

# Ashkelon 5

*HARVARD SEMITIC MUSEUM PUBLICATIONS*

Lawrence E. Stager, General Editor  
Michael D. Coogan, Director of Publications

---

FINAL REPORTS  
OF THE  
LEON LEVY EXPEDITION  
TO  
ASHKELON

*Series Editors*

*Lawrence E. Stager, Daniel M. Master, and J. David Schloen*

1. *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985–2006)*  
edited by Lawrence E. Stager, J. David Schloen, and Daniel M. Master
2. *Ashkelon 2: Imported Pottery of the Roman and Late Roman Periods*  
by Barbara L. Johnson
3. *Ashkelon 3: The Seventh Century B.C.*  
by Lawrence E. Stager, Daniel M. Master, and J. David Schloen
4. *Ashkelon 4: The Iron Age Figurines of Ashkelon and Philistia*  
by Michael D. Press
5. *Ashkelon 5: The Land behind Ashkelon*  
by Yaakov Huster, with contributions by Daniel M. Master, George A. Pierce,  
and Michael D. Press

THE LEON LEVY EXPEDITION TO ASHKELON

# ASHKELON 5

*The Land behind Ashkelon*

By

Yaakov Huster

With contributions by

Daniel M. Master, George A. Pierce, and Michael D. Press

Winona Lake, Indiana

EISENBRAUNS

2012

Ashkelon 5:  
The Land behind Ashkelon

by Yaakov Huster  
With contributions by  
Daniel M. Master, George A. Pierce, and Michael D. Press

Copyright © 2015  
President and Fellows of Harvard College

All rights reserved.

Printed in the U.S.A.

Distributed by  
Eisenbrauns  
PO Box 275  
Winona Lake, IN 46590-0275

<http://eisenbrauns.com>

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Huster, Yaakov, author.

Ashkelon 5 : the land behind Ashkelon / by Yaakov Huster ; with contributions by  
Daniel M. Master, George A. Pierce, and Michael D. Press.

pages ; cm. — (Final reports of the Leon Levy expedition to Ashkelon ; 5)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-57506-952-4 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Ashkelon (Israel)—Antiquities. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)—Israel—Ashkelon. 3. Material culture—Israel—Ashkelon. I. Master, Daniel M., 1971–author. II. Pierce, George A., author. III. Press, Michael D., author. IV. Title. V. Title: Ashkelon five.

DS110.A76H88 2015

956.94'9—dc23

2015006352

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984. ©™



Shelby White and Leon Levy

The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon is indebted to the vision and support of Leon Levy and Shelby White. Its ongoing publications are underwritten by a grant from the Leon Levy Foundation.



# CONTENTS

<i>Editors' Preface</i>	ix
<i>Author's Preface</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xiii
<b>1. Introduction</b> <i>Yaakov Huster</i>	1
<b>2. Survey of Settlement Patterns by Period</b> <i>Yaakov Huster</i>	13
<b>3. Identification of Ottoman Sites</b> <i>Michael D. Press</i>	89
<b>4. Ashkelon as Gateway and Central Place</b> <i>George A. Pierce and Daniel M. Master</i>	109
<b>5. Regional Archaeological Survey: Map of Sderot (96)</b> <i>Yaakov Huster</i>	125
<i>Bibliography</i>	209
<i>Index</i>	251





## EDITORS' PREFACE

FROM the outset, the Leon Levy Expedition has been committed to placing the excavations at Tel Ashkelon within a wider regional context. From 1986 to 1990, we supported Mitchell Allen's survey of the area southeast of modern Ashkelon (IAA map 92), but we looked for a chance to do more. One of the impediments has always been the scale of the task. Since Allen's survey, the city of Ashkelon has grown considerably, and that growth has been accompanied by extensive salvage excavations undertaken by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). If we were to understand the land behind Ashkelon, we needed not only to revisit the older surveys but also to take into account an enormous amount of new information collected by the archaeologists of the IAA.

In 2009, we met with Yigael Yisrael and Yaakov Huster of the IAA who suggested a solution. Yaakov Huster, who had been working in in the Ashkelon region for many years, was about to retire. He had completed his work on another survey area close to Ashkelon (IAA map 96) and, as inspector for the Ashkelon region, had seen all of the ongoing salvage work for the last decade or more. Yigael and Jacob suggested that the Leon Levy Expedition fund a publication project, overseen by Jacob, to pull together all of the new data, to revisit the entire area around Ashkelon, and to publish the new data from map 96. We were enthusiastic. Not only would this allow us to fulfill one of our core research goals, but Jacob's firsthand experience would add particular expertise. Too many times, local IAA inspectors are not given their due. They are not afforded the time to articulate the type of regional perspective that their work has uniquely afforded them. This was our chance to rectify this oversight at Ashkelon.

Jacob began his work in 2009 and carefully worked through a large body of earlier materials. His work was facilitated by the Ashkelon laboratory, directed in turn

by Michael Press (2009–2010), Rona Avissar Lewis (2010–2012), and Rafael (Rafi) Lewis (2012–2013). In particular, Michael Press was a close confidant of Jacob, working through many of the details of site identification. As the project progressed, and the final prose was being constructed, Michael agreed to join the project in an official capacity. Michael undertook most of the editing for chapters 1 and 2. In addition, Michael asked if he might write up the conclusions for the Ottoman period (chapter 3). His positive contributions to the volume were indispensable.

This project was also aided by many others. Elise Jakoby Laguier constructed the maps from tables supplied by Yaakov Huster. She also produced several analyses of the key spatial relationships through time in ArcGIS. While these analyses are not graphically relayed in the volume, many of the concepts that she uncovered are reflected upon in chapter 4. George Pierce provided a synthetic reflection that builds on his previous studies of the Dothan Valley and Sharon Plain. His is just the first of what we hope will be many attempts to reflect on the relationship between Ashkelon as a site and this rich dataset assembled by Yaakov Huster. Finally, Megan Sauter completed the layout and copy editing, a core task which makes our job as series editors much simpler.

The land behind Ashkelon represents a fundamental contribution to the goals of the Leon Levy Expedition, but more than this, it is a distillation of numerous excavations by many talented archaeologists, brought together by Yaakov Huster, a man who has devoted his life to preserving the cultural heritage of the Ashkelon region.

Daniel M. Master  
Wheaton, Illinois

Lawrence E. Stager  
Concord, Massachusetts

October 2014



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE present work builds inevitably on that of previous researchers. In particular, the surveys of Berman and Allen are fundamental to any analysis of settlement patterns in the Ashkelon region. These studies, however, looked primarily at small, 10 x 10 km areas while largely ignoring a more regional outlook. For many years, as district inspector of the Ashkelon region for the Israel Antiquities Authority, I had the chance to view the Ashkelon region as a whole and was able to observe sites and surveys as they occurred. In addition, I have been personally acquainted with the archaeologists who have conducted the surveys and excavations, as well as with their published reports and unpublished data. Because of this, the opportunity to pull together all of these sites into a comprehensive regional study represents the culmination of a lifetime of observation.

I would like to thank Lawrence E. Stager and Daniel M. Master for providing us with the opportunity to

conduct this study. Thanks are due to Alon Shavit, who was gracious with his time in discussing aspects of his survey of the southern coastal plain and provided a copy of his unpublished Ph.D. thesis. I would also like to thank Benjamin Felker and Elise Jakoby Laugier for producing the maps.

Above all, this work is a tribute to the long line of travelers and researchers that worked in this area, starting in the nineteenth century: from Victor Guérin, the Survey of Western Palestine, and British surveyors and mapmakers through to the Archaeological Survey of Israeli teams, Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, and countless others that we do not have space to mention here. Without their accumulated knowledge, the present study would in no way be possible.

Yaakov Huster  
Ashkelon, Israel

October 2014



## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>American Anthropologist</i>
AAA	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJBA	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</i>
ANET <sup>3</sup>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , 3d ed. [= Pritchard 1969]
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung</i> .
Annuario	<i>Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
Ashkelon 1	<i>Ashkelon</i> , vol. 1, <i>Introduction and Overview (1985–2006)</i> [= Stager, Schloen, and Master 2008]
Ashkelon 2	<i>Ashkelon</i> , vol. 2, <i>Imported Pottery of the Roman and Late Roman Periods</i> [= Johnson 2008]
Ashkelon 3	<i>Ashkelon</i> , vol. 3, <i>The Seventh Century B.C.</i> [= Stager, Master, and Schloen 2011]
Ashkelon 4	<i>Ashkelon</i> , vol. 4, <i>The Iron Age Figurines of Ashkelon and Philistia</i> [= Press 2012]
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique</i>
BDB	<i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> [= Brown, Driver, and Briggs 2006 (1906)]
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology: Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society</i>
EAEHL	<i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i>
EI	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>Ephemeris</i>	<i>ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ</i>
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>ΤΟ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ</i>
ESI	<i>Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
LB	Late Bronze Age
MB	Middle Bronze Age
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i>
NT	New Tomb (Ialysos)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> [continues PEFQS]
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
TA	Tel Aviv
UCL	University College, London
UT	Ustinow Terracotta
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>



## 1. INTRODUCTION

by Yaakov Huster

THE maritime networks of Tel Ashkelon extended across the ancient Mediterranean, reaching peoples and markets from Cyprus to Spain. Less attention has been paid to Tel Ashkelon's hinterland, a region extending some 15–20 km inland from the site. This volume attempts to fill that lacunae by describing the region of Ashkelon across its entire pre-modern history of human occupation.

### *Previous Research*

The Ashkelon region, as with the rest of Israel, has been extensively surveyed since the nineteenth century (for a brief survey, see Schloen in *Ashkelon I*, pp. 143–152). At that time, most interest in the region was due to its role in the Bible and, secondarily, its historical role in the Crusades (Rey 1871, also 1862). Of the various early explorers and travelers, the most systematic was V. Guérin, who conducted two detailed surveys of Tel Ashkelon and its vicinity (1857, 1869); his work approached that of a scientific survey. Despite this early interest, however, detailed survey work for both identification of archaeological sites and production of a high-quality, accurate map of the country only proceeded in the 1870s with the Survey of Western Palestine under Conder and Kitchener (1881–83). While the PEF's conduct of this survey was driven by biblical interest, its ultimate sponsorship and the production of the map itself—by the Ordnance Survey of the UK—was ultimately produced not for biblical but for military reasons (Goren 2002).

With World War I, the recognition came that the Survey of Western Palestine map—while highly accurate compared to other nineteenth-century maps—did not meet current standards or needs (i.e., it was not accurate enough for directing artillery). While the British mapped large parts of the country during the war (see Collier and Inkpen 2001), a comprehensive topographic survey of the country was conducted under the Mandate in the 1920s, leading to a highly accurate series of map sheets produced from the 1930s by the Survey of Palestine (printed in both 1:20,000 and 1:100,000 series; see Gavish 2005). Among the features noted on these maps were archaeological sites (listed as “ruin,” cisterns, wells, etc.), including many not previously noted by Conder and Kitchener or other surveyors and explorers.

A strictly archaeological survey of the country, meanwhile, was planned and started in the mid-1930s by P. L. O. Guy, then Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Guy 1937; 1938; Green 2009:176–79). This survey was tied to the new British maps—not the large-scale 1:20,000 map sheets, however, but the smaller-scale 1:100,000 sheets (contra Green 2009:177, who mistakenly states that Guy used the Survey of Western Palestine map sheets). Guy himself began a survey on map sheet 7, covering the coastal plain from Tel Aviv south—but only as far as the region of Ashdod. Unfortunately, due to lack of funds and manpower, and increasing disturbances due to the Arab Revolt, this survey was suspended in 1938 before being extended farther south toward Ashkelon.

The newly established state of Israel expressed renewed interest in a systematic archaeological survey of the country. Therefore, it organized the Archaeological Survey of Israel in 1964 (Dagan n.d.). This survey followed the large-scale 1:20,000 map sheets produced by the British. The area of the modern city of Ashkelon itself is covered by four of the 10 x 10 km Mandatory map sheets: Ascalon (2 sheets: Sheets 10-11 and 10-12), Hamame (Sheet 11-12), and El Majdal (Sheet 11-11). Each of these map sheets has been surveyed and published by the Archaeological Survey. A team under Ariel Berman surveyed Ascalon Sheet 10-11 (as Map 91 of the Archaeological Survey, called Ziqim), Ascalon Sheet 10-12 (Map 87, Nizzanim West), and Hamame Sheet 11-12 (Map 88, Nizzanim East) between 1971 and 1973; the publications of these survey maps (Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004; Berman and Barda 2005) are revised versions of his work, as these areas were resurveyed under L. Barda in the 1990s. The El Majdal sheet (Map 92, Ashkelon) was surveyed by M. Allen in the Ashkelon Regional Archaeological Survey between 1986 and 1990 (Allen 1997; *Ashkelon I*, pp. 21–66). An additional survey was conducted by A. Shavit (from 1994 to 1998) in the southern coastal plain, including the Ashkelon region (Shavit 2003; 2008); Shavit's survey, however, focused only on sites inhabited in the Iron Age II.

The Ashkelon region has also seen extensive excavation over the last hundred years. Among tell sites, the major focus has been Tel Ashkelon itself (for a brief summary, see Schloen in *Ashkelon*

*I*, pp. 153–164). Tel Ashkelon was first excavated by the Palestine Exploration Fund under John Garstang and W. J. Phythian-Adams between 1920 and 1922 (Garstang 1921a; 1921b; 1922; 1924; Phythian-Adams 1921; 1923). The major results of these excavations were the exposure of a major public building from the Roman and Byzantine periods in the center of the ancient city, as well as a series of probes and sections revealing the occupational history of the site along the sea cliff and the western side of the site. Since 1985, the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (directed first by L. E. Stager, now joined by D. Master) has more systematically and broadly exposed the occupational sequence, from Middle Bronze (with occasional Early Bronze pottery and stratigraphic units, as well as Chalcolithic pottery) to Crusader (see *Ashkelon I*). Beyond Tel Ashkelon, however, there has been little excavation of large mounded sites (in part due to the relative absence of such sites in the area; note that we are not counting Tel Ashdod here as part of the area of interest). The only example of any systematic (non-salvage) work has been at Tel Poran (Gophna 1977; 1992b); salvage work, meanwhile, has been conducted at Netiv Ha-ʿAsara (Yasur-Landau and Shavit 1999; Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005) and Khirbet Bakkita (see Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004). Besides these excavations, however, a number of (generally small-scale) excavations of non-tell sites have been conducted in the region, mostly by the Mandatory Department of Antiquities, the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, and the latter’s successor, the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA). In particular, in the last 15 years the IAA has conducted a series of salvage digs in and around the modern city of Ashkelon.

### *Goals and Methods*

The present study has two basic goals:

1. To investigate the general settlement patterns in the Ashkelon region—period by period—and attempt to understand how and why these patterns changed over time.
2. To provide information for a study of the specific relationship between the central site of the region, Tel Ashkelon, and the sites that constitute its hinterland.

Our main tools will necessarily be archaeological surface surveys, especially those of the

Archaeological Survey of Israel (but also Shavit’s survey). These surveys consisted (for Allen at least!) of a full-coverage site-based surface survey (with team members typically walking 30–40 meters apart) (Allen in *Ashkelon I*, p. 24). Given this type of survey and the techniques used by the surveyors, the collected data cover the entire area and do not suffer from sample bias—either towards particular subsets of the area or types of sites.

Nevertheless, surface survey via fieldwalking (“pedestrian techniques” after Schiffer, Sullivan, and Klinger 1978), as with any method, has its own set of limitations: the complex nature of the relationship between surface and subsurface materials; overrepresentation of larger materials on the surface; overrepresentation of later periods on the surface, with corresponding underrepresentation of earlier periods; and problems of visibility (see Schiffer, Sullivan, and Klinger 1978; Cherry 1983; Leibner 2009:84; Snodgrass 1987:101–2). As a result, some archaeologists have come to see this technique in general as unreliable (cf. Snodgrass 1987:102). A particularly relevant situation concerning the effects of *sebakh*—decomposed organic material forming the ancient mounds—on site survey in Egypt (see below) caused Bailey (1999) to question the value of this technique in Egypt.

Therefore, for our project we are fortunate to have, in addition to extensive survey data, results from a large series of salvage excavations conducted in and around the modern city of Ashkelon, particularly in the last 15 years. These excavations are invaluable for exposing a set of “windows” into the occupational history of the region, allowing us to test the results of systematic surface survey. In addition, one of the major benefits of our study will therefore be a new synthesis of data: combination of excavation and survey data, including the results of multiple excavations and multiple surveys, as well as inspection work, which has not always been reported or registered. Moreover, for each dataset we use material covering a larger region than merely one of the 100-square-kilometer survey maps, thereby presenting a more regional outlook than most survey work. This unprecedented integration of data sources will also allow the updating of and correction of errors from previous work.

### Size of the Study Area

This study, as mentioned above, covers the area of the Archaeological Survey of Israel map sheets



87, 88, 91, and 92. The general size of the study area is related in part to models of site systems and the relationship of their sizes to transport costs and travel times. How large can the settlement system of a site be in order to maintain continual contact for political and economic purposes? Thus Weiss, Kislev, and Maher-Slasky (2008:606–7; see also Weiss and Kislev 2004:11), in their analysis of ancient Ashkelon’s food supply sources, suggest that the agricultural hinterland of Ashkelon would have formed a radius of approximately 7 km. This estimate is based on M. Chisholm’s (1968) study of rural settlement. In fact, Chisholm’s analysis (1968:131) suggests 7 km as an approximate distance between settlements; thus, the maximum radius of a town’s fields is approximately 3–4 km, and therefore the diameter of the hinterland would be approximately 7 km. Meanwhile, Renfrew’s “Early State Module” suggested a distance of approximately 40 km between centers, resulting in a radius of approximately 20 km for the administrative boundary of the center, although Renfrew noted that environmental and social factors could lead to a range in the distance between centers of 20 to 100 km (1975:14). Similarly, Johnson’s work on the Uruk administration in Iran (based on settlement density around major sites) suggests a distance of a half-day’s journey—approximately 20 km in the pre-modern Near East—for the range of sites under the central control of the main city (1987:115–16). This is the figure used by Shavit (2008:138):

Satellite sites had to be within a half-day walking distance from central sites, to allow village residents to make their way to and from the central site in a day. Therefore, the distance between them could not exceed 10–15 km. These conditions are necessary for sustaining continuous commercial relations between a central settlement and the surrounding villages.

The applicability of these studies to the situation of the Ashkelon region may be limited: After all, Tel Ashkelon was not a small farming village but a large international port, with an estimated population in various periods (see, e.g., *Ashkelon I*, pp. 3–4) much greater than that of a typical rural settlement (following discussion in Bunce 1982:13). However, while these studies may not be useful for exact definitions of a hinterland (agricultural or otherwise), we may use them to provide a general approximation; thus our study area should fall into a range of 10–20 km radius from Tel Ashkelon. In fact, the evidence suggests that, at least at certain points in the region’s history,

this radius approximates or even overestimates the extent of Ashkelon’s hinterland. For example, Tel Ashdod, on the edge of Map 88 (Nizzanim East) and at a distance of approximately 15 km from Tel Ashkelon, was not strictly a part of the Ashkelon sphere but a major site in its own right. Similarly, there is evidence that the site of Netiv Ha-Asara, roughly 10 km south of Tel Ashkelon, may have belonged to the sphere of Gaza and not of Ashkelon (see discussion in chapters 2 and 3).

As a result, we have adopted the basic concept of a 15 km radius from Tel Ashkelon to represent the hinterland of ancient Ashkelon. In order to best approximate this radius, we have included survey data from four of the Archaeological Survey of Israel map sheets: Maps 87 (Nizzanim West), 88 (Nizzanim East), 91 (Ziqim), and 92 (Ashkelon). In addition, reference will be made periodically to neighboring map sheets, in particular Map 96—immediately to the south of Map 92—published as an appendix to this volume. The use of these sheets approximates the radius given that Tel Ashkelon falls near the boundary of Maps 87 and 91, although the exact distance of the edge of the study area from the tell varies (as the shape

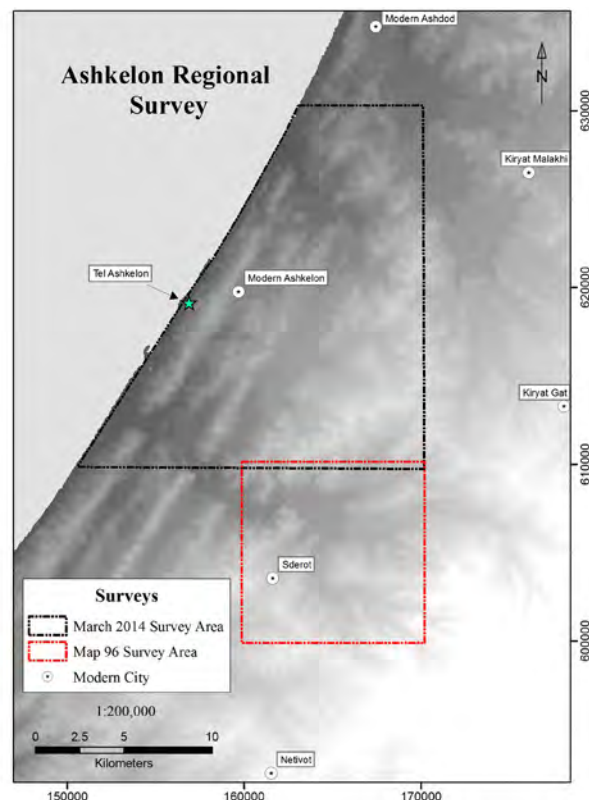


Figure 1.1. Map of Ashkelon Regional Survey, with coordinates given in the New Israel Grid (NIG).

is not circular but rectangular); also, note that Ziqim and especially Nizzanim West largely fall over the water, and so the area is not a full 20 x 20 km square. This layout also allows us to use the complete area of each of the Berman and Allen surveys and, therefore, to assess their conclusions more completely.

#### Organization of the Study

The study itself consists of two main sections. In the first, we present a survey of settlement patterns in the Ashkelon region by period. This discussion follows the general format of the archaeological overviews in the Archaeological Survey of Israel map sheet publications, although it is more extended in length and covers a larger area than a single 10 x 10 km map sheet. The second section includes a more diachronic analysis of settlement patterns. In the discussion, we try to identify longer-term trends (following the concept of *la longue durée*) in settlement patterns, considering environmental and economic factors among others. We also try to place the Ashkelon region within its wider context in Palestine in order to determine to what extent the Tel Ashkelon system is typical of larger patterns in the country or marks a special case.

The settlement pattern survey by period uses, for the most part, the nomenclature of the Archaeological Survey of Israel, including the survey work of M. Allen in Map 92. The periods, then, are the following:

- Palaeolithic (encompassing the Lower Palaeolithic to the Epipalaeolithic)
- Neolithic
- Chalcolithic to Early Bronze (EB) (treated together)
- Middle Bronze (MB)
- Late Bronze (LB)
- Iron Age (Iron I and II discussed together)
- Persian and Hellenistic (treated together, as Hellenistic sites appear to be a continuation of the Persian period sites)
- Roman (Early Roman [ER] and Late Roman [LR])
- Byzantine
- Early Islamic
- Medieval
- Ottoman

Two periods require special comment. In the literature there is often confusion in the terms Late Roman and Byzantine, resulting from

different usages. In typical usage, “Late Roman” is seen as synonymous with “Byzantine” and used to cover the third or fourth to early seventh centuries A.D. (see, e.g., Johnson 2008, esp. 463; Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, esp. Fig. 3.21). Among Israeli archaeologists, however, Late Roman and Byzantine are usually treated as distinct periods. Our usage follows that of the New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land (Stern 1993:1529), which is also that generally in usage among the Archaeological Survey of Israel (e.g., Berman and Barda 2005; Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004). Thus, in the current study, the Roman period is divided into Early Roman (first century B.C. to first century A.D.) and Late Roman (second to third centuries A.D.). The Byzantine period, meanwhile, covers the fourth through early seventh centuries. In our period by period survey, the description of the Byzantine period—despite the fact that this period marks, by far, the pre-modern height of settlement in the region—will be relatively brief. There has been an abundant discussion of this period in previous studies, and we will as a result make only a brief reference to earlier work, for completeness.

The second period that needs elaboration is “Medieval.” This is the term we are using (like M. Allen) to cover both the Crusader and Mamluk periods. Crusader and Mamluk pottery often poses a problem of differentiation; for any attempt at finer distinctions we will tend to rely on historical sources.

#### Sites and Non-Sites

One important topic directly related to the method of the current study is the existence of a number of questionable sites in the study area. These sites, localized in the sand dunes along the coast, consist almost entirely of artifact scatters, especially pottery, with little or no evidence of structures or building stones. Berman and Allen (see Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, pp. 25, 33–34) both expressed doubts as to the characterization of these scatters as actual sites. Nevertheless, in the final publication of the Nizzanim West, Nizzanim East, and Ziqim survey maps (Maps 87, 88, and 91; Berman and Barda 2005; Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004), they are not differentiated from other sites. Given that the classification of these scatters will greatly affect any regional study in the coastal plain, an extended discussion is in order here.

When Berman directed his surveys from 1971 to 1973, large parts of Nizzanim West and Ziqim

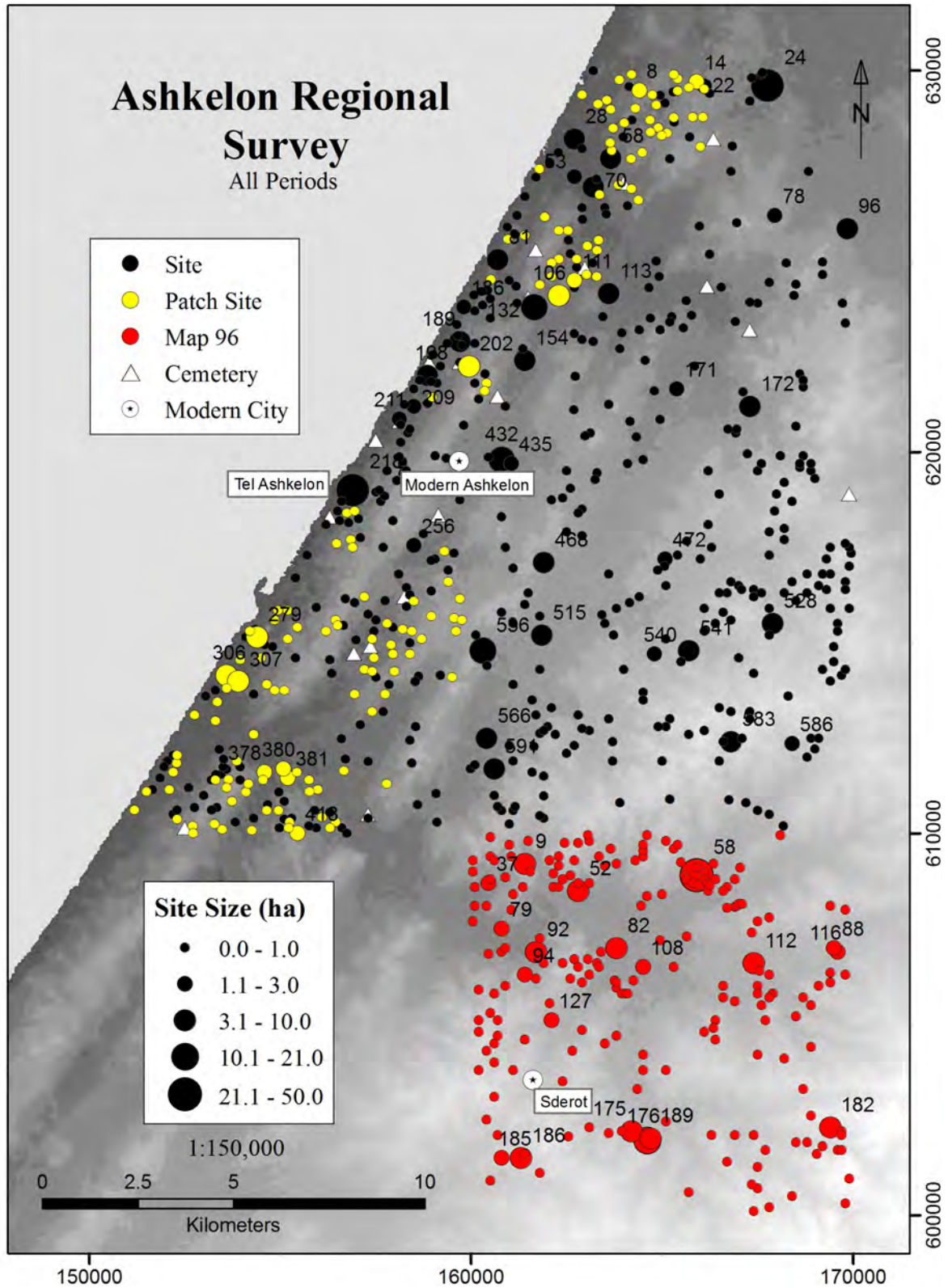


Figure 1.2. Map of Ashkelon Regional Survey with all periods shown, with coordinates given in the New Israel Grid (NIG).

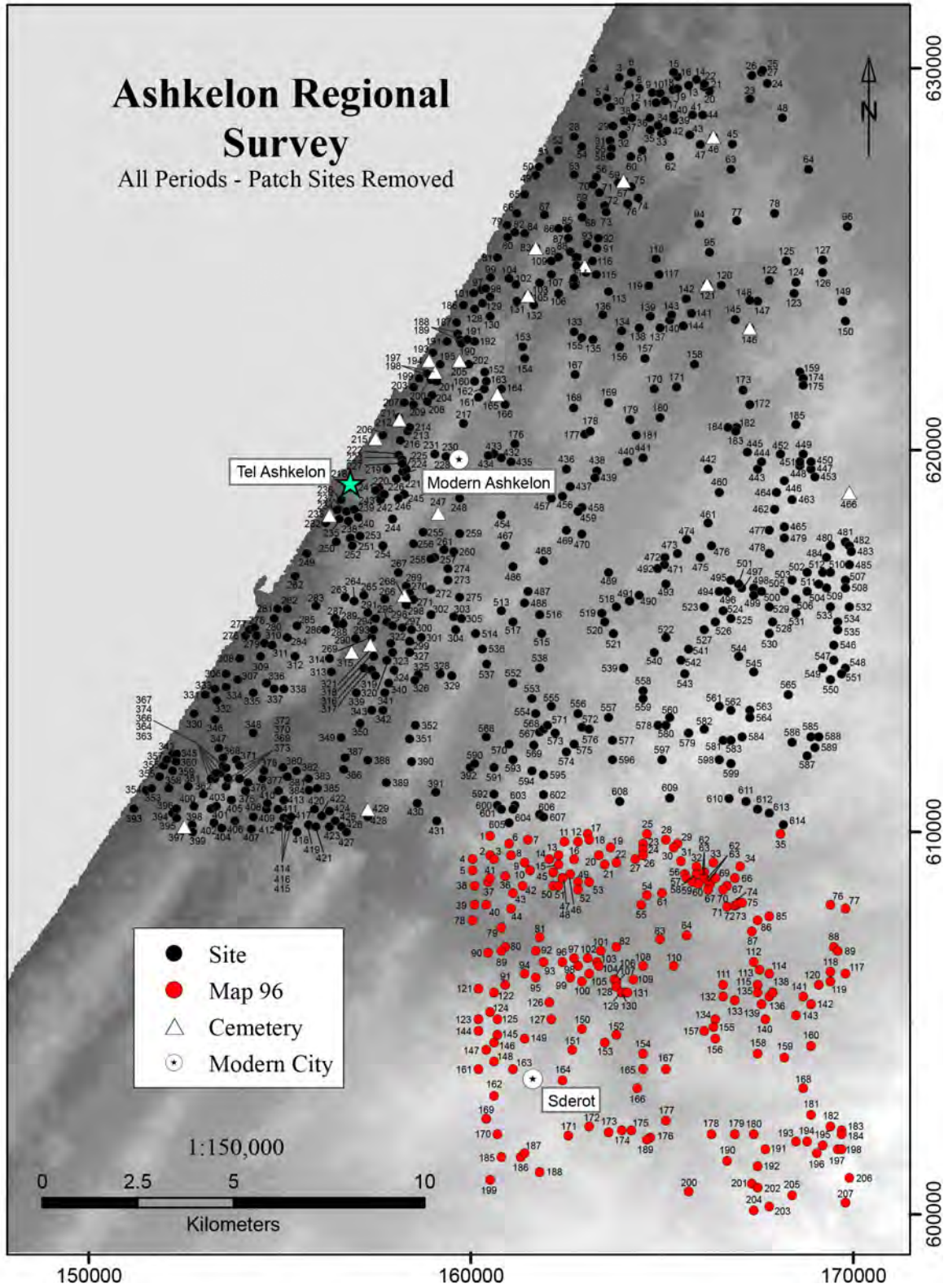


Figure 1.3. Map of Ashkelon Regional Survey with all patch sites removed, with coordinates given in the New Israel Grid (NIG).

were covered by sand dunes. The very recent age of the dunes was deduced from the Byzantine and Early Islamic finds on the soil below the sand (Issar 1968:25; Issar and Zohar 2007:15–16). Notably, many of Berman’s sites were found in depressions between the dunes. Most of these sites consisted chiefly of pottery scatters of various periods, almost devoid of remnants of structures. Berman listed these sites as “patches” of pottery in his original manuscript, as well as in communication with Mitchell Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 25). He himself hesitated to assert that they were in fact sites. However, in the final publication of both maps, after Berman’s sites had been resurveyed by teams in the 1990s to confirm the original data (mainly the location of the sites but also the nature of their remains), Berman’s doubts were not clearly reflected. Instead, the “patches” are numbered and registered together with the other sites in Nizzanim West and Ziqim. We believe, however, that Berman’s original determination was correct: Many of these “patches” were not true sites, and the regional analysis therefore needs to be adjusted to reflect this situation.

Berman’s descriptions of several of the patches, particularly as they appear in the final publication of Map 91 (Ziqim), are quite consistent:

Scatter of potsherds and fragments of glass vessels (c.5 dunams), in long valley between sandy hills. At the site are ruinous structures, built a few generations ago, surrounded by agricultural plots. Finds: Roman, Mamluk and Ottoman pottery; a coin, 14th century C.E., and four perforated silver coins from the late Ottoman period. (Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004:x [Site 78. Holot Ashkelon, coordinates 15955-61565])

Ruins of a structure built a few generations ago on low sandy spur. Ancient building stones, some of them dressed, and ancient architectural elements, were observed in the walls of the structure and in the debris. Surrounding the remains—agricultural terraces and stone clearance piles. Pottery: Iron, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman. (Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004:x [Site 115. Holot Ziqim, coordinates 15775-61365])

Ruins of a structure (c. 10 x 35 m) built during the last few generations, on moderate sandy slope, NE of Nahal Shiqma. In the courtyard is a well. Scattered on the sand are building stones and potsherds (c. 1 dunam). Pottery: Iron II, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Mamluk,

and Ottoman. (Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004:x [Site 158. Holot Karmiyya, coordinates 15667-61165])

From these descriptions, the basic features of Berman’s “patches” can be described as follows: They consist primarily of artifact scatters located among the sand dunes. These scatters may be associated with terraces or other traces of agriculture, as well as with recent buildings (other descriptions of patches, not reproduced here, make no mention of recent structures); otherwise structural remains are generally absent. Sherds from various periods are most common, but finds also include small metal objects, coins, tesserae, and glass. The late Ottoman period is particularly well represented by pottery, clay pipes, and coins.

The association of these “patches” with agricultural traces within the sand dunes, sometimes adjacent to recent (late Ottoman or Mandatory) buildings, is remarkably closely paralleled by Charles Warren’s description a century earlier of fruit trees within the sand dunes of the southern coastal plain:

It is curious in traversing these sand hills to come upon the site of some orchard which has been covered perhaps for hundreds of years. You suddenly come upon a sort of crater in the sand, 40ft. deep, at the bottom of which flourishes an apple tree; then you come upon a fig tree growing in the same manner, and lastly upon a little patch of ground, quite below the level of the sand, with a house attached; but even this patch of ground has several feet of sand over it. The husbandman’s chief duty appears to consist in dragging up the sand in baskets from the bottom of the craters to the surface. The trees growing in these little hollows are very fruitful, and no wonder, for they have no wind, plenty of sun, and good moist earth to grow in; the superincumbent sand, being a non-conductor, prevents evaporation from the soil below and keeps it moist through the summer. (Warren 1871:84)

Both of these descriptions, in turn, are excellent illustrations of a phenomenon known as *mawasi* agriculture. In this system of agriculture—or, more properly, horticulture—depressions in between sandy hills, either natural or excavated, are used for growing fruit trees in particular (see Tsoar 2000:193; Pye and Tsoar 2009:356). While nowadays irrigation and fertilization are most commonly practiced in the southern coastal plain, during the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods the *mawasi* fields were spread from the southern Gaza strip to the north of Yavneh on a relatively

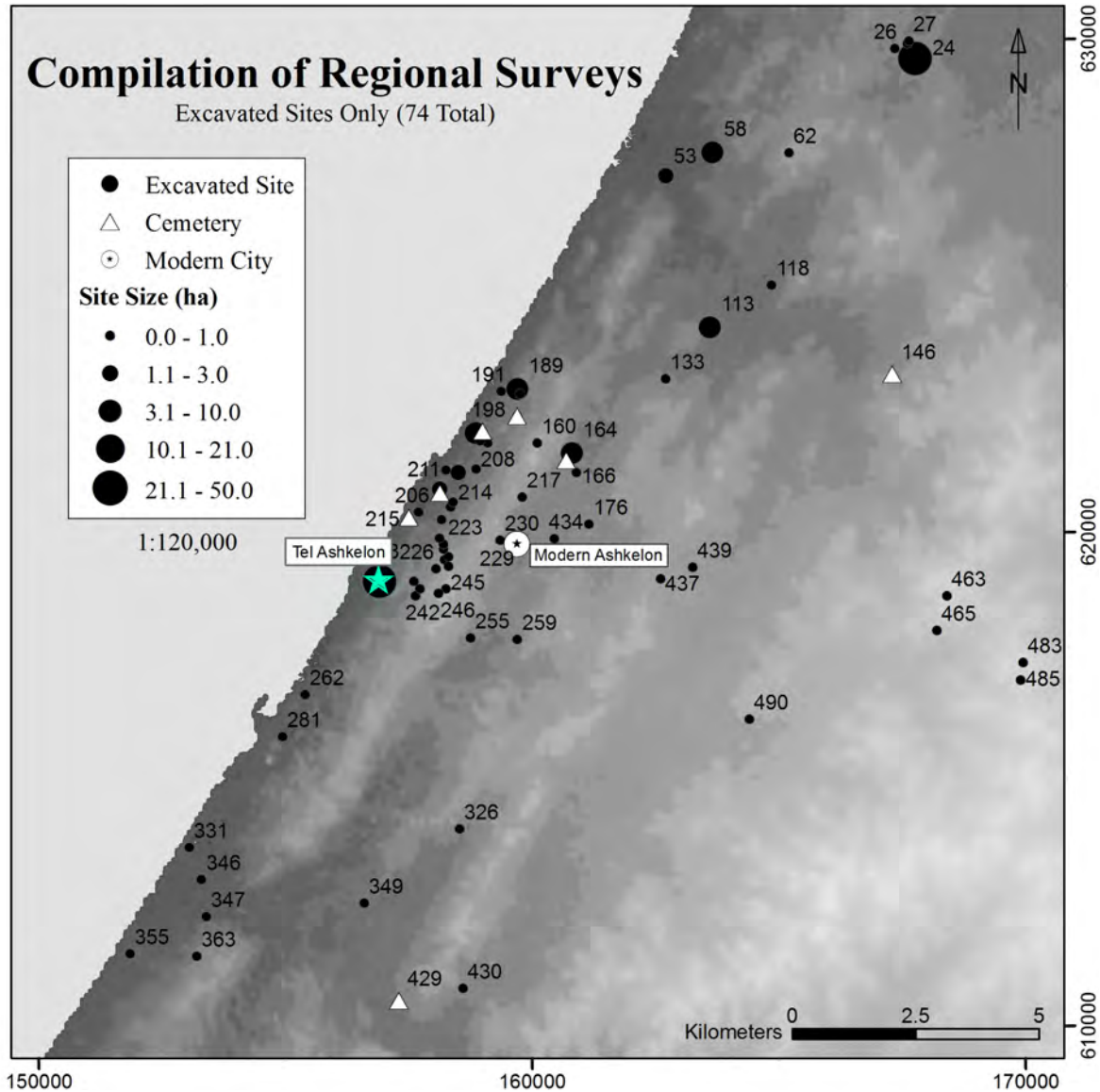


Figure 1.4. Map of Ashkelon Regional Survey with only excavated sites shown, with coordinates given in the New Israel Grid (NIG).

narrow strip running parallel to the sea. (In fact, they probably extended well north of modern Tel Aviv: Evidence exists for the practice of this system hundreds of years ago in the Sharon plain, in the vicinity of Caesarea.) This agricultural system was developed to exploit the existence of a high aquifer along the seashore and to make use of every available patch of sandy ground. Mandatory maps and especially later, more accurate Israeli maps of the southern coastal plain are dotted with graphic representations of these patches, most of them vineyards. The 1948 war and the driving out of the population of the Arab villages put an end

to this traditional system throughout the territory held by the State of Israel. It continued, however, to be practiced in the Gaza Strip; moreover, many of the now-defunct *mawasi* patches in Israel are still visible today.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The *mawasi* fields have often been misunderstood by recent observers and taken for the remains of ancient fields. This seems to be the case with Warren's description above; compare Weiss, Kislev, and Maher-Slasky 2008:606: "Relatively recent sand dunes now cover these ancient fields, so it is impossible to locate them precisely. However, scattered old vines, apparently rooted in fertile soil underneath the sand

The main addition of Berman's descriptions to our knowledge of *mawasi* agriculture is the reference to sherd and other artifact scatters. These scatters, in our opinion, are the remains of the manuring of the *mawasi* fields, with fertilizer being brought specifically from tell sites. In the *mawasi* system, fertilizer such as animal manure was added to the naturally high levels of nitrogen and phosphorus provided by the fresh water (Pye and Tsoar 2009:356). Gibson (1995:83–84) emphasizes that during the Ottoman period sown fields were very rarely manured; following Post (1891:116), he states that manure was mainly kept for use in vegetable gardens and orchards. Manuring, then, would have been widely practiced in the *mawasi* system of the coastal plain, which was used specifically for the growth of vegetables and fruit trees (Pye and Tsoar 2009:356). Thus travelers' accounts of fields at Tel Ashkelon and its surroundings from the nineteenth century frequently note the predominance of orchards, vineyards, and vegetable gardens (e.g., Porter 1858:267–69; Guérin 1857:83; Guérin 1869:134–35; Conder and Kitchener 1883:237).

The use of organic material derived from archaeological sites as fertilizer is attested from a variety of regions throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East (Crete, mainland Greece, Egypt, and Iraq) and through a variety of periods (from at least the third millennium B.C. to the twentieth century A.D.; see, e.g., Wilkinson 1982; 1989; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988; Bailey 1999; Bull, Betancourt, and Evershed 2001). In Egypt, the use of *sebakh*, the material forming the ancient mounds, as fertilizer (and for the manufacture of gunpowder) over many generations caused the destruction of ancient cities, villages, and cemeteries (Bailey 1999). In 1990, Huster witnessed the manuring of fields north of the city of Gaza with a sort of dark soil, very rich in organic material, containing many small sherds, probably brought from a tell. The soil was spread only on part of the field.<sup>2</sup> A parallel of these episodes (at Tel Sham and Hurvat Tzror in the Jezreel Valley) was described by Avner Raban: "Surveyors found some of the sites to be almost totally wiped out either

---

and still producing fleshy grapes, are visible in the sand-covered depressions"; see also Weiss and Kislev 2004:11.

<sup>2</sup>Manuring fields with soil brought from ancient mounds was not the only agent responsible for the scattering of sherds over wide areas. In the same year, in the south of the Gaza Strip, a small tell named el Fuhari, vanished almost completely. Its soil was used for the pavement of a road, along the length of some kilometers on sand dunes.

from land reclamation or because the tel's soil had been carried away for fertilizer in nearby fields" (Raban 1991:19, also 21–22). Similarly, Shimon Gibson (1995:311), who conducted a project of landscape archaeology at Sataf, near Jerusalem, has noted "evidence proving that during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods many of the terraces had been artificially elevated with *khirbet* soils (organic soils containing potsherds) brought from ruins of ancient settlements located in the vicinity."

The above-cited studies of this phenomenon suggest manuring as an explanation for low-density sherd carpeting of the entire landscape (cf. Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 25). In the case of the dunes of the southern coastal plain, however, the situation is quite different: Here, instead of a light scatter throughout the entire landscape, we have higher-density clusters of artifacts. We believe that this distinction is explicable through the unique characteristics of *mawasi* agriculture. It seems that in the southern coastal plain the manuring of fields was concentrated in relatively small areas ("patches") between the dunes. The difference is probably due to the composition of the soil below the dunes. While the soil contains *hamra* in certain places, it mainly consists of loam and (older) sand. These components have a very low percentage of organic material, although some nutrients are provided by the fresh water (see Pye and Tsoar 2009:356). East of the dune belt, where the land is composed of terrestrial source deposits (meaning a mixture of all the soils of the region), the soil contains mainly redeposited loess; this is the "fat" land, used mainly for grain crops.<sup>3</sup> Here, after the harvest of the cereals, flocks of sheep and goats and herds of cattle dropped dung while grazing. It is not surprising, then, that the number of sherds between sites east of the dune belt was much lower: The testing of non-site artifact density employed by Mitchell Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 25) in the area of Map 92 also revealed places entirely devoid of pottery. However, while Allen acknowledged the use of organic soil from tells to fertilize agricultural land and recognized it as a phenomenon of the coastal plain of Palestine, he did not identify any distinctions in this activity between the dune belt and the land to the east.

A more detailed analysis of Berman's "patches" (than provided above) reveals the following characteristics:

---

<sup>3</sup>For a suggestion of similar "zoning" for ecological and other reasons in antiquity, see Faust and Weiss 2005.

- Sites are located in low areas within the dunes.
- Their size varies from a few square meters to some thousands of square meters.
- They are almost devoid of structural remains, although remains of recent structures are occasionally found.
- The most common finds are sherds from various periods; small metal objects, coins, tesserae, and glass also occur.
- The late Ottoman period is particularly well represented, with finds including pottery, clay pipes, and coins.
- Sherd size is very small (an average of 5–6 cm), as apparently larger sherds were left behind.
- Finds are polished by sand and wind.
- The depth of remains does not exceed 10–15 cm.

This associated set of features permits us to identify “patches” of pottery in the sand dunes and to distinguish them from real sites. In addition, recent work in the city of Ashkelon has allowed this proposed distinction to be tested. While development works and sand quarrying have uncovered both known and unknown real sites, they have also revealed additional “patches” covered by the shifting sand dunes over the last few decades.

It is clear, then, that a large number of these scatters in the sand dunes were misidentified as ancient sites in the published survey maps. As a result, the total number of sites in Nizzanim West and Ziqim needs to be reduced. For our analysis, it is essential to be able to identify sites properly and remove non-sites from consideration. Unfortunately, reevaluating the data through new ground survey is not feasible. The shifting of sand dunes over the four decades since Berman’s surveys has made it impossible to relocate many of his sites; this difficulty was already noted in the 1980s and 1990s when Allen and Barda tried to revisit Berman’s sites (*Ashkelon I*, p. 25). It is therefore necessary to develop a system to calibrate the existing data as accurately as possible. While the above list of features of Berman’s patches serves as a basic guideline, many of these characteristics are not consistently noted in the site descriptions. It appears that the best formal yardstick at our disposal is the density of stone observed at the sites by the survey.

This method of testing stone density can be employed on sites that are still visible (north of Ashkelon, in a Nature Reserve) and—even more significantly—on destroyed or covered sites through the files, records, and descriptions of the

surveys. At the same time, this method should be employed cautiously since, as noted above, several “patches” contain structural remains from recent generations, where the secondary use of ancient architectural elements was observed. In the archaeological overview of the Map of Ziqim (Map 91), total numbers of sites by period are given alongside the proportions of sites with building remains observed (see Table 1.1). In general, only one-quarter to one-third of reported sites revealed structural remains, with the rest consisting only of artifact scatters. While the archaeological overview of the Nizzanim West and East maps (Maps 87 and 88) does not provide proportions of sites with building remains, it gives indications of a similar pattern. Our analysis of the Iron Age II, Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman period site descriptions for each map reveals the same picture. The results are given in Table 1.1: The total number of sites reported for each period is provided, along with the number of sites containing structural remains (given in parentheses). In order to compare these four consecutive periods in Berman’s Ziqim and Nizzanim maps with an area of similar north-south extent to the east (i.e., outside of the belt of coastal dunes), the table also presents the results of the surveys of the maps of Ashkelon (92) and Sderot (96).<sup>4</sup>

In the table we have also provided the total number of Iron II sites listed by Shavit (2003) in the results of his own survey, for each corresponding Archaeological Survey of Israel map area. Shavit’s survey was based on his own conception of site definition and therefore merits brief discussion. The number of Iron Age II sites in the table derives from the Map of Iron II sites (Shavit 2003:154). In Shavit’s study, sites with unclear Iron II presence were counted as settlements with an area of one dunam (1000 square meters) in order not to skew his demographic assessments. Shavit recognized that this approach might alter the count of small villages in the surveyed regions, meaning that the

<sup>4</sup>Note that Allen, in his publication of Map 92 (Ashkelon), provides a number of definite sites as well as a number of possible sites for each period (*Ashkelon I*, p. 21, Table 2). As Allen notes (*Ashkelon I*, p. 26), the listing of possible sites indicates only a tentative suggestion in an attempt to be inclusive; thus this identification of possible sites is often based on the presence of only one or two sherds collected in the survey. In addition, Huster—in revisiting the sites in part of Allen’s map did not identify pre-Roman sherds at any of these possible sites. As a result, we believe that the minimum number of sites in these periods is the more accurate number and is the number we have chosen to use in Table 1.



Table 1.1: Sites and Non-Sites in Surveys of the Ashkelon Region and the Vicinity

Period	Map 91	Map 91	Map 88	Map 88	Map 92	Map 92	Map 96	Map 96
	Ziqim (Berman and Barda 2004)	Ziqim (Shavit 2003)	Nizzanim (Berman, Stark, and Barda 2005)	Nizzanim (Shavit 2003)	Ashkelon (Allen 2008)	Ashkelon (Shavit 2003)	Sderot (Huster this Volume)	Sderot (Shavit 2003)
	c. 60 km <sup>2</sup>		c. 65 km <sup>2</sup>		100 km <sup>2</sup>		100 km <sup>2</sup>	
Iron II	40 (10)*	10**	26 (10)	10	4	1	3	1
Persian	35 (12)		33 (14)		10		3	
Hellenistic	46 (16)		30 (14)		8		7	
Roman	97		150		41		44	

\* The archaeological overview of the Iron Age II at the surveyed map of Ziqim emphasized that building remains were observed at only one-fourth of the sites, meaning at 10 sites among 40. Our counting reveals more than 10.

\*\* Four more sites were discerned outside but close to the southern border of the Map of Ziqim.

actual number of sites would be even lower. On the other hand, he emphasized that, in certain areas, geological and environmental processes could have covered small sites, thereby preventing their location by survey. This is true mainly of the area of sand dunes along the Mediterranean seashore. Since the quantity of sites listed under the category of uncertain Iron II representation is very low, a certain statistical balance is created. In our opinion, then, his survey generally reflects the true number of sites from this period. It is therefore noteworthy that, as visible in the table, Shavit's totals largely confirm our own use of structural remains as a baseline criterion for identifying actual sites in the sand dunes.

Two other aspects of the table are worthy of note. One, the quantities of archaeological sites ascribed to the Roman Period in Berman's maps of Ziqim and Nizzanim are much larger than the summary of sites from this period in the neighboring areas of Ashkelon and Sderot. This fact again suggests that non-sites have been improperly reported and registered for Ziqim and Nizzanim. Second, it is also important to note that the total area of the Maps of Ziqim and Nizzanim is much smaller than the area of the maps of Ashkelon and

Sderot, further emphasizing the anomaly of high site counts in Ziqim and Nizzanim.

#### Conclusion

The existence of a high sweet water aquifer on a northeast-southwest strip parallel to the coast is an insufficient explanation for such a dense concentration of sites in a small area. Very similar hydrological conditions prevailed in areas just to the east, in the wide flood plains of Nahal Evtah in the north, and of Nahal Shiqma in the south. Also, the suggestion that these sites were apparently related to the "Way of the Sea" and trade routes (Berman and Barda 2005:x) does not provide a satisfactory explanation for the high density of sites north and south of Ashkelon. Furthermore, Allen (*Ashkelon I*, p. 37) has already noted that, within the area of the surveyed Map of Nizzanim, there are surprisingly few sites along the assumed route of the main north-south road during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Our conclusion, then, is that the real site distribution is correctly represented in the area located east of the sand belt region, while within the sand dunes the number of sites should be drastically reduced, according to the results presented in Table 1.1.



## 2. SURVEY OF SETTLEMENT PATTERNS BY PERIOD

by Yaakov Huster

THE region around Ashkelon is a palimpsest of human activity over many millennia. From the Paleolithic through the Mameluk period, the people lived along the same coast and among the same dunes but exploited the landscape in diverse ways. This summary attempts to draw out some of the distinctive ways in which people related to their landscape through a focus on the size, placement, and function of settlements around Ashkelon over time.

### *Paleolithic*

One of the first prehistoric investigations in the southern coastal plain was carried out during the First World War, near the Arab village of Huleiqat, located c. 12 km southeast of Ashkelon. In 1917, Josef Bayer, an Austrian officer serving in the Turkish army and stationed in the area, had the opportunity to collect hundreds of stone tools and to study them later (Bayer 1919:168; Antl-Weiser 2007). Based on Bayer's notes, it appears that the lithics do not derive from a single site but rather were collected from a number of findspots over a wide area, precisely in the same method employed by later surveyors. Bayer used this assemblage of tools to define a new "Askalonian" culture, seen by him as a transition between the Lower Paleolithic and the Neolithic (Bayer 1919:171–72; Antl-Weiser 2007:145). Alfred Rust, who visited Huleiqat in 1931, found that Bayer's assumptions derived from the mixing of two flint industries, the Late Acheulean from the Lower Paleolithic period and the Microlithic from the Epipaleolithic period (which Rust calls Mesolithic, 1936:12–15).

Northwest of Huleiqat, on the same *kurkar* ridge, and also farther to the east, on the Negba-Sde Yoav *hamra* outcrops, more tools (235 items), were collected and studied by Ytzchak Eshel (unpublished 1973 seminar paper [in Hebrew]: Negba Collection—Flint Tools from the Lower Paleolithic). This study extended the survey area and confirmed that Lower Paleolithic flint implements in this region have been found in clear connection with *hamra* deposits.

Most recently, Mitchell Allen surveyed the region and collected the remaining known flint implements; by this time, however, only a small

number of mostly undiagnostic flints remained. Most of the Map 92 (Ashkelon) prehistoric sites (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 29, fig. 3.7) are located in exactly the same area surveyed previously by Bayer and Rust. Allen's Paleolithic flint collections were too small to enable him to determine the exact phases represented at his findspots, their identification instead being presented as questionable. Fortunately, Bayer and Rust's drawings and notes are of sufficient quality to allow for identification. On their basis, we can conclude that the Huleiqat region was dotted with Lower Paleolithic manifestations as well as Epipaleolithic remains.

Directly to the south, a comprehensive prehistoric survey of a large region on both banks of the Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Hesi) and adjacent areas contributed additional data (Lamdan et al. 1977).

The conclusions derived from all of the above-mentioned studies point to intensive human activity in the region during the Lower Paleolithic period, and specifically at the cultural-industrial Late Acheulean phase, but without notable signs of occupation. The findspots are related to humid environments in the past, specifically *hamra* layers, probably the Holon Hamra Member that crops out in the region. An excavation in this *hamra* in the type location, Holon (Noy 1967), revealed a Late Acheulean assemblage, as well as large mammal bones.

Despite the fact that intensive use of the Levallois technique was noted at some sites and even occasionally dominant and Mousterian points were also found at some sites, whole handaxes and handaxe fragments are clearly attributable to a lithic industry of the Lower Paleolithic period. Distinct Middle Paleolithic sites or Upper Paleolithic sites have not been found in the region.

Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 27) notes that most of the Map 92 sites are "along the spine of the easternmost *kurkar* ridge, at the highest elevations of the survey area." The recognition of sites being concentrated on the elevations of the *kurkar* ridges—but not on the youngest ridges, which postdate the Lower Paleolithic industries—was paralleled by the work of the Lamdan survey, especially on slopes facing north or northwest, and of Bayer (see Antl-Weiser 2007:Abb. 4) and Eshel. It is important to emphasize that there is no evidence

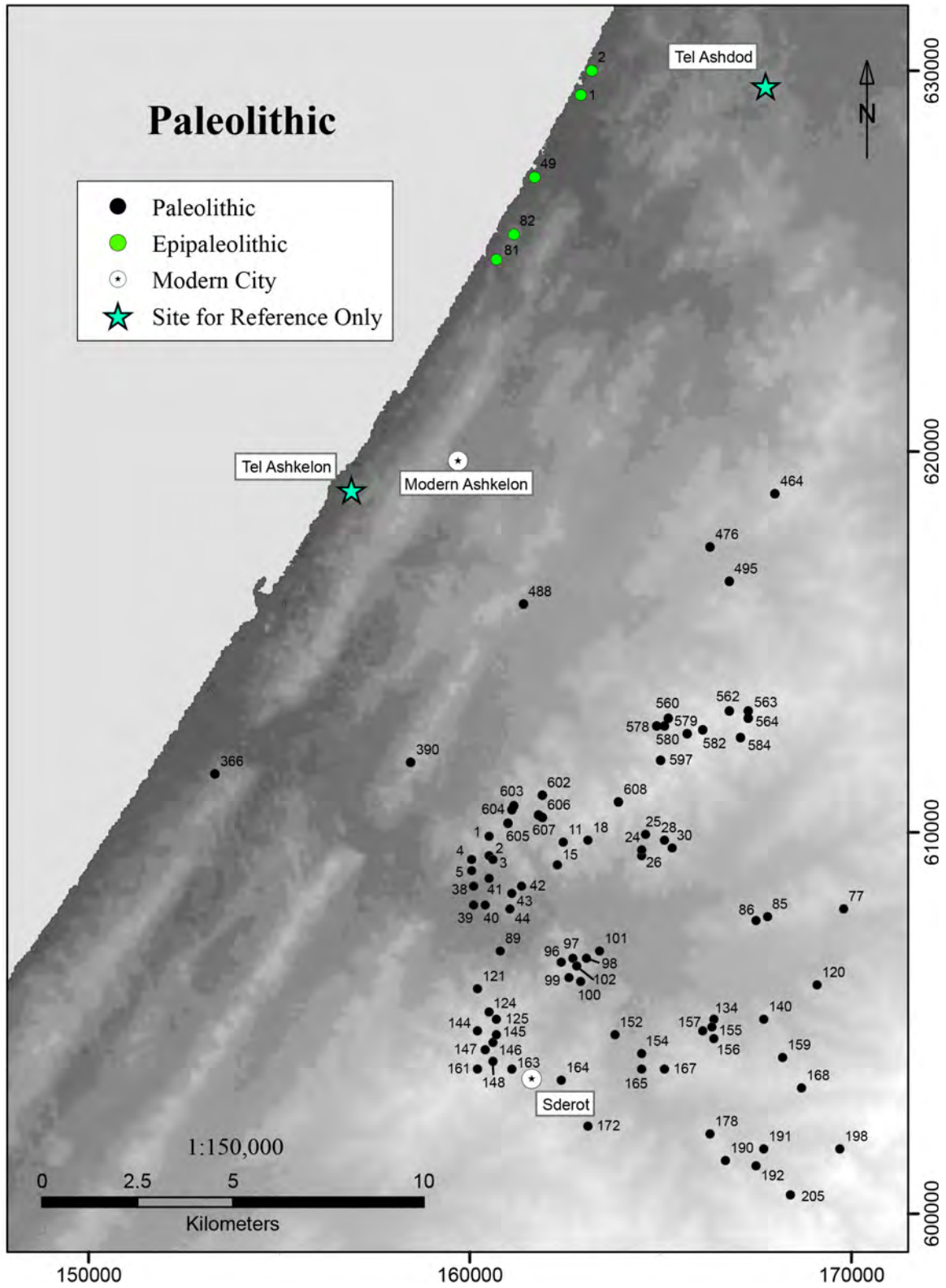


Figure 2.1: Map of sites from the Paleolithic period over modern topography.

for settlement, only for human activity, and therefore we cannot establish any pattern of settlement. The association of lithics with elevated locations may be significant but may simply be due to environmental factors: It is on these ridges where the upper *kurkar* layer has eroded, revealing the *hamra* soils below that contain stone tools. On the other hand, the consistent association of Lower Paleolithic tools with the *hamra* paleosols is certainly of significance, indicating an association of human activity in this period with a more humid climate with more vegetation.

The pattern for the Epipaleolithic, meanwhile, is quite distinct. In the entirety of the surveyed region included in this study, amounting to 225 km<sup>2</sup>, a total of five Epipaleolithic sites have been noted. All of these, in Map 88, are located on a strip close to the Mediterranean coast, either on the first *kurkar* ridge or on flat ground nearby. A similar pattern is noticeable farther north in Map 84. There, 11 sites were identified near the coast, generally on sandy hills topping the *kurkar* ridges. (These sites were surveyed by Berman in 1970 [Berman et al. 2005] and published in 2005; some of these had been previously identified by Ofer Bar-Yosef in a survey conducted in 1965–66 [Bar-Yosef 1970a; 1970b].) Elsewhere, the identification of Epipaleolithic sites is questionable, as in the area of Huleiqat surveyed by Rust.

#### *Neolithic and Chalcolithic*

In the Neolithic period, settlement was concentrated in the southwest part of the study area. The Map of Ziqim included 26 sites identified by survey, with one of these (site 347,<sup>1</sup> see below) excavated by T. Noy, on the banks of the Nahal Shiqma (Noy 1976, 1993). Elsewhere, very few sites were noted: two in Nizzanim East—site 1, tentatively ascribed to this period, and site 53 (E. Yeivin and Olami 1979; 1980; see below), and one in Nizzanim West (site 207, in the Afridar neighborhood of modern Ashkelon; see Perrot 1955; Perrot and Gopher 1996; Garfinkel 1999; Garfinkel and Dag 2008). No clearly identifiable sites were located in Map 92, nor were they in Map 96 to the south: In Map 96, only two findspots were discerned, each represented by a single flint arrowhead. The site distribution can be explained by a pattern of settlement along the wadis—in particular, along the Nahal Shiqma or in its large drainage basin in Map 91

<sup>1</sup> Note that all site numbers refer to the number in our site table; please refer to the table for references.

(cf. Berman et al. 2004:10\*).<sup>2</sup> At the excavated site 347, the flint collection includes sickle blades and arrowheads. In light of the finds, T. Noy (1993) suggested it could have been a seasonal settlement, situated in a high groundwater area, where the inhabitants' subsistence was based on hunting, fishing, and herding.

While most of the sites in the area consist largely of artifact scatters, we can conclude that—unlike scatters of later material in the sand dunes—these are likely to be real sites. Scatters taken from tells would have Bronze, Iron, and later material, but we would not expect Neolithic (and, perhaps, Chalcolithic), as this material is not found at tell sites.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, some twenty Neolithic sites in the westernmost area of the Nahal Shiqma contain artifacts ascribed to the Chalcolithic (see below) and later periods as well. These sites were observed by Berman particularly in flat depressions, the only localities free of sand, which paradoxically are to be included under the category of patches with scatters of later material. Probably one of the best examples of this type of Neolithic site, containing later intrusive material, is site 308 (in Map 91). Here, scatters of Neolithic flint tools were found side by side with a ruin built in a recent period and with irrigated agricultural fields. Only eight Neolithic/Chalcolithic sites were devoid of later remains. We assume that one of them, the excavated site 347, represents the majority: Several occupation levels dated to the Pottery Neolithic period followed by a thin layer from the Chalcolithic period. Site 53 is the only Neolithic settlement in the northern part of the study area. Its original area was estimated at 30 dunams, but only a very small portion was excavated. Seven occupational layers were exposed, all of them from the Pottery Neolithic period. The larger excavation (c. 1 dunam) took place in the Afridar neighborhood. This activity area was estimated to cover some 20 dunams. Finds permitted the site to be ascribed to the

<sup>2</sup> Compare a similar pattern of prehistoric sites in the Map of Urim (125), where the relatively large number of Paleolithic and Chalcolithic sites are almost all concentrated along the Nahal Besor; in this case there are very few Neolithic sites, but these are also concentrated along the Besor (Gazit 1996:10\*–11\*, maps 1–2).

<sup>3</sup> The Map of Ziqim publication claims that Neolithic remains were found at Tel Ashkelon or its “margins” (site 1; Berman et al. 2004:23\*). To our knowledge, however, no Neolithic remains have been found on the tell. This reference may be a confusion resulting from the mention in the Encyclopedia entry for Ashkelon to a Neolithic site “on the shore” (Stager 1993:150), which is in fact the Afridar site (site 207).

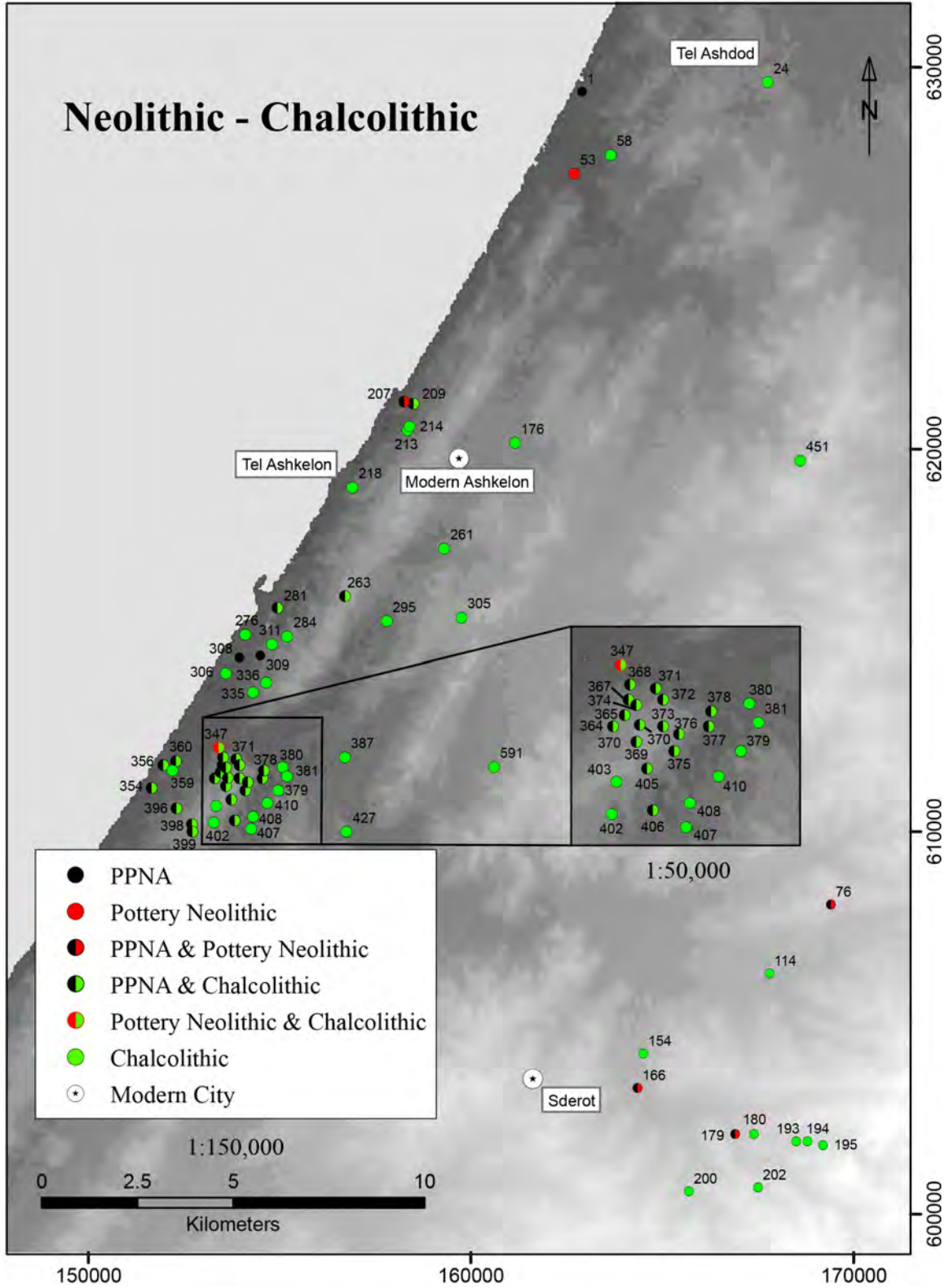


Figure 2.2: Map of sites from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods over modern topography.

Pre-Pottery Neolithic and suggested it to be a pastoral camp. The location, close to the shoreline of the Mediterranean, is connected to the existence of the high aquifer.

Sporadic flint tools assigned to the Late Neolithic period were found near bedrock (not *in situ*) at Area G of the EB I site of Afridar (site 209) located east of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic site (Braun and Gophna 2004; Zbenovich 2004).

The Chalcolithic period is represented mainly in the southern area of the study. Here, site distribution follows the settlement pattern that has already begun in the Neolithic period, i.e., it was directly connected to the wide drainage system of the Nahal Shiqma. Some 30 Chalcolithic sites are located south of the wadi in a relatively small area (2 x 2 km); of these, 20 are located exactly on the spots where Neolithic settlements were discerned (as noted by Berman et al. 2004:11\*). This dense concentration of sites in a small area can be explained in two different ways. First, these settlements represent an almost continuous occupation since the Neolithic period. This assumption is reinforced by the results of the excavation of the Neolithic site, where the uppermost layer was ascribed to the Chalcolithic period as mentioned above. In this case, the possibility that the Chalcolithic finds could have been intrusive is omitted. Second, as in other places within the dune belt, the finds here were encountered mainly in depressions, on the top of the soil that preceded the sand infiltration. The relatively numerous small sites and findspots are merely windows, reflecting a large occupational zone,<sup>4</sup> composed of occupations of varying sizes, near water sources whether permanent or seasonal. Quite the same settlement pattern was observed along the banks of the Nahal Besor (Gazit 1996, esp. Map 2). These suggestions do not negate the idea that the depressions containing Chalcolithic *in situ* material could have served in the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods as *mawasi* agricultural plots. Most of the Chalcolithic sites also yielded later material and displayed the characteristic features attributed to “patches” (see chapter 1).

North of Tel Ashkelon only sporadic manifestations of Chalcolithic pottery and flint tools have been discerned, consistently in relationship with

<sup>4</sup> As an example: When Berman conducted the survey of the map of Ziqim in 1972–73, a large area of c.1 km<sup>2</sup> on the southern bank of the wadi had already been flooded or covered by a layer of silt due to the Nahal Shiqma dam constructed in 1958. Many additional sites must therefore not have been visible to the survey team.

excavated Early Bronze Age I assemblages. At the Ashkelon-Afridar site, Area E (site 212), the EB I cultural horizon contains Chalcolithic elements, among them cornet bases, suggesting an occupation during this period (Golani 2004). In the same large site, in Area F (site 213), the lower EB I stratum also contains typical Chalcolithic flint artifacts and pottery (Khalaily 2004). Farther to the north, at the Nizzanim site from the EB I period (site 58), an identical stratification was observed (Yekutieli and Gophna 1994). Meanwhile, at both Tel Ashdod and Tel Ashkelon scattered sherds dating to the Chalcolithic period have been found in fill layers (for Ashkelon, see Stager 1993:105). It is quite clear that occupation at Tel Ashdod and Tel Ashkelon was much smaller in the Chalcolithic period than it would later become, but there is no way of providing an accurate estimate of the Chalcolithic site size. The identification of so few Chalcolithic sites in the Nahal Evtah (Wadi el Ibtah) area, as opposed to the long-term occupation at Tel Poran in later periods, suggests that not all the sites of the period under discussion were discerned. This wadi, while small, likely played an important role as a water source.

Both Neolithic and Chalcolithic concentrations of sites are located close to the seashore and in the vicinity of the Nahal Shiqma and its tributaries. The banks of the Nahal Evtah (Wadi el Ibtah) also formed an environment conducive to settlement in these periods.

The description of the 25 sites in Ziqim varies: Sometimes they include small light scatters of flint (e.g., sites 263, 368), while in other cases there is also processed shell (site 354) or proof for a borer industry (as in the excavated site 281; Noy and Berman 1974). The nature of the excavated sites seems to be completely different from the Paleolithic findspots in maps 96 and 92.

#### *Early Bronze Age*

The existence of Early Bronze Age occupation in the vicinity of Tel Ashkelon has been known since 1968. Soundings conducted that year by Ram Gophna (2002a) revealed EB IB building remains in the Afridar neighborhood, 1.5 km north of the tell. Since then, a series of salvage excavations has been conducted at the Afridar site, revealing mainly EB IA remains (sites 209, 211–14; Brandl and Gophna 1993; Braun and Gophna 2004; Baumgarten 2004; 2006; Golani 2004; 2005b; 2008; Khalaily 2004). At Tel Ashkelon, pottery collection indicates a long-term occupation

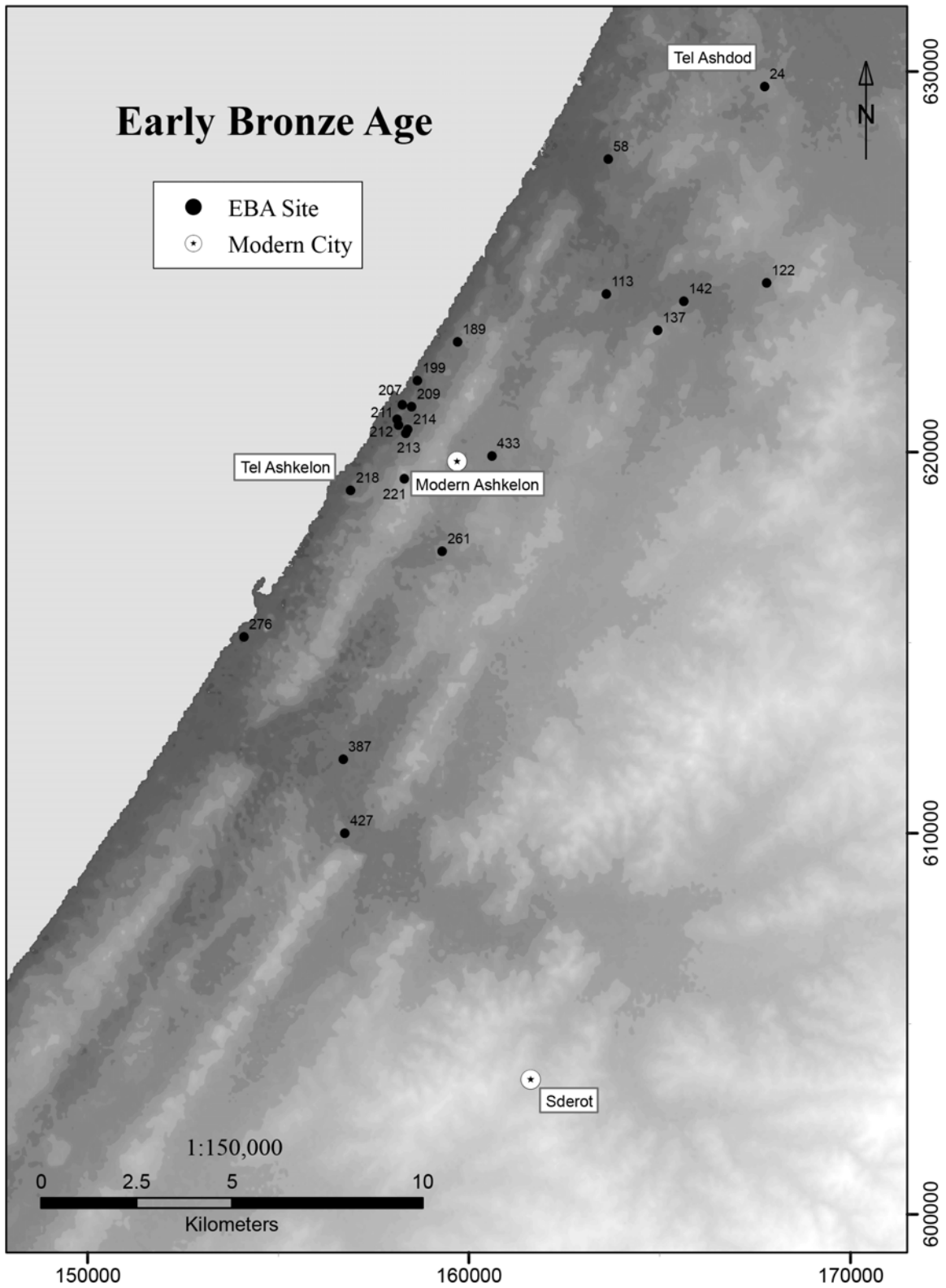


Figure 2.3: Map of sites from the Early Bronze Age over modern topography.



sporadically attested in EB I—but more extensively recovered in EB III across Ashkelon's north tell, which is roughly 9 hectares (Stager 1993:105–6; *Ashkelon I*, pp. 215, 251). The various excavations at the Afridar site, as well as recent unpublished soundings in the most northern part of the Afridar neighborhood, the excavation of industrial facilities south of the Sheikh Awad tomb (site 199; Toueg 2010), and the exposure of c. 8 dunams in the northernmost part of the Barnea region, the Barnea B-C quarter (site 189), all revealed large areas of an extensive settled zone. This remarkable occupation reached its peak during the late EB IA to early EB IB period when it was dispersed intermittently over a length of c. 4 km along the Mediterranean coast. The settlement characteristics are almost the same at each site, comprising clusters of residential structures, storage facilities (mudbrick silos for grain storage), and industrial areas used for copper processing.

Other Early Bronze Age excavated sites within the bounds of this study are found north of Ashkelon, at Tel Poran (Tell el-Farāni; site 113), where fortifications from this period were uncovered (Gophna 1992b), and at Nizzanim (Yekutieli and Gophna 1994; site 58, Holot Ashdod). A small number of EB pottery sherds were found at Tel Ashdod (Er-Ras) and at two small surveyed findspots in the valley of Nahal Evtah; these sites probably reflect seasonal camps near periodic water sources, a pattern that can still be seen today. In the surveyed Map 91 of Ziqim, at a distance of c. 2 km south of Tel Ashkelon, large quantities of EB I pottery were noted during inspection works in an already disturbed area near the remains of a well, probably from the same period (site not in table, Yoram Haimi pers. comm.). Farther to the south, only the surveyed site of Saknat Muhammad Mahmud (site 276) is a potential EB settlement. Other sites are merely findspots related to the Nahal Shiqma valley, consisting of potsherds, flint tools, and bones. Before the construction of a dam, water would puddle here during the winter rains, surviving through the spring and into early summer. This environment, then, as with that of the Nahal Evtah valley, is perfect pasture land and might have been suitable for shepherds in the past (as far back as the Chalcolithic) with these findspots the remains of their encampments.

Turning to the east, no Early Bronze Age remains are known from either surveys or inspection work. Allen (*Ashkelon I*, p. 33) ascribes the lack of Bronze Age (and Iron I) settlements to the

possibility that the area was wooded or swampy and therefore not conducive to settlement. In fact, swamp remains and deposits should be easily distinguishable. They were noted in deep sections between the neighborhoods of Majdal and Afridar, where an enormous swamp existed until 1991, but this is the easternmost point of their observance.

Searching for other reasons to explain the lack of settlements, Allen also emphasizes the geographical and economic importance of the north-south route running parallel to the coast, contrasting it with the relative unimportance of east-west contacts (*Ashkelon I*, p. 33). This concept of insignificant connections between Tel Ashkelon on the coast and interior settlements, however, runs counter to multiple reconstructions of trade networks in the southern coastal plain in this period. Gophna stresses the interrelations between the nucleated EB I–III site of Tel ʿErani (Tell esh-Sheikh Ahmed el-ʿAreini), situated about 23 km to the east, and the Afridar/Tel Ashkelon site, defining the latter as the “maritime counterpart and sea gate” to the former (2004:7). Another EB site, Horvat Ptora (Petura), is situated only 4 km east of Tel ʿErani. A sizeable settlement of c. 7 dunams dated to the Early Bronze Age I, it has been partly excavated (Milevski and Baumgarten 2008; Baumgarten et al. 2008). Here, a later phase of the Early Bronze Age I, equivalent to stratum C at Tel ʿErani, was exposed, but—unlike at ʿErani—Egyptian pottery was absent. Only a tomb yielded pottery from the end of the Early Bronze Age I, during which there was not settlement at the site (Baumgarten et al. 2008:1995). Similarly, Stager (2001), in his application of the “port power” model, has suggested (following Fargo 1979) that inland sites (such as ʿErani) located along the wadi systems in the southern part of the country (especially the Nahal Lachish [Nahr Sukreir] and the Nahal Shiqma) would have funneled goods to the seaport at Tel Ashkelon for overseas shipment. In addition, Stager sees Tel Ashkelon as part of a larger trading network in the Near East in this period, a major stop on the run between Egypt and Byblos, and thereby a link between Egypt and Mesopotamia, as well as a way station on the overland route to Egypt (Stager 2001; 1993:105–6; cf. Gophna and Liphshitz 1996; Gophna 2002b). Indeed, one might expect some sort of contacts between Tel ʿErani/Ptora and Ashkelon, since Ashkelon is situated along the coast almost due west, but there is no decisive data pointing toward direct links between the eastern settlements and

Ashkelon. While the Egyptian pottery at ʿErani demonstrates its role in part of a larger trade network, the river valleys of Nahal Shiqma and Nahal Besor (Wadi Ghazzeh) could have served as an overland transport artery explaining the Egyptian pottery findings at Tel ʿErani. There is no clear evidence directly linking these probable east-west connections to the Ashkelon region itself, however attractive the hypothesis.

One other aspect of the EB settlement patterns in the Ashkelon region is worthy of note. While the stretch of settlements along the coast is restricted to EB I, occupation at Tel Ashkelon is most pronounced in EB III. In EB III, then, Tel Ashkelon stood nearly alone as a settlement, with Tel Ashdod along with Tel Poran and its satellite site, site 58 (although farther to the east, Tel ʿErani displays the same occupational sequence; see Kempinski and Gilead 1991; Yeivin and Kempinski 1993). This pattern suggests two different phenomena: a large stretch of settlements in the EB I, followed by the consolidation of settlement at Tel Ashkelon in the later EB. If this is true, this pattern may follow the rise of maritime trade in EB I, which appears to have superseded overland trade as the principal avenue of transport between Egypt and the Levantine coast by the EB II (see, e.g., Stager 2001:631, 633).

### *Middle Bronze Age*

#### Middle Bronze Age I (EB IV or Intermediate Bronze)

The existence of remains of mudbrick buildings from the MB I period, extending over 40 dunams at a distance of 4.5 km northeast of Tel Ashkelon (site 164), was noted by Allen (*Ashkelon I*, p. 33). In the course of a salvage excavation, small circular and oval structures were exposed (Israel 1995a). These data are repeated here first and foremost because this is the only recognized settlement of this period within a large surveyed area of 260 km<sup>2</sup>. Another site containing remains ascribed to MB I is merely a scatter of pottery sherds in an area of 90 km<sup>2</sup> located c. 6 km northeast of Tel Ashkelon (site 169). Similarly, in the 100 km<sup>2</sup> of Map 96 (Sderot), only two small MB I cemeteries were surveyed (see chapter 5, sites 61, 138).

It appears that the region was mostly uninhabited in this period, with EB settlements having been abandoned. At Tel Ashkelon probes have revealed a thick sand layer beneath the MB levels in Grid 38; the continual appearance of EB sherds in later fills in this area, however, hints at possible EB occupation below

the sand (*Ashkelon I*, p. 251). This may be related to the Taʿaruha Sand Member, an Early to Intermediate Bronze sedimentary phase dated by Netser (1994) from 5580 to 4110 BP. The EB I Afridar site, Area E (site 212), was covered by a layer of sand belonging to the first phase of this sand member (Barzilay 2004). These intrusions of sand might be more noticeable at sites located close to the seashore, hence their discovery at Tel Ashkelon and the Afridar site.

#### Middle Bronze Age II

While at Tel Ashkelon a large city flourished throughout the Middle Bronze Age II (*Ashkelon I*, pp. 217, 234–36, 251, 303), only sporadic manifestations of this period have been discerned beyond the tell. At Netiv Ha-ʿAsara (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005), c. 10 km south of Tel Ashkelon, salvage excavations revealed fills with MB IIA–B sherds, but no occupation levels were observed (Yasur-Landau and Shavit 1999; Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005:67–69). Survey of this site revealed a tell of c. 30 dunams, settled from the Middle Bronze Age until the Persian period at an advantageous location (on an elevated place on the second *kurkar* ridge and just south of a potential water source, the Nahal Shiqma, and set on a strategic point close to the traditional main road leading to Gaza); however, in the Bronze and Iron Ages it was probably a small settlement, as it appears to have covered only two dunams until expansion in the Persian period (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005:60). On the northern slope of the tell, sand dunes were removed during development work, exposing collapsed walls built of dressed *kurkar* stones, pointing to the existence of a large fortified structure situated on the summit of the tell. Here too, MB sherds were retrieved, but the Bronze Age finds are represented mainly by the Late Bronze Age. Netiv Ha-ʿAsara is probably the southern equivalent to Tel Poran (site 113), north of Ashkelon. At Tel Poran, the archaeological excavated remains include both EB fortifications (see above) and an earth and gravel glacis attributed to the MB II period (Gophna 1977; 1992b), suggesting a long-term fortified settlement. (Both of these sites will be mentioned again in relation to the LB period.) It is also worth mentioning Tel Ashdod, located at the northeastern edge of the area included in this study, where an occupation level of this period was exposed during excavations (Dothan and Porath 1993:9; Dothan 1993:95). Still, Berman (survey of Map 91) indicated identifiable MB II pottery at a distance of c. 2 km southeast of Tel Ashkelon and other evidence for MB II occupation there (site 254). Berman mentions three more pottery scatters containing MB sherds south of Nahal Shiqma

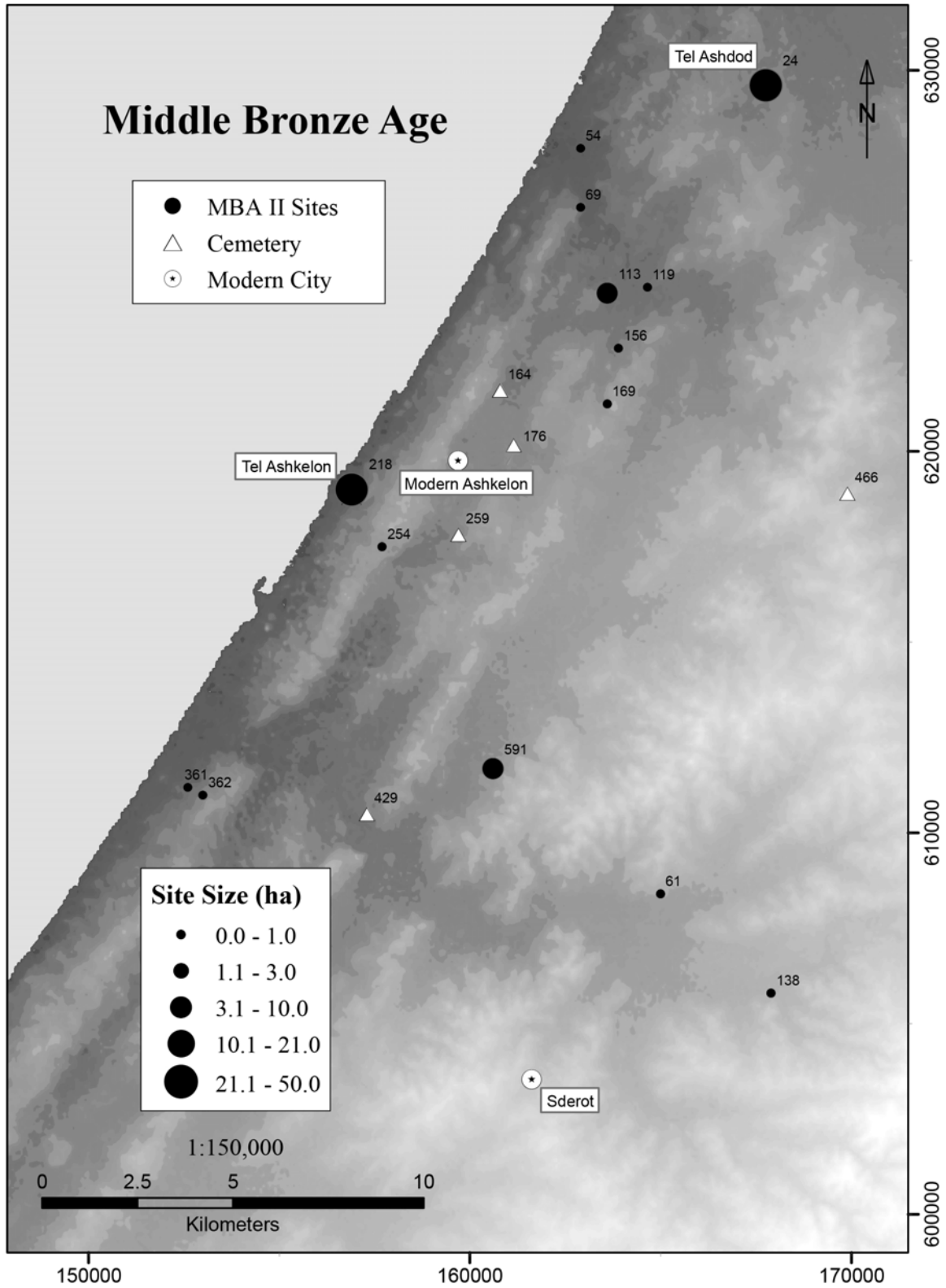


Figure 2.4: Map of sites from the Middle Bronze Age over modern topography.

(sites 361, 362, and 402), but in our opinion these sites are questionable: They may reflect seasonal camps or may even be “patches” resulting from modern *mawasi* agriculture. Allen also mentions MB sherds in the area of Map 92 but notes that their identification is questionable (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 30; site 490). As Allen notes (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 30), no habitation sites from this period have been identified in Map 92. The situation is identical to that of Map 96 to the south, where no Middle Bronze Age habitation sites have been discovered.

Instead, other MB sites in the region consist of burial grounds: the cemetery in the Migdal (Majdal) district (site 176; Gershuny 1996; 1997) and the cemetery located north of Migdal and east of Barnea (site 164; Israel 1995a). In the latter case, an additional excavation proved its large dimensions. The ceramic finds in the graves date to the end of MB IIA and MB IIB (Zelin 2002). Both sites, together with a single MB tomb at Negba (site 466), were already mentioned by Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 30); in addition to these, a set of graves were excavated at Kh. Maʿraba (site 429), and another single shaft tomb was found in the neighborhood of Givʿat Ziyyon (site 259; Gershuny 1999). These data, in turn, lead us to reconsider the geographical relations between cemeteries and habitation sites in this period. While a cemetery should indicate the existence of a settlement, we have no evidence for MB II occupation near the cemeteries. The only exception to this pattern is at Tel Ashkelon: In the Grid 50 excavation area, a large cemetery composed of rock-cut chamber tombs was unearthed (*Ashkelon 1*, pp. 300–3). The tombs were cut into the *kurkar* bedrock beneath the Bronze Age habitation level. Four distinct phases of tomb use have been distinguished, spanning the MB IIB–C (and LB I). Here, the direct link between the cemetery and the population of the flourishing city was obvious, with abundant evidence for occupation on the tell throughout MB II.

For Migdal, Koucky (*Ashkelon 1*) and Burke (2007) have argued that there was an ancient settlement at the site of the Arab village and modern Israeli neighborhood going back as far as the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>5</sup> Both have suggested an association between sites with the Arabic name *Majdal* (or Hebrew *Migdal*) and ancient watchtowers; Burke has demonstrated a general pattern of association between such names and MB sites throughout the Levant. Both also note Migdal Ashkelon’s placement closer to the coastal road, an expected location for a watchtower (Burke 2007:52; Koucky in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 17). While Burke (2007:39) and Koucky (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 19) argue that the MB

cemetery at Migdal proves or at least supports the idea of settlement at Migdal in this period, the situation is in fact far less clear. In the survey of Map 92, the earliest pottery found at Majdal was Persian (Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 59). While surface survey does tend to result in underrepresentation of earlier periods (as discussed in chapter 1), recent salvage excavations have not revealed any traces of settlement in the Middle Bronze Age. Thus, while there may be circumstantial evidence of a settlement at Migdal, there is no concrete data to support this idea.

Instead, we seem to have a pattern in the Ashkelon region, and perhaps in the southern coastal plain more generally, of cemeteries located at some distances from settlements. Thus Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 30) tentatively related the cemeteries of Migdal and east Barnea to ancient Ashkelon. Meanwhile, Zelin (2002:87\*), who conducted the salvage excavation in the northern cemetery east of Barnea (site 164), assumed that it served a rural settlement located in the vicinity of Ashkelon. Zelin also noted that the cemetery lies on the road to Tel Poran, c. 5 km to the north, where an MB II settlement is known to have existed. The same phenomenon of an MB II cemetery relatively far from any sizeable settlement was noted at Rishon le-Ziyyon, the largest cemetery excavated in the central coastal plain (Levy 2005; 2008). Again, as in the Ashkelon region, it is located on a *kurkar* ridge that runs parallel to the coast. The cemetery originally extended over an area of c. 100 dunams and included some 1,000 burials. It is not known to what settlement the cemetery belonged, despite the fact that the remains of a Middle Bronze Age II settlement, whose extent is unknown, were uncovered at a short distance. Levy assumes that it may have functioned as a central cemetery for the many settlements scattered in a wide area or for a nomadic population, while at the same time expressing doubts about whether attributing this large and rich cemetery to such a population seems feasible (Levy 2008:2020). The attribution of cemeteries containing grave goods and vessels used during funeral ceremonies only to a substantial and wealthy sedentary population seems unjustified, however. It is certainly reasonable to think that in a region around a powerful port center such as Ashkelon, economic relations with surrounding populations would have been common and would have included trade and commerce with pastoralist populations. The existence of a pastoralist population in the wider area around Ashkelon may also explain both the lack of settlements and the existing light scatters of MB II pottery in the western part of the valleys and riverbanks of the Nahal Evtah in the north and of Nahal Shiqma in the south, which are typical pasture

<sup>5</sup>This suggestion had already been made by Abel (1938:218).

