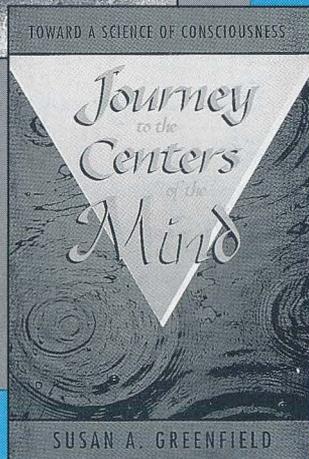
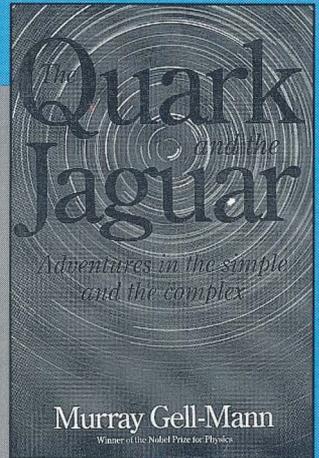
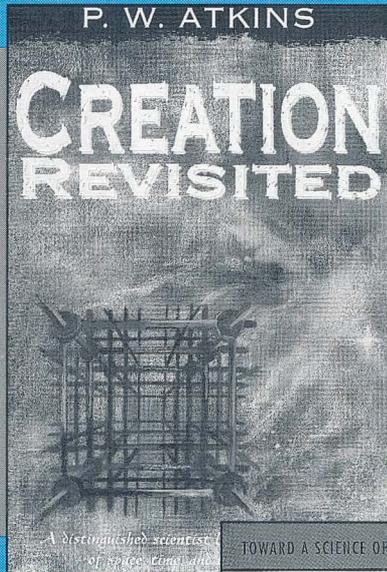


FAITH & THOUGHT

BULLETIN



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EDITORIAL

The whole of this issue has been devoted to the text of the talk given by Dr. John Kane at the Annual General Meeting of the Victoria Institute in May 1995. Because this talk includes many photographs, we thought it important to use all the space available. This has meant the exclusion of some other material, and a slight re-arrangement of the last page and cover.

A.G.M. 1997

The Annual General Meeting of the Victoria Institute was held on May 6th at Dr. Williams' Library in Gordon Square, London. Dr. Terence Mitchell was in the chair. Dr. Lawrence Osborn, review editor of *Science and Christian Belief*, was formally elected to the council. Dr. Charles Karunaratna has reluctantly tendered his resignation. Both Dr. A.B. Robins and Brian H.T. Weller (Hon. Treasurer) were re-elected for a further term. Mr. Brian Weller gave an account of the financial state of the Institute and details may be obtained from him or from the editor.

Following the A.G.M., our President, Dr. D.J.E. Ingram introduced the speaker for the evening, Professor R.J. Berry. The theme of his address was "Environmental Ethics - from Eden to Rio - and back again?" This talk will be included in a future issue, but it was a fascinating evening for all those who were present.

PUBLICATIONS

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Journal of the Transaction of The Victoria Institute	1 - 89	1957
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*Science & Christian Belief	First Volume in 1989	

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JERUSALEM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT:

1. The Crucifixion 2. The Temple Mount

Dr. J.P. Kane,

Dpt. of Religions and Theology, Victoria University of Manchester.

*(The format of a slide-lecture to the A.G.M. is the basis of the following paper;
the most important slides are here reproduced.)*

1. The Crucifixion and the Jewish Ossuary Inscriptions: Jesus, Alas!

Jn. 19. 17-18: *"And carrying his own cross he went out to the Place of the Skull . . . where they crucified him . . ."*

The aim of the first half of this paper is to offer a secure interpretation of a particular inscription by setting it in its proper context, including several hundred similar inscriptions on the Jewish ossuaries of Jerusalem. The point at issue is basically a methodological one.

The inscription is on an ossuary found in a rock-cut tomb in the modern Talpiot suburb outside the old city of Jerusalem. The tomb was excavated by the Israeli archaeologist E.L. Sukenik and published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1947. It is a small rock-cut chamber, typical of the late 1st century BC and 1st century AD at Jerusalem in that it consists of a central standing space ("pit"), projecting ledges ("benches") and, above and behind the ledges, burial-tunnels cut back into the walls ("loculi" or "kokhim"). In fact a 1st century AD date for its use was established by the pottery found in it, and also a coin of Agrippa (dated AD 41-44). The ossuaries which Sukenik found in the tomb are again typical of the tombs of this period around Jerusalem. They contain the bones of the dead. It is important to be precise about this: an ossuary contains the bones of one individual only, or sometimes two or three closely related members of one family (e.g. husband and wife, mother and child). It is a small chest, chiselled out of limestone and just large enough for the skull to be put in with the rest of the bones and long enough for the thigh-bone. Ossuaries are often plain, but also often ornamented and often inscribed with the name of the dead. One of the ossuaries in the Talpiot tomb had on it an inscription which Sukenik read as IESOUS IOU, translated "Jesus! Alas!" and interpreted as "the earliest record of Christianity", referring it to the Crucifixion (fig. 1).

My aim is not only to show that this reading and interpretation were wrong, but to show also that a sound method points to the right way to understand the inscription. My method is analogous to the principle of the Alexandrian scholars who had difficulties understanding Homer. The sense, they said, should be established by interpreting Homer from Homer, that is from analogous passages in which the same words are used. So too with the ossuaries, where several hundred similar inscriptions all turn out to be the names of the dead person(s) whose bones have been gathered into the little stone chest.

Some general observations will demonstrate that we are dealing with a well documented and strongly contextualised group of objects and inscriptions. Most ossuaries come from the tombs around Jerusalem itself, and can be dated from the later 1st century BC to the two wars with Rome, the Zealot uprising and the Bar Kochba war. Most of them belong to the 1st century AD and to the period up to the destruction of the Temple by Titus (AD 70). They are found with the same pottery in the same kinds of tombs with the same kinds of burial-places again and again. The inscriptions indicate that the tombs are those of Jewish families; and Rahmani has linked the appearance of containers for the bones of particular individuals with the "Pharasaic" teaching on individual "physical" resurrection. He has shown that these chests for individuals replace an earlier - and presumably continuing - practice of heaping the bones all together in a common charnel. The particular publications which demonstrated this were his account of the Shahin Hill tomb in the *Israel Exploration Journal* for 1958 and his account of the tomb of Jason in the same journal for 1967. The various arguments on tombs, funerary customs and ossuaries at Jerusalem which constituted his doctoral thesis were condensed as four papers entitled "Ancient Jerusalem's Funerary Customs and Tombs" in the *Biblical Archaeologist* for 1981 and 1982. And recently a synthesis formerly published by him in Hebrew has appeared in English in the book *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (1994), edited by Hillel Geva.

