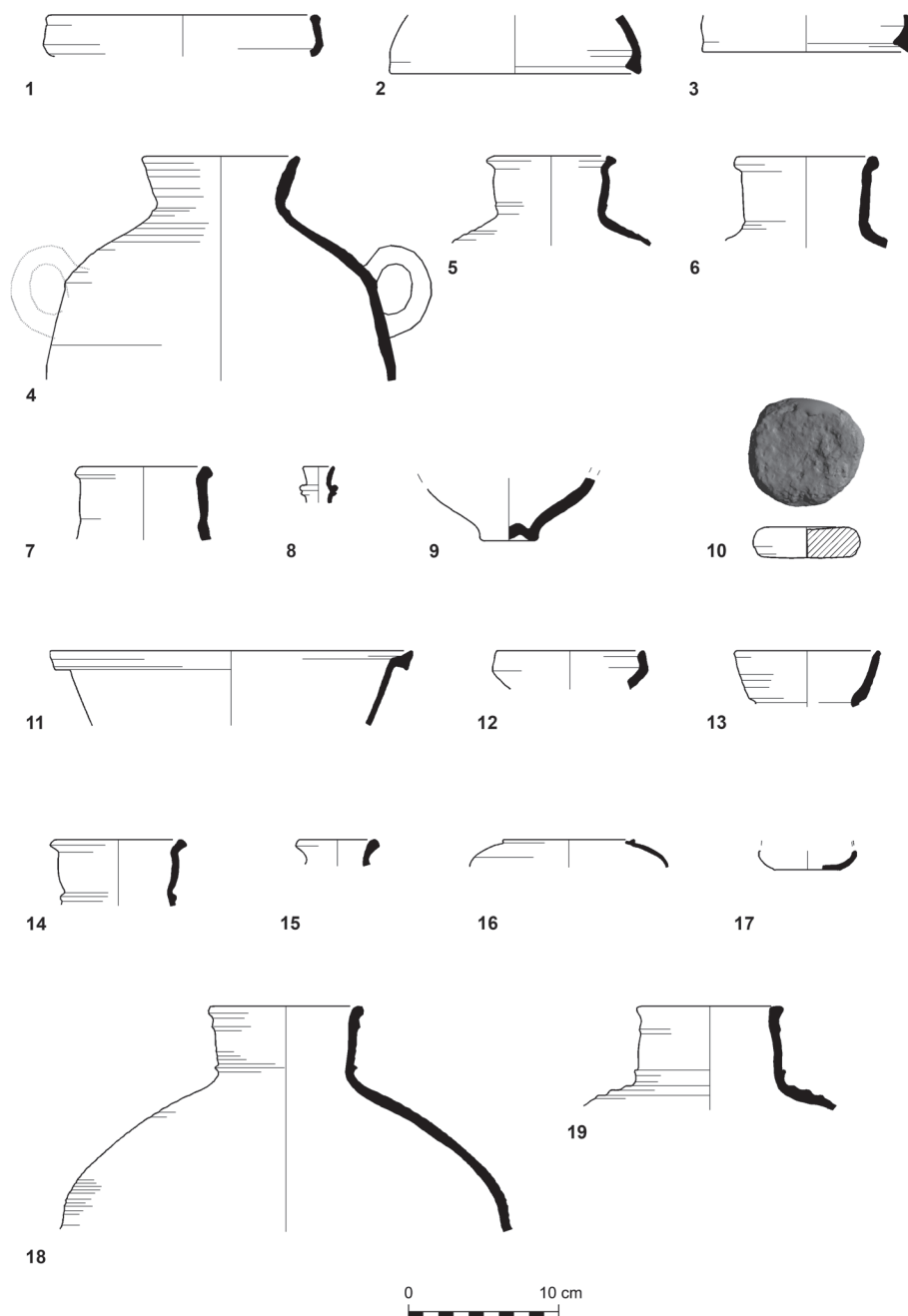


FIGURE 9 Pottery vessels from the hiding complex at 'Enot Sho'im Nos. 1–10—Room B3; Nos. 11–16—Room A2; No. 17—Room A5; Nos. 18–19—from the burnt layer on the floor of the structure above Space B1.