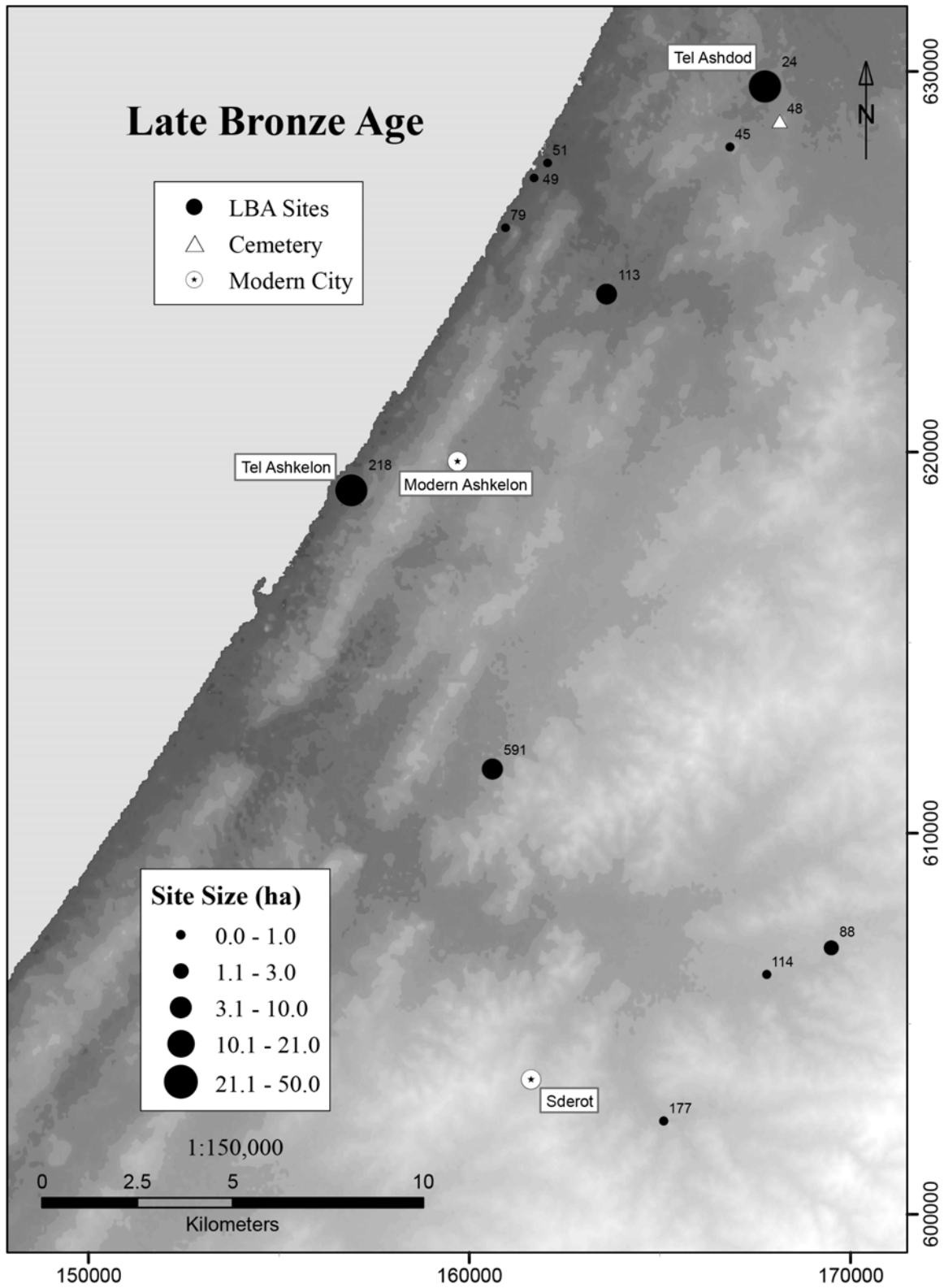


Figure 2.5: Map of sites from the Late Bronze Age over modern topography.

environments even up to the present. (Unfortunately, at present there are not enough data to test these ideas through a comparison of material from these cemetery sites with the Grid 50 tombs at Ashkelon.)

### *Late Bronze Age*

The Late Bronze Age is well attested at the major tell sites of the region: At Tel Ashkelon remains dating to this period reveal a prosperous port city, and at Tel Ashdod a public building of this period was uncovered. The representation of the LB in the surrounding areas, however, is relatively sparse. South of Ashkelon (and with the exception of Tel Ashkelon, mentioned above), remains from the Late Bronze Age were not recorded by Berman in 1972–73, nor by the later team, within the entire 100 km<sup>2</sup> surveyed area of the Ziqim Map (Berman et al. 2004). Only during 1997, when the survey and salvage excavation was conducted on the precincts of Netiv Ha-‘Asara, near a location already mentioned as an LB site (Finkelstein 1996b:238), were remains of a Late Bronze I–II settlement and part of a large Late Bronze II structure exposed (Yasur-Landau and Shavit 1999; Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005). The finds included also a number of vessels imported from Cyprus, including “bilbils” (Base Ring Ware I–II) and “milk bowls” (White Slip II). North of Ashkelon, at Tel Poran (site 113), Late Bronze II pottery sherds were collected, among them fragments of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels. Northwest of Tel Poran, close to the Mediterranean coast on the first *kurkar* ridge, three Late Bronze sites containing structural remains were surveyed (sites 49, 51, and 79). One of them, El ‘Abtah (site 79), was tentatively identified as a possible fortress (Berman and Barda 2005:51\*). At other three locations within the Nizzanim Map (sites 21, 45, and 156), the identification of sherds ascribed to the Late Bronze period is questionable. In Map 92, the survey conducted by Mitchel Allen identified only one Late Bronze Age site southeast of Ashkelon at Tel Obed (Beit Jirja; site 591), a mound of ashy soil containing a dense scatter of ceramics (*Ashkelon I*, p. 58). A similar scarcity of sites was found in the survey of the Map of Sderot (96), directly south of Allen’s survey region: A total of three small sites, all of them in proximity to possible water sources, were attributed to the LB. Two are located on the northern bank of Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Hesi) at a distance of c. 3 km apart (chapter 5, sites 88 and 114). It is worth noting that Mandatory surveyors indicated an area on the southern bank of Nahal

Shiqma, not far from site 114, under the Arabic name Uyun es Sahra, “the springs of the badlands” (Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-10, Bureir, 1:20,000). The names of such areas, fields, or lots on Mandatory maps were obtained from the local population, reflecting traditions about geographic features in the area; thus we can suggest that the location of site 114 may have been influenced by the presence of a spring here. The third site, meanwhile, is situated close to one of the southern tributaries of Nahal Shiqma (Nahal Dorot/Wadi Raml; chapter 5, site 177).

As a rule, the settlement in the inner part of the southern coastal plain during the Late Bronze Age was sparse. On the other hand, one will find more Late Bronze Age sites farther to the east, near Tell el-Hesi (Tel Hasi), the only city from this period in that region (Lamdan et al. 1977). The location of sites in the Hesi region is definitely connected to the permanent springs at Nahal Shiqma. The same is true also directly east of Ashkelon. Excavations at Tel Šippor (Tell et-Tuyur) revealed a stratum with pottery typical of the last phase of the Late Bronze Age (Biran and Negbi 1966; Biran 1993). This small ancient mound is located near a tributary of the Nahal Lachish, not coincidentally on the same longitude (174 NIG; 124 OIG) as Tell el-Hesi, both being located at a distance of c. 20 km from the Mediterranean.

The relatively low number of LB sites in the region was noted by Finkelstein (1996b), in comparing settlement patterns in the coastal plain in the Late Bronze and Iron I periods. Relying on multiple sources of data—survey results, excavation reports, and unpublished data from regional archaeologists—Finkelstein’s settlement map of the Late Bronze II Age probably reflects the general picture in the field fairly well. At the same time, he predicted that future work would continue to reveal sites (1996b:226); indeed, we are able to add eight sites to his total of twelve in the territory of Ashkelon, which he determines to be somewhat broader than our study area (see Table 2.1). For this area, five of the Finkelstein’s twelve sites are located north of Tel Ashdod and, therefore, north of our study area. They (and two additional sites from Map 84) are mentioned here primarily because, while Finkelstein notes the importance of Ashdod in the Late Bronze Age, he suggests that this city and the surrounding sites were included in the large territory of the city-state of Ashkelon. Basing his arguments on historical data, settlement patterns, and geographical features, he drew the border between the territory of Ashkelon and the territory of the city-state of Gezer somewhere on the path of Nahal Sorek (Nahr Rubin), north of Yavneh (Finkelstein 1996b:fig. 1). He also emphasized

that most large sites are restricted to the territories of Ashkelon and Tell Jemmeh (Yurza?), a phenomenon he relates to the importance of those two centers of Egyptian administration (Finkelstein 1996b:229). This conception of a large territory of Ashkelon connected with Egyptian influence is reinforced by Berman's survey finds at Rasm el Jisr, northeast of Tel Ashdod (Map 84 site 37; Berman et al. 2005:28\*–29\*), where finds included imported Egyptian pottery and a stone doorjamb fragment with a title of a high Egyptian official (Kitchen 1993), as well as by the fragment of an Egyptian statue bearing a hieroglyphic inscription mentioning a Ramesside queen from Tel Ashdod itself (Schulman 1993). According to Schulman, such a life-size statue would only be erected in a building such as a temple or palace and indicates the importance of Ashdod's role in the Egyptian administration of Canaan (1993:114), a suggestion reinforced by the find of the doorjamb.

Besides connections with Egypt, the wealth of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery appearing in Canaan in this age of internationalism allows us the possibility of tracking trade relationships within the country, as these items must have arrived via one of the Mediterranean ports. It is not surprising that Tel Ashkelon has the largest collection of Cypriot and Mycenaean ceramics in the region (Stager:pers. comm.). Cypriot pottery in particular has been found at most sites in the region: not only the tell sites of Poran, Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara, and Ashdod, but also small sites (such as Map 96 site 114; see chapter 5). Mycenaean pottery, meanwhile, is known only from Poran. The difference between the two is, in all likelihood, simply a reflection of the relative amounts of each type of pottery imported to the region via the port at Tel Ashkelon: Pottery from Cyprus is certainly more common than that from the Aegean, presumably because of the relative proximity of Cyprus (and perhaps its role in Levantine trade). More generally, the distribution of imported pottery in the region suggests a complex, integrated network where material is traded not only to other parts of the country but also throughout the Ashkelon region as well. This material, then, does not serve strictly as luxury material for the elite of the larger settlements but also can be found in the hinterland. With further exposure of these smaller sites in the region, more such imported pottery would presumably be found.

### *Iron Age I*

Identifiable remains from the Iron Age I south of Ashkelon have been discerned at three sites that underwent small scale excavations: Dimra, near Erez, where

the pottery collection contains elements already known in the northern Negev, and in small sites defined by Gophna (1966) as *hazerim* (see discussion of *hazerim* in the northern Negev south of Tell el-Far<sup>c</sup>ah, Gophna 1963; 1964). The ceramic assemblages of part of the *hazerim* show close affinities to the Philistine pottery and were therefore classified by Gophna as belonging probably to the eleventh century B.C. The pottery of Dimra represents the very end of the eleventh century. Dimra is located 12 km south of Tel Ashkelon and 10 km northeast of Gaza. This small settlement could have been affiliated with either of these city-states, but we prefer Gophna's suggestion that it was a satellite of Gaza since the pottery assemblage from Dimra shows close similarities to Iron I ceramic assemblages from sites such as Mefalsim A, Mefalsim B, and Zeelim, located in the northern Negev at a short distance from Gaza (Gophna 1966). At Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005) on the second *kurkar* ridge, a stratum excavated in a small area containing remains of Iron Age I was revealed (Yasur-Landau and Shavit 1999; Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005). At Khirbet Bakkitia (site 430), near Yad Mordechai, an excavation was conducted by Y. Baumgarten in 1999. While he did not excavate any Iron I architecture, Baumgarten did find Philistine bichrome sherds; based on form and decoration, they were assigned to two distinct phases, dated respectively to the twelfth century and the eleventh century B.C. (see Berman et al. 2004:61\*).

North of Ashkelon, the main Iron Age I site is Tel Ashdod along with nearby cemeteries southeast of the tell, consisting of both caves and shaft tombs (Berman and Barda 2005:46\*). In addition, another burial cave located along the Nahal Evtah with clear evidence of use in the first half of the twelfth century B.C. was unearthed by Gophna and Meron (1970; site 146). Tel Poran (site 113), located midway between Ashkelon and Ashdod, yielded clear Iron Age I remains, including fragments of Philistine vessels. Its long period of occupation (from the EB) suggests that some permanent water source connected to the Nahal Evtah system once existed there. Whether Tel Poran was associated with Ashdod or with Ashkelon is not clear. Three more manifestations of Iron I containing structural remains were documented by Berman on the coast northwest of Tel Poran (sites 49, 51, and 79). One of these sites, at El <sup>c</sup>Abtah, on a *kurkar* hill some 80 m from the Mediterranean coast, was (as mentioned above) identified by Berman and Barda as a possible fortress.

Allen's survey results suggested only two sites reasonably dating to the Iron Age I. At the first of these (site 451, east of Ashkelon and near Negba), however, the presence of an Iron I horizon was based on a single cooking pot rim (*Ashkelon I*, p. 30). Repeated visits to

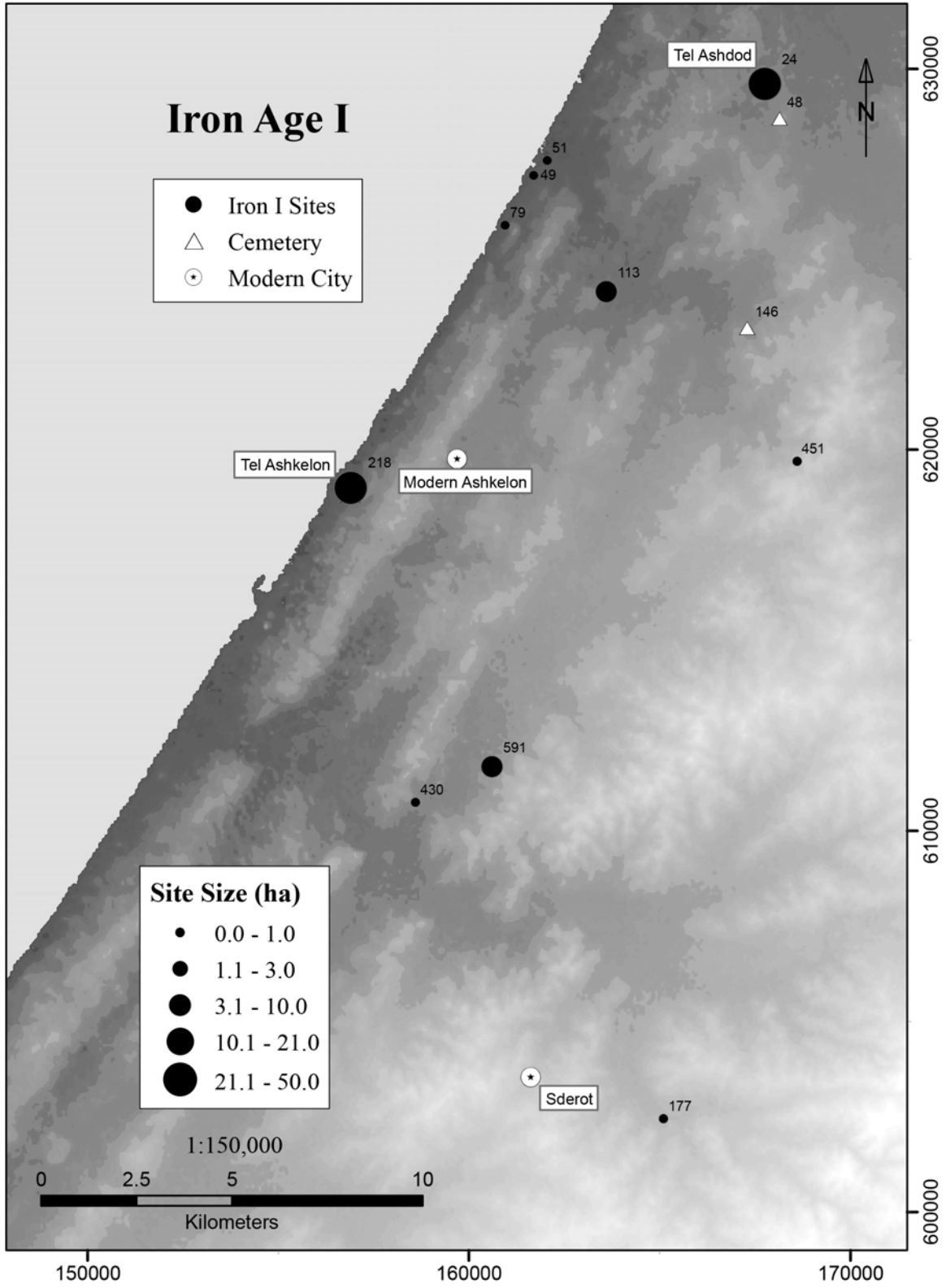


Figure 2.6: Map of sites from the Iron Age I over modern topography.



this site by the author turned up no Iron I sherds, nor a spring mentioned by Allen while describing the site. The absence of the spring removes the only affirmative reason to place here a reliable Iron I Age site. This removal will leave only one Iron I Age site (site 591, Tel Obed) within the entire 100 km<sup>2</sup> area of the Map of Ashkelon, precisely as in the Map of Sderot directly to the south.

Thus—beyond the remains exposed during excavations at Tel Ashkelon and Tel Ashdod, both thriving cities during the Iron I—settlement remains from this period in a wide area of c. 360 km<sup>2</sup> (Maps 87, 88, 91, 92, and 96) are scanty and summarized as follows:

1. Three sites south of Tel Ashkelon: Dimra (near Erez), Kh. Bakkita (Yad Mordechai), and Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara.
2. Two sites southeast of Ashkelon: Tel Obed (Beit Jirja) and the more distant site near Hoga (Map 96 site 177, Nahal Dorot; see chapter 5).
3. Four sites north of Ashkelon: Tel Poran and three reliable sites northwest of it (El Abtah and two other sites in the western Nahal Evtah system).

This leaves us with a total of nine settlements plus the cities of Ashkelon and Ashdod.

The most remarkable feature related to the location of Iron Age I sites, both in the immediate vicinity of Tel Ashkelon and in the wider region, is that most are to be found at places founded or otherwise settled during the Late Bronze period. This phenomenon was already mentioned by Finkelstein (1996b:231) when dealing with the settlement pattern in the Iron Age I in the southern coastal plain and the Shephelah. Finkelstein also suggested that, at the same time, within this area there was a sharp decline in the total number of sites between the LB and Iron I, from 102 to 49; he concluded that this decrease was balanced by a major shift in emphasis in the Iron I to larger central sites with few satellites, resulting in little net change in the total built-up area between the two periods (Finkelstein 1996b:231). Within a radius of 20 km of Tel Ashkelon, he presented only eight Iron Age I sites (Finkelstein 1996b:230, fig 2). Besides Tel Ashkelon itself, these include the following: Khirbet Bakkita and Telamim (Map 96 site 88, which yielded only LB finds; see chapter 5) within the Iron Age I suggested territory of Ashkelon; Hoga in the territory of Gaza; Tel Şippor in the territory of Gath; and Tel Ashdod,

Tel Mor (Tell Murra/Tell el-Kheidar), Shafir, and Nizzanim beach 1 (Nahal Evtah) in the suggested territorial boundary of Ashdod.

Thus, according to Finkelstein, in our study area proper (and in the territory of Ashkelon) there is only one satellite site (with the removal of Telamim): Khirbet Bakkita. Meanwhile, Dimra and Mefalsim A and B, classified as *hazerim* by Gophna (1966:44–51), were omitted by Finkelstein because he considered them later than the Philistine bichrome phase (and therefore as Iron II sites; Finkelstein 1996b:228 n. 19). Philistine bichrome ware is dated by Finkelstein to the eleventh and early tenth centuries B.C. (as opposed to the conventional/high chronology of Philistine settlement, which dates Philistine bichrome from the mid-twelfth century to the late eleventh; e.g., Mazar 1985:106–7). As mentioned above, however, the sherds of the *hazerim* sites were ascribed by Gophna to the eleventh century B.C. The pottery from the *hazerim* may indeed represent a phase that comes after Philistine bichrome, but these assemblages seem to represent part of the material culture of the coastal entities in the Iron Age I. As Gophna (1966) pointed out, the pottery of these sites (in particular, the irregular burnishing on brown or red ground, and the bowls with atrophied horizontal handles) is not characteristic of Judah but shows affinities to Philistine traditions. Furthermore, it is important to note that, in the Ashkelon region and adjacent areas, ceramics finds of bichrome ware have been found almost exclusively at excavated sites, both urban and rural: Tel Ashkelon, Tel Ashdod, Tel Mor, Tel Şippor, and Kh. Bakkita. It seems that they are rare in survey collections. Allen emphasized that within the entirety of Map 92, “[n]ot a single sherd of painted Philistine pottery was found in four years of surveying” (*Ashkelon I*, p. 30). Nevertheless, Berman’s survey of the Map of Nizzanim yielded fragments of Philistine vessels at Tel Poran, as mentioned above, as well as at site 51 (see Berman and Barda 2005:46\*); his survey of Ziqim also yielded a Philistine sherd at Bakkita (Berman et al. 2004:12\*). Shavit (2003:56), meanwhile, indicates only one Iron I satellite site within a radius of 10 km around Tel Ashkelon; in his dissertation, this site appears on illustration 40 as located c. 4 km southeast of Tel Ashkelon, approximately at coordinates 107/115 (2003:157). Based on Shavit’s survey records, this is likely a site in Holot Ziqim, coordinates (OIG) 10755/11479, an artifact scatter with pottery from every period from the EB to Persian represented. The nature of this scatter,

Table 2.1: Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I Sites in the Ashkelon Region, within a radius of c. 18 km

<i>Site</i>	<i>Finkelstein's Site</i>	<i>Map reference (NIG)</i>	<i>Site no./Ref.</i>	<i>Late Bronze Age</i>	<i>Iron Age I</i>
Tel Ashkelon	Tel Ashkelon	156900/619000	218	City	City
Tel Ashdod	Tel Ashdod	167750/629600	24	City	City
<b>Holot Ashdod</b>		<b>163900/630950</b>	<b>Map 84 site 82</b>	<b>Settlement</b>	
<b>Holot Ashdod</b>	<b>Ashdod-Yam</b>	<b>163690/630890</b>	<b>Map 84 site 83</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	
<b>Nahal Lakhish</b>	<b>North of Tel Ashdod</b>	<b>168900/630180</b>	<b>Map 84 site 105</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
Holot Ashdod (SE of the tell)		168150/628700	48	Cemetery	Cemetery
Holot Ashdod	Nizzanim Beach 1	161700/627200	49	Occupation	Occupation
<b>Nahal Evtah</b>		<b>162050/627600</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>Settlement</b>	<b>Settlement</b>
El <sup>c</sup> Abtah (NW)	Nizzanim Beach 2	160950/625900	79	Fortress?	Fortress?
Tel Poran	SE of Tel Poran	163600/624150	113	Settlement	Settlement
Nahal Evtah	SE of Nizzanim	167300/623200	146		Burial Cave
Tel Şippor	Tel Zippor	174800/618000	Biran and Negbi 1966; Biran 1993	Settlement	Settlement
Tel Obed		160600/611600	591	Settlement	Settlement
Khirbet Bakkita	Yad Mordekhay Junction	158600/610750	430		Settlement
Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara	156850/609300	Shavit and Yasur- Landau 2005	Settlement	Settlement
Dimra near Erez		158600/607500	Gophna 1966		Settlement
Mefalsim A		157800/600100	Gophna 1966		Settlement
Mefalsim B		159400/600900	Gophna 1966		Settlement
Nahal Shiqma		169500/607000	Chapter 5, site 88	Settlement	
Nahal Shiqma		167800/606300	Chapter 5, site 114	Settlement	
Nahal Hoga	H. Hoga	165100/602450	Chapter 5, site 177	Settlement	Settlement

plus its location on a flat area between sand dunes, suggests it may not in fact be an ancient site but rather a “patch”; at the same time, it is worthy of note because, according to Shavit’s survey records, the site yielded a Philistine bichrome sherd in survey.

Presently, the available data permit us to suggest a new list of reliable Iron Age I sites within the Ashkelon region. For this period, we have chosen not to reproduce the borders of the presumed Ashkelon city-state from the LB, as Ashdod is generally considered (as it is by Finkelstein) a separate political entity in the Iron I; instead, we provide sites within a radius of c. 18 km around Tel Ashkelon (a roughly 20 x 32 km area, east coordinates 155/175 and north coordinates 600/632 [NIG]). In Table 2.1, they are presented side by side with the Late Bronze Age sites. At least for the Ashkelon region, the change between LB and Iron I is not as great as Finkelstein thought; in

fact, within a radius of 18 km of Tel Ashkelon, there is no change in the number of settlements. Table x shows a total of 21 sites from one or both of these periods, including 19 settlements and two burial sites; in each period there are 15 settlements, including Ashkelon and Ashdod, along with one burial site in the LB and two in Iron I. A majority of the settlements (11) were inhabited in both periods. Thus, while four known settlements were apparently abandoned after the LB, four new ones were founded. In our study area proper, there are eight settlements plus a cemetery in the LB, and nine plus the cemetery and a burial cave in Iron I. Finkelstein, meanwhile, claimed only five LB sites and four Iron I sites for this area. However, Finkelstein’s data are superseded by the publication of the Archaeological Survey of Israel survey maps, which both add new sites to his list and clarify the periods of occupation of the other sites. Thus Finkelstein claimed that sites 49 and

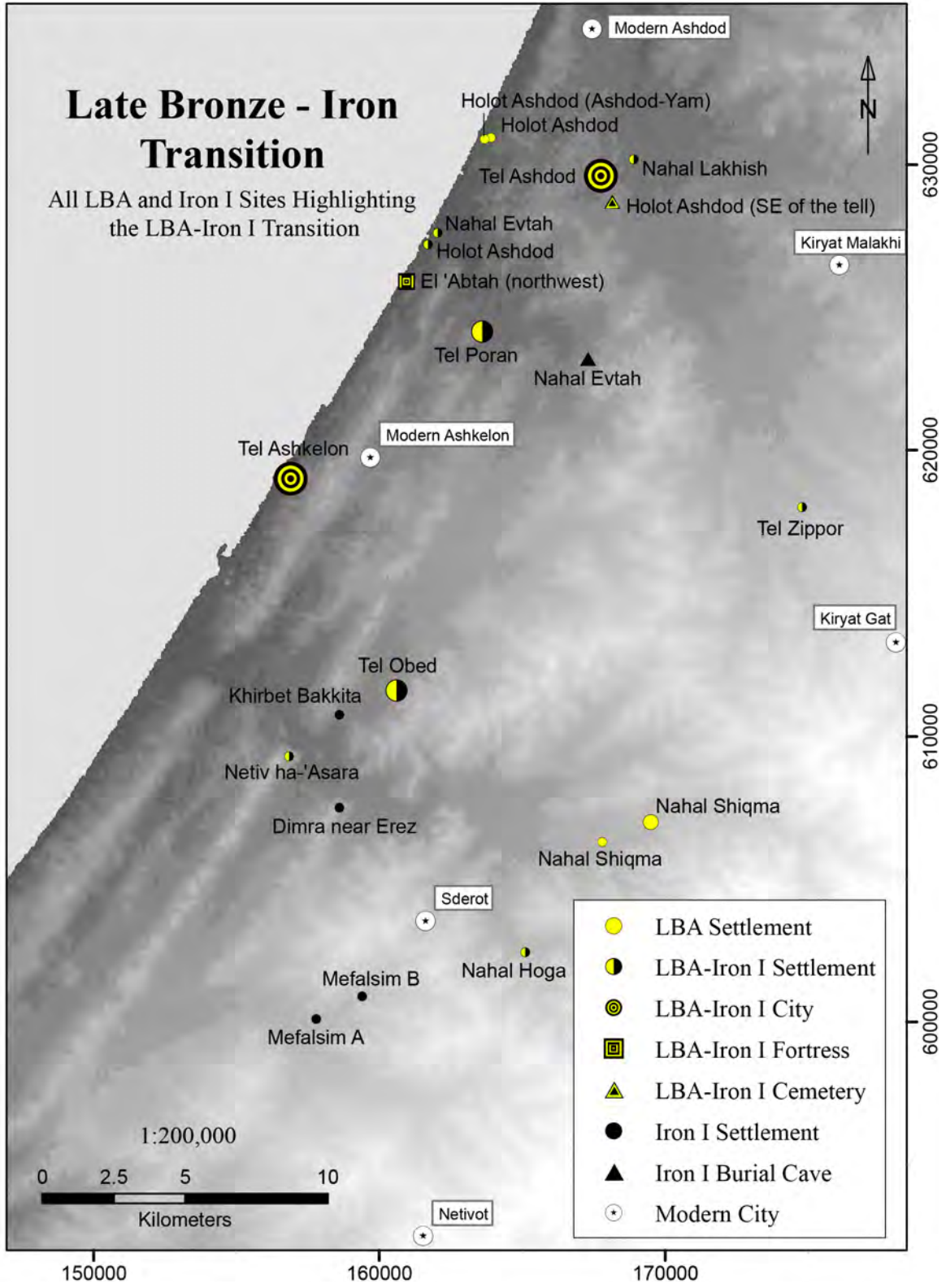


Figure 2.7: Map of sites from the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age I transition over modern topography.

Map 96 site 177 were inhabited only in the Iron I, when they were inhabited in both periods; meanwhile, he reported that sites 79 and 113 were inhabited only in the LB when they were inhabited in both. Finally, there is the burial cave at site 146, which Finkelstein assigned to the LB but should be assigned to Iron I (though this may depend on Finkelstein's application of the low chronology and suggestion of a later starting date for Iron I).

In general, the phenomenon of an almost complete abandonment of the countryside, suggested by Finkelstein, is not visible in an extended area around Ashkelon. Despite the expansion of the urban center at Ashkelon during the Iron I Age, rural settlement maintained stability to a large extent. The existence of Iron I sites at the same locations where Late Bronze Age settlements were found can be attributed also to environmental reasons, such as the presence of water sources. While trying to delimit the border between Judah and the city-states of Gaza and Ashkelon in light of known settlements from the Late Bronze and Iron periods along the Nahal Shiqma system, Gophna (1981) pointed toward two dense concentrations of sites: an eastern concentration around Tell el-Hesi and a western one in a narrow strip near the coast close to Gaza and Ashkelon. Gophna stressed the correlation of settlement in these areas with water sources: in the eastern region, the permanent springs in Nahal Shiqma and its tributaries, and, along the coast, the high aquifer. The area between these two areas, with poor water sources and therefore less inhabited, would have served as a sort of border. Finkelstein (1996b:229) also recognized an intermediate strip between the lower Shephelah and the coast, especially sparse of sites, which helps to delineate the border between the "inner" and coastal entities, but ascribed this phenomenon to political reasons.

While we would suggest a total of 14 reliable Iron I settlements, this is likely to change with continued survey and excavation. Recently at Kh. Summeily, located on the northern bank of Nahal Shiqma some 300 m east of the eastern limit of Map 96, an Iron Age I level was unearthed during excavation of a known Iron Age II site (Blakely:pers. comm., 2011). Furthermore, three of the sites mentioned above—Hoga, Mefalsim A, and Mefalsim B—were accidentally discovered lying under a thick layer of clay/silt due to their location near tributaries exposed to powerful floods. It is probable that additional sites of this category will be revealed in the future. Regardless, Ashkelon is

characterized in this period (as in the preceding Bronze Age) by the lack of a true hinterland (for further discussion, see chapter 4).

In fact, the total of currently known sites for Ashkelon's hinterland is probably much less than 13. As noted above, the pottery of several of the *hazerim* in the south of the region was already linked by Gophna to that of the northern Negev. These sites—Hoga, Mefalsim A and B, and Dimra—are all south of the Nahal Shiqma, as is Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara; the Shiqma, then, is a logical border between the territories of Ashkelon and Gaza in this period.

### *Iron Age II*

During the Iron Age II there is a large increase, in relative terms, in the number of sites. A careful analysis of the available data, however, points toward a minimal change in settlement patterns in the first stages of this period, namely the tenth to ninth centuries B.C. Berman's survey shows an enormous increase in the number of settlements both south and north of Tel Ashkelon, respectively 40 and 26 sites (as illustrated above in Table 1.1). Most of these, however, are simply patches that do not represent real sites, as discussed in chapter 1. Thus, other studies in the same regions and neighboring areas documented fewer settlements. Gophna (1981:49–52) mentioned that approximately 20 sites of the Late Bronze and Iron periods had been identified by him and others in the region of the lower course of Nahal Shiqma and its central and western tributaries. A small portion of these sites are located in the southern part of our study area, within the Map of Ziqim, and two others within the Map of Sderot. Gophna's map (1981:52 ill. 1) shows four Iron Age sites aligned along the northern bank of the wadi and two more south of it. In addition, he included the site of Beit Jirja (Tel Obed), located within the Map of Ashkelon. Meanwhile, Shavit's (2003) use of only secure site identifications in the region helped to identify and create relatively reliable site distribution maps by century.

The best example of the careful identification of definite vs. possible sites occurs outside the sand dune belt at the site of Beit Jirja (Tel Obed; site 591) and involves three surveyors: Ram Gophna, Mitchell Allen, and Alon Shavit. Gophna (1965) was the first to indicate the existence of an Iron II Age (plus Persian and Byzantine) site on a low hill southeast of the Arab village of Beit Jirja, revealed

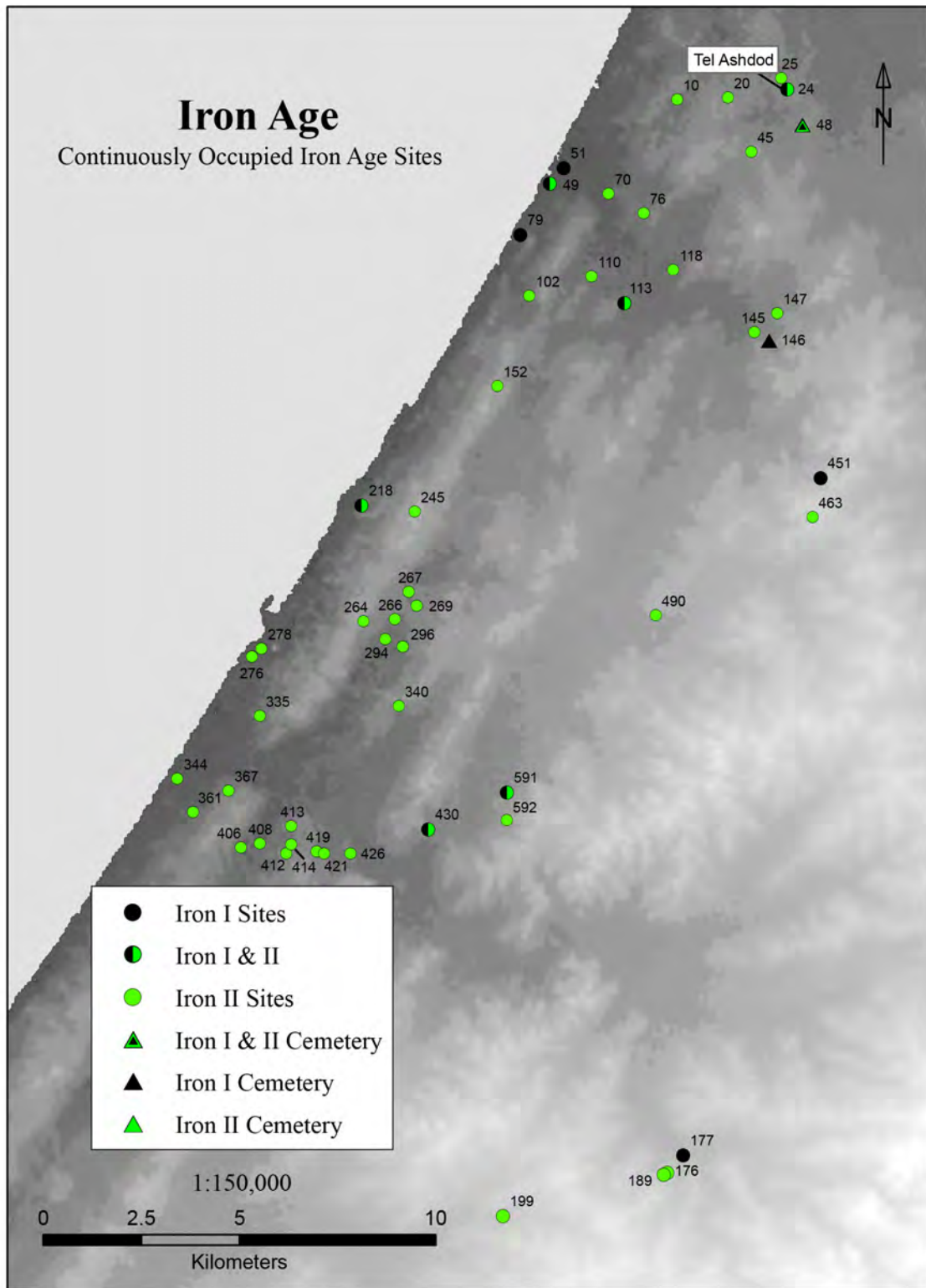


Figure 2.8: Map of sites from the Iron Age over modern topography.

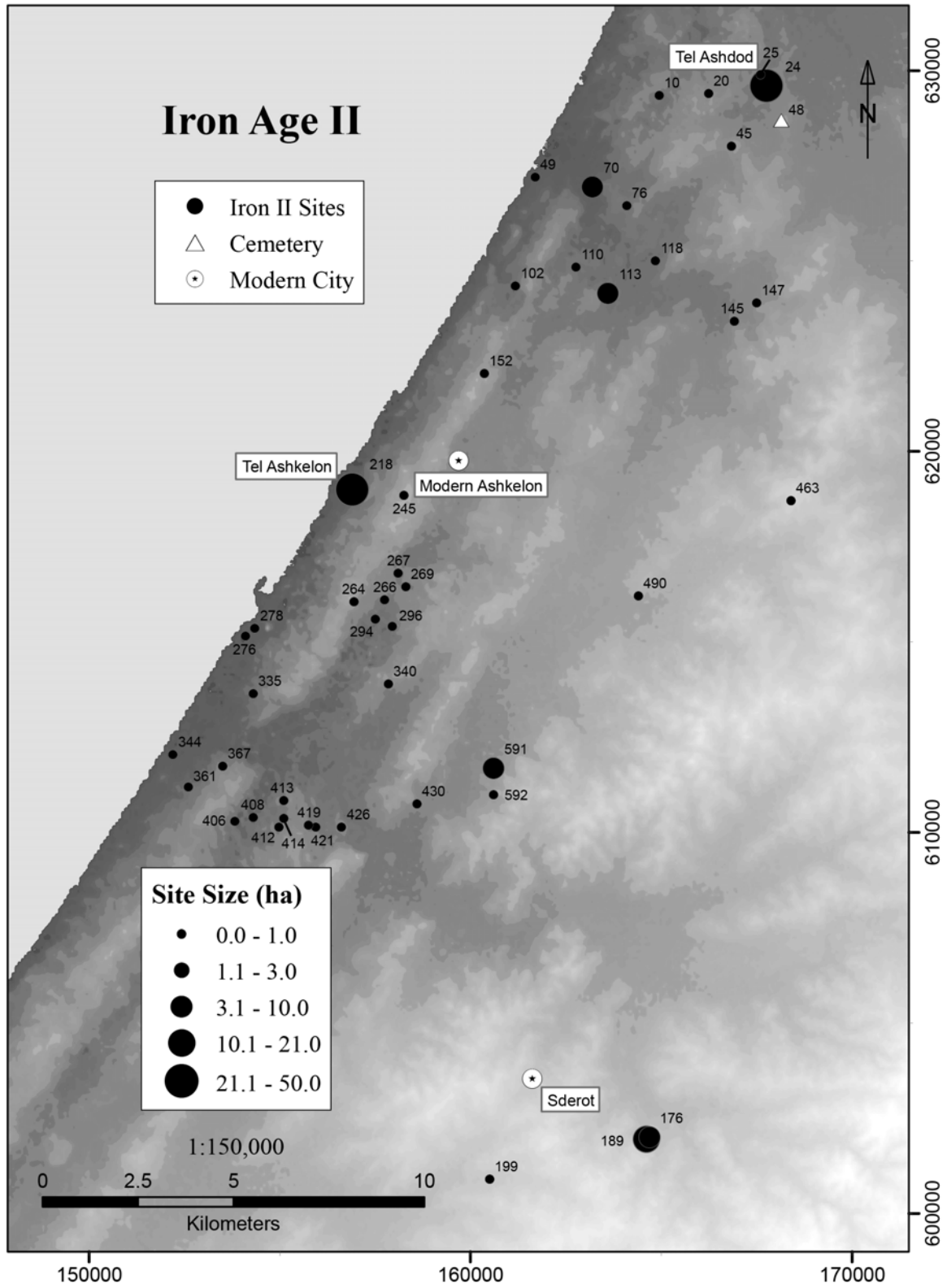


Figure 2.9: Map of sites from the Iron Age II over modern topography.

by deep plowing. Later, from 1986 to 1990, Allen conducted the survey of the Map of Ashkelon; the only Iron II site in his survey significant enough to merit classification as a settlement was the hill southeast of Beit Jirja, which Allen designated “Tel Obed” (after the nearby Nahal Obed [Wadi Abd]). Allen’s survey of the site revealed an important multi-period settlement, with remains of every period from MB II to modern, as well as Chalcolithic. In addition, Allen suggested the existence of Iron II satellites of Tel Obed on the basis of occasional Iron II sherds (site 592 and perhaps site 590, Khirbet Beit Lajus). Finally, Shavit’s survey of the southern coastal plain (conducted 1994 to 1998) did not locate Iron II sherds within Map 92; however, relying on Gophna’s and Allen’s work, he deduced that there was one Iron II site in the area at Beit Jirja. It therefore appears that Map 92 had one settlement, Tel Obed/Beit Jirja, with a few sherds found by different surveyors (Gophna; Allen) nearby possibly indicating satellite sites. In particular, Allen’s survey also suggested that Tel Obed’s Iron II ceramic corpus largely dates to the eighth and seventh centuries, suggesting an increase in activity at this time.

For the seventh century, meanwhile, we have more information on the economy (and other aspects) of the region due to the results of excavations at Tel Ashkelon. There are well-preserved late seventh-century levels, destroyed by the Babylonians in 604 B.C., with large horizontal exposure in two areas: Grid 50 Phase 7, a marketplace, and Grid 38 Phase 14, a winery (*Ashkelon 3*). The winery with four wine presses in Grid 38 reflects Tel Ashkelon’s role as a wine producer in this period; most finds, however, attest to the city’s second role as an international port. The imported pottery reflects connections with Egypt, Phoenicia, Cyprus, and the Aegean (both Ionia and mainland Greece). In addition, a series of finds attest to overland trade with other parts of Palestine. Some pottery points to connections with southeastern Philistia (the region of Gaza) or the northern Negev. Other finds include Judahite weights (as well as Egyptian and Mesopotamian; Birney and Levine in *Ashkelon 3*, p. 483). A series of types of artifacts and botanical finds, then, point to the central role that Ashkelon played in a complex trade network as a nexus of overseas trade and an outlet of goods from the interior of the country.

These finds have further implications for the economic organization of the region as a whole. Noting the lack of settlement east of the sand dunes, the site of the richest farmland in the

region, Allen (1997:287–88) suggests that it is unlikely that the hinterland of Tel Ashkelon and other Philistine cities could have produced enough grain to feed the urban population and that their settlement patterns do not suggest they were organized for this purpose. Similarly, Weiss, Kislev, and Maher-Slasky (*Ashkelon 3*, pp. 606–7; see also Weiss and Kislev 2004:11) concluded that the total area of the hinterland of Ashkelon was not nearly large enough to support an urban population of some 10,000–12,000 people, as estimated by Stager (e.g., *Ashkelon 3*, p. 5). Thus the city must have imported grain from outside the region. Indeed, Weiss, Kislev, and Maher-Slasky’s (*Ashkelon 3*; also Weiss and Kislev 2004) analysis of weed species in the grain piles from Grid 50 shows species not native to the southern coastal plain: Some grain apparently came from farther north on the coast, while some was imported from the Judean hills.

Another method of approaching the extent of the Ashkelon hinterland is through artifact distribution. Elsewhere, Press (2007:303–13) has used clay figurines as a means of analyzing relationships between different regions of Philistia. The seventh-century figurines of Ashkelon and Philistia are particularly well-suited for this purpose: The excavations on the tell yielded a large number (c. 150 objects), and figurines in this period typically represent local or regional variations of types (standing females and horses) found throughout much of the Levant. In particular, the use of mold-made female heads as part of a composite or mixed technique (combined with a hollow body, usually wheelmade) provides a method of tracking the spread of items from a single mold. An analysis of figurine distribution suggests that the area of the Ashkelon cultural sphere is quite small in this period. At Tel Ashdod, 15 km to the northeast, vastly different figurine types are present. At the other end, while the evidence from Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara (a mere 10 km to the south) is very limited, excavations yielded a horse that appears to be characteristic of southern Philistia (e.g., Tell Jemmeh).<sup>6</sup> Thus the north-south extent of Ashkelon’s cultural sphere (if not political control) in this period

<sup>6</sup>In addition, the survey of Map 91 yielded what appears to be a humped bull figurine, typical only of the Gaza region in this period, at site 421 (Berman et al. 2004:69). This site, south of the Nahal Shiqma and c. 1 km northwest of Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara, could be a satellite of the latter. Alternatively, although we have identified site 421 as a real site it is possibly a patch, with its finds—including the figurine—brought from a nearby site, perhaps Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara.

appears to have been particularly restricted.<sup>7</sup> In fact, moldmade female heads of Ashkelon type have only been found at two other sites: Tel Şippor and Tel ʿErani. At Şippor, three seventh-century Ashkelon-type heads were found in a favissa of the fourth century B.C. (Negbi 1966:pl. 5:15–17). Among the published finds from ʿErani are two heads of Ashkelon type (Yeivin 1961:pl. 2, third row, third and fourth from left); however, the majority of the figurine corpus consists of typical Judean Pillar Figurines (JPFs), suggesting that ʿErani is at the border (and the other end of the border) of the Ashkelon sphere.

The situation contrasts greatly with that of southern Philistia, presumed to reflect the city-state or kingdom of Gaza. Gaza itself has not seen extensive excavation; instead, Tell Jemmeh is the type-site for the region, with Petrie’s excavations yielding more than 200 figurines of seventh-century types. Figurine types discovered by Petrie have been found at a number of neighboring sites: Tell el-ʿAjjul, Tell Farʿah (south; Tel Sharuhen), Tel Seraʿ (Tell esh-Shariʿa), Tel Haror (Tel Abu Hureira), Ruqeish (Tell er-Reqeish), Horvat Hoga (Khirbet Huj), Mefalsim A, Tel Milḥa (Tell el-Muleihah), and even Tell el-Hesi. Thus, unlike the Ashkelon region, the Gaza cultural sphere in this period appears to be relatively large and is well-represented at a number of sites. This distribution also suggests the possibility that the Nahal Shiqma formed a sort of border between the spheres of Ashkelon and Gaza, as it appears to have functioned in other periods. Thus sites such as Netiv Ha-ʿAsara and Hoga, on the southern banks of the Shiqma, would have been part of the Gazan sphere (the same would be true for Hesi farther to the east).

It should be noted that the situation at Gaza is not paralleled at other major Philistine sites of the period—Ashdod, Tel Miqne (Khirbet el-Muqannaʿ)—whose figurine types are not found over a wide area. Some of the difference may be due to chance of excavation (both the sites excavated and the finds at each), but certainly the restricted size of the Ashkelon sphere is real and contrasts with that of Gaza. As Shavit (2008:151) and Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 37) have observed, the

<sup>7</sup> Notably, Kletter (1999) has suggested using figurines, among other types of material culture, as direct evidence for reconstructing political boundaries in the Iron IIC. While seeing some type of connection between the two, we would consider the nature of the relationship between material culture and political (or ethnic) entities as more complex (see, e.g., discussion in Press 2007:11–21; *Ashkelon 4*, chap. 1).

lack of a true hinterland for Ashkelon might be related to the fact that its power and influence would have come from its role as a port and therefore its maritime connections, thus supporting Stager’s “port power” model (Stager 2001; cf. Finkelstein 1996b:235 for Iron I). In light of this, it is worth noting Sennacherib’s mention of the cities of Şidqa, king of Ashkelon, which he conquered in his campaign in 701 B.C.: Jaffa, Bnei-Brak, Azor, and Beth-Dagon (see, e.g., Luckenbill 1924:30–31; Oppenheim 1969:287 from the Sennacherib Prism col. II, lines 60–72). All of these sites are located in the area of modern Tel Aviv, some 45 km north of Tel Ashkelon. This passage from Sennacherib’s annals may therefore be supporting evidence for Ashkelon’s maritime power: an enclave at the northern edge of Philistia.

In attempting to explain the settlement pattern within the Ashkelon region itself, and the lack of a hinterland, Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, pp. 23, 37) has emphasized not only Ashkelon’s role as an international port but its location near the main north-south route of the country, the coastal road. At the northern end of the study area, he has noted the location of Tel Poran (site 113) close to the coastal road (1997:227, following Gophna 1963; see also Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 37). He similarly observes that Tel Obed (site 591) from Map 92 is also close to the line of this route (1997:238, 343; the same may also be true of the possible Iron Age site at Khirbet Irza, site 490). Poran is roughly halfway between Ashdod and Ashkelon, while Tel Obed—approximately the same size—lies between Ashkelon and Gaza (as observed by Allen 1997:227). As Gophna (1963) suggested for Poran, Allen has concluded that both sites may have served as way stations along the coastal road (1997:344). We would suggest that the same may be true of Khirbet Bakkita (site 430), Netiv Ha-ʿAsara (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005), perhaps Dimra (in Map 95) southeast of Ashkelon, and of Tell Kursun (site 45) to the northeast. In fact, Kursun, Poran, Obed, Bakkita, and Netiv Ha-ʿAsara are all relatively close (within c. 1 km) to the modern coastal road (Route 4) and even closer to the nineteenth-century north-south road. The locations of these sites thus provide support for the “access resources” model of settlement in this period (Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, pp. 23, 37; 1997:330–31, 346). In fact, Dorsey came to a similar conclusion in his discussion of the road network of ancient Israel: For him, the line of the “international coastal highway” was marked by a line of sites between Gaza and Ashdod including Nahal Hannun, Khirbet Bakkita (his site 3),



Tel Obed (site 4), Poran, and Tell Kursun (site 5; Dorsey 1991:59–60 and Map 1, route II). In addition, the large number of jar rims found by Allen's survey at Tel Obed led him to conclude that its importance was due to its role in trade through the region (*Ashkelon I*, p. 33; 1997:344). Allen also suggests (1997:242) that there was an additional north-south road farther to the east, based on the location of four large tells along the eastern part of Nahal Shiqma: Hesi, Tel Nagila (Tell en Najila), Tel Qeshet (Tell Quneitirah), and Tel Sheqef (Tell Abu esh Shuqaf). Farther to the south, Tel Milḥa (Tell el Muleiha), also along the Nahal Shiqma system, may have been situated on the same route; to the north, Tel Šippor and/or Tel ʿErani (close to the same longitude as the other sites) may also have been related to this proposed route. The situation in the Iron II, then, appears to have been similar to that observed by Gophna (1981) for the LB and Iron I. Dorsey also proposed that these sites were connected with interior alternates to the main coastal highway (1991:67–69 and Map 1, I15–18). This proposed road may mark the eastern branch of the coastal road, as discussed, e.g., by Aharoni (1979:49, map 3).

This analysis of these sites' roles as waypoints along major trade routes has been supported by the excavations at Netiv Ha-ʿAsara. There, Shavit and Yasur-Landau reported finds (albeit limited) of imported Aegean pottery, namely an Ionian cup and a Wild Goat style sherd, both dated to the late seventh century (2005:80–81, fig. 14:1, 3). On the basis of the ceramics, the excavators conclude that the site's peak period of occupation stretched from the seventh century through the Persian period and note that the site takes advantage of its location on both the Nahal Shiqma and the north-south coastal road (2005:82). They reasonably suggest the imported pottery arrived through the nearby port of Ashkelon, thus showing the integration of the hinterland sites with Ashkelon's trade network in this period.

The other Iron II sites in the study region may also be linked to roads, in this case newly-developed roads. Dorsey suggested two additional north-south routes in the Ashkelon region, based on nineteenth-century roads recorded by the Survey of Western Palestine as well as the location of Iron Age sites: I11, running between Ashkelon and the Arab village Yasur, and I13, leaving the main coastal road at Beit Jirja (i.e., Tel Obed) and heading toward Ekron via Sawafir (1991:65–66, Map 1). In the case of I11, Dorsey noted that the two Iron II sites east of the coastal road discovered

by Berman's survey of Nizzanim east are on this route: site 140 (Kh. Khasse) and site 142 (Nahal Evtah).<sup>8</sup> In the case of I13, Dorsey could only note that the main junctions on this route, Beit Jirja and Sawafir, both had Iron Age remains, making the existence of an ancient route here likely; Allen's Map 92 data was not available to him. Allen's survey, in fact, appears to confirm the existence of an Iron Age route here. As in Nizzanim East, Allen's survey of the Map of Ashkelon revealed only two sites east of the coastal road: Kh. Irza and Kh. Ijjis er Ras (site 463). While these two sites do not lie on the path of the late Ottoman road between Beit Jirja and Shawafir, they do lie almost directly on a line between those two sites.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, Dorsey also proposed a set of east-west roads running through the region (1991:191, 195–96, 198–99, Maps 14, J9, 10, 14, 15, and 22). However, for the area of the dune belt at least, his two southern routes (J14 and J22), proposed to connect interior sites to the coastal site at Tell esh Shuqaf (site 344), cannot be supported, as the sites he uses as evidence are not ancient sites but "patches."<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Dorsey's work—especially his hypothesized route between Beit Jirja and Shawafir—further confirms that Iron II settlement patterns in the region should be linked to a developing road network through the region.

To explain the increase in settlement in the latter part of Iron II, and its apparent connection to an emerging road network in the region, Allen (1997) invoked the influence of Assyria. The issue of Assyrian impact on Philistia has been a major topic of discussion (following Gitin [e.g., 1995; 2003; see already Gitin and Dothan 1987:216]; see

<sup>8</sup> Following Berman (later published in Berman and Barda 2005:64\*–65\*), Dorsey erroneously named site 140 Kh. Bezze and site 142 H. Hassa. On the proper identifications of these two sites, see chapter 3.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, meanwhile, tried to use the existence of Iron Age sites at Tel Obed/Beit Jirja and Kh. Irza to argue for a more easterly route of the coastal road (*Ashkelon I*, p. 37); however, he also tried to incorporate Tel Poran into this same route, although Poran does not line up well with these sites (lying west of the current coastal highway). Allen did propose an alternate route running southwest-northeast through Map 92 (*Ashkelon I*, p. 37) but used a series of "possible" Iron II sites which, based on the principles adopted here, should be rejected.

<sup>10</sup> We must reject Allen's suggestion that these sites indicate the possibility of an alternative north-south coastal route running through Ashkelon (*Ashkelon I*, p. 37; cf. 1997:343–44) for the same reason. In this case, it is worth observing that Allen himself recognized that some of these sites might not be real sites (1997:235).

also Shavit 2003). The evidence for Assyrian presence in our study area, however, is very limited. The best evidence comes from Tel Ashdod at the northern edge of Map 88, where M. Dothan's excavations uncovered a stele of Sargon (Tadmor 1971) and more recent salvage excavations by E. Kogan-Zehavi and P. Nahshoni have revealed an Assyrian palace of the late eighth and early seventh centuries (Kogan-Zehavi 2006; site 25). These finds can be interpreted historically as the aftermath of the revolt of Yamani suppressed by Sargon in 712, when Ashdod was turned into an Assyrian province, *Asdudi* (as noted by Tadmor 1971:192). Possible Assyrian buildings have also been noted at the southern margins of the study region at two sites along the Nahal Shiqma system: Tell esh Shuqaf at the mouth of the Shiqma (Berman et al. 2004:45\*; Gophna and Meron 1963) and Horvat Hoga in Map 96 (Porat 1976; see chapter 5, site 189). While Naḥaman (e.g., 1979:81; 1995:111) and Stern (2001:9, 21, 110), among others, have suggested that these are Assyrian forts (largely on the basis of Assyrian presence elsewhere in Philistia), the nature of these buildings is unclear as they have either been only partially excavated (Hoga) or merely surveyed (Shuqaf). For Hoga, the excavator only noted a large building with tenth-century pottery in the fill beneath and eighth-century pottery above; no floors were found in the building itself (Porat 1976:42). At Shuqaf, meanwhile, Gophna and Meron merely reported on Iron II pottery at the site in their original survey, suggesting the site was a coastal station between Ashkelon and (the port of) Gaza (1963). Gophna only mentioned the presence of "Assyrian" pottery and made the identification of the site as an Assyrian fort through personal communication (as mentioned in the record files of Shavit's survey). At Tel Ashkelon, meanwhile, there is almost no direct evidence for Assyrian influence. It is noted only in a small amount of Assyrian-style pottery (including Assyrian Palace Ware). However, it appears that this pottery was not locally made but imported from either southeastern Philistia or the northern Negev: Petrographic analysis suggests an origin in those regions, and the corpus is paralleled particularly well at Tel Sera (*Ashkelon 3*, pp. 117–21).

*Persian (539–312 B.C.) and Hellenistic (332–37 B.C.) periods*

Our analysis in chapter 1 suggested treating the Persian and Hellenistic periods together, as well as

drastically reducing the number of sites from each period in the western sandy region of the study area. As presented in Table 1.1, in the area to the east chosen for comparison, consisting of the Maps of Ashkelon (92) and Sderot (96), the numbers of sites from the Persian period are ten (Map 92) and three (Map 96), while for the Hellenistic they are eight (92) and seven (96). In order to reinforce the observation that the total number of settlements from both periods was relatively small, reflecting the same settlement pattern throughout the southern coastal plain over the course of five centuries, we shall compare the results of two additional Archaeological Survey of Israel maps, in distinct geographic regions. The first, the Map of Urim (Gazit 1996), is located more than 30 km to the south of the Ashkelon region in the Besor basin; the second, the Map of Lakhish (Dagan 1992), is a distance of c. 25 km from Tel Ashkelon in the lower Shephelah. The Persian period in the Urim Map is represented by four sites: Tell Farḥah (south) (including its cemeteries), two settlements, and one camp. The Hellenistic period was observed at ten sites, two of them only tentatively ascribed to this period. Following the principles adopted in this study, we propose to adopt the minimal number of sites here as well: Therefore, we may conclude that the Hellenistic period is represented by eight sites: Tell Farḥah (south), six settlements, and one camp. Gazit (1996:15\*) concludes that the settlement distribution in both periods was directly connected to the east-west road between Beḥer Sheva and Philistia. In both periods, the way passed near permanent water sources at Nahal Besor.

Similarly, the Lakhish area is characterized by sparse occupation during the Persian period. Besides Tel Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), the central city, only ten additional settlements were discerned by the survey (Dagan 1992:17\*). They are arranged along and close to the wadi systems: six sites along the Nahal Lachish; two on its northern branch, Nahal Maresha; and in the south, two sites along Nahal Aduraim. The settlements along Nahal Aduraim are noteworthy in that this wadi is the main tributary of Nahal Shiqma; its origin lies in the Hebron hills, and it forms a wide drainage system where it joins the Shiqma farther to the west. Along this system is located the major east-west route leading from Hebron to Gaza. During the Hellenistic period a sharp increase in the number of settlements occurs, to a total of 25. Most of them are located near Maresha. Dagan (1992:17\*–18\*) ascribes the increase to the role of this city as the major administrative and religious center in

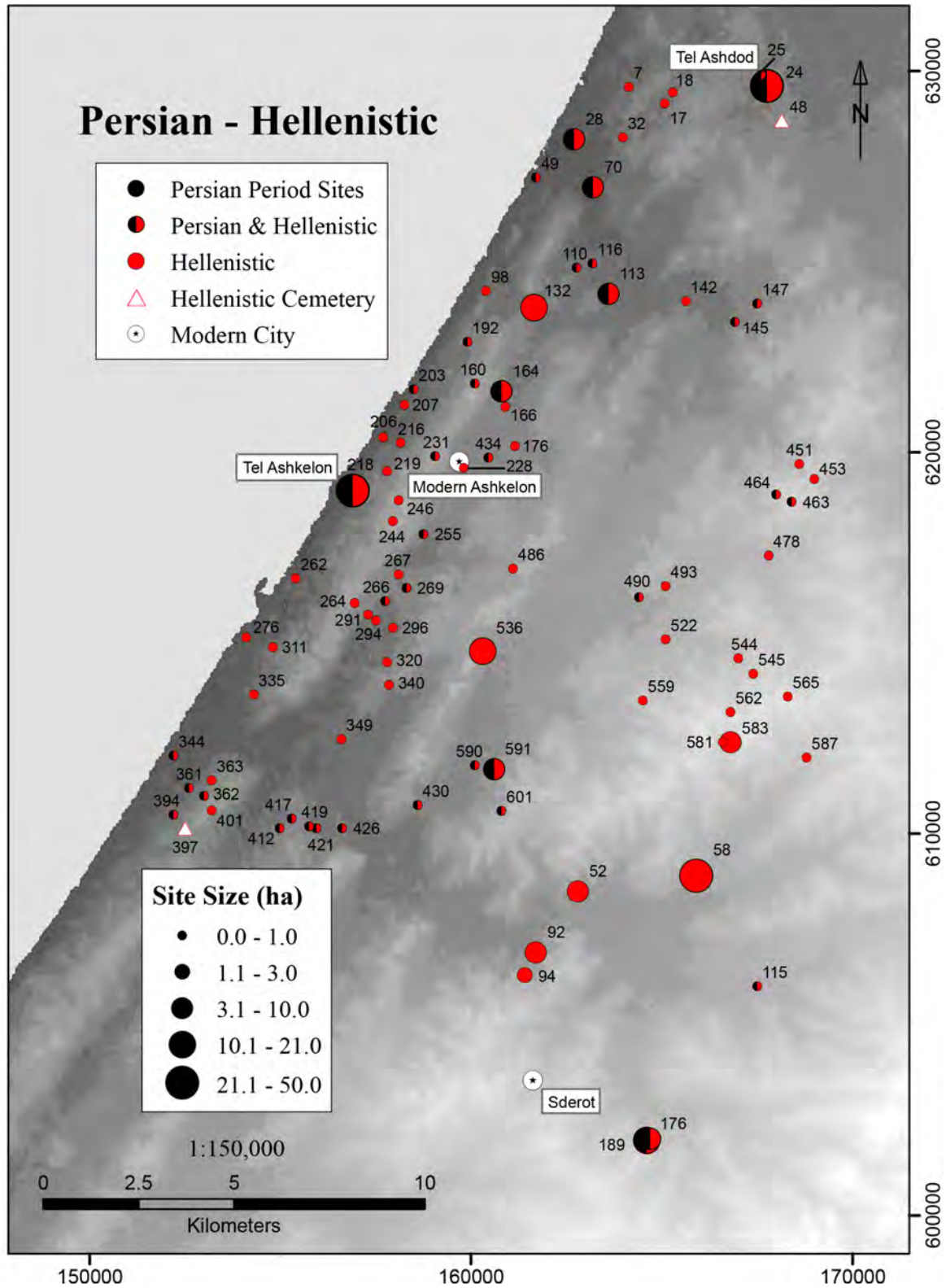


Figure 2.10: Map of sites from the Persian and Hellenistic periods over modern topography.

the region in the Hellenistic period, superseding Lachish, which had filled the same function in the Persian period.

In our study area, Tel Ashkelon and Tel Ashdod were thriving cities during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. Tel Ashkelon, as in the Bronze and Iron Ages, functioned as a flourishing port, as witnessed by continuing imports from Greece and Cyprus, among other places (see, e.g., *Ashkelon I*, pp. 290, 314, 322; Barako in *Ashkelon I*, pp. 454–56). Of particular note is a warehouse dating to the first half of the fifth century with complete and partial amphoras, both local and imported Greek; the excavators concluded that imported wine was transferred to smaller local storejars in this building (*Ashkelon I*, pp. 313–14). As in the Iron Age, imported pottery is found beyond the city of Ashkelon but appears to be more widely distributed:

1. Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005): Imports included a white-ground lekythos and possible rhyton (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005:80–81, fig. 14:2, 4), plus East Greek amphorae (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005:83).
2. El Qabu (site 262): an imported (Hellenistic?) amphora found during inspection (Berman et al. 2004:31\*).
3. Ashkelon, Barnea Top (site 160): a Megarian bowl and a stamped amphora handle from Ephesus (Haimi 2008).
4. Ashkelon, Migdal (Eli Kohen St.; site 434): Persian period lekythoi (Haimi 2009).
5. Kh. Bakkita (site 430): a Persian period mortarium, whose origin was identified by petrographic analysis as southern Turkey, and a lekythos (Baumgarten:pers. comm.).
6. Ashdod (site 24): These could be coming, however, from its own port at Ashdod-Yam rather than from Tel Ashkelon.

At Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara, the excavators related these finds both to the port of Ashkelon and to the site's position on important east-west (Nahal Shiqma) and north-south (coastal road) routes (2005:82–83).

One would perhaps expect to find some sort of network of hinterland and satellite settlements around Tel Ashkelon and Tel Ashdod due to the

large number of sites documented by Berman's survey on both periods, but the results of salvage excavations point to a different picture. North of Tel Ashkelon (c. 2 km), excavations at the Early Bronze Age I site of the Ashkelon Marina revealed a Persian period cist tomb (Golani 1996). At site 434 in Migdal, a refuse pit was found containing a few pottery sherds from the Persian period at a Byzantine site (Haimi 2009); Persian-period pottery was also the earliest reported by Allen at Migdal in the Map 92 survey. East of Tel Ashkelon, at Barzilay Hospital, two amphorae were discovered dating to the Hellenistic period (site 221, el Jura; Kogan-Zehavi 2007). North of Tel Ashdod, over the monumental Assyrian building from the Iron II (site 25), scanty remains were revealed including refuse pits from the Persian period and several potters' kilns from the Hellenistic period (Kogan-Zehavi 2006), probably representing an industrial quarter of the Hellenistic city of Tel Ashdod. The "Third Mile Estate" Byzantine-period site also yielded scanty remains from the Hellenistic period (site 164; Israel 1995a). Turning to the south of the study area, at Kh. Bakkita scanty remains from the Persian and Hellenistic periods were uncovered (Baumgarten, per. comm.), and at Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara a stratum from the Persian period was excavated (Yasur-Landau and Shavit 1999; Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005). Also of note in the Map of Ziqim is an isolated columbarium in the Shiqma basin (site 363), although it is unknown if there is an associated settlement in the vicinity.

Despite inspection of extensive development works throughout the modern city of Ashkelon since the early 1990s, only two new settlement sites have been uncovered. During 2000, inspection works revealed remains from the Hellenistic period at the highest point of the Barnea neighborhood (c. 60 m above sea level; site 160), on the top of a thin *hamra* layer, resting on a *kurkar* ridge, and totally covered by post-Byzantine sand dunes. During 2002 a small-scale salvage excavation was conducted at the site (Sion 2008). Further large-scale salvage excavations were carried out, revealing a sizeable village (with an estimated size of c. 20 dunams) from the Hellenistic period built of sun-dried mudbricks, laid out in a Hippodamian plan. Persian-period remains were exposed in a small area of the site (Haimi 2008). Remains of another settlement from the Hellenistic period were revealed during infrastructure work, c. 2 km southeast of Tel Ashkelon (site not in table, just west of site 273). Based on the local topography and the dispersal of sherds, it also appears to have

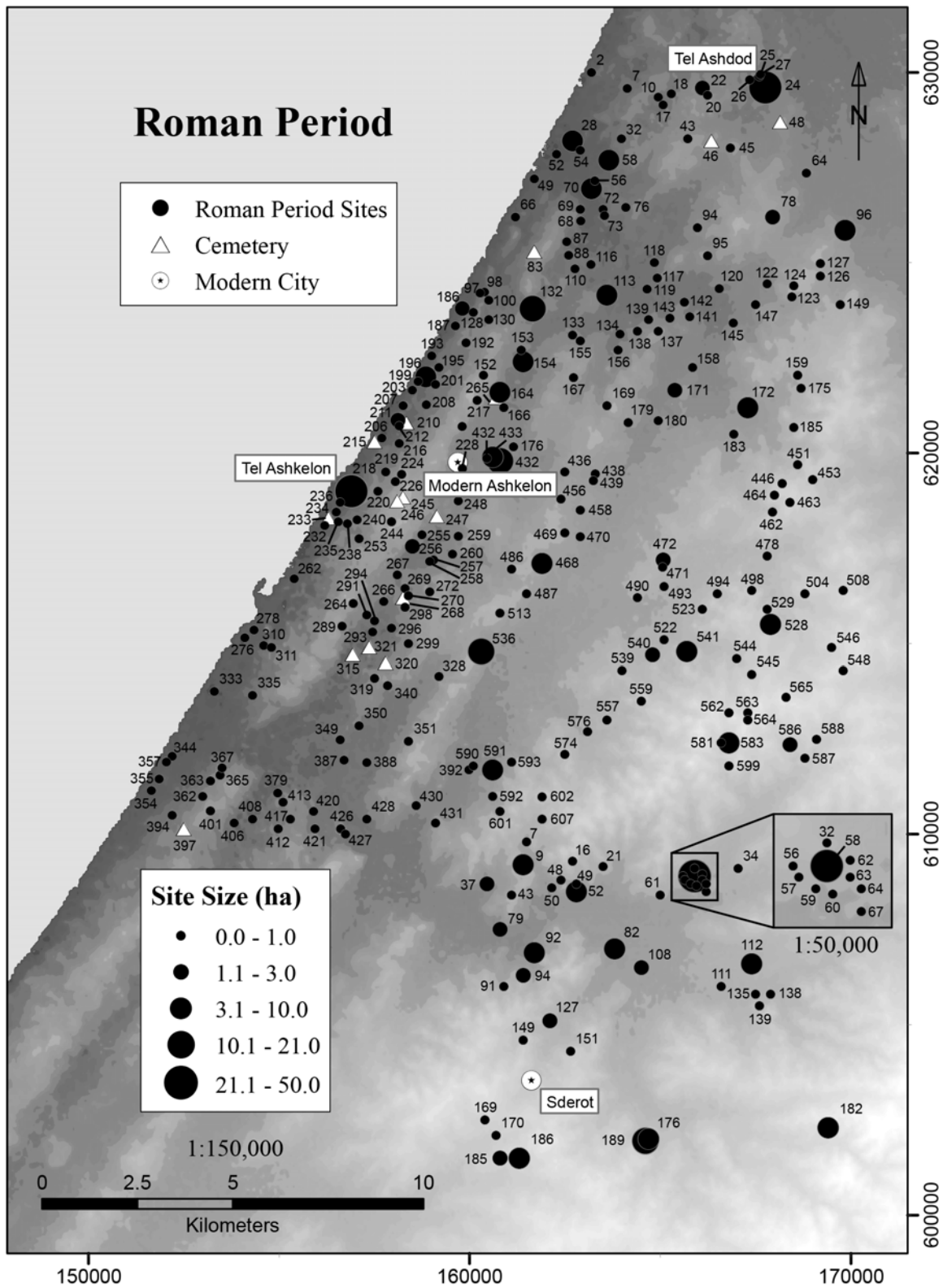


Figure 2.11: Map of sites from the Roman period over modern topography.

been a sizeable settlement. Here, too, the remains are situated on the top of a *kurkar* ridge at the same altitude above sea level (60 m) and were also covered by a shifting sand dune. Two well-preserved mudbrick walls were discerned. These are, at least for the moment, the only sizeable settlements from the Persian and Hellenistic periods between Tel Ashkelon surroundings and Tel Ashdod. Thus, the picture from excavation appears to confirm our general analysis of the survey data, reducing the number of sites from Berman's surveys in the sand dunes and accepting Allen's minimal number of sites in Map 92 (and from Huster's survey of Map 96).

Meanwhile, it seems that the location of these two settlements on high points is not coincidental. Both could have maintained eye contact with the city of Tel Ashkelon. Perhaps their location points toward some settlement pattern based upon lines of sight. Other sites, including Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005), Kh. Bakkita (site 430), Tel Obed (site 591), Tel Poran (site 113), and Tell Kursun (site 45), represent continued occupation from earlier periods, presumably related to the location of the coastal road. The same continuity is noted at Kh. Irza (site 490) and Kh. <sup>c</sup>Ijjis er-Ras (site 463), again probably related to the continued use of the road branching off from the coastal road at Tel Obed to the northeast. Further evidence for this road appears in the Hellenistic period: After removing Allen's "possible" sites in Map 92, we are left with eight sites east of the current coastal road. Other than ed-Dude (site 565), the other seven fall more or less in a line running northeast from Tel Obed: sites 591 (Allen's site 01/3, Obed), 490 (46/1, Irza), 522 (55/1, Beit Saman, north), 494 (66/1, Khor Breish), 498 (76/1, Qimas), 463 (88/1, <sup>c</sup>Ijjis er-Ras), and site 451 (89/6). Note that Allen (*Ashkelon I*, p. 37) identified a series of three south-east-northwest lines of sites, connecting these to his access resources model, but his identification of settlement patterns was obscured by the inclusion of uncertain sites. Overall, there is an increase in the number of sites in these periods throughout the study area, although it is not as sharp an increase once the uncertain sites are removed. This increase is also paralleled by the apparent growth of previously existing sites, as at Netiv Ha-<sup>c</sup>Asara (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005:60, 83) and (as suggested by Allen [*Ashkelon I*, p. 37]) at Tel Obed and Kh. <sup>c</sup>Ijjis er-Ras with their satellite sites. In general, however, we recognize the same model as in previous periods, indicating the lack of a rural hinterland around Tel Ashkelon.

### *Roman Period*

As emphasized in chapter 1, the high site counts in the Maps of Ziqim and Nizzanim also extend to the Roman period. In the Ziqim map, only one-third of the 97 sites attributed to this period contained structural remains (Berman et al. 2004:13\*). In the Nizzanim map, Roman-period sites at which the survey found only pottery scatters were interpreted as remains of temporary encampments, forming part of a settlement system together with the permanent settlements and roads of the region (Berman and Barda 2005:12\*). Therefore, any attempt to analyze issues such as settlement distribution or settlement patterns requires attention to the nature of the sites and especially to the description of sites that no longer exist. An additional problem relates not to the nature or existence of a site but to site size: In our view, the use of structural remains as a criterion for evaluating the area of a site is not always valid. At many small settlements and other sites, an initial Roman phase was almost completely covered and obscured by the remains of the following Byzantine and Islamic periods. In addition, the pottery collections from surveys, especially those containing types of the third to fourth centuries A.D., are in many cases chronologically difficult to define. These factors have led surveyors to erroneous conclusions concerning the intensity and size as well as the dating of the settlements. The impressive increase reported in the number of sites during the Roman period does not reflect a respective growth in the number of settlements. Many of the remains have proven instead to be isolated agricultural and industrial installations; other remains belong to burial structures.

Meanwhile, prior to the implementation of archaeological activities, part of the landscape of the surveyed area was drastically transformed due to the expansion of the modern cities of Ashkelon and Ashdod, mainly as a result of the establishment of industrial areas (but also resulting from the mechanization of agriculture, quarrying, and other human activities). Nevertheless, archaeological excavations and probes have taken place over substantial portions of the surveyed area.

### *Byzantine Period*

In many respects, the Byzantine period appears to be an outgrowth of the Roman period; for this reason, we treat them together to a certain extent in this discussion. The Roman period witnesses new settlements (and other sites) in parts of the

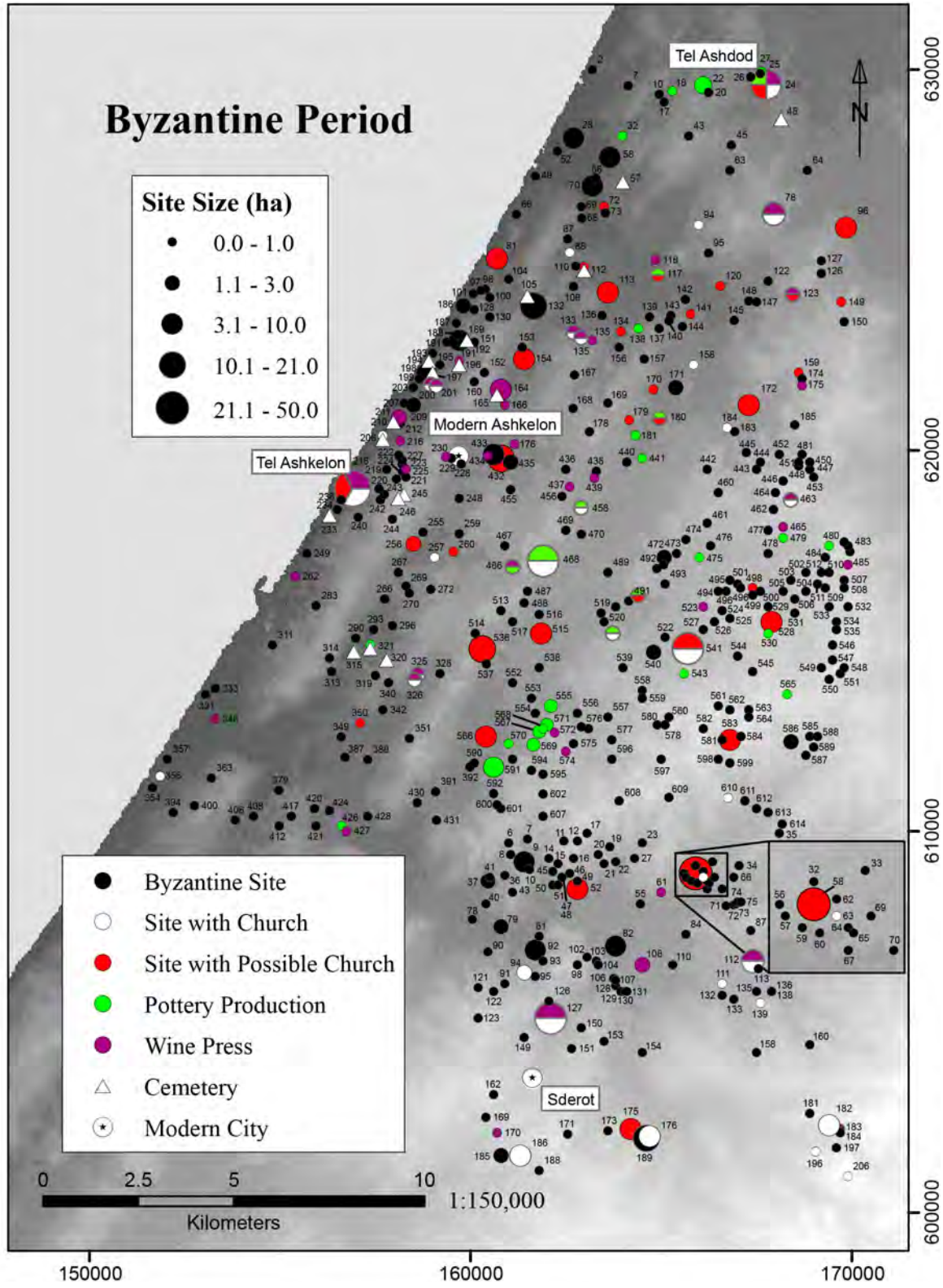


Figure 2.12: Map of sites from the Byzantine period over modern topography.

study area previously devoid of settlements—in particular throughout the area east of the coastal road. This trend then intensifies in the Byzantine period. Moreover, in almost every significant excavated site of the Byzantine period, remains of the Late Roman period (second to third centuries A.D.) have also been noted. A specific example of this stratification is found in the Barnea neighborhood, c. 2 km north of Tel Ashkelon: Here a narrow passageway with structures on both sides was revealed and attributed to the Late Roman period (site 198, Oded Feder:pers. comm.). Nearby, a winepress dated to the Byzantine period was excavated on a higher elevation (site 200, Toueg 2009). The same stratification is found at site 216, 0.5 km north of the tell: Two construction strata from the Roman and Byzantine periods were exposed (Varga 2002). This is also true for a minority of the winepresses: Their initial phase occurs in the Late Roman period, while the main usage is during the Byzantine period. Only one exceptional case was recorded at el Qabu (site 262), c. 2 km south of Tel Ashkelon, where the winepress complex and other structural remains were ascribed to the second to third centuries A.D. without evidence of continuation into the Byzantine period (Sion 2012).

One of the outstanding features of the Roman period is the relatively large number of burial sites located outside of settlements (a phenomenon noted since the Middle Bronze Age). Generally, these consist of single or small clusters of vaulted tombs, which served the wealthy residents of cities and are therefore concentrated around urban sites. More than a dozen of these burial systems have been discovered in the vicinity of Ashdod-Yam (in Map 84, just to the north of our study area), and around Tel Ashkelon 30 are known. At the same time, they are also found near rural settlements. As confirmed by excavations, they first appeared in the Late Roman period, beginning in the third century A.D. and continued into the Byzantine period (Huster and Sion 2006). In death, as in life, then, cultural practices of the Byzantine period are an outgrowth of the preceding Roman period.

Despite the large number of small-scale salvage excavations containing cultural remains from the Late Roman period, however, we are limited in what we can say about the integration of this series of sites. Therefore, ancient texts dated to that period still remain the major source of our knowledge on Ashkelon and its surroundings in the Roman period (beyond the excavations at Tel Ashkelon itself). On the other hand, surveys and excavations

have demonstrated that the Byzantine period witnessed not only the densest settlement—but also the most developed network of sites—in the history of the Ashkelon region (and of Palestine generally). In this period we see an extremely large range of sites, representing a complex hierarchy from cities and towns to large villages and small hamlets, as well as isolated industrial, agricultural, and commercial sites (and burials). Much of this hierarchy is related to the confluence of the church, the wine industry, and pilgrimage. Each of these phenomena is attested extensively in historical and inscriptional sources, and so the archaeological data confirm and elaborate these data to some extent. At the same time, there is always a danger that the textual data lead archaeologists to unwarranted assumptions about the material remains; it is therefore best to survey the groups of data individually and make a critical evaluation of assumptions and conclusions.

In both the Roman and Byzantine periods Ashkelon flourished and was known for its active port, serving as an international trade station for the import and export of goods. During the Byzantine period the main export product was wine, which was in demand as a product of the Holy Land (see, e.g., Stager and Schloen in *Ashkelon I*, p. 9; Johnson and Stager 1995). Several researchers have focused on the topic of wine production, a subject that embraces many areas of study. This study has produced a broad literature that includes almost all aspects related to the subject: e.g., the typology and distribution of storage vessels (Johnson and Stager 1995), workshop sites (Israel 1993), and references to Ashkelon wine in ancient texts (e.g., Mayerson 1993). The wine industry involves several stages of production and distribution, from the making of the wine itself to the production of storejars, the bottling of wine, and its shipment abroad. All of these stages have to some extent been observed during surveys and revealed by excavations.

#### Evidence of the Wine Industry

*Winepresses.* We have identified 36 winepresses, winepress complexes, and clusters of winepresses over an extended area, c. 20 x 35 km (including our core study area plus Map 96, and north to Ashdod-Yam; see figure 13; Table 2.2). Some are large, elaborate complexes (see Avshalom-Gorni et al. 2008 for a discussion of this type); others are smaller but occasionally appear in clusters



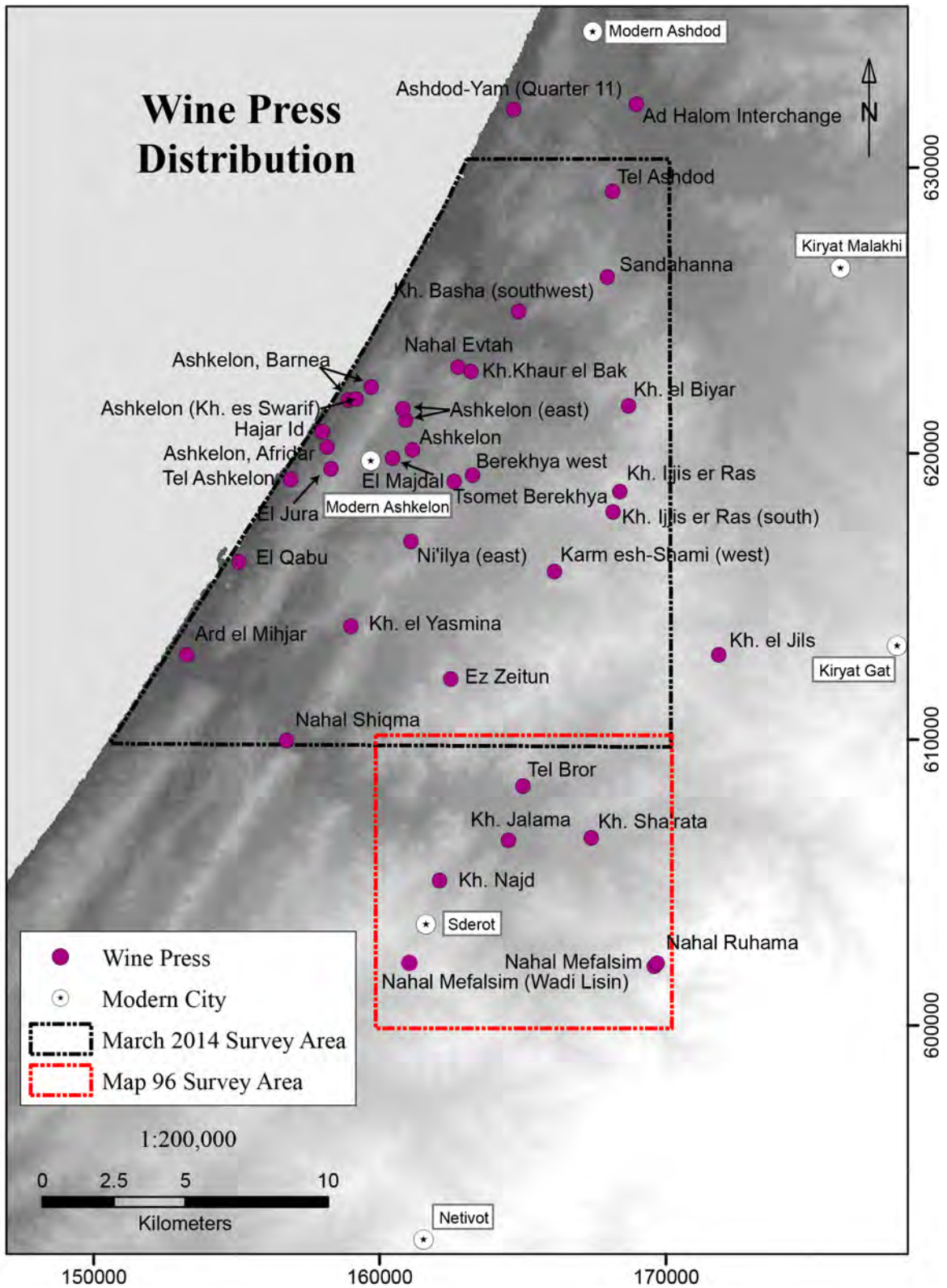


Figure 2.13: Wine press distribution during the Byzantine period, mapped over modern topography.

Table 2.2: Winepresses in the Ashkelon Region

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Details</i>	<i>Notes and References</i>
1	Ad Halom Interchange		168960/632250	Winepress	Talis 2010
2	Ashdod-Yam (Quarter 11)		164690/632060	Winepress	Berman et al. 2005:30*–31*
3	Tel Ashdod	site 24	168130/629200	Founding inscription	Gudovitch 2006; Tzaferis 2006; Di Segni 2008
4	Kh. Basha (SW)	site 118	164850/625000	Winepress complex	Peretz 2011
5	Sandahanna	site 78	167950/626200	Registered winepress	Yalqut HaPirsumim 1964:1441
6	Nahal Evtah	sites 155, 133	162740/623045	Three winepresses of different plans	Varga 2010
7	Kh. el Biyar	site 175	168700/621700	Surveyed winepress	Berman and Barda 2005:70*
8	Kh. Khaur el Bak	site 135	163200/622900	Elaborate winepress; a second installation, probably a ruined winepress	Talis 2011
9	Ashkelon, Barnea	site 205	159700/622350	Three small winepresses of the same plan	Zelin 2001
10	Ashkelon (E) (Hamame)	site 166	160900/621200	Elaborate winepress	Fabian et al. 1995
11	Ashkelon (E) (“Third Mile Estate”)	site 164	160800/621600	Two elaborate winepresses	Israel 1993
12	Ashkelon, Barnea (Byzantine Church) (Kh. es Sawarif [E])	site 200	158915/621900	Three plastered vats	Toueg 2009
13	Ashkelon (Kh. es Sawarif)	site 201	159180/621930	Winepress	Haiman 2011
14	Ashkelon, Afridar	site 216	158160/620250	A concrete winepress	Varga 2002
15	Ashkelon	site 176	161150/620160	Winepress	Nahshoni 1999
16	El Jura	site 225	158300/619500	Circular installation, part of a winepress	Ein Gedy 2002
17	Hajar Id	site 210	158000/620800	Treading floor, three collecting vats	Wallach 2003
18	El Majdal (Eli Kohen St.)	site 434	160450/619860	Treading floor, three fermentation cells	Nahshoni 2009a
19	Tel Ashkelon	site 218	156900/619130	Treading floor, collecting vat	Unpublished material from the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon
20	Tsomet Berekhya	site 437	162600/619050	Plastered pool, probably part of a winepress	Nahshoni 2009b
21	Berekhya (W)	site 439	163250/619280	Treading floor, two collecting vats	Huster in preparation
22	El Qabu	site 262	155075/616250	Three winepresses	Sion 2012
23	Kh. el Yasmina	site 325-326	158990/614000	Winepress	Haimi 2008
24	Ard el Mihjar (Nahal Shiqma)	site 346	153250/613000	Winepress treading floor	Nikolsky 2010

Table 2.2 (cont.): Winepresses in the Ashkelon Region

No. Site	Site no.	Coordinates	Details	Notes and References
25 Nahal Shiqma	site 427	156750/610000	Rock-hewn winepresses from the Roman or Byzantine periods	Berman et al. 2004:60*
26 Kh. Ijjis er Ras (S)	site 465	168160/617990	Elaborate winepress	Paran 2009
27 Kh. Ijjis er Ras	site 463	168400/618700	Winepress complex	Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 47, fig. 3.25
28 Niḏilya (E)	site 486	161100/616950	In situ stone used as the base of a screw press	Inspection work by Huster
29 Karm esh-Shami (W) (Beit Tima [N])	site 523	166100/615900	Mosaic pavement (bottom part of a collecting vat)	Inspection work by Huster
30 Ez Zeitun	site 574	162480/612140	Three plastered pools	Inspection work by Huster; probably surveyed by Allen, site 22/3 ( <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 59)
31 Kh. el Jils		171850/613000	Weight of screw press	Inspection work by Huster. Exhibited in the open museum of Kibbutz Bror Hayl
32 Tel Bror (Tell el Mashnaga)	Ch. 5, site 61	165000/608400	Treading floor (c. 3 x 4 m)	Chapter 5, site 61
33 Kh. Jalama (H. Gluma)	Ch.5, site 108	164500/606500	Three plastered pools	Chapter 5, site 108
34 Kh. Shaḏrata (H. Seḏora)	Ch.5, site 112	167400/606600	Two screw press weights	Chapter 5, site 112
35 Kh. Najd	Ch.5, site 127	162100/605100	Treading floor (c. 4 x 4 m)	Chapter 5, site 127
36 Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin; Nirḏam Junction)	Ch. 5, site 170	169600/602100	Part of a collecting vat	Seriy 2010; chapter 5, site 170
37 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	Ch.5, site 183	169700/602200	Weight of screw press	Chapter 5, site 183

suggesting large-scale production. As the survey of winepresses shows, they are associated with settlements of various sizes, from cities (e.g., Tel Ashkelon) to villages (e.g., the two winepresses at Ijjis er Ras) to monasteries (e.g., the monasteries at Ashdod-Yam Quarter 11 and Tel Ashdod) to estates (e.g., site 164, the “Third Mile Estate”).

The use of industrial winepresses at large farms is a phenomenon attested widely throughout Palestine and has been treated by Avshalom-Gorni et al. (2008). In our area, at least five such complex winepresses have been identified (see Avshalom-Gorni et al. 2008:61, fig. 8): two at the “Third Mile Estate” (site 164), one at Ashkelon east (Hamame, site 166), and two at Ijjis er Ras (Meron, site 463

and Ijjis er Ras [south], site 465 [Paran 2009]). Clearly, winemaking was an industry involving all segments of society.

*Kilns.* Another aspect of the wine industry is represented by sites where large quantities of ceramic containers or their fragments, mainly the so-called Gaza jars, are found together with kiln materials such as fired bricks and slag; together, these remains are clear indications of pottery workshops involved in the mass production of storage jars for storing and transporting wine. Y. Israel (1993) conducted a systematic survey of this class of sites, extending from the Nahal Lachish around Ashdod in the north down to Ḥaluza and Beḏer Sheva in the Negev. Israel identified 22 sites

in this region with evidence for kilns, the majority of which were concentrated between Ashkelon and Gaza east of the coastal road. Since Israel's survey, additional examples have been excavated.

This sort of indirect evidence for wine production should be carefully analyzed, however. The large number of pottery workshops and the enormous quantities of potsherds indicate a great demand for containers but do not necessarily indicate the actual production of wine at the same site. Excavations conducted at Geva'ot Etun, near Netivot, c. 20 km southeast of Tel Ashkelon, uncovered a small settlement from the Byzantine period, whose economy was based on agriculture and especially on industrial pottery manufacture. No winepresses were found (Seriy:forthcoming).

*Shipping Facilities.* At the site Ard el Mihjar (Ziqim beach; site 331), located c. 6 km south of Tel Ashkelon, salvage excavations unearthed a structure attributed to the sixth century A.D. which served as a warehouse for sealed wine jars seemingly ready for shipping (Fabian and Goren 2000; 2001). The excavators also suggested the existence of an anchorage nearby. While much wine from the region would have been funneled through the markets of Tel Ashkelon, there is no reason to imagine that it was the only distribution channel.

#### Evidence of Churches and Synagogues

Bishops from Ashkelon, as well as the bishop of Maiumas Ascalonis (a separate, neighboring quarter), are well represented in ecclesiastical documents (Hirschfeld 1990). Indeed, the spread of Christianity resulted in the establishment of a large number of churches. This prominent institution existed in almost every settlement in Byzantine times, especially towards the end of the period,<sup>11</sup> while towns and cities had multiple churches (two each are known from Ashdod-Yam and Barnea/ Kh. es Sawarif [Maiumas Ascalonis?; so Tsafir et al. 1994:175], while at least six are known from Tel Ashkelon). The large number of churches also reflects the central role that the institution of the Church played in both city and rural life—both religious and secular.