The carved ornament on the ossuaries is a special creation of the Jewish craftsmen of Jerusalem, using a straight-edge, chisel and compasses. It is a neat, attractive and repetitive repertoire of frame-lines, zig-zags, roundels, rosettes, leaf-forms (stylised sprays of olive, ivy etc.), as shown in figure 2. According to Rahmani these and various architectural motifs represent the monuments, trees and plants which were in fact located in the cemeteries. Thus the central motif in my figure 3 is a stylised and schematic version of a tomb-monument, according to this theory, which explains some otherwise very puzzling architectural forms. The least that one can say is that Rahmani's is a far more convincing theory than that expressed by E.R. Goodenough in his massive *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, which interprets ossuary ornament in terms of Jungian archetypes and Greco-Roman Dionysiac symbols (in spite of the absence of the vine and the grapes!). In fact various types of interpretation of the ornament on ossuaries are assessed by Pau Figueras in *Decorated Jewish Ossuaries* (Brill, 1983).

As to the inscribed names on ossuaries, by far the commonest formula is A son of B. I have chosen six examples as representative:

1. figs. 4,5: ornament of leaf-strips, rosettes and stylised plant/flower; inscription in Greek AZARIAS ZACHARIOU, which signifies 'Azaryah son of Zacharyah', both being Hebrew names (not Greek ones).
2. fig 6: ornament of framing-lines, zig-zags, rosettes (unfinished) and a stylised tree/flower; inscription in Greek KLEOPATRA STRATONOS, which signifies 'Cleopatra daughter of Straton', names which are in origin respectively Macedonian Greek and Phoenician Semitic.

4 FAITH AND THOUGHT

Here we must recall that the hellenised peoples of the eastern Mediterranean, including the Jews, often adopted Greek names. The Phoenician name, taken by a Jew (unless Cleopatra is a proselyte), could be explained in various ways, given the existence of the Jewish Diaspora and the open possibility of migration to or from Judaea. Neither of these two names occurs again on an ossuary.

3. fig. 7: ornament of framing-lines, zig-zags, rosettes and an arch; inscription in Hebrew square script MRTH BT HNNYH, which signifies 'Marthah daughter of Hananyah', both being Hebrew names.

It may be of interest to note that the Greek form of Hananyah is Ananias.

4. figs. 8,9: ornament of leaf-strips and complex rosettes; inscription in Hebrew square script 'L'ZR BR SUSI, which signifies 'El'azar son of Susi' both being Hebrew names.

It may be of interest to note that the Greek form of 'El'azar is Lazaros. The name-form Susi is difficult to read and to fathom; on the face of it the meaning of the father's name is 'Horsy' (Josephus *War* 6.92 has a 'Jacob son of Sosas').

5. figs. 10,11: ornament of frame-lines, zig-zags, rosettes and a "column" (for a similar 'column', surely by the same craftsman, see Rahmani p. 202 in *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* ed. H. Geva); inscription in Greek MARIAME ELAZAROU SIMONOS ZACHARIOU, and in Hebrew square script, written obliquely, SHNYYT. The Greek signifies 'Mariame, mother of Elazaros, Simon (and) Zacharias' (Greek forms of the Hebrew names Miriam, 'El'azar, Shim'on and Zacharyah). I do not know what the Hebrew word (name?) signifies, though it must be a form derived from *sheni*, 'second'. (One recalls the names Secundus, Quintus, Sextus etc. in Latin.)
6. fig. 12: plain ossuary; inscription beautifully written in (a rather old-fashioned?) square Hebrew script MNHM MN BN' KYM KHN, which signifies 'Menahem of the line (lit. 'sons') of Yakim, priest'. Both names are Hebrew.

Even these few inscriptions indicate the broader context for Sukenik's IESOUS IOU, which according to all the parallels should be 'Jesus son of . . .'. My own reading is IESOUS IOUDOU, 'Jesus son of Judas', the Greek forms of the Hebrew Yeshu'a ben Yehudah. Both names are common on the ossuaries. The inscription is in charcoal, and has been rubbed, but when I examined the ossuary I could see traces of a D after IOU and of a U underneath. This is perhaps not apparent from fig. 1 above, but will be clear to those who read my article in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* for 1971.

There are no Christian catacombs in Jerusalem. Certainly some of those buried in the Jewish family tombs were early Jewish Christians. But how to tell? Some interesting attempts have been made, but so far all of them founder when the particular examples are properly considered in their overall context. Thus "crosses" turn out to be marks to align the lid the right way round on the chest, or occasionally an apotropaic palaeo-Hebrew tau (Dinkler's suggestion in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* for 1962). The claimed Christian converts are gentiles proselytised by Jews, Greeks (hellenised Syrians etc.) who have adopted a Jewish halakhah in some form. One example will suffice here:

7. fig. 13: undecorated ossuary; inscription on the upper part of one of the exterior faces (one of the ends) DIOGENES PROSELUTOS ZENA, and again on the rim (my fig. 13) DIOGENES ZENA PROSELUTOS, which signifies 'Diogenes son of Zenas, proselyte', both names being Greek and not found again in the ossuary onomasticon. The term 'proselyte' is not known in early documents for Jewish converts to Christianity, but only for gentile converts to Judaism.

This inscription also illustrates a point not yet made, which is that occasionally one meets in the inscriptions on the ossuaries, as well as formulas like 'A son of B', formulas like 'A, proselyte, from . . .' or other claims to a particular status, like the longer inscription of the priest described above (under 6). But as for shared symbols among early Christians, G.F. Snyder has gathered the evidence in *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine* (Mercer University Press, 1985; second printing 1991), and concludes that the 'kerygmatic cross' is not found earlier than the 4th century (pp. 26-9) and that Christian communities began to assert an identifiable public and symbolic culture no earlier than c. AD 180.

Acknowledgments to Part 1: I wish to thank Father Spijkerman, Father Bagatti and Daphne Caton for the facilities to take the slides above about 25 years ago, since when they have been used to inform students at the University of Manchester each year. For some of the inscriptions in the figures reference should also be made to P.B. Bagatti and J.T. Milik *Gli scaoi del 'Dominus fleuit', Monte Oliveto: Parte 1 La necropoli del periodo romano* (Franciscan Press, Jerusalem, 1958). For my own views, as well as the article referred to above, consult the *Journal of Semitic Studies* for 1978 (vol. 23, pp. 268-82) and my review-article on J. Finegan *The Archaeology of the New Testament* (1969) in *Religion: Journal of Religion and Religions* 2 (1972) 57-75. The most interesting book on ossuaries now is undoubtedly L.Y. Rahmani *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem, 1994). The inscription IESOUS IOUDOU is his no. 113 on p. 106.

2. Trophimos the Ephesian and the Temple Mount

Mk. 13.1: "As he was leaving the Temple one of his disciples said to him, "Master, look at the size of those stones!"

Jn. 10.23: "It was the time of the Feast of Dedication in Jerusalem. It was winter, and Jesus was in the Temple walking up and down in the Portico of Solomon."