FIGURE 9
Pottery from the excavation of the subterranean hiding complex and its superstructure

No.	Room	Type	Description	Date	Parallels
1	B3	Bowl	Incurved rim, orange or yellowish clay	Early Roman	Balouka 2013: 49; Pl. 7: 3–7 (BL1)
2	B3	Storage jar lid	Slanted cut rim	2nd–3rd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 52; Pl. 25: 1–6
3	B3	Storage jar lid	Slanted cut rim	2nd–3rd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 52; Pl. 25: 1–6
4	B3	Storage jar T1.3	Plain sharpened rim, ribbed neck with pronounced groove at base	Late 1st cent. BCE–second third of 1st cent. CE	Diez Fernández 1983: 135; Adan-Bayewitz 1990: Fig. 11: 9–10
5	B3	Storage jar T1.5	Rounded everted rim with inner groove, short neck with ridge at base	Mainly 1st cent. CE	Diez Fernández 1983: 107; Aviam 2005: 126, Fig. 75; Berlin 2006: 48, Fig. 2.26–27
6	B3	Storage jar	Thick rounded everted rim with inner groove, long neck and small ridge at base	2nd–3rd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 37–38; Pls. 10: 1–4; 18: 1–6 (SJ3)
7	B3	Storage jar	Thick rounded everted rim with inner groove, long neck and small ridge at base	2nd–3rd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 37–38; Pls. 10: 1–4; 18: 1–6 (SJ3)
8	B3	Juglet	Thin walls, simple everted rim and prominent ridge at mid-neck	Late 1st cent. BCE–early 2nd cent. CE(?)	Berlin 2006: 57; Loffreda 2008: 151 (Vas 2)
9	B3	Jug	Rounded everted rim, conical neck with ridge beneath rim, omphalos base	Late 1st cent. BCE–3rd cent. CE	Loffreda 2008: 151 (Vas 3)
10	B3	Lid	Hand-carved chalk lid of vessel	Early–Middle Roman	Sherman 2013: 15
11	A2	Krater	Slanted walls and broad rim, ending with upward-pointing edge	Late 1st–early 2nd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 47; Pl. 12: 9 (KR3)
12	A2	Bowl	Incurved rim, orange or yellowish clay	Early Roman	Balouka 2013: 49; Pl. 7: 3–7 (BL1)
13	A2	Storage jar T1.3	Plain sharpened rim, ribbed neck with pronounced groove at base	Late 1st cent. BCE–second third of 1st cent. CE	Diez Fernández 1983: 135; Adan-Bayewitz 1990: Fig. 11: 9–10
14	A2	Storage jar T1.5	Rounded everted rim with inner groove, short neck with ridge at base	Mainly 1st cent. CE	Diez Fernández 1983: 107; Aviam 2005: 126, Fig. 75; Berlin 2006: 48, Fig. 2.26–27
15	A2	Jug	Rounded everted rim, conical neck with ridge beneath rim, omphalos base	Late 1st cent. BCE–3rd cent. CE	Loffreda 2008: 151 (Vas 3)
16	A2	Oil lamp	“Herodian” knife-pared lamp	1st cent. CE	Barag and Hershkovitz 1994: 47–50
17	A5	Oil lamp	Base of small Roman discus(?) oil lamp; shallow base ring near margins	Late 1st cent. CE–3rd cent. CE	Rosenthal-Heginbottom and Sivan 1978: 85
18	Burnt layer on house floor	Storage jar	Folded rim, tall neck with pronounced ridge at base	3rd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 38–39; Pl. 19: 1–6 (SJ4a)
19	Burnt layer on house floor	Storage jar	Folded rim, tall neck with pronounced ridge at base	3rd cent. CE	Balouka 2013: 38–39; Pl. 19: 1–6 (SJ4a)