At this point, some remarks about methodology are in order. Surface indications of public buildings

<sup>11</sup> South of our study area, in the region of Tell Jemmeh, this phenomenon was emphasized by Jerome Schaefer who listed several sites with evidence of a church (Schaefer 1979:Table 9, Appendix C).

are clearly visible. These include marble columns, capitals, bases or their fragments, marble tiles, and large amounts of colored tesserae for flooring. However, surveyors have sometimes had difficulty determining the exact nature of these finds. Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 41) labeled these sites as “villas” in his survey publication. Much earlier, Petrie had employed the same terminology. In an extremely short note on the excavations at Kh. Umm Laqis he stated, “At a little distance to the north, on a rise, we cleared part of a building of concrete and small stones; which, from the large bath in it, seemed to be a Roman villa” (1891:10). Upon our visit to the site, we judged this to be a winepress, but it represents the difficulty in determining the precise nature of these remains. Almost as a rule, remains of elaborate rural structures from the Byzantine period do not appear to represent residences but rather some sort of public building.

We used two methods to identify a church at a site. The first was the comprehensive analysis of all available data: geographical details on maps, the name of sites with clear connection to Christian personalities (i.e., in the Ashkelon region, Sandahanna [= St. Anne] and Barbara), the use of the Arabic noun Deir for an actual or former monastery (as perhaps with the Arab village el Jiya, whose name according to Guérin [1869:173] was ed Deir and the village of Deir Suneid, both located south of Ashkelon),<sup>12</sup> travelers' accounts, historical documents, and unpublished archaeological reports. The second involved repeated visits to potential sites and intensive collection of indicative finds such as marble fragments of chancel screen panels and posts, offering tables, column fragments, revetment slabs, and stones with incised crosses. In addition, glass finds—window pane fragments, bowl rims, vertical suspension handles, and especially the thick cylindrical stems—are extremely significant. These glass finds are characteristic remains of hanging lamps in churches (Patrich 1988).

Based on these methods, we have been able to add significantly to the corpus of known churches in the Ashkelon region and thus to our knowledge of the religious life of the region in the Byzantine period. We chose an expanded area of c. 25 by 35 km encompassing the core study area, Map 96, as well as the area between Ashdod and Ashdod-Yam. Within this area, Ovadiah and Gomez de

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Elitzur and Ben-David 2007, who argue that the element “Deir” in place names has no connection to monasteries.

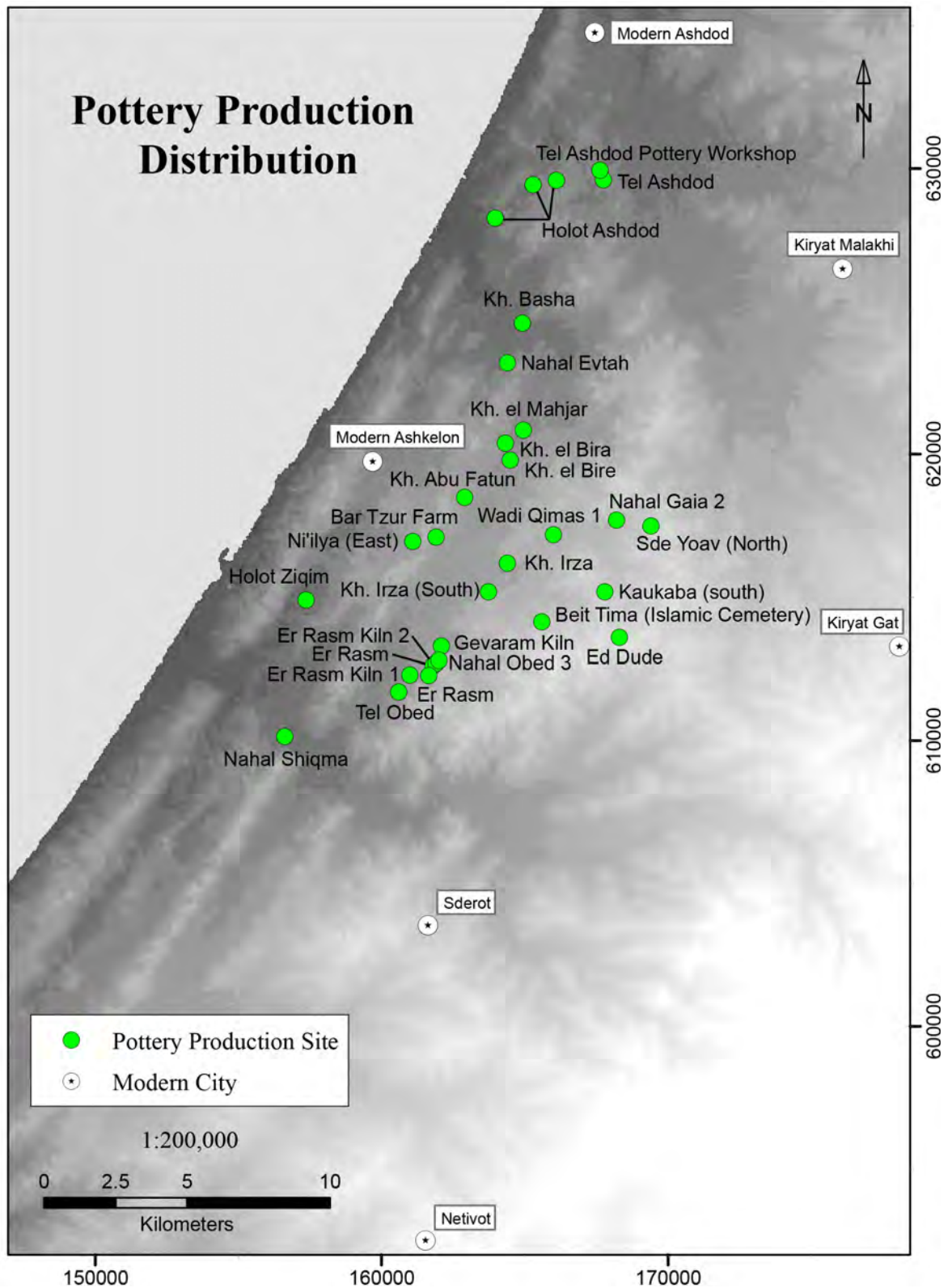


Figure 2.14: Industrial site distribution during the Byzantine period, mapped over modern topography.

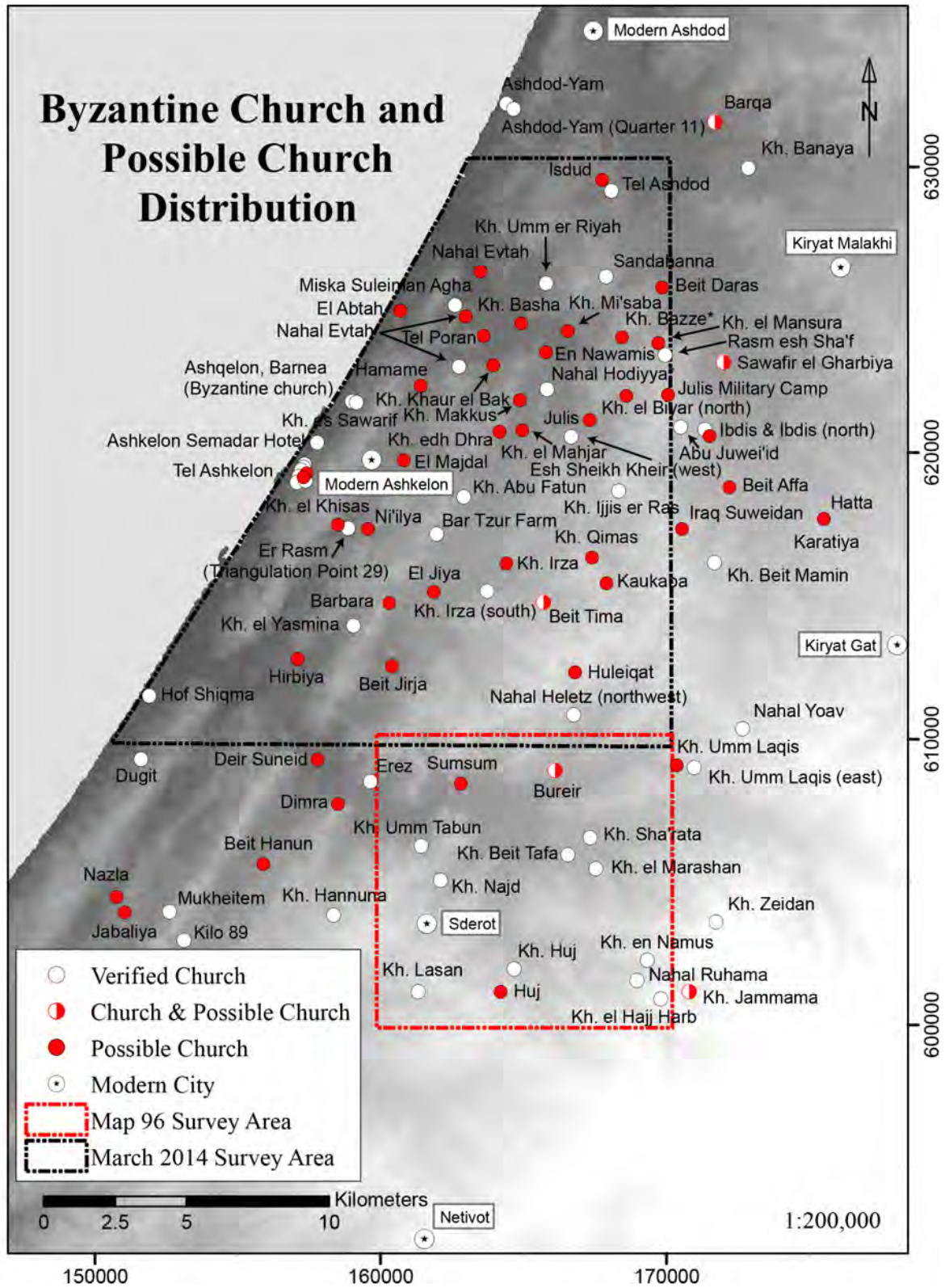


Figure 2.15: Church distribution during the Byzantine period, mapped over modern topography.

Table 2.3: Byzantine Churches in the Ashkelon Region

<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Architectural Elements, Structural Remains &amp; Inscriptions</i>	<i>Notes and References</i>
1	Ashdod-Yam	164410/632250	Columns and capitals	Piphano 1990:144
2	Ashdod-Yam (Quarter 11)	164690/632060	Segments of mosaic	Monastery. Piphano 1990:145, figure p. IV; Berman et al. 2005:30*-31*
3	Barqa	171700/631600	Basilical church; founding inscription	Sion et al. 2010
4	Kh. Banaya (Hazor Ashdod)	173000/630000	Basilical church; founding inscription	Ovadia and Silva 1981-1984, Part 2:133; Avi-Yonah et al. 1993:310-11
5	Tel Ashdod	site 24 168130/629200	Mosaic floor; winepress and monastery founding inscription	Monastery. Gudovitch 2006; Tzaferis 2006
6	Miska Suleiman Agha	site 88 162600/625200	Marble chancel; screen panels	Ovadia and Silva 1981-1984, Part 2:123
7	Kh. Umm er Riyah (Kh. el Wawiyat; Nizzanim)	site 94 165820/625970	Marble fragments; tesserae	Ovadia and Silva 1981-1984, Part 3:147
8	Sandahanna	site 78 167950/626200	Marble fragments; tesserae	Berman and Barda 2005:51*
9	Nahal Evtah	sites 155, 162740/623045 133	Basilical church	Varga 2010
10	Rasm esh Sha'f (Massu'ot Yizhaq)	170048/623460	Marble chancel screen panels; mosaic sections	Segal 2006
11	Sawafir el Gharbiya	172000/623200	One capital; marble fragments	Inspection work by Huster
12	Nahal Hodiyya* (Nir Israel)	site 158 165850/622250	Marble columns and capitals	Inspection work by Huster
13	Ashkelon, Barnea (Byzantine church)	site 200 158950/621840	Mosaic pavement; two inscriptions	Tzaferis 1967
14	Kh. es Sawarif (Ashkelon, Barnea)	site 201 159100/621800	Marble columns and capitals; basilical church	Ovadia and Silva 1981-1984, Part 2:123
15	Abu Juwei'id	170590/620930	Marble fragments; mosaic pavement	IAA Archives (Mandatory report, J. Ory)
16	Ibdis (N)	171450/620855	Marble chancel screen posts; scattered tesserae	Inspection work by Huster
17	Esh Sheikh Kheir (W)	site 184 166720/620600	Mosaic sections	Huster and Press in preparation
18	Ashkelon, Semadar Hotel	site 206 157700/620400	Mosaic pavement	Meron and Ovadiah 1976; Brand 2001; Berman and Barda 2005:26*; Map 87 site 16.
19	Tel Ashkelon	site 218 157260/619630	Cross-shaped chapel; mosaic pavement	Unpublished material from the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon
20	Tel Ashkelon	site 218 157230/619530	Marble bases; basilical church	Conder and Kitchener 1881-83:240.
21	Tel Ashkelon	site 218 157140/619430	Marble chancel screen post; disturbed mosaic sections	Unpublished material from the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (Grid 23)

Table 2.3 (cont.): Byzantine Churches in the Ashkelon Region

<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Architectural Elements, Structural Remains &amp; Inscriptions</i>	<i>Notes and References</i>
22 Tel Ashkelon	site 218	157060/619200	Small marble capital to support altar table; colored glass tesserae	Unpublished material from the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon (Grid 38)
23 Tel Ashkelon	site 218	157000/619000	Basilical church	Guérin 1869:147; Garstang 1921a:12-13
24 Tel Ashkelon	site 218	157300/619050	Granite columns; basilical church; liturgical texts	Tzaferis and Stager in <i>Ashkelon I</i>
25 Er Rasm (Triangulation Point 29)	site 257	158800/617400	Marble fragments; tesserae	Inspection work by Huster
26 Kh. Abu Fatun (Sheikh el Kubakba)	site 458	162900/618500	Marble fragments; tesserae	Probably Map 92 site 28/4, Mashen
27 Bar Tzur Farm (Bat Hadar, Hadaryiah)	site 468	161950/617200	Marble columns; tesserae; two inscriptions	IAA Archives (reports Ram Gophna, Dov Meron); Map 92 site 17/1, Bar Tzur Farm
28 Kh. Ijjis er Ras	site 463	168400/618700	Marble capital with a cross; tesserae	Inspection work by Huster
29 Karatiya		173900/616900	Marble columns; baptistery	Yalqut Ha-Pirsumim 1964:1448; Ovadiah and Silva 1981-1984, Part 3:147
30 Kh. Irza (S) (Beit Shiqma/ Gaia modern cemetery)	site 521	163730/615200	Fragments of marble chancel screen; tesserae	Inspection work by Huster; probably same site as site 35/2, Beit Shiqma Villa, coordinates 163500-115500 (Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 60)
31 Kh. el Yasmina	site 325-326	158990/614000	Fragments of marble chancel screen and altar table; six Greek letters on altar table fragment	Inspection work by Huster; for a wine-press, see Haimi 2008
32 Beit Tima	site 541	165700/614800	Marble columns and capitals; tessellated pavement	Yalqut Ha-Pirsumim 1964:1447
33 Kh. Beit Mamin (Ozem)		171800/616200	Basilical church; three Greek inscriptions	Avi-Yonah et al. 1993:311
34 Hof Shiqma (Tell esh Shuqaf [S])	site 355	151770/611560	Marble column, altar table fragments; basilical church; founding inscription	Huster, in preparation; Map 91 site 128.
35 Dugit		151470/609330	Marble columns; tesserae	Naftali Aizik (pers. comm.)
36 Nahal Heletz (NW)	site 610	166800/610900	Marble pillar and base; tesserae	Near Map 92 site 70/1, Khirbet Nogga/el Mahzuk
37 Nahal Yoav		172800/610400	Marble fragments; mosaic sections	Inspection work by Huster
38 Kh. Umm Laqis (E) (Sde David)		171070/609050	Marble fragments; tesserae	Petrie 1891:53



Table 2.3 (cont.): Byzantine Churches in the Ashkelon Region

<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Site no.</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Architectural Elements, Structural Remains &amp; Inscriptions</i>	<i>Notes and References</i>
39 Bureir	Ch. 5, site 63	166100/608950	Marble columns and capitals; tessellated pavement, baptistery	Chapter 5, site 63
40 Erez		159600/608550	Marble fragments; mosaic pavement	Porat and Meron 1977
41 Kh. Umm Tabun	Ch. 5, site 94	161400/606300	Marble fragments; building remains	Chapter 5, site 94
42 Kh. Shaḥrāta	Ch. 5, site 112	167400/606600	Marble pillars; one with a cross, fragment of chancel screen; tesserae	Monastery. Chapter 5, site 112
43 Kh. Beit Tafa	Ch. 5, site 111	166600/606000	Marble fragments; roof tiles; small tesserae	IAA Archives; chapter 5, site 111
44 Kh. Najd	Ch. 5, site 127	162100/605100	Marble fragments; massive curved wall facing east	Chapter 5, site 127
45 Kh. el Marashan	Ch. 5, site 139	167600/605500	Marble capital; tessellated pavement; small crypt	Chapter 5, site 139
46 Mukheitem (Jabaliya)		152500/604000	Basilical church	Humbert et al. 2000; coordinates are only approximate
47 Kh. Hannuna		158300/603890	Marble base in situ; mosaic sections	Peretz 2008
48 Kilo 89 (Kh. es Sawaqi)		153000/603000	Marble base; mosaic pavement	Dauphin 1998:883, site 319; IAA archives (Mandatory report, J. Ory); coordinates are only approximate
49 Kh. Zeidan		171850/603640	Marble column, marble fragments; mosaic pavement	Monastery. Lamdan et al. 1977:188
50 Kh. Huj (En Nabi Huj)	Ch. 5, site 176	164700/602000	Marble columns; fragments of chancel screen; tessellated pavement; inscription on marble slab (unpublished, now lost)	Monastery. The inscription: IAA archives, file Hoga (report Ruth Amiran); The mosaic: Meron 1969; chapter 5, site 176
51 Kh. en Namus (H. Berekha; Kh. el Hammam, Kh. Umm Rujum)	Ch. 5, site 182	169400/602300	Marble columns, bases, capitals, and chancel screen fragments	IAA Archives,(reports Ram Gophna); chapter 5, site 182
52 Kh. Lasan	Ch. 5, site 186	161300/601200	Marble columns, bases, capitals, and chancel screen fragments	Chapter 5, site 186
53 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	Ch. 5, site 196	169050/601600	Marble fragments; tessellated pavement	Lamdan et al. 1977:184; Cohen 1993:64; chapter 5, site 196
54 Kh. Jammama		170800/601200	Marble columns; tessellated pavement	Monastery. Gophna and Feig 1993
55 Kh. el Hajj Harb (H. Herev)	Ch. 5, site 206	169900/600950	Vaulted wall, tessellated pavement	Lamdan et al. 1977:184; Cohen 1993:62; Schuster 2000a; chapter 5, site 206

Silva (1981–84) were able to identify a total of nine churches from eight different settlements. Tsafirir et al., meanwhile (1994, esp. Map 5), identified a total of 14 episcopal sees and church sites (including the sees of Anthedon, Maiumas Gazae, Saraphia, and Gaza and a church at Ruhama, which are not in our list). The most expansive list of Christian communities is Dauphin's list of 16 (1998:170–73, 231, 306, figs. 51, 65, 82). In this study (see Table 2.3), we present 55 churches from 48 different sites. Of these, we suggest that six are monastery sites.<sup>13</sup>

Beyond these 55 sites, it appears that there were likely a number of additional churches in the region, but these are difficult to identify definitively. Scanty finds of the indicative items listed above were reported within Berman's surveyed maps of Ziqim (Berman et al. 2004) and Nizzanim West and East (Berman and Barda 2005) at several rural sites. We attempted to reexamine all of them. These efforts, however, proved to be only partially successful. We are still left with a long list of possible churches. Complicating matters, the majority of possible church sites are the sites of later Arab villages. When these Arab villages were destroyed during the first years of the existence of the state of Israel, mainly between the years 1948–50, enormous quantities of debris were left behind. This rubble almost completely obscures earlier levels, though surveys and probes indicate that almost every Arab village was inhabited in earlier times, at least from the Byzantine period.

The descriptions of Arab villages prior to their destruction constitute some basis for our knowledge of the ancient material remains. The most detailed descriptions of Roman and Byzantine architectural elements were made by Victor Guérin (1869). But he typically found the architectural elements in secondary use at the public wells, sheikhs' tombs, and other holy buildings. Guérin also provided information concerning stone robbery and removal of building material from archaeological sites to Arab villages. At Beit Tima, some of the

marble capitals, according to the testimony of inhabitants, were brought from the neighboring site of Kh. Qimas, while the rest were originally found at the village. At Kh. Qimas and Kh. Umm Lakis, he discerned robber trenches (Guérin 1869:128, 299). Similarly, Petrie (1891:52–53), mentioned the transfer of marble columns from Ashkelon to Bureir (c. 15 km distant), and the dismantling of stones from a well at Kh. el Hammam for the building of a new well at Jemmameh (c. 2 km distant). Despite this, we still argue that some sites still have enough original evidence to propose that a local Byzantine church was the source of some of the architectural elements, for instance at Beit Tima and Bureir (see chapter 5, Map 96 site 63). In the end, of the thirty Arab villages with evidence for a church, we are confident in just eleven as originally containing a Byzantine church.

It should be noted that at least some of the evidence used to identify churches—e.g., marble chancel screen fragments and tesserae—are also found at Byzantine synagogues. Therefore, some of the rural structures we have identified as churches could conceivably be synagogues; our identification of them as churches is influenced to some extent by the textual depiction of ubiquitous churches and a low Jewish population in the region. Nevertheless, it is probably not coincidental that in our study area, indicative remains of synagogues, e.g., marble chancel screen panels and a lintel decorated with Jewish symbols—have been found only at two sites: the cities of Ashkelon (Clermont-Ganneau 1884:82 no. 71, pl. IB; 1905:169–72; Dalman 1903:23–28; Dussaud 1912:71–72, no. 86) and Ashdod (Kohl and Watzinger 1916:160, 190–91; Avi-Yonah 1960; for general discussion, see Sukenik 1935:58–69; Goodenough 1953:218–21; Hachlili 2001:66–68, 304–6).

Farther to the south, the synagogue at Maʿon is also located within the boundaries of a sizeable settlement, while evidence for synagogues is also known from the cities of Gaza and Maiumas Gazae/el Mina.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>These are mostly concentrated at the northern and southern edges of the survey area. The monastic life of Ashkelon appears to have been an extension of the monastic system of Gaza, one of the most heavily concentrated areas for monasteries in the entire country (Hirschfeld 2004, esp. 87). Also of note is that monasteries were not only found in isolated settlements but could occur in villages and even in cities (Ashdod, Ashdod-Yam). Monasteries, like churches, were an established and integral part of life in the southern coastal plain in the Byzantine period.

<sup>14</sup>Tsafirir et al. (1994:93, map 4) also listed evidence for a synagogue at Bureir (Buriron/Bror Hayil), based on textual sources. Similarly, Dauphin (1998:231, fig. 65) used textual evidence to identify Jewish communities at Bureir, Barbara (Barbarit), and Hamame (based on Clermont-Ganneau's [1897:2–3] proposed identification with Peleia/Palaia), and Diocletianopolis/Sarafia (although their identification with each other, and with Kh. esh Sheraf [site 312], is unclear) as well as at Jura (based on its erroneous identification with the supposed village of Yagur). To the south, Dauphin

This distribution resembles the pattern suggested by Hirschfeld (1997:81–84), in which the Jewish population of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods was concentrated in large rural settlements (and cities) for reasons of both religion (to be close to a synagogue) and security (to be part of a large Jewish community), whereas Christians were found at all levels of settlement down to isolated farmsteads.<sup>15</sup> Hirschfeld's observations concerned areas with large Jewish populations in these periods, specifically the Galilee and the Golan. Thus the pattern in the Ashkelon region could simply reflect the relatively low Jewish population in the southern coastal plain, with the few Jews in the region choosing to live in large, cosmopolitan cities (cf. Sharon's observations on Gaza [2009:19] relating to his discussion of the synagogues found in and around that city [2009:20–22]). Of course, this difference in population density does not disallow the application of Hirschfeld's suggestions (as in Fischer et al. 2008) for other areas of Jewish settlement.

#### Churches and Wine Production

The overall picture of settlement in the region is one of a developed hierarchy of settlements and sites, consisting of cities and towns, estates and farmsteads, monasteries, and isolated industrial areas. These sites are witness to an integrated economy focused especially on wine production and export: winepresses at monasteries, estates, and villages, pottery production at the same types of sites, and the port of Ashkelon (as well as the small anchorage at Ard el Mihjar), which shipped wine throughout the Mediterranean and Europe.

In some cases, the synergy between the many churches in the region and the details of the wine trade are more explicit. In the large-scale excavations east of Hamame (site 155), the existence of a church, an inn, and large winepresses there led

---

(1998:231–32 and fig. 67) also identified Jewish communities known from textual sources at Kh. Suq Mazin (Sycomazon), Rafah (Raphia), and Kefar Darom (Deir el Balah?).

<sup>15</sup> Note, however, the surveys of Tsafir et al. 1994 and Dauphin 1998, who used textual evidence to identify Jewish communities at several other sites in the region. These sites, however, appear to have been towns or at least large villages, and so do not contradict our general conclusions here. In addition Dauphin observed (1998:306–8) that the number of Jewish communities in both the Ashkelon region and the northwest Negev declined in the sixth century under pressure from Christianity.

the excavator to suggest that this site was part of an official government/church system, serving pilgrims traveling through the Ashkelon region. In the Barnea neighborhood, sites 198, 200 and 201 are windows into a large-scale settlement (Kh. es-Sawarif), dating to the Roman and especially to the Byzantine period. Site 201, Kh. es-Sawarif, was the location of a church (IAA Archives, Mandatory section, report by J. Ory) and a winepress (Haiman 2011). Site 200, Ashkelon-Barnea was the location of a church (Tzaferis 1967) next to a winepress (Toueg 2009), and site 198 (excavated by Vitto in 1995) was the location of a Byzantine hostel for Christian pilgrims (according to Berman and Barda 2005:21\*).

Other sites merely included the church and winepress, side by side: site 206, Semadar Hotel, a church (*HA* 59–60, 1976:40) and presumably a winepress nearby (Brand 2001); neighbor sites 325 and 326, Kh. El Yasmina, a church (surveyed by Huster) and respectively a winepress (Haimi 2008); site 24, Tel Ashdod, an inscription telling about the inauguration of a winepress of a monastery (Gudovitch 2006; Tzaferis 2006); site 218, Tel Ashkelon, a winepress (Master:pers. comm.), located c. 80 m from one of the churches. Also within the Map of Sderot (chapter 5) the manifestations of a church accompanied by a winepress occurs at sites 108, Kh. Jalama; 112, Kh. Sha'arata; 127, Kh. Najd; and 139, Kh. Marashan.

The presence of the church and winepress side by side may be merely an indication of similarly ubiquitous religious and economic inclinations during the Byzantine period, but, as with Hamame, there may be instances where the two institutions worked in closer synergy.

Finally, the distribution of settlements of the Roman and Byzantine periods is particularly noteworthy: For the first time, we have a more or less even spread of settlements throughout the study area. This means that a number of settlements are located away from water sources—wadis, springs, and the coastal aquifer. It should not be seen as a coincidence that a large number of wells and cisterns, usually surrounding the village sites, can also be dated to this period, especially to the Byzantine. Sherds embedded in the sides of wells can often be dated to the Byzantine period, and the basic technique can therefore be used to date wells without diagnostic sherds. It appears that the spread of settlements, and change in the basic pattern of settlement, is intimately connected with water exploitation. Similarly, it is worth mentioning

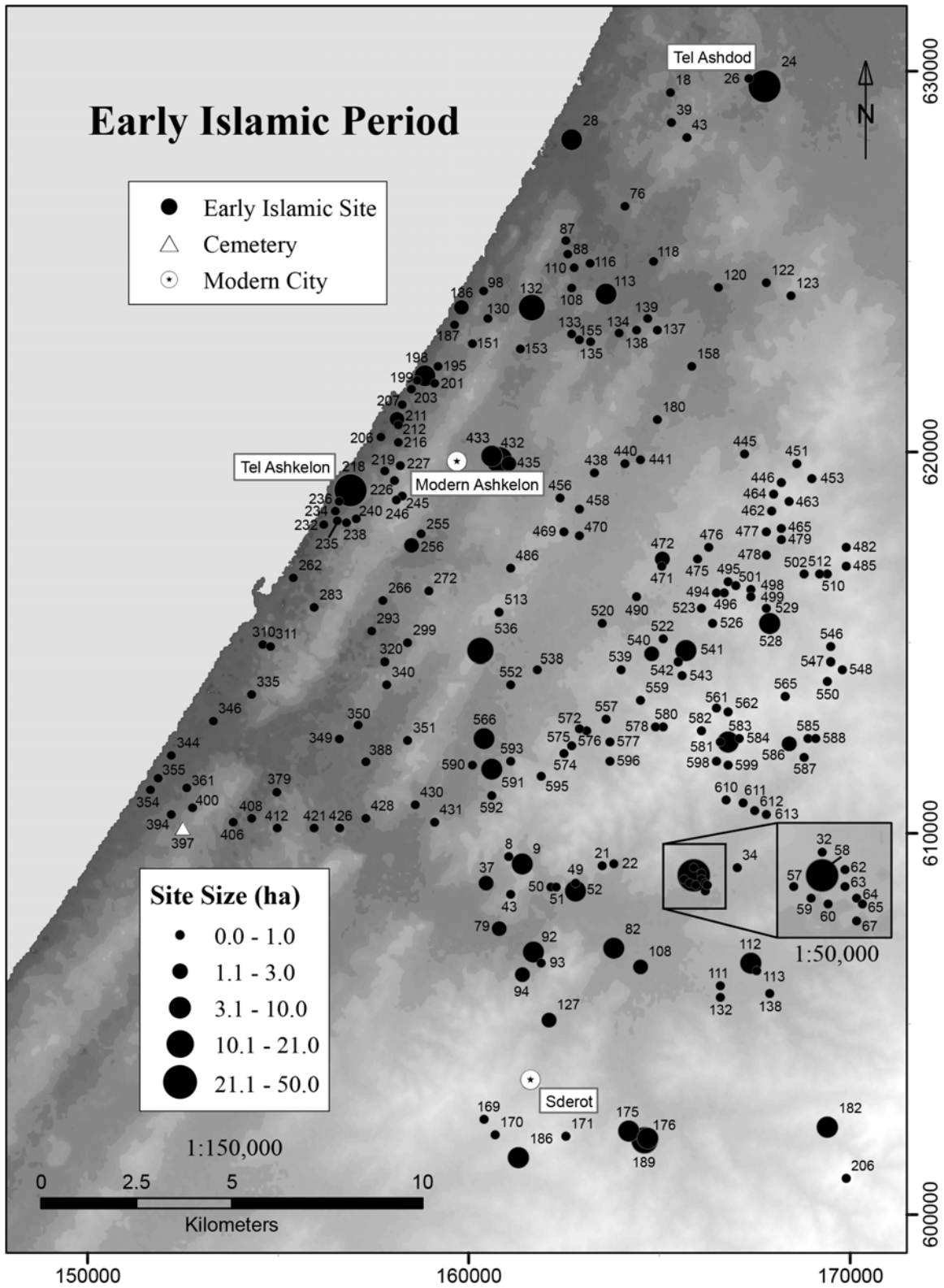


Figure 2.16: Map of sites from the Early Islamic period over modern topography.

Table 2.4: Number of Early Islamic Sites in the Surveyed Maps

<i>Map of Ziqim (91)</i>	<i>Map of Nizzanim west, east (87,88)</i>	<i>Map of Ashkelon (92)</i>	<i>Map of Sderot (96)</i>
<i>Berman et al. 2004</i>	<i>Berman and Barda 2005</i>	<i>Allen (Ashkelon 1)</i>	<i>Chapter 5</i>
87	60	76	42

that the vast majority of excavated wells at Tel Ashkelon itself can be dated to the Byzantine or Early Islamic periods, with most of the remainder from the Roman period (see Lass in *Ashkelon 1*; also Carmi et al. in *Ashkelon 1*); this observation supports the idea of the special emphasis on water exploitation from the Roman period onward.

#### *The Early Islamic Period (A.D. 638–1099)*

Our knowledge of the history of Ashkelon under the rule of the Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fatimid dynasties is based mainly on a broad literature composed by Arab historians (for a brief summary, see Sharon *Ashkelon 1*, pp. 407–15). Early Islamic period texts describe Ashkelon as a flourishing coastal city whose hinterland was one of the most fertile in the country (as observed by Elʿad 1982:151). In addition, there is supplementary archaeological evidence of the historical events in the city itself and in the surrounding area. This summary is based on the different surveys of the region and, to a lesser extent, on the result of salvage excavations that serve as a representative sampling of the Early Islamic settlement.

As with the counting of sites from earlier periods, the relatively high quantity of Early Islamic sites in the Ziqim and Nizzanim maps derives from the fact that some of them are located within the sand belt, at sites suggested to be patches. In Map 91, only about a dozen sites contained structural remains; the rest of the 87 sites were mostly scatters of pottery and other artifacts (see Berman et al. 2004:14\*). In Maps 87 and 88, some 15 sites are located on flat terrain along the Nahal Evtah, probably reflecting seasonal camps, and nine sites are located to the east of the modern Route 4, on relatively flat agricultural land. The rest, as in the Ziqim map, are along the western sandy zone, not far from the seashore. In Map 92, some Byzantine and Early Islamic findspots are clustered around a central site—and reflect material remains not *in situ* but were moved from their original point of deposition by various activities (human and natural)

and, therefore, should not be classified as sites. In particular, surveyors do not appear to have been aware of the degree for potential dispersal of ancient remains by modern agriculture machinery, which can transfer large quantities of stones and sherds long distances and therefore misleadingly present the appearance of a real site. Since remains from the Byzantine and later periods are found on the surface, these are the first to be involved in this process. Based on these remarks on method, we emphasize the need to reduce the total number of sites from these periods within Map 92 (as in the other maps). Nevertheless, the Early Islamic is still the second most densely-settled period in this survey area, after the Byzantine.

In general, the surveys of the Ashkelon hinterland reveal a continuous occupation from the Byzantine period at most Early Islamic sites but an overall decline in settlement—not only in settlement density in the region but also in site size. Comprehensive survey of several Byzantine sites at the map of Sderot shows that the surface area of the Early Islamic remains appears to be consistently smaller than the total area of the site. This observation, however, is valid only at sites located in pasture lands, where modern agricultural has not interfered with cultural remains. The survey results also suggest that new settlements were not established during this period.

At the same time, there is evidence for aspects of continuity in the archaeological remains—for instance, in the use of winepresses. A detailed survey of the results of recent salvage excavations suggest that the usual discussion of major change between the Byzantine and Early Islamic period, encouraged by the gross nature of the survey data, is oversimplified. For instance, at site 346 Nikolsky (2010) excavated a winepress that was clearly out of use by the end of the Byzantine period; the same is true for the winepress excavated by Peretz (2011) at site 118 (Kh. Basha southwest). On the other hand, Paran (2009) notes that at Kh. ʿIjjis er Ras (south; site 465) the excavated winepress continued in use into the Early Islamic period. In

other cases, the excavators do not explicitly state whether there is evidence of continuity or abandonment before the Early Islamic.<sup>16</sup> At site 200, Toueg excavated collecting vats from a winepress in use at the very end of the Byzantine period; he was unsure of whether it went out of use at the end of the Byzantine or in the Early Islamic (2009). A similar situation was reported for the winepress and other installations excavated at Kh. Khaur el Bak (site 135; Talis 2011) and at site 201 (Haiman 2011), both of which yielded Early Islamic remains, but whose connection to the winepresses is not made clear. While these results are a small sample, they suggest that wine production in the Ashkelon region—although more limited—probably continued beyond the end of the Byzantine period.

Based on archaeological evidence, it seems that Ashdod ceased to function as a major city in this period, reduced to the status of a village, although the decline of its size and importance may have begun during the Byzantine period with a shift to Ashdod-Yam as the major settlement north of Ashkelon (Dothan 1993:102; Petersen 2005:85–86, 91; see also Sharon 1997:124–25). Thus, by the Early Islamic, Ashkelon becomes the only urban center within our study area. Ashkelon, however, was a flourishing city in this period, as described in accounts of various Arab travelers and geographers (see, e.g., Le Strange 1890:400–3). The thirteenth-century geographer Yāqūt even reports that it was known as “the bride of Syria” (1866–73c:674). During the Early Islamic period, Ashkelon functioned as part of the *ribāṭ* system for coastal warning along the Levantine coast (see Khalilieh 1999; Masarwa 2006). These observation points were established in existing cities or fortresses on small hills, set at fairly regular intervals along the coast (see Khalilieh 1999:215, 219); according to the tenth-century geographer Muqaddasī (or al-Maqdisī; 1906:177; 1886:62; see also Le Strange 1890:24), the closest *ribāṭ* to the south was at Mīmās (the port of Gaza, Byzantine Maiumas Gazae), while to the north was Māḥūz Azdūd (Minat el-Qalʿa, Ashdod-Yam).

Western Palestine is rich in Arabic inscriptions, but less attention has been paid by archaeologists to this source. A number of Arabic inscriptions originated at Ashkelon and other sites in its

<sup>16</sup>At his excavation of the large Byzantine complex east of Hamame (site 155), Varga reported building remains as late as the ninth century; however, he does not specify the Early Islamic remains in his report (2010).

vicinity. Of these, a small portion of them dates to the Early Islamic period. Qurʾānic texts and epitaphs are most common. These inscriptions not only confirm the great strategic importance placed on the city of Ashkelon from the time of the Islamic conquest but also serve as evidence for Islamic presence in the entire Ashkelon region and supplement literary sources (i.e., historians’ testimonies), providing important information concerning names of governors, rulers, commanders, judges, imams, and building projects in Ashkelon and its vicinity. We shall mention several inscriptions, arranged in roughly chronological order, that in our opinion benefit this study:

1. Within the Map of Sderot, at Kh. Jalama (chapter 5, site 108), where Muslim conquerors left graffiti inscribed on an ancient marble column that belonged to a Byzantine church. The longest inscription mentions the name of the third Caliph, Uthmān ibn Affān (644–56). The inscription was incised on the lower half of the column, suggesting that it was probably still standing on its base in the time of the writing (Sharon: forthcoming). We suppose that the church went out of use or was deserted in the second half of the seventh century A.D.
2. A marble slab discovered at Tel Ashkelon in 1883 bears an inscription that mentions the building of a mosque and a minaret, around the year 771–72 (Clermont-Ganneau 1887:485–91; for discussion of the problematic nature of this inscription see Sharon 1997:144–47).
3. A construction text or epitaph of an official (the *qāḍī* of Ashkelon?), dated to the mid-eleventh century, refers to the city as a border fortress (Sharon 1997:151–53; re-analyzed by Sharon 2007:21–23).
4. A series of inscriptions relate to the shrine (*mashhad*) of Husein (Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, grandson of Muhammad), describing the circumstances of the discovery of Husein’s head in Ashkelon and the erection or repair of the shrine in the year A.D. 1091 (see van Berchem 1915; Sharon 1997:154–61). The sanctuary was noted by the Survey of Western Palestine map (Sheet XX, Ev), as well as by Mandatory surveyors, who reported the name as En Nabi Husein or Mashhad Sidna el Husein (e.g., Survey of Palestine, 1:20,000, Sheet 10-11, Ashkelon; 1944 Schedule:1264).

Guérin (1869:142) recognized the ruins of the building east of Tel Ashkelon under the name “el-Hassan Mosque.” But Guérin’s description of the site as a small mosque appears to be incorrect. He only saw the site from a distance—from Tel Ashkelon. The “ruins” seen by Guérin probably belonged to the original sanctuary, an immense compound around a large building that stood until 1950.<sup>17</sup> The place of the sanctuary is today within the grounds of Barzilay Hospital (site 245). Remains of this structure were noted by Berman in 1972–73. It is worth mentioning that, according to Berman’s description, the “ruinous sheikh’s tomb” was surrounded by dozens of simple tombs (Berman et al. 2004:28\*). Relying on pottery collection, Berman concluded that the latest period represented at the site is the Early Islamic. More recently, however, Ottoman-period pottery has also been noted, suggesting that the cemetery was active during the late Ottoman period and probably during the time of the British Mandate as well.

5. Though formally the initial date of the Crusader period in Palestine is the year A.D. 1099 (see discussion in the Medieval Period, below), we mention in this summary of epigraphic material

<sup>17</sup>Images of the standing building are available at the Library of Congress, Print and Photograph Division, reproduction numbers LC-DIG-matpc-21683 to 21690: Moslem Celebrations at Mejdal (Wady Nemill and Sey<sup>3</sup>d Hussein Shrine at Ascalon, April 1943) (<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=%22sey%27d%20hussein%22>). For the circumstances of the destruction of the building see Meron Rapoport, “History Erased”, Haaretz, 5/7/ 2007. <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/magazine/history-erased-1.224899>.

from the Early Islamic period an inscription dated to the year A.D. 1150, just three years before Ashkelon was captured by the Crusaders for the first time. The inscription was found by the Leon Levy Expedition in the debris of the Islamic fortifications of the city and commemorates the construction of a tower by the Fatimid governor of Ashkelon (Sharon in *Ashkelon 1*). This imperial inscription indicates the great importance of the city as the last Islamic stronghold along the southern coast, surrounded by Frankish territories. The same marble slab was reused much later by the Crusaders who engraved heraldic shields over the inscription.

6. Also of note is the large group of Muslim epitaphs—both from old collections (especially the Ustinow collection) and from recent salvage excavations, coming from the cemeteries around Tel Ashkelon (see Sharon 1997:147–50, 153–54, 161–62; 2007:14–29; 2009:1–7). The epitaphs do not occur in the first century and a half of Islamic rule but rather cluster in the ninth to eleventh centuries, becoming more common over the course of that timespan.

As a whole, these inscriptions attest to the importance attached to the city of Ashkelon and its hinterland from the very beginning of, and throughout, the Early Islamic period and show that in many respects the region continued to flourish despite aspects of decline in the settlement pattern. They also fit the picture of a gradual process of Islamization and Arabization, not only in the region but throughout Palestine and the Middle East as a whole (e.g., Bulliet 1979).

Table 2.5: Crusader Villages and Their Identifications with Archaeological Sites

<i>Crusader Name</i>	<i>Site Name</i>	<i>Coordinates (NIG)</i>
Castellum Beroardi	Minat el Qal <sup>3</sup> a (Ashdod-Yam)	164300/632150
Azotum	Isdud (Ashdod; site 24)	167750/629600
Betheras	Beit Daras (site 96)	169850/625850
Zeophir	Es Sawafir*	172/623
Beze	Kh. Bazze (site 123)**	168450/624100
Geliadia	Kh. Jaladiya	176350/622900

\* Es Sawafir is the common name shared by three (now ruined) neighboring Arab villages. They were distinguished by the addition of their geographical relative position, Shamaliya, Gharbiya, and Sharqiya, meaning the northern, western and eastern Sawafir (respectively). Ceramic remains of the Medieval period have been observed at es Sawafir el Gharbiya.

\*\* See chapter 3 for the location of this site.

Table 2.5 (cont.): Crusader Villages and Their Identifications with Archaeological Sites

<i>Crusader Name</i>	<i>Site Name</i>	<i>Coordinates (NIG)</i>
Machoz	Kh. Makkus (site 170)***	164800/621600
Carcapha/Caicapha	Kh. Qarqafa	175250/621600
Hebde	Ibdis	171500/620730
Bethafe	Beit Affa	172200/618970
Semma/Casale Episcopi	Kh. Sama (site 472)	165080/617200
Galatia	Karatiya	173920/616900
Bethamamin	Kh. Beit Mamin	171360/616170
Phaluge	el Faluja	176200/614800
Coquebel	Kaukaba (site 528)	167900/615500
Algie	el Jiya (site 515)	161850/615200
Forbie	Hirbiya (site 350)	157100/612850
Amouhde	Kh. Amuda (site 576)	163100/612700
Heleiquat	el Huleiqat (site 583)	166800/612400
Semsem	Sumsum (Map 96 site 52)	162800/608500
Zeite	Kh. Zeita (Map 96 site 9)*4*	161400/609200
Camsa	Kh. Kums/Qamsa (Map 96 site 82)*5*	163800/607000
Saarethe	Kh. Shaṛrata (Map 96 site 112)	167400/606600
Malaques	Kh. Umm Laqis (Mulaqis)	170300/609100
Phetora	Tatura (Fatura)*6*	163/616

\*\*\* See chapter 3 for the location of this site.

\*4\* Zeite is a common name in Palestinian toponymy. Two archaeological sites named Zeite are candidates to be identified as Zeite from the Crusader period from the above-mentioned document. We prefer the southern Zeite, since it is located near the ruined village Sumsum, identified as Semsem from the same document (see Map 96 site 9, in chapter 5; also Blakely and Huster in press).

\*5\* Camsa is another *casal* mentioned in the contract between John d'IBelin and the Hospital of Saint John. This village was identified by several researchers at Kh. Kemas/ Qimas (site 498), located east of Ashkelon (see, e.g., Prawer 1958:235; Allen in Ashkelon 1, p. 50). We prefer to identify it with Kh. Kums, for its location between Semsem and Saarethe (see chapter 5, Map 96 site 42; for more details see also Blakely and Huster in press).

\*6\* The identification of Phetora, mentioned in the 1256/7 contract between John d'IBelin and the Hospital of Saint John, has been problematic. Röhrich (1887:240) and Prawer (1958:235-36), for example, suggested a possible identification with Kh. Fattata (Horvat Patot; 17940-61119, NIG). Meanwhile, the name is shared with Phathoura from the Onomasticon of Eusebius (K 168:22, L 288:99); this early Byzantine village is generally identified with Kh. Fur(u)t, hence its Hebrew name, H. Ptora (18243-61080, NIG; e.g., Clermont-Ganneau 1896:191; Abel 1938:409; Tsafir et al.1994:203; Elitzur 2004:301). This is the identification favored for the Crusader village by Blakely and Huster (in press). However, this site is roughly 9 km east of the closest site from the 1256/7 deed (Phaluge/Faluja), where the other sites are tightly bunched together. It is therefore worth noting the existence of a village located near Ashkelon named Fatura. This village appears in a waqfiyya (deed) of the Ashrafiyya madrasa in Jerusalem, from the year 1477; unfortunately the complete waqfiyya—including, most notably, the list of endowed properties—is unpublished (contra Burgoyne and Richards 1987:591, 605 ns. 2, 23), but the summary provided by Ibrāhim (1961:409; see also Lutfi 1985:121) suggests that there was a village called Fātūrā in the ʿamal (subdistrict) of ʿAsqalān, and that its lands were bordered on the west by the lands of Majdal. Meanwhile, the first Ottoman mufassal defter (TD 427, from 1525-6) gives a similar toponym (transcribed by al-Swarieh [2009:42] as Ḥātūrā), registered not as a village but as a mazraʿa (sown field, usually the lands of an abandoned village) listed between Sama and Beit Saman (see also icmal defter TD 131, which lists a village transcribed by al-Swarieh [2008:111] as Qābūra). Meanwhile, the Survey of Palestine reported a field near Kh. Sama and Kh. Beit Saman named Tatura (1:20,000, Topocadastral Series, Sheet 11-11, El Majdal). Thus the evidence, while not clear, suggests that a village named Fatura (or something close to this) was located east of Majdal, around coordinates 1635-6160 (NIG)—approximately 3 km north of Kh. Amuda/Amouhde from the 1256/7 contract. The exact identification of this site is uncertain (complicated by its proximity to the major site Kh. Irza, which was inhabited in the sixteenth century and presumably earlier), but one possible candidate is site 520 (Map 92 site 35/2), which Allen designated as a questionable Crusader site (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 60; in his survey files he noted a single Crusader sherd from the site).



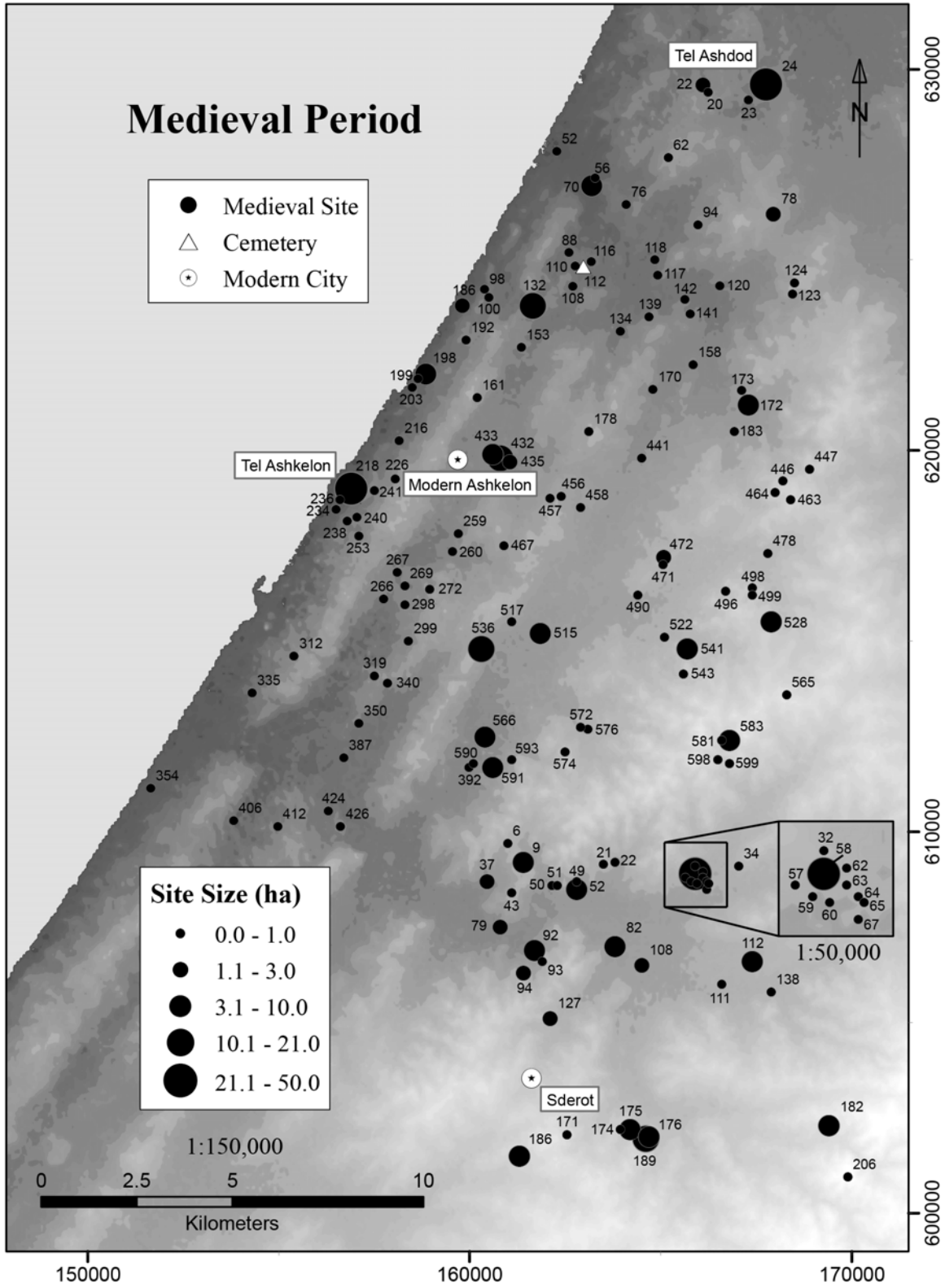


Figure 2.17: Map of sites from the Medieval period over modern topography.

### The Medieval Period

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, and in chapter 1, we have adopted the term Medieval for the timespan between the official beginning of the Crusader period in A.D. 1099 until the end of the Mamluk period in 1516. This usage stems from not only the difficulty of identifying Crusader-period sites based on pottery, as discussed above, but also historical considerations. According to the *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Stern 1993), the Crusader and the Ayyubid periods coincide and occur in the years 1099–291. The next historical archaeological period is the Late Arab period (Fatimid and Mamluk) 1291–516 (*NEAEHL*, Vol.4, p.1259).

In the Ashkelon region we have two historical anomalies. The first is the continuation of Muslim (Ayyubid) rule for half a century after the initial Crusader conquest of almost all the country (1099) until 1153, when Ashkelon fell into Crusader hands. The second is the return of Crusader sovereignty to the region twice: for a very short time, from January to September 1192, under Richard I, King of England (“the Lionheart”); and from 1241 to 1247 under Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and other Crusader leaders who rebuilt the fortifications of Ashkelon (Prawer 1956:246–47). The shields engraved over the Arabic inscription mentioned above, representing the arms of an English knight, are ascribed to the time of this last fortification (Sharon in *Ashkelon I*, pp. 414–15). During this span of time, from 1099 to the mid-thirteenth century (with the Muslim recapture of Ashkelon in 1247 and its ultimate destruction by the Mamluks in 1270), the rural settlements in Ashkelon’s vicinity were in several stages and processes (Prawer 1956:233, 239). There are also documented attempts of Frankish frontier colonization by Christian farmers. The surrounding fortresses of Ibelin (Yavneh), Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safi), and Beit Jibrin, founded between 1134 and 1143, became administrative centers surrounded by agricultural villages (Prawer 1951, esp. 1067–69).

The archaeological data related to this span of time (1099–247), however, is very sparse. Berman’s survey of the Map of Ziqim ascribes a mere five sites to the Crusader period: Tel Ashkelon; a site (site 240) located outside the city walls, dated according to a single coin of Amaury I (1163–74); a probable “patch” site (site 300) containing a silver coin (also of Amaury I); the site of Hirbiya (site 350), known from historical sources (as Forbie); and a site with Crusader pottery (site 412) at the

southern edge of the survey area. In the survey of the Map of Nizzanim, only two sites from the Crusader period were noted: the first (site 198) in an excavation in the Barnea neighborhood (in 1995 by F. Vitto, not published), yielding a few items dated to the early Crusader period; the second (site 186, Bir Shuqeir) included in the list of sites by periods (under the category “Middle Ages”) but lacking decisive finds in the pottery description.<sup>18</sup> These negligible results justify our adoption of the approach used by Allen (*Ashkelon I*), which treats the Crusader and the Mamluk periods as a single archaeological period, the “Medieval.”

The names of villages and settlements throughout the country were mentioned in Crusader documents, especially charters, deeds, and contracts between Crusader nobles and military orders. Following Robinson’s travels in the Holy Land, nineteenth-century scholars suggested geographical identifications for these settlements, at both inhabited Arabic villages and *khirbehs* described by Robinson (1841). Several Crusader *casals* (villages) mentioned in the various documents were located in the *Comté d’Ascalon*, meaning the Duchy (or County) of Ashkelon. This subject was best summarized by Prawer (1958), who also suggested his own identifications. Prawer provides a list of almost 40 identified settlements in the Duchy’s territory. Twenty-four or possibly twenty-five settlements are located within our study area and immediately beyond its borders (an area of 30 x 35 km, coordinates 150-180 east and 600-635 north, NIG; see Table 2.5 and figure 17). Fourteen villages derive from a single document, a contract between John d’Ibelin, Count of Ascalon (and Jaffa), and the Hospital of Saint John (Paoli 1733:150–53). The geographical location of these villages has been recently reassessed by Blakely and Huster (in press).

Besides the identification of individual sites of the period, these deeds provide important information on overall settlement patterns. They clearly demonstrate a continuity of settlement at Arab village and *khirbeh* sites through this period, one that refines the picture established on a coarser chronological scale by the survey data; beyond the fact that the villages were inhabited in the Crusader

<sup>18</sup> Note that the index of sites by period for Nizzanim West includes an additional site under the Crusader heading (Map 87 site 21; our site 216); however, the description of this site (Berman and Barda 2005:28\*–29\*) lists not Crusader but Mamluk pottery (which is not noted in the index by period). Meanwhile, no Crusader sites are listed for Nizzanim East (Map 88).

Table 2.6: Number of Sites from the Medieval Period

Number of Sites from the Mamluk Period		Medieval (Crusader and Mamluk periods)	
<i>Map of Ziqim (91)</i>	<i>Map of Nizzanim west and east (87,88)</i>	<i>Map of Ashkelon (92)</i>	<i>Map of Sderot (96)</i>
<i>Berman et al. 2004</i>	<i>Berman and Barda 2005</i>	<i>Allen (Ashkelon 1)</i>	<i>Chapter 5</i>
62 (26)*	56 (28)*	29 (+ 9 possible sites)**	39

\* Number of sites (in parentheses) that revealed remnants of structures. The rest consisted of pottery scatters.

\*\* When the period was represented only by one or two sherds, or otherwise lacked clearly indicative remains, Allen suggested a possible occupation for the period. It is likely that repeated collection of ceramics would have turned up additional Medieval sherds, causing the identification of the period to be secure. If this is true, then the number of sites from the Medieval period in the map of Ashkelon is almost the same as in the map of Sderot.

period, the remarkable continuity of toponyms must reflect an overall stability in the population throughout the period from the Crusades to the end of the British Mandate. In addition, the large number of identifiable Crusader villages stands in stark contrast to the few Crusader sites identified by the archaeological surveys, further justifying the approach taken to the Medieval period in this study.

#### Mamluk Remains

Despite the use of the term “Middle Ages” in the Archaeological Overview by periods in both of Berman’s surveyed maps, Ziqim and Nizzanim (Berman et al. 2004:14\*; Berman and Barda 2005:13\*), both report Mamluk finds and sites in the site catalogues and period maps. The above-mentioned low number of Crusader sites in both maps is further accentuated by the large number of sites ascribed to the Mamluk period. As with previous periods, the real number of sites is better demonstrated in the Maps of Ashkelon and Sderot.

While noting that the majority of Berman’s sites from the Mamluk period are located within the sand dune belt and are devoid of structural remains, we may accept the suggestion that some of them were probably campsites belonging to nomads (Berman et al. 2004:14\*). The majority of sites without ancient structures, however, represent “patches” in our opinion. After the removal of the “non-sites” in the Maps of Ziqim and Nizzanim, and the plausible count of Medieval sites in the Maps of Ashkelon and Sderot, we may begin to analyze the general settlement patterns in the study area. Many Medieval sites are continuations of Early Islamic occupation, while

others (according the pottery remains) were re-founded on settlements from the Byzantine period that were abandoned for the Early Islamic period. After the destruction of Ashkelon in 1270, the village of Majdal became the new center for the region, building on its history from the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. Thirty years separate the destruction of Ashkelon and the inauguration of the Great Mosque of Majdal Ascalan. Unlike Ashkelon, however, Majdal was merely a secondary center, oriented in turn towards Gaza. It is therefore striking that none of the many salvage excavations have yielded any significant remains from the large village Majdal, nor from its satellite settlements, dating to the Mamluk period.

Fortunately, another type of archaeological evidence exists that fills in our knowledge: Several complete buildings, mostly with religious functions, have been documented within our study area. Some of them were ruined by natural processes, others were intentionally destroyed, while the rest (or their remains) are still visible. Two of the main types of buildings attested in this period are mosques and *welis* (sheikhs’ tombs). Along with these structural remains, a series of Mamluk and later Arabic inscriptions serves to clarify various aspects of life and settlement in the region and to date the buildings. The best-preserved Muslim building in the village of Majdal (site 432)—and in the entire study area—is the Great Mosque (*al-Jāmi‘ al-Kabīr*). A foundation inscription over the main entrance indicates the building of the mosque in the year 1300 by an important Mamluk official, Sayf ad-Dīn Salār (Sharon 1997:184–86), while the adjacent courtyard and the surrounding rooms appear to constitute a later phase based on structural considerations. The main entrance to the mosque is through a door on the eastern

side of the courtyard; the door is set in a frame in which stones of alternating colors were used as panels. The entrance leads to a courtyard with arcades on three sides. The southern side of the courtyard consists of a vaulted portico, while the side vaults are constructed with the use of black ceramic jars (set vertically in mortar). This fact contradicts Sharon's description (1997:184–85), which supposes that the complex—i.e., the mosque, the courtyard with the three surrounding arcades, and the portico—all belong to the Mamluk period on the basis of the architectural features (although Sharon was probably influenced by the date of the inscription). Petersen's description of the side vaults of the portico (2001:211) mentions the use of black ceramic jars, which he had previously designated "terracotta vaulting tubes" (1994). Petersen suggested that this technique probably dated back to the eighteenth century (1994:91; 2001:33), which coincides with the beginning of the "Black Gaza Ware" industry around 1700 (Israel 2006). The architectural style of the portico and the use of an eighteenth-century technique (the vaulting tubes) suggest that features west of the main mosque building were constructed in the Ottoman period. (The eastern arcade abuts the portico and probably also represents a later phase.)

The other major group of Mamluk buildings in the region consists of the tombs of sheikhs (saints, holy men), often referred to as *welis*. As Petersen notes (2001:36), this is in fact the most common class of religious building in the country; Petersen separates this class into shrines and tombs but observes that generally these buildings are both tombs and shrines. For our study area (Maps 87, 88, 91, and 92), we have been able to compile a list of roughly 26 sheikhs' tombs recorded.<sup>19</sup> Most

<sup>19</sup>The exact number of sheikhs' tombs in the region is unclear, largely due to the fact that it is not always easy to correlate monuments, inscriptions, and historical sources dealing with individual tombs. As an example, Guérin (1869) refers to several sheikhs' tombs that do not appear in other historical sources, often without names, and so it is not always clear if specific inscriptions or tombs indicated on Mandatory maps can be matched with these tombs. In addition, an exact count depends on how certain issues are resolved, such as the status of Mashhad Sidna el Husein (as it is not a typical sheikh's tomb but a shrine reputed to have once held his head) and the complex of Salman al-Farisi and Ibrahim al-Matbuli (two tombs included in the same complex). Finally, Guérin mentioned a *weli* of Nabi Yasin at Beit Daras that we have not included in our table. If the *weli* was in the village itself, then it was not likely within our study area as the majority of the village is just east of east coordinate 170. However, Liévin de Hamme (a Franciscan monk who wrote a detailed travel

of these are located within or immediately around villages, a pattern observed more generally by Canaan (1927:2–3, 6–7). Of the few not located close to a village inhabited in the nineteenth century, most appear to be associated with earlier Ottoman or Medieval settlements: e.g., Nabi Sama (site 471; a very clear example, as it is adjacent to Kh. Sama, site 472) and Sheikh el Kubakba (site 459; at Kh. Abu Fatun, site 458). Generally, *welis* are found (or at least recorded) for the larger villages, and the largest villages have more than one. Thus, the largest villages in our study area in the Medieval and Ottoman periods were Majdal (three *welis*, at least according to Guérin [1869:131]), Isdud (also three, although they were clustered around Khan Isdud, southwest of the village), and Hamame (two *welis*); meanwhile, Beit Tima and Barbara, which at times (during the Ottoman period at least) were close to these villages in population, had two and three shrines, respectively.

On this phenomenon of sheikhs' tombs, Rosen-Ayalon notes in her survey of Islamic art and archaeology: "Numerous tombs of saints and their adjacent shrines were built in Palestine in the Middle Ages" (2006:123). We would suggest a refinement of this dating. In our view, most (though not all) of these tombs likely date to the Mamluk period; however, many shrines have a later addition (one or two wings to the core tomb) that can be dated to the Ottoman period (and usually to the latter half of it, the eighteenth or nineteenth century).<sup>20</sup> Many of these tombs cannot be dated, as they are only reported by nineteenth-century travelers (especially Guérin) and were not noted by twentieth-century surveyors (archaeological or cartographic), nor is there extant inscriptional evidence. For most of those with dating evidence, however, we can suggest that it is likely—if not certain—that they date to the Mamluk period:

1. Esh Sheikh Awad (site 199), built on the *kurkar* cliff facing the sea in the Barnea<sup>c</sup> neighborhood, is composed of a central domed

guide to Palestine in the late nineteenth century) located a "Oueli Yasine" to the west of the main north-south road as it crosses Wadi Mughraka (a branch of the Nahal Evtah; Liévin de Hamme 1887:225). If this is correct, then Sheikh Yasin (if it is the same as Guérin's *weli*) should be identical with Sheikh Abu Jaham, and the name may perhaps be related to Khirbet Yasin.

<sup>20</sup>Petersen (2001:36–37) similarly suggests a pattern of development over time in many sheikhs' tombs but does not attempt to demonstrate the pattern systematically or to date it precisely.

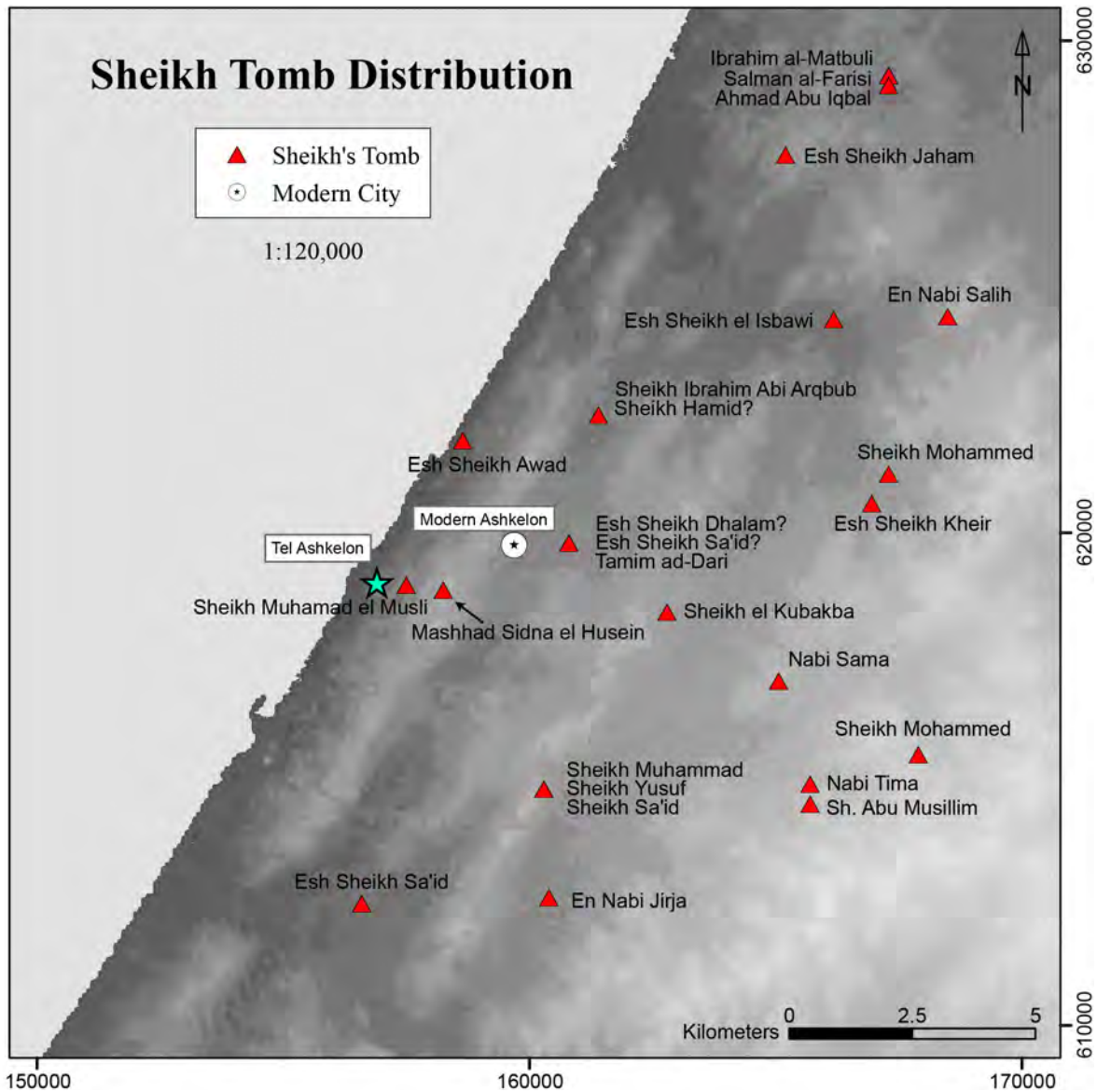


Figure 2.18: Sheikh tomb distribution during the Medieval period, mapped over modern topography.

chamber flanked by two later side chambers. In this case, as with other structural remains in our study area, the similar architectural features of the Great Mosque of Majdal provide an aid in dating. The two side chambers of Sheikh Awad are datable to the late eighteenth or nineteenth century on the basis of various architectural elements (Petersen 2001:98). For the central chamber, Petersen could only suggest a pre-eighteenth-century date. In our opinion, the central room of Maqam Sheikh Awad can be dated to the Mamluk period based on the parallel pattern of two phases at sheikhs' tombs at similar structures along or near the coast.

2. Sheikh Muhammad el Musli (site 241): The same pattern, i.e., a structure with an older core (probably Mamluk) built of well-dressed stones supplemented by a later wing, also occurs at this shrine or tomb just east of Tel Ashkelon.
3. Ibrahim al-Matbuli and Salman al-Farisi (site 23): A complex (now destroyed) containing shrines of these two holy men stood near Isdud (Tel Ashdod), adjacent to the now destroyed Khan Isdud. Both tombs are known to have been built during the Mamluk period: An inscription commemorates the building of a mosque at the sanctuary of Salmān al-Fārisī in 1269

Table 2.7: Sheikh Tombs in the Ashkelon Region

No. Site	Village	Site no.	Coordinates	Notes and References
1 Salman al-Farisi	Isdud	site 23	167300/629300	Map 88 site 23; Petersen 2001:156–57; Sharon. Dated by inscription to Mamluk period; in same complex as no. 2; destroyed.
2 Ibrahim al-Matbuli	Isdud	site 23	167300/629300	Map 88 site 23; Petersen 2001:156–57; Sharon; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-12, Hamame. Dated by inscription to Mamluk period; in same complex as no. 1; destroyed.
3 Ahmad Abu Iqbal	Isdud	site 23	167300/629100	Map 88 site 23; Petersen 2001:156; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-12, Hamame.
4 Esh Sheikh Jaham		site 62	165200/627680	Map 88 site 59; SWP, Sheet XVI, Fu; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-12, Hamame. Mamluk coin hoard found nearby (Berman and Barda 2005: 48–49*).
5 Esh Sheikh el Isbawi	Kh. el Mis <sup>2</sup> abe?	site 121	166180/624340	Map 88 site 117; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-12, Hamame. Berman and Barda with no diagnostic finds; Yaakov with Ottoman in our table.
6 En Nabi Salih		site 124	168500/624400	Map 88 site 120; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-12, Hamame. Berman and Barda noted LR, Mamluk, and Ottoman pottery (2005:60*).
7 Sheikh Ibrahim Abi Arqub	Hamame	site 154	161400/622400	Petersen 2001:146 (based on Mandatory inspectors); al-Nabulsi (17th c). Mosque; earliest attestation is al-Nabulsi, who notes <i>qabr</i> (tomb) of this sheikh.
8 Sheikh Hamid?	Hamame	site 154	161400/622400	Petersen 2001:146 (based on Mandatory inspectors); Dauphin 1998:869. Mosque only?
9 Sheikh Mohammed	Julis	site 172	167300/621200	Map 88 site 165 (as <i>maqam</i> in Julis; photo p. 79); Guerin 1869:127; Khalidi? Named by Guerin; otherwise nameless <i>maqam</i> .
10 Esh Sheikh Kheir	Julis (or site 100m to south?)	site 182	166950/620600	Map 88 site 175; SWP, Sheet XVI, Fu; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-12, Hamame (as “Ruin”); Khalidi 1992.
11 Esh Sheikh Awad		site 199	158650/621880	Map 87 site 8; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 10-10, Ashkelon; Petersen 2001:98. Two phases recognizable: later 18th/19th c, earlier pre-18th c.
12 Sheikh Muhamad el Musli	SE of Tel Ashkelon	site 241	157500/618950	Map 91 site 19; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 10-11, Ashkelon (unnamed); Petersen? Two phases: Huster (inspection work) suggests Medieval and Ottoman (but only based on architecture and not pottery)
13 Mashhad Sidna el Husein	Tel Ashkelon	site 245	158250/618850	Map 91 site 23; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 10-11, Ashkelon; Sharon; Petersen 2001:98; etc. Dated by historical sources and inscriptions to Early Islamic (11th c).
14 Esh Sheikh Sa <sup>2</sup> id	Hirbiya	site 349	156600/612480	Map 91 site 122; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 10-11, Ashkelon. Only Hell–EI pottery at site (Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004:46*).
15 Tamim ad-Dari	Majdal	site 432	160800/619800	Guerin 1869:131 (unnamed); Sharon 1997:186–89; Petersen 2001:212–13. One of three <i>welis</i> noted by Guerin; inscription dates construction to mid-16th c

Table 2.7 (cont.): Sheikh Tombs in the Ashkelon Region

No. Site	Village	Site no.	Coordinates	Notes and References
16 Esh Sheikh Saʿid?	Majdal	site 432	160800/619800	Guerin 1869:131 (unnamed); Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-11, El Majdal. One of three welis noted by Guerin; possibly just a mosque.
17 Esh Sheikh Dhalam?	Majdal	site 432	160800/619800	Guerin 1869:131 (unnamed); El Majdal Index (1:5000; to 1:625 town survey, Survey of Palestine, 1931). One of three welis noted by Guerin; name from El Majdal Index, but of a girls' school.
18 Sheikh el Kubakba	Kh. Abu Fatun	site 459	162800/618400	SWP, Sheet XX, Fv; Petersen 2001:66, pl. 3.
19 Nabi Sama	Kh. Sama	site 471	165060/617000	Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-11, El Majdal. Huster (inspection work) notes Rom–Ott pottery.
20 Sheikh Mohammed	Kaukaba	site 528	167900/615500	Guerin 1869:127; SWP, Sheet XX, Fv.
21 Sheikh Yusuf	Barbara	site 536	160300/614800	Guerin 1869:172–73; Lievin de Hamme 1887 part 2:208; Khalidi 1992:81 (with refs); Dauphin 1998:876; List of Mandatory Records Files 1976:133 (three unnamed <i>maqams</i> ). Only noted by Guerin and Lievin de Hamme (latter calls it a mosque), but Khalidi notes it (supposedly based ultimately on Mujir ad-Din). Yusuf died in 14th c., but mosque built by Murad III (second half of 16th c)
22 Sheikh Saʿid	Barbara	site 536	160300/614800	Dauphin 1998:876; List of Mandatory Records Files 1976:133 (one of three unnamed <i>maqams</i> ).
23 Sheikh Muhammad	Barbara	site 536	160300/614800	Dauphin 1998:876; List of Mandatory Records Files 1976:133 (one of three unnamed <i>maqams</i> ).
24 Nabi Tima	Beit Tima	site 541	165700/614900	Guerin 1869:127–28; SWP, Sheet XX, Fv (unnamed holy place?); Petersen 2001:126; Sharon 1999:158–60. Mosque; two phases, dated by inscription to 14th and 19th c.
25 Sh. Abu Musillim	Beit Tima	site 541	165700/614500	SWP, Sheet XX, Fv.
26 En Nabi Jirja	Beit Jirja	site 566	160400/612600	Guerin 1869:173 (unnamed); Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-11, El Majdal; Sharon 1999:143. 19th c. inscription in building, recording rebuilding of entire village.

(Sharon 1997:126–28), while a second inscription mentions the death of Ibrāhīm al-Matbulī in 1472 (Sharon 1997:128; see also Petersen 2001:156–57).

4. Ahmad Abu Iqbal (also site 23): Unlike the complex of Ibrahim al-Matbuli and Salman al-Farisi, this tomb is still standing. Petersen identified two building phases, the domed tomb chamber and a later wing, but did not provide a date (2001:156). Berman and Barda (2005:40\*)

surveyed the standing sheikh's tomb (although they did not provide the name) and identified two building phases, suggesting that the earlier phase (the tomb itself) was Mamluk in date (but without providing evidence for this identification).

5. Esh Sheikh Jaham (site 62): Berman and Barda suggested that the tomb might be Mamluk in date and noted the discovery of a Mamluk coin hoard in the vicinity (2005:48\*–49\*).

6. En Nabi Salih (site 124): Other than Late Roman, the earliest pottery reported by the survey of the Map of Nizzanim was Mamluk, suggesting that the tomb might have been built in this period.
7. Esh Sheikh Kheir (site 182): At the site of the tomb itself, Berman and Barda (2005:72\*) noted only Ottoman pottery. However, the settlement site 100 m to the south yielded Late Roman, Byzantine, Mamluk, and Ottoman pottery. In addition, Khalidi recorded that, according to the local tradition, Sheikh Kheir had died fighting the Crusaders (1992:115). Together, this evidence suggests the Mamluk period as a likely date for the erection of the *weli*.
8. Nabi Tima (in Beit Tima, site 541): At the ruined Arab village Beit Tima, located some 12 km east-southeast of Tel Ashkelon, remnants of a large building (a mosque or a *maqam*) of the late Ottoman period, dedicated to a certain Nabi Tima, were recorded by several researchers, among them Guérin (1869:127–28) and Allen (*Ashkelon I*, fig. 3.35). The name of this “prophet” or sheikh, Nabi Tima, is clearly related to that of the village. Many Arab villages boasted supposed tombs or mosques of eponymous “prophets” that in fact were named *ex post facto* after their village (noted by Guérin 1869:70; Conder 1877:101; Sharon 1999:98; cf. the extended discussion by Canaan 1927:284–88). In our study area we have three such cases: En Nabi Jirja, at Beit Jirja (Sharon 1999:143; see also Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-11, El Majdal); Nabi Sama (at the site of Kh. Sama, abandoned between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries); and Nabi Tima (cf. also Nabi Huj in Map 96, site 176). The Ottoman remains of the Nabi Tima shrine are built over an earlier structure, whose foundations are also visible at the site (Sharon 1999:158). Two Arabic inscriptions were recorded in the twentieth century, when the building was still standing. The first dates to the Mamluk period; it commemorates the establishment of a mosque in the year A.D. 1390. The second inscription from the Late Ottoman period mentions the reconstruction of the mosque in the year 1836 (Sharon 1999:158–60). It is worth mentioning that the older monumental Mamluk inscription was recorded and photographed while embedded in an ordinary wall that belonged probably to the late Ottoman phase of the mosque, apparently out of its original context (see Petersen 2001:126, pl. 82). (A

parallel phenomenon is known from the Arab village Bureir, where a fragment of a Mamluk inscription dated to the second half of the fifteenth century A.D., recording either the digging or the repair of a well or cistern, was found in the ruins of the modern village mosque [see chapter 5, sites 63 and 65; Sharon 2004:xlvi–l].) Therefore, the mosque structure of Beit Tima, with its two architectural phases (Mamluk and Ottoman) supported by textual evidence, further demonstrates the pattern suggested above.

The only clear cases that contradict this are Mashhad Sidna el Husein, site of the most elaborate *mawsim* (festival) in our study area, which is known from inscriptional and historical evidence to have been built in the eleventh century (see above),<sup>21</sup> and Tamim ad-Dari, where an inscription appears to date the founding of the structure to the mid-sixteenth century (Sharon 1997:186–89; Petersen 2001:212–13).<sup>22</sup>

The suggestion that the majority of sheikhs’ tombs date to this period is bolstered by a survey of the detailed information on the shrines in and immediately around Gaza—*mazārs*, *maqāms*, and mosques, as well as *zāwiyas*—founded at the tombs of, or otherwise commemorating, holy men. Sharon (2009) provides inscriptions relating to the founding of eight such shrines, and the foundation of all of these shrines can be placed in the Mamluk period; in fact, all can likely be dated between the mid-thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries.<sup>23</sup> In Gaza, however, there are very few extant inscriptions prior to the Mamluk period, as observed by Sharon (2009:26) and earlier by van Berchem (quoted in Meyer 1907:149–50, and Sharon 2009:26). However, as van Berchem noted (in his handwritten notes, quoted in Sharon 2009:27), the Gaza inscriptions are particularly concentrated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whereas we have no datable shrines founded after the

<sup>21</sup> On this festival and its importance, see Canaan (1927:213, 215); see also the set of photographs from the Library of Congress collection noted above.

<sup>22</sup> Note also the mosque/shrine of Sheikh Yusuf al-Barbarawi, in Barbara: The mosque containing his tomb was apparently established by Sultan Murad III in the second half of the sixteenth century; however, Yusuf died in the fourteenth century, and it is not clear if there was some shrine prior to the mosque (see Khalidi 1992:81; al-Dabbāgh 1975:255).

<sup>23</sup> Sharon (2009:40) refers to an additional shrine, the *weli* of al-Kharrubah, noted by L. A. Mayer in 1923 but no longer extant, with an inscription dating it to 688 A.H./A.D. 1289. See also the information provided by Sadek in his detailed survey of Mamluk architecture in Gaza (1991).



Table 2.8: Location of coastal *welis* and Umayyad/Abbasid *ribāts*

Ribāṭ According to Muqaddasī (1906:177; translation 1886:62)	Coastal Weli
Mīmās (el Mina)	Sheikh Hassan (at the site); also Sheikh Ridwan (c. 2 km inland)
ʿAsqalān	Sheikh Awad (c. 2 km north)
Māḥūz Azdūd (Ashdod-Yam; Minat el-Qalʿa)	Nabi Yunis (c. 4.5 km north, at the Nahal Lachish)
Māḥūz Yibnā (Yavneh-Yam)	Nabi Rubin (c. 4 km inland)
Yāfah	Sheikh Abd en Nabi (c. 4.5 km north)
Arsūf	Haram Sidna ʿAli (ʿAli ibn ʿAleim; c. 500 m south)

fourteenth century—including none in the early Ottoman period, when there are still a significant number of inscriptions.

The conclusion that most of these buildings date to the Mamluk period suggests a significant building program, however loosely organized, for religious structures in this period—similar to that of the Byzantine period, although on a smaller scale. This building program would have permeated all levels of settlement and society, from the major shrines of the district in Gaza (founded by the sultans or by important officials) to those of the different sized villages of the region (founded by officials of various ranks). It also raises the question of the purpose of such widespread building activities. Petersen, himself noting that the majority of sheikhs’ tombs in Palestine as a whole were founded after the Crusader period, suggests that many were associated with soldiers under Salah al-Din and were founded as part of “a way of spiritually reclaiming the land for Islam” (2001:36). Canaan, partly following the suggestions of Ahmad Zaki Pasha, asserted that the early Mamluk rulers (especially Baybars) instituted a policy of building and restoring shrines and establishing festivals to bring out large numbers of pilgrims in order to protect the country (1927:299). In this view, the clustering of festivals in the weeks around Easter was a planned competition with Christian pilgrims at time of Easter, considered the most dangerous time of the year (1927:299; cf. Yazbak 2011:172, 174). Sharon, meanwhile, argued against such “quasi-historical observations” (2009:120). However, his attempt to dismiss this origin for festivals and argue instead for a more ancient origin in pagan or Christian festivals—by pointing to the fact that one Gazan festival falls on Easter Sunday—is not convincing; this observation no more supports his argument than it does Canaan’s. Nevertheless, while some shrines may have been built by Baybars and other Mamluk

sultans to re-establish the Muslim nature of the land and establish their role as its spiritual guardians or patrons (see Meri 2002:259–60, suggesting that Baybars carried out this campaign throughout the sultanate), it is difficult to see how the presence of hundreds or even thousands of pilgrims to a shrine at a set time of the year would have served as an effective defense, or why Easter week would have been a particularly liable time for attacks (as implied by Canaan 1927:299).

At the same time, we might suggest a defensive purpose for at least some shrines. Yazbak (2011:174) noted that several had strategic positions along the Cairo-Damascus highway, i.e., the main north-south road.<sup>24</sup> He emphasizes in this respect the number of shrines built or renovated by order of the early Mamluk sultans, especially by the Baybars: Salman al-Farisi (Isdud), Abu Hureirah (Yibna), and Haram Sidna ʿAli (Arsuf). However, contrary to Yazbak’s implication, Sidna ʿAli is not located on the Cairo-Damascus highway but along the coast. This brings up what we would identify as a special class of shrines, the coastal *welis*. As noted above, almost every *weli* in our study area appears to be within or connected with a specific village. The one definite exception to this is Sheikh Awad, which is also the one *weli* in the region located immediately along the coast: There were apparently no Medieval or Ottoman villages on or near the coast north of Tel Ashkelon (the sites recorded here appear to be mostly or all patches). Instead, Sheikh Awad appears to belong to a special case of coastal *welis*. From Gaza north, these include Sheikh Hassan (and nearby Sheikh Ridwan), Sheikh Awad, Nabi Yunis, Nabi Rubin, Sheikh Abd en Nabi (now in Tel Aviv), and Haram Sidna ʿAli (ʿAli ibn ʿAleim, now in Herzliya). Haram Sidna ʿAli deserves special attention (on

<sup>24</sup> Yazbak cites Meri (2002:259–60) for this idea, but Meri does not make a claim of a defensive purpose.

the shrine, see Mayer and Pinkerfeld 1950:36–39; Petersen 2001:146–48). As Rosen-Ayalon (2006: 123–24) notes, the fifteenth-century historian Mujīr al-Dīn considered it one of the most famous pilgrimage sites on the coast of Palestine; thus Petersen (2001:146) names it, Nabi Rubin, and Nabi Musa as the three most important religious sites in Palestine, outside of Jerusalem and Hebron (cf. Canaan 1927:213–15). Although ʿAlī himself died in 1081, the earliest traditions reported by Mujīr al-Dīn are Mamluk (relating specifically to the Baybars), and the complex itself dates to the 1480s, by which time the *mawsim* was established (see Mujīr al-Dīn 1876:212–13). These facts suggest that the construction activity and the festival could conceivably have been set by the sultans. Meanwhile, Rosen-Ayalon calls the complex “a true *ribat*, a seaside fortress, a rallying point, a pilgrimage site, and the starting point for the jihad” (2006:124).

The coastal *welis* listed above also share a location at or near the location of former Umayyad/Abbasid *ribāʿs* (see Table 2.8).

This pattern is especially noteworthy in the area between Ashdod and Jaffa, as this coastline was largely abandoned in the Medieval and Ottoman periods; Nabi Yunis and Nabi Rubin are the only two shrines in this stretch, and they are relatively close to Ashdod-Yam and Yavneh-Yam—the two *ribāʿs* between Ashkelon and Jaffa).<sup>25</sup> Thus

<sup>25</sup>In the List of Mandatory Records Files, Nabi Yunis is called a “late maqām” (1976:123); there is little information from

it is conceivable, although far from proven, that the coastal shrines may have played some role in replacing the defunct *ribāʿ* system of the Early Islamic period. While it is difficult to imagine that an annual festival at a coastal shrine would provide a true defensive role, staff at such shrines could conceivably have served as watchmen. There is also the possibility that there was simply a general rise in interest in saints’ tombs in this period, a more bottom-up approach to this phenomenon; of course, these explanations are not mutually exclusive.<sup>26</sup>

---

any source on its date. On the other hand, Nabi Rubin, which was a much more substantial shrine, is attested already in the Medieval period: The tomb was being pointed out by the late twelfth century, as it was described by the traveler Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Harawī; however, an inscription over the entrance dates the construction of the shrine to the year 1431, and in the late fifteenth century Mujīr al-Dīn reported that there was an annual *mawsim* (see Yazbak 2011, esp. 175–76; Mujīr al-Dīn 1876:211). Note that Yazbak elsewhere claims (2011:174) that the building over the tomb was first erected in the late thirteenth century, but this seems to be an error. Petersen also suggests (2001:232) that the remainder of the Nabi Rubin complex was built in the Ottoman period, paralleling the pattern we have seen elsewhere. Meanwhile, Petersen concludes, mostly for structural reasons, that the *maqam* of Abd en Nabi was likely built in the fifteenth or sixteenth century (2001:299).

<sup>26</sup>Thus, on a broader geographic scale, Meri (2002:257–62) sites the significant growth in pilgrimage shrines in the Medieval Middle East within the context of both the role of the Baybars as patron of holy places and the rise of Sufism.

Table 2.9: Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
1	Holot Ashdod	162900/629360	5000		Epi, Neo, Rom(p), Byz(p)
2	Holot Ashdod	163200/629990	200		Epi, Rom, Byz
3	Holot Ashdod	163880/629750	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
4	Holot Ashdod	163550/629220	4000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
5	Holot Ashdod	163320/629120	500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
6	Holot Ashdod	164200/629900	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
7	Holot Ashdod	164130/629580	1400		Hell, Rom, Byz, Ott
8	Holot Ashdod	164400/629480	20,000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
9	Holot Ashdod	164750/629360	1000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
10	Holot Ashdod	164950/629350	200		Iron2, Pers, Rom, Byz
11	Holot Ashdod	164850/629100	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
12	Holot Ashdod	164300/629010	2000		Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
13	Holot Ashdod	165700/629550	2000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Ott(p)
14	Holot Ashdod	165900/629700	30,000		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Med(p)
15	Holot Ashdod	165400/629780	1500		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
16	Holot Ashdod	165300/629900	1000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
17	Holot Ashdod	165070/629150	200		Hell, Rom, Byz
18	Holot Ashdod	165290/629440	100		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
19	Holot Ashdod	165410/629460	500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
20	Holot Ashdod	166240/629400	1000		Iron2, Pers, Rom, Byz, Med
21	Holot Ashdod	166100/629510	500		EB(p), LB(p), Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p)
22	Holot Ashdod	166110/629590	30,000		Pers, Rom, Med
23	Khan Isdud	167300/629200	200		Med, Ott
24	Tel Ashdod	167750/629600	360,000	x	Chalco, EB, MB, LB, Iron1, Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
	Mayer 1934; Dothan and Freedman 1967; Dothan 1971; 1973; 1993; Dothan and Porath 1982; 1993; Tsafrir, Di Segni, and Green 1994:62 (Azotos Hippenos); Na <sup>2</sup> aman 1998; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2001; 2004; Ben Shlomo 2003; Dothan and Ben Shlomo 2005.				
25	Tel Ashdod "Assyrian Palace"	167600/629900	1000	x	Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
	Varga 2005; Kogan-Zehavi 2006.				
26	Tel Ashdod Well and pool Baumgarten 1999.	167350/629800	150	x	Rom, Byz, EI
27	Tel Ashdod Pottery workshop Baumgarten 2000.	167630/629950	150	x	Rom, Byz
28	Holot Ashdod	162700/628200	100,000		Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
29	Holot Ashdod	163720/628480	4800		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
30	Holot Ashdod	163650/628980	2000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
31	Holot Ashdod	163640/628100	600		Rom(p), EI(p)
32	Holot Ashdod	163980/628260	900		Hell, Rom, Byz
33	Holot Ashdod	164980/628300	1500		Iron2(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
34	Holot Ashdod	164900/628500	2000		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
35	Holot Ashdod	164700/628380	1000		Pers(p), Rom(p), EI(p)
36	Holot Ashdod	164680/628700	2000		Rom(p)
37	Holot Ashdod	164010/628620	400		Rom(p), Byz(p)
38	Holot Ashdod	164210/628700	8000		
	Non-indicative pottery.				