Acts 3.2-11 (passim): "they used to put him (the cripple) down every day near the Temple-entrance called the Beautiful Gate so that he could beg from the people going in. . . . Peter said " . . . in the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, walk!" . . . and he went with them (Peter and John) into the Temple . . . Everyone came running to the Portico of Solomon . . . where the man was till clinging to Peter and John."

Acts 21.27f: " . . . some Jews from Asia . . . shouted . . . "He has profaned this Holy Place by bringing Greeks into the Temple'. They had previously seen Trophimos the Ephesian in the city with him, and thought Paul had brought him into the Temple."

I hope to elucidate below the size of the stones, the location of the portico associated with Solomon and the incident connected with Trophimos. I have also argued elsewhere a view on the location of the Beautiful Gate. This second part of my paper treats of one unique place, a holy place without parallels in Judaea (the nearest analogy, though unlike in many ways, was the precinct of the Patriarchs at Hebron). This is not a question of comparing hundreds of similar instances to elucidate one particular inscription (as in Part 1 above), but of trying to delineate a complex series of special structures in order to contextualise, one might almost say visualise, particular locations and incidents.

Let us first note that texts are just as important as archaeological evidence in comprehending the Temple. In all the N.T. texts above the word for 'Temple' is **hieron**. The accusation in Acts 21.28, translated literally, is: "He has brought Greeks into the **hieron** and defiled this holy place (this **hagios topos**)."

But topographical reconstructions, based on **all** the evidence, both texts and archaeology, are unsurpassed in providing a means of contextualising places and incidents. The latest reconstructions of the Temple Mount are those of the Dutch scholar Leen Ritmeyer published in *Biblical Archaeology Review* for 1989 and about to appear as a book (to be published in the monograph series of the Palestine Exploration Fund). Here I wish to thank Dr. Ritmeyer for allowing me to use and to re-publish his major overall reconstruction of the Temple Mount as seen from the S.W. viewpoint (fig. 14). Where I use numbers below to refer to particular locations they are the numbers in this reconstruction.

The Temple Mount, now the Moslem Haram esh-Sherif (Noble Sanctuary), is what its name suggests: a mountain-top. Indeed, King Herod (37-4 BC) enlarged it even further, adding the great aisles of the Royal Portico on the south (Josephus *Antiquities* 15.2.6), building it out on the west into and across the central valley of Jerusalem (the Tyropoeon) and expanding northwards to the great rock massif of the fortress which he named the Antonia (to honour the Roman Mark Antony).

The extensive excavations over many years, starting on February 28, 1968, led by B. Mazar and concentrating on the west and south areas outside the great walls, have revealed that these great ashlar walls of local limestone are in situ on bedrock as Herod had them built. Mazar exposed the south end of the west wall, the whole line of the south wall - which is about 900 ft. long, broken into roughly equal lengths of about 300 ft. by two entries; he reached the point where his dig more or less joined with an earlier Jordanian clearance under Dame Kathleen Kenyon at the southern end of the east wall. Mazar's dig exposed a complex series of paved streets, plazas, terraces and stepped ways just outside the walls (as reconstructed in fig. 14 here). Among a mass of popular or theoretical work Mazar has published only two scientific reports: *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem: Preliminary Report of the First Season, 1968* (Jerusalem, 1969) and *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Second Preliminary Report, 1969-70 Seasons* (Jerusalem, 1972). It is extremely important that the whole northern area of the west wall has also been exposed through tunnelling under the aegis of the religious authorities. This has revealed the enormous stones of fig. 14 no. 10 just outside one of the west entries to the Temple mount: four eleven-foot high ashlars, one of which is forty-two feet long!

The size of Herod's extension of the earlier (Hasmonaean) Temple Mount southwards can be determined at the south end of the east wall, where the Jordanian clearance settled this controversy. Fig. 15 is a view from E.S.E. of the south and east walls of the Temple Mount. Against the south wall is a reconstruction flight of white steps leading up to one of the entries (fig. 14 nos. 13 & 11); at the south end of the east wall - it is, of course, the lower part of the wall which is ancient - is the distinctive Herodian wall made of regular horizontal ashlar courses laid dry, mostly about 3'4" to 3'8" high. The arch in the wall is still within the Herodian build, but just to the north of it is the older wall with the faces of the stones no longer appearing smooth but heavily bossed. The two styles and the arch are shown much closer in fig. 16 (from the north). The joint between the two walls is visible and unmistakable since the Jordanian clearance. It is shown in my second illustration borrowed from L. Ritmeyer (fig. 17). The Herodian extension is actually bedded into the earlier wall; parts of the margins of the stones forming the earlier S.E. angle are cut back to receive the Herodian stones. The earlier limit is also marked by the typical 'headers' and 'stretchers' used to strengthen angles (i.e. the corner-stones are laid alternately into the wall and along its face). Herod's extension runs for just over 108' from the earlier angle, which has been dated as early as Solomon or at least the Return from Exile, but in my view is Hasmonaean. The same Herodian masonry, and an angle-tower, are found at the north end of the east wall of the Temple Mount. All of this is sufficient to indicate clearly where Solomon's portico was. The descriptions above can lead to only one conclusion. If the walls and porticoes on the south, west and north were new (Herodian); and if the southern end and

northern end of the east wall were new (Herodian); and if there was already a Hasmonaean extension on the south end of a still earlier east wall; then any wall and portico old enough to be called 'Solomon's' (whether in fact as old as Solomon or not) must have been located somewhere in the central stretches of the east wall. In my view this is confirmed by a passage in Josephus, when c. AD 63 the people asked Agrippa II (to whom Claudius and Nero gave charge of matters connected with the Temple) to raise the eastern Temple portico, which is described as not being part of the inner Temple but situated over a ravine, ". . . and the work of King Solomon" (*Antiquities* 20.9.7); its stones, says Josephus, were huge (he gives measurements).

Mazar's excavations to the west and south of the Temple Mount have led to some startling corrections to traditional views of the way in which the people had access from the 'Upper City' (the West hill) by way of the central valley (Tyropoeon) to the west side of the Temple Mount. Robinson's Arch (named after a scholar) supported a stepped and terraced entry-way to the Royal Portico (fig. 14 nos. 7,9), not a viaduct across the valley. The viaduct was further north (fig. 14 no. 3). In the area near the Arch stones from the upper parts of the Herodian walls had fallen onto the stepped terraces and pavement below - **directly** onto them, showing that they were in use when the Roman Titus attacked Jerusalem and besieged the Temple (AD 70). Figure 18 shows the pavement exactly at the S.W. angle of the Temple Mount and the beginning of a stepped terrace against the west wall. Stones displaced in the siege of Titus rest on the steps, including parts of pilasters engaged in the topmost part of the walls (fig. 19), as fig. 14 no.10. In the south Herod created an approach from a lower plaza by stepped terraces (fig. 14, from no. 14 by way of nos. 18, 19) or by a magnificent flight of steps (fig. 20) through the 'Double Gate' (fig. 14 no. 11), and then through underground passageways below the Royal Portico up onto the Temple Courtyards inside the walls. The great stairway has enormous paving-stones forming part of a street above it (figs. 21,22). These are just on top of bedrock, the Temple wall itself at this point sunk into a horizontal bedding cut into the rock itself (fig. 23). As one moves east from the Triple Gate (fig. 14 no. 12) the rock sinks rapidly, and a long series of vaults had to be set against the wall, partly cut out of the rock, partly built (figs. 24,25), and carrying a stepped and terraced walkway leading up to the Triple Gate. The blistered walls in fig. 25 indicate the shape of the vaults, and show how the legionaries of Titus destroyed the streets just outside the Temple Mount walls by stuffing combustibles into these vaulted cubicles.