that Josephus used this term loosely to indicate water or drainage channels, tunnels intended to collapse superstructures, or underground passages in cities. In their view, none of the examples should be construed as a premeditated, sophisticated hiding complex such as those known from the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Tepper and Shahar 1987: 322–326; see also Shahar 2003: 227–228; Kloner *et al.* 2008: 95–97). However, a reexamination of this term in Josephus' writings reveals that it always refers to an artificial underground cavity. For example, he claimed to have fortified Gamla "with walls and secured [it] still further by ὑπονόμους and trenches" (*War* 4.9). After the fall of Yodfat, Josephus notes that the Romans "searched the hiding-places, and fell upon those that were in ὑπονόμους (underground) and in the σπηλαίους (caverns)..." (*War* 3.336), apparently distinguishing between artificial underground spaces and natural caves. No elaborate hiding complex was found to date in Yodfat, Gamla or anywhere else in northern Israel that could clearly be dated to the First Jewish Revolt. As noted (above, n. 6), simple complexes were documented at Yodfat, Karm er-Ras and Kabul, and were associated by their excavators with the First Revolt.

The degree of the Galilee's involvement in the Bar Kokhba Revolt has long been debated.⁹ The currently prevailing opinion is that the uprising did not spread to this region at all (e.g., Mor 1991; 2003) or that, at most, it included only a few sporadic events (e.g., Oppenheimer 1991: 30–44). This conclusion is based primarily on three considerations: (1) the total absence of Bar Kokhba coins in the Galilee as opposed to their abundance in Judea;¹⁰ (2) the absence of early 2nd century destruction layers at Galilean sites as opposed to those at sites in Judea; and (3) the continuity and flourishing of Jewish settlements in the Galilee in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (as attested by both historical sources and archaeological data) as opposed to the clear break in Jewish settlement in Judea at this time (Oppenheimer 1991: 42; Leibner 2009: 345). The above-mentioned discovery of the destruction layer at Khirbet Wadi Ḥamam seems to point to limited involvement of the Galilee in this revolt.

The typological resemblance between the elaborate hiding complexes in the Galilee and those in the Judean Shephelah has led Shahar to suggest that the complexes in the Galilee, too, were hewn in preparation for the Bar Kokhba Revolt. He maintained that the meticulous preparations for the revolt included the Galilee, and that the hewn complexes exhibit the leadership's guiding hand in the revolt. For various reasons, first and foremost the fact that the *casus belli* for the war was the founding of Aelia Capitolina, the fight was concentrated in Judea and ultimately did not spread to the Galilee (Shahar 2003: 226–228). In contrast, Shvitiel asserted that although it is possible to date the elaborate complexes generally to the 2nd century CE, it cannot be determined whether they were hewn in preparation for the Bar Kokhba Revolt or after the revolt by Judean refugees who brought their knowledge and skills of subterranean complex quarrying to the Galilee (Shvitiel 2011: 25).

⁹ See bibliography in Oppenheimer 1991: 30, n. 1; Mor 1991: 103–121.

¹⁰ For an update on the distribution of Bar Kokhba coins, see Bijovsky 2004: 248–251.

The complex at 'Enot Sho'im, one of the most elaborate hiding places discovered to date in the Galilee, raises doubts regarding the above suggestions. Several finds—including restorable vessels found *in situ* deep within the complex—seem to indicate that the complex already existed in the late 1st century CE. A more precise date for hewing it cannot be verified. It may have been hewn some time around the First Jewish Revolt or even earlier in the 1st century CE. Clearly, the various spaces were not originally prepared for storage and later converted into a hiding complex, simply because it would not have been practical to access daily storage spaces by crawling through narrow and winding tunnels. Most of the finds in the complex date to the Middle Roman period, indicating that activity here continued into the 2nd (possibly even 3rd) century CE and may be connected to the preparations for the Bar Kokhba Revolt. It is possible that the complex had been simpler in the 1st century CE and then became more elaborate in planning for the Second Revolt, but this suggestion cannot be corroborated with evidence.

In light of the finds that emerged from a survey of the site, and from the remains of the dwelling above the complex, it is nevertheless clear that settlement here continued, apparently uninterrupted, into the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

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