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
39	Holot Ashdod	165320/628650	500		EI
40	Holot Ashdod	165300/628770	1000		EI(p)
41	Holot Ashdod	165800/628780	1500		Iron2(p), Rom(p)
42	Holot Ashdod	165130/628360	2000		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
43	Holot Ashdod	165720/628250	2500		Pers, Rom, Byz, EI
44	Holot Ashdod	166070/628780	3000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Rom(p)
45	Tell Kursun	166840/628010	1500		LB, Iron2, Pers, Rom, Byz
46	Holot Ashdod	166340/628200	100		Rom(cem)
47	Holot Ashdod	166000/628000	5000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
48	Holot Ashdod Cemetery	168150/628700	1000		LB(cem), Iron1(cem), Iron2(cem), Hell(cem), Rom(cem), Byz(cem), Ott
49	Holot Ashdod	161700/627200	1200		Epi, LB, Iron1, Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
50	Holot Ashdod	161790/627420	100		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
51	Nahal Evtah	162050/627600	5000		LB, Iron1
52	Nahal Evtah	162280/627850	400		Rom, Byz, Med
53	Nahal Evtah Yeivin and Olami 1979; 1980.	162700/627220	30,000	x	PtryNeo
54	Nahal Evtah	162900/627950	100		MB, Rom
55	Holot Ashdod	163680/627900	1000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
56	Nahal Evtah	163280/627150	1000		Rom, Byz, Med
57	Holot Ashdod	163990/627050	200		Byz(cem)
58	Holot Ashdod The Nizzanim Area, HA 69–71 (1979):84 Yekutieli and Gophna 1994.	163650/627700	40,000	x	Chalco, EB, Rom, Byz
59	Holot Ashdod	163850/627000	400		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
60	Holot Ashdod	164180/627680	1500		Rom(p), EI(p)
61	Holot Ashdod	164480/627850	2400		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
62	Esh Sheikh Jaham A Coin Hoard from Nizzanim, HA 50 (1974):28.	165200/627680	200	x	Med
63	Kh. Yasin	166800/627350	200		Byz
64	Kh. Ghaiyada	168840/627350	2000		Rom, Byz
65	Holot Ashdod	161400/626700	1500		Ott
66	Holot Ashdod	161200/626200	100		Rom, Byz
67	Holot Ashdod	161920/626160	1500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
68	Nahal Evtah	162920/626100	1500		Rom, Byz
69	Nahal Evtah	162900/626400	1000		MB, Pers, Rom, Byz
70	Nahal Evtah	163200/626950	60,000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, Med
71	Nahal Evtah	163360/626750	5000		Pers(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
72	Nahal Evtah	163500/626400	8000		Pers, Rom, Byz
73	Nahal Evtah	163540/626240	2000		Rom, Byz
74	Nahal Evtah	164380/626600	1500		Byz(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
75	Holot Ashdod	164200/626900	1000		Med(p), Ott(p)
76	Holot Ashdod	164100/626450	3000		Iron2, Pers, Rom, EI, Med
77	Tell Abu Haraze Non-indicative pottery	166950/626010	500		
78	Sandahanna	167950/626200	12,000		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
79	El Abtah (NW)	160950/625900	2500		LB, Iron1
80	Holot Ashdod	160960/625580	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Ott(p)
81	El Abtah	160690/625040	60,000		Epi, Byz
82	Holot Ashdod	161150/625700	400		Epi

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
83	Holot Ashdod	161700/625300	100		Rom(cem)
84	Holot Ashdod	161400/625680	1000		EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
85	Holot Ashdod	162540/625800	5000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
86	Holot Ashdod	162300/625800	2000		Pers(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
87	Holot Ashdod	162550/625550	2000		Rom, Byz, EI
88	Miska Suleiman Agha Warren 1871:89.	162600/625200	5000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
89	Holot Ashdod	162300/625050	3200		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
90	Holot Ashdod	162770/625050	1000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
91	Nahal Evtah	163300/625280	1000		Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p)
92	Nahal Evtah	163340/625550	500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
93	Nahal Evtah	163040/625400	2000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
94	Kh. Umm er Riyah	165980/625920	500		Rom, Byz, Med
95	Nizzanim (E)	166240/625180	400		Rom, Byz
96	Beit Daras	169850/625850	60,000		Rom, Byz, Ott
97	Ashkelon (N)	160280/624210	100		Rom, Byz
98	Ashkelon (N)	160390/624230	1000		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
99	Ashkelon (N)	160510/624520	3000		Iron2(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
100	Ashkelon (N)	160500/624020	1500		Rom, Byz, Med
101	Ashkelon (N)	160070/624110	200		Byz, Ott
102	Ashkelon (N)	161180/624350	200		Iron2, Pers
103	Nahal Evtah	161800/624380	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
104	Ashkelon (N)	161000/624500	100		Byz
105	Ashkelon (N)	161500/624050	200		Byz(cem)
106	Nahal Evtah	162300/624100	100,000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
107	Nahal Evtah	162100/624600	1000		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
108	Tell el Farahand	162700/624300	2000		Byz, EI, Med
109	Holot Ashdod	162100/624950	3200		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
110	Nahal Evtah	162770/624840	5000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
111	Nahal Evtah	162700/624500	25,000		Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
112	Nahal Evtah Berman and Barda 2005:57*, site 109; Huster and Sion 2006 (mentioning two tombs).	162980/624830	1000		Byz(cem), Med(cem)
113	Tel Poran Tel Poran, HA 43 (1972):21; Gophna 1977; 1992.	163600/624150	100,000	x	EB, MB, LB, Iron1, Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
114	Nahal Evtah	163020/624650	3500		Pers(p), Rom(p), Med(p)
115	Nahal Evtah	163280/624600	500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
116	Nahal Evtah	163180/624950	2000		Pers, Hell, Rom, EI, Med, Ott
117	Kh. Basha	164920/624600	1000		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
118	Kh. Basha (SW) Peretz 2011.	164850/625000	3600	x	Iron2, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
119	Nizzanim (SW)	164650/624300	500		MB, Rom
120	Kh. Miçsaba	166550/624320	4000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
121	Esh Sheik el Isbawi Surveyed by Huster.	166180/624340	3000		Ott(cem)
122	Nahal Evtah	167800/624450	500		EB, Rom, Byz, EI
123	Nahal Hodiyya, Kh. Bezzeh Map 88 site 119; Berman and Barda 2005:60*; Blakely and Huster in press.	168450/624100	5000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
124	En Nabi Salih	168500/624400	100		Rom, Med, Ott

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
125	Nahal Hodiyya Non-indicative pottery	168250/624950	100		
126	Kh. Auda (S)	169200/624650	1000		Rom, Byz, Ott
127	Kh. Auda, Kh. Ode. Bir en Nebah	169200/624980	1000		Rom, Byz
128	Ashkelon (N)	160100/623700	100		Rom, Byz
129	Ashkelon (N) Berman and Barda 2005:61*	160300/623850	100		Ott
130	Ashkelon (N)	160500/623500	1000		Rom, Byz, EI
131	Ashkelon (N) Probably from the Ottoman period, due to the use of mud and straw as bonding materials.	161200/623900	100		
132	Nahal Evtah	161650/623800	210,000		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
133	Nahal Evtah Map 88 site 129; Varga 2010.	162700/623100	1000	x	Rom, Byz, EI
134	Kh. Khaur el Bak	163940/623120	1500		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
135	Kh. Khaur el Bak Talis 2011.	163200/622900	1000		Byz, EI
136	Nahal Evtah	163450/623550	1000		Byz
137	Kh. el Msalle, Kh el Mussalla Resurveyed by Huster; Huster and Sion 2006 (nos. 28, 29).	164950/623200	1500		EB, Rom, Byz, EI, Ott
138	Nahal Evtah	164400/623200	3000		Rom, Byz, EI, Ott
139	Nahal Evtah	164700/623500	2000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
140	Nahal Evtah	165200/623400	100		Byz
141	En Nawamis Berman and Barda 2005:63*, site 136.	165780/623580	2500		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
142	Kh. Balas	165630/623960	2000		EB, Hell, Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
143	Nahal Evtah	165250/623550	500		Rom, Byz
144	Nahal Evtah	165560/623250	1000		Byz
145	Kh. Khasse Berman and Barda 2005:64*, site 140. Erroneously identified as Kh. Bazza due to a mistake in Israeli maps. Blakely and Huster in press.	166920/623420	2000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
146	Nahal Evtah Gophna and Meron 1970.	167300/623200	100	x	Iron1(cem)
147	Nahal Evtah Berman and Barda 2005:65*, site 142. Erroneously identified as Kh. Khassa.	167500/623900	1000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
148	Nahal Evtah	167300/623920	100		Byz
149	Kh. Mansura	169720/623900	1500		Rom, Byz
150	Nahal Evtah	169800/623380	100		Byz
151	Ashkelon, Barnea	160100/622850	1000		Byz, EI
152	Ashkelon (NE)	160360/622040	100		Iron2, Rom, Byz
153	Hamame (NW)	161350/622700	5000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
154	Hamame	161400/622400	90,000		Rom, Ott
155	Nahal Evtah Map 88 site 155; Varga 2010.	162900/622950	2000		Rom, Byz, EI
156	Nahal Evtah	163900/622700	2000		MB, Rom, Byz
157	Nahal Evtah	164550/622400	100		Byz
158	Nahal Hodiyya	165850/622250	2000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
159	Kh. el Biyar (N)	168600/622050	2500		Rom, Byz

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
160	Ashkelon, Barnea Top Sion 2008; Haimi 2008.	160100/621800	10,000	x	Pers, Hell, Byz
161	Ashkelon (NE)	160200/621380	2000		Rom, Med, Ott
162	Ashkelon (NE)	160350/621600	3000		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
163	Ashkelon (NE)	160400/621800	6000		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
164	Ashkelon (E) Israel 1995a; 1995b; Zelin 2002.	160800/621600	40,000	x	MB(cem), MB(cem), Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
165	Ashkelon (E) Israel 1995a; Huster and Sion 2006 (nos. 36, 37, 38).	160690/621460	100	x	Rom(cem), Byz(cem)
166	Ashkelon (E) Fabian, Nahshoni, and Ein Gedy 1995.	160900/621200	200	x	Hell, Rom, Byz
167	Ashkelon (E)	162730/621980	1000		Rom, Byz, Ott
168	Ashkelon (E)	162690/621110	7000		Byz
169	Nahal Evtah	163600/621250	90		MB, Rom, Byz
170	Kh. Makkus Gibson, Vitto, and Di Segni 1998.	164800/621600	7800		Byz, Med, Ott
171	Nahal Evtah	165380/621650	11,000		Rom, Byz
172	Julis	167300/621200	50,000		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
173	Nahal Hodiyya	167120/621580	100		Med, Ott
174	Nahal Hodiyya	168700/621880	100		Byz
175	Kh. el Biyar	168700/621700	2000		Rom, Byz, Ott
176	Ashkelon Gershuni 1996; 1997; Nahshoni 1999.	161150/620160	200	x	Chalco, MB(cem), MB(cem), Hell, Rom, Byz
177	Miskat el Jummeize Berman and Barda 2005:75, site 170, suggested an Ottoman burial monument. We suggest that the structure represents the Miska itself (and see above, site 88, Miskat Suleiman Agha).	162980/620420	100		Ott
178	Jummeizet el Qa <sup>c</sup> a	163120/620500	500		Byz, Med, Ott
179	Kh. Umm esh Shuqaf, Kh. Edh Dhira,	164160/620800	2000		Rom, Byz, Ott
180	Kh. el Mahjar Berman and Barda 2005:71*-72*, site 173.	164950/620850	2000		Rom, Byz, EI
181	Kh. el Bira Resurveyed by Huster. Among finds: potter's wheel and waste of potter's workshop.	164330/620400	1000		Byz
182	Esh Sheikh Kheir	166950/620600	100		Ott
183	Esh Sheikh Kheir (S)	166930/620500	1000		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
184	Esh Sheikh Kheir (W) Huster and Press forthcoming.	166720/620600	200		Byz
185	El Farsh	168500/620680	500		Rom, Byz
186	Bir Shuqeir Map 87 site 1.	159800/623800	18,000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
187	Ashkelon, Barnea B Map 87 site 2.	159630/623340	500		Rom, Byz, EI
188	Ashkelon, Barnea B Surveyed by Huster 2003. Concentration of marble architectonic elements under a thin layer of sand. Disturbed by mechanical equipment.	159650/623050	2000		Byz
189	Ashkelon, Barnea B Golani 2005; 2007.	159700/622900	55,000	x	EB, Byz

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
190	Ashkelon Barnea B Milevski and Krokhmalnik 2010.	159750/622800	1000	x	Byz
191	Ashkelon Barnea B Milevski and Krokhmalnik 2010.	159370/622850	500	x	Byz
192	Ashkelon, Barnea Map 87 site 4; Berman and Barda 2005:22*.	159900/622900	450		Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz(cem), Med
193	Ashkelon, Barnea Map 87 site 5. Resurveyed by Huster, further collapsed structures.	159000/622560	2000		Rom, Byz
194	Ashkelon, Barnea Surveyed by Huster; Huster and Sion 2006 (nos. 30, 31).	158900/622350	100		Byz(cem)
195	Ashkelon, Barnea Map 87 site 6.	159200/622250	3000		Rom, Byz, EI
196	Ashkelon, Barnea Meron 1983; Huster and Sion 2006 (no. 34).	159700/622350	100	x	Byz(cem)
197	Ashkelon, Barnea Huster and Sion 2006 (nos. 30, 31); Varga 2007.	159000/622050	100	x	Byz(cem)
198	Ashkelon, Barnea Map 87 site 3; Vitto (not published). Nearby Feder (not published).	158850/622010	60,000	x	Rom, Byz, EI, Med
199	Esh Sheikh Awad Map 87 site 8.	158650/621880	150		EB, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
200	Ashkelon, Barnea (Byzantine Church) Tzaferis 1971; Toueg 2012; Map 87 site 9.	158950/621840	150	x	Byz
201	Kh es Sawarif Map 87 site 15; Haiman 2011.	159100/621800	200	x	Rom, Byz, EI
202	Ashkelon, Barnea Map 87 site 7.	159950/622250	60,000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
203	Ashkelon Map 87 site 10.	158500/621650	300		Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
204	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 11.	158980/621440	2000		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
205	Ashkelon, Barnea Zelin 2001.	159700/622350	100	x	Byz
206	Ashkelon, Semadar Hotel Map 87 site 16; Berman and Barda 2005:26*.	157700/620400	200	x	Hell, Rom, Byz(cem), EI
207	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 12; Perrot 1955; Perrot and Gopher 1996; Garfinkel 1999; Varga 2002a; Huster and Sion 2006.	158250/621250	2000	x	Neo, PtryNeo, EB, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
208	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 14; Avi-Yonah 1976.	158860/621270		x	Rom
209	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 13; Brandl and Gophna 1993.	158500/621200	20,000	x	Neo, Chalco, EB, Byz
210	Hajar Id Ory 1939; Michaeli 2001a; Golani 2004; Huster and Sion 2006. The exact location of the "Peacock" tomb (Michaeli 2001b) is unknown.	158130/620800	2000	x	Rom(cem), Byz(cem)
211	Hajar Id Map 87 site 17; Israeli 1997; Wallach 2003; Golani 2004.	158120/620870	12,000	x	EB, Rom, Byz, EI
212	Hajar Id Map 87 site 18; Golani 1996; 1997; 2004; Golani and Milevski 1999.	158160/620710	10,000	x	EB, Pers, Rom, Byz, EI



Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
213	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 19; Khalaily and Wallach 1998; Khalaily 2004.	158350/620500	200	x	Chalco, EB
214	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 20; Baumgarten 1996; 2004.	158400/620600	200	x	Chalco, EB
215	Ashkelon, Hof Ha-Dayyagim Huster and Sion 2006 (no. 44); Varga 1999.	157500/620300	100	x	Rom(cem)
216	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 21; Varga 2002b.	158160/620250	100	x	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
217	Ashkelon, Afridar Map 87 site 22; Barel 1999.	159800/620700	100	x	Rom
218	Tel Ashkelon See <i>NEAEHL</i> and <i>Ashkelon I</i> .	156900/619000	500,000	x	Chalco, EB, MB, LB, Iron1, Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
219	El Jura, Arab village Map 91 site 2; Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004:23*, site 2.	157800/619500	10,000		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Ott
220	El Jura Masarwah 2000; Huster 2007.	157600/619000	50	x	Rom, Byz
221	El Jura Kogan-Zehavi 2006b.	158300/619300	100	x	EB, Byz, Ott
222	El Jura Map 91 site 3; Nahshoni 1999.	158120/619870	100	x	Byz
223	El Jura Map 91 site 4; Nahshoni 1998.	158200/619750	120	x	Byz
224	El Jura Map 91 site 5; Wallach 2000.	158220/619440	150	x	Rom, Byz
225	El Jura Map 91 site 5, NE section; Ein Gedy 2002.	158300/619500	100	x	Byz
226	El Jura Recent excavation; Seriy 2012.	158050/619250	5000	x	Rom, Byz, EI, Med
227	El Jura Map 91 site 5, north section, and in the area of Map 91 site 6 (El Jura east); Varga 1999c.	158200/619650	1000	x	Byz, EI
228	Bir Ali el Madhun Map 91 site 7; Kogan-Zehavi 1997; 1999b.	159750/619650	100	x	Hell, Rom, Byz
229	Ashkelon (College) Map 91 site 8; Paran 2007.	159500/619800	200	x	Byz
230	Ashkelon (College) Varga 1999a.	159350/619830	100	x	Byz
231	Ashkelon Map 91 site 9.	159050/619900	20		Pers, Hell
232	Holot Ashkelon Map 91 site 10.	156200/618100	600		Rom, EI
233	Holot Ashkelon Map 91 site 11.	156300/618300	300		Rom(cem), Byz(cem)
234	Tel Ashkelon (S) Map 91 site 12.	156500/618450	200		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
235	Holot Ashkelon Map 91 site 13.	156550/618200	100		Rom, EI

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
236	Tel Ashkelon (S) Map 91 site 14.	156600/618700	1000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
237	Holot Ashkelon Map 91 site 15.	156750/618400	1000		Rom(p), EI(p)
238	Holot Ashkelon (91/16)	156800/618150	2000		Rom, EI, Med
239	Holot Ashkelon (91/17)	156950/618450	600		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
240	Tel Ashkelon (S) (91/18)	157050/618250	7500		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
241	Sheikh Muhammad el Musli (91/19) Resurveyed by Huster.	157500/618950	1000		Med, Ott
242	Ashkelon (91/20) Varga 2001.	157630/618700	100	x	Byz
243	Ashkelon (91/21) Varga 2003.	157730/618850	100	x	Byz
244	Ashkelon (91/22)	157950/618200	100		Hell, Rom, Byz
245	Mashhad Sidna el Husein (91/23) Map 91 site 23; Kogan-Zehavi 2007. Vaulted tombs (Baumgarten pers. comm.).	158250/618850	2000	x	Iron2, Rom(cem), Byz(cem), EI, Ott
246	Ashkelon (91/24) Kol-Ya <sup>2</sup> aqov and Shor 1999; Kol-Ya <sup>2</sup> akov and Farhi 2012.	158100/618750	400	x	Hell, Rom(cem), Byz(cem), EI
247	Ashkelon (91/25)	159150/618350	100		Rom(cem)
248	Ashkelon Declaration by P. Nahshoni, registered as site 17529/0 in IAA system.	159700/618750	5000		Rom, Byz
249	Holot Ashkelon (91/26)	155700/617300	100		Byz
250	Dureibat Abu Qutuf (91/27)	156480/617600	3000		Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p)
251	Holot Ashkelon (91/28)	156850/617700	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
252	Holot Ashkelon (91/29)	156900/617500	2000		Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p)
253	Holot Ashkelon (91/30)	157100/617750	120		Rom, Med
254	Holot Ashkelon (91/31)	157700/617500	1000		MB
255	Kh el Khisas (NE) (91/32) Nahshoni 2001.	158750/617850	1000	x	Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
256	Kh. el Khisas Resurveyed by Huster.	158500/617550	15,000		Rom, Byz, EI, Ott
257	Er Rasm (near triangulation point 29); surveyed by Huster.	159050/617200	2000		Rom, Byz
258	Er Rasm (91/33)	158950/617150	100		Rom
259	Ashkelon Giva <sup>c</sup> t Ziyyon Gershuny 1999.	159700/617820	200	x	MB(cem), MB(cem), Rom, Byz, Med, Ott

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
260	Ni'ilya	159550/617350	5000		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
261	Holot Ashkelon	159300/617400	150		Chalco, EB, MB(p), MB(p), Iron1(p), Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
262	El Qabu	155400/616700	2000	x	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
	Haimi 2007; Sion 2009.				
263	Holot Ashkelon	156700/616150	2000		Neo, Chalco
264	Holot Ashkelon	156950/616050	1500		Iron2, Hell, Rom
265	Holot Ashkelon	157200/616200	450		Rom(p), Byz(p), Ott(p)
266	Holot Ashkelon	157750/616100	1000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
267	Holot Ashkelon	158100/616800	1500		Iron2, Hell, Rom, Byz, Med
268	Holot Ashkelon	158250/616200	100		Rom(cem)
	Berman, Stark, and Barda 2004:32*, site 43.				
269	Holot Ashkelon	158300/616450	2000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
270	Holot Ashkelon	158400/616250	1500		Pers, Rom, Byz
271	Holot Ashkelon	158500/616090	1000		Pers(p), Rom(p)
272	Holot Ashkelon	158950/616350	300		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
273	Holot Ashkelon	159400/616600	2000		Pers(p), Rom(p), Med(p)
274	Ni'ilya (S)	159400/616900	200		Ott
275	Holot Ashkelon	159700/616150	2000		Rom(p), Med(p)
276	Saknat Muhammad Mahmud (SW)	154100/615150	3000		Chalco, EB, Iron2, Hell, Rom
277	Saknat Muhammad Mahmud	154200/615300	2000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p)
278	Holot Ashkelon	154350/615350	100		Iron2, Rom
279	Holot Ashkelon	154400/615150	50,000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Ott(p)
280	Holot Ashkelon	154850/615600	1500		Rom(p), EI(p)
281	Holot Ashkelon	154940/615850	500	x	Neo, Chalco, Rom(p), EI(p)
	Noy and Berman 1974.				
282	Holot Ashkelon	155200/615850	1000		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Med(p)
283	Holot Ashkelon	155950/615920	100		Byz, EI
284	Holot Ashkelon	155200/615100	1000		Chalco, Rom(p), EI(p)
285	Holot Ashkelon	155450/615400	1000		Rom(p), Med(p)
286	Holot Ashkelon	156200/615300	500		Rom(p), EI(p)
287	Holot Ashkelon	156450/615600	2000		Iron2(p), Rom(p)
288	Holot Ashkelon	156500/615450	1000		Iron2(p), Byz(p)
289	Holot Ashkelon	156650/615450	1500		Rom
290	Holot Ashkelon	156990/615070	200		Byz
291	Holot Ashkelon	157300/615750	1500		Hell, Rom
292	Holot Ziqim	157400/615100	500		Rom(p)
293	Holot Ziqim	157450/615300	2000		Rom, Byz, EI
294	Holot Ziqim	157500/615600	1500		Iron2, Hell, Rom
295	Holot Ashkelon	157800/615500	200		Chalco, Iron2(p), Rom(p)
296	Holot Ashkelon	157950/615400	100		Iron2, Hell, Rom, Byz
297	Holot Ashkelon	158200/615350	2000		Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Ott
298	Holot Ashkelon	158300/615950	100		Pers, Rom, Med
299	Holot Ashkelon	158400/615000	5000		Pers, Rom, EI, Med, Ott
300	Holot Ashkelon	158450/615300	500		Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p)
301	Holot Ashkelon	158700/615100	2000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
302	Holot Ashkelon	158950/615700	5000		Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
303	Holot Ashkelon	159550/615650	5000		Rom(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
304	Holot Ashkelon	159600/615300	1000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p)
305	Holot Ashkelon	159750/615600	1000		Chalco, Byz(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
306	Ard el Mihjar	153600/614150	70,000		Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Ott(p)
307	Ard el Mihjar	153900/614000	40,000		EI(p), Med(p)
308	Holot Ashkelon	153950/614550	1000		Neo, EI(p), Med(p)
309	Holot Ashkelon	154500/614600	1000		Neo, EI(p), Med(p)
310	Holot Ashkelon	154600/614950	3000		Rom, EI
311	Holot Ashkelon	154800/614900	3000		Chalco, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
312	Kh. esh Sheraf	155400/614600	1500		Med, Ott
313	Holot Ziqim	156350/614200	2000		Byz, Ott
314	Holot Ziqim	156300/614550	100		Byz
315	Holot Ziqim	156930/614720	200		Rom(cem), Byz(cem)
316	Holot Ziqim	157200/614300	1000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
317	Holot Ziqim	157400/614250	1000		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
318	Holot Ziqim	157450/614600	1000		Rom(p), Med(p)
319	Holot ziqim	157500/614100	1500		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
320	Holot Ziqim	157800/614500	10,000		Hell, Rom(cem), Byz(cem), EI
321	Holot Ziqim	157370/614910	200		Rom(cem), Byz(cem)
322	Holot Ziqim	157900/614950	2500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
323	Holot Ziqim	157950/614700	2800		Rom(p), Byz(p)
324	Holot Ziqim	157990/614250	2500		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
325	Kh. el Yasmina	158620/614120	2000		Byz
326	Kh. el Yasmina Haimi.	158530/613980	200	x	Byz
327	Holot Ziqim	158400/614700	1500		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
328	Mavqi'im (SW)	159200/614150	2800		Rom, Byz
329	Mavqi'im (SW)	159500/614100	200		Byz(p)
330	Nahal Shiqma	152750/613100	1000		EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
331	Ard el Mihjar Fabian and Goren 2001.	153050/613600	200	x	Byz
332	Ard el Mihjar	153350/613450	1000		EI(p), Med(p)
333	Ard el Mihjar	153300/613750	100		Rom, Byz
334	Ard el Mihjar	153600/613800	2000		EI(p), Med(p)
335	Holot Ziqim	154300/613650	2500		Chalco, Iron2, Hell, Rom, EI, Med
336	Holot Ziqim	154650/613900	3000		Chalco, Pers(p), Rom(p), EI(p)
337	Holot Ziqim	154850/613750	3000		Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
338	Holot Ziqim	155100/613750	1000		Rom(p), Byz(p)
339	Holot Ziqim	156950/613650	500		Byz(p)
340	Holot Ziqim	157850/613900	4000		Iron2, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
341	Holot Ziqim	157750/613650	200		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), Ott
342	Holot Ziqim	157700/613200	200		Byz, Ott
343	Holot Ziqim	157400/613200	100		Rom(p), Byz(p)
344	Tell esh Shuqaf	152200/612050	2250		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, EI
345	Tell esh Shuqaf	152300/612050	2000		EI(p), Med(p)
346	Ard el Mihjar Vlada Nikolsky 2010.	153300/612950	200	x	Rom(p), Byz, EI

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
347	Nahal Shiqma Noy 1976; 1977.	153400/612200	200	x	PtryNeo, Chalco
348	Nahal Shiqma	154300/612600	100		EB(p)
349	Esh Sheikh Sa'id Porat and Meron 1977.	156600/612480	1000	x	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
350	Hirbiya	157100/612850	10,000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
351	Kh. er Rasm, Kh. El Hajar	158400/612450	500		Rom, Byz, EI
352	Nahal Oved (NW)	158550/612800	100		Ott
353	Hof Shiqma	151500/611100	500		EI(p), Med(p), Ott
354	Hof Shiqma	151650/611150	10,000		Neo, Chalco, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
355	Hof Shiqma Huster in preparation.	151850/611450	2000	x	Rom, Byz, EI
356	Hof Shiqma	151950/611750	100		Neo, Chalco
357	Tell esh Shuqaf (SE)	152050/611900	200		Rom, Byz
358	Nahal Shiqma (SW)	152100/611150	2000		Pers(p), Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p)
359	Nahal Shiqma (SW)	152200/611600	2000		Chalco, Rom(p), EI(p)
360	Tell esh Shuqaf (SE)	152280/611850	5000		Neo, Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
361	Nahal Shiqma (S)	152600/611200	1000		MB, Iron2, Pers, Hell, EI, Ott
362	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153000/611000	100		MB, Pers, Hell, Rom, Ott
363	Nahal Shiqma (S) Zissu 1996.	153200/611400	600	x	Hell, Rom, Byz
364	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153300/611400	4000		Neo, Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p), Ott(p)
365	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153450/611550	2000		Neo, Chalco, Rom
366	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153320/611540	300		Paleo
367	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153500/611750	500		Neo, Chalco, Iron2, Rom, Ott
368	Nahal Shiqma	153520/611950	500		Neo, Chalco
369	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153600/611200	4000		Neo, Chalco, Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
370	Nahal Shiqma (S)	153650/611420	5000		Neo, Chalco, Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
371	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	153860/611900	500		Neo, Chalco, Rom(p)
372	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	153950/611750	1000		Neo, Chalco
373	Ma'agar Shiqma (S) Non-indicative flint and pottery.	153950/611400	100		Neo, Chalco
374	Ma'agar Shiqma (S) Non-indicative flint and pottery.	153600/611680	600		Neo, Chalco
375	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	154100/611080	10,000		Neo, Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
376	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	154160/611300	1000		Neo, Chalco, Hell(p), Rom(p)
377	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	154550/611400	2500		Neo, Chalco, Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
378	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	154580/611600	12,000		Neo, Chalco, Iron2(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p)
379	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	154970/611080	100		Neo, Chalco, Rom, Byz, EI
380	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	155080/611700	15,000		Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p)
381	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	155200/611450	20,000		Chalco, Iron2(p), Pers(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
382	Ma'agar Shiqma (S)	155440/611600	1000		Pers(p), Rom(p), Med(p)
383	Nahal Shiqma (SW)	155750/611400	10,000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
384	Nahal Shiqma (SW)	155770/611100	8000		Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
385	Nahal Shiqma (SW)	155980/611150	10,000		Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p)
386	Holot Karmiyya	156670/611650	1000		Iron2(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott
387	Holot Karmiyya	156700/611950	1200		Chalco, EB, Rom, Byz, Med, Ott

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
388	Karmiyya (SE)	157300/611880	1000		Rom, Byz, EI
389	Yad Mordekhai (NW)	157780/611300	500		Rom(p), Byz(p)
390	Nahal Oved (NW)	158450/611850	200		Paleo
391	Nahal Oved (NW)	159080/611050	500		Byz
	Map 91 site 162; plus Huster inspection work.				
392	Kh. Beit Lajus	159980/611700	3000		Rom, Byz, Med, Ott
393	Hof Shiqma (S)	151180/610620	1000		EI(p)
394	Ele Sinai (NW)	152200/610500	1000		Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
395	Ele Sinai (NW)	152300/610380	100		Pers(p), Hell(p)
396	Ele Sinai (NW)	152300/610620	500		Neo, Chalco
397	Ele Sinai (SW)	152500/610150	1000		Hell(cem), Rom(cem), EI(cem)
398	Ele Sinai	152700/610200	1000		Neo, Chalco, EI(p), Med(p)
399	Ele Sinai (S)	152720/610000	500		Neo, Chalco, Byz(p), EI(p)
400	Ele Sinai (N)	152750/610680	300		Byz, EI
401	Ele Sinai (NE)	153200/610620	200		Hell, Rom
	Map 91 site 172.				
402	Ele Sinai (E)	153280/610250	500		Chalco, MB(p), MB(p), Rom(p), Med(p)
403	Ele Sinai (NE)	153340/610680	500		Chalco
404	Ele Sinai (E)	153480/610110	60		Med(p)
405	Ma <sup>3</sup> agar Shiqma (S)	153740/610850	500		Neo, Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
	Map 91 site 176.				
406	Ma <sup>3</sup> agar Shiqma (S)	153820/610300	1500		Neo, Chalco, Iron2, Pers, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
407	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (NW)	154250/610080	500		Chalco, Rom(p), Byz(p)
408	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (NW)	154300/610400	500		Chalco, Iron2, Rom, Byz, EI
409	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (NW)	154650/610600	5000		Iron2(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p)
410	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (NW)	154680/610750	100		Chalco
411	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (NW)	154950/610600	500		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Byz(p)
412	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (NW)	154980/610150	3000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
413	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155100/610850	1000		Iron2, Rom
414	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155110/610380	300		Iron2, Pers
415	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155220/610150	1000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), EI(p)
416	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155250/610300	2000		Rom(p), Byz(p), Med(p)
417	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155300/610400	150		Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
418	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155450/610000	30,000		Hell(p), Rom(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
419	Netiv Ha- <sup>c</sup> Asara (N)	155750/610200	1200		Iron2, Pers, Hell
420	Nahal Shiqma (W)	155900/610600	150		Rom, Byz
421	Nahal Shiqma (W)	155950/610150	4000		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Ott
422	Nahal Shiqma (W)	156100/610420	1500		Rom(p), EI(p)
423	Nahal Shiqma (W)	156300/610150	4000		Iron2(p), Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), Ott(p)
424	Nahal Shiqma	156300/610550	2000		Byz, Med, Ott
425	Nahal Shiqma	156450/610300	7000		Pers(p), Hell(p), Rom(p), Byz(p), EI(p), Med(p), Ott(p)
426	Nahal Shiqma	156620/610150	1500		Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
427	Nahal Shiqma	156750/610000	500		Chalco, EB, Rom, Byz
428	Kh. Maḡraba	157300/610400	500		Rom, Byz, EI
429	Kh. Maḡraba Kh. Maḡraba, HA 67–68 (1978):76.	157300/610500	100	x	MB(cem), MB(cem)
430	Kh. Bakkita (Yad Mordekhai) Baumgarten (pers. comm. 2011); A Byzantine Burial Cave in Qibutz Yad Mordekhai, HA 13 (1965):4.	158600/610750	1000	x	Iron1, Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
431	Nahal Oved	159100/610300	5000		Rom, Byz, EI
432	El Mejdél (Mosque and center) Surveyed by Huster.	160800/619800	150,000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
433	El Mejdél (Islamic cemetery) Surveyed by Huster.	160600/619900	40,000		EB, MB, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott(cem)
434	El Mejdél (Eli Kohen St.) Kogan-Zehavi 1999a; Haimi 2009; Nahshoni 2009a.	160450/619860	600	x	Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
435	El Mejdél Ottoman-Mandatory (Map 92 site 19/1); Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 59; also resurveyed by Huster.	161050/619700	30,000		Byz, EI, Med, Ott
436	Tsomet Berekhya 1 Map 92 site 29/1.	162500/619500	100		Rom, Byz
437	Tsomet Berekhya Nahshoni 2009b.	162600/619050	2000	x	Byz
438	Kh. er Rasm Map 92 site 39/1; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 60.	163300/619450	1500		Rom, Byz, EI
439	Berekhya (W) Huster forthcoming.	163250/619280	1000	x	Rom, Byz
440	Kh. el Bire (S) Map 92 site 49/1.	164100/619700	500		Byz, EI
441	Kh. el Bire Map 92 site 49/2.	164500/619800	1000		Byz, EI, Med
442	Batan el Qarad 2 Map 92 site 69/1.	166200/619500	100		Byz
443	Abu Anabe 1 Map 92 site 79/1.	167500/619500	200		Byz
444	Abu Anabe 2 Map 92 site 79/2.	167600/619700	200		Byz
445	Nahal Hodiyya Surveyed by Huster.	167230/619950	1500		Byz, EI
446	Kh. Ijji er Ras (N) Map 92 site 89/1.	168200/619200	500		Pers, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
447	Nahal Hodiyya 1 Map 92 site 89/2.	168900/619500	1000		Byz, Med
448	Nahal Hodiyya 2 Map 92 site 89/5.	168600/619600	500		Byz
449	El Farsh 1 Map 92 site 89/3.	168700/619900	200		Byz
450	El Farsh 2 Map 92 site 89/4.	168900/619700	200		Byz

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
451	El Farsh 3 Map 92 site 89/6.	168600/619700	200		Chalco, Iron1, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
452	Nahal Hodiyya 3 Map 92 site 89/7.	168100/619900	100		Byz
453	El Farsh 4 Map 92 site 99/1.	169000/619300	200		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
454	Givat Zion Map 92 site 08/1; non-indicative pottery.	160800/618300	100		
455	El Mejdel (HaNahal St.) Surveyed by Huster.	161050/618970	400		Byz
456	Tsomet Ashkelon 1 Map 92 site 28/1.	162400/618800	200		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
457	Tsomet Ashkelon 2 Map 92 site 28/2.	162100/618740	100		Med
458	Kh. Abu Fatun Includes site 28/4 ( <i>Ashkelon 1</i> , p. 60); resurveyed by Huster; site 28/3 was eliminated.	162900/618500	2000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
459	Sheikh el Kubakba PEF map-1880, sheet XX; Petersen 2001:66. Surveyed by Huster.	162800/618400	100		Ott
460	Batan el Qarad 1 Map 92 site 68/2.	166500/618900	200		Byz
461	Karsane Map 92 site 68/1.	166200/618100	200		Byz
462	Kh. Ijjis er Ras (W) Surveyed by Huster.	167950/618450	500		Rom, Byz, EI
463	Kh. Ijjis er Ras Map 92 site 88/1; Meron, not published; Huster and Sion 2006.	168400/618700	200	x	Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
464	Kh. Ijjis er Ras (W) Map 92 site 88/2.	168000/618900	100		Paleo, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
465	Kh. Ijjis er Ras (S) Paran 2009; Haiman 2010.	168200/618000	2000	x	Byz, EI
466	Negba Map 92 site 98/1.	169900/618900	100		MB(cem), MB(cem)
467	Givat Zion Orchards Map 92 site 07/1.	160900/617500	100		Byz, Med
468	Bar Tzur Farm Map 92 site 17/1.	161900/617100	60,000		Rom, Byz
469	Kh. Abu Fatun ? Map 92 site 27/1.	162500/617900	100		Rom, Byz, EI
470	Kh. Abu Fatun (E) Map 92 site 27/2.	162900/617800	500		Rom, Byz, EI
471	Kh. Sama (tomb) Surveyed by Huster.	165060/617000	1000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
472	Kh. Sama Nabi Sama Map 92 site 57/1; correction of coordinates.	165080/617200	20,000		Pers, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
473	Kh. Sama , (NE) Surveyed by Huster.	165400/617300	200		Byz
474	Kh. Sama (NE) Surveyed by Huster.	165650/617670	200		Byz



Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
475	Wadi Qimas 1 Map 92 site 67/1.	166000/617200	200		Byz, EI
476	Wadi Qimas 2 Map 92 site 67/2.	166300/617500	500		Paleo, Byz, EI
477	Kh. Ijji er Ras (SW) Map 92 site 77/1.	167800/617900	1000		Byz, EI
478	Nahal Gaia 1 Map 92 site 77/2.	167800/617300	200		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
479	Nahal Gaia 2 Map 92 site 87/1.	168200/617700	200		Byz, EI
480	Sde Yoav (N) Map 92 site 97/3.	169400/617500	100		Byz
481	Mezudat Yoav (N) Map 92 site 97/4.	169800/617600	100		Byz
482	Mezudat Yoav (Ay Sidim) Map 92 site 97/5.	169900/617500	1000		Byz, EI
483	Sha <sup>2</sup> afat el Biyar Sha <sup>2</sup> afat el Biyar Mandatory file (IAA), Ory Yaakov. Excavation Licences W-10/1933, W-7/1944.	169950/617350	10,000	x	Byz
484	Sde Yoav (W) Map 92 site 97/2.	119300/117200	4000		Byz
485	Sde Yoav (E) Map 92 site 97/1; Rina Avner pers. comm.	169900/617000	1500	x	Byz, EI
486	Ni <sup>2</sup> ilya (E) Map 92 site 16/3.	161100/616950	10,000		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
487	el Qasali Map 92 site 16/2.	161500/616300	100		Rom, Byz
488	Sabahiya Map 92 site 16/1.	161400/616000	1500		Paleo, Byz
489	Beit Shiqma North Map 92 site 36/1.	163600/616800	100		Byz
490	Kh. Irza Map 92 site 46/1; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 61; Israel 1995b; Huster and Sion 2006.	164400/616200	10,000	x	Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
491	Kh. Irza Surveyed by Huster.	164150/616050	200		Byz
492	Kh. Sama (SW) Resurveyed by Huster (Byzantine cistern).	164880/616900	100		Byz
493	Kh. Irza (E) Map 92 site 56/1.	165100/616500	200		Hell, Rom, Byz
494	Khor Breish Map 92 site 66/1.	166500/616300	200		Rom, Byz, EI
495	Kh. Qimas West 1 Map 92 site 66/2.	166800/616600	1500		Paleo, Byz, EI
496	Kh. Qimas West 2 Map 92 site 66/3.	166700/616300	500		Byz, EI, Med
497	Kh. Qimas West Not in Allen's list; surveyed by Huster.	167080/616400	200		Byz
498	Kh. Qimas Map 92 site 76/1.	167400/616400	10,000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
499	Kh. Qimas (S) Map 92 site 76/2; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 63. Wrongly named Abu Fatun?	167400/616200	500	Byz, EI, Med	
500	Kh. Qimas East Map 92 site 76/3.	167600/616300	100	Byz	
501	Kh. Qimas West 3 Map 92 site 76/4.	167000/616500	1000	Byz, EI	
502	el Hdeibe 5 Map 92 site 86/5.	168800/616800	50	Byz, EI	
503	el Hdeibe 2 Map 92 site 86/2.	168400/616600	100	Byz	
504	el Hdeibe 4 Map 92 site 86/4.	168800/616300	100	Rom, Byz	
505	el Hdeibe 1 Map 92 site 86/1.	168200/616300	100	Byz	
506	el Hdeibe 3 Map 92 site 86/3.	168500/616100	100	Byz	
507	Sde Yoav Quarry Map 92 site 96/1.	169800/616600	100	Byz	
508	Wad el Gharbi 1 Map 92 site 96/2.	169800/616400	100	Rom, Byz	
509	Wad el Gharbi 2 Map 92 site 96/3.	169300/616400	100	Byz	
510	Wad el Gharbi 3 Map 92 site 96/4.	169400/616800	100	Byz, EI	
511	Wad el Gharbi 4 Map 92 site 96/5.	169100/616500	100	Byz	
512	Wad el Gharbi 5 Map 92 site 96/6.	169200/616800	100	Byz, EI	
513	Barbara (N) Map 92 site 05/1.	160800/615800	100	Rom, Byz, EI	
514	Barbara (N) Surveyed by Huster.	160120/615200	1000	Byz	
515	El Jiya Map 92 site 15/1.	161850/615200	60,000	Med, Ott	
516	El Jiya (N) Map 92 site 15/2.	161800/615700	500	Byz	
517	El Jiya (W) Map 92 site 15/3.	161100/615500	100	Byz, Med	
518	Kh. Irza (S) Map 92 site 35/1.	163800/615900	200	Byz	
519	Kh. Irza (S) Surveyed by Huster.	163430/615740	1000	Byz	
520	Beit Shiqma Villa Map 92 site 35/2.	163500/615500	200	Byz, EI	
521	Kh. Irza (S) Surveyed by Huster.	163730/615200	2000	Byz	
522	Kh. Beit Saman (N) Map 92 site 55/1.	165100/615100	100	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
523	Karm esh-Shami (W) Map 92 site 65/4.	166100/615900	500	Rom, Byz, EI	
524	Karm esh-Shami Map 92 site 65/1.	166600/615800	500	Byz	
525	Karm esh-Shami (E) Map 92 site 65/2.	166800/615600	500	Byz	
526	Karm esh-Shami (S) Map 92 site 65/3.	166400/615500	100	Byz, EI	
527	Beit Tima (N) Surveyed by Huster.	166100/615300	100	Byz	
528	Kaukaba Map 92 site 75/1.	167900/615500	100,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
529	Kaukaba (N) Map 92 site 75/2.	167800/615900	5000	Rom, Byz, EI	
530	Kaukaba (S) Map 92 site 75/3.	167800/615200	1000	Byz	
531	Kaukaba (Islamic cemetery) Surveyed by Huster (Site 28613/0, IAA system).	168500/615730	1500	Byz, Ott(cem)	
532	Wad es-Sahra 1 Map 92 site 95/1.	169900/615900	200	Byz	
533	Kaukaba Quarry Map 92 site 95/4.	169400/615900	100	Byz	
534	Wad es-Sahra 3 Map 92 site 95/3.	169600/615500	2000	Byz	
535	Wad es-Sahra 2 Map 92 site 95/2.	169600/615300	1000	Byz	
536	Barbara Map 92 site 04/1.	160300/614800	160,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
537	Barbara (SE) Surveyed by Huster.	160420/614400	1000	Byz	
538	El Jiya (S) (Gaia Villa) Map 92 site 14/1.	161800/614300	200	Byz, EI	
539	Talmei Yafeh Orchard Map 92 site 44/1.	164000/614300	500	Rom, Byz, EI, Ott	
540	Kh. Beit Saman Map 92 site 44/2.	164800/614700	30,000	Rom, Byz, EI	
541	Beit Tima Map 92 site 54/1.	165700/614800	100,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
542	Beit Tima (S) Map 92 site 54/2.	165500/614500	100	EI	
543	Beit Tima (Islamic cemetery) Surveyed by Huster.	165600/614150	2000	Byz, EI, Med, Ott(cem)	
544	Wadi Tima 2 Map 92 site 74/2.	167000/614600	500	Hell, Rom, Byz	
545	Wadi Tima 1 Map 92 site 74/1.	167400/614200	100	Hell, Rom, Byz	

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
546	Kochav (S) cemetery Map 92 site 94/4; modern cemetery of Kochav settlement. The nearby site Kh. Melita was mistakenly Identified as an Arab village due to cement waste dumping; also a Byzantine cistern.	169500/614900	100		Rom, Byz, EI
547	Kochav (S) 2 Map 92 site 94/3	169500/614500	100		Byz, EI
548	Kochav (S) 3 Map 92 site 94/5.	169800/614300	100		Rom, Byz, EI
549	Kochav cistern Map 92 site 94/1.	169200/614300	100		Byz
550	Kochav (S) 1 Map 92 site 94/2.	169400/614000	100		Byz, EI
551	Kochav (S) cisterns Surveyed by Varga (pers. comm.).	169700/614150	200		Byz
552	Barbara (E) Map 92 site 13/3.	161100/613900	100		Byz, EI
553	Nahal Obed 2 Map 92 site 13/2.	161600/613500	200		Byz
554	Nahal Obed 1 Map 92 site 13/1.	161700/613100	500		Byz
555	Gevaram Kiln Map 92 site 23/1; also resurveyed by Huster.	162100/613300	10,000		Byz
556	Nahal Obed 4 Map 92 site 23/2.	162800/613100	500		Byz
557	Kh. Amuda East Map 92 site 33/1.	163600/613000	1000		Rom, Byz, EI
558	Kh. Beit Saman (SW) Surveyed by Huster.	164500/613700	2000		Byz
559	Talmei Yafeh Coop Map 92 site 43/1.	164500/613500	500		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
560	Wadi Umm et Tire 2 Map 92 site 53/1.	165200/613000	200		Paleo, Byz
561	Kh. Daldum Surveyed by Huster.	166500/613300	2000		Byz, EI
562	Kh. Daldum Map 92 site 63/1; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 62.	166800/613200	500		Paleo, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI
563	Karm el-Kharrub 3 Map 92 site 73/2.	167300/613200	100		Paleo, Rom, Byz
564	Karm el-Kharrub 2 Map 92 site 73/1.	167300/613000	100		Paleo, Rom, Byz
565	Ed Dude Map 92 site 83/1.	168300/613600	2000		Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med
566	Beit Jirja Map 92 site 02/1.	160400/612500	100,000		Byz, EI, Med, Ott
567	Er Rasm Site 27358/0, IAA system; surveyed by Huster.	161800/612620	5000		Byz
568	Er Rasm Kiln 2 Map 92 site 12/2.	161900/612700	2000		Byz
569	Er Rasm Site 30413/0, IAA system; surveyed by Huster.	161650/612280	5000		Byz

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m <sup>2</sup> )	Excavated	Periods
570	Er Rasm Kiln 1 Map 92 site 12/1.	161000/612300	2000	Byz	
571	Nahal Obed 3 Map 92 site 12/3.	162000/612800	10,000	Byz	
572	Kh. Amuda Map 92 site 22/1; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 59. Western edges of Kh. Amuda. Not Arab village. Now, sites 26160/0 and 26260/0, IAA system.	162900/612750	5000	Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
573	Nahal Obed (cisterns) Map 92 site 22/2.	162200/612600	2000	Byz	
574	Ez Zeitun Map 92 site 22/3.	162500/612100	3000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med	
575	Kh. Amuda (S) Map 92 site 22/4.	162700/612300	1000	Byz, EI	
576	Kh. Amuda (center) Surveyed by Huster.	163100/612700	10,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med	
577	Kh. Amuda cisterns Map 92 site 32/1; Petrie 1890.	163700/612400	1000	Byz, EI	
578	Wadi Umm et Tire (cistern) Map 92 site 42/1.	164900/612800	100	Paleo, Byz, EI	
579	Tell el Hawa Map 92 site 52/1; Antl-Weiser 2007:155, fig 4.	165700/612600	100	Paleo	
580	Wadi Umm et Tire 1 Map 92 site 52/2.	165100/612800	200	Paleo, Byz, EI	
581	Tariq Beit Tima Map 92 site 62/1.	166600/612400	1000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
582	Tell el Hawa (N) Map 92 site 62/2.	166100/612700	500	Paleo, Byz, EI	
583	Huleiqat (center) Surveyed by Blakely and Huster (in press).	166800/612400	40,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
584	Karm el Kharrub 1 Map 92 site 72/1.	167100/612500	500	Paleo, Byz, EI	
585	Kh. Simbis (N) Map 92 site 82/2; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 63.	168900/612500	10,000	Byz, EI	
586	Kh. Simbis Surveyed by Huster.	168400/612350	12,000	Rom, Byz, EI	
587	Kh. Simbis Map 92 site 82/1; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 63.	168800/612000	10,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI	
588	Kh. Simbis 4 Map 92 site 92/2; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 64.	169100/612500	1000	Rom, Byz, EI	
589	Kh. Simbis 3 Map 92 site 92/1; Allen in <i>Ashkelon I</i> , p. 64.	169000/612220	1000	Byz	
590	Kh. Beit Lejus Map 92 site 01/2.	160100/611800	500	Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
591	Tel Obed Map 92 site 01/3.	160600/611700	50,000	Chalco, MB, LB, Iron1, Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott	
592	Beit Jirja Quarry Map 92 site 01/1.	160600/611000	1000	Iron2, Pers, Rom, Byz, EI	

Table 2.9 (cont.): Table of All Survey Sites

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m<sup>2</sup>)</i>	<i>Excavated</i>	<i>Periods</i>
593	Er Rasm Map 92 site 11/1.	161100/611900	10,000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med
594	Er Rasm well 1 Map 92 site 11/2.	161600/611600	2000		Byz
595	Er Rasm well 2 Map 92 site 11/3.	161900/611500	100		Byz, EI
596	Wadi Amuda 1 Map 92 site 31/1.	163700/611900	500		Byz, EI
597	Wadi Amuda 2 Map 92 site 51/1.	165000/611900	300		Paleo, Byz
598	Huleiqat (W) Map 92 site 61/1.	166500/611900	200		Byz, EI, Med, Ott
599	Huleiqat (E) Map 92 site 61/2; at the northeast edge, village's cemetery; at the southeast edge, village's well.	166800/611800	1000		Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott(cem)
600	Beit Jirja Tumulus 1 Map 92 site 00/1.	160700/610700	200		Byz
601	Beit Jirja Tumulus 2 Map 92 site 00/2.	160800/610600	300		Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz
602	Beit Jirja (S) Surveyed by Huster; site 13395/0, IAA system.	161900/610980	300		Paleo, Rom, Byz
603	Beit Jirja (S) Surveyed by Huster; site 13393/0, IAA system.	161150/610700	500		Paleo
604	Beit Jirja (S) Surveyed by Huster; site 13390/0, IAA system.	161100/610600	600		Paleo
605	Beit Jirja (S) Surveyed by Huster; sites 13392/0 and 16060/0, IAA system.	161000/610250	500		Paleo
606	Beit Jirja (S) Surveyed by Huster; site 13394/0, IAA system.	161800/610460	300		Paleo
607	Beit Jirja (S) Surveyed by Huster; site 13391/0, IAA system.	161900/610400	1000		Paleo, Rom, Byz
608	Gevaram (S) Map 92 site 30/1.	163900/610800	500		Paleo, Byz
609	Lapidot Map 92 site 50/1.	165200/610900	500		Byz
610	Nahal Heletz (NW) Surveyed by Huster; site 27361/0, IAA system.	166750/610880	3000		Byz, EI
611	Kh. Nogga el Mahzuk Map 92 site 70/1.	167200/610800	500		Byz, EI
612	Nahal Heletz Site Map 92 site 70/2.	167500/610600	2000		Byz, EI
613	Heletz Map 92 site 70/3.	167800/610500	2000		Byz, EI
614	Nahal Heletz (E) Surveyed by Huster.	168180/610200	1500		Byz

### 3. IDENTIFICATION OF OTTOMAN SITES

by Michael D. Press

THE Ottoman period is unique for the wealth and variety of data at our disposal to understand settlement in the Ashkelon region. In addition to the survey (and excavation) data that serve as the backbone of this study, and the textual sources that add to this picture, there are several sets of Ottoman land and tax registers, village lists, and censuses that provide detailed information for each village.<sup>1</sup> As a result, for this period we are able to check the conclusions reached on the basis of the survey data and come to a new and more powerful synthesis.

The survey data suggest a continuing decline in the number of villages in the Ottoman period. However, this decline may be exaggerated. From late Ottoman and Mandatory censuses, village lists, and travelers' accounts, we know that there were 15 villages inhabited at the end of the Ottoman period: Isdud, Beit Daras, Hamama, Julis, El Jura, Khisas, Hirbiya, Ni'ilya, Majdal, Barbara, El Jiya, Beit Jirja, Beit Tima, Huleiqat, Kaukaba. (There were an additional four villages within Map 96: Sumsum, Bureir, Najd, and Huj.) It is therefore noteworthy that the surveys of Map 87, 88, 91, and 92 were able to identify Ottoman occupation at only eight of these sites (53 percent). Allen, in his survey of Map 92, was able to identify Ottoman location at five of the seven villages in his area. (Plus, we would note that one of the two missing sites, Kaukaba, is difficult to access). The Berman surveys, however, were much less successful, identifying only three of eight late Ottoman villages. This problem reflects a more general difficulty in identifying Ottoman remains in the surveys: Thus Huster and Paran, in their survey of site 123 (Kh. Bazze), noted a large amount of Ottoman pottery, while the latest period noted by Berman and Barda was Mamluk (2005:60\*). In general, Allen's survey pays close attention to recent periods, even noting modern (i.e., post-Ottoman) remains at sites. However, the lack of attention to Ottoman-period remains in the Berman surveys is remarkable and could have several explanations. According to the Israeli antiquities law, inherited from the British

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, our analysis will focus on two datasets: the final Ottoman tax register, or *tahrir defter*, dated to 1596–97 (data published in Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977); and the 1871–72 Ottoman *Salname-i Vilayet-i Suriye*, or Yearbook of the Province of Syria (available in Turkish, with publication of data for southern Palestine in Hartmann 1883 in German). For more on these sources, and analysis using additional Ottoman sources, see chapter 4.

Mandate, only remains up to the year 1700 are considered antiquities; thus over half of the Ottoman period, including the time of the late Ottoman period, is not covered by this law. It is possible that surveyors pay less attention to recent finds as a result. This problem may also reflect an ingrained belief in the idea of "Ottoman decline," the idea that settlement and general standards of living in the country were in continuous decline until the late nineteenth century when large-scale Jewish immigration to Palestine began (for more on this problem, see chapter 4). In addition, we would note that the Ottoman and Mandatory remains were generally bulldozed, with few if any *in situ* foundations of these structures. As most of structures were built of mudbrick, they are often difficult to detect in survey.

Nevertheless, that there was some decline in the number of villages is a clear reality. The 1596–97 Ottoman *defter* lists at least 27 villages that fall within our study area: Amuda, Beit Tima, Hamama, Bazza, Basha, Akhsas Asqalan, Sama, Irza, Isdud, Majdal, Ni'ilya, Huleiqat, Beit Jirja, Hirbiya, Kaukaba, Mi'saba, Bayt Daras, Maqqus, Sandahanna, Julis, Ashraf, Bira, Beit Saman, Auda, Jura, Ijjiz ar-Ras, and Barbara.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, as we have seen, the late Ottoman data indicate a total of only 15 villages. The 1871 Ottoman *Salname* indicates a total of 16 settlements: those listed above, plus Ashraf. However, Ashraf (Kh. esh Sheraf, site 312) as well as Khisas (Kh. el Khisas, site 256) were noted by Gatt (1884:296) to be merely seasonal settlements related to the agricultural cycle. Thus nearly 50 percent of the villages inhabited toward the end of the sixteenth century were abandoned by the late nineteenth century. As we will see in chapter 4, a similar pattern can be found in the subdistrict (*nahiye*) of Gaza as a whole. Thus, at least on one level, the Ottoman period reflects the culmination of the decline in settlement we have noted since the Byzantine period.

The existence of demographic records also allows us to calibrate the evidence from surveys and understand the settlement complex on the ground in greater detail than in earlier periods. The first category of sites are villages inhabited for most or all of the period:

<sup>2</sup> Some of the remaining unidentifiable villages may also fall within this area. In addition, El Jiya, known as a village in the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods (as well as apparently in the Crusader period) is surprisingly missing from this and the other Ottoman *defters*.

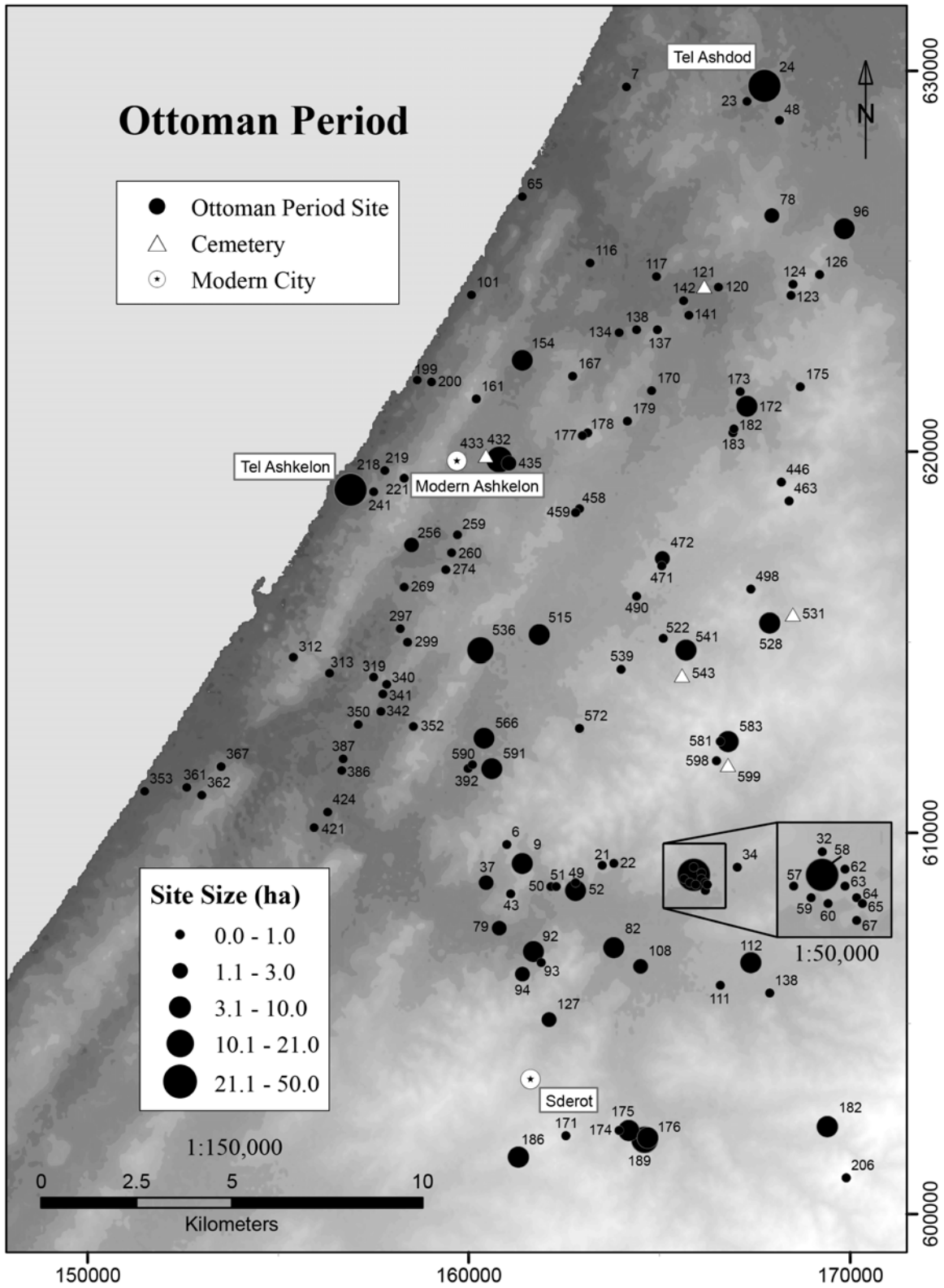


Figure 19. Map of sites from the Ottoman period over modern topography.



these consist of the 15 villages noted above (Isdud, Beit Daras, Hamama, Julis, El Jura, Khisas, Hirbiya, Niçilya, Majdal, Barbara, El Jiya, Beit Jirja, Beit Tima, Huleiqat, and Kaukaba). The next category consists of *khirbehs*. This category can be broken down further into sites that were inhabited villages for a portion of the period—the 13 sites of Kh. Amuda, Kh. Bazza, Kh. Basha, Kh. Sama, Kh. Irza, Kh. Misçaba, Kh. Maqqus, Sandahanna, Kh. Sheraf, Kh. Bira, Kh. Beit Saman, Kh. Auda, and Kh. Ijji er Ras—and other *khirbehs* which do not appear to have attained the status of village in the Ottoman period but still show some signs of occupation or human activity. At least some of the latter sites were classified (in the Ottoman *defters*) as *mazraças*, i.e., farms (or, more properly, sown fields) that generally represent the fields of abandoned villages farmed by neighboring villages (İnalçik 1991). In our study area, Kh. Balas (site 142) and Kh. Fatun (site 458) are clear examples, as each is noted as such in Ottoman *evkaf defters* (İpşirli and al-Tamīmī 1982:9 no. 25, 6 no. 13; also Kh. Beit Tafa in Map 96, for which see chapter 5, site 111). In some instances, these *mazraças* may have witnessed seasonal settlements during the harvest, as was the case in the late Ottoman period for Kh. el Khisas and Kh. esh Sheraf. Finally, there are a series of features (wells, cisterns, pools, etc.) that cluster in and immediately around villages and should be associated with them.

Thus we can see that the total of 87 sites for the Ottoman period should be reduced to a much smaller number of villages (between 15 and 30, fluctuating over the course of the period). In many cases, separate registered sites noted by survey, or opened up in small windows by excavation, should be considered merely as sections of a single larger site. This conclusion is reinforced by maps, aerial photographs, and other records from the late Ottoman and Mandatory, which show not only the large built-up area of these villages but also document that their fields extended far beyond the built-up area. We can then use this reconstruction as a model to interpret earlier periods. (Compare our conclusions under the Early Islamic period in chapter 5 that findspots clustered around a central site often reflect the movement of archaeological remains by modern agricultural activity—and not separate sites.) At the same time, some caution is needed in this approach. There is no reason to assume that village size remained constant over the course of several centuries; in fact, the Ottoman population data clearly demonstrate that either village size or population density (or both) were very fluid even within the Ottoman period.

As they are primarily tax documents, the Ottoman *tahrir defters* also indicate the economic activity of

the villages. The villages of the region were engaged almost exclusively in agricultural production, with wheat and barley as the major crops. Fruit trees, goats, and bees were also a focus of production, and smaller amounts of sesame and cotton were grown. This agricultural focus matches the relatively even distribution of villages throughout the study area, which we would expect for a model of agricultural production (as opposed to Allen's "access resources" model, with sites clustered along major routes). Again, we can use this combined information from the *defters* and survey to model land use in earlier periods—at least back to the Roman and Byzantine periods, when we first meet this pattern of site distribution (for further analysis, see chapter 4).

One of the outstanding features of the Ottoman-period landscape—not covered by the model of fewer nucleated settlements described above, since they are located beyond the built-up areas of the villages—are public water fountains. As discussed by Sasson (2002b), these installations are of two main types, *sabils* and *misqas*. A *sabil* has a storage tank, with a well (or cistern) attached as the source of its water, and is usually more elaborate (Sasson 2002b:116); a *misqa* has no connected water source but simply a pitcher of water placed by local residents (Sasson 2002b:122). These installations can be urban, with major *sabils* constructed by rulers or important officials (e.g., Sabil Sulayman in Jaffa, Sabil Qāyṭbāy [Mamluk?] in Jerusalem), or rural; in the latter case, they are not located within villages but, as Sasson points out (2002b; see also Petersen 2001:50), along major roads. (Thus the word *sabil* is cognate with, and perhaps derived from, Aramaic and Hebrew *šēbil*, "way" or "path," also the original meaning of the Arabic term; see Bosworth 1995). These installations first appear in the Mamluk period but generally date to the Ottoman period, especially toward the end of the period (see Sasson 2002a:101; 2002b).

In our study area, there are at least ten (nine on the map and Appendix A, plus another whose location is unclear on the road between Niçilya and El Jiya [Sasson 2002a:100, fig. 10]). Unfortunately, it is difficult to compile a complete list of *sabils* and *misqas* in the area, as these were not often recorded by travelers and surveyors. The best source is the Survey of Western Palestine map, but this includes only six within the limits of our study area. For modern Ashkelon itself, Sasson gives a more complete survey (2002a:100); of the four he lists, only two are on the Survey of Western Palestine map. Comparing the locations of the known fountains with the major roads of the area (from the Survey of Western Palestine and Mandatory maps),

we see that all are indeed found along major roads or paths between villages—and especially at important junctions (cf. Sasson 2002b:123): note three examples on junctions of roads heading east from Majdal with the Cairo-Damascus highway and one on the junction of the road north from Hamame with the Cairo-Damascus highway. Some, meanwhile, are located just outside of villages, along roads or paths.

A handful of inscriptions provide an additional category of evidence about the character of settlement in the region in the Ottoman period. Most relate to continuing building activity, albeit on a smaller scale than in the Mamluk period. An inscription from the sanctuary of Tamim ad-Dari in Majdal appears to date the construction of this shrine to the middle of the sixteenth century (Sharon 1997:186–89). This shrine also served as a second mosque in the village, reinforcing Majdal’s status as a major village in the region by the presence of multiple mosques; this status is confirmed by the sixteenth-century Ottoman *defters*, which indicate that Majdal is the only village in *nahiya* Gaza to have more than two imams or other religious personnel exempt from taxes (3; see al-Swarieh 2008:91; Yalçinkaya 2006). An inscription from Beit Tima, dated to 1836, indicates the reconstruction of the village mosque and shrine of Nabi Tima in that year (Sharon 1999:160); as with most sheikhs’ tombs and associated shrines, it was originally built in the Mamluk period. Of special note is an inscription from the shrine of En Nabi Jirja in Beit Jirja, dated 1825–26, that commemorates the rebuilding of the village, which had been previously “wiped out” (Sharon 1999:143–44). This rebuilding was conducted by Muhammad Shahin Agha, the local governor, representing Abdallah Pasha (the *vali* of Sidon—i.e., the governor of the *vilayet* or province). The nature and date of the event recorded in the inscription, however, are problematic, as we have several sources indicating the existence of the village of Beit Jirja in the years immediately preceding the inscription: Scholz’s list, dating to c. 1820 (as “Dscherdcha,” Scholz 1822:255); Richardson’s travels in 1818 (Richardson 1822:200, as “Bedigga”); and the Jacotin map (Sheet 43, Gaza) surveyed in 1799 (as “Gergîéh”; for discussion see Karmon 1960:173). Finally, an inscription from the general area of Ashkelon records

the epitaph of an artillery officer, from the year 1721 (Sharon 2004:xix–xx).

The overall picture of settlement in the Ottoman period is continuing decline, with fewer settlements, and decreased building activity.

#### *Corrections to Earlier Surveys*

The suggested identifications in this chapter serve especially to correct errors by Berman and Barda in the Map 88 (Nizzanim east) publication (2005) and to provide additions and corrections to the set of identifications made by Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (1977) for the villages of *nahiya* Gaza in TD 546 (1596–97). Hütteroth and Abdulfattah noted (1977:13) that the identification of place names was the most difficult task involved in their work—and therefore the most time-consuming. Given this fact, it is surprising to find that Hütteroth and Abdulfattah did not provide any detailed discussion in support of these identifications. In fact, they did not provide exact identifications at all: They only noted the rough coordinates of the identified site (within a single square kilometer) and the source of their identification. As a result, it is sometimes difficult even to be certain of the identification they suggested, especially when their coordinates are in error (as they appear to be in several cases). Similarly, Etkes (2012:fig. 7.2) provides only a map that largely adopts the identifications (and romanizations, also sometimes in error) of Hütteroth and Abdulfattah while suggesting a few additional localizations—localizations that can only be guessed at roughly as there are no exact coordinates or identifications provided.

We therefore believe that it is essential to indicate exact sites for all of our suggested identifications—in terms of both names of sites and coordinates. The exact coordinates and site names are indicated in Appendix A. However, we believe that providing justifications for these identifications is also essential, so that—in combination with the coordinates and site names—other scholars will be able to check our work. As a result, for several cases for which a more detailed justification was necessary than could be given in Appendix A, we have provided an extended discussion in Appendix B, in which the sites are arranged alphabetically.

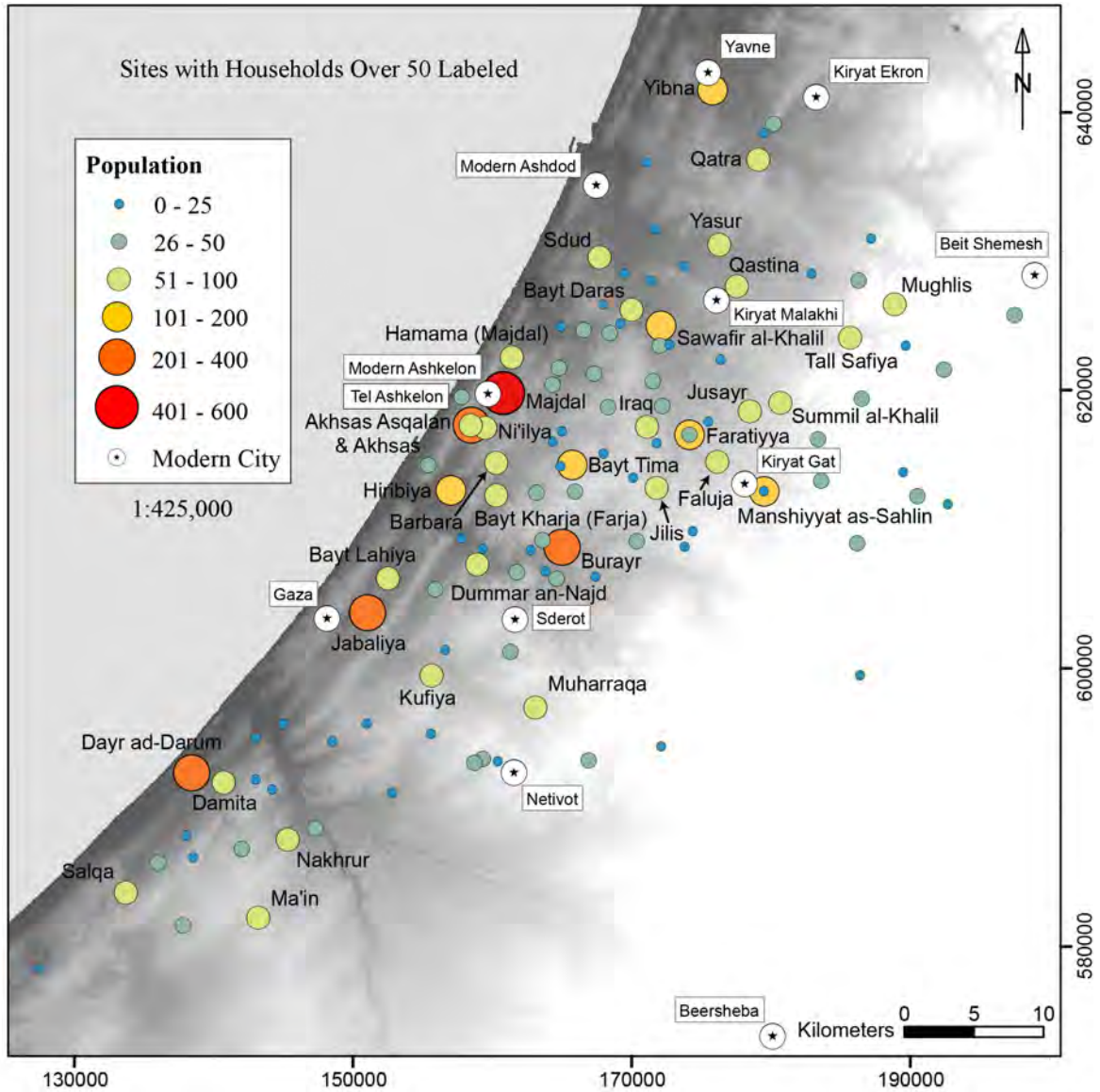


Figure 3.1: Sites in Hütteroth/Abdulfattah from Ottoman period over modern topography.

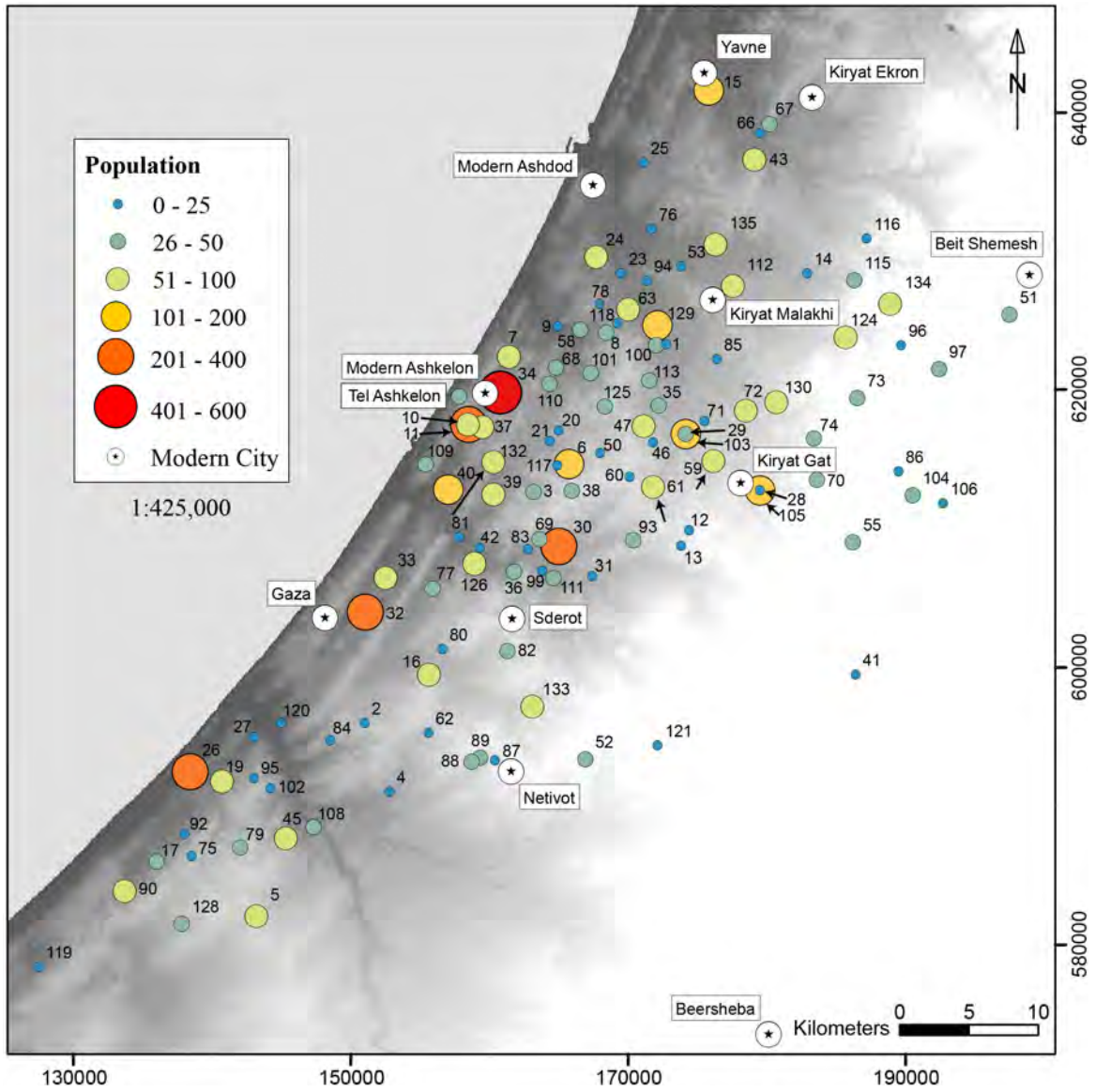


Figure 3.2: Sites in Hüttteroth/Abdulfattah from Ottoman period over modern topography.

## APPENDIX A: IDENTIFICATION OF OTTOMAN SITES IN HÜTTTEROTH/ABDULFATTAH

No.	Name in Hüttteroth/Abdulfattah	Coordinates
1	Şawāfir ash-Sharqī Taxable Households: 0	172750/623300
2	Ḥawādī Taxable Households: 25 New Identification: Survey of Western Palestine: Sheet XIX, 252 (Kh. el Hawady) and name list (Kh. Hawadi)	151000/596000
3	ʿĀmūdāt (Banī Kināna) Taxable Households: 30 Name in the Crusader Period: Amouhde, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37; Rey 1883:415)	163170/612650
4	ʿUşayfiriyya Taxable Households: 0 New Identification: Survey of Western Palestine: Sheet 23, Dx, 389	152800/591050
5	Maʿīn Taxable Households: 80	143200/582100
6	Bayt Ṭīma Taxable Households: 126	165700/164650
7	Ḥamāma (Majdal) Taxable Households: 84	161400/622400
8	Bazzā Taxable Households: 50 Name in the Crusader Period: Beze, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37; Rey 1883:406)	168400/624100
9	Bashā Taxable Households: 0	164920/624600
10	Akhşās ʿAsqālān Taxable Households: 55	158450/617500
11	Akhşās Taxable Households: 201	158500/617500
12	Jadīda Taxable Households: 12 Name in the Crusader Period: Elgedeide, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37; Rey 1883:407)	174400/609850
13	ʿAjlān Taxable Households: 10 Name in the Crusader Period: Agelen el Hayet, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37; Rey 1883:404)	173800/608750
14	Ṭīnā Taxable Households: 10	182900/628400
15	Yibnā Taxable Households: 129 Name in the Crusader Period: Ibelin (Rey 1883:409)	175800/641600
16	Kūfiya Taxable Households: 55	155650/599500 (correction of coordinates)
17	Saṭar Taxable Households: 45 New Identification: Two tracts of land, Es Satar and Wadi es Satar, on 1:20,000 map	136000/586000
18	Zāwiya Taxable Households: 5	
19	Damiṭa Taxable Households: 62 New Identification: Guérin 1869:252	140700/591800
20	Sāma Taxable Households: 6 Name in the Crusader Period: Semma (Casale Episcopi) (Prawer 1958)	165000/617050

No.	Name in Hüttteroth/Abdufattah	Coordinates
21	Arza (better "Irza") Taxable Households: 3	164350/616300
22	Bayt Mīrīn Taxable Households: 0	
23	Khārijat as-Sdūd Taxable Households: 18	169500/628400
24	Sdūd Taxable Households: 75 Name in the Crusader Period: Azot (Rey 1883:404)	167700/629600
25	Sukrīr (better "Sukrayr") Taxable Households: 10	171100/636370
26	Dayr ad-Dārūm Taxable Households: 300 Name in the Crusader Period: Darum	138400/592500
27	Farāsha Taxable Households: 6 New Identification: tract of land, Farahsa, on 1:20,000 map	143000/595000
28	Manshiyyat as-Saḥlīn (better "Manshiyyat as-Saḥalīn") Taxable Households: 130	179500/612750
29	Farātiyya (better "Qarātiyya") Taxable Households: 121	174150/616800
30	Burayr Taxable Households: 210	165000/608700
31	Sha <sup>ʿ</sup> āriyya al-Kubrā (Tābi <sup>ʿ</sup> Burayr) (better "Sha <sup>ʿ</sup> ārta al-Kubrā [Tābi <sup>ʿ</sup> Burayr]") Taxable Households: 6 Name in the Crusader Period: Saarethe, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37)	167400/606600
32	Jabāliya Taxable Households: 331	151050/604000
33	Bayt Lāhiyā Taxable Households: 70	152500/606500
34	Majdal Taxable Households: 559	160800/619800
35	Bayt <sup>ʿ</sup> Affā Taxable Households: 26	172200/618850
36	Najd al-Gharbī Taxable Households: 39	161750/606900
37	Ni <sup>ʿ</sup> pilyā Taxable Households: 80	159500/617300
38	Khalifāt (better "Hulayqāt") Taxable Households: 35	165950/612700
39	Bayt Kharja (Farja) (better "Bayt Jirja") Taxable Households: 85	160300/612450
40	Hiribiya (better "Hirbiya") Taxable Households: 175 Name in the Crusader Period: Forbie (Rey 1883:408)	157000/612800
41	Barriyat al-Ḥarādīn Taxable Households: 22	186400/599500
42	Bayt Darās aṣ-Ṣuḡhrā Taxable Households: 0 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1451 Name in the Crusader Period: Beitderas secunda, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37)	159300/608600

No.	Name in Hütttheroth/Abdulfattah	Coordinates
43	Qaṭrā Taxable Households: 61 Name in the Crusader Period: Cathara	179100/636600
44	Mashhad Taxable Households: 95	
45	Nakhrūr Taxable Households: 69	145300/587700 (correction of coordinates)
46	Bayt Māmīn Taxable Households: 10 Name in the Crusader Period: Beth-Amamin; Bethaman, 1155 (Prawer 1958:224–37)	171800/616200
47	ʿIrāq Taxable Households: 61	171100/617400
48	Bayt Zaytūn Taxable Households: 23	
49	Miyūsīḥ Taxable Households: 50	
50	Kawkab Taxable Households: 16 Name in the Crusader Period: Coquebel (Prawer 1958:224–37)	168000/615450
51	Bayt Jimāl Taxable Households: 37	197500/625400
52	Juhaytīn Taxable Households: 43	166900/593400
53	Baṭān ash-Sharqī Taxable Households: 7	173800/628900
54	Munayʿir Taxable Households: 30	
55	Qubayba Taxable Households: 33	186200/609000
56	Furātiyya Taxable Households: 22	
57	Qūrtān Taxable Households: 26	
58	Muʿaysiba (better “Miʿ(i)ṣaba”) Taxable Households: 44	166550/624320
59	Fālūja Taxable Households: 75 Name in the Crusader Period: Phaluge, 1155 (Prawer 1958:224–37)	176150/614850
60	Balīṭā (Malīṭā) (better “Malīṭā”) Taxable Households: 16 Name in the Crusader Period: Melius, 1110 (Prawer 1958:224–37)	170100/613700
61	Jilis Taxable Households: 64	171800/613000
62	Ṣīḥān Taxable Households: 11	155600/595300
63	Bayt Darās Taxable Households: 58 Name in the Crusader Period: Betheras, 1173 (Röhricht 1983:132; Prawer 1958:224–37)	170000/625800
64	ʿIdrā Taxable Households: 59	
65	Sawāmiriyya aṣ-Ṣuḡhrā (better “Shaʿārta aṣ-Ṣuḡhrā”) Taxable Households: 7	

No.	Name in Hüttteroth/Abdufattah	Coordinates
66	Imghār Taxable Households: 22	179500/638500
67	Şummīl al-Mughār (better “Şummayl al-Mughār”) Taxable Households: 31 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1439	180200/639150
68	Maqqūs Taxable Households: 36 Name in the Crusader Period: Machoz, before 1110 (Prawer 1958:224–37)	164800/621600
69	Bābilliya (better “Bābliya”) Taxable Households: 27 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1451	163600/609200
70	Manşūra Taxable Households: 33	183600/613500
71	Ḥattā ash-Shajara Taxable Households: 15	175500/617750
72	Jusayr Taxable Households: 60	178500/618500
73	Zikrīn Taxable Households: 40	186500/619400
74	Zaytā Taxable Households: 30 Crusader Period: (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37)	183400/616500
75	Sūq Māzīn Taxable Households: 19 New Identification: Avi-Yonah 1940	138500/586400
76	Barqā Taxable Households: 12	171700/631600
77	Bayt Ḥānūn Taxable Households: 36	155900/605700
78	Şandaḥana (better “Şandaḥanna”) Taxable Households: 12 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1441	167950/626200
79	Ḥarsa (better “Kharsa”) Taxable Households: 50 New Identification: Guerin 1869b:262; Musil 1908:325; Musil 1907c	142000/587000
80	Bayt Durdis Taxable Households: 21	156600/601350 (correction of coordinates)
81	Dayr Sunayd Taxable Households: 12	157800/609350
82	Lasun Taxable Households: 49 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1452	161300/601200
83	Sumsum Taxable Households: 20 Name in the Crusader Period: Semsem, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37)	162750/608500
84	Barjaliyya Taxable Households: 12	148500/594750 (correction of coordinates)
85	Jaladiyya Taxable Households: 16 Name in the Crusader Period: Geladia; Galiadia, 1160 (Prawer 1958:224–37)	176400/622200
86	Ḥīrāq Ḥālā Taxable Households: 7	189500/614100



No.	Name in Hüttteroth/Abdufattah	Coordinates
87	al-Bahā Taxable Households: 15	160400/693300
88	Rasm al-Gharbī Taxable Households: 35	158700/593200
89	Rasm ash-Sharqī Taxable Households: 43	159300/593500
90	Salqā Taxable Households: 63	133700/583900
91	Shamsiyyāt Taxable Households: 48	
92	Nahāsa Taxable Households: 17 New Identification: Musil 1907b; 1907c	138000/588000
93	Mulāqīs Taxable Households: 44 Name in the Crusader Period: Malaques, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37)	170350/609150
94	Bardāgha Taxable Households: 11 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1443	171350/627850
95	Tahāw (Tahād) (better “Takhāw”) Taxable Households: 18 New Identification: Musil 1907a:220, 301 n.3; 1907b:54; 1907c; Yāqūt 1866–73a:827–28); Le Strange 1890:542	143000/592000
96	Aṭraba Taxable Households: 23	189700/623200
97	ʿAjjūr Taxable Households: 35	192400/621500
98	Kafr Ghār Taxable Households: 65	
99	Qamṣā Taxable Households: 8 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Mouments and Sites. Supplement No. 2 to the <i>Gazette Extraordinary</i> No. 1375, 24 November 1944:1297; Warren 1871:95 Name in the Crusader Period: Camsa, 1256 (Röhricht 1983:327; Prawer 1958:224–37)	163800/607000
100	Ṣawāfir al-Gharbī Taxable Households: 43 Name in the Crusader Period: Zeophir, 1109–1110 (Rey 1883:415)	172000/623200
101	Jūlis Taxable Households: 37	167300/621200
102	Nāmīra (Nāṣira) (better “Nāṣira”) Taxable Households: 16	144200/591300 (correction of coordinates)
103	Kartā (better “Kudnā”) Taxable Households: 46 Name in the Crusader Period: Galatia (Prawer 1958:224–37)	174150/616800
104	Bayt Jibrīn Taxable Households: 50	190500/612400
105	ʿIrāq Hātim Taxable Households: 11	179500/612750
106	Dayr Shāṭir Taxable Households: 4 New Identification: Survey of Western Palestine:Sheet XX, 275	192700/611800
107	Umm an-Nuʿūr (an-Nuṣūr) Taxable Households: 46	

<i>No. Name in Hüttteroth/Abdulfattah</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>
108 Tall Jamma Taxable Households: 32 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1478	147300/588500
109 Asrāf (better “Ashrāf”) Taxable Households: 29	155400/614600
110 Bīra Taxable Households: 44 New Identification: Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments. <i>Official Gazette</i> No. 1091, 18 May 1964:1442	164330/620400
111 Jalama Taxable Households: 30	164600/606450
112 Qasṭīna Taxable Households: 70	177550/627500
113 ʿIbdīs Taxable Households: 35 Name in the Crusader Period: Hebde (Prawer 1958:224–37)	171500/620650
114 Mirfaqa (better “Qarqafa”) Taxable Households: 8	
115 Dinba (better “Dhinba”) Taxable Households: 36	186300/627900
116 Jilya Taxable Households: 17	187200/630900
117 Bayt Samʿān Taxable Households: 8	164900/614550
118 ʿAwda Taxable Households: 15	169200/624800
119 Rafāḥ Taxable Households: 15	127500/578400
120 Manshiyyat al-ʿUjūl Taxable Households: 17 New Identification: Mandatory 1:20,000; van de Velde 1858:53	145000/596000
121 ʿAmmūdiyya Taxable Households: 16	172120/594400
122 Jawrit al-Ḥajja (better “Jūrat al-Ḥajja”) Taxable Households: 46	157800/619500
123 Līna Taxable Households: 20	
124 Tall Ṣāfiya Taxable Households: 88	185700/623800
125 ʿAjiz ar-Rās (better “ʿIjjiz ar-Rās”) Taxable Households: 46	168300/618800
126 Dummar an-Najd Taxable Households: 60 Name in the Crusader Period: Dimra?	158900/607500 (correction of coordinates)
127 ʿĀmūdat Banī ʿĀmir Taxable Households: 38	
128 ʿAbasān Taxable Households: 28	137800/581500
129 Ṣawāfir al-Khalīl Taxable Households: 112	172100/624650
130 Ṣummīl al-Khalīl (better “Ṣummyl al-Khalīl”) Taxable Households: 66	180700/619100

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name in Hüttteroth/Abdulfattah</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>
131	Rashīra (Rashīda) Taxable Households: Not Given	
132	Barbarā Taxable Households: 73	160300/614800
133	Muḥarraqa Taxable Households: 83	163100/597200
134	Mughlis Taxable Households: 77	188900/626200
135	Yāsūr Taxable Households: 55	176300/630500
136	Ramādāt Taxable Households: 93	

## APPENDIX B: DISCUSSION OF OTTOMAN SITE IDENTIFICATION

**Ashrāf**

**Asrāf** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kh. esh Sheraf** (Kh. Ashraf), OIG 105-114.

The only difference in spelling is *sīn* vs. *shīn*; both letters have the same form but different dotting. El Ashrāf appears in Socin's list of villages and population from the late 1860s—Socin, in Gaza district (1879:144); the list is organized in some geographic order, and el Ashrāf occurs between Hirbiya and Beit Jirja. In the 1931 census Ashraf is a subheading under Hirbiya (Mills 1932:3). The site should be identified with Kh. esh Sheraf, also known as Kh. Ashraf (an alternate form with prosthetic *ʿalif*, appearing in the List of Mandatory Records Files [1976:132]). Note also the tract of land marked “Ashraf” on the 1:20,000 Survey of Palestine topocadastral map (Sheet 10-11, Ashkelon), northeast of Hirbiya. Finally, note that the Map 91 survey identified Mamluk and Ottoman pottery at Kh. esh Sheraf, making it a good fit.

As the Socin list shows, Ashraf can be spelled with or without long *ā*.

**Barriyat al-Ḥarādīn**

We doubt that the identification suggested by Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, with Kh. Umm Ḥaratain (OIG 136.099), is correct. This site is distant from the other villages of the 1596–97 *deft̄er*. The name Haratain, *H-ā-r-t-y-n*, is close to Ḥarādīn, *H-r-ā-d-y-n*, but the switch between *dāl* and *tāḍ* is not easy to explain, as these are not the same letter and not close in form; also, the loss of Umm would be unusual. In addition, based on the pattern of other village names, we would expect that the basic name of the village is Barriya/Barriyat and that (al-)Ḥarādīn is a qualifier of that name (either the name of a nearby village, or something else; see Manshiyyat al-ʿUjūl below). This is confirmed by the occurrence of a village named Zayt al-Ḥarādīn in other sources. Unfortunately, we do not have a good suggestion for an identification.

**Bayt Jirja**

**Bayt Kharja** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Bayt Jirja**, OIG 110-112

The letters *khāḍ* and *jīm* have the same form, differing only in their dotting. This identification was previously suggested by Khalidi (1992:88). Note that Yāqūt has an entry for a village in the territory of ʿAsqalān named Jarḥa (1866–73b:56; see also Le Strange 1890:462), which Clermont-Ganneau (1896:379) already suggested was to be identified with (Beit) Jirja (thereby implicitly suggesting the same type of error).

**Bazzā**

**Kh. Bazzo/Bezzeh/Beze**, OIG 118-124

Kh. Bezzeh was marked on the Survey of Western Palestine map (Sheet XVI, Fu) at c. 2.5 km southwest of Beit Daras. The Mandatory Survey of Palestine 1:20,000 map, however, indicated the site (as Kh. Bazzo) roughly at coordinates 117-123 (OIG), 1 km farther to the southwest than the Survey of Western Palestine site—and at a distance of c. 3.5 km west-southwest from Beit Daras (Sheet 11-12, Hamame). On the 1:100,000 scale Survey of Palestine map (Sheet 9, Gaza), meanwhile, there are two ruins marked Bazzo, one at each of the above locations. Both locations were resurveyed by Huster in June 2012. The results of this survey lead us to conclude with a high degree of certainty that the original location of Kh. Bezzeh/Bazzo on the Survey of Western Palestine map is the correct one. There is no clear ancient site near coordinates 117-123, other than site 146 (an Iron I tomb); on the other hand, the Survey of Western Palestine Bezzeh is located at the site of a sizable village, yielding Roman to Ottoman period pottery (site 123). The actual central location of the site is at coordinates 118400-124100 (OIG), 168400-624100 (NIG). This determination results in the removal of the name Kh. Bezzeh/Bazza for site 145, used mistakenly by Berman and Barda (2005:64\*, site 140) for the ruins of an ancient settlement that was occupied from the Iron II period until the Byzantine period—but not later. The real name of site 145 is Kh. Khasse, whose location was marked correctly on both the Survey of Western Palestine and Mandatory maps but incorrectly on later Israeli maps. As noted by Berman and Barda (2005:65\*, site 142; see our site 147), the location marked Ḥ. Ḥassa (Kh. Khasse) on Israeli maps has no visible archaeological remains.

**Dimra**

**Dummar an-Najd** = **Dimra**, OIG 108-107

Hütteroth and Abdulfattah appear to have identified the sixteenth-century village with Kh. Najd (OIG 112-105). We imagine that Hütteroth and Abdulfattah might have suggested this identification on the meaning of the word *dummar*, from the root “to destroy” or “to ruin,” thus equating *dummar* with *khīrbeḥ*. However, the name *d-m-r* from the *deft̄er* is almost identical with Dimra *d-m-r-ā*, the only difference being the omission of the *tāḍ marbūṭa*. It is worth noting a peculiar pattern in this list and the other *deft̄ers*, where in some cases the final *ʿalif* or *tāḍ marbūṭa* is not written. Thus Kawkaba (alternatively Kawkabā) is always written as Kawkab, and the place name Takhāwa is probably the same as the Takhāw of the 1596–97 *deft̄er*. There is also some indication that the names *Zayt/Zaytā* and *Bayt/Baytā* are interchangeable in different *deft̄ers*. We would therefore argue that this name, which appears in the same form (Dmr an-Najd) in all *deft̄ers*, is simply Dimra without the final letter. (Note that this identification was already suggested by Zadok [1995–97:137].)

**Farasha** (OIG 093-095, approx.)

The Survey of Palestine 1:20,000 topocadastral map (Sheet 9-9, Wadi Ghazza) has a tract of land called Farasha (093-095).

**Ḥawādī = Kh. el Ḥawādī (Kh. Hawadi)**, OIG 101-096

The site appears in the Survey of Western Palestine name lists and map (Palmer 1881:361; Sheet XIX, Dx) and the List of Mandatory Records Files (1976:198); it is also mentioned by van de Velde (1858:53) as el-Hawadeh, a site in the general Gaza-Hesi area (which he did not visit, however). There is also a tract of land (on the Survey of Palestine 1:20,000 topocadastral map, Sheet 10-9, Khirbet el Mashrafa) called Daribet el Hawadi at 101-097.

**Ḥulayqāt**

**Khalifāt** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Ḥulayqāt (Huleiqat)**, OIG 115-112

Again, the difference is between *fā* and *qāf*, which have the same form but with different dottings. This name is often confused in the sources; thus Socin's list has as Ḥalāfāt (1879:149). In the 1871 list the name was read as Ṭīfān (Hartmann 1883:133). This reading results from multiple errors in writing or reading the script: *qāf/fā*, *tā*/*nūn*, and the misreading of *hā* + *lām* as *ī*. (They could look similar, especially in bad handwriting.)

**ʿIdrā**

It appears that the Hütteroth and Abdulfattah identification, at OIG 113-088, is supposed to be with Kh. Umm ʿAdra (109-089). If so, there are two problems with this identification: 1) This area has few, if any, villages in 1596–97; and 2) there is the unexplained absence of “Umm.” Would Kh. al ʿAdāra (Kh. el Adar; 096-093) be a better candidate? This area was fairly densely settled in the late sixteenth century, as we have seen. In this case there is the missing *ʿalif* in the *deft̄er*, but this difference is not insurmountable as we have seen other cases where the same name can be spelled with or without a long vowel.

**ʿIrāq Ḥātīm**

unknown; see Manshiyyat al-ʿUjūl.

**Juhaytīn**

We are skeptical that Hütteroth and Abdulfattah's identification, Kh. el Juʿethini (Juʿaythinī), OIG 116-093, is correct. For one thing, it is in an area where few if any villages were inhabited in 1596–97. Also—and we believe that this is very significant—in almost every case the form of the names in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century records are identical, or nearly so, with their nineteenth- and twentieth-century forms. Juʿethini presents a problem: It is spelled *J-ʿ-y-th-n-y* vs. Juhaytin as *J-h-y-t-y-n*. While *tā* and *thā* are the same letter with different dottings, *ʿayn* and *hā* are not similar forms, and the difference in endings (*-nī* vs. *-īn*) is also problematic.

Meanwhile, in the *waqf defter* 522, the *waqf* for a building in Gaza (İpşirli and al-Tamīmī 1982:6, no. 13) includes the *mazraʿa* Fātūn (= Kh. Abu Fatun?), which is said to be near Niʿilyā and Juhaytīn. (The village of Juhaytīn itself also appears in the *waqf*; the editors of the volume suggest an identification with Kh. Jahalīn, said to be between al-Akhṣāṣ and Hirbiya [İpşirli and al-Tamīmī 1982:6], but we are not aware of any such site in this area, and the name is always spelled in the *deft̄ers* with *tā* and not *lām*.) In any case, this information strongly suggests that Juhaytin should be in the area south or southeast of Majdal, but we have not been able to locate any similar toponym in this area in any source.

**Kafr Ghār**, OIG 119-100 (approx.)

The Survey of Western Palestine (Sheet XX, Fx) and 1:20,000 Survey of Palestine (Sheets 11-10, Bureir, and 11-9, Kaufakha) maps have a Wadi el Ghar, located on the Mandatory map between 118-101 and 120-99.