At the level of the 'Double' and 'Triple' gates in the south wall, at street level, ran the 'Master Course' (so called by scholars), a six-foot high course of ashlar (see fig. 22) which continued to the S.E. angle of the Temple Mount wall. This can be seen in fig. 14, though it is not indicated by a special number. But the comment of Mk. 13.1 on the the size of the Temple Mount stones need not be

applied to these or even larger stones near 'Warren's' gate in the west wall (fig. 14, no.24) or the stones 'erected by Solomon' at the eastern portico of the Temple Mount wall; the normal Herodian ashlar are themselves impressively massive, especially when one looks at the solid ranks of them laid upon each other as far as the eye can see along the wall.

The massive monumentality of the walls, entry-ways, passages terraced streets, stairways and plazas of the great wall and surrounding the Temple Mount is overwhelming. Unfortunately the buildings within the wall are gone. But there are two archaeological finds, re-used stones found in later buildings, which belonged inside the great wall. These can in fact be linked with Acts 21.28 (see above), the uproar when Paul was thought to have brought Trophimos the Ephesian into 'this holy place'. The stone in fig. 26 (found in December 1935) is the more fragmentary of two inscriptions, both of which read:

"No gentile to enter within
the partition (*druphaktos*) and
wall (*peribolos*) around the
hieron. Whoever is caught must
take the blame to himself that
death results."

Note the monumental character of the inscription (in contrast to the ossuary inscriptions). Photographs, transcriptions and an interesting assessment of both inscriptions are given by Iliffe in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* for 1936. Josephus too can throw light on Acts 21.28 in his description of the Temple Mount at *Antiquities* 15.11.5 (Loeb 15.417):

"Such was the first precinct
(*peribolos*). Beyond it at no
great distance was the second,
which one entered by a few
steps. Around this was the
partition (*druphaktos*), a
barrier (*herkion*) which denied
entry to the gentile by its
inscription, since the death
penalty was threatened."

Clearly the two stones were part of this barrier, the barrier beyond which Paul could not take Greeks; **m. Middoth** present in some detail the increasing degrees of sanctity, the increasing inaccessibility (linked to laws relating to purity and pollution), of the inner areas and structures of the Temple Mount. I hope readers will agree that particular details like the great stones, Solomon's Portico and the barrier need to be understood in the overall context which has been the subject of Part 2 of this paper.



Fig. 1

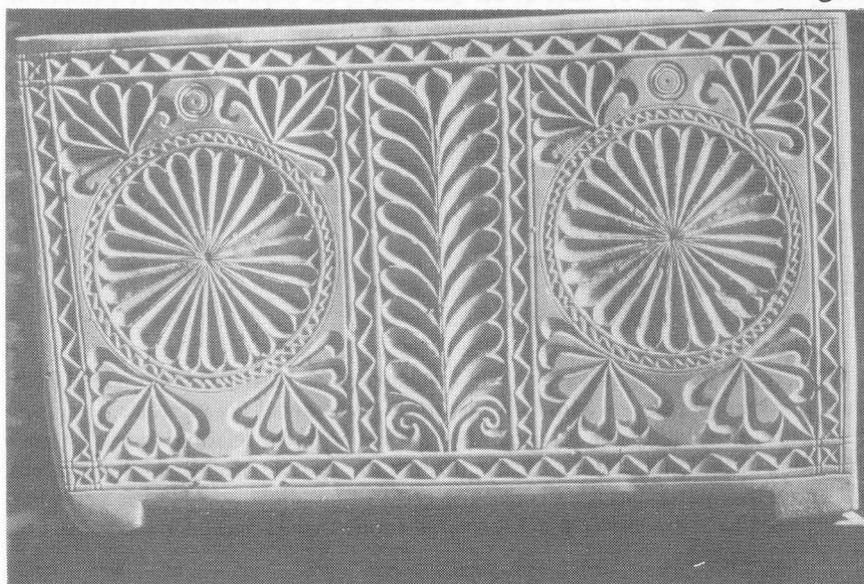


Fig. 2

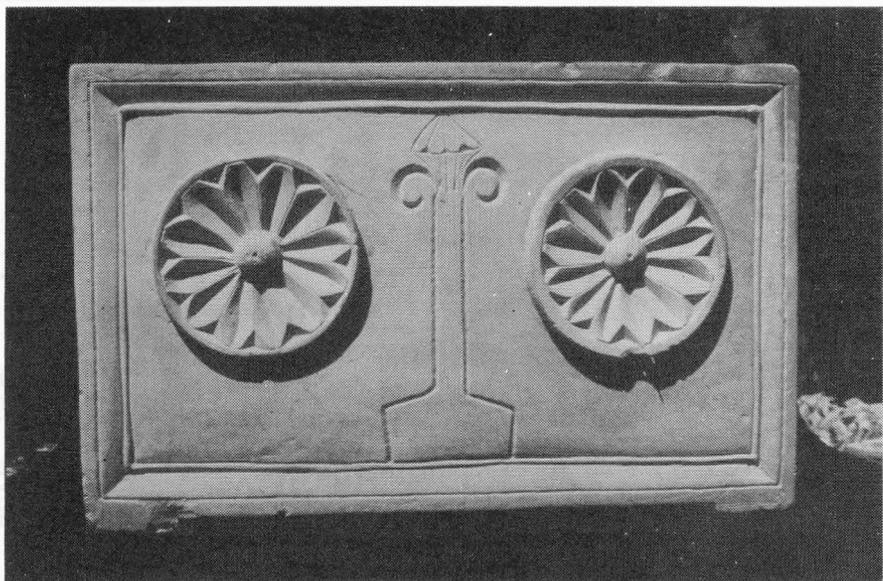


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

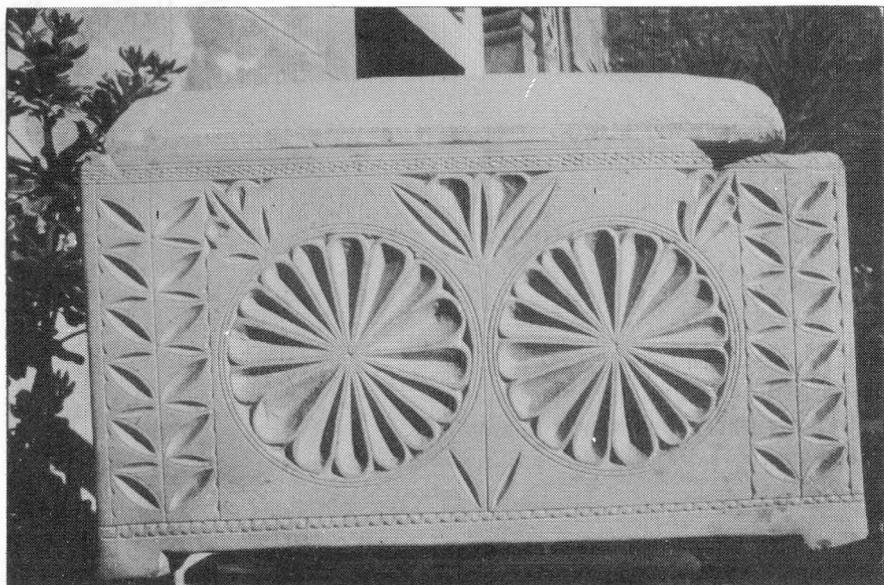
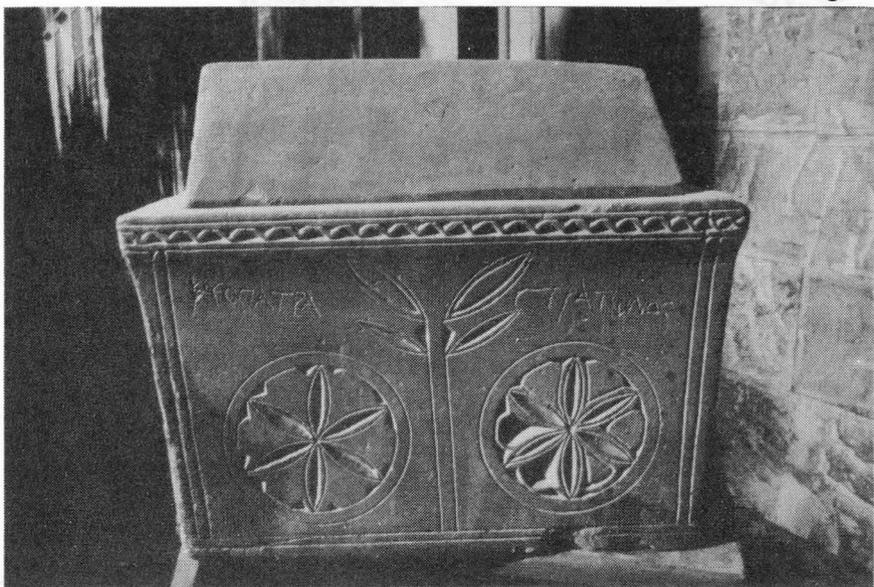