**Khārijat as-Sūd**

We do not know what this site is—or what Hütteroth and Abdulfattah identify it as.

**Kharsa**

**Ḥarsa** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kh. el Kharsa**, OIG 092-088 (approx.)

Again, *hā* and *khā* have the same form but different dotting. Unfortunately, the exact location of this *khirbeh* is now lost; we only have a general area. Guérin (1869:262) visited the site between Umm el-Jerar and Tell Jemma. Alois Musil (1908:325) is the only other person we know of to visit the site; he called it *ḥ. el-ḥarsi* and located it south of Umm el-Jerar. The Karte von Arabia Petraea (1907a; 1907b), based on Musil's travels, has the site as el-Ḥursi, southeast of ed-Dejr (Deir el-Balah), southwest of Tell Ġemma, and northeast of Sūḵ Māzen. Based on this map, we can locate the site at approximately 092-088.

Note that the List of Mandatory Records Files (1976) included Kh. el Kharsa but stated that it was not found in 1942 and that its coordinates are unknown, and that it could be in paragraph nos. 110, 111, or several others in this vicinity.

**Khassa, Kh.**

see Bazzā.

**Kudnā**

**Kartā** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kudnā**

see Qarāṭiyya.

**Makkus/Maqqus**

There are two possible locations for this site. Kh. Makkus was marked on the Survey of Western Palestine map (Sheet XVI, Fu) between Wady el Bireh and an eastern tributary of that wadi, at a bend on the road leading from Majdal to Beit Daras. On the Survey of Palestine 1:20,000 map (Sheet 11-12, Hamame), the name Kh. Makkus is marked at a different site, on the western side of Wadi el Bire, at approximate coordinates 114800-121650 (OIG; site 170). The Survey of Western Palestine Makkus, meanwhile, between the two branches of Wadi el Bire and at the bend of the Majdal-Beit Daras road, is also indicated on Sheet 11-12—but simply marked “Ruin”; it is at approximate coordinates 115800-122250 (site 158), c. 1.5 km northeast of the previous site. Unfortunately, it is not currently possible to decide between these two candidates. A village Maqqus in *nahiya* Gaza appears in all of the sixteenth-century Ottoman *tahrir defters*, and so we would expect the site to have both Medieval and Ottoman pottery. Berman and Barda identified both periods at site 170 (2005:69\*–70\*, site 163). They only noted Medieval at site 158 (2005:67\*, site 153), but as noted above they often failed to identify Ottoman-period pottery.

Note that in the sixteenth-century *defters* the name of the site appears as Maqqus—suggesting a parallel case to Qarāṭiyya/Karāṭiyya with the replacement of *qāf* with *kāf* by the late Ottoman period.

**Manshiyyat al-ʿUjūl = (Kh.) Manshiyya**, OIG 095-096 (approx.)

**Manshiyyat as-Saḥ(a)līn = ʿIrāq al Manshiyya**, OIG 130-112

ʿIrāq Ḥātīm = unknown

These identifications involve a reassessment of the three places named ʿIrāq (Arak) and the two places named Manshiyya (Menshiye) in the 1596–97 *defter*. The three ʿIrāqs are: ʿIrāq, ʿIrāq Ḥātīm, and ʿIrāq Ḥālā. Iraq Hala is a known site (OIG 139-114), so its identification is clear. Logically, the other two would be Iraq Suweidan and Iraq el-Menshiyeh, although how Hütteroth and Abdulfattah determined which should be which is unclear. However, we know that there are several other places called Iraq (although these are mostly caves). We also know that there are two places called Manshiyya: Manshiyyat al-ʿUjūl and Manshiyyat as-Saḥlīn.

As we know from many other examples (Akhṣāṣ ʿAsqalān vs. Akhṣāṣ ʿAjlān, Şummayl al-Mughār vs. Şummayl al-Khalīl, etc.), village names were often qualified in Mamluk and Ottoman records by the name of a nearby village or town to distinguish them from other villages of the same name. That appears to be the case with the two Manshiyyas. Thus Manshiyyat al-ʿUjūl appears in other sources as Manshiyyat Tall ʿUjūl, that is, Manshiyah near Tell el-ʿAjjul (the correct spelling is actually ʿUjūl and not ʿAjjūl, as noted by Schumacher [1886:176–77, 194]; it is plural of ʿijl [= Hebrew *egel*], “calf”). In fact, just southeast of Tell el-Ajjul on the 1:20,000 Mandatory topocadastral map (Sheet 9-9, Wadi Ghazza) are two tracts of land called El Menshiya (OIG 094-096 and 096-096). While the location of the site itself was apparently lost, the name of the village lands was thus preserved into the Mandatory period. Van de Velde (1858:53) noted a ruin named el Menshiyeh in the general area of Gaza-Hesi, although he did not visit the site; we are not aware that anyone else ever noted the site.

Thus, Manshiyyat as-Saḥlīn should be a village called Manshiyya near another village named (as-)Saḥlīn. Saḥlīn is a toponym that appears in other sources, and there is much discussion as to its location. Sahalin appears in a Crusader charter (dated 1136; with Fectata, Zeita, and Courcoza) relating to Beit Jibrin (Röhrich 1893:40). Yāqūt mentions it, as Siḥillīn (or Sijillīn), in the territory of ʿAsqalān (1866–73c:46, 49–50). Eusebius (K. 160:11) mentions a Saaleim seven miles west of Eleutheropolis. While it is clearly somewhere west or northwest of Beit Jibrin, Saḥlīn’s exact location is unclear, and there is not space here to discuss the problem in detail. It is worth noting Elitzur (2004:381–82), using the data known at the time, including the 1596–97 *defter*, identified Saaleim/Sahalin with Manshiyyat as-Saḥlīn—and both with Iraq el-Menshiyeh. The *waqfiyya* of the Sultan Qāyṭbāy for his madrasa in Jerusalem (al-Ashrafiyya, 1477), however, provides important additional information; according to the summary of Ibrāhīm (1961:409), Manshiyyat Saḥlīn and Saḥlīn are listed as two separate villages in the district of Qaratiyya, and the lands of Manshiyyat Saḥlīn are bordered on the west by the lands of al-Fālūja. This means that Manshiyyat (as-)Saḥlīn is almost certainly ʿIrāq el-Menshiyeh—or is at least extremely close to it. (Note that Hütteroth and Abdulfattah transliterated the name as Saḥlīn, while—based on the earlier forms of the name—it is likely to be Saḥalīn, a name that would be written the same way in Arabic script.)

This leaves us again with the names ʿIrāq and ʿIrāq Ḥātīm. One should still be Iraq el-Suweidan, and we would suggest ʿIrāq. It is a much larger place in the 1596–97 *defter* and, therefore, more likely to still be inhabited in the nineteenth century. Also, the 1525–26 *defter* lists the following villages as part of the administrative unit of Qaratiyya (al-Swarieh 2008:91–96): ʿIjjis ar-Rās, ʿIrāq, Fālūja, and Judayda (or Jadīra). This grouping again suggests that ʿIrāq = Iraq el-Suweidan. This also means that the identity of ʿIrāq Ḥātīm is uncertain.

**Manšūra**

Hütteroth and Abdulfattah would identify it with Kh. el Manšura (OIG 133-113). However, Kh. (el) Manšūra at OIG 099-096 might be a better candidate. While the area of the northeastern Kh. el Mansura was certainly inhabited in this period, so was the area of the southwestern Kh. Mansura, and a number of other identifications have turned out to be located in its general area. We would note in connection with this the 1525–26 *defter*, which has two places named Manšūriya or Manšūra: One is

a village, the other is a *mazraʿa*. The *mazraʿa* appears in a group of *mazraʿas* in the area of Iraq el-Menshiyeh. Meanwhile, the village is said part of the administrative unit of Gaza, suggesting it is (as with the majority—but not all—of the villages in this subdistrict) in the general area of Gaza and not farther to the northeast. If it were the northeastern Mansura, it might be more likely to be part of the subdistrict of Qarāṭiyya. This suggests that the village in 1526–27 is the southwestern Mansura and the *mazraʿa* is the northeastern one. (Of course, this is not conclusive proof that the southwestern Mansura is the village of 1596–97; it is possible that one Mansura was settled and the other abandoned over the course of the sixteenth century.)

### Maqqus

See Makkus.

### Miʿṣaba

**Muʿayṣiba** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kh. Miʿṣaba** (OIG 116-124)

The difference in spelling is between *M-ʿ-y-ṣ-b-a* and *M-ʿ-ṣ-b-a*—that is, one additional letter (*yāʿ*). The name appears in the other two *defters*, transcribed by al-Swarieh (2008:94; 2009:40) in the first as *M-ʿ-ṣ-y-a* (or *M-q-ṣ-y-a*) and transliterated by Yağcinkaya (2006) as Maʿasaba in the second in Turkish. Based on these spellings, it is pretty clear that there should not be a *yāʿ* after the *ʿayn*—and that this is simply a mistake either by Hütteroth and Abdulfattah or by the scribe of the 1596–97 *defter*. The only other discrepancy is the appearance of *yāʿ* in place of *bāʿ* in the first *defter*; again, these are the same letter form with different dotting.

Al-Swarieh (2008:91–96) also records information on the administrative units within *nahiya* Gaza in the 1525–26 *defter*. One of these units, as mentioned above, is ʿAsqalān. While a couple of the villages of ʿAsqalān are outliers (Ibdīs, Jusayr), most are in the immediate vicinity of Tel Ashkelon and correspond well to our core study area (Maps 87, 88, 91, and 92). The inclusion of Miʿṣaya/Miʿṣaba in this group means it is likely (though not certain) that this place was close to ʿAsqalān and Majdal, making Kh. Miʿṣaba an excellent candidate. Note also that the Map 88 survey found Mamluk and Ottoman pottery at the site.

**Naḥāsa** = **Kh. an Naḥāsa**, OIG 088-088 (approx.)

Musil (1908:56) mentioned a site called *ḥ. an-Nḥāse*. The Karte von Arabia Palaestina (1907c) locates *en-Nḥāse* north-northwest of Sūḵ Māzen and Weli eš-Šeiḥ Ḥmūdi, south of Wadi es-Selḳi and Weli abu Abīde, and south-southeast of ed-Dejr (Deir el-Balah) on the road to Khan Yunis before it turns to the southwest.

### Qarāṭiyya

**Farāṭiyya** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Qarāṭiyya (Karāṭiyya)**

correction: **Kartā** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kudnā**

We are skeptical of Hütteroth and Abdulfattah’s identification of the site Kartā (*K-r-t-ā*) as Karāṭiyya. The spelling does not appear correct: Not only is it missing the *yāʿ*, which always appears in spellings of the name, but also the name usually (though not always) has a long *ā* after the *rāʿ*. As an alternative, we would suggest Farāṭiyya, a large site (121 adult males) which we should be able to identify in some way—given the pattern (see chapter 4) that the larger the village in the sixteenth century, the greater the likelihood that it continued to be inhabited into the nineteenth century. Karāṭiyya was a subdistrict center in the Mamluk administration (and in the 1525–26 *defter*; see Ibrāhīm 1961:409; al-Swarieh 2008:89) and is mentioned by the medieval geographer Dimashqī (1866:213), suggesting it was of some importance in the period.

We believe that the explanation is the confusion of *fāʿ* and *qāf*: They are the same form, merely with different dotting. Not only is Qarāṭiyya (with *qāf*) an acceptable variant of Karāṭiyya (with *kāf*), but it appears that the original spelling was in fact Qarāṭiyya—and that Karāṭiyya is a much later development. It appears with initial *qāf* in Yāqūt (1866–73d:53), Dimashqī, the 1477 *waqfiyya* of al-Ashrafiyya madrasa in Jerusalem (Ibrāhīm 1961:409), as a district center in 1520s Gaza (al-Swarieh 2008:89), and in the lists of Scholz (c. 1820; Scholz 1822:254), Eli Smith (1841:118), and Socin (the late 1860s village list; Socin 1879:155). The earliest appearance with *kāf* that we can find is the Survey of Western Palestine (Palmer 1881:368); it then appears as Karatiyya in all later Ottoman and Mandatory sources that we have seen (such as Gatt 1884 and the 1931 census). This change may have occurred because in Palestinian Arabic *qāf* is pronounced as *kāf* (see, e.g., Talmon 2004:216). This leaves the identification of Kartā. We believe that *K-r-t-ā* is a mistake for or misreading of *K-d-n-ā*, Kudna. Each has the same number of letters but with two differences. As mentioned above, *nūn* and *tāʿ* have the same form but with different dottings. *Rāʿ* and *dāl* are different forms, but depending on the handwriting could possibly be confused; note that Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (1977:151) could not decide whether one village should be Rashīra or Rashīda, supporting our idea of the confusion of these letters. Note that Kudna is roughly on the border of the Gaza, Hebron, and Jerusalem *nahiyes*. There are no villages with similar names in the 1596–97 *defter* in the other two *nahiyes*; this means that either it must be “Karta,” or else it appears under another name. Meanwhile, Kudna appears in the two other *defters*, spelled as Kudnā, in *nahiye* Gaza.

Zadok (1995–97:140) already mentioned the possibility of these two identifications (of Qarāṭiyya and Kudnā), while noting the interchange of *kāf* and *qāf* in Palestinian Arabic, although he suggested that the form Qarāṭiyya is a “mistake,” while it in fact appears to be the original form. Meanwhile, Etkes (2012:fig. 7.2) appears to have reached the same conclusion concerning Farāṭiyya but still repeats Hütteroth and Abdulfattah’s location of “Kartā” at the same site.

**Qarqafa**

**Mirfaqa** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kh. Qarqafa** (125.121)? **125260-121570**

The difference in spelling is between *M-r-f-q-a* and *Q-r-q-f-a*. As apparent elsewhere, *fā*<sup>ḍ</sup> and *qāf* are commonly mistaken for each other. This name appears in the other *tahrir* *defters*, transliterated into Turkish as Mirfeka from one (Yalçinkaya 2006) and transcribed as Mirqafa/Mirfaqa in the other (al-Swarieh 2009:42). Thus, other scholars have had a problem distinguishing the two. The mistake of *qāf* for *mīm* would be more difficult to explain, as these are not the same form, but might still be possible. (In the 1525–26 *defter*, al-Swarieh [2009:43] transcribes the name of a *mazraʿa* as Qarṭ as-Sabl, almost certainly a mistake for Marṭ as-Sayl.) It is likely that the different scholars may have been influenced to render this name Mirfaqa in order to fit it to the Arabic word *mirfaqa*.

**Ramādāt**

Perhaps this is a mistake for Ramādān. Musil (1908:29–30) recorded a *bīr Ramaḍān* serving as a water source for En-Nṣērāt, in the area of Deir el-Balah and Wadi es-Selki. Note that *nūn* and *tā*<sup>ḍ</sup> share the same form, with different dottings; the consonant *dād* is not a similar sign to *dāl*, however. Meanwhile, the Turkish transliteration of villages from the 1548–49 *defter* (Yalçinkaya 2006) has a village Remadan of similar size to Ramadat of the 1596–97 *defter*.

**Şandaḥanna**

We have chosen to mark Şandaḥanna near Majdal, though we cannot be sure that this is not Kh. Sandahannah near Beit Guvrin.

**Salqā = Khan Yunis, OIG 083-083**

This identification is not based on an error—but on information from medieval Arab sources. Salqa was a Mamluk postal station on the Cairo-Damascus highway between Rafah and Gaza, as reported by al-ʿUmayrī, Khalīl al-Zāhirī, and Qalqashandī; Qalqashandī records that it was specifically between Rafah and Darum, i.e., Deir el-Balah (see Hartmann 1910:689). Later the station between Rafah and Darum appears as Khan Yunis (Hartmann 1910:696). Meanwhile, the fourteenth-century historian Ibn al-Furāt and the fifteenth-century historian Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī both stated that Yūnis al-Nawrūzī built his khan at the postal station of “Salfa” or Salqa near Gaza in the late fourteenth century (see Tamari 1983–87:136, 141; see also Abu Khalaf 1983:183). This identification also helps to explain why Khan Yunis is mysteriously missing from all of the sixteenth-century *defters*.

Note that Etkes (2012:fig. 7.2) locates Salqā just southeast of Deir el-Balah, presumably identifying it with the modern town of Wadi as-Salqa in this area. However, this town is a recent founding, receiving its name from the nearby wadi; the historical sources clearly indicate that medieval Salqa should be placed southwest of Deir el-Balah at the site of Khan Yunis.

**Saṭar, OIG 086-086 (approx.)**

The Survey of Palestine 1:20,000 topocadstral map (Sheet 8-8, Khan Yunis) has two tracts of land named Es Satar (one between 084-086 and 085-086, the other around 087-086) and a Wadi es Satar (between 086-087 and 087-085).

Al-Dabbāgh (1972:492, cited in Grossman 1992:107) noted a former village Saṭar in the Qalaʿiya area around Khan Yunis, whose residents are said to have founded a seminomadic village. He notes that the inhabitants next appear in Sautariya, near Ramla—but without giving a date for the desertion of Saṭar.

In addition, Abel (1940:70) noted a cultivated area north of Khan Yunis called Saṭar, along the Wadi es-Saṭar, and that in this area there are a few sycamores which are the remnants of a large group of trees lining “la grande allée ou *saṭar*” (*saṭar* in Arabic means “line”), mentioned by al-Muhallabī (end of tenth century) and Yāqūt (early thirteenth century) between Rafah and Darum, apparently referring to the main coastal road (see Hartmann 1910:685; 1916:488).

Etkes (2012:fig. 7.2) appears to have located Saṭar in the same area.

**Shaʿārta aṣ-Şuḡhrā**

**Sawāmiriyya aṣ-Şuḡhrā** (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Kh. Shaʿartā** (south)?, OIG 098-090

In the 1596–97 *defter*, let us consider two names: Shaʿāriyya al-Kubrā and Sawāmiriyya aṣ-Şuḡhrā. First, Shaʿāriyya al-Kubrā is clearly the northern Shaʿarta (as indicated by the notation *tābi*<sup>c</sup>, “dependent of”, Burayr). Since *tā*<sup>c</sup> and *yā*<sup>ḍ</sup> are the same form, merely with different pointings, the name in the list was probably misread as “Shaʿāriyya” by Hütteroth and Abdulfattah and should be transliterated as Shaʿarta.

The qualifications *kubrā* and *şuḡhrā* = *kabīr* and *şaghīr*, that is, major and minor or large and small (*şuḡhrā*/*şaghīr* is a cognate of Hebrew *şaʿir*, “young”). This means there should be a second Sawāmiriyya (al-Kubrā) and a second Shaʿarta (aṣ-Şuḡhrā), but neither appears. It is possible that they were uninhabited at this time. However, there is an interesting situation when we try to track these names in the other *defters*. First, Sawāmiriyya never occurs in any other *defter* or any other source; since there should in fact be two of them, this suggests that the reading “Sawāmiriyya” is an error. In the 1548–49 *defter* we have the names Şaʿāriyye el-Kūbra and Sefertā el-Kūbra, as transliterated into Turkish (Yalçinkaya 2006). In the 1525–26 *defter*, we have neither form, but we do have a *S-q-r-t-ā* aṣ-Şuḡhrā transcribed by al-Swarieh (2008:95; 2009:40). In the *waqf defter* 522, we have one *waqf* (İpşirli and al-Tamīmī 1982:14, no. 44) with a village transcribed as Sāfiriyya in Gaza subdistrict and another with two villages transcribed as Safiriyyā al-Kabīrā and aṣ-Şaḡhrā in Gaza subdistrict (İpşirli



and al-Tamīmī 1982:10, no. 29). In the various late Ottoman and Mandatory records and maps, the only known village or ruin Safiriyya in the southern coastal plain is near Lud (which is not part of Gaza subdistrict). There is a tract of land called Safiriyyā north of Mughallis and east of Idhribba, but this is on the border of the subdistrict and is the only instance of the name that we have found within the subdistrict (and we need two). We would therefore suggest, though we are not certain, that Sawāmiriyya, Safiriyya, Seferta, Şa<sup>c</sup>āriyye, and Sha<sup>c</sup>āriyya are all mistakes for a single name, Sha<sup>c</sup>ārta, which we know was applied to two separate *khirbehs* (a northern one at OIG 117-106 and a southern one at OIG 098-90). To us, the variety in these names suggests the possibility of confusing the different letters: *S-w-ā-m-r-y-a*, *S-f-r-y-a*, *S-f-r-t-ā*, *S-q-r-t-ā*, *Sh-<sup>c</sup>-ā-r-y-a*, and *Sh-<sup>c</sup>-ā-r-t-a*. Other than Sawāmiriyya, which is an outlier, each has five letters (besides optional long *ā* after the <sup>c</sup>*ayn*). The letters *yā* and *tā* are the same form with different dottings, as are *sīn* and *shīn*. *Fā* (or *qāf*) and <sup>c</sup>*ayn* are not the same letter, but in their medial forms they are similar and could certainly be confused, as has happened in transcriptions of the *defters*: For instance, in listing the villages of the 1525–26 *defter*, al-Swarieh (2008:94; 2009:40) could not decide between *M-<sup>c</sup>-ṣ-y-a* and *M-q-ṣ-y-a* for the entry we have interpreted as Mi<sup>c</sup>şaba (see above). The only difficult entry is *S-w-ā-m-r-y-a*, which is more difficult to explain. Also, we have the problem that according to Yalçinkaya the 1548–49 *defter* has both Seferta and Şa<sup>c</sup>āriyye qualified as “al-Kubrā”; our guess is that this is simply a mistake—either by the original scribe or by Yalçinkaya—and that it should be aş-Şughrā.

We would suggest that this name has been repeatedly misinterpreted due to lack of familiarity with sites in the region and with this name, derived ultimately from a non-Arabic source (Seara); it was probably misread as Safiriyya under the influence of a known village or villages of this name, such as the one near Lud.

### Takhāw

**Taḥāw**/Taḥād (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah) = **Takhāw(a)**, 093-092 (approx.)

Musil (1907:220) mentioned a site *ḥ. Taḥāwa* and cited Yāqūt for a reference to a medieval village Taḥāwa near Darum (Musil 1907:301 n.3; see Yāqūt 1866–73a:827–28). Elsewhere, Musil (1908:54) mentioned that *at-Thāwa* is the old name for a *khirbeh* now generally called abu Meddēn. The Karte von Arabia Palaestina (1907c) locates Taḥāwa east of Deir el-Balah on the road to Sheikh Nebhan.

Note (as mentioned above) that this appears to be one of several cases where the final <sup>ṣ</sup>*alif* or *tā* *marbūṭa* is omitted in the *defters*.

### Umm an-Nuṣūr (or Nu<sup>c</sup>ūr)

On the Survey of Palestine 1:20,000 topocadastral map sheets, there are two tracts of land called Umm an-Nuṣūr: One is just south of Suq Mazin (OIG 088-084; Sheet 8-8, Khan Yunis), and the other is at 104-107 (Sheet 10-10, Beit Hanun).



## 4. ASHKELON AS MARITIME GATEWAY AND CENTRAL PLACE

by George A. Pierce and Daniel M. Master

THIS study seeks to offer a first glimpse at the significance of local settlement patterns for the history of Tel Ashkelon based upon the information assembled in the previous chapters. In many ways, this is an addendum to Huster's fundamental work, but we have tried to address some new synthetic ideas. No archaeological site is an island (even island sites), and hence the necessity of regional syntheses for archaeology cannot be overstated. Even the "empty space" between sites attests to land use—or lack thereof—and contributes to the knowledge of a region (Smith and Parsons 1989:179). In this chapter, the focus will be on the diachronic relationship between Tel Ashkelon and the land behind it.

### *Settlement Theories*

Archaeologically visible settlement patterns imposed on the landscape of the southern coastal plain of Israel reflect conscious choices made by their inhabitants regarding availability of natural resources, safety, and proximity to pathways. Several descriptive models have been used to explain the distribution of sites, but—with some modifications—Walter Christaller's Central Place Theory (1933) remains the most widely applied theoretical framework used to explain settlement patterns in the southern Levant (e.g., Levy 1995:229; Dever 1987:150; Jasmin 2006). A. F. Burghardt (1971) famously modified Christaller's work by focusing on gateway cities, larger urban centers at the end of a transportation network. Burghardt's model provided a diachronic model whereby an initial settlement at the terminus of a transportation route could develop into a stable central place surrounded by a new frontier.

For this study, Levantine ports in antiquity can be considered nodes in a network of ports across the eastern Mediterranean basin. The port connected the maritime system to a set of roadways to various consumption and production centers. In this sense, the port was similar to the gateway cities that Burghardt envisioned. Functioning at the junction between land and water, ports present a unique challenge for analysis of settlement patterns and hierarchies since a port does not typically occupy a node in the traditional, optimally-hexagonal settlement pattern for market centers

simply by virtue of its "excentric coastal position" (Bird 1973:110). Christaller (1966:16) acknowledged the difference between central places, areally-bound places, and point-bound places in his original work, describing the last as "those settlements the inhabitants of which make their living from resources found at specific locations ... especially harbors."<sup>1</sup> As a point-bound place, the port—obviously situated at the land-water nexus—often attracts central functions such as administration or markets toward the water front, although the port is not usually the only "center" of an urban environment.<sup>2</sup>

The hinterland of a port widens inland with boundaries formed by hinterlands of competing ports (Bird 1973:110). For coastal gateways, the "core area" would be overseas markets (Bird 1973:112, quoting pers. comm. with Burghardt). The gateway model together with considerations of port-hinterland dynamics results in dendritic patterns of settlement locations with various "branches" spreading from the gateway. A settlement pattern for the "access resources" model proposed by Mitchell Allen (*Ashkelon I*) would be linear, or dendritic, with sites positioned along trade routes, connecting inland centers to a coastal outlet and few rural sites. Dendritic models place emphasis on highest order sites, or attachment points, and lower order settlements to map communication or commercial lines (Haselgrove 1986:7). Based on the models developed by B. Bronson (1977) and S. Hall (1985), Lawrence E. Stager proposed such a model for coastal Levantine sites in the Bronze and Iron Ages in which merchants leveraged economic "port power" to connect hinterland resources to wider markets such as dynastic Egypt, reaping the profits of this trade (Stager 2001; 2002; see

<sup>1</sup> While central places exist as markets and service their surrounding region, areally-bound places are settlements in which the inhabitants depend on agricultural activities determined by the neighboring countryside (Christaller 1966:16). J. H. Bird (1973:111) observed that Christaller then noted that harbors become central places, making the unique situation of ports subservient to the overarching Central Place Theory.

<sup>2</sup> Within a city, the process of centro-symmetric ordering occurs as several centers of commerce or administration may develop in an urban environment, each of which potentially offering specialized goods or services (Bird 1973:108).

adaptation for MB IIA by Cohen 2002). Stager's model makes two assumptions about coastal commercial sites and the control wielded by the merchants. First, the site was tied to inland polities via east-west networks of drainage or transport systems (Stager 2001:625). Second, power was exercised via economic measures external to the political or military power of the state (Stager 2001:628–29). Power exerted by the state as punitive measures against hinterland polities could actually be counterproductive and costly.

### Theory and Data

While these theories use analogies and economic logic to sketch out Ashkelon's history, the data assembled by Huster forces the theoretical models to confront a robust data set which prompts some re-evaluations (or at least nuancing) of Tel Ashkelon's role in its landscape. However, the one element that is not changed by Huster's regional survey is the core orientation of Tel Ashkelon toward the sea and its links with overseas markets. This is abundantly clear from the numerous imported transport amphorae (see Barako in *Ashkelon 1*) to the numerous anchors and pottery off the coast ranging in date from the Late Bronze Age to the Islamic period (see Raban and Tur-Caspa in *Ashkelon 1*; Wachsmann in *Ashkelon 1*). From the perspective of Tel Ashkelon, Mediterranean connections are justifiably emphasized. Yet, within this framework, Huster's results indicate Tel Ashkelon appears to be part of two different settlement regimes: a first from the Early Bronze Age through the end of the second millennium B.C. and a second from the late Iron II period through the end of the Crusades.<sup>3</sup> This is not a new observation, originating at least with Allen (*Ashkelon 1*), but in the following pages, we will address how Huster's collection modifies our understanding of Tel Ashkelon and its hinterland.

### Prehistoric Periods

Huster's collation of the data from the Ashkelon region reveals an era before Tel Ashkelon played any role in the region at all. He observes that

<sup>3</sup>A third "null" pattern is also visible in the moments when Tel Ashkelon appears to be entirely abandoned (Prehistoric–Neolithic, Intermediate Bronze Age, early-mid sixth century B.C., after the Crusades). These periods are characterized by an absence of Mediterranean trade within the Ashkelon region. In that sense, this pattern highlights Mediterranean trade as Tel Ashkelon's *sine qua non*.

Epipaleolithic sites were located on or nearby the first *kurkar* ridge inland from the Mediterranean. During the Neolithic, settlements were located predominantly along the Shiqma drainage basin southeast of Tel Ashkelon rather than near the coastal zone, indicating that Mediterranean trade was not a major aspect of subsistence. Even close to the Mediterranean, the PPNC pastoral camp in Afridar (Site 207; Garfinkel and Dag 2008) was not commercially oriented. The inhabitants did utilize the fishing resources of the near shore, as evinced by fish bones among the faunal remains (Perrot and Gopher 1996:165; *Ashkelon 1*, p. 57), but commerce along the Mediterranean littoral (Stager 1993:105) was not substantive enough to shape settlement.

At some point in the Chalcolithic period, a series of poorly understood encampments were founded in and around Tel Ashkelon and in the Afridar region immediately to the north. For Tel Ashkelon, the Chalcolithic period is represented by Chalcolithic pottery, particularly cornet bases, in secondary deposition in alluvium (see Rosen in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 101; see also Stager 1993:105). The secondary presence of these sherds in the alluvium may suggest that the primary Chalcolithic period settlement was located on higher ground, on *kurkar* bedrock of Ashkelon's central tel, perhaps due to swampy conditions indicated by increased wadi alluviation during the Chalcolithic and nascent Early Bronze Age (see Carmi et al in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 127; Rosen in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 103). Another encampment on the north side of Ashkelon's north tell was indicated by the residual Chalcolithic pottery recovered in the fills of the MB II fortifications on the North Slope (see *Ashkelon 1*, p. 215). This same pattern of secondary discoveries of Chalcolithic material, most easily distinguished by the presence of cornets, is found in the settlements north of Ashkelon in the Afridar region (Gophna 2004:3; compare figures 2.2 and 2.3). All of these sites have Early Bronze Age I habitation as well, leading to some thought that the Chalcolithic material may be from the portion of that period immediately preceding the Early Bronze Age I.

### Early Bronze Age

EB IA and EB IB settlements in the Afridar region just north of Tel Ashkelon represent a new way of conceiving of the landscape. Gophna (2004) summarizes the situation well when he notes that these sites were *entrepôts* connecting

the local agricultural products (cereals, olives, grapes, products of animal husbandry), goods transported overland from long distances (bitumen, copper), and the products of Levantine coastal shipping. Archaeobotanical analysis of wood fragments revealed *Cedrus libani* and *Quercus cerris* from Lebanon and Turkey (Gophna and Liphshitz 1996:143). Other finds included freshwater Nilotic mollusk shells, Egyptian or Egyptianized drop-shaped vessels, and enigmatic ceramic “Clayton rings” (Gophna 2004:6). The core rationale for these sites was proximity to the Mediterranean transportation networks (Gophna 2004:4). The (admittedly sparse) EB I pottery from Tel Ashkelon marks the site as just another small site at the southern border of the Afridar cluster (Stager 1993:105–6). There is no sense that Tel Ashkelon, or any site, was of a higher rank within a settlement hierarchy. Further, the lack of additional local settlement within the region highlights the role of the Afridar cluster as a regional rather than local gateway, serving sites such as Tell el-Hesi, Tel ʿErani, and points east (Gophna 2004:7).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The nature of the terrestrial and maritime trade networks in relation to the Egyptian presence in southern Palestine during the EB I and the settlements in the Ashkelon region warrants further consideration. While a limited Egyptian presence in southern Palestine is attested during the EB IA, Egyptian involvement in the area increased in the late EB IB after a brief hiatus (Wilkinson 1999:128 and references there). In the interval between those phases, Wilkinson observes a decline in Egyptian material culture in the southern Palestine but an increase in imports from Levant at Abydos Tomb U-j (1999:129). The increase in Egyptian activity in the region during the EB IB was concomitant with the rise of the state in Egypt. State-sponsored trade is demonstrated by Egyptian or Egyptianized material culture found at more than twenty sites in southern Palestine (Moorey 1987:43; Oren and Yekutieli 1992:381; Brandl 1992). This includes clear indications of an Egyptian presence at Tel ʿErani (Weinstein 1984) and En Besor (Gophna and Gazit 1985; Gophna 1990; 1992a; 1992c), which functioned as way stations or administrative centers on the terrestrial route. The title of “overseer of foreign lands” bestowed upon an official during the reign of Khasekhemwy may indicate a shift from non-belligose trading colonies to diplomatic contacts with local merchants or officials at the end of the Second Dynasty (Wilkinson 1999:133). Tel ʿErani has even greater indications of Egyptian presence than Afridar-Ashkelon. This pattern complicates our understanding of Ashkelon as a gateway—at least for Egyptian goods. It could be that Tel ʿErani was part of a different (or additional) overland network with Egypt, or it is equally possible that Tel ʿErani was a more central place than Afridar-Ashkelon and that Ashkelon was a dependent port of more powerful inland polities.

This pattern changed markedly in the EB III though this difference is not transparent in Huster’s summative survey maps. All of the Afridar EB I sites north of Tel Ashkelon disappeared; Tel Poran arose as fortified settlement, and Tel Ashkelon became a site of 8–9 hectares.<sup>5</sup> Locally, Tel Ashkelon likely took over all of the functions (and the population) of the earlier, smaller sites to the north. These sites share Tel Ashkelon’s proximity to the Mediterranean as well as its access to the fresh water of the coastal aquifer. The most obvious difference, however, is that Tel Ashkelon’s northern mound is a *kurkar* ridge that rises some 20 m above the sea below. This locale offers an unparalleled view of the coastal waterways along with a degree of protection that is not found in the Afridar settlements. *In situ* EB III remains on Tel Ashkelon’s north mound include a single room delimited by mudbrick walls containing olive oil separator jars and metallic-combed ware storage jars for that product. This small window does not provide much insight into the period though it is likely that the range of maritime and terrestrial connections uncovered in the Afridar EB I settlements continued at Tel Ashkelon into the EB III.

In his discussion of “port power” in the Early Bronze Age, Stager (2001) argues that Ashkelon became a preeminent city in the region by using its economic advantages as a port to shape the choices of inland producers. Of course Tel Ashkelon, by its very location, was surely a port, but the excavations have yet to establish Tel Ashkelon as a city as large as Tel ʿErani or Tel Yarmuth. From the surveys at least, it is apparent that EB III Tel Ashkelon had no satellite agricultural towns and villages.<sup>6</sup> This gap emphasizes that Ashkelon was

<sup>5</sup> If one connects the dots of clean EB III primary and secondary archaeological deposits uncovered by the Leon Levy Expedition, the EB III site would be limited to Ashkelon’s northern tell (c. 8–9 hectares). If the scattered single sherds occasionally found in later Middle Bronze through Iron Age deposits on Ashkelon’s south tell are included as a marker of the original size of a single settlement, the site grows considerably. Stager (2001) originally used the latter measure, but in the last few years, every excavation area or probe on Ashkelon’s south tell to reach bedrock has found the EB III immediately below the Middle Bronze Age remains, leading Stager to modify his position.

<sup>6</sup> This null result has greater weight because of Huster’s use of salvage excavation to fill out earlier surface surveys. In the last twenty years, the modern city of Ashkelon has expanded rapidly covering the area east of Ashkelon with a carpet of multi-story residential buildings. In the construction process, innumerable IAA test pits have been excavated down to bedrock. Because these test pits follow the variables of modern

not a typical agrarian center with an emphasis on maximally exploiting the surrounding agricultural fields. Instead, Ashkelon was a commercial outlet with an economic reach beyond its immediate hinterland. The question remains, however, whether Ashkelon was a true port power or merely Tel ʿErani’s port.

#### Middle Bronze Age

Following a gap in occupation during the MB I, Tel Ashkelon was enlarged and fortified in the MB IIA with renewed emphasis on maritime commercial ties. The city and its ruler, *Mwri*, were deemed enough of a threat to warrant its inclusion in an Execration Text where the port city’s commercial nature is reflected in the name of the site, *Isk3i*, an Egyptian rendering of the city name ʾAtqalānu derived from the Semitic (i.e., Canaanite) root \**ṭql* “to weigh” (Posener 1940:65 [E2]; see Sethe 1926:e23 for an earlier rendering and different ruler). Susan Cohen (2002) suggests that initial settlement was made on the coast and settlements began to be established on routes into the highlands possibly to obtain natural resources there. Luxury items and imported pottery appear in higher concentrations closer to the coastal trade centers such as Akko, Ashkelon, and Dor, in addition to “gateway” cities to inland settlements such as Megiddo and Gezer (Cohen 2002:129–30). She attributes this dendritic exchange system and “cultural renaissance” of the MB IIA to contact with Middle Kingdom Egypt and the powerful trade cities such as Byblos (Cohen 2002:131).

In the Middle Bronze Age, Tel Ashkelon was closely connected with the rest of the eastern Mediterranean. Ceramic evidence from various contexts related to Ashkelon’s fortifications and gate illustrate renewed seaborne trade connections in the Middle Bronze Age (see *Ashkelon I*, pp. 24–36). Additional ceramic evidence for Ashkelon’s maritime connections comes from a cemetery containing over 200 individuals in sixteen chambers in Grid 50, Phase 11 dated from the MB IIB to LB I–II transition (Baker 2006; 2010; *Ashkelon I*, pp. 300–3). The pottery includes imported wares from outside the Levant that were preferred as grave goods for the deceased.

Middle Bronze Age Ashkelon was more than ten times the size of any other site in Huster’s survey

---

construction, they serve as an independent control to the design of the archaeological surface surveys.

region. Once again, as in the Early Bronze Age, the inhabitants of Ashkelon did not view the immediate terrestrial hinterland as a region to be developed or exploited for agriculture despite a complete lack of competition for these resources. A few sites were uncovered in the survey area, but, two of the largest—Tel Obed and Tel Poran—have no published non-Levantine material culture; the ceramics are thoroughly local. This emphasis on local production is such a contrast with the diverse assemblage at Ashkelon that it is difficult to see how these sites might be closely related. It seems more likely that these sites were related to the coastal highway routes (see chapter 2, Iron II road discussion, pp. 34–35). In such a setting, the idea of Ashkelon as a territorial, agrarian kingdom seems difficult to support (contra Burke 2008:130). Ashkelon’s closest peers in the interior of the country are as far east as Tell el-Hesi, Gezer, Lachish, Tel ʿErani, or Tell Beit Mirsim. These sites do contain imports, and Tel Ashkelon is the most likely conduit for them. Between the two sets of sites, there are few settlements that contain any material evidence indicating that they were way stations. There is no down-the-line trail of imported objects which might mark the routes.

In this period, for the first time, Ashkelon has all the elements that Stager described as belonging to a “port power.” Both from the standpoint of site size and market hierarchy, Tel Ashkelon was dominant, but its power was not expressed through the accumulation of more land, direct political control, or a slowly expanding set of routes to the interior. The unwillingness of Tel Ashkelon’s inhabitants to settle and exploit even its immediate hinterland highlight an economy fully supported by the commercial gains that came from its role as a node in Mediterranean commerce, with a secondary role as a regional gateway between the coast and large agrarian cities 25 km to the west.<sup>7</sup> There is no sense that it had any interest in controlling those interior cities politically. Rather, it was the power of Ashkelon’s commerce that shaped inland production for export.

---

<sup>7</sup> Given the importance of pastoral populations to the history of the Middle Bronze Age, it is possible that these groups played a substantive role in Ashkelon’s hinterland. See the discussion by Huster (pp. 22–24) of the MB II cemeteries in the region. Hence, the above observations on the exploitation of the hinterland should be linked primarily to permanent agricultural settlements which are designed to exploit the grain, wine, and oil production capacities of the region.

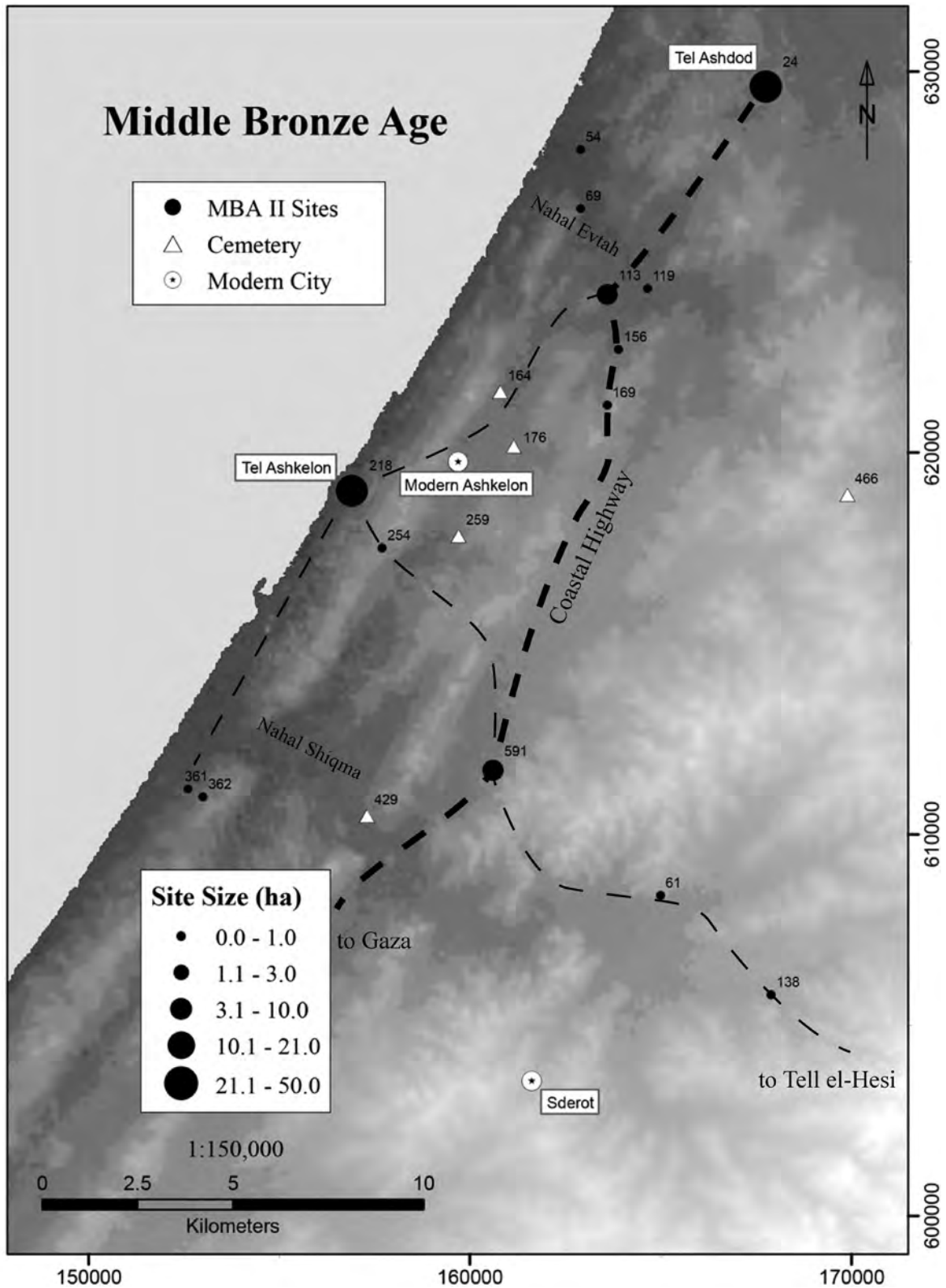


Figure 4.1: Map of Ashkelon's roads in the Middle Bronze Age over modern topography.

## Late Bronze Age–Iron I

The Late Bronze and Iron 1 periods represent two of the most different cultural epochs in the history of Tel Ashkelon. In the early twelfth century B.C., Ashkelon changed from an international port in the Egyptian empire to a member of the Philistine Pentapolis. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of regional settlement, the patterns are virtually the same, and Ashkelon stands alone in the midst of an underdeveloped hinterland.

The Late Bronze Age presents both archaeological and textual data to build a comprehensive picture of items imported into Tel Ashkelon's tributary area and commodities exported from the region or acquired by the ruler for tribute to the Egyptian court. The status of Ashkelon as a vassal under Egyptian control in the LB II is clearly attested in the Amarna Letters. Yidya of Ashkelon repeatedly asserts his loyalty to the Egyptian king (EA 320) and his willingness to hearken to the orders to the king's envoys, Irimayašša and Reanapa (EA 321, 322, 326; cf. EA 370).<sup>8</sup> The range of commodities available to Yidya—and requested of him—illuminate the potential of Ashkelon: thirty ingots of glass, bread, beer, oil, grain, straw, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats (EA 324, 325).

From the excavations at Tell Ashkelon, it is clear the site was part of the Eastern Mediterranean commercial world. A central-courtyard house dated to the LB IIB contained Cypriot, Mycenaean, and Minoan wares (see *Ashkelon I*, p. 304). In addition to these finds, scribal training at Ashkelon in the international tradition is attested by a cuneiform lexical tablet bearing Sumerian and Canaanite terms (Huehnergard and van Soldt 1999; Stager 2008b:1580). In another area, courtyard surfaces yielded Cypriot and Mycenaean imports (see *Ashkelon I*, p. 251). Toward the end of the LB II, Egyptianized bowls and beer jugs mark an Egyptian presence at Ashkelon while imported amphorae and handled cups from Egypt contained products for the Canaanite market (Martin 2008:265; 2011:195–201).

Unlike the pattern in Middle Bronze Age, Huster argues that Late Bronze Age cities in Ashkelon's immediate vicinity did receive imports. Indeed the penetration of imported Mycenaean and Cypriot wares into the smallest hamlets of the interior is a

<sup>8</sup> While Yidya's loyalty to the Egyptian pharaoh may have been steadfast, his actions toward fellow Canaanite rulers may have not been as trustworthy as Ashkelon was implicated together with Gazru (Gezer) and Lakisi (Lachish) in an attempt to overthrow Abdi-Hepa of Jerusalem (EA 287).

distinctive feature of the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant. Ashkelon was surely the conduit for many inland cities, but, given the ubiquity of these forms, determining which Levantine port served as the gateway for these containers and their contents proves difficult. Within a dendritic system, each port should have a unique hinterland located directly behind it, but Ashkelon's depopulated hinterland makes it quite challenging to trace a unique dendritic system eastwards. The most likely route ran southeast of Tel Ashkelon through Tel Obed and from there to Tell el-Hesi and beyond. However, Tell el-Hesi is equidistant from the Gaza gateway. Thus, Ashkelon's unique connections to the east are unclear.

As Huster notes, Israel Finkelstein relates the importance of Ashkelon as an Egyptian administrative center and reconstructs a sparsely settled territory for Ashkelon that bordered territories of Gezer and Gath, citing the Amarna Letters for justification (1996a:225, 233). Whether or not territory in the Ancient Near East was ever sketched out in the post-Westphalian blobs that he describes remains unclear (see Smith 2005 for another approach), but in the Amarna letters themselves, Ashkelon is never pictured as territorially expansionist or even defending a core territory outside the city itself.

Allen (*Ashkelon I*, p. 33) submits that shortage of Bronze and Iron Age remains east of Ashkelon indicate that the north-south trade routes were more important connections than east-west ties. Similarly, Michaël Jasmin's study (2006) of city-state territories in the LB IIB clearly shows a dichotomy between coastal sites and sites located in the Shephelah or hill country, giving further evidence of the difference between ports and their tributary areas and inland central places with a hierarchy of secondary centers and lower-tier villages or hamlets. In observing the lack of settlements in the hinterland of Ashkelon, Jasmin attributes this absence to the area necessary for agricultural work by the urban populace (2006:166). While the settlement patterns in the territory of Ashkelon do not fit within his "ideal" organization as seen in the Shephelah, he proffers that Ashkelon's strength may have come from control of the north-south trade route, noting that the lack of rural sites and organization contrary to a classic central place hierarchy "may have been determined by [Ashkelon's] very different economic basis" (Jasmin 2006:172, 176). The economy of Tel Ashkelon did have a different basis, but it is the maritime route that allowed it to bypass normal



agrarian conventions and perhaps even control the coastal highway.

Life at Tel Ashkelon was dramatically different in the Iron I period, and the work of the Leon Levy Expedition has done much to enrich our understanding of this transition (see *Ashkelon 1*, pp. 257–72). The Canaanite city, having been first destroyed by the Egyptians at the end of the thirteenth century, received Sea Peoples from the west and became a city of the Philistines. This transition included fundamental shifts in all aspects of material culture, from ceramics (Stager 1995) and foodways (Master 2009) to architecture (Aja 2009). The ceramic distinctions with the preceding Late Bronze Age are so clear that they form the basis for the attribution of sites within the survey area to the Iron I. That is, all the Iron I sites in the survey area have the Philistine pottery forms that are found at Tel Ashkelon in the same period. In that sense, the relationship between Tel Ashkelon and the sites in its immediate hinterland was culturally close.

In this period, the evidence for Tel Ashkelon's connections with overseas centers is not as widely understood. In his treatment of Egyptian and Egyptianized pottery at Tel Ashkelon, Mario Martin (2011:201) mentions five Egyptian ovoid to globular jar rims from Philistine contexts with no exemplars found in LB IIB units. While not ruling out residual vessels, he suggests that the absence of these from LB contexts supports a contemporaneity with the earliest Philistine levels and a continued relationship with Egypt. Clearer Iron I imports include amphorae from the southern Lebanese coast, some bearing Cypro-Minoan signs, alongside imported Mycenaean IIC pottery (Cross and Stager 2006; Master 2009). Ashkelon was still a port, even though the Mediterranean networks had changed.

In addition, some goods from inland centers were brought to Ashkelon and Ashdod during the Iron I (Ben Shlomo 2006:Fig 5.2). Between this trade from the hinterland and Ashkelon's continued role as a port, one can imagine a relationship between Ashkelon and its hinterland that is similar to the Late Bronze Age pattern: Maritime trade was still Tel Ashkelon's *raison d'être*, supplemented by its function as a regional gateway. Radical cultural changes within sites did not change this underlying pattern visible in the wider landscape. Instead, Tel Ashkelon and its hinterland had a consistent relationship for the third, second, and early first millennia. Ashkelon's maritime focus, even to the extent that the immediate hinterland was

ignored, was a fundamental feature of the site over the *longue durée*.

#### *The Dynamic Gateway (Iron II–Byzantine periods)*

In the eighth and seventh century, Tel Ashkelon's international trade flourished. As during the Middle Bronze Age, objects were imported from the entirety of the Eastern Mediterranean. The full scope of these discoveries has been extensively discussed in *Ashkelon 3*. Further, as during the Late Bronze Age, objects from Ashkelon's Mediterranean commerce made their way inland, perhaps most vividly illustrated by the discovery of distinctive late seventh-century Aegean pottery at inland sites (see chapter 2, p. 33; also Stern 2001:216). The connections are identical to relationships forged in earlier periods and are not indicators of newly established links. Ashkelon had been a Mediterranean port, a large urban center, even a gateway city, for some time. During the late Iron Age, however, something changed such that Ashkelon's immediate hinterland took on new significance.

The fundamental shift in settlement was recognized by Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 23) who saw a contrast between an "access resources" model in the Bronze and Iron Ages and an "organic" model in the millennia that followed. In short, the "access resources" model builds on his dissertation (1997) where he argued that the value of Ashkelon lay in its ability to use transportation networks to collect goods from other places rather than in its ability to produce resources locally. As long as Ashkelon relied on its maritime network, it could access the coastal goods from the entire Levantine littoral and did not need to develop its own hinterland. In some cases, it could draw on other hinterlands in other places, either through trade or through direct control. As Huster notes, in the eighth century, the records of Sennacherib's campaign record that Sidqa, king of Ashkelon, maintained direct control of an agricultural hinterland in the modern Tel Aviv region only accessible via a maritime network (Oppenheim 1969:287). The breadth and flexibility of the maritime network was a key asset.

In the seventh century, the settlement pattern changed. Huster has removed the distortion of false "patch" sites from our survey maps, but he still outlines a proliferation of small agricultural settlements around Ashdod, Tel Poran, just east of Ashkelon, and on the south side of the Nahal Shiqma (see figure 4.2). These are precisely the type of agricultural satellite villages which had

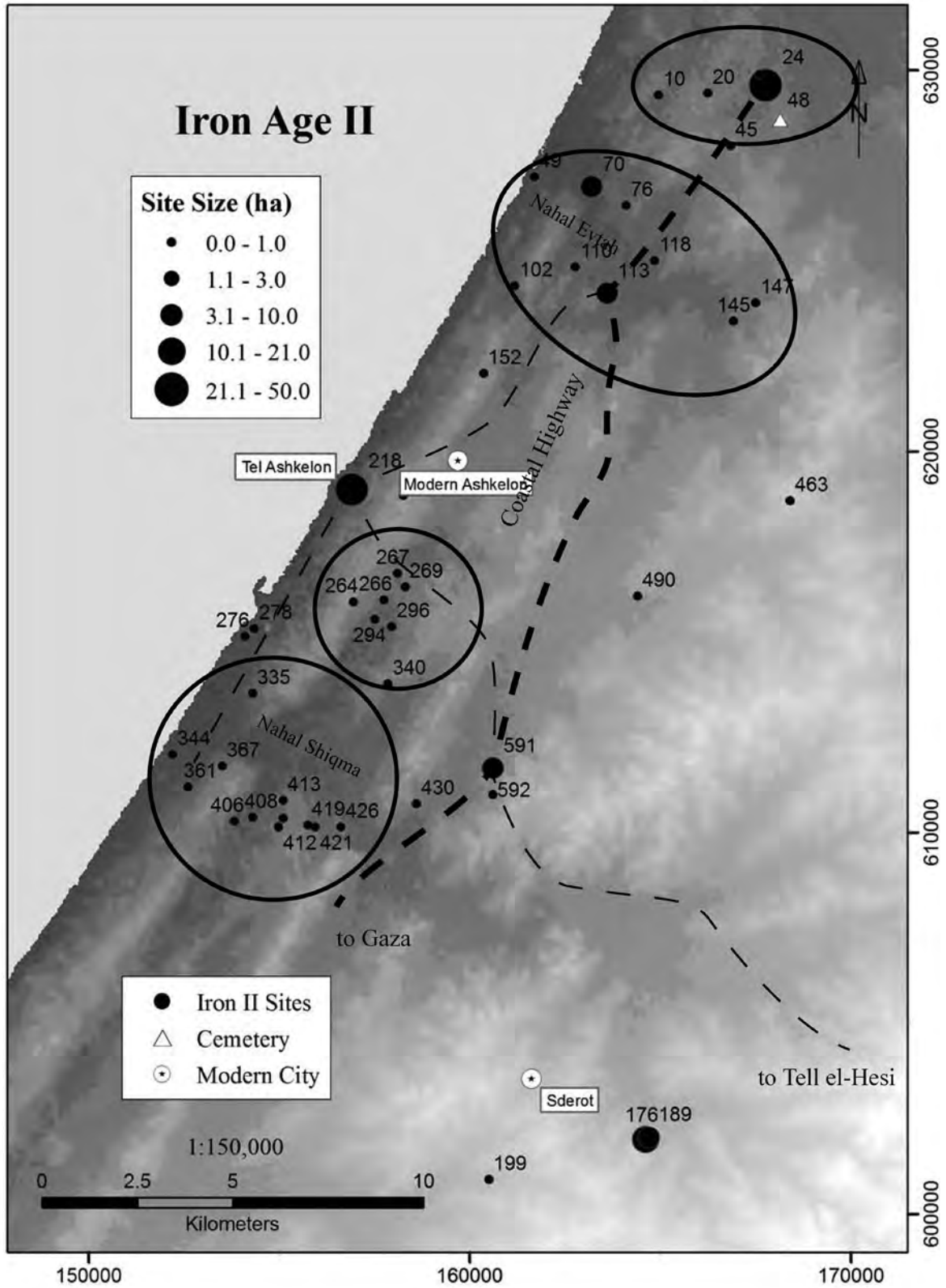


Figure 4.2: Map of Ashkelon in the Iron II with Middle Bronze Age Road System superimposed over modern topography. Circles emphasize clusters of agricultural settlements.

been missing in the earlier periods and represent a fundamental shift in settlement strategy. From Huster's results, it appears that these settlements cluster in some of the wetter areas of the region such as the Nahal Shiqma, Nahal Evtah, and the low areas between the dunes east of Ashkelon, showing a preference for low-lying areas.

Explaining the agricultural exploitation of the hinterland behind Tel Ashkelon, after such a period of disinterest, is not easy. As Huster comments, Allen (1997) and many others have looked to Assyria for an explanation since this empire was dominant at the time. Perhaps new tax pressures led to a renewed emphasis on increased local production (after Gitin). Perhaps the local fields around Ashkelon were to replace fields lost to Assyria as Israel Finkelstein argued for the seventh century Negev (1994). These explanations, however, fail to convince because they are chronologically narrow. If the move to the hinterland was just the result of a temporary pressure or setback, one might imagine that Tel Ashkelon's patterns would revert once the Assyrian pressure was removed. However, the seventh century change that took place in Tel Ashkelon's relationship with its hinterland endured through the Medieval period. Whether the inhabitants were Philistines, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Fatimids, or Mamluks, the agricultural potential of the region was never again ignored.

Several studies show that the late Iron Age was somewhat wetter than preceding centuries, perhaps increasing the viability of the area around Ashkelon:

1. Aharon Horowitz suggested that pollen analyzed from two bore holes in Haifa Bay showed an increase in arboreal pollen of oak (*Quercus* sp.) and olive (*Olea europaea*) from c. 700–600 B.C. The peak suggests that more vegetation was present following period of drier climate (Horowitz 1979:214).
2. Tony Wilkinson cites studies of pollen cores from the Sea of Galilee which point to an abatement of oak woodlands during the second millennium B.C. with a substantial decline in oak starting c. 1000 B.C. and “a dramatic increase in olives in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.E. and fourth and fifth centuries C.E.” (Wilkinson 2003:144).
3. Thomas Litt argues that around twenty six hundred years ago, evergreen and deciduous oak as well as olive values increase and grapes appear in the pollen record from the Dead Sea, signaling a more moist period (Litt et al. 2012:102).
4. Recent studies by Frank H. Neumann show a rise in the level of the Dead Sea at the end of Iron Age that indicates more precipitation; however, some sand layers in the Zeḡelim core attest to arid fluctuations (Neumann et al. 2010:760–61).
5. In conjunction with these findings, the climate proxy data of Arie Issar and Mattanyah Zohar show that, following a cool, humid period around 1000 B.C., a warm and dry period occurred with a *nadir* at 850 B.C. Following this, conditions were increasingly favorable to agriculture with a peak between the third century B.C. and the third century A.D. (Issar and Zohar 2007:193).

Often, such changes in the landscape result not merely from a change in climate but from a new geographic potential which is unlocked by a new technology. One thinks of transformations such as the Neolithic revolution or the Roman advances in water management which transformed how land was used or how its economic potential was viewed. Obviously, what happened in the seventh century was not on that scale, but it was a unilinear change of that type. We are not sure of the particulars, but we would note that it is during the discussion of the Iron II that Huster's summary starts to include the term “winepress,” a theme which will dominate the next millennia. The use of the land around Ashkelon changed. Some new method, new technology, or new condition allowed the vineyards to grow, unlocking long latent agricultural potential in Tel Ashkelon's hinterland.

#### Persian–Hellenistic Periods

Following the devastation of Tel Ashkelon in 604 B.C., the site lay abandoned until it was re-founded under the political sway of Tyre. Likewise, other regional sites, such as Netiv Ha-Asara, reveal occupational gaps that suggest abandonment following this event, signaling that the destruction of Tel Ashkelon was part of wider devastation (Shavit and Yasur-Landau 2005:83). Regional recovery from the destruction event and subsequent growth are indicated by the settlement density which shows continuity between the Iron II and Persian period. More than this, the settlements of

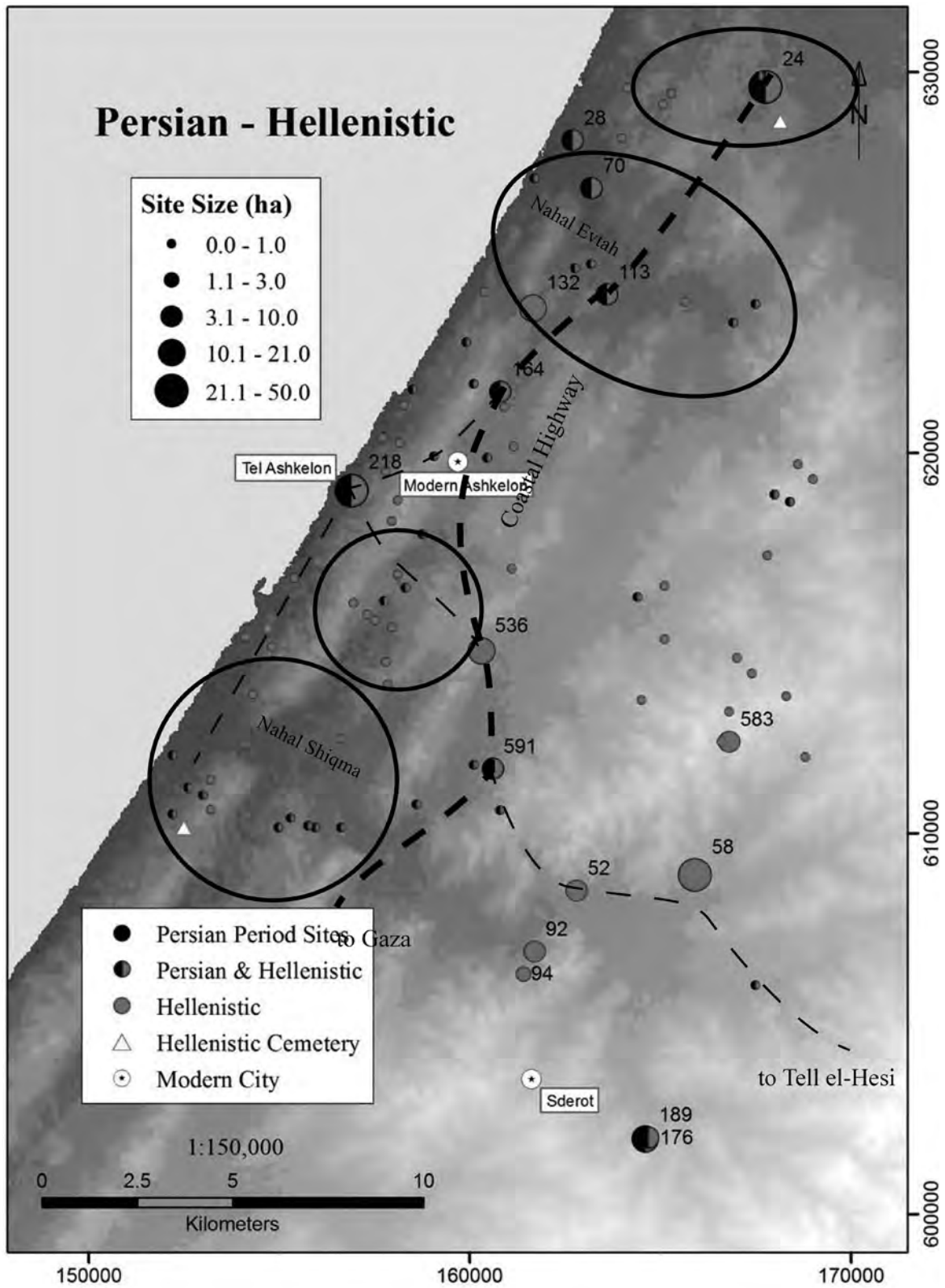


Figure 4.3: Map of Ashkelon in the Persian/Hellenistic period with road system superimposed over modern topography. Circles mark clusters of Iron IIC agricultural intensification for comparison.

the Persian period follow the patterns of the late Iron II.

Tel Ashkelon, as would befit a Tyrian foundation, was once again a port with a strong interest in Mediterranean commerce. The excavations have uncovered a district of import/export warehouses which emphasize the commercial capacities of the city. Abundant imported Greek amphorae were decanted into smaller storage jars leaving mounds of imported containers (see *Ashkelon 1*, p. 314). The presence of a camel scapula, used for making bone implements, suggests long-distance trade from remote regions to the east (Stager 1993:108). The late Persian–Early Hellenistic period included Phoenician silver coins (Stager 1993:107) alongside facilities for producing wine for export (see *Ashkelon 1*, pp. 317, 322). By the Hellenistic period, the Letter of (Pseudo-)Aristeas lists Ashkelon, Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais (Acco) as harbors for maritime trade, and excavations at Ashkelon have found imported Rhodian and Italic transport amphorae and fine wares from Chios, Greece, and Italy (see *Ashkelon 1*, pp. 290, 293).

Huster's work has substantially lowered the number of Persian period sites in the Ashkelon region, and it is justifiably described as sparse. In many ways, this reshaping of the settlement pattern is one of his great contributions, but the Persian patterns still show a use of the landscape that differs from Ashkelon's Bronze and early Iron Age patterns. Specifically, beyond the framework of substantial sites along the roads, tiny agricultural sites exist near wadi channels or as satellites of regional centers (see figure 5.3). This is true even after the many patch sites have been removed. As in the Iron IIC, the immediate hinterland of Tel Ashkelon included agricultural villages.

Perhaps the most significant site founded in the Persian period is Majdal, 3 km east of Tel Ashkelon (Site 164). This site is emblematic all of the inland interests of the region. It is close enough to the coastal highway to be a way station between Tel Obed and Tel Poran, while being able to stand as an intermediary between all of the east-west routes and Tel Ashkelon. The remainder of the regional history can be summarized as the rise of Majdal. In the Hellenistic period, the appearance of sites further inland such as Horvat Hoga, Bureir, Huleiqat (center), Barbara, and Nahal Evtah (site 132)—together with the increased settlement density of smaller sites—not only indicate regional growth and in-filling of previously unsettled territory but also the development of another tier of larger settlements that supported satellite villages,

hamlets, and farmsteads while acting as intermediaries between those sites and the gateway of Tel Ashkelon.

#### Roman and Byzantine Periods

By far, the densest settlement patterns in all regions of Palestine occurred during the Roman and Byzantine (Late Roman) periods. In the region of Ashkelon, more sites were founded in marginal areas away from permanent water sources, continuing a trend from the Hellenistic period, and many wells and cisterns at Tel Ashkelon and numerous other sites dated to the Byzantine period attest to the exploitation of the coastal aquifer in that and succeeding periods. During the Roman period, the port city of Ashkelon itself was noted as a center for wheat trade and also produced, *inter alia*, henna, dates, and onions (such as *caepa Ascalonia*; Stager 1993:105). The city's affluence is marked not only by a mint that produced silver coins proclaiming the free status of the city but also by the monumental public architecture, such as the Severan forum and nearby basilica (Stager 1993:111).

The imported pottery of the Roman and Later Roman periods detailed by Barbara Johnson (*Ashkelon 2*) illuminates the wide trade network in which Ashkelon participated during those periods. Even utilitarian items such as lamps were imported from Italy, Asia Minor, Egypt, and North Africa (*Ashkelon 2*, p. 127). Although no large marketplace or port facilities have been found at the site of Tel Ashkelon, the recovered fragments of transport amphorae demonstrate the wide trade connections between the city and various Mediterranean maritime outlets, arriving at the exchange gateway with the three staples of the ancient world: wine, oil, and grain (*Ashkelon 2*, p. 135).

During these periods, the Ashkelon region as a whole became a major center for wine export. Coupled with a plethora of winepresses in the hinterland, imported ceramics and local pottery production facilities testify to the importance of this commodity, especially from the fourth century A.D. forward. Both the *Gazition* and *Ashkalônion* have been found in far-flung locales such as London, Trier, and the Crimea as markers of the wine exported from the Ashkelon region to the Byzantine Christian world (Johnson and Stager 1995:103–4; see also Mayerson 1993).

The Roman and Byzantine periods witnessed dense settlement within the region, in many cases into previously vacant areas, which can be

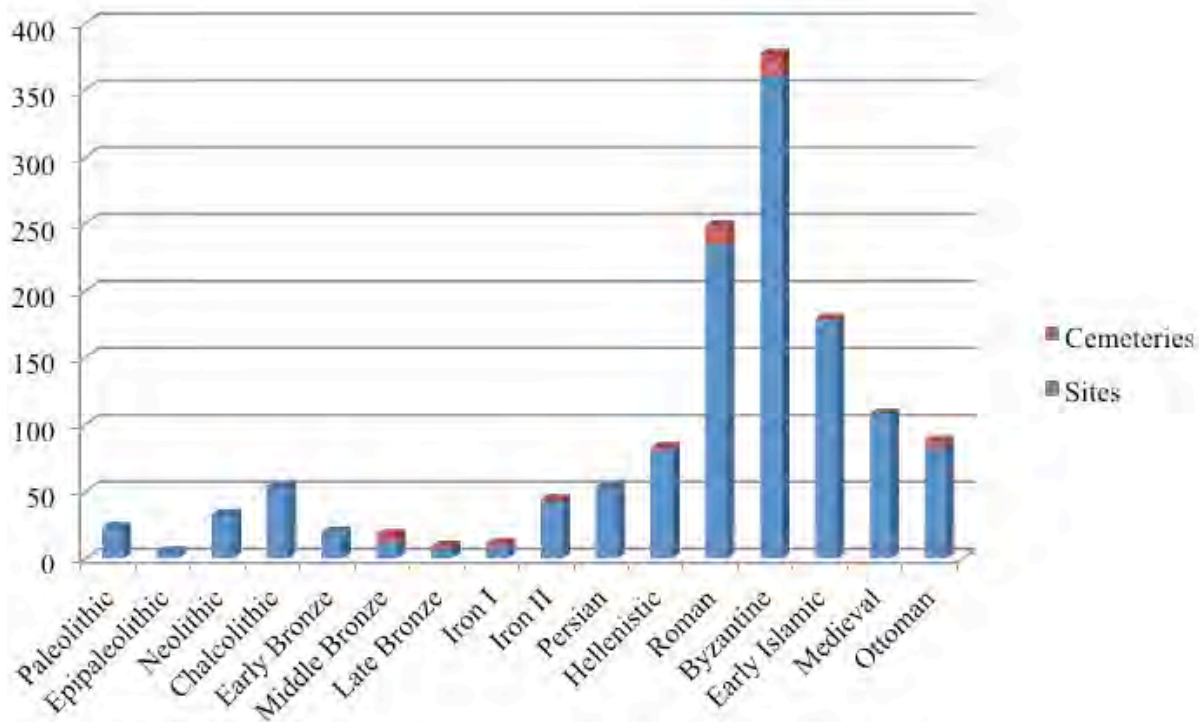


Figure 4.4: Graph of Settlement Density in the Ashkelon region based upon the number of recorded sites.

categorized into a complex hierarchy that included cities and towns, villages and hamlets, and single installations or burial sites. The coverage of the landscape with agricultural plots appears to be comprehensive. Connections between farmsteads and villages and larger sites presented opportunities for the larger sites to support the smaller entities with a more diverse array of goods and services. These larger sites functioned as central places within the classical definitions of the term, providing outlets for the wine produced by satellites such as the Byzantine agricultural estate in Barnea with its associated oil and wine presses, storehouses, and pottery kilns (Israel 1993; 1995a; see also Fabian, Nahshoni, and Ein Gedy 1995; Nahshoni 1999; and Varga 1999 for other sites with wine presses). Ashkelon enjoyed prosperity as the dominant regional exchange gateway mediating the wine trade between the growing region and the consumers across the Mediterranean. The Roman and Byzantine settlement is an elaboration of an attitude toward the landscape that began in the Iron IIC. Once the land behind Ashkelon was seen as agriculturally viable, the succeeding millennium witnessed the intensified exploitation of this resource.

#### *The Demise of the Gateway (Early Islamic–Mamluk periods)*

Following the Byzantine period, the overall settlement density exhibits in the Ashkelon region declined from 360 sites in the Byzantine period to 177 sites in the Early Islamic. Despite the regression in number of sites and site size, some continuity between Byzantine and Early Islamic periods existed. As Huster observes, the persistent use of winepresses indicates that the wine industry continued, albeit decreased, after the Islamic conquest. The settlement patterns during the Early Islamic and Crusader periods reveal inland centers at sites on the coastal highway with occupational histories from the Hellenistic period or earlier such as Tel Poran, Nahal Evtah (site 132), El Mejdal (site 433), Barbara, and Bureir with smaller sites remaining from the Byzantine period widely distributed in the region, many of which were satellites of larger towns. While diminished, the wider region continued the agricultural trajectory which began in the late Iron Age.

Tel Ashkelon remained as the only major “urban center” in the region following the decline of Ashdod. The port city that textual sources describe



Figure 4.5: British Aerial Photograph, January 5, 1945, showing the agricultural potential of the region from the nineteenth century field system around Ashkelon; linear landscape features south of Majdal road marked from high-resolution analysis.

as a thriving city with fertile hinterland and hail as “the bride of Syria” continued its millennia-old function as the region’s premier seaport and as a *ribāṭ*, part of the coastal warning system. The Umayyad caliph, ʿAbd al-Malik fortified the city and established a mint that issued coins with the *šahādah* and the phrase “Struck in Filastīn ʿAsqalan” (Sharon in *Ashkelon I*, p. 408). During the Abbasid caliphate, Maḥdī built a mosque and minaret (Clermont-Ganneau 1887:485). The site was clearly prosperous in the Fatimid period as indicated by massive fortifications and illustrated by a cache of gold jewelry recovered in excavations (Stager 1993:112).

In many ways, the late first millennium A.D. appears as a slightly diminished version of the Byzantine settlement patterns. The very smallest Byzantine sites are missing from the map, and it is likely that many of the villages were somewhat smaller—though this is beyond the resolution of survey data. Tel Ashkelon, however, does not seem to be diminished at all. The fortifications of the period show that the entire 60 hectare settlement was still protected, and within the city, every area of the site shows substantive occupation in this period (Hoffman 2003).

After the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099, Tel Ashkelon remained in Fatimid control and, together with Tyre, remained a stronghold against the Franks (Sharon in *Ashkelon I*, p. 409). Muslim efforts to thwart the Crusaders’ governance of Palestine originated from Ashkelon with the assistance of supplies shipped from Egypt. The construction of three Crusader castles—Beth Gibelin (Beth Guvrin), Ibelin (Yavneh), and Blanchgard (Tell es-Safi)—were designed to restrict Ashkelon inland influence. Yet the city, as it had since its founding, was able to ignore the hinterland and maintain itself using maritime networks. In the end, it took an additional seven months of siege for Balwin III to capture the city in 1153. Saladin re-took the city in 1187, but it was re-captured by the armies of the Third Crusade in 1191 after its defenses were systematically demolished by Saladin’s forces. The Crusaders’ interest in the site as a beachhead resulted in fortification efforts by Richard the Lionheart in 1192 and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in 1241.

After Tel Ashkelon’s final destruction in the late thirteenth century, the land behind Ashkelon was now just one more landlocked region of the southern Levant, wholly dependent on local conditions. Majdal became the new locus of administration, and, in a complete inversion of the Bronze Age

settlement model, Tel Ashkelon was incorporated into the agricultural hinterland of inland villages.

### Conclusion

Bruce Trigger’s observation that “Settlement Archaeology forces us to think through problems from a new angle—that of social relations” (1967:158) also resonates on an economic level for this consideration of the connectivity of the sites in the Ashkelon region. While Central Place Theory examines economic behavior among many centers at a regional scale, the role of Ashkelon in international trade almost from its inception requires a broader model of settlement that accounts for such anomalous sites.

From the settlement data, it appears that Tel Ashkelon was so integrated into the Mediterranean world that its local terrestrial connections never substantially influenced its economic trajectory. In some moments, a single phenomenon influenced both Tel Ashkelon and its hinterland, such as the collapse of the Early Bronze Age or the destruction of the Babylonians, but these are rare. For more than a thousand years, Tel Ashkelon was a flourishing port surrounded by virtually empty land. Even when Tel Ashkelon traded inland, there is no evidence that it directly controlled the routes. Whether the inhabitants of Tel Ashkelon were unable or simply unwilling to exploit the region next door, this did not seem to be to their detriment. Stager’s model of “port power” highlights that Ashkelon did not control the hinterland because it was not necessary. The distant hinterland brought goods to the port of their own accord.

When Ashkelon hinterland was finally settled, it was done in a way that established a parallel agricultural world. The intense settlement throughout the region and subsequent development of central places in this hinterland signal a change in settlement patterns from somewhat “static” in the Bronze and Iron Ages to “dynamic” in the Persian and subsequent periods. Secondary markets (classic central places) and smaller satellites were established in those periods, from which the larger centers seemed to persist through the Medieval period. Tel Ashkelon undoubtedly benefitted from the increased prosperity of the surrounding villages, but it is not clear that the grapes or wine from 2 km away were preferred to those from 25 km. Tel Ashkelon itself was surrounded by a network of agricultural fields that completely filled the landscape (see figure 4.4). Still, Tel Ashkelon was independent enough that when the agricultural



fortunes of the region declined after the Byzantine Period, the seaport continued to thrive.

In the end, however, Tel Ashkelon's unique networks were its downfall. Because the site had the ability to maintain maritime connections in the face of local opposition and because it sat just a few kilometers from the major coastal road, it was a tempting beachhead for Europeans. The threat of

a city able to exist outside of the terrestrial caliphates of the day was too great, so Tel Ashkelon was intentionally left in ruins. The irony, of course, is that just as Tel Ashkelon ignored its hinterland, so the hinterland ignored the destruction of Ashkelon. The agricultural settlement pattern did not change. Crops were still harvested. Life went on without maritime trade.

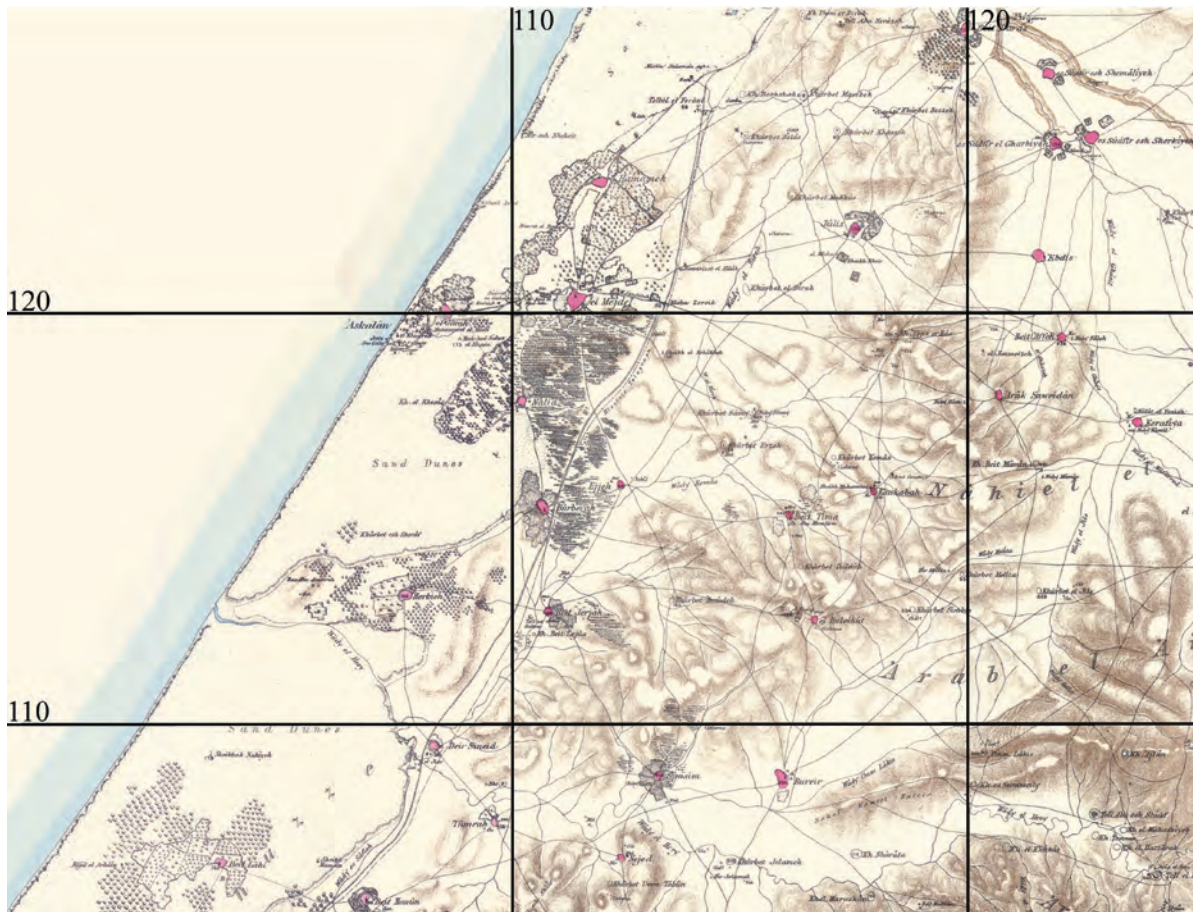


Figure 4.6: The Ashkelon Region in the late nineteenth century A.D. (from Conder and Kitchener 1882: sheet 16; 1883: sheets 19 and 20). Scan courtesy of Todd Bolen.



## 5. REGIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY: MAP OF SDEROT (96)

by Yaakov Huster

THE archaeological survey of the Map of Sderot (96) was conducted as part of the Archaeological Survey of Israel (ASI), a project initiated in 1964 by the state of Israel to undertake a systematic survey of the entire country by dividing it into 10 x 10 km squares (see Dagan n.d.). These squares followed the 1:20,000 map sheets first published by the Survey of Palestine in 1931, based on survey work in the 1920s; the Map of Sderot corresponds to map sheet 11-10, Bureir (map ref. 110-120/100-110, Old Israel Grid). The division of the survey is reflected in the division of sites by paragraphs in the 1964 Schedule of Monuments and Sites, in Hebrew *Reshumot—Yalqut HaPirsumim*, No. 1091 (Yalqut HaPirsumim 1964). In this publication, the Map of Sderot is recorded as paragraph 96.

As the survey of Map 96 was undertaken as part of the Archaeological Survey of Israel, the format of the publication of its results largely follows that in the Archaeological Survey of Israel publications. This is a particularly important point to note, given that the publication of M. Allen's survey of Map of Ashkelon (92; *Ashkelon I*)—which serves as an important comparative dataset for the current survey—does not follow this format in many respects. As a result, it is important to introduce the format of the ASI publications, and note where Allen differs from that format.

In the catalogue of sites, the entries are presented in the order of 1 km<sup>2</sup> squares, starting in the northwest corner of the map and working in rows across, and ending in the southeast corner of the map. (By contrast, while Allen also presents his sites in 1 km<sup>2</sup> squares, he begins in the southwest corner of the map and proceeds by columns, ending in the northeast corner.) The first row of the entry heading includes the site number, its serial number, its coordinates in the Old Israel Grid (OIG), and its corresponding coordinates in the New Israel Grid (NIG). The serial number reflects the Mandatory 1:20,000 scale map sheet (11/10) followed by the specific square kilometer on the map and the number of the site within that square kilometer. The numbering of the square kilometers for this purpose begins in the southwest corner of the map and proceeds in columns upward (i.e., the order used by Allen to arrange his sites; note that Allen uses his serial numbers as site numbers).

The site numbers and coordinates are followed in the heading by the name or name of the sites. If the site has a declared name (e.g., a tell or a *khirbeh*), that

name is given; in other cases, the name of an adjacent city/town/moshav/kibbutz or other geographical features is given. Thus multiple sites may have the same name (sometimes qualified by direction, indicating the portion of the settlement or geographical feature). As a result, the site numbers and coordinates are generally better used as site references, since they are unique. The basic sources of the names are the Schedules of Monuments and Sites, starting with No. 1091 (Yalqut HaPirsumim 1964) with periodic updates; and the map of Ashqelon, scale 1:50,000, published by the Survey of Israel (1995). Other important data used come from sources relating to the Survey of Western Palestine and those relating to Mandatory surveys and records files. These sources are marked in the heading by “S” and “M,” respectively. The Survey of Western Palestine sources include the *Memoirs* of the Survey (Conder and Kitchener 1881–83); map sheet XX of the Survey, scale 1:63,360 (Southampton, 1879); and the Arabic and English name lists (Palmer 1881). The Mandatory sources include the 1929 and 1944 Schedules of Historical Monuments and Sites; Survey of Palestine map sheet 11-10, Bureir (Jaffa, 1931); and the Department of Antiquities Geographical List of the Mandatory Records Files (Jerusalem 1976). The specific issue of the map of Bureir in use was updated in 11.11.1959 and in 17.11.1959, probably by L. Y. Rahmani from the Israeli Department of Antiquities. The updating consisted of annotation of non-printed site names and their supposed location on the map.

The heading is followed by the description of the site itself: its geographical and geological setting, observed architectural remains, and artifacts noted and collected. Where relevant, dating of collected ceramic and/or lithic finds is noted. (The periodization used here follows that discussed in chapter 1 above; see also the discussion under Roman and Byzantine Periods and Medieval Period below.) Some sites also have a discussion of their identification, in cases where the site can be matched to settlements known from historical sources or where previous site identifications (including in some cases the official, declared name of the site) are erroneous.

### *Geological and Geographical Overview*

The area of the map of Sderot extends over the central portion of the southern coastal plain of Israel. This specific area comprises several landscape units

formed by deposits originating from three sources: the sea, responsible for the deposition of sand dunes from the west; the wadi system, depositing alluvium from the elevated regions to the east; and the wind, bringing dust primarily from the south and southwest (Horowitz 1979:109). All these deposits have undergone and are still undergoing pedogenic processes, which occur *in situ*, modifying the deposits. It is well accepted by various investigators that incursions of the Mediterranean during the *Quaternary* pushed forward dunes (Nir and Bar-Yosef 1976:27–39; Horowitz 1979:96–97). The sand dunes later solidified into calcareous sandstone, comprising several *kurkar* ridges that run parallel to one another along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The nomenclature employed for the various ridges follows the outcrops of these sediments and their localities, running from west to east: Ziqim Ridge, Yad Mordekhay Ridge, Erez Ridge, Nir<sup>2</sup>am Ridge, Yakhini Ridge and Hirbet Herev Ridge. Three of these ridges are present within the surveyed area. In the southeastern edge of the map area lies the Hirbet Herev Ridge (+ 180 m), one of the few outcrops of an earlier phase of the *Gaza Formation* that can presently be seen. It comprises several meters of calcareous sandstone and is associated with other sediments overlying the *Ahuzam Conglomerate* in other localities. Here, this *kurkar* phase is overlaid by a younger sediment, a layer of *hamra* that consists of a red paleosol, roughly 2–3 m thick, called the *Dorot Hamra Member* (Horowitz 1979:111). The top of this *hamra* layer yielded Late Acheulean artifacts. The next, the Nir<sup>2</sup>am Ridge, runs roughly southwest to northeast through the survey area. It is not a typical *kurkar* ridge and comprises a series of thick cross-bedded aeolian calcareous sandstone hills extended over a width of two kilometers, almost touching the next western ridge. Its highest elevations in the survey area varies between 90–120 m (topographic map of Bureir; Horowitz 1979:Table 5.1). Here, too, the *kurkar* is overlain by a *hamra* layer, although it is mostly eroded due to post-depositional processes. In certain locations the *hamra* is sandwiched between two *kurkar* layers. The Erez Ridge crosses the northwestern edge of the surveyed area. The *hamra* layer exists here as well, yielding flint artifacts ascribed to the Lower Paleolithic period, as well as the *hamra* layers of the previous *kurkar* ridge. In between the hilly zones, in the east and in the west of the surveyed region, is the low terrain of the area. It is an alluvial plain, limited by low hills situated in the north and in the south of the wide plain. The soil here contains a mixture of all the existing components of the lands around: sand, clay, silt, and loess. The last covers wide areas in the region. Between Dorot and Ruhama the sequence attains 25–30 m in

thickness and at present is still being deposited during dust storms. On the other hand, it is presently steeply eroded by the recent drainage system. On the top of the loessic accumulations several archaeological sites were surveyed.

The main geographical feature in the region is Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Hesi), one of the largest and oldest wadis in the southern coastal plain. This wadi crosses the central section of the map from east to west. In the past, as indicated by the existence of archaeological sites, probably due to a wetter climate, perennial or seasonal water sources were available in the western part of map 96. This assumption is reinforced and illustrated by the existence of a tract of land located just to the south of the wadi, so-called in Arabic Uyun es Sahra, meaning the springs of the Badlands. Farther to the east the sources were and still are available permanently. Several early period sites are therefore located near its banks and its tributaries. In the surveyed area the annual precipitation average is c. 400 mm. Measurements carried out in four modern settlements over a number of years have yielded the following results: Erez (on the northwestern edge, beyond the map), 25 years—436 mm; Bror Hayil, 22 years—396 mm; Nir Am, 23 years—390 mm; Dorot, 32 years—344 mm (Cohen 2010:20). The large drainage basin of c. 750 km<sup>2</sup> and the enormous quantities of water flowing almost every winter enrich the aquifer, which provides ample water. The utilization of these sources, the aquifer and the precipitation, is recognizable through the presence of many wells and almost one hundred cisterns from the Byzantine period in the surveyed area. Nahal Shiqma also provided flint as raw material for tool production. Pebbles dislocated from the exposed *Ahuzam Conglomerate* and from Eocene limestone outcrops in the eastern section of the wadi were rolled to the west by major floods and became available for knappers. At prehistoric period sites, crude pebbles form part of the stone inventory. More recent floods in the wadi are responsible for the partial clay deposits at sites located near the banks.

#### *History of Research*

Research in the surveyed area began in the nineteenth century, mainly conducted by travelers and explorers attempting to identify biblical sites (Robinson and Smith 1841; Guérin 1869a; 1869b; Warren 1871). Systematic surveys were conducted by Conder and Kitchener (1881–83), who described 12 sizeable sites within Map 96. Meanwhile, Petrie's work at Tell el-Hesi established a pottery sequence (1891:40–50) that enabled him to determine the occupational history of dozens of sites in southern Palestine (1891:51–62), 10

of which are located in the Map of Sderot. Clermont-Ganneau (1896:437–38) described several sites that he visited during his journey from Gaza to Jerusalem, providing comprehensive historical, geographical, and linguistic surveys. Generally, these researches covered almost all the area of Map 96, but focused mainly on the remains along the traditional routes that crossed its northern portion from west to east, i.e., the road leading from Gaza to Beit Guvrin and on to Hebron.

More recently, Ram Gophna (1963; 1966; 1970) conducted studies in the area of Map 96, as part of his investigations of the southern part of the country. In the 1970s, the author participated in a formal prehistoric archaeological survey of the central part of Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Hesi), carried out over an extensive area of 140 km<sup>2</sup> (Lamdan et al. 1977), including large portions of the Map of Sderot. The data obtained from this survey concerning the Late Bronze and Iron I period sites, together with his own previous, studies enabled Ram Gophna (1981) to suggest a historical and geopolitical framework for the relationship between the Judahite and Philistine entities. Later, a comprehensive study of the transitional area between arable country and the desert (Cohen 1993) summarized the settlement patterns during selected periods in a region of 1200 km<sup>2</sup>, including all of Map 96; the study mentioned 50 archaeological sites in the map area, all of them described previously in the Nahal Shiqma survey publication. A less extensive regional analysis involving geographical, geological, and archaeological issues was carried out on the city and immediate vicinity of Sderot, the only city situated within Map 96 (Sasson 2010).

#### *Excavations*

In 1941 Jacob Ory directed the first excavation undertaken within the map area, near Umm Tabun (site 94). Some 500 m east (site 95) of the settlement Ory excavated a painted tomb that he had discovered in 1922. Later, the site was rediscovered by Tsafrir, who subsequently published it (1968). The paintings were analyzed by T. Michaeli (1990). Two other burial systems were probed, the first at the southern edge of Hurvat Hoga (site 176; Meron and Ginat 1963), the second at the Arab village Bureir (site 64; Meron 1975). At the center of Hurvat Hoga (site 189), Y. Porat (1976) excavated an extensive structure of the Iron II. Nearby, remains of a settlement from the Byzantine period and a pottery workshop from the Umayyad period were unearthed (Varga 1999a, wrong coordinates). Also at H. Herev (site 206) scanty remains from the Byzantine period were unearthed (Schuster 2000a). Following accelerated development of the area that consisted

mainly of road-paving work, several excavations were conducted, most of them at Khirbet Lasan (site 186) and its vicinity. O. Katz (2012) excavated a Byzantine winepress and a structure from the Ottoman period. P. Nahshoni and Y. Nagar (2002) excavated pit graves and I. Peretz (2011) exposed cist tombs, all part of an extensive cemetery from the Byzantine period. Nearby, at site 170, Nir'am Junction, Y. Schuster (2000b) excavated remains of an industrial area dated also to the Byzantine period. Most recently, salvage excavations were conducted by G. Seriy before the construction of a railroad track (Seriy 2010).

#### *Archaeological Overview*

##### The Lower Paleolithic Period

The Map of Sderot is characterized by interrupted settlement during the prehistoric periods. Middle and Upper Paleolithic periods as well as the Epipaleolithic are absent. The last stage of the Lower Paleolithic period, however, is represented by the typical element of the Upper Acheulean culture, the hand axe. Lower Paleolithic remains were recorded at 61 sites and findspots that are concentrated in two parts of the surveyed area: along the southeastern edge, on hills related to the Hirbet Herev *kurkar* ridge; and in the west, on *hamra* paleosols overlying calcareous sandstone. Predominant finds at these sites are handaxes accompanied by elements created during the industrial process, mainly primary flakes and tools trimmed from them. Other elements related to flint industry are pebbles, exhausted cores, and waste, all of them reinforcing the conclusion that knapping activities occurred *in situ*. The typology and technology of the lithic industry all over the survey area are homogeneous. Despite the intensive use of the Levallois technique and in some cases the appearance of tools of Mousterian type, features such as the high percentage of handaxes preclude the attribution of sites to the Middle Paleolithic, instead dating the industry to the last stages of the Lower Paleolithic period. The same picture was observed in the Kissufim area (Ronen et al. 1972); on the other hand, south of Kissufim, in the central portion of the lower Besor region in the northwestern Negev, the Middle Paleolithic was the most significant of the Paleolithic eras in the region (Gazit 1996:11\*).

##### The Neolithic Period

No clearly identifiable Neolithic sites were found. Only three findspots were recorded, all near wadis—Nahal Shiqma, Nahal Hoga, and Nahal Ruhama—yielding four arrowheads. The paucity of sites and

finds related to this period corresponds to that of the area directly to the north, Map 92 (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 27).