Fig. 5

Fig. 6



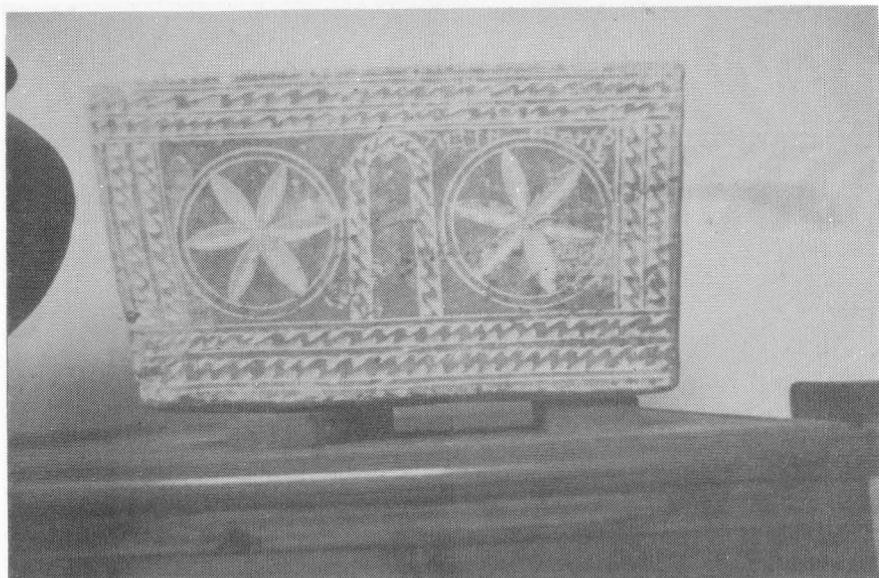


Fig. 7

Fig. 8

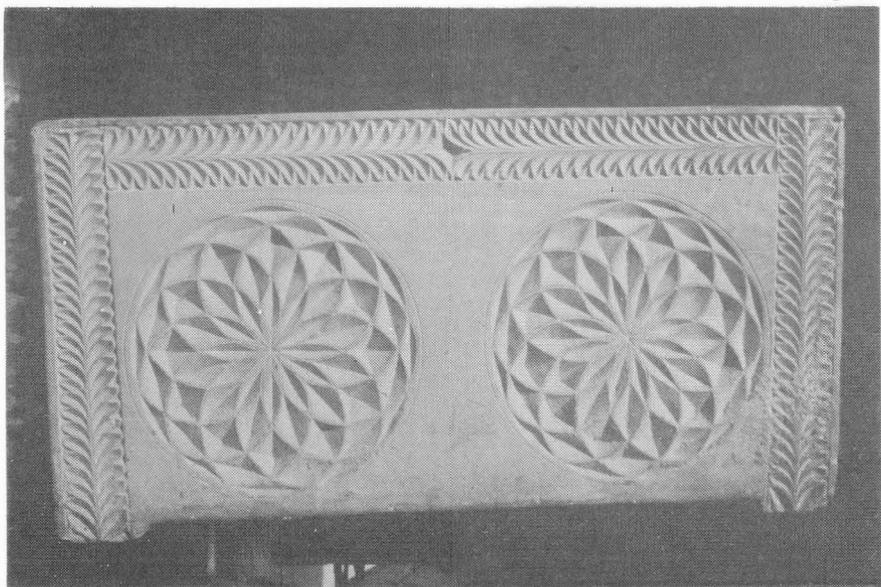




Fig. 9

Fig. 10

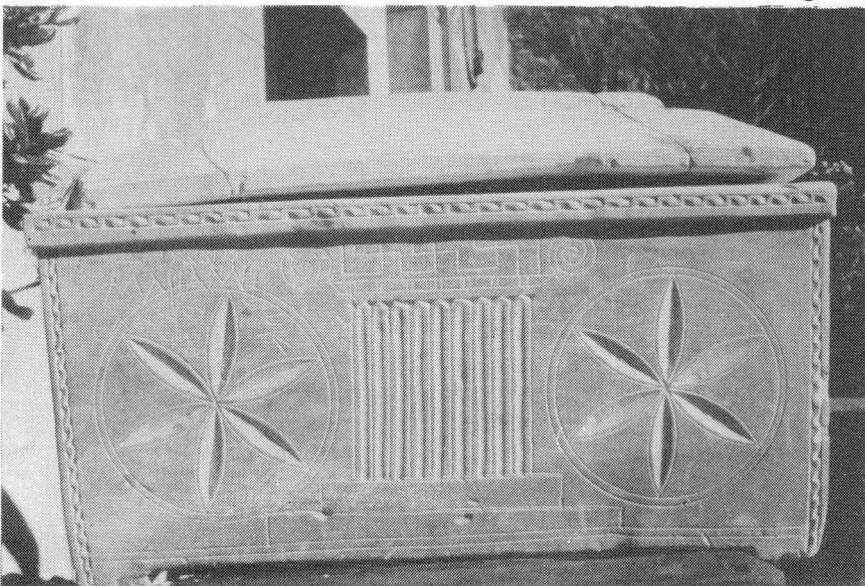
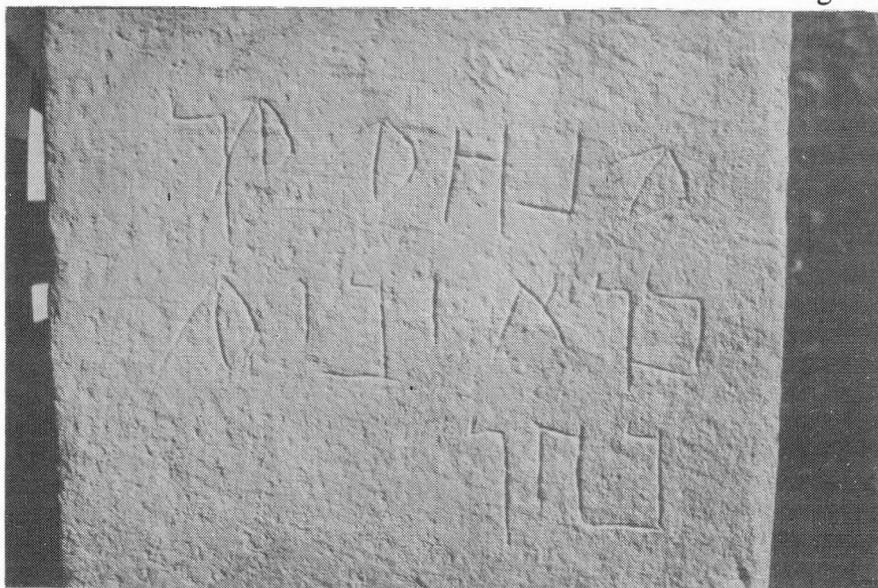




Fig. 11

Fig. 12



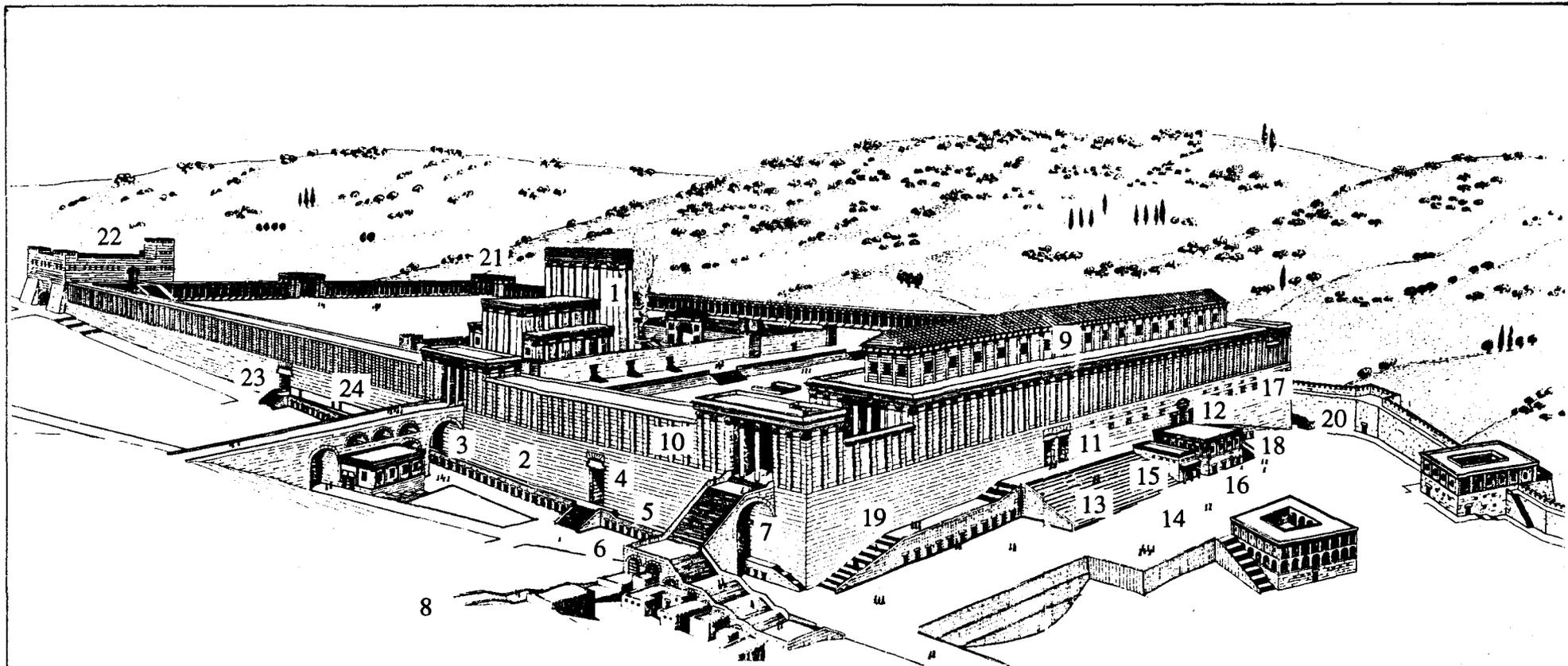


Fig. 14

JERUSALEM

THE TEMPLE MOUNT

DURING THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

A RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Second Temple | 9. Royal Stoa | 17. Row of windows |
| 2. Western Wall | 10. Pilasters | 18. Burnt arches |
| 3. Wilson's Arch | 11. Double Gates | 19. Burnt arches |
| 4. Barclay's Gate | 12. Triple Gates | 20. Stairway |
| 5. Small shops | 13. Stairway | 21. Herodian tower |
| 6. Main N - S street | 14. Plaza | 22. Antonia Fortress |
| 7. Robinson's Arch | 15. Ritual bathhouse | 23. Warren's Gate |
| 8. Upper City | 16. Council house | 24. Largest ashlar |