#### The Chalcolithic Period

Chalcolithic remains were recorded at eight sites, all near wadis. In every case, settlements are located on loessic soils. A cluster of four sites is found along a length of 2 km of Nahal Ruhama. Here, the relatively small sites occupy areas varying from 500 m<sup>2</sup> to 2500 m<sup>2</sup> and contain few building remains. The remaining sites are located near Nahal Hoga (two sites), Nahal Shiqma, and Wadi Abu Ali.

#### The Bronze Age

The Bronze Age is sparsely represented in the survey area. No traces of the Early Bronze Age were found within the area of the map. The picture of complete absence of Early Bronze Age sites corresponds to the results in the area surveyed by Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, pp. 30–33) directly to the north of our survey region. In that 100 km<sup>2</sup> area (Map 92—Ashkelon), no Early Bronze Age were found. Within the Map of Sderot, the Middle Bronze Age I is represented by two sites (61 and 138), both cemeteries. While no traces of the Middle Bronze II Age were found, Late Bronze Age remains were documented at three sites (88, 114, 177). Apparently, security conditions were favorable during the Late Bronze Age, allowing settlement in areas distant from the major cities.

#### The Iron Age I

Settlement remains of Iron Age I were found at one site in the south of the surveyed area. This site (177) also yielded Late Bronze finds (figure 5.47). The small quantity of sites from this period is consistent with the results of other surveys over a wide region. In Map 92, the Iron I period is represented by a total of two sherds. Furthermore, not a single sherd of painted Philistine pottery was found in four years of surveying (Allen in *Ashkelon 1*, p. 30). In Map 97 (Ruhama), directly to the east of Map 96, excavations at Tell el-Hesi have yielded a small amount of Philistine pottery: The American excavations found a few sherds of what may be tenth-century Philistine bowls, in fills (Jeffrey Blakely, pers. comm.). At Tell Keshet (also in Map 97), one white-slipped Philistine sherd decorated with a preening bird was seen by J. Blakely (pers. comm.). Additional Philistine sherds from this site had been reported previously (Lamdan et al. 1977:76). Farther to the east, within the area of the Map 98 (Lakhish), no traces of Iron I were found (Dagan 1992:17\*). Directly to the

southwest of our survey area, along the banks of Nahal Mefalsim, a southern tributary of Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Hesi), Gophna surveyed two small Iron I sites (along with a third just to the west of our region; Gophna 1966:44–51).

#### The Iron Age II

Only three sites in the surveyed area yielded Iron II remains. Sites 176 and 189 are probably two sections of the large site of Hurvat Hoga (Nabi Huj), where a monumental mudbrick structure dated to Iron II was unearthed. H. Hoga is a well-established settlement overlaid by Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman remains. Its true extent is obscured by the debris of later periods. Site 199 is merely a findspot of a round clay tablet, bearing an inscription attributed to the seventh century B.C. The paucity of Bronze and Iron Ages remains in the surveyed area is consistent with the area Allen surveyed directly to the north. In that map his survey team found good evidence of Iron Age II occupation at only four sites. Toward the east, the number of Iron Age II settlements increases. At the same time, Gophna (1981), following his own surveys, claims an increase in the number of Iron II period settlements in the west, mainly on the coastal plain and explains this phenomenon in light of the distribution of the water sources: In the east, along the Wadi Hesi and its principal tributaries, several permanent springs exist. On the coastal plain ground water is available. Gophna (1981) has suggested that apart from the lack of permanent water sources within the territory of map 96, the paucity of settlements from the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the central basin of Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Hesi) derives also from geopolitical reasons. Gophna assumed that this wide area was a marginal region between the eastern kingdom of Lachish and the western cities of Gaza and Ashkelon during the Late Bronze period, and that in the Iron Age the same region constituted a geographic, ethnic, and political triple border between Judah in the east and the kingdoms of Gaza and Ashkelon in the west, and therefore almost empty of settlements.

#### The Persian Period

The Persian period is represented at three sites. Site 115, north of Nahal Shiqma, is located at a distance from other Iron and Persian period site while sites 176 and 189 were found overlaying Iron II remains. At the latter sites, the pottery collection includes jars produced from a local greenish clay that could be seen in nearby wadis. The rural settlement in our survey area was sparse, probably due to the absence of important

roads. On the map to the north (Map 92—Ashkelon), there is evidence of occupation at nine sites and slight evidence for five others. They are arranged mainly along longitudinal and latitudinal roads.

#### The Hellenistic Period

The number of sites increases to seven in this period. Three are located on multiperiod settlements containing remains from previous periods (sites 115, 176 and 189). Four others are located within or close to Arab villages (sites 52, 58, 92 and 94), and probably represent one of the first occupations of these places. The main obstacle concerning the identification of pottery from the Hellenistic period was the rarity of sherds belonging to imported vessels, the best chronological indicator for this period. Where severe identification difficulties arose because of the lack of indicative elements, the site was not incorporated into the period list. This fact may have diminished the total number of Hellenistic sites within the surveyed area. The opposite approach was implemented by Allen in the area located north of ours, in Map 92. There, the period list and the map of the Hellenistic period contain 38 sites, although the identification of 28 of them is questionable. In the Map of Urim (125), 10 Hellenistic sites were surveyed within the 100 km<sup>2</sup> area (Gazit 1996:15\*); two of them are questionable, so that only eight sites should be incorporated in the period list. Indeed, the Nahal Besor region is a semiarid area, although there are many springs along the Besor wadi (where most of these sites are concentrated). It seems, therefore, that the lower numbers are preferable, since they demonstrate a consistent range of 7–10 sites for 100 sq. km units.

#### The Roman and Byzantine Periods

The survey of Map 96 yielded a large number of sites attributed to these periods. While the first century B.C. and the seventh century A.D. clearly mark the beginning and end points of these periods, there is a certain controversy concerning the terminology used in their subdivision. The usual nomenclature in Israel defines the period from the first century B.C. until the middle of the second century A.D. as the Early Roman period, with the Late Roman period extending from this point until the early fourth century (A.D. 330). The Byzantine period is dated A.D. 330–638. Western scholars employ the terms “Late Roman” or “Late Roman/Byzantine” (e.g., Johnson 2008, esp. 463) in order to cover the period from the third through the seventh centuries A.D. Allen (*Ashkelon I*, esp. fig. 3.21) defines the Byzantine (“Late Roman”) period somewhat differently, from c.

A.D. 400 to 640. In the survey of Map 96, the “classic” Israeli nomenclature is employed.

#### The Roman Period (63 B.C.–A.D. 330)

Remains of this period were generally defined broadly, since in most cases the findings did not allow the assignment of specific subphases. Sites where identification was questionable were revisited until indicative sherds were found. Forty-three sites were attributed to the Roman period. The majority of them, 36 sites, consists of settlements, occupations, and installations established during this timespan. A collapsed structure which may have been a mausoleum was found at site 137. Pottery scatters, large white tesserae, small colored tesserae, building remains, building stones, structural foundations, pieces of plaster, pieces of bonding material composed of lime, cement, ash, and crushed or entire sherds are the characteristic remains at these sites. The sites are located in all environmental zones of the surveyed area, yet maintain close relationships to agricultural land. All the sites of the Roman period continued to exist in the Byzantine period.

#### The Byzantine Period (A.D. 330–638)

Byzantine remains were recorded at c. 120 sites. They are located throughout most of the surveyed area. The remains include the same elements described regarding the Roman period, and also contain many buildings and structures, some of them well preserved. Several of the sites represent large settlements. Others are connected to agricultural and industrial activities. Wells and cisterns are located inside the limits of villages as well as in outlying areas. Most of the wells were also used in later periods. Cisterns were found both in settlements and in the rural zone. In three cases additional installations accompanied the cisterns: clay pipes at site 47, a channel at site 70, and a bath at site 75. The number of cisterns in the surveyed area is c. 70. Marble architectural remains, including complete or fragmentary columns, bases, and capitals, were found at many sites. In every case they were accompanied by typical church remains such as marble chancel posts and screens, enabling the determination that within the surveyed area 20 Byzantine churches had stood. At seven sites, the exact location of mosaic paved floors is known. The picture is similar in the Ashkelon Map (92) to the north. Allen (*Ashkelon I*, p. 41) noted the existence of elaborate rural domestic establishments, which he labeled “villas.” He also states the possibility that some of these sites were monastic settlements or churches. In Map 96, as well as in a wide region in the hinterland of Ashkelon and Gaza, many villages,

estates, farmsteads, and monasteries were established in Byzantine times, mainly for the production of wine. The associated demand for containers resulted in the establishment of an enormous ceramic industrial system. Within Map 96 at least 25 sites contain remains of pottery workshops; one enormous mound of misfired Gaza jars was recorded (site 61). Two large cemeteries (sites 16 and 185) were observed next to settlements. Fifteen burial systems were also found. These vaulted tombs were used by wealthy inhabitants of the southern coastal plain, first, in the Late Roman period. In the Byzantine period they were adapted by the Christian population (Huster and Sion 2006).

#### The Early Islamic Period (A.D. 638–1099)

Remains of the Early Islamic period were recorded at 42 sites, all of them previously settled during the Byzantine period; other Byzantine settlements were abandoned, and new settlements were not established. The amount of Islamic sherds is far lower than the large ceramics quantities of the previous Byzantine period. Based on the distribution of the Islamic pottery scatters over the sites, it appears that the occupation area was much smaller than in Byzantine times. This observation is valid at least for sites located in current pasture lands, where modern agricultural activity has not removed the surface finds. Regardless, the remains indicate a sharp decline in settlement patterns. One site reveals, in addition to the pottery sequence, a direct testimony of the early Islamic occupation: At Kh. Jalama (site 108), an Arabic inscription was found on a fragment of a marble column that belonged to a Byzantine church. The name of the caliph (Uthman b. Affan, A.D. 644–56) mentioned in the inscription allows the inscription to be dated to the second half of the seventh century A.D. (Moshe Sharon, pers. comm.). Almost all of the Early Islamic settlements were inhabited in later periods.

#### The Medieval Period

(Crusader and Mamluk periods, A.D. 1099–1516)

We suggest use of the terminology employed by Mitchel Allen in Map 92 (Ashkelon), namely Medieval. Its parallel term, The Middle Ages, was used by Berman in survey map 91 (Ziqim) and in Maps 87–88 (Nizzanim west and Nizzanim east, respectively). The main reason to unite or combine the Crusader and the Mamluk periods (in the archaeological sense, and solely in regard to surveys) is the difficulty in

dating the pottery assemblages of these periods, due to geographical, political, and commercial dynamics (Avissar and Stern 2005:1). Allen (*Ashkelon 1*, p. 57) states that “we cannot easily identify Crusader in medieval assemblages.” His period map presents sites of the Crusader and Mamluk periods without further differentiation, except for five sites identified as known Crusader villages. In Map 96 the pottery identification problem is identical or even more severe. During the second half of the thirteenth century the southern border of the Kingdom of Jerusalem crossed the area of Map 96 from west to east (Praver 1958:236). Here, intensive commercial relations probably took place, and transfer of wares from side to side would have been a common occurrence. Thirty-nine Medieval sites were identified by the presence of twelfth- and thirteenth-century glazed wares and typical Mamluk painted pottery. The identification of certain sites containing identifiable remains of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as Crusader villages is supported by complementary historical data and includes Zeita (site 9), Sumsum (52), Camsa (82), Shaʿarata (112), and probably Kh. Hirbiya (37), if its identification with the Crusader village Elroeiheb is correct (Blakely and Huster in press).

#### The Ottoman Period (A.D. 1516–1917)

The description of the Ottoman period for Map 96 is found in Chapter 3.

#### The British Mandate Period (A.D. 1917–1948)

Forty sites of the Ottoman period were recorded. Some of them were significant, sizeable settled villages. (The names of the villages in the taxpayers list from 1596 [Hüttheroth and Abdulfattah 1977] are illustrated in italics.) Four are destroyed Arab villages settled until 1948: Sumsum (site 52; *Sumsum*); Bureir (58; *Burayr*); Najd (92; *Najd al-Gharbi*); Huj (175). The adjacent cemeteries also include ancient tombs, as indicated by the pottery sequence. The large areas of these villages, as marked on Mandatory maps and observed in aerial photographs are not always consistent with the scattering of building materials, since the houses were built mainly of unfired mudbricks, not always recognizable in the terrain during survey. Other sites are well-known ruins: Kh. Zeita (site 9); Kh. Babliya (21; *Babilliya*); Kh. Ghayada (34); Kh. Hirbiya (37); Kh. Umm Qallum (79); Camsa (82; *Qamsa*); Kh. Umm Tabun (94); Kh. el Jalama (108; *Jalama*); Kh. Beit Tafa (111); Kh. Shaʿarata (112;



*Shaḥarta al-Kubra, Tabi Burayr*); Kh. Najd (127);<sup>1</sup> Kh. Marashan (138); Kh. en Namus (182); Kh. Lasan (186; *Lisin*); and Kh. el Haj Harb (206). The remaining sites consist of eighteen wells (sites 7, 22, 36, 50, 52, 53, 65, 68, 83, 92, 105, 109, 117, 119, 127, 138, 175, 191), two of them in use since the Byzantine period; three stone quarries (17, 43, 93); one lime kiln (80); three sheikh's tombs—Esh Sheikh Mansur (174), Nabi Huj (site 176) and Sheikha Fatma (site 189). The rest are groups of dwellings or isolated structures from the late Ottoman period or from the British Mandate. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the area of Map 96, as with other regions east of Gaza, underwent a process of sedentarization under the control and encouragement of the authorities. The best example of this process in our area is the establishment of Huj by the Egyptian ruler or the governor of Palestine. Huj was visited by Robinson in 1838 shortly after it was built (Robinson 1841 II:384–86). Two additional

settlements were founded, to the east of our survey area, during Egyptian rule in the 1830s: Sukkariyeh and Qubeibeh, both visited by Robinson in 1838 (1841 II:392–94; see also Amiran 1953:253). In the 1890s, additional settlements were founded in the south, either as part of forced sedentarization (most famously, Beersheba) or to act against Bedouin encroachment. In the latter case, three such villages were founded south of Map 96, on lands of Sultan Abdulhamid II: Kaufakha, Muharraqa, and Jaladiya (Levin, Kark, and Galilee 2009:13–14; Braslavi 1956:360; Amiran 1953:253–54). Petrie, who visited Kaufakha (south of our survey area) in 1890, related that “it is now being mined out for a new village settled from Gaza” (1891:52). Within the borders of Map 96, two younger small settlements were discerned: Kh. Marashan, a cluster of c. 20 houses arranged along a street, built sometime after Petrie (1891:52) visited it; and the most recent (site 105), informally named Mansura (meaning “victory”), built after the Second World War by Palestinian soldiers dismissed from the British army. The last is the only settlement built in a location without ancient remains. It is mentioned here primarily because it was wrongly identified as Mansura from the sixteenth-century Ottoman tax lists (Grossman 2010:76).

<sup>1</sup> Based on the coordinates they give, Hüttheroth and Abdulfattah (1977:150) appear to identify Kh. Najd with Dummar en-Najd, which appears throughout the sixteenth-century *defters*. Instead, Dummar en-Najd should probably be identified with Dimra (in Map 95; for more information on this identification see Appendix 2).

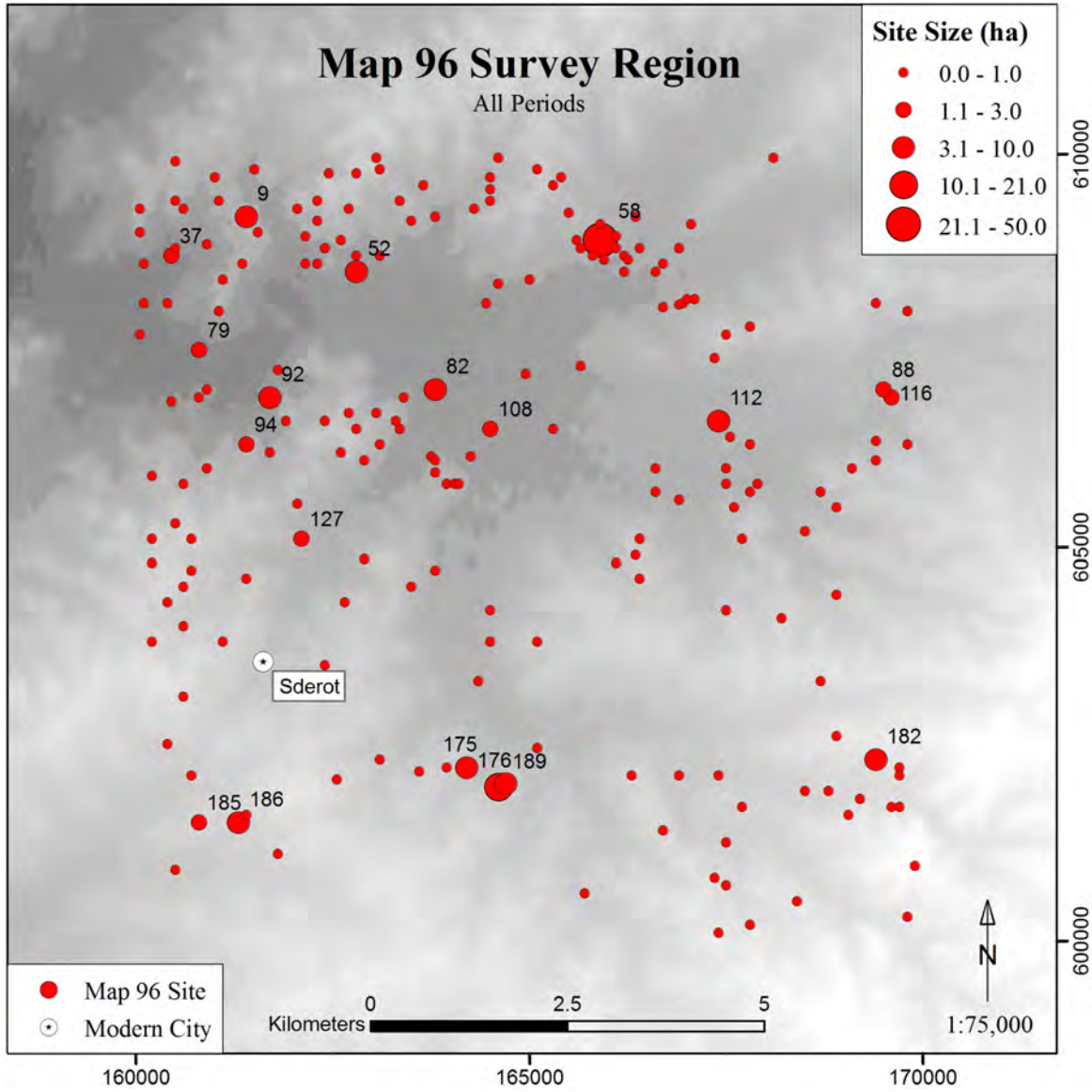


Figure 5.1: Map of Sderot (96), sites from all periods over modern topography.

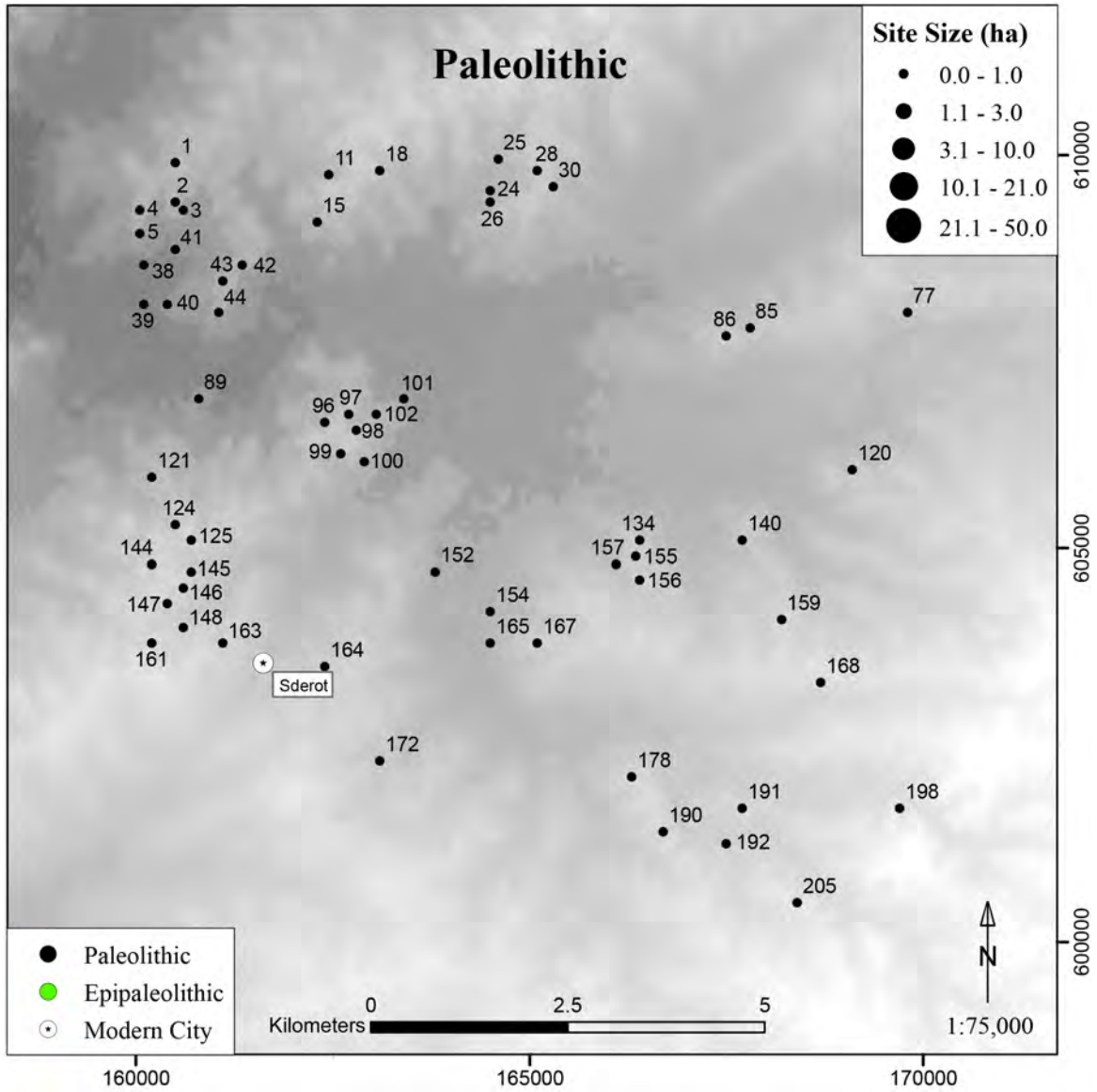


Figure 5.2: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Paleolithic period over modern topography.

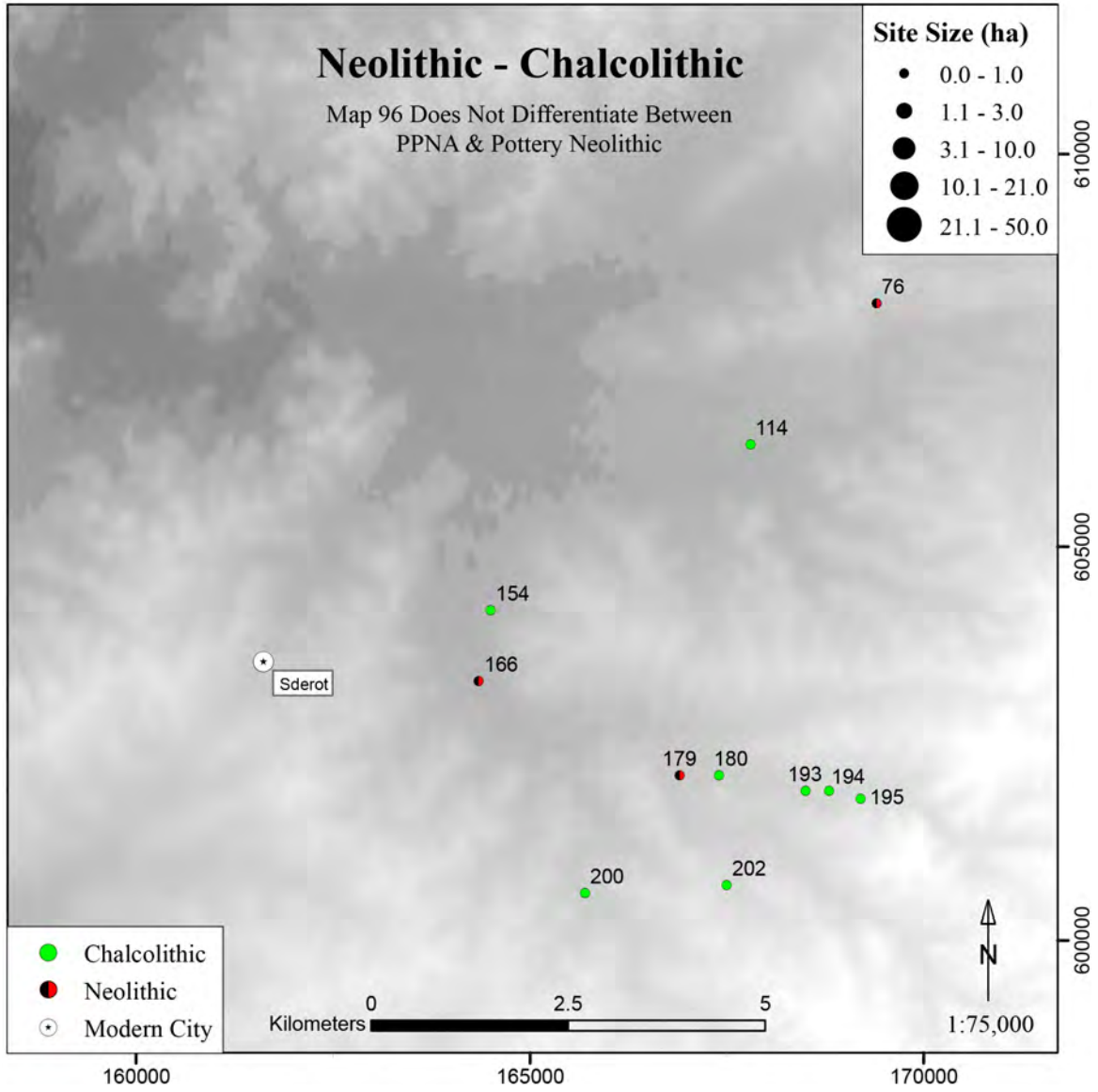


Figure 5.3: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods over modern topography.

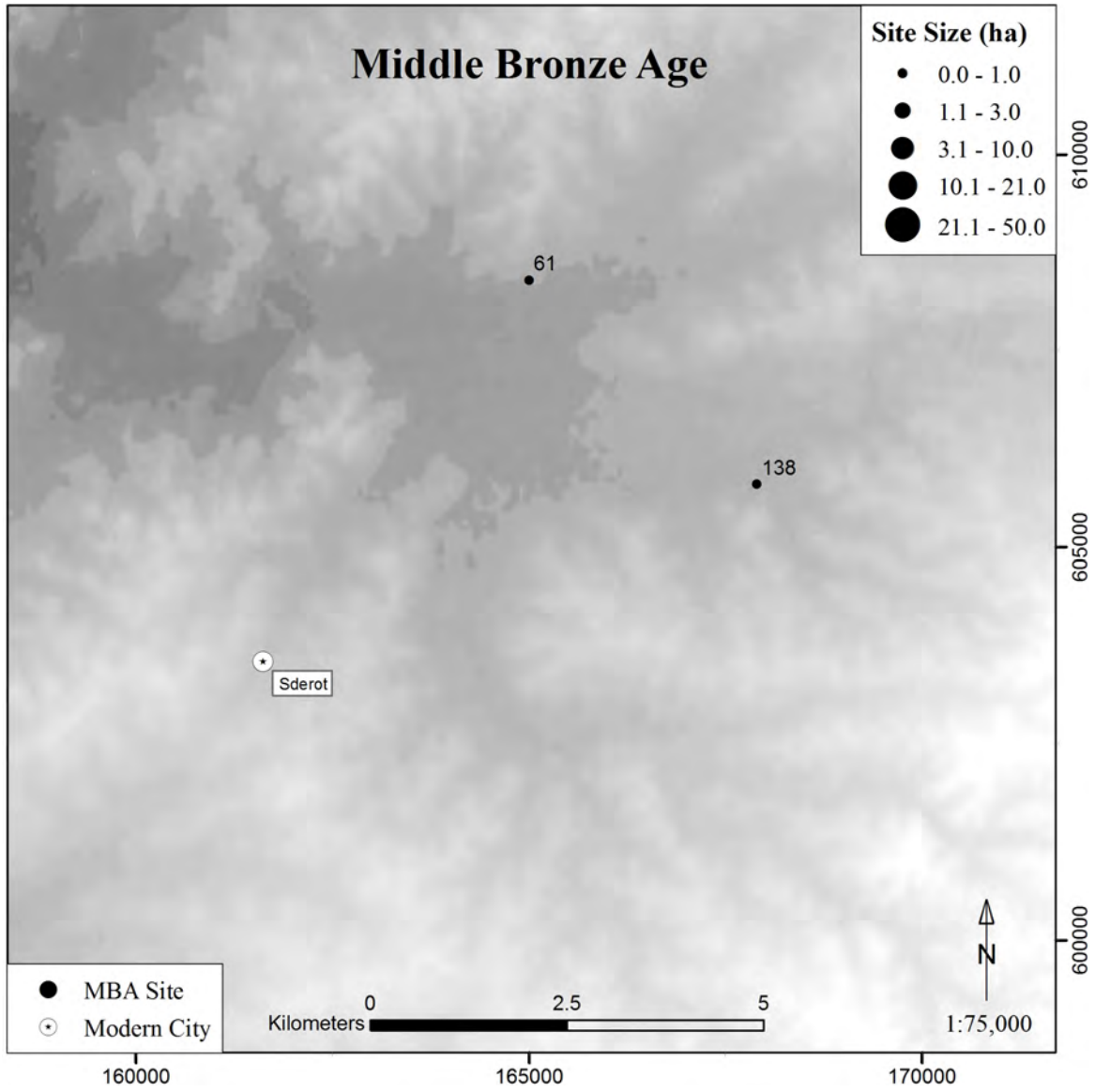


Figure 5.6: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Middle Bronze Age over modern topography.

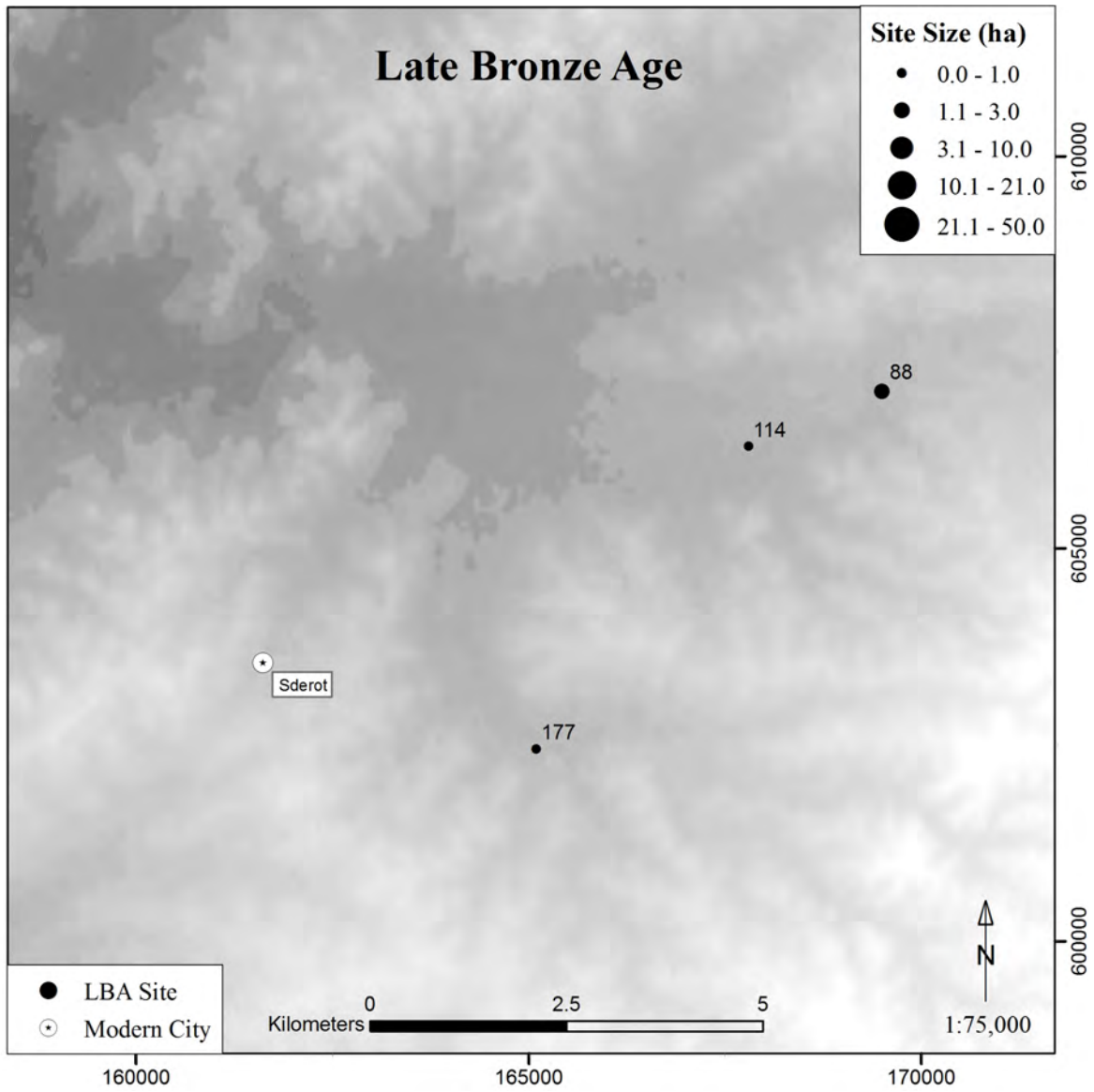


Figure 5.7: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Late Bronze Age over modern topography.

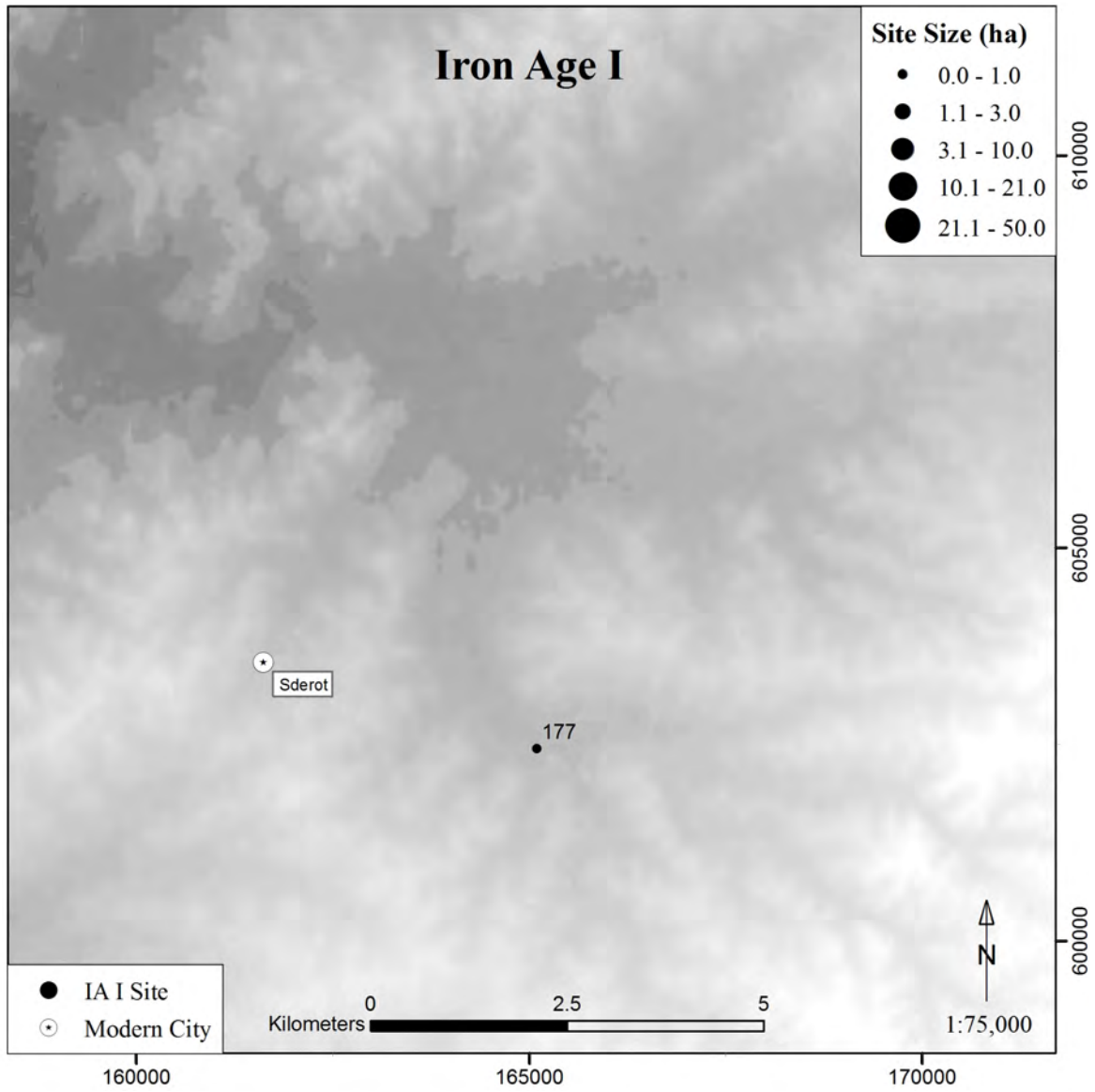


Figure 5.8: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Iron I Age over modern topography.

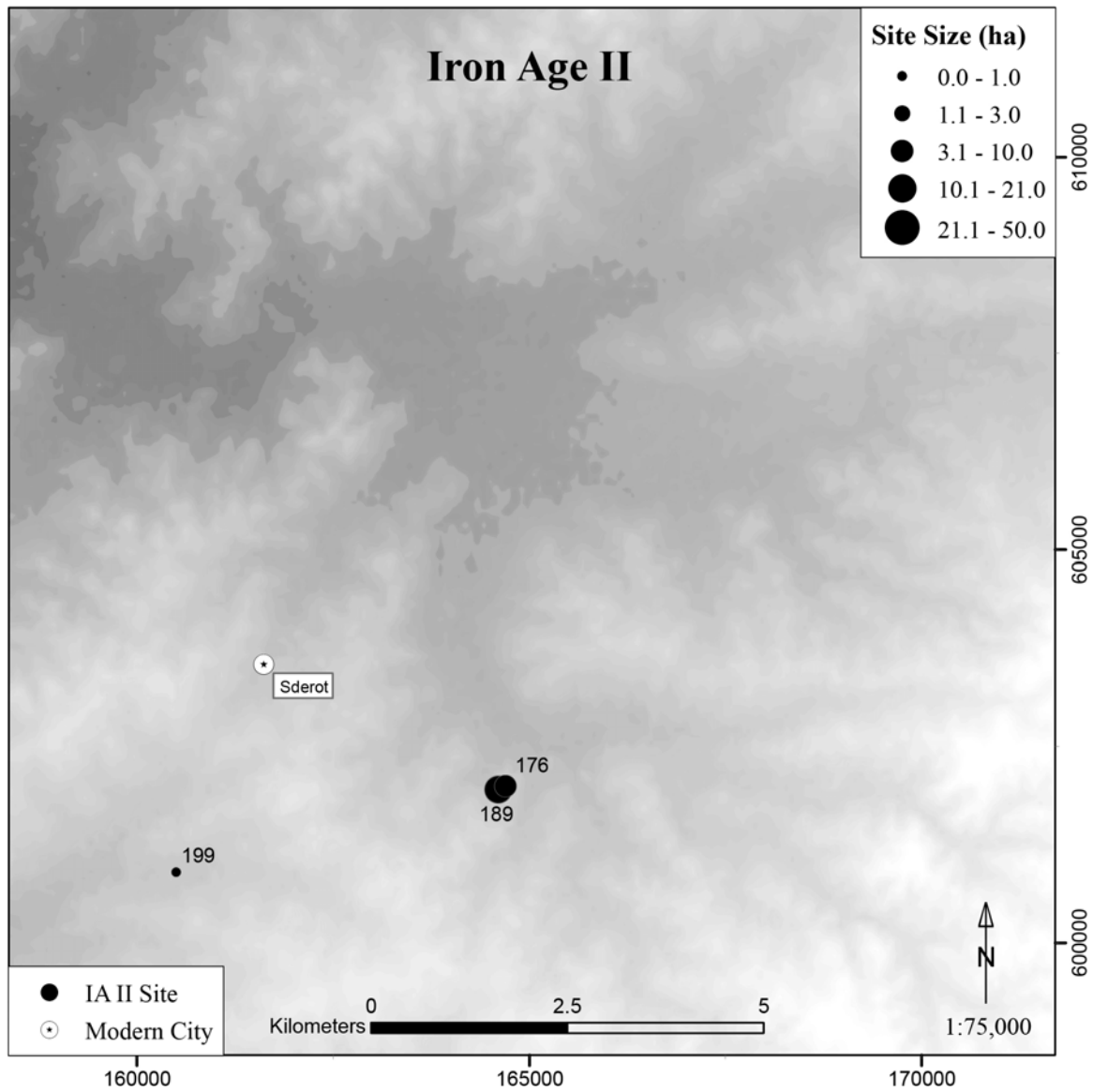


Figure 5.9: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Iron II Age over modern topography.



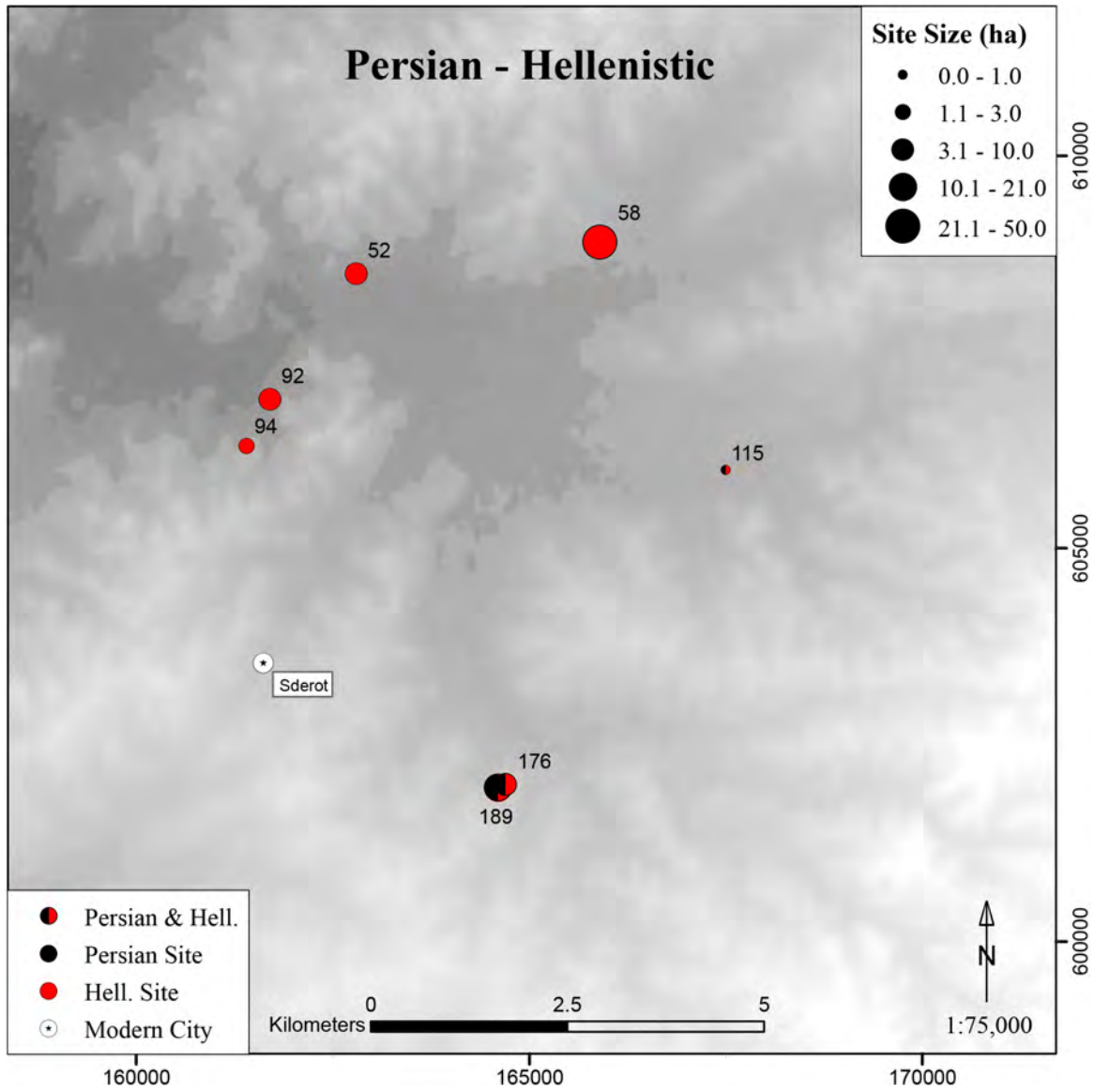


Figure 5.10: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Persian and Hellenistic periods over modern topography.

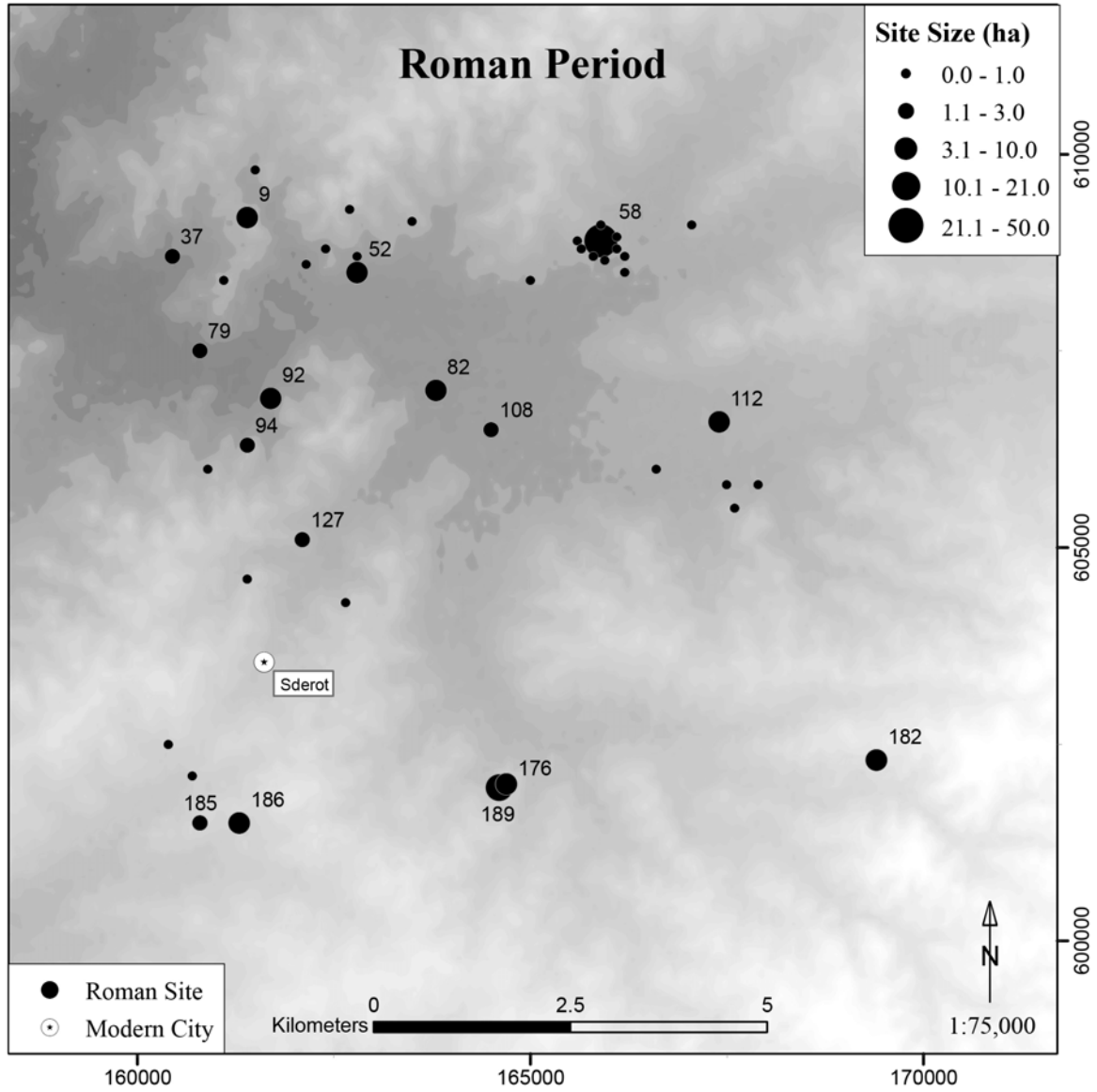


Figure 5.11: Map of Sderot (96), select sites labeled from Roman period over modern topography.

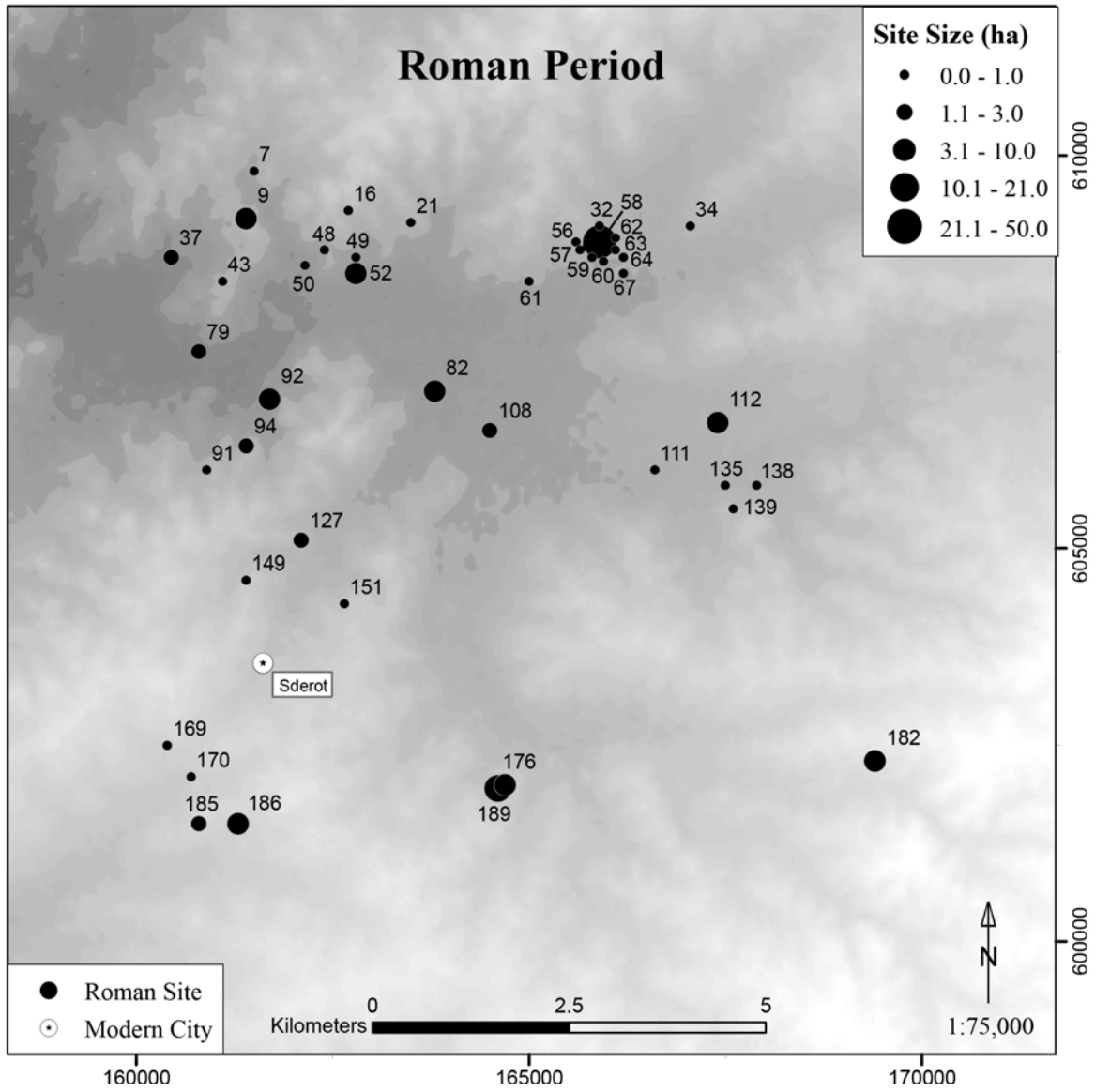


Figure 5.12: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Roman period over modern topography.

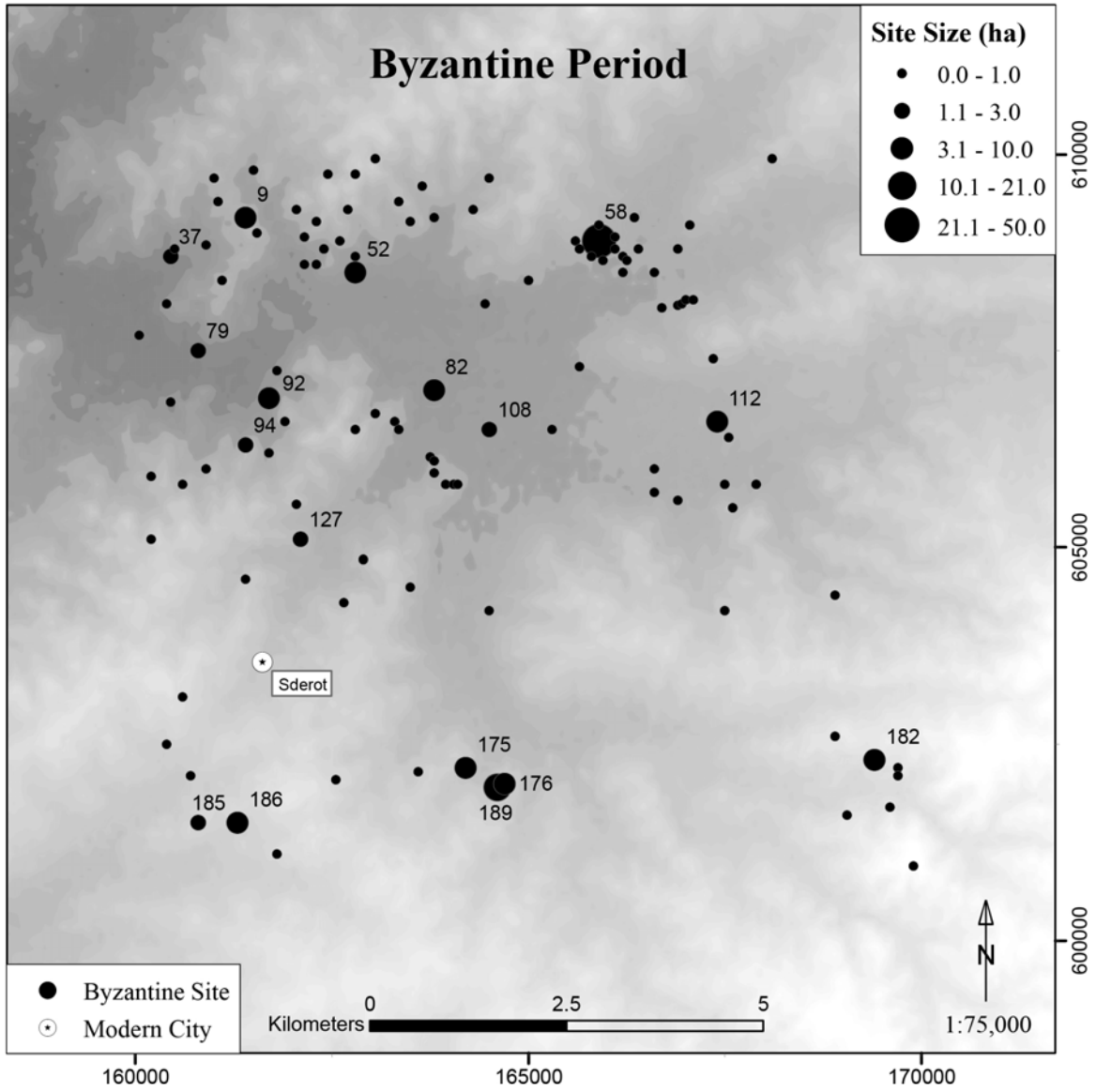


Figure 5.13: Map of Sderot (96), select sites labeled from Byzantine period over modern topography.

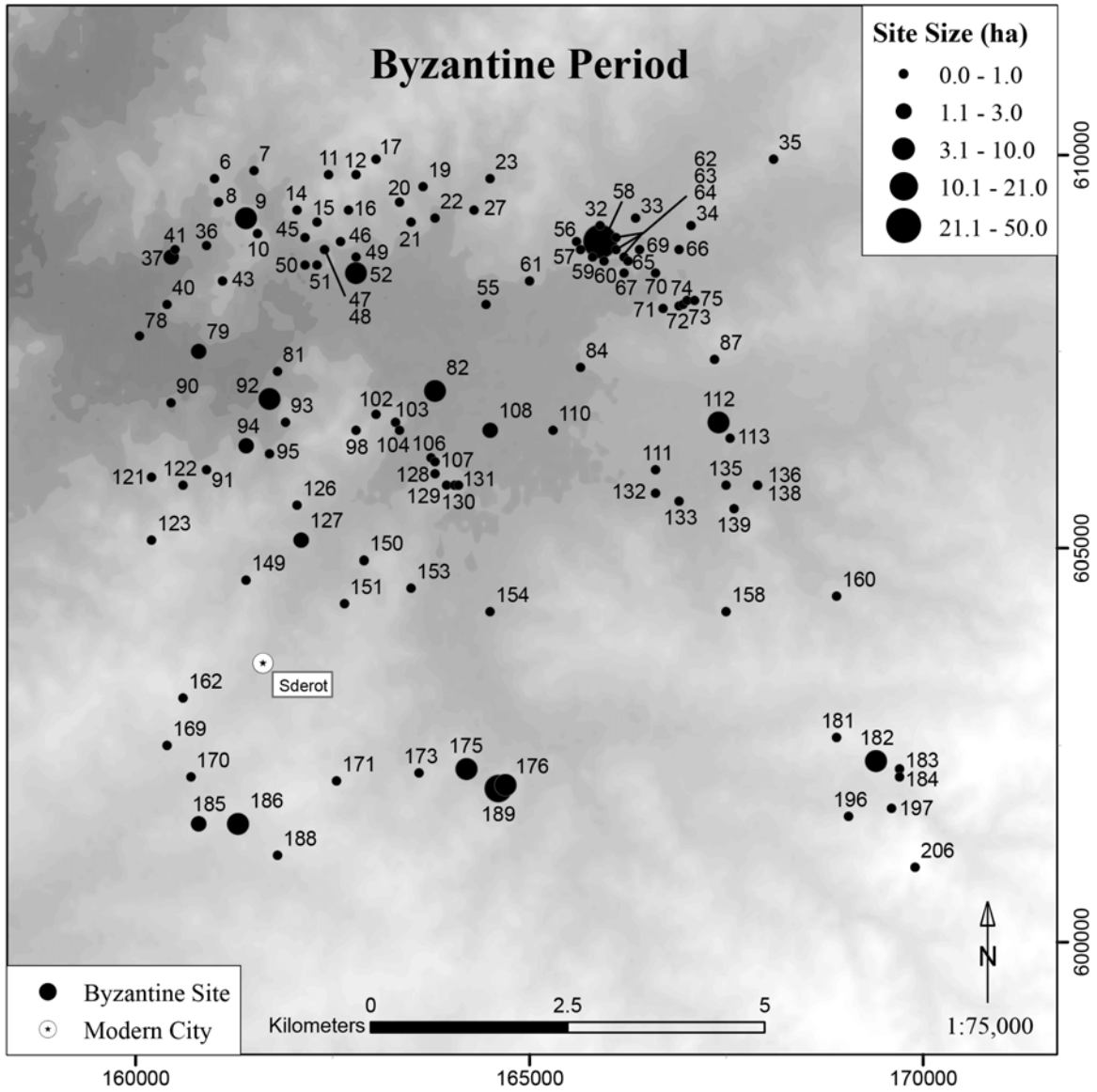


Figure 5.14: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Byzantine period over modern topography.

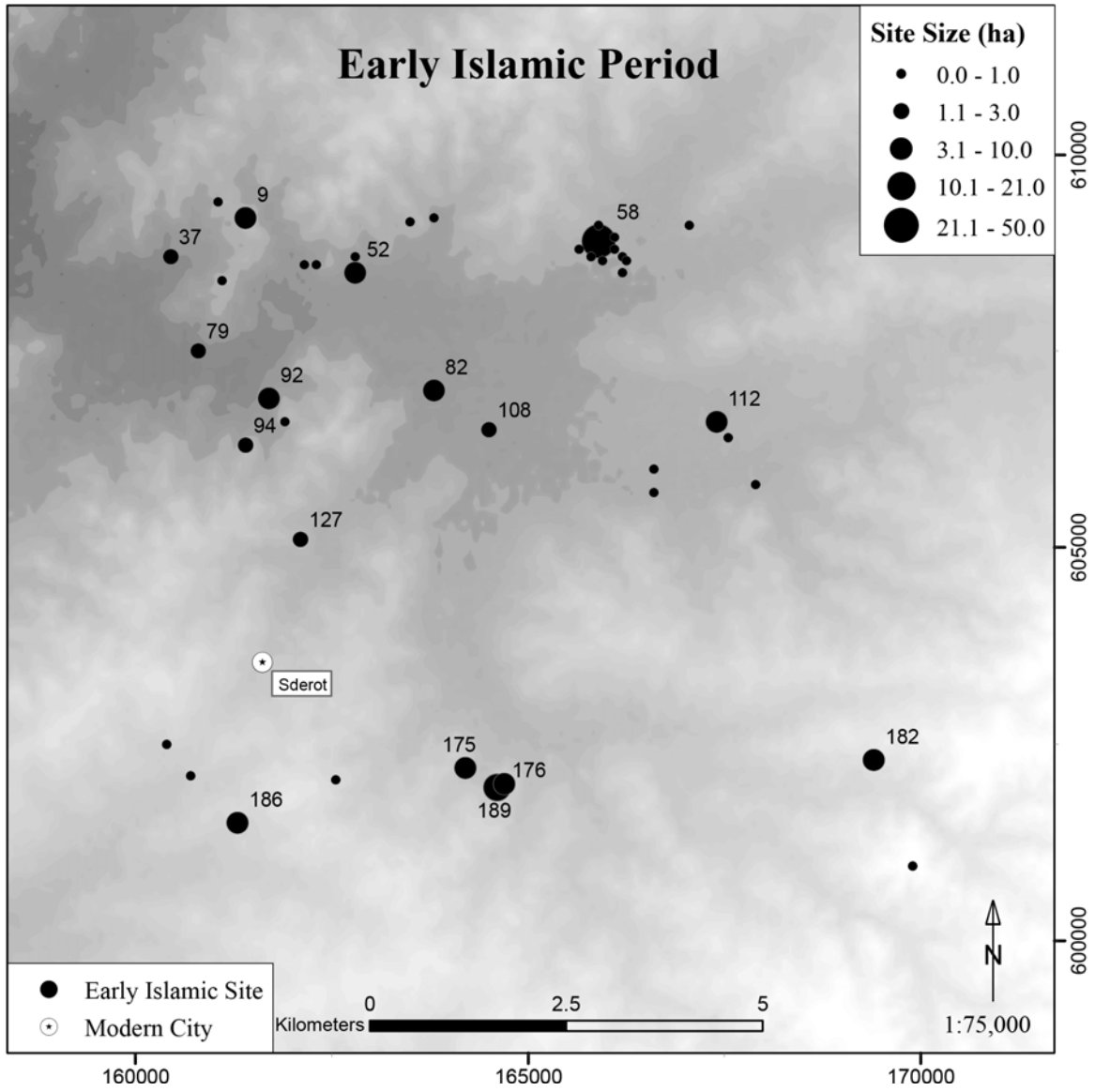


Figure 5.15: Map of Sderot (96), select sites labeled from Early Islamic period over modern topography.

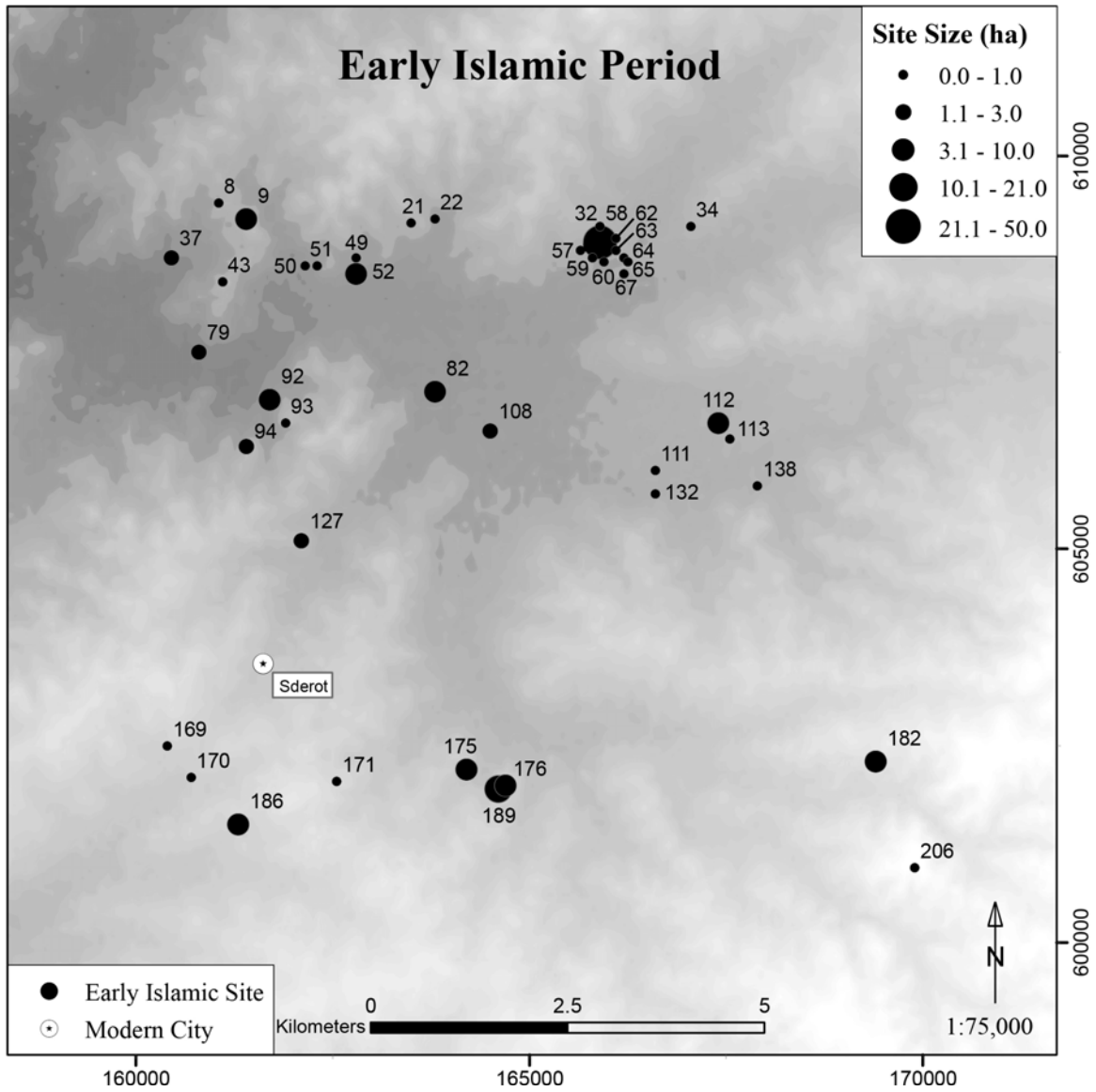


Figure 5.16: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Early Islamic period over modern topography.

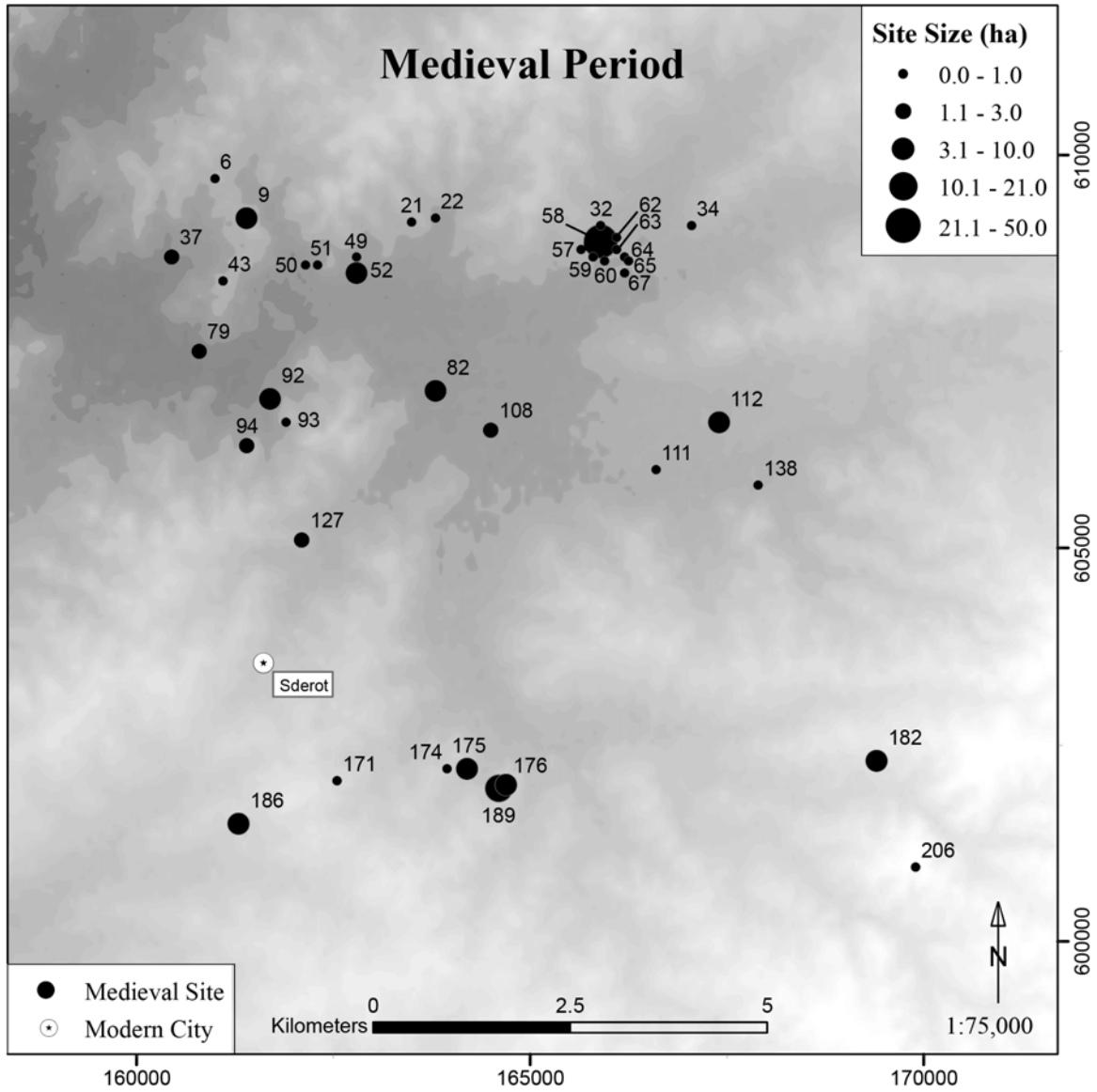


Figure 5.17: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Medieval period over modern topography.



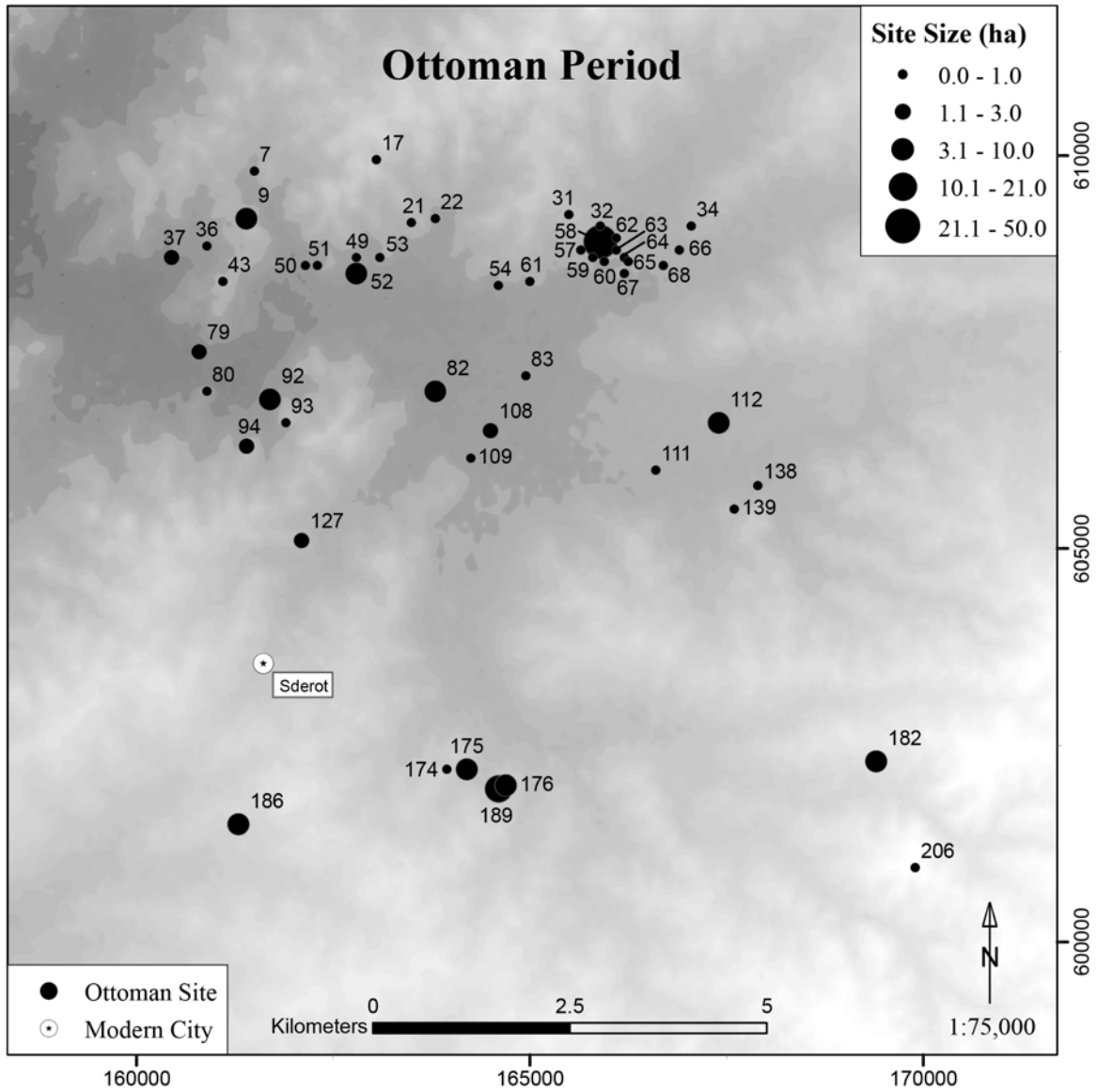


Figure 5.18: Map of Sderot (96), sites from Ottoman period over modern topography.

## APPENDIX C: INDEX OF SITE NAMES

<i>Site</i>	<i>Site No.</i>
Babliya, Kh. el	21, 22
Be'er Gluma (Bir Jalama)	109
Beit Tafa, Kh.	111
Berekha, H.	181, 182
Bror, Tel	61
Bureir	31, 32, 56–60, 62–65, 67–69
Buta, H.	207
Gevar'am <i>Kurkar</i> Ridge	17–20
Ghayada, Kh. el	34
Gluma, H.	108
Haj Harb, Kh. el	206
Herev, H.	206
Hirbiya, Kh.	37
Hoga, H.	176, 189
Huj	175
Huj, Kh.	189
Jalama, Kh.	108
Kefar Se'ora, H.	112
Lasan Kh.	185–87
Magharat Ghazza, Tell	89
Majnuna, Tell el	191
Marashan, Kh. el	137–39
Mashnaga, Tell el	61
Nabi Huj, en	176, 189
Nahal Azur	171, 172
Nahal Bror	23–27, 66, 70–75
Nahal Dorot	178, 190, 192, 205
Nahal Dov	168
Nahal Hatzav	116, 117
Nahal Heletz	28–30, 33, 35, 54, 55
Nahal Hoga	106, 107, 128–31, 152–54, 165–67, 177, 200–2
Nahal Kosses	123, 144
Nahal Marashan	158
Nahal Mardim	91, 121, 122, 124, 125
Nahal Mefalsim	169, 170, 188, 199
Nahal Nigraf	155–57
Nahal Nir Am	99, 100, 102–5, 126, 150, 151, 164
Nahal Revaiya	1–6, 36, 38
Nahal Ruhama	179, 180, 183, 184, 193–98
Nahal Shiqma	39–44, 76–78, 80–88, 90, 96–98, 101, 110, 113–15, 118–20, 132–36
Nahal Sumsum	7, 8, 11–15, 45
Nahal Tal	145–48
Nahal Zedim	140–143, 159, 160
Najd	92, 93
Najd, Kh.	127
Namus, Kh. en	181, 182
Sawabta, Kh.	137–139
Sderot	149
Sha'fat el Mughr	16
Sha'fat Umm ez-Zamilia	16
Sha'ratta, Kh.	112
Shega, Tell	191
Sheikh Mansur, esh	174
Sumsum	46–53
Umm Buteih, Kh.	207
Tell edh Dhahab, Kh.	173

<i>Site</i>	<i>Site No.</i>
Umm Qallum, Kh.	79
Umm Tabun, Kh.	94, 95
Wadi Abd el Aziz	200
Wadi Abu Ali	201–4
Wadi Abu Rashid	179, 180, 183, 184, 193–98
Wadi el Badawiya	7
Wadi el Bi <sup>ḍ</sup>	161–63
Wadi el Ghazawiya	171, 172
Wadi el Hadd	154
Wadi el Hesi	39–41, 77, 90
Wadi Hirbiya	1, 36, 38
Wadi Iweida	158
Wadi el Jabali	149
Wadi el Jurf	155–57
Wadi Lisin	169, 170, 188, 199
Wadi el Mahawir	106
Wadi el Majnuna	190, 192, 205
Wadi el Makkus	123, 144
Wadi el Manyasa	140–42, 159, 160
Wadi Mardin	121
Wadi en Nada	145–48
Wadi Najd	99, 102, 103, 126, 150, 151, 164
Wadi en Namus	168
Wadi el Qa <sup>ḥ</sup> a	28, 35
Wadi er Raml	106, 128, 152–54, 165–67, 177, 178
Wadi Shaqafat	23
Zeita, Kh.	9, 10

## APPENDIX D: INDEX OF SITES LISTED BY PERIOD

<i>Period</i>	<i>Site Nos.</i>	<i>Total No. of Sites</i>
Paleolithic	1–5, 11, 15, 18, 24–26, 28, 30, 39–44, 77, 85, 86, 89, 96–102, 120, 121, 124, 125, 134, 140, 144–48, 152, 154–57, 159, 161, 163–65, 167, 168, 172, 178, 190–92, 198, 205	61
Neolithic	76, 166, 179	3
Chalcolithic	114, 154, 180, 193–95, 200, 202	8
Middle Bronze	61, 138	2
Late Bronze	88, 114, 177	3
Iron I	177	1
Iron II	176, 189, 199	3
Persian	115, 176, 189	3
Hellenistic	52, 58, 92, 94, 115, 176, 189	7
Roman	7, 9, 16, 21, 32, 34, 37, 43, 48–50, 52, 56–64, 67, 79, 82, 91, 92, 94, 108, 111, 112, 127, 135, 137–39, 149, 151, 169, 170, 176, 182, 185, 186, 189	44
Byzantine	6–12, 14–17, 19–23, 27, 32–37, 40, 41, 43, 45–52, 55–67, 69–75, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87, 90–95, 98, 102–4, 106–8, 110–13, 121–23, 126–36, 137–39, 149–51, 153, 154, 158, 160, 162, 169–71, 173, 175, 176, 181–86, 188, 189, 196, 197, 206	118
Early Islamic	8, 9, 21, 22, 32, 34, 37, 43, 49–52, 57–60, 62–65, 67, 79, 82, 92–94, 108, 111–13, 127, 132, 138, 169–71, 175, 176, 182, 186, 189, 206	42
Medieval (Crusader and Mamluk periods)	6, 9, 21, 22, 32, 34, 37, 43, 49–52, 57–60, 62–65, 67, 79, 82, 92–94, 108, 111, 112, 127, 138, 171, 174–76, 182, 186, 189, 206	39
Ottoman	7, 9, 17, 21, 22, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 43, 49, 50–54, 57–68, 79, 80, 82, 83, 92–94, 108, 109, 111, 112, 127, 138, 139, 174–76, 182, 186, 189, 206; sites 49–53 are sections of one site; sites 58–60 and 62–67 are sections of one site.	40

## APPENDIX E: INDEX OF MAP OF SDEROT (96) SITES

<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m2)</i>	<i>Periods</i>
1 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160500/609900	1,200	Paleo
2 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160500/609400	600	Paleo
3 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160600/609300	500	Paleo
4 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160050/609300	200	Paleo
5 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160050/609000	2,000	Paleo
6 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	161000/609700	50	Byz, Med
7 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	161500/609800	2,000	Rom, Byz, Ott
8 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	161050/609400	500	Byz, EI
9 Khirbat Zeita 7 cisterns	161400/609200	40,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
10 Khirbat Zeita	161550/609000	100	Byz
11 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	162450/609750	100	Paleo, Byz
12 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	162800/609750	150	Byz
13 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	162300/609400	200	Indeterminate
14 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	162050/ 609300	150	Byz
15 Nahal Sumsun (Wadi el Badawiya)	162300/609150	100	Paleo, Byz
16 Sha <sup>ʿ</sup> fat el-Mughr, Sha <sup>ʿ</sup> fat Umm ez-Zamilia	162700/609300	10,000	Rom, Byz
17 Gevar <sup>ʿ</sup> am <i>Kurkar</i> Ridge Reserve	163050/609950	400	Byz, Ott
18 Gevar <sup>ʿ</sup> am <i>Kurkar</i> Ridge Reserve	163100/609800	1,000	Paleo
19 Gevar <sup>ʿ</sup> am <i>Kurkar</i> Ridge Reserve cistern	163650/609600	100	Byz
20 Gevar <sup>ʿ</sup> am <i>Kurkar</i> Ridge Reserve cistern	163350/609400	100	Byz
21 Khirbat el Babliya 3 cisterns	163500/609150	3,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
22 Khirbat el Babliya	163800/609200	100	Byz, EI, Med, Ott
23 Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164500/609700	200	Byz
24 Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164500/609550	400	Paleo
25 Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164600/609950	200	Paleo
26 Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164500/609400	1,200	Paleo
27 Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164300/609300	100	Byz
28 Nahal Heletz (Wadi el Qa <sup>ʿ</sup> a)	165100/609800	300	Paleo
29 Nahal Heletz (Wadi el Qa <sup>ʿ</sup> a)	165400/609700	100	Indeterminate
30 Nahal Heletz (Wadi el Qa <sup>ʿ</sup> a)	165300/609600	200	Paleo
31 Bureir	165500/609250	800	Ott
32 Bureir	165900/609100	1,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
33 Bureir	166350/609200	100	Byz
34 Khirbat el Ghayada 2 cisterns	167050/609100	3,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
35 Nahal Heletz (Wadi el Qa <sup>ʿ</sup> a)	168100/609950	1,000	Byz
36 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160900/608850	500	Byz, Ott
37 Khirbat Hirbiya	160450/608700	20,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
38 Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)	160100/608600	800	Paleo
39 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	160100/608100	100	Paleo
40 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	160400/608100	400	Paleo, Byz
41 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	160500/608800	100	Paleo, Byz
42 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	161350/608600	250	Paleo
43 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	161100/608400	400	Paleo, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
44 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	161050/608000	200	Paleo

<i>No.</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m2)</i>	<i>Periods</i>
45	Nahal Sumsum (Wadi el Badawiya) cistern	162150/608950	100	Byz
46	Sumsum cistern	162600/608900	100	Byz
47	Sumsum cistern	162400/608800	100	Byz
48	Sumsum	162400/608800	100	Rom, Byz
49	Sumsum	162800/608700	2,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
50	Sumsum	162150/608600	200	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
51	Sumsum cistern	162300/608600	200	Byz, EI, Med, Ott
52	Sumsum possible Byzantine church; 2 cisterns	162800/608500	60,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
53	Sumsum	163100/608700	500	Ott
54	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164600/608350	100	Ott
55	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	164450/608100	50	Byz
56	Bureir	165600/608900	2,000	Rom, Byz
57	Bureir pottery workshop	165650/608800	500	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
58	Bureir possible Byzantine church	165900/608900	250,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
59	Bureir	165800/608700	400	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
60	Bureir	165950/608650	100	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
61	Tel Bror, Tell el Mashnaga wine press; pottery workshop	165000/608400	10,000	MB, Rom, Byz, Ott
62	Bureir pottery workshop	166100/608950	1,500	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
63	Bureir Byzantine church	166100/608800	200	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
64	Bureir	166200/608700	100	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
65	Bureir	166250/608650	100	Byz, EI, Med, Ott
66	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	166900/608800	200	Byz, Ott
67	Bureir	166200/608500	3,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
68	Bureir	166700/608600	100	Ott
69	Bureir	166400/608800	100	Byz
70	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	166600/608500	60	Byz
71	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat) cistern	166700/608050	100	Byz
72	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat) cistern	166900/608080	100	Byz
73	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat) cistern	166950/608100	100	Byz
74	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat) cistern	167000/608150	100	Byz
75	Nahal Bror (Wadi Shakafat)	167100/608150	100	Byz
76	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	169400/608100	100	Neo
77	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	169800/608000	200	Paleo
78	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi) cistern	160050/607700	100	Byz
79	Khirbet Umm Qallum pottery workshop	160800/607500	20,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott

No.	Site	Coordinates	Area (m2)	Periods
80	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	160900/607000	100	Ott
81	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi) cistern	161800/607250	100	Byz
82	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi) pottery workshop	163800/607000	40,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
83	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	164950/607200	100	Ott
84	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	165650/607300	400	Byz
85	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	167800/607800	1,000	Paleo
86	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	167500/607700	200	Paleo
87	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	167350/607400	50	Byz
88	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	169500/607000	12,000	LB
89	Tell Magharat Ghazza	160800/606900	400	Paleo
90	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi) cistern	160450/606850	200	Byz
91	Nahal Mardim (Wadi Mardin)	160900/606000	400	Rom, Byz
92	Najd	161700/606900	40,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
93	Najd	161900/606600	200	Byz, EI, Med, Ott
94	Khirbet Umm Tabun Byzantine church; 4 cisterns	161400/606300	30,000	Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
95	Khirbet Umm Tabun	161700/606200	100	Byz
96	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	162400/606600	100	Paleo
97	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	162700/606700	200	Paleo
98	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	162800/606500	100	Paleo, Byz
99	Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	162600/606200	100	Paleo
100	Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	162900/606100	500	Paleo
101	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	163400/606900	100	Paleo
102	Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	163050/606700	100	Paleo, Byz
103	Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	163300/606600	50	Byz
104	Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	163350/606500	50	Byz
105	Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	163100/606300	10,000	Indeterminate
106	Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir) cistern	163750/606150	400	Byz
107	Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir) cistern	163800/606100	100	Byz
108	Hurvat Gluma, Khirbet Jalama wine press; 2 cisterns	164500/606500	20,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
109	Be'er Gluma, Bir Jalama	164250/606150	50	Ott
110	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	165300/606500	200	Byz
111	Khirbet Beit Jaffa Byzantine church	166600/606000	10,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
112	Hurvat Gluma, Khirbet Sha'ratta Byzantine church; wine press; 2 cisterns	167400/606600	40,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
113	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi) cistern	167550/606400	100	Byz, EI
114	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	167800/606300	10,000	Chalco, LB
115	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	167500/606000	4,000	Pers, Hell
116	Nahal Hatzav (Wadi el Khanazir)	169600/606900	15,000	Mod
117	Nahal Hatzav (Wadi el Khanazir)	169800/606300	100	Mod
118	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	169400/606350	200	Mod
119	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	169400/606100	100	Mod
120	Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	169100/606000	400	Paleo

<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m2)</i>	<i>Periods</i>
121 Nahal Mardim (Wadi Mardin) cistern	160200/605900	100	Paleo, Byz
122 Nahal Mardim (Wadi Mardin)	160600/605800	400	Byz
123 Nahal Kosses (Wadi el Makkus)	160200/605100	200	Byz
124 Nahal Mardim (Wadi Mardin)	160500/605300	500	Paleo
125 Nahal Mardim (Wadi Mardin)	160700/605100	400	Paleo
126 Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd) cistern	162050/605550	100	Byz
127 Khirbet Najd Byzantine church; wine press; 5 cisterns	162100/605100	20,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
128 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir) 2 cisterns	163800/605950	200	Byz
129 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir) cistern	163950/605800	100	Byz
130 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir) cistern	164050/605800	100	Byz
131 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	164100/605800	100	Byz
132 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	166600/605700	2,000	Byz, EI
133 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	166900/605600	800	Byz
134 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	166400/605100	400	Paleo
135 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)	167500/605800	1,000	Rom, Byz
136 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi) pottery workshop	167900/605800	100	Byz
137 Khirbet el Marashan, Khirbet Sawabta	167800/605700	100	Indeterminate
138 Khirbet el Marashan, Khirbet Sawabta cistern	167900/605800	10,000	MB, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott, Mod
139 Khirbet el Marashan, Khirbet Sawabta Byzantine church; cistern	167600/605500	500	Rom, Byz, Ott, Mod
140 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)	167700/605100	200	Paleo, Mod
141 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)	168700/605700	600	Mod
142 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)	168900/605500	400	Mod
143 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)	168500/605200	400	Mod
144 Nahal Kosses (Wadi el Makkus)	160200/604800	100	Paleo
145 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)	160700/604700	200	Paleo
146 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)	160600/604500	600	Paleo
147 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)	160400/604300	100	Paleo
148 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)	160600/604000	100	Paleo
149 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada) 2 cisterns	161400/604600	5,000	Rom, Byz
150 Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	162900/604850	500	Byz
151 Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	162650/604300	200	Rom, Byz
152 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	163800/604700	100	Paleo
153 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	163500/604500	300	Byz
154 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	164500/604200	400	Paleo, Chalco, Byz
155 Nahal Nigraf (Wadi el Jurf)	166350/604900	200	Paleo
156 Nahal Nigraf (Wadi el Jurf)	166400/604600	100	Paleo
157 Nahal Nigraf (Wadi el Jurf)	166100/604800	200	Paleo
158 Nahal Marashan (Wadi Iweida)	167500/604200	200	Byz
159 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)	168200/604100	100	Paleo
160 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)	168900/604400	600	Byz
161 Nahal Tal (Wadi el Bi, Wadi en Nada)	160200/603800	200	Paleo



<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m2)</i>	<i>Periods</i>
162 Nahal Tal (Wadi el Bi, Wadi en Nada)	160600/603100	1,000	Byz
163 Nahal Tal (Wadi el Bi, Wadi en Nada)	161100/603800	100	Paleo
164 Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)	162400/603500	200	Paleo
165 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	164500/603800	200	Paleo
166 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	164350/603300	10	Neo
167 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	165100/603800	100	Paleo
168 Nahal Dov (Wadi en Namus)	168700/603300	200	Paleo
169 Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin) 2 cisterns	160400/602500	5,000	Rom, Byz, EI
170 Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin) wine press; pottery workshop; 2 cisterns	160700/602100	10,000	Rom, Byz, EI
171 Nahal Azur (Wadi el Ghazawiya)	162550/602050	3,000	Byz, EI, Med
172 Nahal Azur (Wadi el Ghazawiya)	163100/602300	200	Paleo
173 Khirbet Tell edh Dhahab	163600/602150	100	Byz
174 Esh Sheikh Mansur	163950/602200	100	Med, Ott, Mod
175 Huj possible Byzantine church	164200/602200	45,000	Byz, EI, Med, Ott, Mod
176 Hurvat Hoga ,Kh. Huj, en Nabi Huj Byzantine church; pottery workshop; 5 cisterns	164700/602000	40,000	Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott, Mod
177 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. el Mahawir)	165100/602450	200	LB, Iron1
178 Nahal Dorot (Wadi er Raml)	166300/602100	1,000	Paleo
179 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	166900/602100	10	Neo
180 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	167400/602100	500	Chalco
181 Hurvat Berekha, Khirbet en Namus	168900/602600	100	Byz, Mod
182 Hurvat Berekha, Khirbet en Namus Byzantine church; pottery workshop	169400/602300	60,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
183 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid) wine press	169700/602200	200	Byz
184 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	169700/602100	100	Byz
185 Khirbet Lasan	160800/601500	20,000	Rom, Byz
186 Khirbet Lasan Byzantine church; pottery workshop; 4 cisterns	161300/601500	60,000	Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott
187 Khirbet Lasan 5 cisterns	161400/601600	800	Indeterminate
188 Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin) 2 cisterns	161800/601100	200	Byz
189 Hurvat Hoga,Kh. Huj, en Nabi Huj 5 cisterns	164600/601950	120,000	Iron2, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, EI, Med, Ott, Mod
190 Nahal Dorot (Wadi er Raml, W. el Majnuna)	166700/601400	200	Paleo
191 Tel Shega, Tell el Majnuna	167700/601700	200	Paleo
192 Nahal Dorot (Wadi er Raml,W. el Majnuna)	167500/601250	100	Paleo
193 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	168500/601900	1,200	Chalco
194 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	168800/601900	500	Chalco
195 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	169200/601800	2,500	Chalco
196 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid) Byzantine church; 3 cisterns	169050/601600	200	Byz
197 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid) 4 cisterns	169600/601700	800	Byz, Mod
198 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)	169700/601700	200	Paleo
199 Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin)	160500/600900	10	Iron2
200 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W.Abd el Aziz)	165700/600600	1,000	Chalco
201 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W.Abu Ali)	167350/600800	100	Mod

<i>No. Site</i>	<i>Coordinates</i>	<i>Area (m2)</i>	<i>Periods</i>
202 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. Abu Ali)	167500/600700	400	Chalco
203 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. Abu Ali)	167800/600200	100	Mod
204 Nahal Hoga (W. er Raml, W. Abu Ali)	167400/600100	100	Mod
205 Nahal Dorot (Wadi er Raml, W. el Majnuna)	168400/600500	300	Paleo
206 Hurvat Herev, Khirbet el Haj Harb Byzantine church; 2 cisterns	169900/600950	10,000	Byz, EI, Med, Ott, Mod
207 Hurvat Buta, Khirbet Umm Buteih cistern	169800/600300	100	Mod

## APPENDIX F: CATALOGUE OF MAP OF SDEROT (96) SITES

1. 11-10/09-1 11050 10990 16050 60990

Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya), triangulation point 823, spot height 86 m.

Scatter of flint implements (including handaxes, choppers, cores, and flakes), on top and S slope of sandy *kurkar* hill (c. 1.2 dunams).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.



1. Blade from Site 88  
2. Blade from Site 114



3. Blade from Site 114  
4. Blade from Site 177

Figure 5.19: Late Bronze Age Flint Sickle Blades (scale 1:2)

2. 11-10/09-2 11050 10940 16050 60940

Nahal Revaiya

Scatter of flint implements (c. 600 m<sup>2</sup>) on N moderate slope of *kurkar* hill, covered with a thin layer of red soil (*hamra*). High percentage of flint tool industry waste.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

3. 11-10/09-3 11060 10930 16060 60930

Nahal Revaiya

Scatter of flint tool industry on E slope of *kurkar* hill, west of dry bed of Nahal Revaiya. The implements were collected from the top of a thin *hamra* layer over an area of c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

4. 11-10/09-4 11005 10930 16005 60930

Nahal Revaiya

Remains of a structure (3 x 3.2 m); fieldstone walls (0.60 m wide) preserved 1–2 courses high. Segments of a coarse tiled mosaic floor. Tesserae of white color (2 x 2 cm). Around the structure, a dense scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.

5. 11-10/09-5 11005 10900 16005 60900  
 Nahal Revaiya  
 Scatter of flint implements (c. 2 dunams), including handaxes and choppers, on *kurkar* ridge and N slope W of Nahal Revaiya. Some tools were produced using the Levallois technique. Remains of structures (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>); unhewn *kurkar* building stones, coarse tesserae (mostly 3 x 3 cm), fragments of glass vessels and many potsherds.  
 Lithic finds: Lower and Middle Paleolithic.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
6. 11-10/19-1 11100 10970 16100 60970  
 Nahal Revaiya  
 Dense scatter of pottery sherds and broken fieldstones (c. 50 m<sup>2</sup>) on W slope of *kurkar* hill, E of Nahal Revaiya.  
 Pottery: Byzantine and Medieval.
7. 11-10/19-1 11150 10980 16150 60980  
 Nahal Sumsum (Wadi el Badawiya)  
 Group of five abandoned and ruined recent dwellings on moderate slope of *kurkar* hill covered with a thin layer of loess soil, overlooking Nahal Sumsum from N. In the walls of two structures, built of mortared rough unhewn stones and preserved 1–2.5 m high, fragments of marble architectural elements and basalt vessels were embedded. Three structures are built of unfired mudbricks. Nearby, a well, partly blocked, 2.5 m diameter, built of dressed *kurkar* stones. Close to the well, a cement base of a pumping engine. The water was conducted to a square pool (3 x 3 m, 1.3 m high) situated 150 m E of the well, on a higher point. From the pool, water was brought by conduits, built of cement or flat *kurkar* stones, to lower elevations, in order to water a citrus orchard (c. 15000 m<sup>2</sup>), now abandoned.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Mandatory.
8. 11-10/19-3 11105 10940 16105 60940  
 Nahal Sumsum  
 Foundations of structures (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>) built of *kurkar* fieldstones laid with mortar on *kurkar* hill, W of Nahal Sumsum. Scatter of pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine and Early Islamic.
9. 11-10/19-4 11140 10920 16140 60920  
 Kh. Zeita (M)  
 Remains of settlement (c. 40 dunams) on top and slopes of *kurkar* hill. Foundations of structures. Strewn amidst ruins: fragments of lintels, thresholds, marble architectural elements, basalt grinding stones, building stones, pottery sherds, and tesserae. Five plastered cisterns (4–5 m deep), currently partly blocked or ruinous. To N of settlement (100 m), on flat area, foundations of structures, two cisterns (presently blocked). Dense coverage of pottery sherds (mainly Gaza jars), fired bricks, slag, and kiln waste.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.  
 Identification: Zeite, a village from the Crusader period (see also site 82 below).
10. 11-10/19-5 11155 10900 16155 60900  
 Kh. Zeita (M)  
 Collapsed structure (3.2 x 1.8 m) on SW slope of *kurkar* hill, some 200 m SW of the settlement. Built of small cemented fieldstones. The vaulted roof has collapsed inward. The remains indicate that the structure is a vaulted tomb. Nearby, light scatter of pottery and human bones.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.  
 Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 66
11. 11-10/29-1 11245 10975 16245 60975  
 Nahal Sumsum  
 Light scatter of eroded flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on moderate slope of a *kurkar* hill.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
12. 11-10/29-2 11280 10975 16280 60975  
 Nahal Sumsum  
 Light scatter of flint implements and potsherds (c. 150 m<sup>2</sup>) on *kurkar* hill overlaid by a thin layer of *hamra* soil.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.

13. 11-10/29-3 11230 10940 16230 60940  
 Nahal Sumsum  
 Fragmentary foundation of structure (3 x 3 m) built of unhewn cemented *kurkar* stones, on S slope of *kurkar* hill covered by *hamra* soil. Moderate scatter (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) of pottery and white color tesserae (2 x 2 cm). Light scatter of flint implements.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
14. 11-10/29-4 11205 10930 16205 60930  
 Nahal Sumsum  
 Light scatter of flint implements and three concentrations of pottery sherds (c. 50 m<sup>2</sup> each) on top and W slope of *kurkar* hill.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
15. 11-10/29-5 11230 10930 16230 60915  
 Nahal Sumsum  
 Ruinous structure (2 x 2 m) on top of *kurkar* hill, fieldstone walls (0.4 m wide) preserved 1–3 courses high, remains of plaster on interior walls. Dense scatter of pottery sherds around the structure (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>). At this spot, water erosion has created a natural section. The geological layers from top to bottom are: *Hamra* soil—c. 1m; sandy soft *kurkar*—c. 4 m; a second *hamra* soil layer—c. 2 m; calcium carbonate nodules—0.5 m; hard *kurkar* (sandstone)—c. 4 m. Flint implements were collected from the top of the upper *hamra* layer (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
16. 11-10/29-6 11270 10930 16270 60930  
 Sha<sup>ʿ</sup>fat el-Mughr (M)  
 Sha<sup>ʿ</sup>fat Umm ez-Zamilia (M)  
 Cemetery on *kurkar* hill (c. 10 dunams), 800 m N of the Arab village Sumsum. On the E edge, in a natural section, two quarries of *kurkar* stones. On S slope and on flat top, 22 burial caves hewn in a hard *kurkar* layer mostly in the same manner: A narrow vertical shaft (1 x 1 m, 1–2 m deep) leads to a square entrance (0.8 x 0.8 m), installed in a smoothed facade. Some of the entrances have marginal linear decorations around three of the edges. Each burial cave consists of a chamber (average size 2.5 x 3 m, height 2 m); some caves have additional niches. On the W side of the hill, a burial cave of a different style: A central chamber (4 x 2 m) and six cells (2 x 1 m each), arranged symmetrically, three on each side of the long wall.  
 The upper part of this cave has collapsed. Most of the burial caves were robbed, leaving dense scatters of pottery sherds near the entrances.  
 Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.
17. 11-10/39-1 11305 10995 16305 60995  
 Gevar<sup>ʿ</sup>am Kurkar Ridge Reserve  
 Hewn rock cave (c. 20 x 18 m, 2 m height) on S cliff of a hill, located on the Gevar<sup>ʿ</sup>am-Nir<sup>ʿ</sup>am *kurkar* ridge. The roof is supported by four hewn pillars. Used initially as a stone quarry and converted later to an enclosure for sheep and goats. Light scatter of pottery sherds inside the cave and near the entrance.  
 Pottery: Byzantine and Ottoman.
18. 11-10/39-2 11310 10980 16310 60980  
 Gevar<sup>ʿ</sup>am Kurkar Ridge  
 Several concentrations of flint implements (c. 1 dunam) on a spur of a hill composed of alternating layers of *hamra* and *kurkar*. Flint artifacts included cores, choppers, handaxes, scrapers, and denticulates. Some of the tools were produced using the Levallois technique.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
19. 11-10/39-3 11365 10960 16365 60960  
 Gevar<sup>ʿ</sup>am Kurkar Ridge  
 Bell-shaped cistern, partly blocked, on moderate NE slope of a *kurkar* hill. Diameter: 2.5 m, visible depth: 3 m. Moderate scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.



1.



2.

*Figure 5.20: Site 17*

20. 11-10/39-4 11335 10940 16335 60940  
 Gevar<sup>3</sup>am Kurkar Ridge  
 Bell-shaped cistern on top of *kurkar* hill. Built of cemented fieldstones. Diameter: 2 m, depth: 4 m. Moderate scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
21. 11-10/39-5 11350 10915 16350 60915  
 Kh. el Babliya (M)  
 Settlement remains (c. 3 dunams) on moderate SW slope of *kurkar* hill and adjacent plain. Three bell-shaped cisterns, partly blocked, diameter 2.5–3 m, built of small cemented *kurkar* stones. Foundations of a structure (8 x 4 m), built of cemented fieldstones, preserved c. 0.8 m high. On NW edge, several recent ruined dwellings arranged on both sides of a narrow passageway. These structures were built mainly of stones from the ancient settlement. Broken architectural elements are embedded in the walls. Scatter of marble fragments, broken basalt grinding stones, fragments of glass vessels, tesserae and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.  
 Identification: Babilliya is the name of a village enumerated in the list of taxpayers from the year 1596/97 (Hütteroth and Abdulfattah 1977:147).
22. 11-10/39-6 11380 10920 16380 60920  
 Kh. el Babliya (M)  
 Well on flat terrain, 250 m E of Kh.el Babliya, near a tributary of Nahal Bror. Diameter: 2.20 m, built of dressed rectangular *kurkar* stones, reinforced with iron bars. Some 25 m to N, a concrete block (c. 1.8 x 1.8 x 1.5 m) intended to hold a pumping engine. The modern concrete was poured on an existing foundation built of cement strengthened with potsherds of the Byzantine period. It seems that the well was excavated in this period and renovated later in the twentieth century. If so, this would account for many other such wells elsewhere. Moderate scatter of pottery sherds around the well (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.



Figure 5.21: Site 22

23. 11-10/49-1 11450 10970 16450 60970  
Nahal Bror (Wadi Shaqafat)  
Collapsed structure (3 x 3 m) on *kurkar* hill, built of small cemented stones. Scatter (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) of plaster fragments, coarse tesserae (2 x 2 cm) and pottery sherds.  
Pottery: Byzantine.
24. 11-10/49-2 11450 10955 16450 60955  
Nahal Bror  
Scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on hilltop. Two *hamra* layers and a *kurkar* layer between them were discerned. The artifacts were collected from the top of the upper *hamra* soil.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
25. 11-10/49-3 11460 10950 16460 60950  
Nahal Bror  
Scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on *kurkar* hill with a *hamra* layer, for the most part eroded, on top. On some flakes the use of Levallois technique was noted.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
26. 11-10/49-4 11450 10940 16450 60940  
Nahal Bror  
Scatter of flint implements (c. 1.2 dunams) on *kurkar* hill. The uppermost level, in which the artifacts were found, was a *hamra* layer, almost completely eroded as on the neighboring hills.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
27. 11-10/49-5 11430 10930 16430 60930  
Nahal Bror  
Collapsed structure (c. 2 x 3 m) on W slope of a *kurkar* hill. Large vaulted architectural fragments of cemented fieldstones enabled the identification of a tomb here. Moderate scatter of potsherds around the building (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
Pottery: Byzantine.
28. 11-10/59-1 11510 10980 16510 60980  
Nahal Heletz (Wadi el Qa<sup>2</sup>a)  
Moderate scatter of flint implements (c. 300 m<sup>2</sup>) eroded by water, on W slope of *kurkar* hill. Here, too, erosion processes removed the *hamra* layer, leaving the flint tools on the *kurkar* deposits.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
29. 11-10/59-2 11540 10970 16540 60970  
Nahal Heletz  
Heap of medium-sized *kurkar* stones (3 m diameter, 1 m high), on eastern slope of a *kurkar* hill, west of a tributary of Nahal Heletz. A similar heap exist close to a *kurkar* stone quarry (site 93 below). Here, no quarry was discerned, probably due to the dense vegetation. Light scatter of pottery sherds around the piled stones (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
Pottery: Byzantine.
30. 11-10/59-3 11530 10960 16530 60960  
Nahal Heletz  
Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on W slope of *kurkar* hill covered by a thin layer of *hamra*.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
31. 11-10/59-4 11550 10925 16550 60925  
Bureir (S)  
Bureir (M)  
Foundations of structures and wall segments built of dressed stones (c. 800 m<sup>2</sup>) some 600 m NE of the village center, at the location of the village school. Scatter of pottery sherds.  
Pottery: Ottoman and Modern (Mandatory).



32. 11-10/59-5 11590 10910 16590 60910  
Bureir (S)  
Bureir (M)  
Remains of a structure (c. 5.5 x 6 m) built of small cemented *kurkar* stones. The northern wall stands to a height of 1.2 m.  
The structure is located at the N edge of Bureir village (site 58). Dense scatter (c. 1 dunam) of marble fragments, broken basalt grinding stones, tesserae, and sherds.  
Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.
33. 11-10/69-1 11635 10920 16635 60920  
Nahal Heletz  
Light scatter of fieldstones, pebbles, and pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on a flat field W of Nahal Heletz (Wadi Shaqafat).  
Pottery: Byzantine.
34. 11-10/79-1 11705 10910 16705 60910  
Kh. el Ghayada (M)  
Ruins of settlement (c. 3 dunams) on a hill, some 800 m E of Bureir village. Recent quarrying activity has revealed a cistern (diameter 4 m, depth 7 m). Another smaller, ruined cistern was noted in an artificial section. Both cisterns were built of small cemented fieldstones. On the hill slopes, a dense scatter of marble fragments, tesserae, fragments of glass vessels, and potsherds.  
Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.  
Petrie 1891:52.
35. 11-10/89-1 11810 10995 16810 60995  
Nahal Heletz (Wadi el Qa'a)  
Settlement ruins (c. 1 dunam) on top and S slope of a low hill covered by loess. Two complete bell-shaped cisterns (c. 2 m in diameter, 3 m deep). Scatter of broken building stones, kiln waste, slag, and pottery sherds.  
Pottery: Byzantine.
36. 11-10/08-1 11090 10885 16090 60885  
Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)  
Group of four ruined dwellings on hill spur facing Nahal Revaiya. The largest structure (4 x 8 m) is built of fieldstones consolidated with mud. The three others (c. 3 x 4 m each) built of sun-dried bricks. Nearby, a well, partly blocked (diameter 2.5 m, visible depth 10 m); lined with properly dressed *kurkar* blocks. Scatter of pottery sherds (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>).  
Pottery: Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern.
37. 11-10/08-2 11045 10870 16045 60870  
Kh. Hirbiya (M)  
Remains of settlement (c. 20 dunams) on elongated spur, part of a *kurkar* ridge, covered by loessic soil, located between two tributaries of Nahal Revaiya (designated on Mandatory maps [Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-10, Bureir] and Wadi Hirbiya, presumably following the name of the ruin).  
Ruined structure (c. 6 x 6 m), the walls (0.60 m wide) are built of cemented fieldstones preserved 1.8 m high. On S slope, foundations of additional structures. Scatter of marble fragments, broken basalt grinding stones, tesserae, and potsherds. On NE edge of the site, dense scatter of kiln bricks, slag, and concentrations of kiln waste, consisting mainly of jars. These finds indicate the existence of a pottery workshop.  
Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval and Ottoman.
38. 11-10/08-3 11010 10860 16010 60860  
Nahal Revaiya (Wadi Hirbiya)  
Scatter of flint implements (c. 800 m<sup>2</sup>) on series of small *hamra* hills sloping downward from east toward Nahal Revaiya. Among the flint tools; scrapers, denticulates, and burins. Some of the implements were made in the Levallois technique.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.



Figure 5.22: Site 37

39. 11-10/08-4 11010 10810 16010 60810

Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)

Lithic assemblage collected from a clay layer deposited in a depression created by erosion. Farther to the S, the depression turns into a short tributary that joins Nahal Shiqma. Flint implements were eroded away from a *hamra* hill nearby (triangulation point 352).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

40. 11-10/08-5 11040 10810 16040 60810

Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)

Disturbed structures, foundations (contour unclear) built of cemented fieldstones and pebbles (probably brought from the Shiqma river bed). These foundations are similar to structural foundations at other sites, dated to the Byzantine period (see site 41 below). On W slope of this hill, on top of a *hamra* layer, light scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

Pottery: Byzantine.

41. 11-1-/08-6 11050 10800 16050 60800

Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)

Structural foundations on W slope of a *hamra* hill, built of cemented fieldstones. Nearby, three *kurkar* stone heaps (average size: diameter 2 m, height 0.5 m). On hilltop, light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

Pottery: Byzantine.

42. 11-10/18-1 11135 10860 16135 60860

Nahal Shiqma

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 250 m<sup>2</sup>) on *hamra* hill (+79 m).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

43. 11-10/18-2 11110 10840 16110 60840  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Stones quarries along a length of 250 m, in a natural cliff of a *kurkar* ridge located W of small tributaries of Nahal Shiqma. Here, the *kurkar* sandstone is arranged in horizontal layers (according to the deposition pattern of the ancient dunes that traversed the petrification process). A number of stone blocks left behind allow for reconstructing the quarrying activity: Large blocks were disconnected from a horizontal sandstone layer and were processed by cutting and chiseling.  
 Moderate scatter of pottery inside the small chambers and cells created by the hewers indicates that the quarries were used over a long period. On NW slope of the *kurkar* ridge, light scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.
44. 11-10/18-3 11105 10800 16105 60800  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Moderate scatter of flint implements (c. 200m<sup>2</sup>) on W slope of a *kurkar* hill, partly covered by *hamra* soil. Some of the flint tools were knapped using the Levallois technique.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
45. 11-10/28-1 11215 10895 16215 60895  
 Nahal Sumsum (Wadi el Badawiya)  
 Bell-shaped cistern on a *kurkar* hilltop (diameter 3 m, depth 5 m) E of Nahal Sumsum. Built of cemented fieldstones. Nearby, a light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
46. 11-10/28-2 11260 10890 16260 60890  
 Sumsum village  
 Bell-shaped cistern (blocked) on S slope of a *kurkar* hill, recognized only by its opening. Diameter 2.5 m. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
47. 11-10/28-3 11240 10880 16240 60880  
 Sumsum village  
 Bell-shaped cistern (blocked) on flat terrain. Ruined remains of a clay pipe system (length of each section 80 cm, diameter 10 cm), that branched out from the cistern to lower elevations nearby. Moderate scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
48. 11-10/28-4 11240 10870 16240 60880  
 Sumsum village  
 Burial structure NE of the remains of the Arab village Sumsum (see below, site 52). Built of cemented small-sized fieldstones.  
 The vaulted roof of the main central chamber (2 x 3 m) has partly collapsed. Adjacent to the NW corner of this chamber is an entrance (0.6 x 0.6 m) leading to a smaller room (1.5 x 2.5 m.). The location of this room makes it possible to reconstruct the symmetrical plan of the structure and to determine its similarity to other burial systems in the region (see sites 67, 95).  
 Moderate scatter of potsherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.  
 Reference: Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 67.
49. 11-10/28-5 11280 10870 16280 60870  
 Sumsum village  
 Cemetery of the village on a sandy hill, over an area of c. 2 dunams. Concentrations of fieldstones.  
 Larger stones arranged at regular distances as grave markers. On the hilltop, a small structure (1.2 x 2.2 m, height 1.4 m), built of hewn *kurkar* stones, consolidated by recent concrete. Moderate scatter of pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.



Figure 5.23: Site 49

50. 11-10/28-6 11215 10860 16215 60860

Sumsum village

Well (diameter 2 m, depth c. 25 m) and nearby built pool (c. 5 x 5 m, 1.2 m deep), on slope of sandy hill, E of Nahal Sumsum and c. 500 m W of the ruins of the village Sumsum.

The well was lined with properly dressed *kurkar* stones. Two fragments of columns, one of marble and the other of granite, were placed on the uppermost part of the well and served to support the rope friction during water drawing (leaving behind deep slits).

The pool was built of small fieldstones, consolidated by a light-colored cement. On large sections of the walls, both interior and exterior faces, thick layers of red color plaster remained. It seems that the installation was used over a long period without change.

Moderate scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

51. 11-10/28-7 11230 10860 16230 60860

Sumsum

Bell-shaped cistern on loessic hill spur (width of opening 1.8 m, depth 4 m), built of small fieldstones consolidated by light-colored cement. Moderate scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

52. 11-10/28-8 11280 10850 16280 60850

Simsim (S)

Sumsum (M)

Abandoned and ruined Arab village on S slopes of hilly area, some 100 m N of Nahal Bror (Wadi Shaqafat), a tributary of Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesya).

Within the limit of the ruins (c. 60 dunams), a small area with dense scatter of architectural elements, fragments of marble, basalt broken vessels, basalt gridding stones, building stones, and potsherds. At the S edge of the village, an ancient well (diameter 1.8 m, depth c. 25 m), built of well-dressed stones. Nearby, two bell-shaped cisterns (opening 2 m wide, 3–4 m deep).

Pottery: Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.



1. Site 50 Pool and Well



2. Site 50 Well

Figure 5.24: Site 50

53. 11-10/38-1 11310 10870 16310 60870

Sumsum

Group of ruined dwellings on a *kurkar* hill c. 350 m NE of the village, built of small fieldstones joined with mud. The largest unit consists of a central yard (6 x 8 m) surrounded by small rooms (c. 3 x 3 m each) on three sides. Walls preserved 2.0 m high. *Kurkar* dressed building stones scattered around. On the E slope, a well (diameter 2.5 m, c. 25 m deep), built of high quality dressed stones. The walls are reinforced by iron bars. Close to the well, a concrete block intended for holding a pumping engine. Water was elevated to a pool (3 x 3 m, width of walls 0.6 m, depth 1.5 m). Along three walls are water troughs. Scatter of pottery sherds (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Ottoman and Modern.

54. 11-1-/48-1 11460 10835 16460 60835

Nahal Bror

Ruined structure (c. 3 x 4 m) on a *kurkar* hill, built of fieldstones joined with mud. The walls are preserved to a height of 1.5 m. On SW slope, light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

Pottery: Ottoman and Modern.

55. 11-10/48-2 11445 10810 16445 60810

Nahal Bror

Remains of a dam (4 m long, 3 m wide at bottom, preserved 0.5 m high) in a shallow wadi (a tributary of Nahal Bror). Built of small fieldstones joined with a gray-colored mortar, attributed to the Byzantine period. It seems that part of the dam was covered by sediment.

Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 50 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.

56. 11-10/58-1 11560 10890 16560 60890

Bureir (M)

Dense concentration of kiln waste, scatter of slag, and pottery sherds (c. 2 dunams), on W edge of the ruined village Bureir (strong evidence of the existence of a pottery workshop).

Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.

57. 11-10/58-2 11565 10890 16565 60890

Bureir (M)

Remains of a vaulted underground burial structure, partly filled by alluvium. A rectangular chamber (c. 2 x 4 m) with two small adjacent rooms (c. 1.5 x 2 m) were noted. Built of cemented small fieldstones. This structure is identical to others clearly identified as burial systems (see below, sites 62, 64, 67, and 95). Some 30 m to E, a blocked well (diameter 2.5 m, visible depth 5 m), built of dressed stones strengthened by iron bars placed widthwise, and a pool (c. 3 x 3 m; walls 0.70 m wide) preserved to height of 2 m.

Nearby, foundations of a large structure (c. 6 x 8 m), with large fragments of modern grinding stones (diameter: 1.4 m) within and around. Mandatory maps indicate the existence of a modern mill here (Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-10, Bureir). Scatter of pottery sherds (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

Reference: Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 68 (wrong coordinates there).

58. 11-10/58-3 11590 10890 16590 60890

Bureir (M)

Ruins of Arab village (c. 250 dunams) covering ancient remains, in an area surrounded by abandoned orchards, on a low elevation W of Nahal Heletz. The intentional destruction of the dwellings left a debris layer 2–3 m thick. Between the ruins are ancient and modern cisterns, one with columbarium niches. Several heaps of building stones (from the dismantled structures), including jambs, doorsteps, and columns fragments. Dense scatter of pottery sherds over the entire area.

Pottery: Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

References: Robinson 1841, II:370–71, 386–88. Guérin 1869a[or b]:293.

59. 11-10/58-4 11580 10870 16580 60870

Bureir (M)

Structural foundations (4 x 6 m) built of dressed *kurkar* stones, E of the open water pool of the village that consists of a round shallow artificial depression (diameter 40 m). Dense scatter of potsherds (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine (the majority), Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

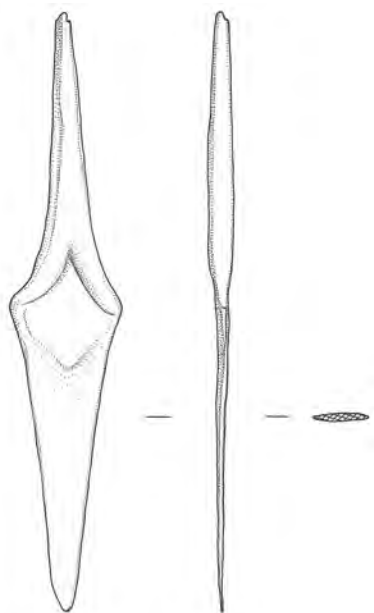


Figure 5.25: Middle Bronze Age I Bronze Dagger from Site 61 (scale 1:2)

60. 11-10/58-5 11595 10865 16595 60865

Bureir (M)

Remains of an ancient road, S of the village ruins, under an existing earth path. A section (40 m long, 3 m wide) was revealed by occasional strong winds that removed the upper dust. Margins paved with dressed limestone blocks and the inner part with *kurkar* stones. As limestone is uncommon in this area, the stones were probably brought from farther east. It seems that the paved section is a remnant of the Roman Beit Guvrin-Gaza road, in use until the end of the nineteenth century. Light scatter of pottery (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

61. 11-10/58-6 11500 10840 16500 60840

Tel Bror

Tell el Mashnaga (M)

Natural *kurkar* hill (c. 10 dunams) with local deep *hamra* pockets, elevated c. 5–6 m above the surrounding plain. Several rock-hewn caves (probably shaft graves), filled with *hamra* soil; one contained a complete jar, pottery sherds, and a bronze dagger (length 15 cm). It seems that during the Middle Bronze I period the hill served as cemetery. In later periods, building activities were carried out on the flat top of the hill: In the center, foundations of a structure (c. 3 x 4 m), paved with cemented pottery sherds laid in vertical position, covered by a plaster layer. This technique was in use mainly in wine presses of the Byzantine period throughout the region. On NE side of the hill, remains of a burial structure (c. 2 x 4 m) with a vaulted roof, composed of one single chamber (see site 62 below). On the SW side of the hill, over a large area, scatter of kiln bricks, slag, and enormous heaps of pottery sherds, pointing to the existence of a major pottery workshop.

Extraordinary finds: Marble bust (height 0.6, width 0.5 m).

Pottery: Middle Bronze I, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman.

Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 73.

62. 11-10/68-1 11610 10895 16610 60895

Bureir (M)

Cemetery visible in a narrow channel (flow direction N-S, length 200 m), created by water erosion, which joins Nahal Heletz. Three tombs were built on the W section of the wadi. The northern tomb is completely collapsed and its outline is unclear. The southern, at a distance of c. 60 m, is composed of a single chamber (2 x 3 m) with a vaulted roof. Between them, the third is composed of a central space (2 x 3.6 m) and four rooms (1.5 x 2 m each), arranged symmetrically. In the main chamber, fragmentary segments of decorated plaster (incised and painted) remained on the walls. Nearby, heaps of pottery sherds.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine (the majority), Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

Reference: Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 nos. 69–71.

63. 11-10/68-2 11610 10880 16610 60880

Bureir (M)

Completely collapsed remains of the village mosque, on a moderate elevation. Dense concentration of building stones, lintel fragments, and a threshold (of hard limestone). Some 10 m to the W, in a shallow depression in the ground, a baptismal basin was observed. It was formed in the shape of a cross (outer measurements c. 1 x 1 m), built of cemented fieldstones; the inner surface was plastered in several layers, while the outer was made of modern cement with embedded sherds of black Gaza Ware.

Nearby, a monolithic stone (of limestone), also chiseled in a cross form, probably the *baptisterium* cover. An intentional cross-section made at this spot revealed a mosaic pavement about 1.3 m below the surface. Some 40 m W of the mosque ruins, three marble columns.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

64. 11-10/68-3 11620 10870 16620 60870

Bureir (M)

Burial structure on flat terrain SE of the village ruins. Built of cemented fieldstones. The structure consists of a central chamber (c. 2 x 4 m) and four smaller rooms (c. 2 x 2 m each), two on each side of the chamber's long walls. The vaulted roof has collapsed. Pottery scatter (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

Reference: Meron 1975:37; Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 72

65. 11-10/68-4 11625 10865 16625 60865

Bureir (M)

Collapsed remains of the village well, a large heap of building stones including fragments of architectural elements. An intentional channel was dug some 100 m W of the well (see site 63 above), revealing a fragment of an Arabic inscription from the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. that commemorates the well's construction or repair (Sharon 2004:xlvi–l). Several travelers referred specifically to the village well and chose the place for camping overnight.

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

References: Robinson 1841, II:370–71; Guérin 1869[a or b]:293; Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:259

66. 11-10/68-5 11690 10880 16690 60880

Nahal Bror

Light scatter of fieldstones, pebbles, and potsherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>), on flat terrain N of Nahal Bror.

Pottery: Byzantine and Ottoman.

67. 11-10/68-6 11620 10850 16620 60850

Bureir (M)

Cemetery on flat terrain (c. 3 dunams), some 200 m SE of the ruined village Bureir. Dense scatter of building stones, *kurkar* stones, and pebbles. Some stones remained in their original upright position (as grave markers), making it possible to discern cist tombs (c. 1 x 2 m).

According to Mandatory maps (Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-10, Bureir), this is the village cemetery. Light scatter of pottery sherds.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

68. 11-10/68-7 11670 10860 16670 60860

Bureir (M)

Well on flat terrain N of Nahal Bror. Diameter 4 m, visible depth 5 m. Built of *kurkar* dressed stones. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Ottoman and Modern.

69. 11-10/68-8 11640 10880 16640 60880

Bureir (M)

Dense scatter of cemented and plastered sherds over a small area (100 m<sup>2</sup>) in an agricultural field. Probably an installation (wine press?) damaged by deep plowing.

Pottery: Byzantine.

70. 11-10/68-9 11660 10850 16660 60850

Nahal Bror

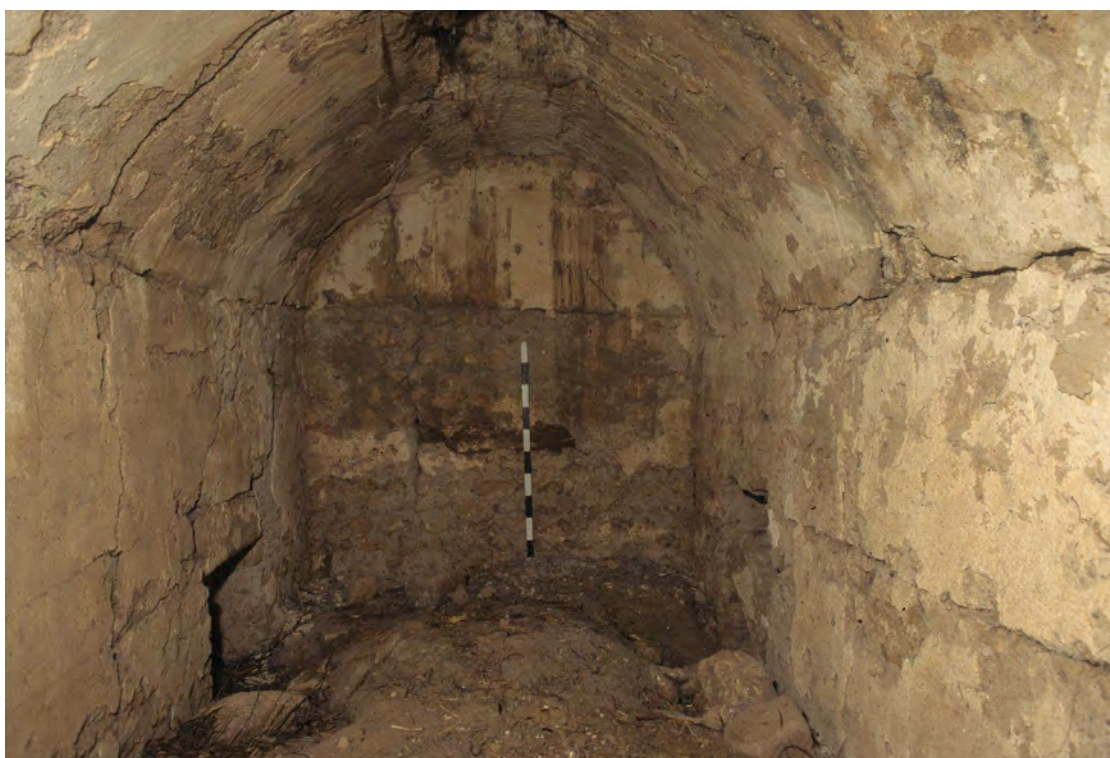
Strip of cemented and plastered sherds on flat terrain (1.5 x 40 m) N of Nahal Bror.

Pottery: Byzantine.





1.



2.

Figure 5.26: Site 67

71. 11-10/68-10 11670 10805 16670 60805  
 Nahal Bror  
 Bell-shaped cistern partly blocked (diameter 2.5 m, visible depth 2.5 m), on moderate slope SE of Nahal Bror. Built of cemented fieldstones. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
72. 11-10/68-11 11690 10808 16690 60808  
 Nahal Bror  
 Bell-shaped cistern on moderate slope S of Nahal Bror, partly filled by eroded earth. Diameter 3 m, visible depth 2 m. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
73. 11-10/68-12 11695 10810 16695 60810  
 Nahal Bror  
 Collapsed remains of a cistern. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
74. 11-10/78-1 11700 10815 16700 60815  
 Nahal Bror  
 Collapsed remains of a blocked cistern. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
75. 11-10/78-2 11710 10815 16710 60815  
 Nahal Bror  
 Structural foundations (5 x 8 m): wall segments (0.9 m wide), built of cemented fieldstones. The structure was damaged by erosion. Scatter of building stones, limestone tiles (0.2 x 0.4 m), broken clay pipes (diameter 10 cm), square and round fired clay tiles (pilae tiles) and pottery sherds. These elements can be attributed to the underfloor heating system of a bath. Water was probably supplied from nearby cisterns (see sites 71–74 above).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
76. 11-10/98-1 11940 10810 16940 60810  
 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)  
 Light scatter of small pebbles (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>), near the E bank of a shallow tributary of Nahal Shiqma. One arrowhead.  
 Lithic finds: Neolithic.
77. 11-10/98-2 11980 10800 16980 60800  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on S slope of *kurkar* hill, cut by gullies that join up with Nahal Shiqma.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
78. 11-10/07-1 11005 10770 16005 60770  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Collapsed and blocked cistern (diameter 2.5 m) adjacent to Nahal Shiqma, without indicative potsherds. As cisterns dated to the Byzantine period and built of the same materials were found in the vicinity, this cistern was also attributed to the Byzantine period.
79. 11-10/07-2 11080 10750 16080 60750  
 Kh. Umm Qallum (M)  
 Ruins of settlement (c. 20 dunams) on flat agricultural field N of Nahal Shiqma.. Dense scatter of small marble fragments, small fieldstones, broken kiln bricks, slag, tesserae, and pottery sherds. On N side, a structure (3 x 4 m) with walls (0.60 m width) preserved 1.5–2 m high; built of cemented fieldstones.  
 Inside the structure, a pile of *kurkar* stones, some dressed, marble and basalt fragments, probably cleared from the agricultural adjacent field in recent times.  
 Nearby on the N side, a cistern (diameter 2 m, depth 3.50 m).  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

80. 11-10/07-3 11090 10700 16090 60700  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Lime kiln (diameter c. 2 m, depth 2.5 m) on slope of *kurkar* hill S of Nahal Shiqma. The kiln was cut during work to widen a dismantled old railway track, built at the very end of the Ottoman period (i.e., 1917). The location of the lime kiln in a well-dated artificial section leads to the conclusion that it was built somewhere between the years 1917 and 1948. For the railway track see Sasson and Huster 2010:95–102.
81. 11-10/17-1 11180 10725 16180 60725  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Collapsed and blocked cistern; details not visible. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>). Pottery: Byzantine.
82. 11-10/37-1 11380 10700 16380 60700  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Settlement remains (c. 40 dunams) on flat terrain, N of and close to Nahal Shiqma. Accumulation of rubble and silt caused the place to be elevated some 1.5 m above the flat fields around. Scatter of broken building stones, small fieldstones, marble fragments, basalt grinding stone fragments, and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.  
 Identification: Kh. Qamsa. On June 22 1867, C. Warren, who was surveying the plain of Philistia for the Palestine Exploration Fund, planned a direct route E from Nigid (Najd) to Dwaime (Dawayima); Warren 1871:95). Leaving Nigid at 7:10 a.m. he stopped at the top of the first hill, left it at 7:45, headed E on the *kurkar* ridge (“through hills of indurated shells”) until he arrived at Kh. Kums at 8:07, left at 8:10, was on Wadi Mehowre at 8:11, and came to Kh. Jelameh (Jalama) at 8:22. The immediate conclusion from Warren’s description is that a certain Kh. Kums was situated a short distance W of Kh. Jalama, either on the S or the N bank of Wadi Hesi, and very close to the confluence of Wadi Mehowre (a corruption of Mahawir, the name of the northern section of Wadi Raml) with Wadi Hesi. In the Mandatory period, the Survey of Palestine designated a wide flat area north of Wadi Hesi as Qamsa, on the topocadastral map of Bureir (Sheet 11-10). This designation reflects the traditional name and boundaries of agricultural lands as in other cases in the map (e.g., the designation Bureir for the land of that village, or Sharata for the land of a former settlement bearing the same name—site 112 below). It seems that the original location of Kh. Kums/Qamsa was eventually lost, possibly due to the fact that the site was partly covered with sediment as result of frequent flooding in Wadi Hesi. In 1930 Ory visited a site named Kh. Qamsa and described it as located “on low ground, on the Wadi Ruml, south of Kh. Jalameh”(report N° S. 1078, February 4 1930, Kh. Qamsa file). In 1944 Kh. Qamsa was included in the Mandatory list of archaeological sites (1944 Schedule:1297). The remains were described as rubble cisterns, a well, and surface pottery, and the location fixed near the intersection of coordinates 114-105. This description and the general location given by Ory lead to the E edge of sites 130 and 131 (see below), a disturbed area with only a few surface sherds of the Byzantine period. Later, the place of the site was marked officially by the Department of Antiquities at the intersection of coordinates 11460-10565, but repeated visits by the author and other surveyors to the place yielded not even a handful of sherds, so that the existence of a site there should be rejected. On the other hand, during a visit to site 82 in December 2010, more Medieval (Mamluk and Early Ottoman periods) sherds, as well as imported Italian pottery dated to the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, were collected. Qamsa (Camsa) is one of fourteen villages listed in Crusader period documents from 1256–57 relating to a geographic region located east and southeast of Ashkelon. This Crusader village has been identified by several researchers with Kh. Kamas/Kemas (preferably Qimas), E of Ashkelon and NW of Kaukaba (e.g., Rey 1883:406; Röhrich 1887:240; Conder 1890:31; Prawer, 1958:235), at coordinates 1167-1164. Indeed, Kh. Kemas/Kamas/Qimas is noteworthy for its large twelfth- and thirteenth-century occupation and is therefore a possible candidate for the Crusader village under discussion (see Allen in *Ashkelon I*, p. 50). Despite these arguments, the identification of site 82 as the Crusader Camsa is preferable, both for linguistic reasons (since the equation Qamsa=Camsa is more exact) and geographical reasons, as Qamsa is located in a territorial cluster of five settlements listed in the same Crusader period document(s), along with Saarethe (site 112), Semsem (site 52), Zeite (site 9) and Beitderas seconde (Beit Daras, at coordinates 1095-1086; see Yalqut HaPirsumim 1964:1451). The village name appears again in the sixteenth-century Ottoman *defters*: Qamsa was enumerated in the list of taxed villages in 1596, as part of Liwa (the district of) Gaza (Hüttteroth and Abdulfattah 1977:149). Blakely and Huster in press.
83. 11-10/47-1 11495 10720 16495 60720  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Well (partly blocked, diameter c. 2 m, visible depth 10 m) on flat terrain N of Nahal Shiqma. Nearby, a pool (c. 3 x 3 m). Both installations were built of modern cement blocks.  
 Pottery: Ottoman (late) and Modern.

84. 11-10/57-1 11565 10730 16565 60730  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Light scatter of fieldstones, fragments of glass vessels and pottery sherds (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on elevated terrain. Recent active cemetery.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
85. 11-10/77-1 11780 10780 16780 60780  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 1 dunam) on *hamra* hill (+ 90 m), N of Nahal Shiqma. The assemblage includes handaxes, scrapers, points, and blades.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
86. 11-10/77-2 11750 10770 16750 60770  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on moderate S slope of *hamra* hill covered by a thin loess layer.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
87. 11-10/77-3 11735 10740 16735 60740  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Burial structure (1.6 x 2.4 m) on moderate slope of loessic hill, 600 m N of Kh. Shaḥrāta (site 112 below). Built of small fieldstones bonded with mud cement. The entrance (0.8 x 0.8 m), in the E side, was sealed by a monolithic stone. Remains of human bones and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.  
 Reference: Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 79 (there, wrong coordinate).
88. 11-10/77-4 11950 10700 16950 60700  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Remains of ancient settlement (c. 12 dunams) on a low elevation, near a tributary of Nahal Shiqma: Layers of dark loess soil containing pebbles, flint flakes, flint sickle blades, and pottery sherds. Near the wadi bed, several heaps of stones cleared from the site containing limestone mortar fragments and basalt grinding stones.  
 Lithic finds and pottery: Late Bronze.
89. 11-10/06-1 11080 10690 16080 60690  
 Tell Magharat Ghazza (M)  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on slopes of a *kurkar* hill (and not a tell as marked on Mandatory maps), S of Nahal Shiqma. On S, *kurkar* stone quarries on natural cliff.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
90. 11-10/06-2 11045 10685 16045 60685  
 Nahal Shiqma (Wadi el Hesi)  
 A bell-shaped cistern (diameter 3 m, depth 4 m) on N slope of *kurkar* hill. Built of small stones mortared with lime cement.  
 Scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>)  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
91. 11-10/06-3 11090 10600 16090 60600  
 Nahal Mardim  
 Ancient settlement remains (c. 4 dunams) on top and slopes of *kurkar* hill E of Nahal Mardim. On E slope, a rock-hewn cave (c. 4 x 5 m, 2 m high), probably a stone quarry. On E moderate slope, structural foundations, built of cemented fieldstones. Nearby, remains of a coarse tiled mosaic floor (c. 2 x 2 m). Dense concentration of pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.
92. 11-10/16-1 11170 10690 16170 60690  
 Nejed (S)  
 Najd (M)  
 Ruins of Arab village (c. 40 dunams) on hills E of Wadi el Khirba. Among the ruined dwellings, ancient remains: Building stones, columns fragments, broken basalt grinding stones, and pottery sherds. On W moderate slope, a well (diameter 2.5 m, depth 16 m) and nearby pool (4 x 4 m). To the SE, a cemetery (c. 1 dunam), recognized by arranged gravestones. Farther to E, collapsed building built of dressed *kurkar* stones. South of the village, remains of abandoned orchards delineated by stone and cactus fences.  
 Pottery: Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.  
 References: Guérin 1869[a or b]:292; Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:260; Petrie 1891:53.

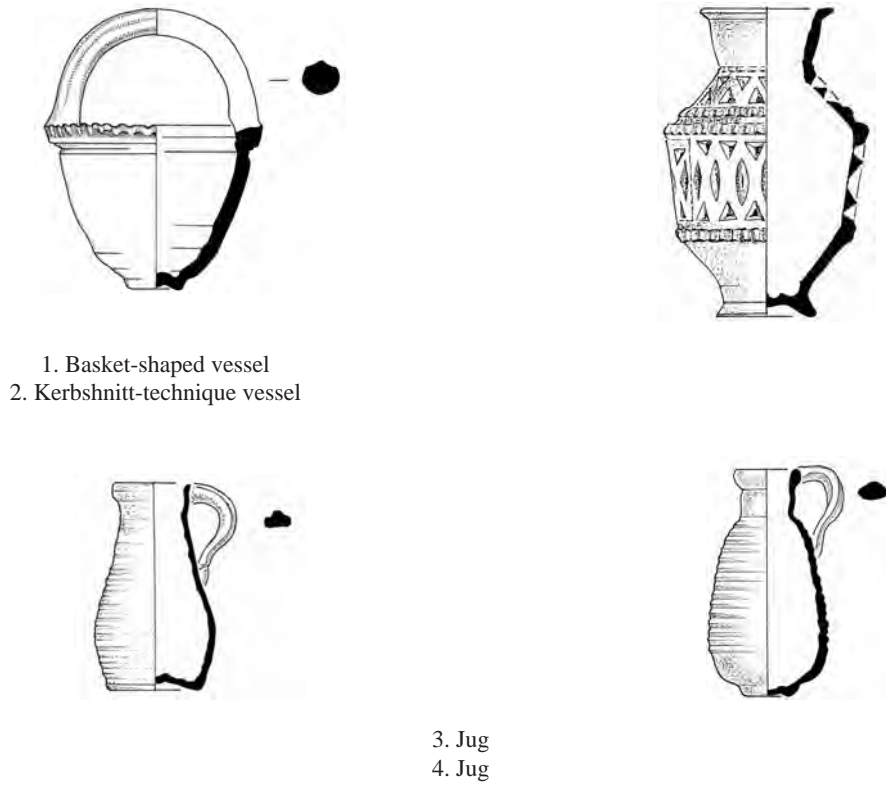


Figure 5.27: Byzantine Period Pottery from Site 87 (scale 1:5)

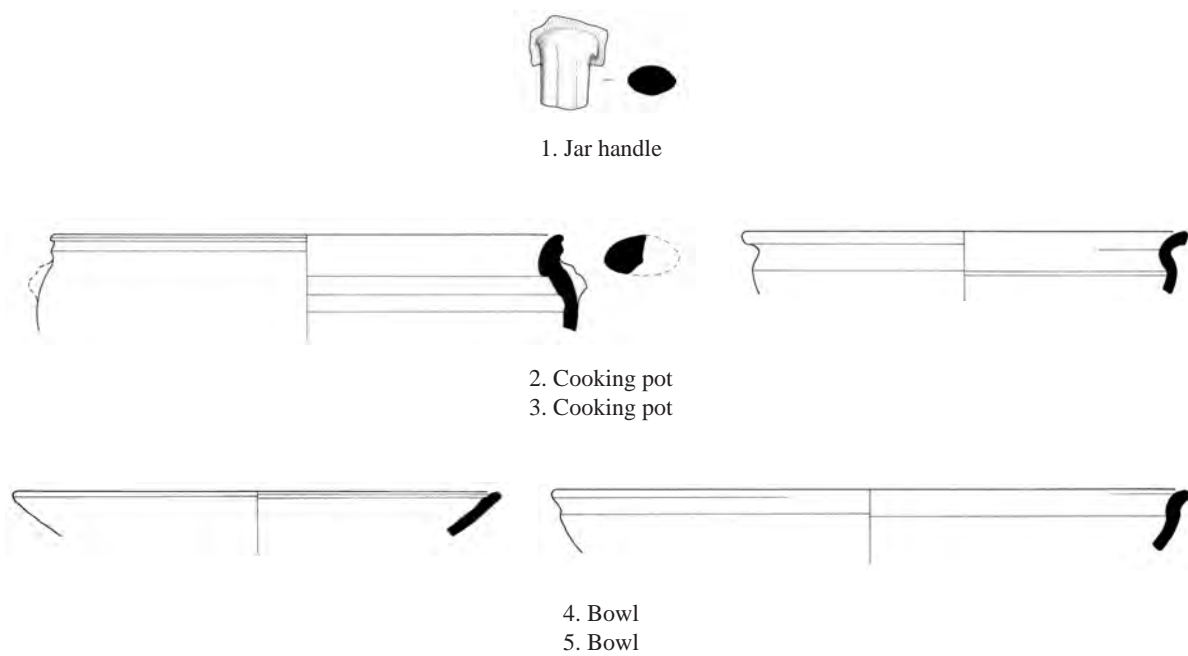


Figure 5.28: Late Bronze Age Pottery from Site 88 (scale 1:5)



Figure 5.29: Site 91

93. 11-10/16-2 11190 10660 16190 60660

Najd

Sandstone quarry on natural cliff of *kurkar* hill, S of the village ruins, c. 100 m long. In front of the quarry, several stone heaps. Light scatter of pottery sherds.

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

94. 11-10/16-3 11140 10630 16140 60630

Kh. Umm Tabun (M)

Remains of settlement on prolonged and narrow *kurkar* ridge (c. 100 x 400 m), between two tributaries of Nahal Shiqma (Wadi Mardin and Wadi el Khirba). On the summit, four cisterns (now mostly blocked, diameter 2.5–3 m, depth 4–5 m). On E slope, remains of a structure (3 x 4 m) built of *kurkar* stones. Nearby, two monolithic large stones (beam weights of an olive press). On W slope, structural foundations and scattered building stones. On the N edge of the site, rock-hewn caves created by quarrying. On the S end, a flat artificial elevation (c. 1 dunams). Fragmentary remains of a large building (c. 15 x 20 m) containing a cistern, surrounded by scattered marble fragments, pieces of plaster, pottery sherds, and small tesserae.

Pottery: Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

References: Guérin 1869[a or b]:293; Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:287; Petrie 1891:53.

95. 11-10/16-4 11170 10620 16170 60620

Kh. Umm Tabun

Burial system on W moderate slope of *kurkar* hill. Built of small fieldstones bonded with mud cement. Composed of a main chamber (c. 2 x 4.5 m) and four rooms (c. 2 x 2 m each), arranged symmetrically. The inner faces of the walls of the main room are plastered and decorated with geometric patterns, plants, and fourteen human images placed in rounded medallions. Dated to the Byzantine period.

References: Tsafirir 1968; Michaeli 1990; Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1, no. 74.

96. 11-10/26-1 11240 10660 16240 60660

Nahal Shiqma

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on S slope of *hamra* hill.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

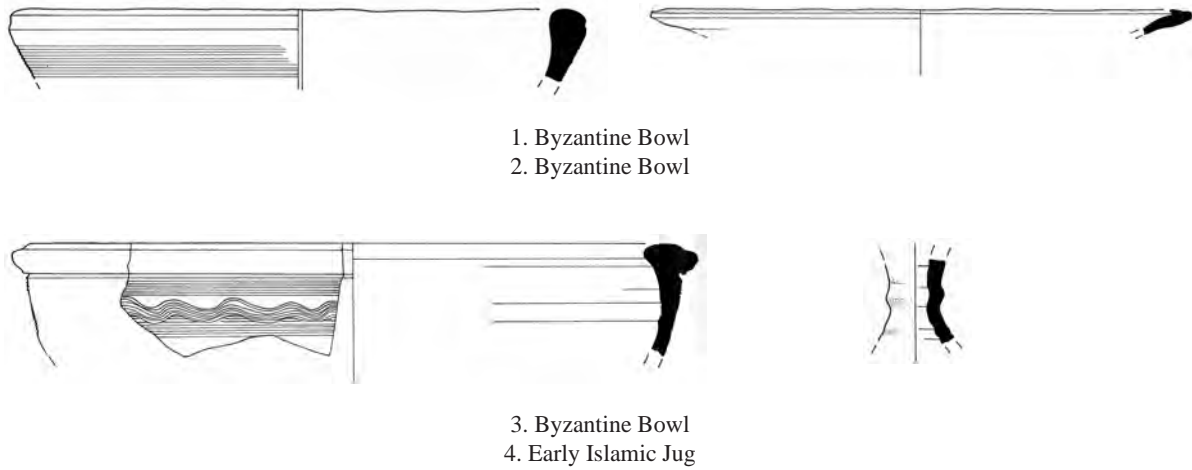


Figure 5.30: Pottery from Site 93 (scale 1:5)

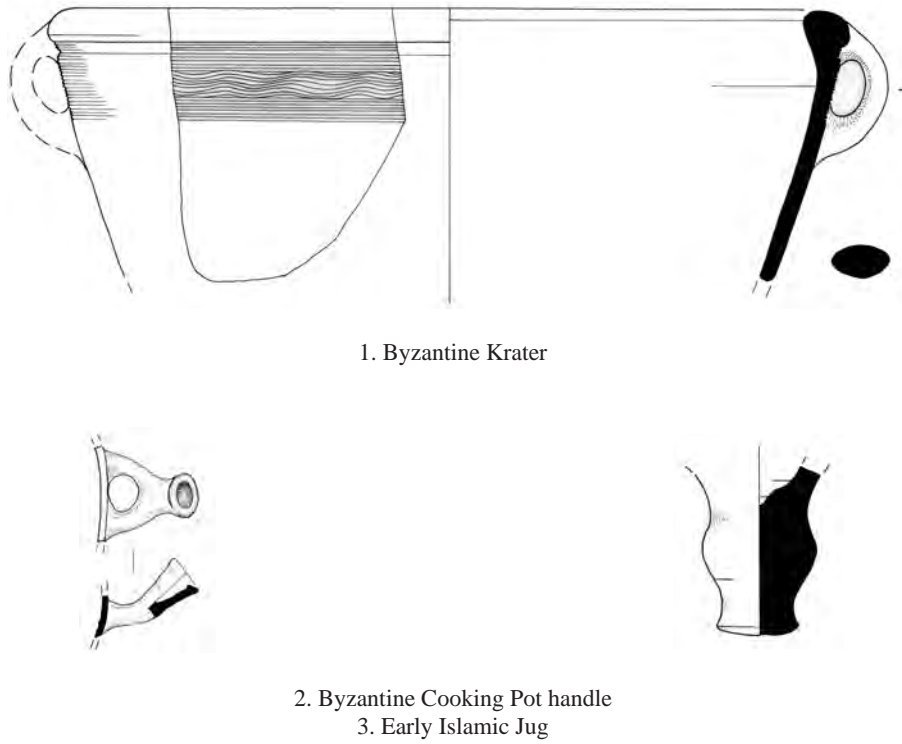


Figure 5.31: Pottery from Site 94 (scale 1:5)



1. Core, Zevallois technique  
2. End Scraper

Figure 5.32: Lithics from Site 99 from the Lower Paleolithic Period (scale 1:2)

97. 11-10/26-2 11270 10660 16270 60670  
Nahal Shiqma  
Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on E slope of *kurkar* hill covered by a thin layer of *hamra*. Some tools were made using the Levallois technique.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
98. 11-10/26-3 11280 10650 16280 60650  
Nahal Shiqma  
Scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) eroded away by water from an eroded hill. Two geological layers were noted: The upper, sandy layer is composed of soft *kurkar*, while the lower is of hard petrified sandstone. On W side, a sandstone quarry, located in a natural cliff. Nearby, a moderate scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
Pottery: Byzantine.
99. 11-10/26-4 11260 10620 16260 60620  
Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)  
Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on moderate slope of *kurkar* hill (+ 90 m), S of triangulation point 295. Use of Levallois technique.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
100. 11-10/26-5 11290 10610 16290 60610  
Nahal Nir Am  
Dense concentration of flint implements (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>) on E slope of *kurkar* ridge, descending toward Nahal Nir Am. Several handaxes. Cores produced using the Levallois technique.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
101. 11-10/36-1 11340 10690 16340 60690  
Nahal Shiqma  
Light scatter of flint implements on *kurkar* hill (triangulation point 14Y; c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>). Here, the ancient dunes, now forming a *kurkar* ridge, caused a sharp bend in the course of Nahal Shiqma.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
102. 11-10/36-2 11305 10670 16305 60670  
Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)  
Ruinous structure on top of *kurkar* hill (c. 3 x 3m), erosion by water caused its destruction and the scatter of fieldstones, plaster fragments, coarse tesserae, and pottery sherds over the W slope, where flint implements were also collected.  
Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.  
Pottery: Byzantine.





Figure 5.33: Site 105

103. 11-10/36-3 11330 10660 16330 60660

Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)

Concentration of small fieldstones (c. 50 m<sup>2</sup>) on top of *kurkar* hill. Light scatter of pottery sherds.

Pottery: Byzantine.

104. 11-10/36-4 11335 10650 16335 60650

Nahal Nir Am

Ruinous structure (c. 2 x 4 m) on W moderate slope of *kurkar* ridge, E of wadi bed (Nahal Nir Am). Built of fieldstones bonded with a lime cement. Collapsed vaulted segments demonstrate that this was a burial structure. Few fragments of pottery.

Pottery: Byzantine.

Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 76

105. 11-10/36-5 11310 10630 16310 60630

Nahal Nir Am

Ruins of a small deserted Arab village (c. 10 dunams). About twelve dwellings, some preserved 2 m high, built of sun-dried mudbricks. On E edge, a well (at present blocked) and a pool (c. 3 x 3 m, 1.3 m deep).

Pottery: Modern.

106. 11-10/36-6 11375 10615 16375 60615

Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml, Wadi el Mahawir)

Cistern (blocked) in flat terrain, at present in a citrus grove. Scatter of pottery (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.

107. 11-10/37-7 11380 10610 16380 60610

Nahal Hoga

Cistern (blocked) in a citrus grove. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.



Figure 5.34: The Wine Press at Site 108

108. 11-10/46-1 11450 10650 16450 60650

Hurvāt Gluma

Kh. Jelameh (S)

Kh. Jalama (M)

Settlement remains (c. 20 dunams) on low elevation (caused by accumulation of debris), on S bank of Nahal Shiqma. Two cisterns (blocked), collapsed remains of a square structure (c. 4 x 4 m) built of cemented fieldstones, and remains of an agricultural installation (3 x 4 m), composed of three cells (c. 1.1 x 2.5 m each), paved with coarse tesserae placed on foundations built of vertical pottery sherds—probably a wine press. Fragment of a marble column (length c. 2 m) bearing an Arabic inscription dated to the end of the seventh century A.D. (M. Sharon, pers. comm.). Scatter of marble fragments, dressed and undressed building stones, and dense scatter of pottery sherds. The identification of the site with Jalama of the sixteenth century Ottoman *defTERS* (Hüttteroth and Abdulfattah 1977:149) seems positive.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

References: Guérin 1869[a or b]:294; Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:282.

109. 11-10/46-2 11425 10615 61425 60615

Be'er Gluma

Bir Jalama (M)

Well in flat terrain (diameter 3 m, blocked at present), close to Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml, indicated on Mandatory maps as Wadi Mahawir at a short section before it joins Nahal Shiqma/Wadi el Hesi; Survey of Palestine, Sheet 11-10, Bureir). Built of dressed *kurkar* stones. No indicative pottery sherds, but the construction style indicates a date in the late nineteenth century.

110. 11-10/56-1 11530 10650 16530 60650

Nahal Shiqma

Light scatter of fieldstones, pebbles, patches of ashy soil, and pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on flat land N of Nahal Shiqma.

Pottery: Byzantine.

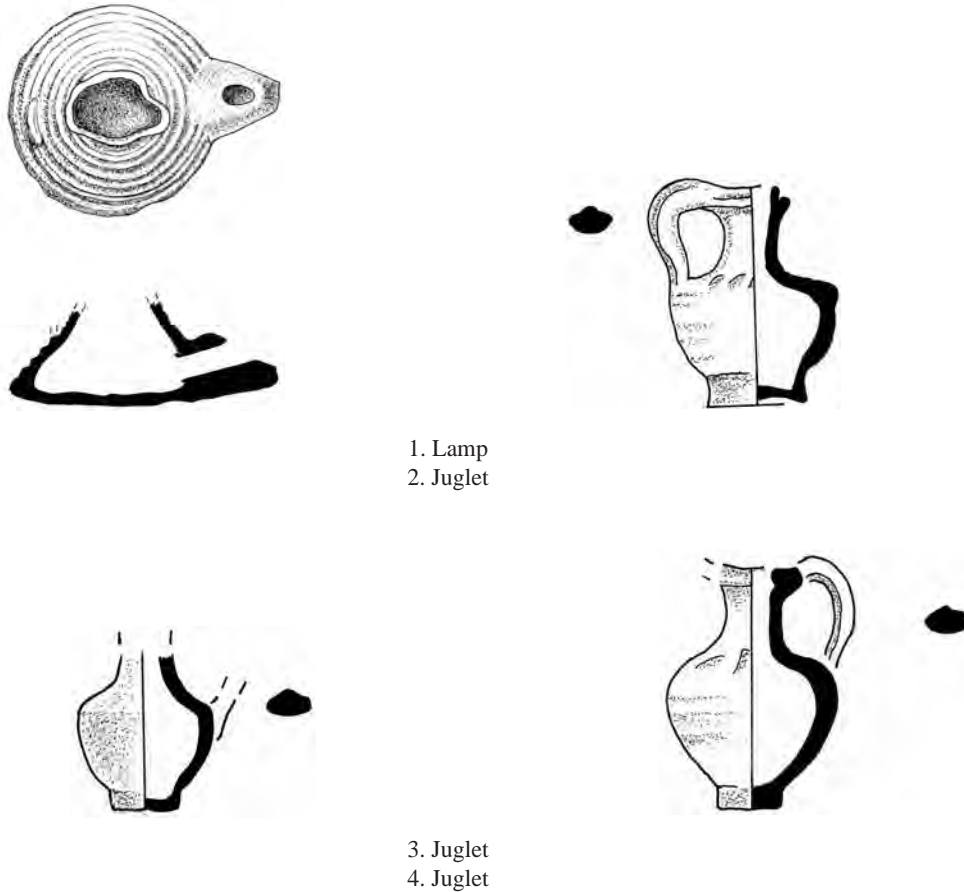


Figure 5.35: Byzantine Vessels from Site 111 (scale 2:5)

111. 11-10/66-1 11660 10600 16660 60600

Kh. Beit Tafa (M)

Scatter of building stone fragments, roof tiles, glass vessels, small tesserae, and pottery sherds on flat ground, N of and close to Nahal Shiqma (c. 10 dunams). The site size may in fact be larger, obscured by the fact that the ground here was flooded in the past due to its proximity to the narrow river channel. During the installation of a pipeline at a point 200 m from the site's center, ancient remains were raised from a depth of 1.5 m, underneath a clay layer (among the finds: kiln waste, slag, and many pottery sherds, indicating the existence of a pottery workshop).

Beit Tafa does not appear as a village in the sixteenth-century Ottoman *defters*; instead, it seems to have been a *mazra'a* (a sown field, typically the lands of an abandoned village). The lands of the *mazra'a* Beit Tafa are described in a *waqfiyya* (deed) dated to 1560, and were S of the Wadi Hesi (Natsheh 2000:1014, 1060) and therefore S of the *khirbeh*. The Ottoman pottery collected must therefore represent temporary settlement or activity at the site, perhaps seasonal habitation related to planting or harvesting the *mazra'a*.

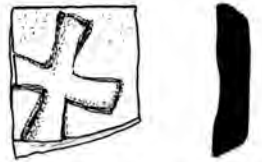
Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

112. 11-10/76-1 11740 10660 16740 60660

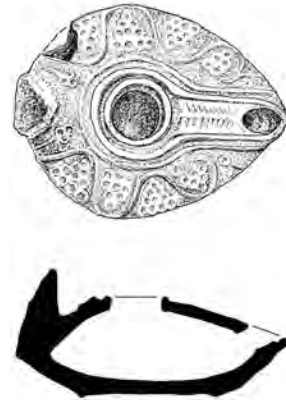
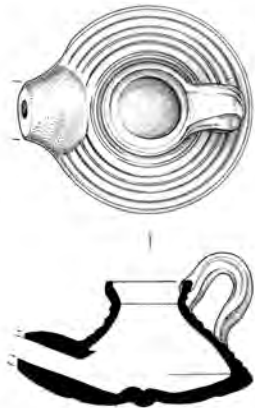
H. Kefar Se<sup>o</sup>raKh. Sha<sup>r</sup>rata (S)Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>arta; Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>ratta (M)

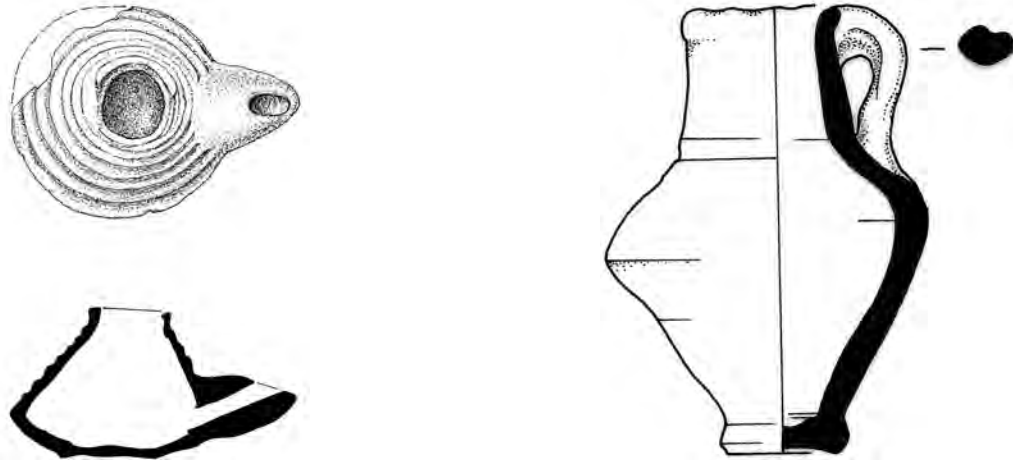
Settlement remains (c. 40 dunams) on flat terrain N of Nahal Shiqma. Accumulation of debris caused the place to be elevated some 2 m above the flat fields around. Two bell-shaped cisterns, segments of structural foundations, scatter of building stones, basalt grinding stone fragments, tesserae, and pottery sherds. On E side, kiln waste, slag, and large accumulation of pottery sherds. At the site's center, marble capitals, broken pillars, two marble chancel screen posts, and a fragment of a marble chancel screen decorated with a cross. These finds indicate that a church of the Byzantine period stood here. Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>rata was first visited by Conder and Kitchener (1881–83, III:285; see also Survey of Western Palestine, Sheet XX, Fw; Palmer 1881:374). In the late nineteenth century it was identified by Clermont-Ganneau with Kefar Se<sup>o</sup>arta, where the monk Zeno settled in a monastery toward the end of his life (Clermont-Ganneau 1896:437; 1897:15–16). This identification seems definite not only because of the name, but especially because of the distance from Gaza. Kefar Searta was mentioned in two works composed by John Rufus in the sixth century: *Plerophoriae* and the *Life of Peter the Iberian*. The latter source indicates also the distance, "about fifteen miles from Gaza." Fifteen Roman miles are equivalent to c. 24 kilometers. The direct distance from Gaza to Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>rata is eighteen kilometers. The direction of the customary main route to Beit Guvrin was initially northeast with the objective to cross Wadi el Hesi (probably on a bridge), then, on the northern bank of the wadi it turned east, passing through Najd, Sumsum and Bureir. Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>rata is located circa two and an half kilometers southeast of Bureir. Considering this detour, one may assume that the total length of the way is in accordance with the distance in the text. It is worth mentioning the existence of another ruin named Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>arta (also called Kh. el Qutshan), that may represent the village of Kefar Searta. The remains are typical of the Byzantine period and include finds which suggest that a church stood there also (Hirschfeld 2004:72–73; Hirschfeld has identified the church at the southern Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>arta with the monastery of Zeno). This place is situated in the Besor region of the western Negev exactly 10 km (c. 6.25 Roman miles) south of Gaza. Since this distance is not close to that given by John Rufus, and the direction is not mentioned in the text, the identification of Searta with the southern Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>arta should be rejected. Clermont-Ganneau (1897:15–16) also suggested that site 112, the northern Kh. Sha<sup>r</sup>rata, should be identified as Saarethe, a Crusader village that belonged in 1256 to the Hospitallers; Praver's identification is the same (1958:235–36). The site is also identified as *Sha<sup>r</sup>arta al-Kubra (Tabi Burayr)* of the sixteenth century Ottoman *defters* (Hüttheroth and Abdulfattah, 1977:144).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.



1. Decorated Byzantine sherd

2. Byzantine Lamp  
3. Byzantine Lamp



- 4. Early Islamic Lamp
- 5. Early Islamic Jug

Figure 5.36: Pottery from Site 112 (scale 2:5)

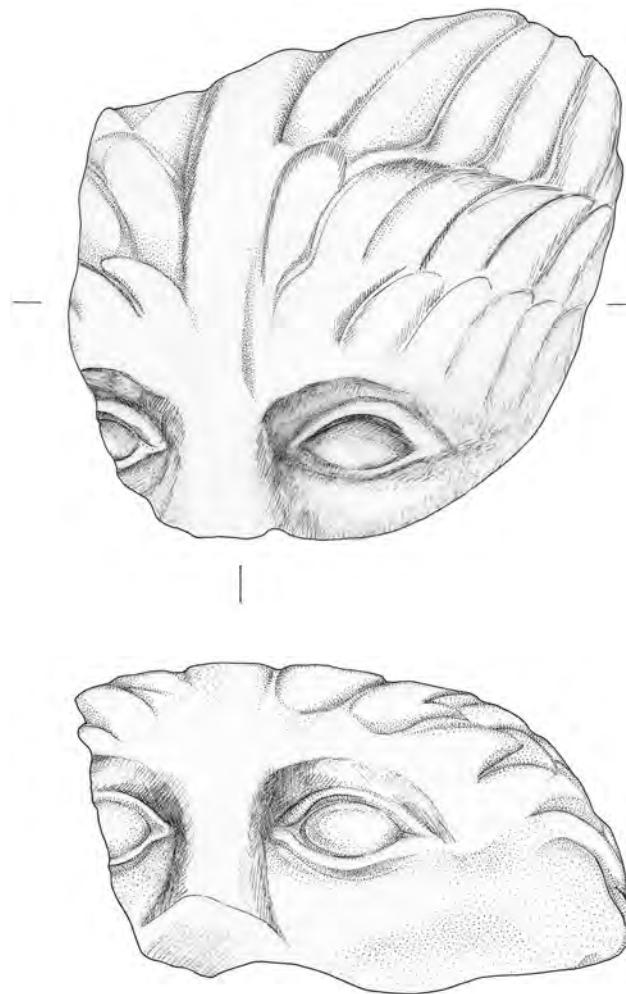


Figure 5.37: Marble Lion Statue Fragment from Site 112 (scale 1:2)

113. 11-10/76-2 11755 10640 16755 60640

Nahal Shiqma

Bell-shaped cistern on a flat field N of Nahal Shiqma and some 300 m S of Kh. Shaḥrata. Built of cemented fieldstones (diameter 3 m, visible depth 2 m). Moderate scatter of pottery sherds (including sherds of the Late Bronze Age moved here from site 114 by modern agricultural activity).

Pottery: Byzantine and Early Islamic.

114. 11-10/76-3 11780 10630 16780 60630

Nahal Shiqma

Settlement remains (c. 10 dunams) on raised area among flat fields, N of Nahal Shiqma. Patches of ashy soil, fragments of basalt grinding stones, flint implements (mainly sickle blades), and pottery sherds.

Pottery: Chalcolithic (few) and Late Bronze.

115. 11-10/76-4 11750 10600 16750 60600

Nahal Shiqma

Settlement remains on flat terrain N of Nahal Shiqma (c. 4 dunams). Patches of ashy soil, scatter of pebbles, fieldstones, burned bone, and pottery sherds.

Pottery: Persian and Hellenistic.

116. 11-10/96-1 11960 10690 16960 60690

Nahal Hatzav

Ruins of dwellings from the late Ottoman and Mandatory periods on flat terrain E of Nahal Hatzav (Wadi el Khanazir), a tributary of Nahal Shiqma. The group of structures is dispersed over an area of c. 15 dunams. One large structure (4 x 6 m), built of sun-dried mudbricks bonded by mud with straw. Other structures have smaller dimensions; in some, the western wall was built of stones, probably because this is the main direction of wind (and rain). Nearby, abandoned orchards (c. 50 dunams).

Pottery: Late Ottoman and Mandatory.

117. 11-10/96-2 11980 10630 16980 60630

Nahal Hatzav

Well (partly blocked, diameter 2.8 m, visible depth c. 5 m) on flat land, close to a gully, a tributary of Nahal Hatzav. Built of dressed *kurkar* stones. Nearby, a collapsed pool (3 x 3 m), a square pillar base (1 x 1 m), and a burnt wood beam, all indicating that water was drawn by means of a "Persian wheel" (*saqiye*).

Pottery: Late Ottoman and Mandatory.

118. 11-10/96-3 11940 10635 16940 60635

Nahal Shiqma

Ruinous structure (c. 8 x 10 m) on *kurkar* hill, S of Nahal Shiqma. Ashlar-built outer walls preserved 1.8 m high. Inner dividing walls built of sun-dried mudbricks, preserved 5–6 courses high. At foot of hill to W, remains of an additional structure (c. 4 x 4 m), built of sun-dried mudbricks, except the western wall which was built of fieldstones bonded by mud with straw, preserved 4–5 courses high.

Pottery: Late Ottoman and Mandatory.



1. Krater



2. Bowl

3. Cooking vessel

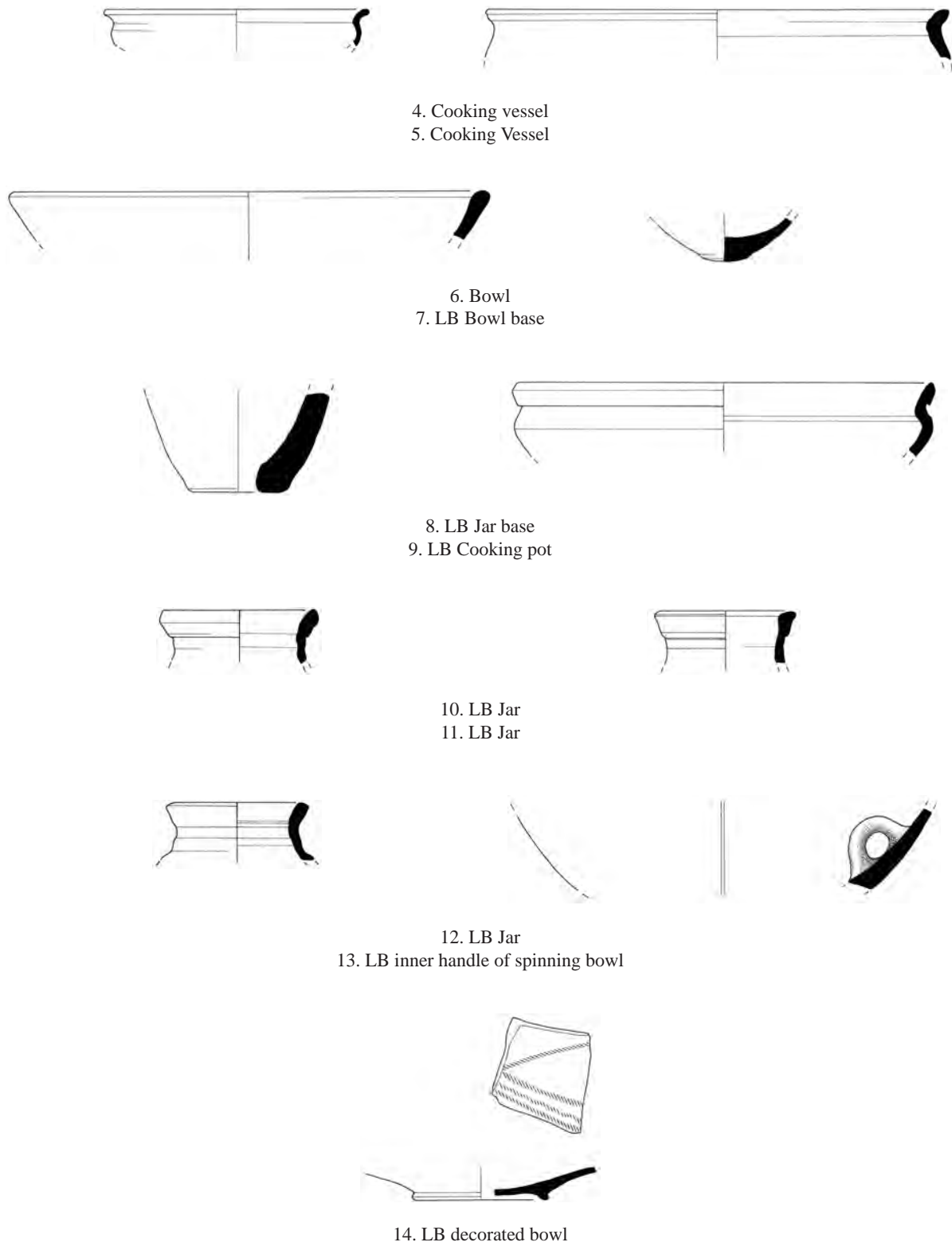


Figure 5.38: Pottery from Site 114 (scale 1:5)

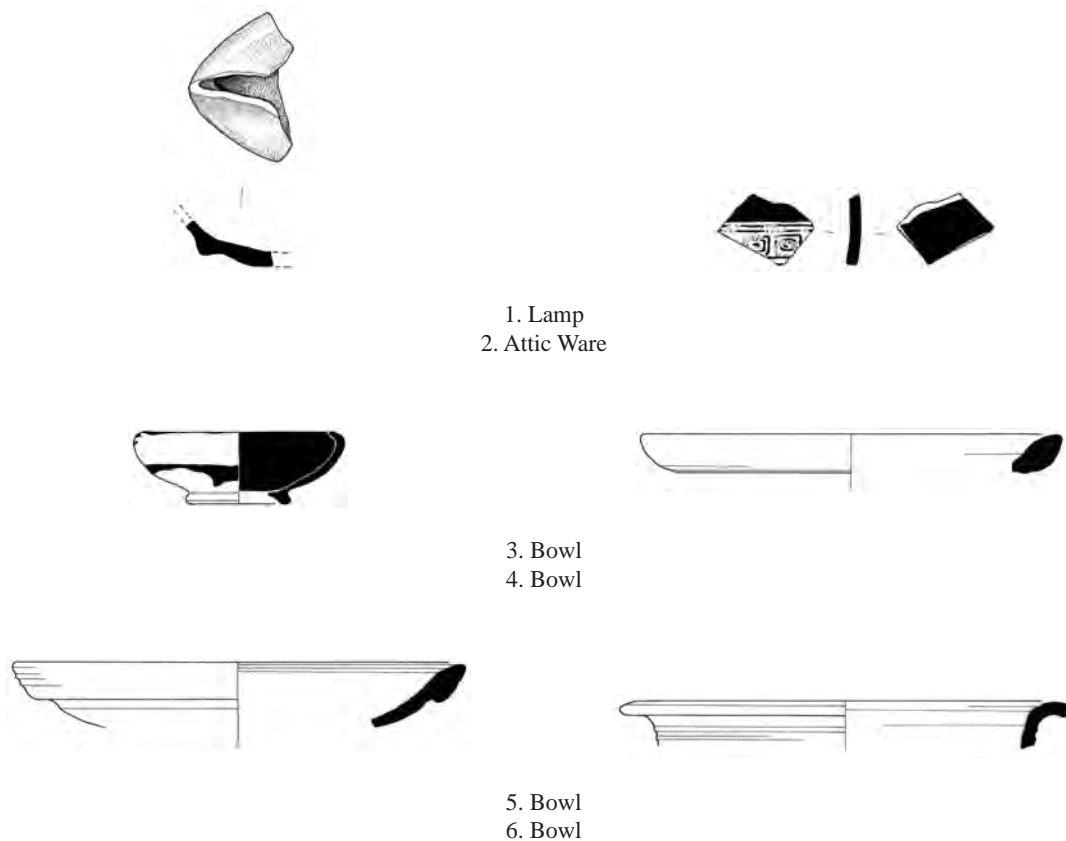


Figure 5.39: Persian and Hellenistic Pottery from Site 115 (scale 1:5)

119. 11-10/96-4 11940 10610 16940 60610

Nahal Shiqma

Well (3.0 m diameter, c. 20 m depth) in sandy valley between low *kurkar* hills S of Nahal Shiqma. Built of dressed *kurkar* stones. No signs of use, nor indicative finds. Nearby, an artificial sand pile suggests that the well was abandoned shortly after it was excavated, probably at the end of Mandatory period.

120. 11-10/96-5 11910 10600 16910 60600

Nahal Shiqma

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) in area of small *hamra* hills S of Nahal Shiqma. Many flakes produced by the use of Levallois technique.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

121. 11-10/05-1 11020 10590 16020 60590

Nahal Mardim (Wadi Mardin)

Bell-shaped cistern (diameter 2.5 m, depth 4 m) on moderate slope descending W from *kurkar* hill, toward Nahal Mardin. Built of cemented small fieldstones. Nearby, dense scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>). Sherds and flint implements also on hill top and slopes.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

Pottery: Byzantine.

122. 11-10/05-2 11060 10580 16060 60580

Nahal Mardim

Foundations of two structures (2 x 2 m and 2 x 2.5 m) and remains of fieldstones fences, preserved 3–4 courses high, on a *kurkar* hill partly covered by *hamra* soil, located between two tributaries of Nahal Mardin. Dense scatter of pottery sherds (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.



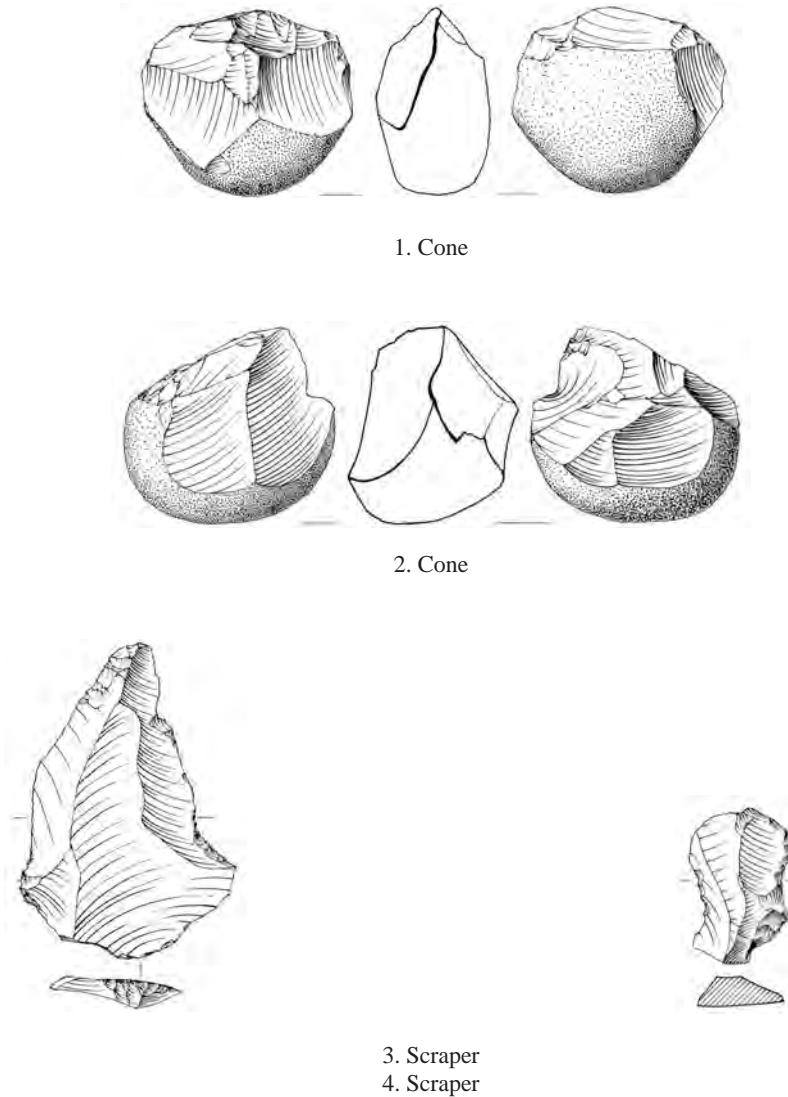


Figure 5.40: Lithics from the Lower Paleolithic Period from Site 121 (scale 1:2)

123. 11-10/05-3 11020 10510 16020 60510

Nahal Kosses (Wadi el Makkus)

Structural foundations (3 x 3 m) on *kurkar* hilltop E of Nahal Kosses. Built of fieldstones bonded with lime cement. Nearby, dense scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>). On N slope, light scatter of flint implements.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

Pottery: Byzantine.

124. 11-10/05-4 11050 10530 16050 60530

Nahal Mardim

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>) on *kurkar* hill (+ 119 m). A natural section enables the distinction of alternating strata of *kurkar* and *hamra* soil formations. The flint tools originated in the upper *hamra* layer.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

125. 11-10/05-5 11070 10510 16070 60510

Nahal Mardim

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on E slope of *kurkar* hill descending toward Nahal Mardin.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

126. 11-10/25-1 11205 10555 16205 60555

Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)

Bell-shaped cistern (diameter 2.8 m, depth 4 m) on moderate slope of *kurkar* hill covered by loess soil, facing Nahal Nir Am on the E. Nearby, scatter of plaster fragments, tesserae, and pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.

127. 11-10/25-2 11210 10510 16210 60510

Kh. Nejed (S)

Kh. Najd (M)

Remains of settlement (c. 20 dunams) on elongated spur of *kurkar* ridge covered by loess, N of Nahal Tal (Wadi el Jabali) and W of Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd). Remains of several installations: Five bell-shaped cisterns—three in the site's center, two on the edges. On the E, a well (2.5 m diameter, partly blocked) and a pool (5 x 5 m) nearby. The pool was built of small *kurkar* stones bonded with lime cement and the walls were lined with pinkish-colored plaster (cf. site 50 above). To the W of the pool (c. 40 m), remains of a rectangular installation (c. 4 x 4 m) surrounded by rough tesserae, probably a winepress. On S edge, a burial system that includes a small rectangular central chamber and four cells, each of them covered with a vaulted roof. On E side, a curved wall (0.8 m thickness, 4–5 courses preserved). Nearby, a scatter of dressed stones, fragments of marble architectural elements, and pottery sherds.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:285; Huster and Sion 2006:58 and no. 77.

128. 11-10/35-1 11380 10595 16380 60595

Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)

Two bell-shaped cisterns (diameter 2.5–2.8 m, apparent depth 2–2.5 m) on a *kurkar* hill covered by a loess layer W of Nahal Hoga, constructed of small stones mortared with lime cement; the walls are lined with plaster. Nearby, many scatters of rough tesserae and pottery sherds.

Pottery: Byzantine.



Figure 5.41: The Collapsed Burial System from Site 127

129. 11-10/35-2 11395 10580 16395 60580  
 Nahal Hoga  
 A bell-shaped cistern (diameter 2.8 m, apparent depth 4 m) on moderate slope descending to the E. Built of small stones mortared with lime cement. Scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
130. 11-10/45-1 11405 10580 16405 60580  
 Nahal Hoga  
 A bell-shaped cistern on moderate slope. Scanty remains (currently in a citrus orchard). Scatter of pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
131. 11-10/45-2 11410 10580 16410 60580  
 Nahal Hoga  
 Collapsed remains of a structure (c. 2 x 3m) on hill slope descending toward Nahal Hoga. Vaulted blocks built of small stones mortared with lime cement. The extant features point to a burial system. Mandatory maps (Sheet 11/10, Bureir, Scale 1:20,000) indicate a tomb here. Few pottery sherds (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.  
 Huster and Sion 2006:61–64, Table 1 no. 75 (wrong coordinate there).
132. 11-10/65-1 11660 10570 16660 60570  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Remains of settlement (c. 2 dunams) on plain, close to S bank of Nahal Shiqma. Scatter of pebbles, fieldstones, and potsherds, revealed mainly in ashy dumps within brown-colored loess soil.  
 Pottery: Byzantine and Early Islamic.
133. 11-10/65-2 11690 10560 16690 60560  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Scatter of pebbles, fieldstones, fragments of basalt grinding stones, and pottery sherds (c. 800 m<sup>2</sup>) on a plain S of Nahal Shiqma.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
134. 11-10/65-3 11640 10510 16640 60510  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on moderate slope of *hamra* hill descending N to Nahal Shiqma.  
 Lithic Finds: Lower Paleolithic.
135. 11-10/75-1 11750 10580 16750 60580  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Scatter of small pebbles, fieldstones, fragments of lime tiles, roofing tiles, and pottery sherds (c. 1 dunam) on plain, along S bank of Nahal Shiqma.  
 Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.
136. 11-10/75-2 11790 10580 16790 60580  
 Nahal Shiqma  
 Remains of a pottery kiln (diameter 1.8 m) on the bank of a tributary of Nahal Shiqma. Fired mudbricks, slag, and dense concentration of pottery sherds were exposed by runoff. This installation seems to be part of a pottery workshop located in the industrial area of an ancient settlement (see site 138).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
137. 11-10/75-3 11780 10570 16780 60570  
 Kh. el Marashan (S)  
 Kh. Sawabta (M)  
 Collapsed remains of a structure on hillside, c. 100 m N of Kh. el Marashan, revealed as a result of recent quarrying activity. The structure was built of large hard *kurkar* stones (0.5 x 0.8 x 1.0 m). Few sherds around the structure.  
 Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.



Figure 5.42: The Well from Site 138

138. 11-10/75-4 11790 10580 16790 60580

Kh. el Marashan (S)

Kh. Sawabta (M)

Remains of an ancient settlement beneath the ruins of an Arab village (each c. 10 dunams). Located on a series of low *kurkar* and *hamra* hills. On top of the central hill, a well (diameter 2.5 m, depth 25 m) with a rectangular structure with water troughs built over it. Nearby, a cistern (diameter 4 m; apparent depth 5 m), built of small stones bonded with lime cement. Scatters of building stones (some dressed), fragments of marble, glass vessels, and pottery sherds. On W slope, runoff exposed a shaft containing human bones and broken pottery vessels. At the bottom of the adjacent wadi, the same finds were observed.

Around the end of the Ottoman period or the beginning of the Mandatory period, Arab farmers settled here (neither Conder and Kitchener nor Petrie mention an Arab village). Ruins of some twenty dwellings were observed.

Pottery: Middle Bronze I, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:284; Petrie 1891:52.

139. 11-10/75-5 11760 10550 16760 60550

Kh. el Marashan (S)

Kh. Sawabta (M)

Ancient remains (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>) on small *hamra* hill, 200 m W of Kh. el Marashan. Fragmentary structural foundations. An underground space (2 x 3 m, depth 2 m) containing fragments of a collapsed mosaic floor that covered it (probably a crypt). A bell-shaped cistern (diameter 3 m; depth 3 m) built of small stones bonded with lime cement. Scatter of *kurkar* building stones, fragments of marble, glass vessels, roof tiles, pottery sherds, and tesserae.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern.

140. 11-10/75-6 11770 10510 16770 60510

Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on low *hamra* hill covered by a loess layer. Two dwellings (4 x 3 m, 4 x 4 m) built of unfired mudbricks.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

Pottery: Modern.

141. 11-10/85-1 11870 10570 16870 60570  
 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)  
 Group of five dwellings on spur of *kurkar* hill covered by a loess layer, N of Nahal Zedim, a tributary of Nahal Shiqma. Built of unfired mudbricks, except western walls which were built of small stones bonded with mud (preserved 1.8–2 m high). Nearby, two round enclosures (diameter c. 10 m), built of *kurkar* stones, some dressed, probably brought from the adjacent ruins of Kh. el Marashan.  
 Pottery: Modern.
142. 11-10/85-2 11890 10550 16890 60550  
 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)  
 Group of four ruined dwellings on a sandy *kurkar* hill N of Nahal Zedim. Built of unfired mudbricks (preserved 1.5–1.7 m high).  
 Pottery: Modern.
143. 11-10/85-3 11850 10520 16850 60520  
 Nahal Zedim  
 Group of three ruined dwellings (c. 3 x 4 m each) on moderate slope of loess hill, located between two tributaries of Nahal Zedim. Walls (preserved 1.8–2 m high) built of unfired mudbricks, except western walls, which were built of small stones bonded and plastered with mud.  
 Pottery: Modern.
144. 11-10/04-1 11020 10480 16020 60480  
 Nahal Kosses (Wadi el Makkus)  
 Scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) eroded from a *hamra* layer on a *kurkar* hill. Use of Levallois technique.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
145. 11-10/04-2 11070 10470 16070 60470  
 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)  
 Light scatters of implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) in deep gorges close to Nahal Tal. Tools made by use of Levallois technique.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
146. 11-10/04-3 11060 10450 16060 60450  
 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)  
 Dense concentrations of flint implements (c. 600 m<sup>2</sup>) on *kurkar* hill (+ 110 m) covered by *hamra* layer. Numerous flakes produced by use of Levallois technique, together with tools, suggesting that knapping activity took place at the site.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
147. 11-10/04-4 11040 10430 16040 60430  
 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on slopes of *kurkar* hill, covered by a thin layer of *hamra*.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
148. 11-10/04-5 11060 10400 16060 60400  
 Nahal Tal (Wadi en Nada)  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on S and E slopes of *kurkar* hill, W of Wadi el Bi<sup>2</sup>, a small tributary of Wadi en Nada.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
149. 11-10/14-1 11140 10460 16140 60460  
 Sderot (Wadi el Jabali)  
 Settlement remains (c. 5 dunams, now destroyed due to the construction of a neighborhood in Sderot). In the past, the site included two bell-shaped cisterns, a scatter of building stones, tesserae, and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.
150. 11-10/24-1 11290 10485 16290 60485  
 Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)  
 Ancient remains (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>) E of Nahal Nir Am in an Eucalyptus wood plantation. Scatter of fieldstones, coarse tesserae, and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.

151. 11-10/24-2 11265 10430 16265 60430

Sderot—Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)

Ancient cemetery on N slope of *kurkar* hill, E of Nahal Nir Am and some 700 m SE of Kh. Najd. Three cist tombs containing skeletons and small objects were excavated. Nearby, an infant burial in a jar was exposed.

Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.

Reference: Neder Ory, field diary 1991.

152. 11-10/34-1 11380 10470 16380 60470

Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on slope descending to E toward Nahal Hoga.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

153. 11-10/34-2 11350 10450 16350 60450

Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)

Ancient remains (c. 300 m<sup>2</sup>) in an Eucalyptus wood plantation. Scatter of building stones, coarse tesserae, and pottery sherds.

Pottery: Byzantine.

154. 11-10/44-1 11450 10420 16450 60420

Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)

Scatter of flint implements (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on area of small loess hills and in the channel of Wadi el Hadd. To E, concentration of pottery sherds.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic and Chalcolithic.

Pottery: Byzantine.