L. RITMEYER

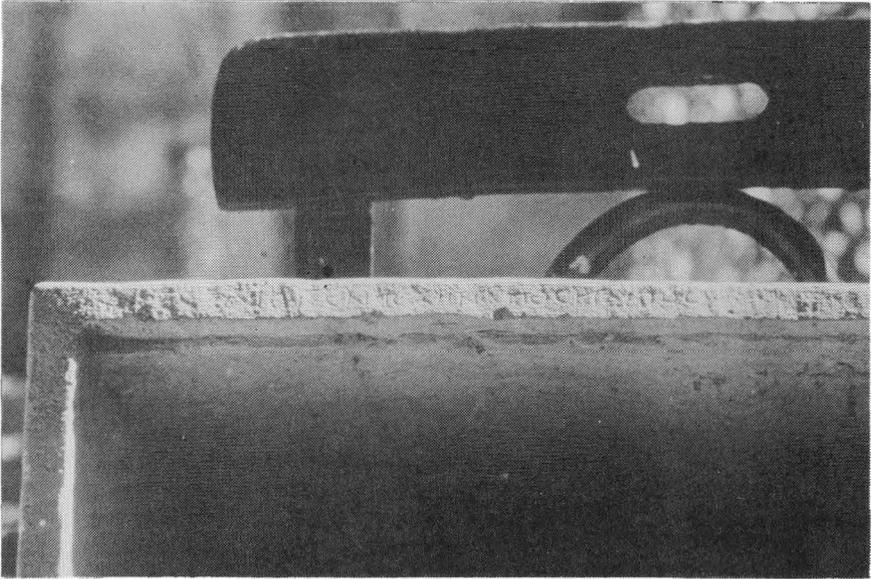


Fig. 13

For Fig. 14 see centre spread

Fig. 15





Fig. 16

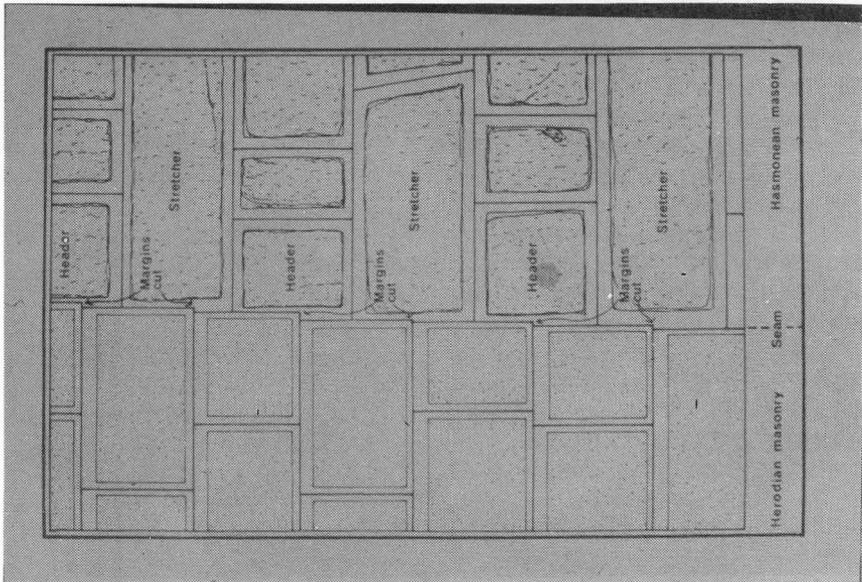


Fig. 17

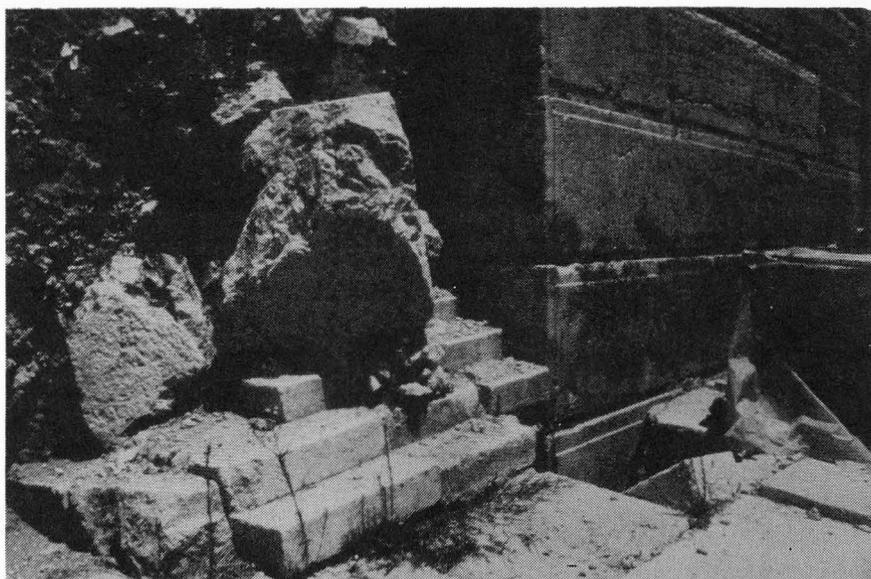
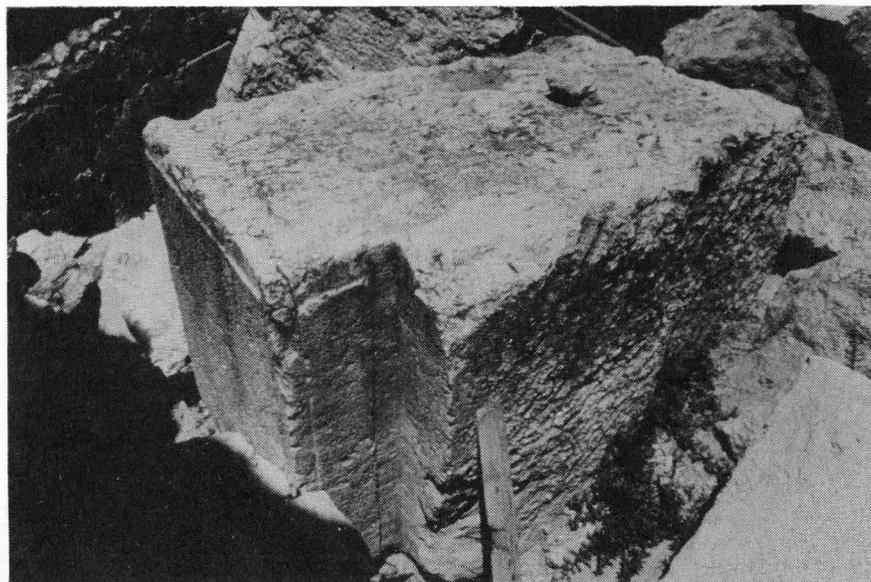


Fig. 18

Fig. 19



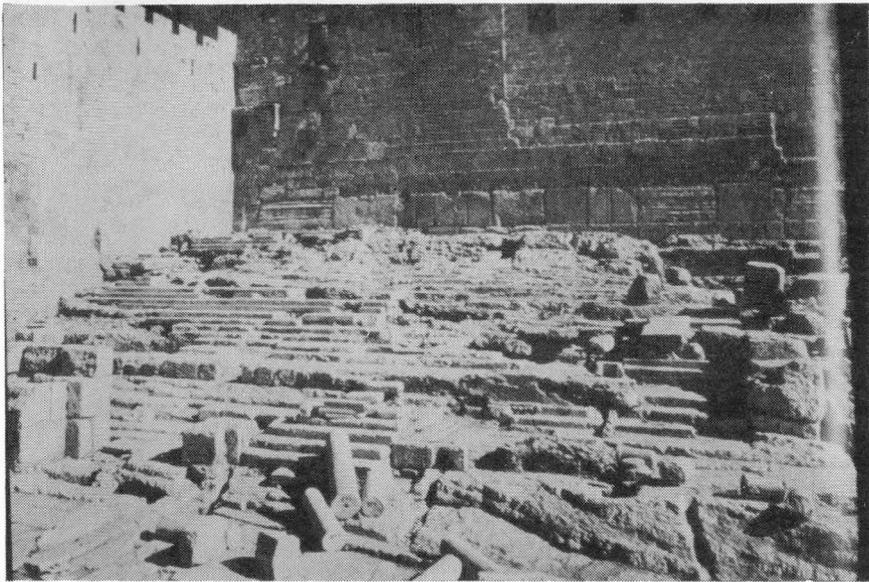
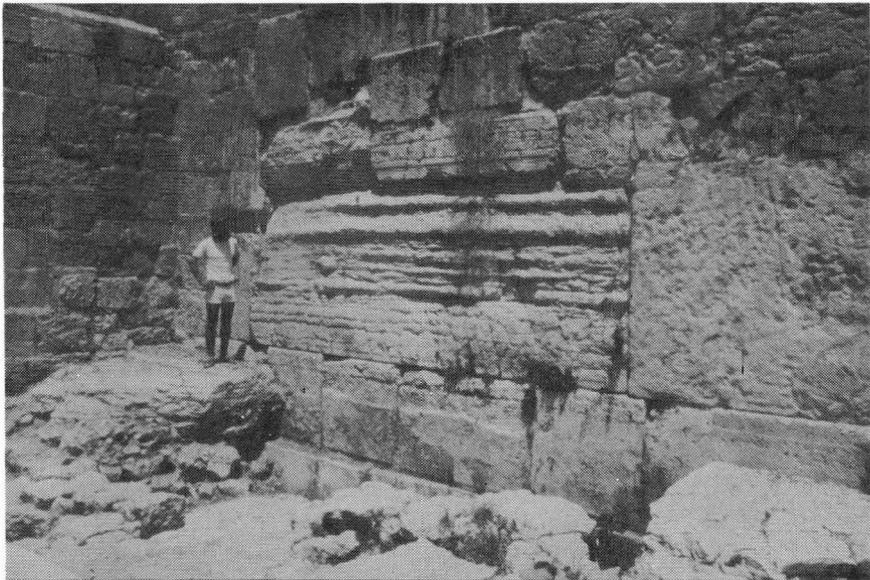


Fig. 20

Fig. 21



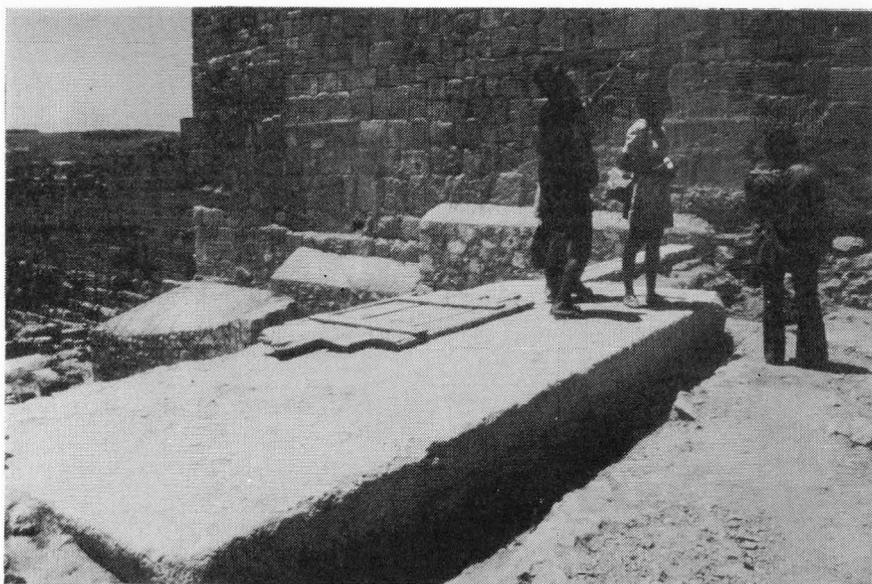


Fig. 22

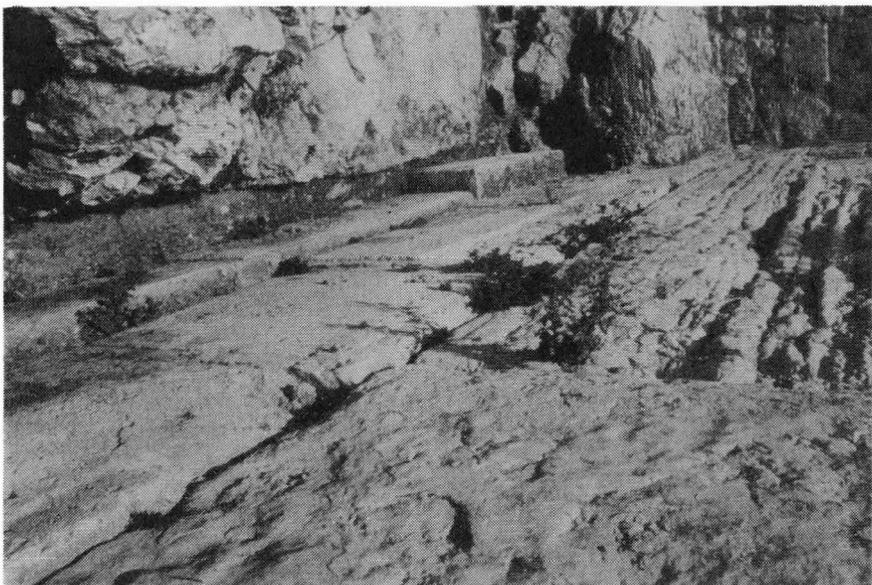


Fig. 23



Fig. 24

Fig. 25



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