155. 11-10/64-1 11635 10490 16635 60490

Nahal Nigraf (Wadi el Jurf)

Scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on *hamra* hill E of Nahal Nigraf, a southern tributary of Nahal Shiqma.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

156. 11-10/64-2 11640 10460 16640 60460

Nahal Nigraf (Wadi el Jurf)

Scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on *hamra* hill (+ 106 m), E of Nahal Nigraf.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

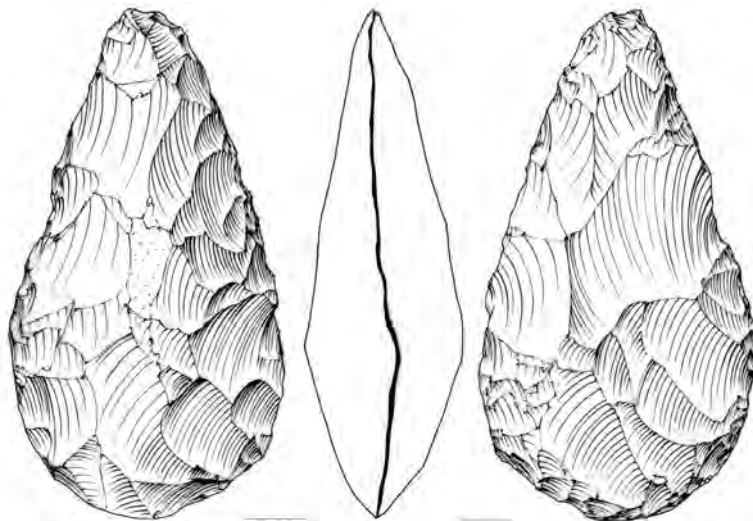
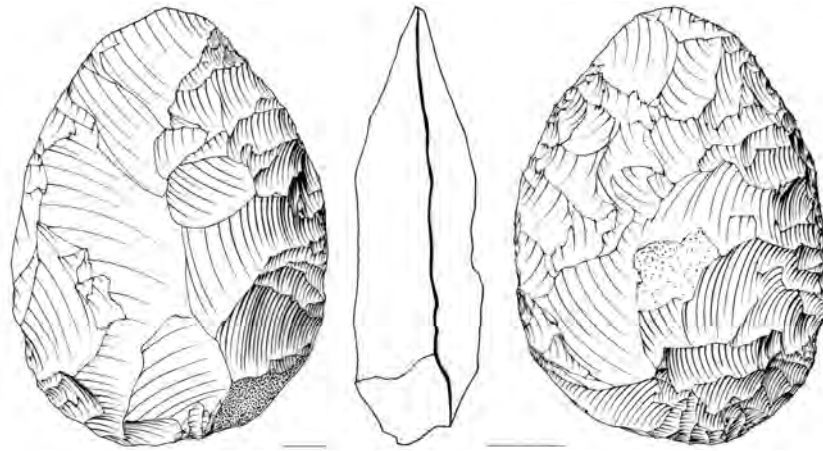
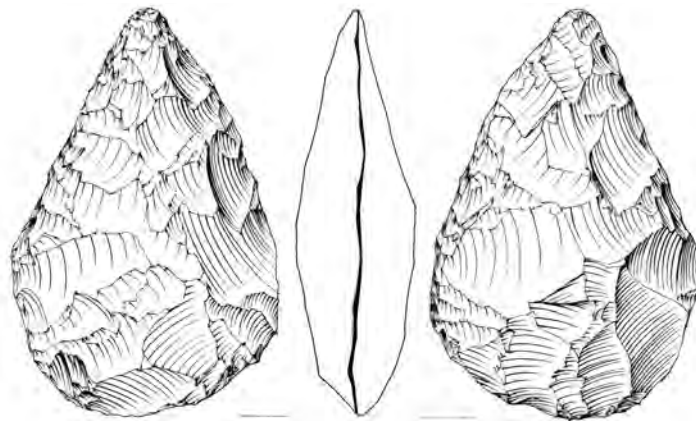


Figure 5.43: Handaxe from the Lower Paleolithic Period from Site 156 (scale 1:2)

157. 11-10/64-3 11610 10480 16610 60480  
 Nahal Nigraf (Wadi el Jurf)  
 Scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) in badlands created as result of undermining of short eastern tributaries of Nahal Nigraf.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
158. 11-10/74-1 11750 10420 16750 60420  
 Nahal Marashan (Wad Iweida)  
 Ancient remains (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) in eroded ground close to Nahal Marashan. Scatter of small pebbles, tesserae, and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
159. 11-10/84-1 11820 10410 16820 60410  
 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)  
 Some flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on *hamra* soil eroded by runoff near Nahal Zedim, a tributary of Nahal Shiqma.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
160. 11-10/84-2 11890 10440 16890 60440  
 Nahal Zedim (Wadi el Manyasa)  
 Ancient remains (c. 600 m<sup>2</sup>) on W moderate slope of *kurkar* hill S of Nahal Zedim. Scatter of small pebbles, broken fired mudbricks, slag, and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
161. 11-10/03-1 11020 10380 16020 60380  
 Wadi el Bi<sup>ḥ</sup>  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) in area of small *kurkar* hills, SW of Nahal el Bi<sup>ḥ</sup>.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
162. 11-10/03-2 11060 10310 16060 60310  
 Wadi el Bi<sup>ḥ</sup>  
 Ancient remains (c. 1 dunam), on slope of *hamra* hill, covered by a thin layer of loess. Stains of dark soil and patches of gray color containing small *kurkar* stones, coarse tesserae, and pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
163. 11-10/13-1 11110 10380 16110 60380  
 Wadi el Bi<sup>ḥ</sup>  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on W slope of *kurkar* hill descending from E toward Wadi el Bi<sup>ḥ</sup>. Now a built area.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
164. 11-10/23-1 11240 10350 16240 60350  
 Nahal Nir Am (Wadi Najd)  
 Flint implements (200 m<sup>2</sup>) on *hamra* soil eroded by water from a hill toward Nahal Nir Am.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
165. 11-10/43-1 11450 10380 16450 60380  
 Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)  
 Flint implements in area of badlands and gullies (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) S of Wadi el Hadd, a tributary of Nahal Hoga.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
166. 11-10/43-2 11435 10330 16435 60330  
 Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)  
 Findspot of a single arrowhead in a gully of Nahal Hoga.  
 Lithic find: Neolithic.
167. 11-10/53-1 11510 10380 16510 60380  
 Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml)  
 Scatter of flint implements in area of badlands and gullies between Wadi el Hadd and Wadi er Rada, tributaries of Nahal Hoga. Extreme erosion processes in the past caused the removal of the *hamra* layer, spreading the artifacts over a large area.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

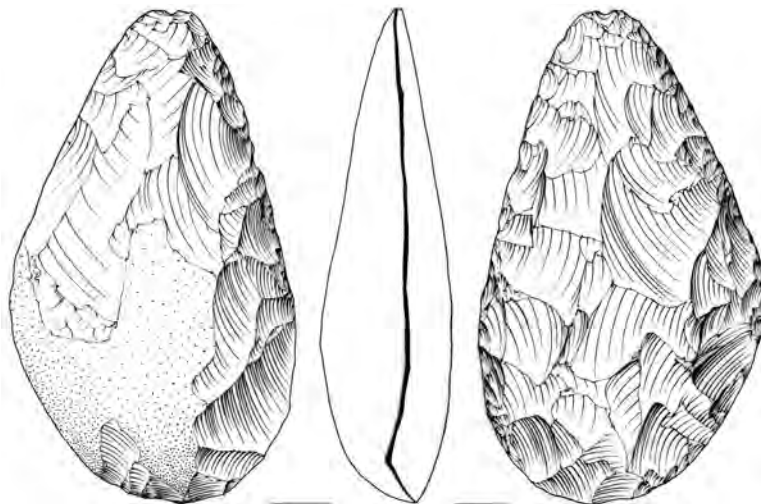


1. Handaxe



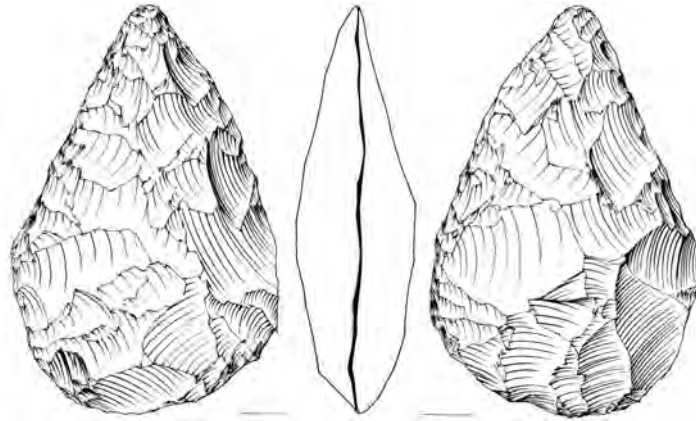
2. Handaxe

Figure 5.44: Lithics from the Lower Paleolithic Period from Site 167 (scale 1:2)



1. Handaxe





2. Handaxe

Figure 5.45: Lithics from the Lower Paleolithic Period from Site 168 (scale 1:2)

168. 11-10/83-1 11870 10330 16870 60330

Nahal Dov (Wadi en Namus)

Scatter of eroded flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on W slope of *hamra* hill, close to the N bank of Nahal Dov. Among the tools: Flakes, scrapers, and handaxes.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

169. 11-10/02-1 11040 10250 16040 60250

Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin)

Settlement remains (c. 5 dunams) on low hill, E of a tributary of Nahal Mefalsim. Two bell-shaped cisterns (now blocked) and patches of gray soil containing *kurkar* stones, pebbles, and potsherds.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic.

170. 11-10/02-2 11070 10210 16070 60210

Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin)

Settlement remains (c. 10 dunams) on low hill and flat terrain E of a tributary of Nahal Mefalsim. Two blocked bell-shaped cisterns. Dense concentrations of burnt bricks, kiln wasters, slag, and pottery sherds.

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Medieval and Early Islamic.

Schuster 2000b; Seriy 2010.

171. 11-10/22-1 11255 10205 16255 60205

Nahal Azur (Wadi el Ghazawiya)

Settlement remains (c. 3 dunams) on top of hill (triangulation point 339W) and on NE slope, close to Wadi el Amayir, a tributary of Nahal Azur. Scatter of pottery sherds. Nearby, three stone heaps (diameter 3–4 m) containing *kurkar* stones and marble fragments.

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, and Medieval.

172. 11-10/32-1 11310 10230 16310 60230

Nahal Azur (Wadi el Ghazawiya)

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on slopes of *hamra* hill (triangulation point 340W, + 94 m).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

173. 11-10/32-2 11360 10215 16360 60215

Kh. Tell edh Dhahab

Abandoned olive orchard, (two remaining trees, partly enclosed with cactus fences). No visible ancient remains except some sherds of the Byzantine period.

Kh. Tell edh Dhahab appears in the Mandatory list of archaeological sites (1944 Schedule:1249), placed near the intersection of coordinates 114-102 (OIG); meanwhile, the 1964 Schedule of Monuments and Sites (Yalqut HaPirsumim 1964:1452) places the site within the square km of coordinates 113-102. Both the archaeological context and geographical features of this area, however, demonstrate that this placement is in error. Guérin described the site of Tell Dahab (also called Tell Ahmar) as a little elevated oblong hill, whose summit and slopes were covered by large quantities of pottery sherds, while the fields around included many bell-shaped cisterns (Guérin 1869[a or b]:291–92). None of these features is in accordance with the finds in the abandoned orchard and in the (almost) flat fields around. A comprehensive analysis of Guérin's itinerary on June 11 1863 will not only remove the actual placement of Kh. Tell edh Dhahab at 113-102, but will point to the site's exact location. Guérin left Gaza at 1:15 p.m. Setting out on a heading ENE, he arrived at Kh. Beit Durdis (coordinates 10715-10170) at 2:30. He then rode NE for 15 minutes and arrived at Tell Dahab at 2:45. Note that the distance between the abandoned orchard and the village of Huj is 500 m, while Guérin's ride from Tell Dahab to Huj lasted 1 hour and 30 minutes, as he arrived at Huj at 4:15. Furthermore, on Guérin's map the distance from Tell Dahab to Huj is more than twice than the distance from Beit Durdis to Tell Dahab. Guérin's track from Gaza to Huj, including the deviation to Tell Dahab, lasted 3 hours. Twenty-five years earlier (May 21 1838), Robinson rode from Gaza to Huj on the same route (Robinson 1841, II:384): He left Gaza at 12:20 p.m., passed Beit Dirdis at 1:30, and reached Huj at 2:55. Robinson did not indicate any notable site between Beit Durdis and Huj.

For the reasons mentioned above, Tell edh Dhahab should be located northeast of Beit Durdis, at a distance equivalent to a ride of 15 minutes. The German geographer H. Kiepert calculated the rate of Robinson's travels, and found that the distance traveled in one hour on horseback should be 2.8–3 geographical miles on level areas such as the plains E of Gaza (Kiepert 1841:31). As the length of a geographical mile is equivalent to 1852–55 m, the average distance should be 5.2–5.5 km per hour. Guérin's calculated rate was almost the same. Applying these calculations to Guérin's travels, we would expect Tell edh Dahab to be roughly 1.3–1.4 km NE of Beit Durdis. Indeed, at a distance of c. 1.5 km NE of Beit Durdis, there is an elevated area called El Ahmar that has the additional name of Tell Dahab (Survey of Palestine, Sheet 10-10, Beit Hanun). Its exact position is derived from the measurements carried out by van de Velde from the hill Ali Muntar (van de Velde 1858:115). He provided a bearing to Tell ed-Daheb of 68° 30', pointing to a *hamra* hill at coordinates 10760-10330.

174. 11-10/32-3 11395 10220 16395 60220

Esh Sheikh Mansur (M)

Abandoned orchard enclosed by cactus fences with the foundations of a rectangular structure, partly covered by a large stone heap. Probably the location of a sheikh's tomb.

Pottery: Medieval, Late Ottoman, and Mandatory.

175. 11-10/42-1 11420 10220 16420 60220

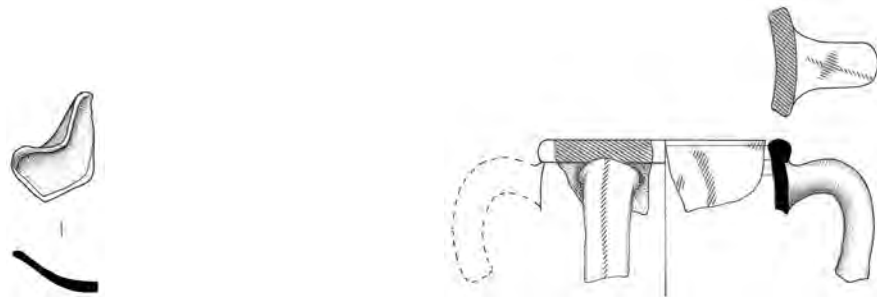
Huj (S)

Huj (M)

Ruins of Arab village (c. 45 dunams) on slope of low hill, W of Wadi el Balad, a tributary of Nahal Hoga (Wadi er Raml). Outline of planned streets under ruined structures built of mudbricks. To the E, a ruinous and blocked well. Nearby, a collapsed pool. Scatter of pottery sherds.

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

Robinson 1841, II:384–86; Guérin 1869[a or b]:292; Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:275.



5. Lamp sherd  
6. Jar

Figure 5.46: Site 176 (scale 1:5)

176. 11-10/42-2 11470 10200 16470 60200

H. Hoga

En Nabi Huj (M)

Islamic cemetery of the village of Huj (c. 1.5 dunams) on low *hamra* hill. Ancient remains over a larger area (c. 40 dunams). Several bell-shaped cisterns. Scatter of building stones, fragments of architectural elements, roof tiles, marble, and pottery sherds. A mosaic floor (4 x 5 m) and a burial system were documented in the past.

Pottery: Iron II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman, and Modern.

177. 11-10/52-1 11510 10245 16510 60245

Nahal Dorot (Wadi er Raml)

Settlement remains on flat terrain, NE of Kh. Hoga, near the junction of Wadi es Sallaqa and Nahal Hoga. The site is covered by a thick layer of silt (c. 1.2 m), resulting from constant flooding in the adjacent wadis. In 1992, torrential rains caused the partial removal of the silt coverage, exposing part of the site (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) for a short time: Scatter of pebbles, *kurkar* stones, fragments of basalt grinding stones, bone, flint implements, and pottery sherds.

Lithic finds and pottery: Late Bronze and Iron I (?).

178. 11-10/62-1 11630 10210 16630 60210

Nahal Dorot (Wadi er Raml)

Scatter of flint implements on *hamra* hill (c. 1 dunam, triangulation point 588, + 116 m).

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

179. 11-10/62-2 11690 16690 60210

Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid).

Findspot in the bed of Nahal Ruhama. A single arrowhead, probably eroded by water from the ascent of the wadi to the west.

Lithic find: Neolithic.

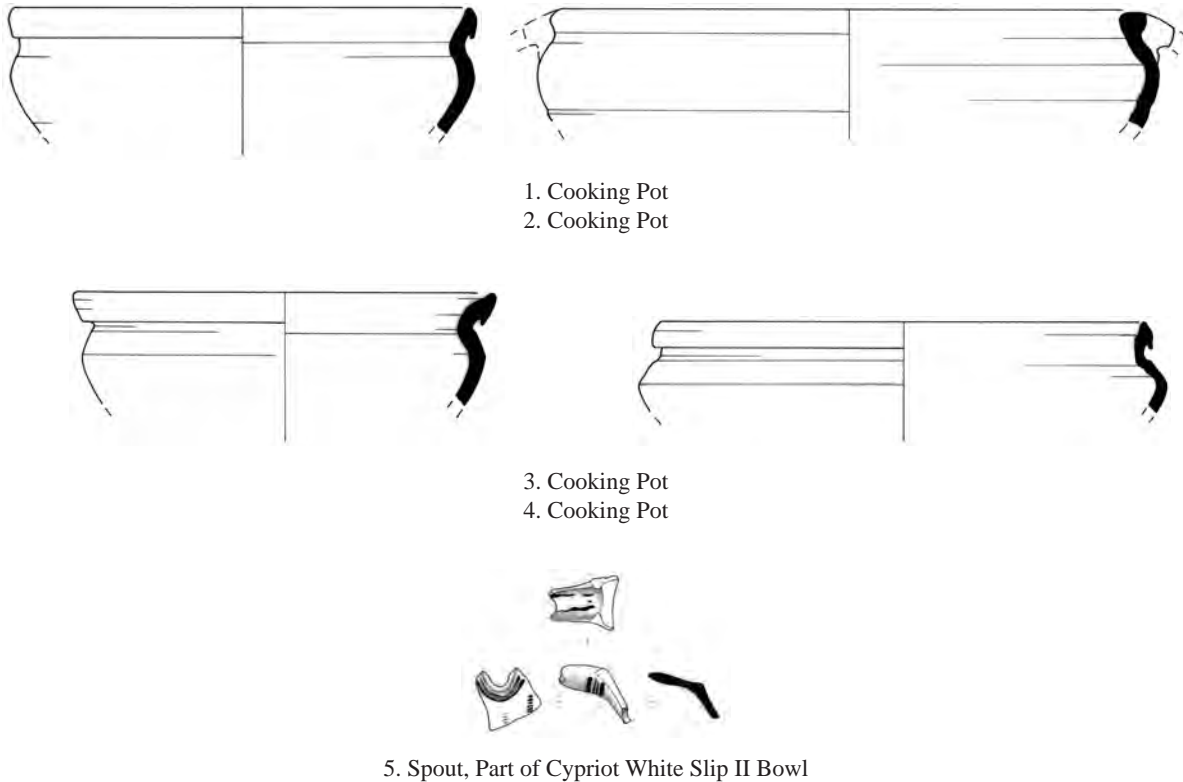


Figure 5.47: Late Bronze Age Pottery from Site 177 (scale 1:5)



*Figure 5.48: Site 177*



*Figure 5.49: Site 181*

180. 11-10/72-1 11740 10210 16740 60210  
 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)  
 Settlement remains on flat terrain (c. 500 m<sup>2</sup>) on N bank of Nahal Ruhama. Patches of gray soil containing pebbles, small fieldstones, burned bone, flint implements, and pottery sherds.  
 Lithic finds and pottery: Chalcolithic.
181. 11-10/82-1 11890 10260 16890 60260  
 H. Berekha  
 Kh. en Namus (M)  
 Remains of two rectangular burial systems on low hill (triangulation point 597), each composed of a main chamber (3.5 x 5.5 m and 2 x 4 m) with a vaulted roof. Built of small fieldstones bonded with lime cement. Few pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine and Modern.
182. 11-10/92-1 11940 10230 16940 60230  
 H. Berekha  
 Kh. en Namus (M)  
 Settlement remains (c. 60 dunams) on moderate slope descending to S toward Nahal Ruhama. During development work carried out here in 1962 with heavy machinery, many ancient remains were raised to the surface: Dressed *kurkar* stones, flooring marble and lime tiles, marble columns, and capitals. These finds enable us to determine that the center of H. Berekha/Kh. en Namus should be located 300 m SE of triangulation point 597 and that both localities (sites 181 and 182) are part of one large settlement (IAA archive, Kh. Berekha file, reported by Ram Gophna, 1962). As result of an additional survey (Lamdan et al. 1977:185), more ancient remains were noted: On the N, dense concentrations of kiln waste, slag, and pottery sherds, mainly Gaza jars fragments. On the SE, ruins of a large structure (c. 10 x 10 m), walls 1–1.2 m wide, built of fieldstones, preserved 2.0 m high. This is a two-story structure. The lower story is partly buried by rubble, but still visible. The building features suggest that it served as a bath. If so, it correlates with the existence of a certain Kh. el Hammam (“the ruin of the bath”), known also as Kh. Umm Rujum, in this area. Kh. el Hammam was described in the Mandatory list of sites and monuments (1944 Schedule:1260) and later recorded under paragraph 97 in the 1964 Schedule of Monuments and Sites (Yalqut HaPir-sumim 1964:1453). In both publications the location was given in general coordinates: 120-103 (OIG). It was also marked on Mandatory maps (Survey of Palestine, Sheet 12-10, Ruhama), with more details that enable the fixing of the site at the intersection of coordinates: 12035-10360, some 1.1 km NE of Kh. en Namus and c. 2.5 km N of Kh. Jammama; however, no ancient remains were found at this location except a single burial system (Huster and Sion 2006:no. 80). Guérin, meanwhile, mentioned a place called Kh. el Hammam SE of Kh. Jammama (1869:295), as opposed to the Survey of Western Palestine which placed Kh. el Hammam NW of Jammama, apparently at the same location as Kh. en Namus (Sheet XX, Fw). The site was mentioned in the *Memoirs* in connection with Kh. Jamamma and described twice, the first time as Kh. el Hammam, the second as Kh. Umm Rujum, with little difference between the two descriptions (Conder and Kitchener 1881–83, III:281–82, 287).  
 Furthermore, the adjacent wadi name and the additional name of the *khirbeh* are identical: Umm Rujum. Petrie, who visited the site in 1890 (1891:53), mentioned a Roman ruin southeast of the *khirbeh* (probably the large structure) and described a well that had fallen out of use. The labeling of the site as Kh. en Namus occurs only on Mandatory maps. This name is likely derived from the owner of the land at the time: Many sites and wadis were named by the British surveyors according to land owners, and the agricultural fields in this area are still known as “Namusa’s land.” The site was named Kh. Berekha (“the ruin of the pool”), meanwhile, because of the existence of modern water installations (now out of use) on its N edge since 1947 (Braslavi 1956:459). Considering all of the details above, it is reasonable to assume that the site should be identified as Kh. el Hammam.  
 Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.
183. 11-10/92-2 11970 10220 16970 60220  
 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)  
 Ancient remains on loess hill (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) N of Nahal Ruhama. Disturbed structural foundations (only north wall remained), built of small *kurkar* stones bonded with lime cement. Nearby to the S, two blocked cisterns, and the screw weight of a wine-press. Dense scatter of pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
184. 11-10/92-3 11970 10210 16970 60210  
 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)  
 Ruinous structure (5 x 7 m) on moderate slope descending to S toward Nahal Ruhama. The outer walls were built of fieldstones bonded with mud, while the inner walls were built of sun-dried mudbricks. Few pottery sherds.  
 Pottery: Modern.



Figure 5.50: Site 182

185. 11-10/01-1 11080 10150 16080 60150

Kh. Lasan (S)

Kh. Lasan (M)

Ancient cemetery (c. 20 dunams) on loess hill, 400 m NE of Kh. Lasan. Salvage excavations revealed dozens of cist tombs, built of dressed *kurkar* stones and covered mainly with *kurkar* slabs.

Pottery: Roman and Byzantine.

186. 11-10/11-1 11130 10120 16130 60120

Kh. Lasan (S)

Kh. Lasan (M)

Settlement remains (c. 60 dunams) on loess hill and on moderate slopes descending to SW, toward Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin). Six bell-shaped cisterns (now blocked) built of cemented small fieldstones. Architectural elements: pillars, capitals, fragments of marble chancel screen posts and panels. On W slope, remains of an olive press, wine presses, kiln waste, slag, and dense concentrations of pottery sherds. Further to W, on flat terrain near Nahal Mefalsim, concentration of marble fragments and clay pipes (bath?).

Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

187. 11-10/11-2 11140 10160 16140 60160

Kh. Lasan (S)

Kh. Lasan (M)

Group of five bell-shaped cisterns on moderate slope of loess hill, 400 m N of Kh. Lasan. Built of cemented small *kurkar* stones. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 800 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, and Medieval.

188. 11-10/11-3 11180 10110 16180 60110

Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin)

Two bell-shaped cisterns, now blocked, on loessic spur descending W toward Nahal Mefalsim. Light scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>).

Pottery: Byzantine.

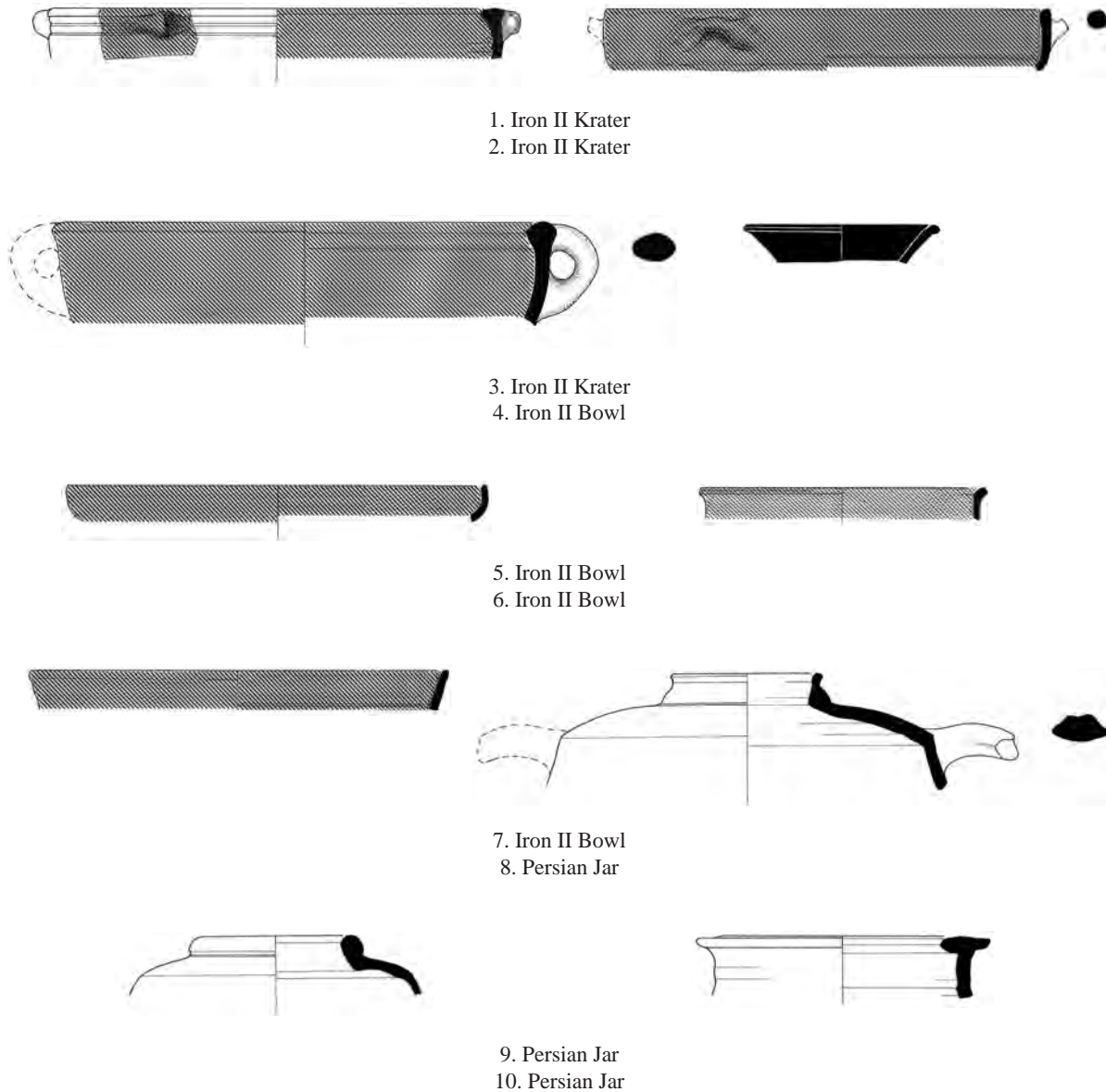


Figure 5.51: Site 189 (scale 1:5)

189. 11-10/41-1 11460 10195 16460 60195

H. Hoga

Kh. Huj; Neby Huj (S)

Kh. Huj; En Nabi Huj (M)

Remains of large settlement (c. 120 dunams) on a series of mounds and on valleys between them.

The nucleus of the settlement was located on the flat top of one of the hills (c. 5 dunams, labeled Sheikha Fatma tomb on Mandatory maps). Here, the base of a structure (c. 50 x 50 m) built of mudbricks was unearthed (Porat 1976). Its exact date and function are unclear, although it seems that it was established during the tenth century B.C. Nearby, further remains from the Persian and Hellenistic periods were excavated. Settlement remains were also observed around the excavated area, including several cisterns, segments of two mosaic floors, and a burial system. On the S, slag and dense concentrations of pottery sherds, evidence of a ceramic workshop. Dense scatter of building stones, marble fragments, and fragments of ceramic and glass vessels.

Pottery: Iron II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, Ottoman and Modern.

190. 11-10/61-1 11670 10140 16670 60140

Nahal Dorot (Wadi el Majnuna)

Scatter of flint implements on a series of *kurkar* hills, some covered by a thick layer of *hamra*, close to the W bank of Nahal Dorot. The *hamra* layer is constantly being eroded. Flint implements are also removed during this process. Among the tools: scrapers, burins, denticulates and handaxes.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

191. 11-10/71-1 11770 10170 16770 60170

Tell Shega

Tell el Majnuna (M)

Natural *hamra* hill (not a tell), N of Nahal Dorot (Wadi el Majnuna). Light scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on N slope. 250 m to the NE, on the S bank of Nahal Ruhama, a well (diameter 2.5 m, visible depth c. 15 m), built of dressed *kurkar* stones. Nearby, a ruined pool (3 x 3 m). The informal name of the spot is Bir Abu Rashid (Abu Rashid's well). Light scatter of late Ottoman sherds.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

192. 11-10/71-2 11750 10125 16750 60125

Nahal Dorot (Wadi el Majnuna)

Light scatter of flint implements (c. 100 m<sup>2</sup>) on hill spur descending to a tributary of Nahal Dorot.

Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

193. 11-10/81-1 11850 10190 16850 60190

Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)

Settlement remains (c. 1.2 dunams) on flat land N of Nahal Ruhama. Patches of gray-colored soil containing pebbles, fieldstones, burnt animal bones, flint implements, and pottery sherds.

Lithic finds and pottery: Chalcolithic.

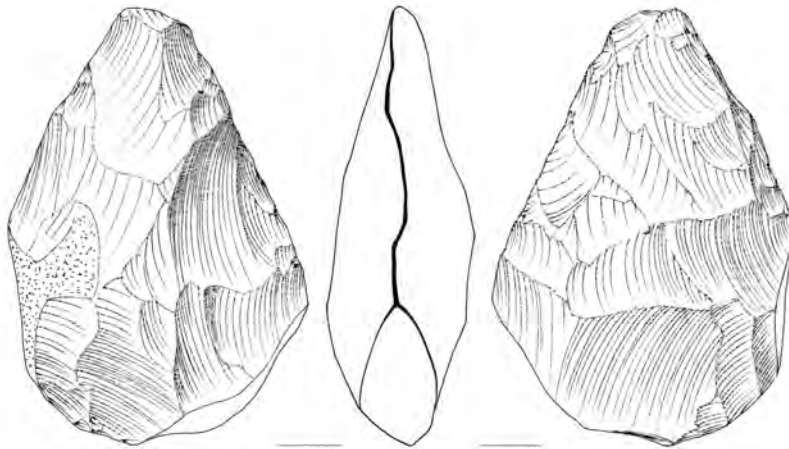
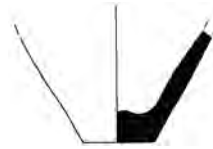
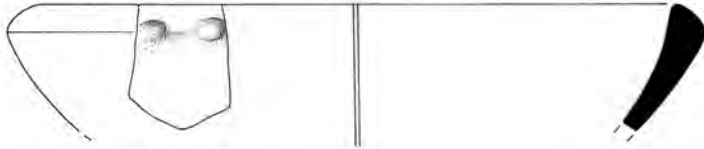


Figure 5.52: Handaxe from the Lower Paleolithic Period from Site 192

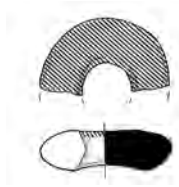




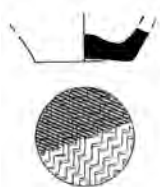
- 1. Chalcolithic Cornet (no scale)
- 2. Chalcolithic Cornet (no scale)



- 3. Chalcolithic Bowl with Applied Rope Direction (no scale)
- 4. Chalcolithic V-shaped Bowl (no scale)



- 5. Circular Spinning Stone
- 6. Loop Handle



- 7. Mat-impressed Base
- 8. Pierced Handle

Figure 5.53: Pottery/stone from Site 193 (scale 1:5)

194. 11-10/81-2 11880 10190 16880 60190

Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)

Ancient remains (500 m<sup>2</sup>) on loessic plain N of Nahal Ruhama and near its bank. Scatter of bone, flint implements, and pottery sherds.

Lithic finds and pottery: Chalcolithic.

195. 11-10/91-1 11920 10180 16920 60180

Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)

Settlement remains (c. 2.5 dunams) on moderate slope and on flat terrain adjacent to S bank of Nahal Ruhama. In this unploughed field, a concentration of large rounded patches of gray earth visible on the brown loessic soil background. The patches are c. 30–40 m apart, and contain pebbles, fieldstones, flint implements, and pottery sherds.

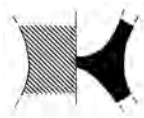
Lithic finds and pottery: Chalcolithic.



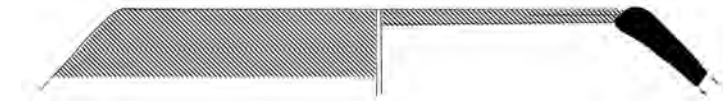
1. Pierced Handle  
2. Pierced Handle



3. Loop Handle of a Churn  
4. Pointed Base



5. Pedestal Goblet  
6. Bowl



7. Cornet  
8. Large Hole-Mouth Jar

Figure 5.54: Chalcolithic Pottery from Site 194 (scale 1:5)

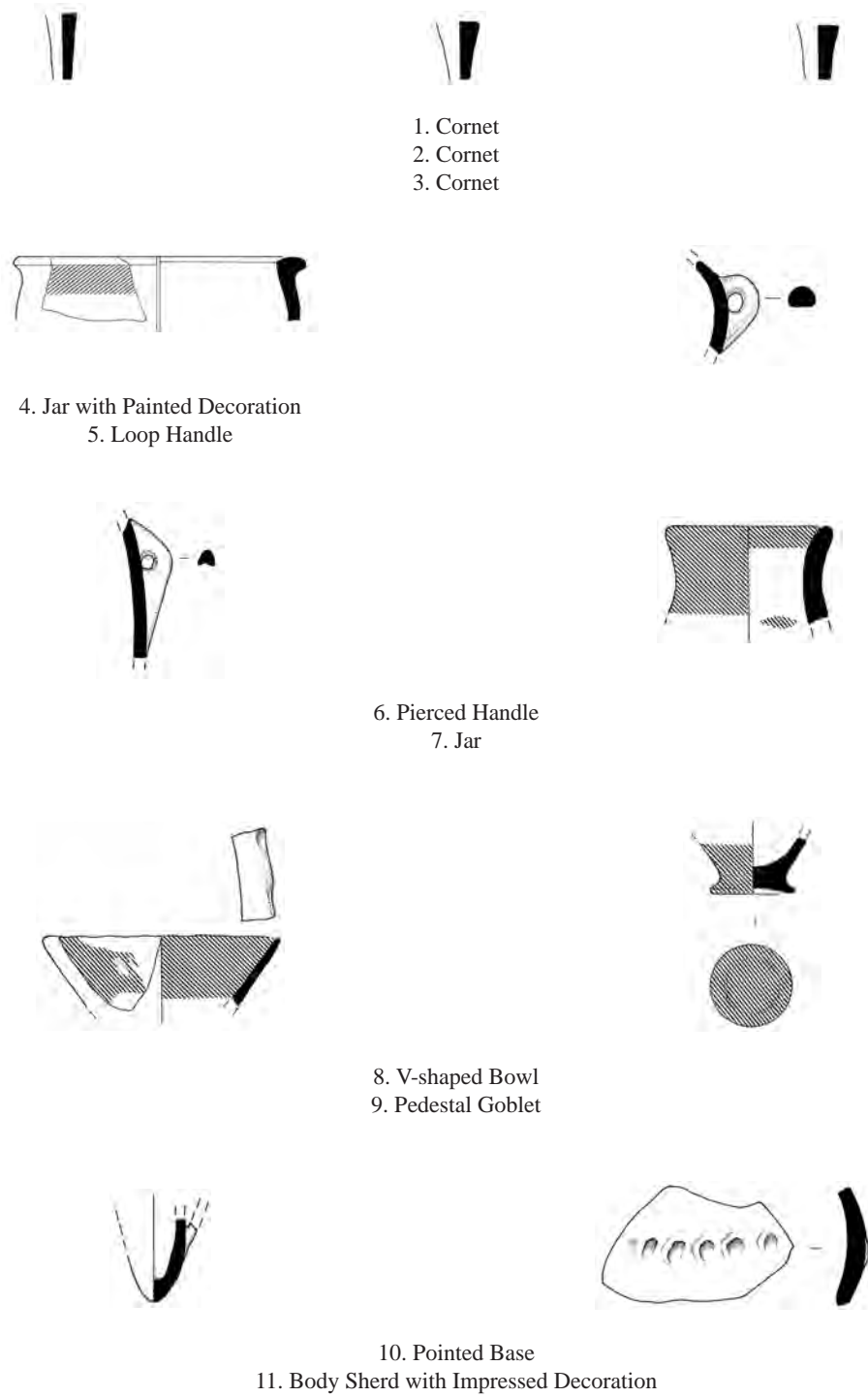


Figure 5.55: Chalcolithic Pottery from Site 195 (scale 1:5)

196. 11-10/91-2 11905 10160 16905 60160  
 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)  
 Remains of a rectangular structure: segments of a fine tiled mosaic floor (white color, 4 m<sup>2</sup> exposed), ornamented with a cross (red tesserae). Nearby, three cisterns, partly blocked. Dense scatter of pottery sherds (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>).  
 Pottery: Byzantine.
197. 11-10/91-3 11960 10170 16960 60170  
 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)  
 Ancient remains on small *hamra* hill (c. 800 m<sup>2</sup>). In the center, segments of structural foundations and scatter of rough white tesserae (4 x 4 cm). Four bell-shaped cisterns, three N of the structure and one S of it (diameter 2.5–3 m). Nearby, a rectangular structure (c. 3 x 4 m) built of sun-dried mudbricks bonded with mud, dated to the Late Ottoman or Mandatory period.  
 Pottery: Byzantine and Modern.
198. 11-10/91-4 11970 10120 16970 60120  
 Nahal Ruhama (Wadi Abu Rashid)  
 Scatter of flint implements (c. 200 m<sup>2</sup>) on N slope of *kurkar* hill.  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.
199. 11-10/00-1 11050 10090 16050 60090  
 Nahal Mefalsim (Wadi Lisin)  
 Findspot on N bank of Nahal Mefalsim. Round clay tablet (diameter 10 cm.), with incised inscription in ancient Hebrew letters.  
 Pottery: Iron II.  
 David Keidar (pers. comm.); Department of Antiquities registration no. R4675.
200. 11-10/50-1 11570 10060 16570 60060  
 Nahal Hoga (Wadi Abd el Aziz)  
 Settlement remains (c. 1 dunam) on loessic plain, close to N bank of Nahal Hoga. Scatter of pebbles, fieldstones, burnt animal bones, flint implements, and pottery sherds.  
 Lithic finds and pottery: Chalcolithic.
201. 11-10/70-1 11735 10080 16735 60080  
 Nahal Hoga (Wadi Abu Ali)  
 Ruined structure (c. 5 x 5 m) W of Wadi Abu Ali, a tributary of Nahal Dorot (Wadi el Majnuna). Built of sun-dried mudbricks (preserved 1.2–1.3 m high).  
 Pottery: Late Ottoman and Mandatory.
202. 11-10/70-2 11750 10070 16750 60070  
 Nahal Hoga (Wadi Abu Ali)  
 Ancient remains (c. 400 m<sup>2</sup>) on W bank of Wadi Abu Ali, a tributary of Nahal Dorot. Light scatter of pebbles, fieldstones, flint implements, and pottery sherds.  
 Lithic finds and pottery: Chalcolithic.
203. 11-10/70-3 11780 10020 16780 60020  
 Wadi Abu Ali  
 Two dwellings (4 x 4 and 5 x 5 m) on moderate slope descending to N toward Wadi Abu Ali, a tributary of Nahal Dorot. Built of sun-dried bricks. Walls preserved 1.2–1.5 m.  
 Pottery: Late Ottoman and Mandatory.
204. 11-10/70-4 11740 10010 16740 60010  
 Wadi Abu Ali  
 Ruined structure (c. 3 x 4 m) on slope descending to E toward Wadi Abu Ali, a tributary of Nahal Dorot. Built of sun-dried mudbricks bonded with mud (preserved 2 m high).  
 Pottery: Late Ottoman and Mandatory.
205. 11-10/80-1 11840 10050 16840 60050  
 Nahal Dorot (Wadi el Majnuna)  
 Light scatter of flint implements (c. 300 m<sup>2</sup>) on NW slope of *hamra* hill (+ 130 m).  
 Lithic finds: Lower Paleolithic.

206. 11-10/90-1 11990 10095 16990 60095

H. Herev

Kh. el Haj Harb (M)

Settlement remains (c. 10 dunams) on *kurkar* hill (+ 180 m). Structural foundations, two cisterns (one bell-shaped, the second rectangular with a vaulted roof). In an artificial section created by the widening of an adjacent road, a coarse tiled mosaic floor (10 m length). Nearby, remains of a curved wall and segments of a fine tiled mosaic floor. Scatter of pottery sherds.

Pottery: Byzantine, Early Islamic, Medieval, and Ottoman.

207. 11-10/90-2 11980 10030 16980 60030

H. Buta

Kh. Umm Buteih (M)

Bell-shaped cistern (2 m diameter) built of small cemented stones. This is the NW edge of a sizeable ancient settlement located some 400 m to the SE. Also a ruined structure (c. 4 x 5 m) built of fieldstones and mudbricks.

Pottery: Byzantine and Modern.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY- DRAFT, NOT FORMATTED

- Abel, Félix-Marie  
1938 *Géographie de la Palestine*. Vol. 2. Paris: Gabalda.
- Abu-Khalaf, Marwan F.  
1983 Khan Yunus and the Khans of Palestine. *Levant* 15: 178-186.
- Aharoni, Yohanan  
1979 *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. 2d ed. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Aja, Adam J.  
2009 *Philistine Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age I*. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.
- al-Dabbāgh, M. M.  
1975 *Biladuna Filastin: 2.9 Fī Bait al Maqdis [Arabic]*. Beirut: Dār at-Ṭalī'a.
- al-Din, Mujir  
1876 *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Abraham jusqu'à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle de J.-C.: Fragments de la Chronique de Moudjir-ed-Dyn*. Translated by H. Sauvaire. Paris: E. LeRoux.
- Allen, Mitchell J.  
1997 *Contested Peripheries: Philistia in the Neo-Assyrian World-System*. Ph.D. thesis, University of California.  
2008 *Regional Archaeological Survey*. In *Ashkelon I: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, by L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 21-65. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- Al-Maqdisi  
1886 *Description of Syria, including Palestine*. tr. G. Le Strange. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.
- 1906 *Ahsan al-taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-al-Aqalim*, ed. M. de Goeje. Leiden: Brill
- Amiran, David H.K.  
1953 The Pattern of Settlement in Palestine. *IEJ* 3:65-78, 192-209, 250-60.
- Antl-Weiser, Walpurga  
2007 *Die Studien des Oberleutnants Josef Bayer in Palästina in den Jahren 1917 und 1918*. Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien 136/137:145-71.
- Al-Swarieh, Noufan  
2008 Gaza during the first half of the tenth century/the first half of the sixteenth century (A.D.)-its political administration, demography and system of taxation. *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology* 2(3): 117-82.
- 2009 Economic life of Gaza in the first half of the tenth century/sixteenth century. *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology* 3(3): 33-74.
- Avissar, Miriam, and Edna J. Stern  
2005 *Pottery of the Crusader, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Periods in Israel*. IAA Reports 26. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Avi-Yonah, M.  
1940 *Map of Roman Palestine*. 2d ed. London: Oxford University Press.
- Avi-Yonah, Yohanan et al.  
1993 *Macmillan Bible Atlas*. New York: Macmillan.
- Avshalom-Gorni, D.  
2008 A Complex Winepress from Mishmar Ha-'Emeq: Evidence for the Peak in the Development of the Wine Industry in Eretz Israel in Antiquity. *'Atiqot* 58:49-66 (Hebrew; English summary, pp. 65\*-67\*).
- Bailey, Donald M.  
1999 Sebach, Sherds and Survey. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 85:211-18.
- Baker, Jill L.  
2006 The Funeral Kit: A Newly Defined Canaanite Mortuary Practice Based on the Middle and Late Bronze Age Tomb Complex at Ashkelon. *Levant* 38: 1-31.  
2010 Form and Function of Mortuary Architecture: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Tomb Complex at Ashkelon. *Levant* 42: 5-16.
- Barako, Tristan J.  
2008 Amphoras through the Ages. *Ashkelon* 1:429-62.
- Barel, Amir  
1999 Ashqelon, Afridar. [Hebrew] *HA* 110:120.
- Bar-Yosef, Ofer  
1970a Prehistoric Sites near Ashdod, Israel. *PEQ* 102:52-64.  
1970b Gisements épipaléolithiques près de Ashdod – Israël. *Bulletin de la Société royale belge d'anthropologie et de préhistoire* 81:5-27.
- Barzilay, Eldad  
2004 Geological and Geomorphological Setting of the EB Site at Afridar. *'Atiqot* 45:331-35.
- Baumgarten, Ya'aqov  
1996 Tel Ashdod. *HA-ESI* 110: 66\*  
1999 Giv'ati Junction [in Hebrew]. *HA-ESI* 19:115.

- 2000 An Excavation at Ashkelon, Afridar - Area J 'Atiqot: English Series 45: 161-84
- 2004 An Excavation at Ashqelon, Afridar – Area J. 'Atiqot 45:161-84.
- 2006 Ashqelon. HA-ESI 118.  
[[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=374&mag\\_id=111](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=374&mag_id=111)  
(6.7.2006)]
- Baumgarten, Ya'aqov, Amir Gorzalczany, and Alexander Onn
- 2008 Petura. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 5, supplemental volume, ed. E. Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta.
- Bayer, Josef
- 1919 Der Kulturverlauf in Steinzeitalter: nach den Ergebnissen der prähistorischer Forschungen im Orient. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 51:163-79.
- Ben-Shlomo, David
- 2003 The Iron Age Sequence of Tel Ashdod: A Rejoinder to 'Ashdod Revisited' *TA* 30: 83-107.
- 2006 *Decorated Philistine Pottery: An Archaeological and Archaeometric Study*. BARIS 1541. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Berman, Ariel, and Leticia Barda
- 2005 Map of Nizzanim-West (87), map of Nizzanim-East (88). Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Berman, Ariel, Leticia Barda, and Harley Stark
- 2005 Map of Ashdod (84). Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Berman, Ariel, Harley Stark, Leticia Barda, and Lori Lender.
- 2004 Map of Ziqim (91). Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Bintliff, John, and Anthony Snodgrass
- 1988 Off-Site Pottery Distributions: A Regional and Interregional Perspective. *Current Anthropology* 29:506-13.
- Biran, Avraham
- 1993 Zippor, Tel. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 4, ed. E. Stern, 1526-27. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Biran, Avraham, and Ora Negbi
- 1966 The Stratigraphical Sequence of Tel Şippor. *IEJ* 16:160-73.
- Bird, J. H.
- 1973 Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports. *Geography* 58: 105–118.
- Birney, Kate and Ely Levine
- 2011 Balance Weights. *Ashkelon* 3:473-492.
- Bosworth, C.E.
- 1995 Sabīl. In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol 8, eds. C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, and G. Lecomte, 679-683. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Brand, E.
- 2001 Agricultural Device in Ashkelon Coast. [Hebrew] Pp. 203-11 in *Ashkelon: A City on the Seashore*. ed. A. Sasson, Z. Safrai, and N. Sagiv. Ashkelon: Ashkelon Academic College.
- Brandl, Baruch
- 1992 Evidence for Egyptian Colonization of the Southern Coastal Plain and Lowlands of Canaan during the Early Bronze I Period. In *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th–3rd millennium B.C.: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Cairo, 21–24 October 1990*, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies, ed. E.C.M. van den Brink, 441-76. Tel Aviv: van den Brink.
- Brandl, Baruch, and Ram Gophna
- 1993 Ashqelon, Afridar. *ESI* 12:89.
- Braslavi, Joseph
- 1956 Do You Know The Land? Vol. 2, *The Land of the Negev* [in Hebrew]. 6th ed. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hame'uhad.
- Braun, Eliot, and Ram Gophna
- 2004 Excavations at Ashqelon, Afridar – Area G. 'Atiqot 45:185-241.
- Bronson, B.
- 1977 Exchange at the Upstream and Downstream Ends: Notes toward a Functional Model of the Coastal State in Southeast Asia. *Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia* 13:39-52.
- Bull, Ian D., Phillip B. Betancourt, and Richard P. Evershed
- 2001 An Organic Geochemical Investigation of the Practice of Manuring at a Minoan Site on Pseira Island, Crete. *Geoarchaeology* 16:223-242.
- Bulliet, Richard W.
- 1979 Conversion to Islam in the medieval period: an essay in quantitative history. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bunce, Michael
- 1982 *Rural Settlement in an Urban World*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Burghardt, A. F.



- 1971 A Hypothesis about Gateway Cities. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61:269–285.
- Burgoyne, M. and D. S. Richards  
1987 *Mamlūk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*. Buckhurst Hill: Scorpion.
- Burke, Aaron A.  
2007 *Magdalūma, Migdālīm, Magdoloī, and Majādīl: The Historical Geography and Archaeology of the Magdalu (Migdāl)*. *BASOR* 346:29–57.  
2008 “Walled up to Heaven”: The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortifications Strategies in the Levant. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Canaan, Tawfiq  
1927 *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*. London: Luzac & Co.
- Carmi, I., et al.  
2008 Dating Ancient Water Wells Using Radiocarbon and Ceramics. *Ashkelon* 1:127–130.
- Cherry, John F.  
1983 Frogs around the Pond: Perspectives on Current Archaeological Survey Projects in the Mediterranean Region. In *Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Area*, ed. D.R. Keller and D.W. Rupp, 375–416. *BAR International Series* 155. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Chisholm, Michael  
1968 *Rural Settlement and Land Use: An Essay in Location*. London: Hutchinson.
- Christaller, Walter  
1933 *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmäßigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen*. Jena: Gustav Fischer.  
1966 *Central Places in Southern Germany*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Clermont-Ganneau, Charles  
1884 *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie: Entreprise en 1881 : Cinquième Rapport*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.  
1887 *Notes d'épigraphie et d'histoire arabes*. *Journal Asiatique* (8ème serie) 9:485–491.  
1896 *Archaeological Researches in Palestine During the Years 1873-1874*. Vol. II. Translated by J. Macfarlane. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.  
1897 *Sur quelques localités de Palestine mentionnées dans la Vie de Pierre l'Ibère*. In *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. 2, 1–22. Paris: Émile Bouillon.
- Cohen, Meir  
1993 *Between the Besor and Shiqma: Settlement Distribution in Selected Periods* [in Hebrew]. Jerusalem [no publisher].  
2010 *The Climate* [in Hebrew]. In Sderot: Nof-adam ba-Merhav, ed. A. Sasson, 17–24. Jerusalem: Makom.
- Cohen, Susan  
2002 *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections: the Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Collier, Peter, and Rob Inkpen  
2001 *Mapping Palestine and Mesopotamia in the First World War*. *The Cartographic Journal* 38:143–54.
- Conder, Claude R.  
1877 *The Moslem Mukams*. *PEFQst*, 89–103.  
1890 *Norman Palestine*. *PEFQS* 22:29–37.
- Conder, Claude R., and Horatio H. Kitchener  
1881–1883 *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology*. Vols. 1–3. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Cross, Frank Moore, and Lawrence E. Stager  
2006 *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions Found in Ashkelon*. *IEJ* 56:129–59.
- Dagan, Yehuda  
n.d. *Archaeological Survey of Israel*. Available at [http://www.antiquities.org.il/article\\_Item\\_eng.asp?sec\\_id=33&subj\\_id=75#MMMas](http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_Item_eng.asp?sec_id=33&subj_id=75#MMMas) [last accessed May 8, 2011].  
1992 *Map of Lakhish* (98). Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Dalman, Gustaf H.  
1903 *Epigraphisches und Pseudepigraphisches*. *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins* 9:17–32.
- Dauphin, Claude M.  
1998 *La Palestine Byzantine: Peuplement et Populations*. *BAR International Series* 726. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- de Hamme, Liévin  
1887 *Guide-indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre-Sainte*. 3d ed. Jerusalem: Imprimerie des P.P. Franciscains.
- Dever, William G.

- 1987 The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era. *Biblical Archaeologist* 50: 148–177.
- Dimashqi, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Abi Talib  
1866 *Nukhbat al-Dahr Fi Adja'ib al-Barr Wa al-Bahr*. Cosmographie de Chems-Ed-Din  
Abou Abdullah Muhammad El-Dimichqui, ed. M. A. F. Mehren. St. Petersburg:  
l'Académie Impériale des sciences.
- Di Segni, Leah  
2008 A Greek Inscription from Tel Ashdod: A Revised Reading. *'Atiqot* 58:31-6.
- Dorsey, David.  
1991 *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dothan, Moshe  
1971 Ashdod. Vols. 2–3, The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations, 1963, 1965, Soundings in 1967. «*Atiqot English Series* 9–10. Jerusalem: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.  
1993 Ashdod. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 1, ed. E. Stern, 93-102. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and Carta.
- Dothan, Moshe, and David Ben-Shlomo  
2005 Ashdod. Vol. 6, The Excavations of Areas H and K (1968–1969). *IAA Reports* 24. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Dothan, Moshe, and David Noel Freedman, eds.  
1967 Ashdod. Vol. 1, The First Season of Excavations, 1962. «*Atiqot English Series* 7. Jerusalem: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.
- Dothan, Moshe, and Yehoshuah. Porath  
1982 Ashdod. Vol. 4, Excavation of Area M: The Fortifications of the Lower City. «*Atiqot English Series* 15. Jerusalem: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.  
1993 Ashdod V: Excavation of Area G; the Fourth-Sixth Seasons of Excavations 1968-1970. *'Atiqot* 23. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Dussaud, René  
1912 *Les Monuments Palestiniens et Judaïques: Moab, Judée, Philistie, Samarie, Galilée*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Ein Gedy, Miki  
2002 Ashkelon, El-Jura. *HA-ESI* 114:110.
- El'ad, A.  
1982 The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle Ages. Pp. 146-67 in *The Jerusalem Cathedral*. Vol. 2 Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi.
- Elitzur, Y.  
2004 *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land: Preservation and History*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press (Hebrew).
- Elitzur Y., and C. Ben-David  
2007 Deir in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic and Toponyms of the "Deir-X" Type. *Cathedra* 123: 13-38
- Etkes, Haggay  
2012 The Impact of Employment in Israel on the Palestinian Labor Force. *Peace Economics, Peace Science, and Public Policy* 18(2): 1-36.
- Eusebius  
1870 *Eusebii onomasticon urbium et locorum sacrae scriptureae*, ed. P. Lagarde. Gottingae: A. Rente  
1904 *Eusebius. Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, ed. E. Klostermann. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- Fabian, Peter, Pirhiya Nahshoni, and Miki Ein Gedy  
1995 Ashqelon, Hammama. *ESI* 14:110–111.
- Fargo, V.M.  
1979 Settlement in Southern Palestine during Early Bronze III. Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.
- Finkelstein, Israel  
1994 The Archaeology of the Days of Manasseh. Pp. 169-187 in *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King*. Edited by M. Coogan, J. Exum, and L. Stager. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.  
1996a The Philistine Countryside. *IEJ* 46:225-42.  
1996b The Territorial-Political System of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 28: 221–255. Faust, Avraham, and Ehud Weiss
- Finkelstein, Israel, and Lily Singer-Avitz  
2001 Ashdod Revisited. *TA* 28:231–59.  
2004 'Ashdod Revisited'-Maintained. *TA* 31:122-135.
- Fischer, Moshe, Itamar Taxel, and David Amit  
2008 Rural Settlement in the Vicinity of Yavneh in the Byzantine Period: A Religio-Archaeological Perspective *BASOR* 350: 7-35.
- Garfinkel, Yosef  
1999 Ashqelon, Afridar. *HA* 110:71-72.
- Garfinkel, Yosef, and Doron Dag  
2008 Neolithic Ashkelon. *Qedem* 47. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- Garstang, John  
1921a The Fund's Excavation of Askalon. *PEFQS* 12-16.

- 1921b The Excavation of Askalon, 1920-1921. PEFQS 73-75.
- 1922 The Excavations at Askalon. PEFQS 112-19.
- 1924 Askalon. PEFQS 24-35.
- Gatt, Georg  
1884 Verzeichniss der bewohnten Ortschaften der Kaimakāmīje Gaza. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, 7:293-298.
- Gavish, Dov  
2005 A Survey of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920-1948. Trans. J. Shadur. Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Gazit, Dan  
1996 Map of Urim (125). Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Gershuny, Lilly  
1996 Migdal Ashqelon. ESI 15:131-2.  
1997 Ashqelon, Migdal North. ESI 16:141.  
1999 Ashqelon, Giv'at Ziyon. ESI 19:108.
- Gibson, Shimon  
1995 Landscape Archaeology and Ancient Agricultural Field Systems in Palestine. Ph.D. thesis, University College, London.
- Gibson, Shimon, F. Vitto and L. Di Segni  
1998 An Unknown Church with Inscriptions from the Byzantine Period at Khirbet Makkûs near Julis. *Liber Annus* 48: 315-34.
- Gitin, Seymour  
1995 Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Seventh Century B.C.E.: The Impact of Economic Innovation and Foreign Cultural Influences on a Neo-Assyrian Vassal City-State. In *Recent Excavations in Israel: A View to the West*, ed. S. Gitin, 95-109. Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers 1. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.  
2003 The Philistines: Neighbors of the Canaanites, Phoenicians and Israelites. In *100 Years of American Archaeology in the Middle East: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Centennial Celebration*. Washington, D.C., April 2000, ed. D. R. Clark and V. H. Matthews, 57-85. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Gitin, Seymour, and Trude Dothan  
1987 The Rise and Fall of Ekron of the Philistines. *BA* 50:197-222.
- Gohna and Feig  
1993 A Byzantine Monastery at Kh. Jemameh. 'Atiqot 22:98-108.
- Golani, Amir  
1996 A Persian Period Cist Tomb on the Ashqelon Coast. 'Atiqot 30:115-119.
- 1997 Ashqelon, Hajar 'Id. ESI 16: 122.
- 2004 Salvage Excavations at the Early Bronze Age Site of Ashqelon – Area E. 'Atiqot 45:9-62.
- 2005a Ashqelon, Barnea' B-C. HA-ESI 117. [[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=134&mag\\_id=110](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=134&mag_id=110) (3.28.2005)]
- 2005b Ashqelon, Ha-Tayyasim St. HA-ESI 117. [[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=282&mag\\_id=110](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=282&mag_id=110) (12.29.2005)]
- 2007 Ashqelon, Barnea' B-C. HA-ESI 119 (11.6.2007). [[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=533&mag\\_id=112](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=533&mag_id=112) (6.11.2007)]
- 2008 The Early Bronze Site of Ashqelon, Afridar – Area M. 'Atiqot 60:19-51.
- Golani, Amir and Ianir Milevsky  
1999 Ashqelon, Afridar (A). ESI 19: 82\*.
- Goodenough, Erwin Ramsdell  
1953 Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period. Vol. 1. New York: Pantheon.
- Gophna, Ram  
1963 "H?s?rim" Settlements in the Northern Negev [in Hebrew]. *Yediot* 27:173-80.
- 1964 Beer Ze'elim, an Iron Age Site. [Hebrew] *HA* 11: 24.
- 1965 Beit Jurja [in Hebrew]. *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 14:14
- 1966 Iron Age I Haserim in Southern Philistia [in Hebrew]. 'Atiqot 3 [Hebrew series]:44-51.
- 1970 Some Iron Age II Sites in Southern Philistia [in Hebrew with English summary]. 'Atiqot [Hebrew series] 6:25-30.
- 1977 Fortified Settlements from the Early Bronze and Middle Bronze II at Tel Poran [in Hebrew]. *Eretz-Israel* 13:87-90.
- 1981 The Boundary Between Judah and the Kingdoms of Gaza and Ashkelon in the Light of the Archaeological Survey in Nahal Shiqma [in Hebrew]. *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies: Held at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 7-14 August 1977*. Vol. 2, *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. Y. Gutman, 49-52. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.
- 1990 The Early Bronze I settlement at 'En Besor Oasis. *Israel Exploration Journal* 40:1-11.
- 1992a A Faience Statuette from 'En Besor. *Eretz-Israel* 23:45-47.

- 1992b Early Bronze Age Fortification Wall and Middle Bronze Age Rampart at Tel Poran. *Tel Aviv* 19:267-273.
- 1992c The Contacts between 'En Besor Oasis, Southern Canaan, and Egypt during the late Predynastic and the Threshold of the First Dynasty: A Further Assessment. In *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th–3rd millennium B.C.: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Cairo, 21–24 October 1990, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies*, ed. E.C.M. van den Brink, 385–394. Tel Aviv: van den Brink.
- 2002a Afridar 1968: Soundings in an EB I Occupation of the "Erani C Horizon". In *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines*, ed. S. Ahituv and E.D. Oren. 129-37 Be'er Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press.
- 2002b Elusive Anchorage Points Along the Israel Littoral and the Egyptian-Canaanite Maritime Route During the Early Bronze Age I. In *Egypt and the Levant: Interrelations from the 4th Through the Early 3rd Millennium B.C.E.*, ed. E.C.M. Van den Brink and T.E. Levy, 418-21. London: Leicester University Press.
- 2004 Excavations at Ashqelon, Afridar – Introduction. 'Atiqot 45:1-8.
- Gophna, Ram and Dan Gazit  
1985 The First Dynasty Egyptian residency at 'En Besor. *Tel Aviv* 12:9–16.
- Gophna, Ram, and Dov Meron  
1963 Survey of the south to the southern edge of Nahal Shiqma. [Hebrew] *HA* 7:22.
- 1970 An Iron Age Tomb between Ashdod and Ashkelon [in Hebrew]. 'Atiqot 6:1-5 [English summary: 1\*].
- Gophna, Ram, and Nili Lipschitz  
1996 The Ashkelon Trough Settlements in the Early Bronze Age I: New Evidence of Maritime Trade. *Tel Aviv* 23:143-53.
- Goren, Haim  
2002 Sacred, but Not Surveyed: Nineteenth-Century Surveys of Palestine. *Imago Mundi* 54:87-110.
- Green, John D.M.  
2009 Archaeology and Politics in the Holy Land: The Life and Career of P.L.O. Guy. *PEQ* 141:167-87.
- Grossman, David  
1992 Rural Process-Pattern Relationships: Nomadization, Sedentarization, and Settlement Fixation. New York: Praeger.
- 2010 The Arab Settlement in the Region before the Establishment of the State [in Hebrew]. In *Sderot: Nof-adam ba-Merhav*, ed. A. Sasson, 71-84. Jerusalem: Makom.
- Gudovitch S.  
2006. Remains of a Monastery at the Foot of Tel Ashdod. 'Atiqot 51:1\*-2\* (Hebrew; English summary, p. 233).
- Guérin, Victor  
1857 Description des ruines d'Ascalon. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (4th series) 13:81-95.
- 1869a Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine. Judée. Tome Deuxième. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.
- 1869b Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine I: Judée II. Paris: impériale
- Guy, P.L.O.  
1937 British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. *PEQ* 69: 19-30.
- 1938 British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Report for the Season 1936-7. *PEQ* 70: 11-17.
- Hachlili, Rachel  
2001 The Menorah, The Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum. Origin, Form and Significance. Leiden: Brill.
- Haiman, Mordechai  
2010 Giv'ati Junction. HA-ESI 122 (17.1.2010) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1321&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1321&mag_id=117)
- 2011 Ashqelon. HA-ESI 123 (12.7.2011). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1721&mag\\_id=118](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1721&mag_id=118)
- Haimi, Yoram  
2007 Ashqelon, el-Qabu. HA-ESI 119 (24.12.2007) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=677&mag\\_id=112](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=677&mag_id=112)
- 2008 Ashqelon, Barne'a HA-ESI 120 (23.11.2008) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=953&mag\\_id=114](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=953&mag_id=114)
- 2008 Mavqi'im HA-ESI 120 (2.4.2008) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=751&mag\\_id=114](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=751&mag_id=114)
- 2009 Ashqelon. HA-ESI 121 (12.1.2009). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1016&mag\\_id=115](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1016&mag_id=115)
- Hall, S.  
1985 Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Hartmann, Martin  
1883 Die Ortschaftenliste des Liwa Jerusalem in dem türkischen Staatskalender für Syrien auf das Jahr

- 1288 der Flucht (1871). *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 6: 102-152.
- 1910 Die Strasse von Damaskus nach Kairo. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 64: 665-702.
- Haselgrove, Colin  
1986 Central Places in British Iron Age Studies: A Review and Some Problems. In *Central Places, Archaeology, and History*, ed. E. Grant, 3-12. Sheffield: University of Sheffield Department of Archaeology and Prehistory.
- Hirschfeld, Yizhar  
1990 List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert. In *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, ed. Bottini, G. C. et al, 1-90. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.  
1997 Farms and Villages in Byzantine Palestine. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51: 33-71.  
2004 The Monasteries of Gaza: An Archaeological Review. In *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, ed. B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, 61-88. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, vol. 3. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Hoffman, Tracy  
2003 *Ascalon cArus al-Sham: Domestic Architecture and the Development of a Byzantine-Islamic City*, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago.
- Horowitz, Aharon  
1979 *The Quaternary of Israel*. New York: Academic Press.
- Huehnergard, John, and Wilfred van Soldt  
1999 A Cuneiform Lexical Text from Ashkelon with a Canaanite Column. *Israel Exploration Journal* 49: 184-192.
- Humbert, Jean-Baptiste et al. 2000  
2000 Mukheitim à Jabaliyah, un site Byzantin, Pp. 121-126 in *Gaza Méditerranéenne*. Paris: Editions Errance.
- Huster, Yaakov  
2007 Ashqelon. HA-ESI 119 (14.8.2007) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=570&mag\\_id=112](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=570&mag_id=112)
- Huster, Yaakov and Jeffrey A. Blakely  
In press The Wadi el-Hesi Region in 1256/7: An Interpretation of John of Ibelin's Contract with the Hospital of Saint John. *Crusades* 15.
- Huster, Yaakov, and Ofer Sion  
2006 Late Roman and Byzantine Period Vaulted Tombs in the Southern Coastal Plain [in Hebrew]. *Jerusalem and Eretz-Israel* 3:49-67.
- Hütteroth, Wolf-Dieter, and Kamal Abdulfattah  
1977 *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century*. Erlanger Geographische Arbeiten, Sonderband 5. Erlangen, Germany: Frankischen Geographischen Gesellschaft.
- Ibrāhim, Abd al-Lateef  
1961 *Sutlan Qaytbay Document: Study & Analysis, Madrasa in Jerusalem and Mosque in Gaza*. Pp. 389-434 in *Gaza, the Third Conference for Archaeology in Arab Countries*.
- İnalçik, Halil  
1991 *Ottoman Galata (1453-1553)* [in Turkish]. In *Varia Turcica*, vol 13, ed. E. Eldem, 17-137. Istanbul: Editions ISIS.
- İspirli, Mehmed, and Muhammad Dawud al-Tamimi  
1982 *The Muslim Pious Foundations and Real Estates in Palestine* [in Arabic]. Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture.
- Israel, Yigal  
1993 Ashqelon [in Hebrew]. *Ḥadashot Arkheologiyot* 100:88.  
1995a Ashkelon. *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 13:100-105.  
1995b The Economy of the Gaza-Ashkelon Region in the Byzantine Period in the Light of the Archaeological Survey and Excavations of the '3rd Mile Estate' near Ashqelon [in Hebrew]. *Michmanim* 8:119-32 [English summary 16\*-17\*].  
2006 *Black Gaza Ware from the Ottoman Period*. Ph.D. diss. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Be'er Sheva (Hebrew)
- Israeli, Shoshana  
1997 Ashkelon, Afridar (B). [Hebrew] *HA* 107: 120-2.
- Issar, Arie  
1968 Geology of the Central Coastal Plain of Israel. *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 17:16-29.
- Issar, Arie S., and Mattanyah Zohar  
2007 *Climate Change: Environment and History of the Near East*. Berlin: Springer.
- Jasmin, Michaël  
2006 The Political Organization of the City-States in Southwestern Palestine in the Late Bronze Age IIB (13th Century bc). Pp. 161-191 in "I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times": Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday, eds. A. M. Maeir and P. de Miroschedji.
- Johnson, Barbara L.  
2008 *Ashkelon 2: Imported Pottery of the Roman and Late Roman Periods*. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.

- Johnson, Barbara L., and Lawrence E. Stager  
1995 Ashkelon: Wine Emporium of the Holy Land. In *Recent Excavations in Israel: A View to the West*, ed. S. Gitin, 95–109. Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers 1. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- Johnson, Gregory A.  
1987 The Changing Organization of Uruk Administration on the Susiana Plain. In *The Archaeology of Western Iran: Settlement and Society from Prehistory to the Islamic Conquest*, ed. F. Hole, 107-139. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Karmon, Yehuda  
1960 An Analysis of Jacotin's Map of Palestine. *Israel Exploration Journal*, 10: 155-173+244-253.
- Katz, Ofer  
2012 Horbat Lasan. HA-ESI 124 (17.12.2012). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=2130&mag\\_id=119](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2130&mag_id=119)
- Kempinski, Aharon, and Isaac Gilead  
1991 New Excavations at Tel Erani: A Preliminary Report of the 1985-1988 Seasons. *Tel Aviv* 18:164-91.
- Ketter, Raz  
Pots and Politics: Material Remains of Late Iron Age Judah in Relation to its Political Borders, *BASOR* 314: 19-54.
- Khalaily, Hamoudi  
2004 An Early Bronze Age Site at Ashqelon, Afridar – Area F. *'Atiqot* 45:121-59.
- Khalaily, Hamudi and Z. Wallach  
1998 Ashqelon, Ha-Tayysim Street ESI 18: 100-101.
- Khalidi, Walid  
1992 All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Khalilieh, H.S.  
1999 The Ribāt System and its Role in Coastal Navigation, *JESHO* 42: 212-25.
- Kiepert, Heinrich  
1841 Memoir on the Maps Accompanying This Work. In *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, vol. 3, by E. Robinson, First Appendix, 29-55. Boston: Crocker & Brewster.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A.  
1993 *Ramesseide Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*, vol. 1. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Kogan-Zehavi, Elena  
1997 Ashqelon. ESI 16: 123-6  
1999a. Late Roman–Byzantine Remains at Ashqelon. *'Atiqot* 38:113\*–126\* (Hebrew; English summary, pp. 230–231).  
1999b. A Painted Tomb of the Roman Period at Migdal Ashqelon. *'Atiqot* 37:181–209 (Hebrew; English summary, pp. 179\*–181\*).
- 2006 Ashqelon, el-Jura. HA-ESI 118 (8.2.2006). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=391&mag\\_id=111](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=391&mag_id=111)
- 2007 Ashqelon, the Barzilay Hospital. HA-ESI 119 (28.6.2007). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=547&mag\\_id=112](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=547&mag_id=112)
- Kohl, Heinrich and Carl Watzinger  
1916 *Antike Synagogen in Galilea*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung.
- Kol-Ya'akov S. and Farhi Y  
2012. Ashqelon (al-Nabi Hussein): Evidence for the Burial of Jews, Christians and Pagans in a Late Roman-Period Burial Ground. *'Atiqot* 70: 87-111.
- Kol-Ya'aqov, Shlomo and Yoab Shor  
1999 Ashqelon, Nabi Husein. [Hebrew] HA 110:94.
- Koucky, Frank L.  
2008 Early Maps and Records. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, by L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 17-20. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- Lamdan, Mordechai, Daniel Ziffer, Jacob Huster, and Avraham Ronen  
1977 A Prehistoric Archaeological Survey in Nahal Shiqma [in Hebrew]. Sha'ar Hanegev: Regional Council of Sha'ar Hanegev.
- Lass, Egon 2008 The Survey of Wells, Pp. 107-126 in *Ashkelon 1*
- Leibner, Uzi  
2009 Settlement and History in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Galilee. *Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism* 127. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Le Strange, Guy  
1890 *Palestine Under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500*. London: Alexander P. Watt.
- Levin, Noam, Ruth Kark, and Emir Galilee

- 2009 Maps and the Settlement of Southern Palestine, 1799-1948: An Historical/GIS Analysis. *Journal of Historical Geography* 30:1-21.
- Levy, Thomas E.  
1995 Cult, Metallurgy and Rank Societies – Chalcolithic Period (ca. 4500–3500 BCE). Pp. 226–244 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy. London and Washington: Leicester University Press.
- Levy, Yossi  
2005 The Necropolis of the Middle Bronze IIA-B Period from the Area of the Rishon LeZion Sands. In *Yavneh, Yavneh-Yam, and Their Neighborhood: Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Judean Coastal Plain*, ed. M. Fischer, 59-68. Tel Aviv: Eretz and Tel Aviv University.  
2008 Rishon Le-Ziyyon: The Middle Bronze Age II Cemetery. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land 5, Supplementary Volume*, ed. E. Stern, 2018-20. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta.
- Litt, T., C. Ohlwi, F. H. Neumann, A. Hense, and M. Stein  
2012 Holocene Climate Variability in the Levant from the Dead Sea Pollen Record. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 49: 95–105.
- Luckenbill, Daniel David  
1924 *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Masarwa, Y  
2006 From a Word of God to Archaeological Monuments: A Historical-Archaeological Study of the Umayyad Ribāts of Palestine. Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.
- Martin, Mario A. S.  
2008 Egyptian at Ashkelon? An Assemblage of Egyptian and Egyptian-Style Pottery. *Ägypten und Levante* 18: 245–274.  
2011 Egyptian-Type Pottery in the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant. *Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean XXIX*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Master, Daniel  
2009 The Renewal of Trade at Iron 1 Ashkelon Eretz Israel 29: \*111-122
- Mayer, L.A.  
1934 Satura Epigraphica. *Arabica* III, QDAP 3:24-5.
- Mayer, Leo A. and Jacob Pinkerfield  
1950 *Some Principle Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel*. Jerusalem: Government Printer.
- Mayerson, Philip  
1993 The Use of Ascalon Wine in the Medical Writers of the Fourth to the Seventh Centuries. *Israel Exploration Journal* 43: 169173.
- Mazar, Amihai  
1985 Excavations at Tell Qasile II: The Philistine Sanctuary: Various Finds, the Pottery, Conclusions, Appendixes. Qedem 20. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- Meri, Josef W.  
2002 *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meron, Dov  
1969 Benaya. HA 16:28-29 [Hebrew]  
1975 Bror Hayil, Tomb [in Hebrew]. HA 56:37.  
1976 Ashkelon - A Church from the Byzantine period [in Hebrew] HA 59-60.  
1983 Ashkelon ESI 2:6
- Meron, Dov, and Yosef Ginat  
1963 Hurvat Hoga, a Tomb from the Sixth-Seventh Centuries C.E. [in Hebrew]. HA 7:21.
- Meyer, Martin A.  
1907 *History of the City of Gaza: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Michaeli, Talila  
1990 The Pictorial Program of the Tomb near Kibbutz Orha-Ner (in Hebrew with English summary). Thesis submitted for the M.A. Degree. Tel Aviv University.  
2001 Painted Tombs in Ascalon. Pp. 175-202 in *Ashkelon, A City on the Seashore*, ed. A. Sasson, Z. Safrai, and N. Sagiv. Ashkelon: Ashkelon Academic College. [Hebrew]
- Milevski, Ianir, and Yaakov Baumgarten  
2008 Between Lachish and Tel Erani: Horvat Ptora, a new Late Prehistoric site in the Southern Levant. In *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East: Madrid, April 3-8, 2006, volume 3*, ed. J.M. Córdoba et al., 609-26. Madrid: Ediciones Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Milevski, Ianir and Alexander Krokhmalnik  
2010 Ashqelon, Barne'a B-C HA-ESI (10.5.2010) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1395&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1395&mag_id=117)
- Mills, Eric  
1932 *Census of Palestine 1931: Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas*. Jerusalem: Greek Convent and Goldberg Presses.

Moorey, P.R.S.

- 1987 On tracking cultural transfers in prehistory: the case of Egypt and lower Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium BC'. In *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, ed. M.Rowlands, M.Larsen and K.Kristiansen, 36–46. *New Directions in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Musil, Alois.

- 1907a (Arabia Petraea II, Edom, part 1)  
1907b (Arabia Petraea II, Edom, part 2)  
1907c Karte von Arabia Petraea . Wien: Hoelder.  
1908 (Arabia Petraea III)

Na'aman, Nadav

- 1979 The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Egyptian Border, *TA* 6 (1979), 68-90.  
1995. The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reform in the Light of Historical and Archaeological Research. *ZAW* 107:105-117.  
1998 Two Notes on the History of Ashkelon and Ekron in the Late Eighth-Seventh Century B.C.E. *TA* 25:219-227.

Nahshoni, Pirhiya

- 1998 Ashqelon *ESI* 18: 172 [Hebrew].  
1999 Ashqelon, Migdal (North). *ESI* 19:81\*–82\*.  
2001 Ashqelon, Khirbet Khasa HA-ESI 113: 109\*-110\*  
2009a Ashqelon. HA-ESI 121 (16.2.2009).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1041&mag\\_id=115](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1041&mag_id=115)  
2009b Ashqelon, Industrial Zone (North). HA-ESI 121 (26.11.2009).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1262&mag\\_id=115](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1262&mag_id=115)

Nahshoni, Pirhiya, and Yossi Nagar

- 2002 Khirbet Lasan. HA-ESI 114:118\*

Natsheh, Yusuf

- 2000 Architectural Survey. In *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917. Part II*, ed. S. Auld and R. Hillenbrand, 657-1085. London: Altajir World of Islam Trust.

Negbi, Ora

- 1966 A Deposit of Terracottas and Statuettes from Tel Sippor. 'Atiqot (English series) 6. Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities and Museums.

Netser, Michael

- 1994 The Climatic Changes During the Holocene Stage and their Effect on the Formation of the Landscape in Gush-Dan (Israel) and on the Human Settlement in this Region [in Hebrew]. Ph.D. thesis, Bar-Ilan University.

Neumann, F. H., E. J. Kagan, S. A. G. Leroy, and U. Baruch

- 2010 Vegetation History and Climate Fluctuations on a Transect along the Dead Sea West Shore and their Impact on Past Societies over the Last 3500 Years. *Journal of Arid Environments* 74: 756–64.

Nikolsky, Vlada

- 2010 Ard el Mihjar HA-ESI 122 (5.9.2010).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1452&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1452&mag_id=117)

Nir, Dov and Bar-Yosef, Ofer

1976. Quaternary Environment and Man in Israel. (in Hebrew). The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel and The Israel Exploration Society.

Noy (Yizraeli), Tamar

- 1967 A Lower Paleolithic Site at Holon. *IEJ* 17:144-5.  
1976 Ziqim. *IEJ* 26:49.  
1977 The Neolithic Sites in the western coastal Plain. *EI* 13:18-33 (Hebrew English Summary \*290-\*291).  
1993 Ziqim. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 4, ed. E. Stern, 1527-28. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and Carta.

Noy, Tamar, and Ariel Berman

- 1974 Prehistoric Site Near Ashkelon. *IEJ* 24:132.

Oppenheim, A.L.

- 1969 Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Text, Pp. 265-317 in ANET.

Oren, Eliezer D. and Yuval Yekutieli

- 1992 Taur Ikhenieh—Earliest Evidence for Egyptian Interconnections. In *The Nile Delta in Transition: 4th–3rd millennium B.C.: Proceedings of the Seminar held in Cairo, 21–24 October 1990*, at the Netherlands Institute of Archaeology and Arabic Studies, ed. E.C.M. van den Brink, 361–384. Tel Aviv: van den Brink.

Ory, J

- 1939 A Painted Tomb near Ashcalon. *QDAP* 8:38-44.

Ovadiah, A. and C. Gomez de Silva

- 1981 Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land. *Levant* 13: 200-62.  
1982 Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land. *Levant* 14: 122-70.  
1984 Supplementum to the Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land. *Levant* 16: 129-65.

Palmer, Edward H.

- 1881 *The Survey of Western Palestine: Arabic and English Name Lists*. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.

Paoli, Sebastiano



- 1733 Codice Diplomatico del Sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano Oggi di Malta, raccolto da vari documenti di quell' archivio, per servire alla storia dello stesso ordine in Soria e illustrato con una serie cronologica de' gran maestri, che lo governarono in quei tempi, con alcune notizie storiche, genealogiche, geografiche, ed altre osservazioni. Lucca: For Salvatore and Giandomenico Marescandoli.
- Paran, Nir-Shimson  
2007 Ashkelon. HA-ESI 119 (12.12.2007)  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=628&mag\\_id=112](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=628&mag_id=112)
- 2009 Giv'ati Junction HA-ESI 121 (1.9.2009).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1204&mag\\_id=115](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1204&mag_id=115)
- Patrich, Joseph  
1988 The Glass Vessels, in Excavations at Rehovot-in-the-Negev: The Northern Church ed. Tsafirir Yoram, 134-149. Jerusalem : The Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988.
- Peretz, Ilan  
2008 Khirbat el-Hannuna HA-ESI 120. (20.7.2008).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=829&mag\\_id=114](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=829&mag_id=114)
- 2011 Khirbat Lasan: Final Report. HA-ESI 123 (17/4/2011).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1662&mag\\_id=118](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1662&mag_id=118)
- Perrot, Jean  
1955 Ashkelon. Israel Exploration Journal 5:270-1.
- Perrot, Jean and Avi Gopher  
1996 A Late Neolithic Site near Ashkelon. Israel Exploration Journal 46: 145-166.
- Petersen, Andrew  
1994 Ottoman Terracotta Vaulting Tubes. Orient Express 3: 89-91.
- 2001 A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2005 The Towns of Palestine under Muslim Rule: AD 600-1600. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Petrie, W.M. Flinders  
1891 Tell el Hesi (Lachish). London: Alexander P. Watt.
- Phythian-Adams, William J.  
1921 Askalon Reports: Stratigraphical Sections. PEFQS:163-69.
- 1923 Report on the Stratification of Askalon. PEFQS:60-84.
- Piphano, S.  
1990 Ashdod Sea in Byzantine Period Israel [in Hebrew]. Ashdod: Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel.
- Porat, Yosef  
1976 Hurvat Hoga [in Hebrew]. HA 59-60:41-42.
- Porat, Joseph and Dov Meron  
1977 Carmiyeh. HA 51-2: 36 [Hebrew].
- Porter, Josias L.  
1858 A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine. Part I. London: John Murray.
- Posener, Georges  
1940 Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Post, George E.  
1891 Essays on the Sects and Nationalities of Syria and Palestine. PEFQS:99-147.
- Prawer, Yehoshua  
1951 Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 29: 1063-1118.
- 1956 Ascalon and the Ascalon Strip in Crusader Politics [in Hebrew]. EI 4:231-48.
- 1958 The City and Duchy of Ascalon in the Crusader Period [in Hebrew]. EI 5:224-37.
- Press, Michael D.  
2007 Philistine Figurines and Figurines in Philistia in the Iron Age. Ph.D. diss., Harvard University.
- Pye, Kenneth, and Haim Tsoar  
2009 Aeolian Sand and Sand Dunes. Berlin: Springer.
- Raban, Avner  
1991 The Philistines in the Western Jezreel Valley. BASOR 284:17-27.
- Raban, Avner and Tur-Caspa, Y.  
2008 Underwater Survey, 1985-1987. Pp. 67-96 in Ashkelon 1.
- Renfrew, Colin  
1975 Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication. In Ancient Civilization and Trade, ed. J.A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, 3-59. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Rey, Emmanuel-Guillaume  
1862 Etude historique et topographique de la tribu de Juda, Paris: A. Bertrand.
- 1871 Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

- 1883 *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII<sup>me</sup> et XIII<sup>me</sup> siècles*. Paris: A. Picard.
- Richardson, Robert  
1822 *Travels Along the Mediterranean and Parts Adjacent; in Company with the Earl of Belmore, During the Years 1816-17-18: Extending as far as the Second Cataract of the Nile*. Jerusalem, Damascus, Balbec, &c. &c. London: Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand; and W. Blackwood, Edinburgh.
- Robinson, Edward  
1841 *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*. 3 vols. Boston: Crocker & Brewster.
- Robinson, Edward, and Eli Smith  
1841 *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*. Boston: Crocker & Brewster.
- Röhricht, Reinhold  
1893. *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*  
1887 *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens*. ZDPV 10:195-345.
- Ronen, A., D. Gilead, E. Shachnai and A. Saull.  
1972 *Upper Acheulean in the Kissufim Region*. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 116:68-96.
- Rosen, Arlene Miller  
2008 *Site Formation*. Pp. 101-104 in *Ashkelon 1*.
- Rosen-Ayalon, Miriam  
2006 *Islamic Art and Archaeology in Palestine*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast.
- Rust, Alfred  
1936 *Das Askalonien in Palästina*. In *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums vorgeschichtlicher altertümer in Kiel*, ed. G. Schwantes, 12-17. Neumünster: Wacholtz.
- Sasson, Avi  
2002b *Water for the Sojourner: introduction to the history and typology of 'sabils' (water fountains) in the Land of Israel in the late Ottoman period*. Pp. 113-25 in *Cura Aquarum in Israel* ed. C Ohlig, Y. Peleg, T. Tsuk, and Y. Eren. *Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft* 1. Siegburg: DWHG.
- Sasson, Avi, ed.  
2010 *Sderot: Nof-adam ba-Merhav* [in Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Makom.
- Sasson, Avi, and Jacob Huster  
2010 *The Engine Whistle – The Railroad Section from Deir Suneid to Huj in the First World War* [in Hebrew]. In *Sderot: Nof-adam ba-Merhav*, ed. A. Sasson, 95-102. Jerusalem: Makom.
- Schaefer, Jerry  
1979 *The Ecology of Empires: An Archaeological Approach of the Byzantine Communities of the Negev Desert*. Ph.D. diss. University of Arizona.
- Schiffer, Michael B., Alan P. Sullivan, and Timothy C. Klinger  
1978 *The Design of Archaeological Surveys*. *World Archaeology* 10:1-28.
- Schloen, J. David  
2008a *Early Explorations*. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, by L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 143-52. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.  
2008b *British and Israeli Excavations*. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, by L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 153-63. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- Scholz, Johann Martin Augustin  
1822 *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium, die libische Wüste, Susa, Egypten, Palaestina u. Syrien, in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*. Leipzig and Sorau: Bei Friedrich Fleischer.
- Schulman, Alan R.  
1993 *A Ramesside Queen from Ashdod*. In *Ashdod V: Excavation of Area G, The Fourth-Sixth Seasons of Excavations, 1968-1970*, by M. Dothan and Y. Porath, 111-14. 'Atiqot 23. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Schumacher, Gottlieb  
1886 *Researches in Southern Palestine*. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 18.4:171-197.
- Seriy, Gregory  
2010 *Nir'am Junction: Preliminary Report*. HA-ESI 122 (5/10/2010).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=1511&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1511&mag_id=117)
- Forthcoming.  
2012 *Ashqelon, Neve Yam Daled*. HA-ESI 124 (31.12.2012)  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=2164&mag\\_id=119](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=2164&mag_id=119)
- Sethe, Kurt  
1926 *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässcherben des Mittleren Reiches*. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sharon, Moshe

- 1997 *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*. Vol. 1, A. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, 30. Bd. Leiden: Brill.
- 1999 *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*. Vol. 2, B-C. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, 30. Bd. Leiden: Brill.
- 2004 *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*. Vol. 3, D-F. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, 30. Bd. Leiden: Brill.
- 2008 An Arabic Inscription Engraved with Crusader Shields. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, eds. L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 405–426. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- 2007 *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*, Ad-dendum. Handbuch Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 30. Bd. Leiden: Brill.
- 2009 *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*, Vol 4, G. Handbuch Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 30. Bd. Leiden: Brill.
- Forthcoming in *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*.
- Shavit, Alon
- 2003 *Settlement Patterns in Israel's Southern Coastal Plain during the Iron Age II*. Ph.D. Thesis, Tel Aviv University.
- 2008 *Settlement Patterns of Philistine City States*. In *Bene Israel: Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Honour of Israel Finkelstein*, ed. A. Fantalkin and A. Yasur-Landau, 135-64. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Shavit, Alon, and Assaf Yasur-Landau
- 2005 A Bronze and Iron Age Settlement at Netiv Ha-'Asara. In *Salvage Excavation Reports No. 2*, ed. B. Sass and I. Roll, 59-92. Tel Aviv: Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- Sion, Ofer
- 2008 Ashqelon, Barnea. HA-ESI 120 (27.5.2008). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=782&mag\\_id=114](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=782&mag_id=114)
- 2009 Ashqelon, el-Qabu. HA-ESI 121 (2.6.2009) [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1105&mag\\_id=115](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1105&mag_id=115)
- 2012 A Roman-period farmstead at el-Qabu, south of Ashqelon 'Atiqot 711: 1-12. (in Hebrew, English summary p. 111\*).
- Sion, Ofer, Yehudah Rapuano, Lihl Habas and Leah Di Segni
- 2010 Barqa. HA-ESI 122 (5.9.2010). [http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1480&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1480&mag_id=117)
- Smith, K. P. and J. R. Parsons
- 1989 *Regional Archaeological Research in Iceland: Potential and Possibilities*. Pp. 179–202 in *The Anthropology of Iceland*, eds. E. P. Durrenburger and G. Pálsson. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Smith, Monica L.
- 2005 *Networks, Territories, and the Cartography of Ancient States*,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 95(4): 832-49.
- Snodgrass, Anthony M.
- 1987 *An Archaeology of Greece: The Present State and Future Scope of a Discipline*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Socin, Albert
- 1879 *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis von Ortschaften des Pashalik Jerusalem*. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 2: 81-101.
- Stager, Lawrence E.
- 1993 Ashkelon. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Vol. 1, ed. E. Stern, 103-12. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta.
- 1995 *The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185-1050 B.C.E.)*. In *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. T. E. Levy, 332-48. New York: Facts on File.
- 2001 *Port Power in the Early and the Middle Bronze Age: The Organization of Maritime Trade and Hinterland Production*. Pp. 625–638 in *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands in Memory of Douglas L. Esse*, ed. S. R. Wolff. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 59. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2002 *The MB IIA Ceramic Sequence at Tel Ashkelon and Its Implications for the “Port Power” Model of Trade*. In *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant: Proceedings of an International Conference on MB IIA Ceramic Material*, Vienna, 24th–26th of January 2001, ed. M. Bietak, 353–62. CCEM 3. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 2006 *Chariot Fittings from Philistine Ashkelon*. In *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, ed. S. Gitin et al., 169–76. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 2008 Ashkelon. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Vol. 5, ed. E. Stern, 1578–1586. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Carta.

- Stager, Lawrence E., and J. David Schloen  
2008 Introduction: Ashkelon and Its Inhabitants. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, by L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 3-10. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- Stager, Lawrence E., J. David Schloen, Daniel M. Master, Michael D. Press, and Adam J. Aja  
2008 Stratigraphic Overview. In *Ashkelon 1: Introduction and Overview (1985-2006)*, by L.E. Stager, J.D. Schloen, and D.M. Master, 215-323. Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- Stern, Ephraim.  
2001 *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II: the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian periods, 732-332 BCE.* New York: Doubleday.
- Stern, Ephraim, ed.  
1993 *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and Carta.
- Sukenik, E.L.  
1935 *The ancient synagogue of El-Ḥammeh (Ḥammath-by-Gadara): an account of the excavations conducted on behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.* Jerusalem: R. Mass.
- Tadmor, H  
1971 Fragments of an Assyrian Stele of Sargon II, Pp. 192-197 in *Ashdod. Vols. 2-3, The Second and Third Seasons of Excavations, 1963, 1965, Soundings in 1967.* «Atiqot English Series 9-10. Jerusalem: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.
- Talis, Svetlana  
2010 'Ad Halom Interchange HA-ESI 122 (22.2.2010).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1347&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1347&mag_id=117)
- 2011 Ashqelon North, Khirbat Khaur el-Bak. HA-ESI 123 (16.6.2011).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1703&mag\\_id=118](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1703&mag_id=118)
- Talmon, Rafi  
2004 19th Century Travelers on Palestinian Arabic: Western travellers' testimony, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 29: 210- 280.
- Tamari, Shmuel  
1987 *Khân Yûnis - historical-architectural and urbanistic comments (regarding a potential conservation and restoration project)* Pp. 135-44 in *Saggi in onore di Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat.* ed. S. Benedetti and G. M. Mariani. Rome: Multigrafica
- Toueg, Ron  
2009 Ashqelon, Barne'a. HA-ESI 121 (30.12.2009).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.aspx?id=1316&mag\\_id=115](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.aspx?id=1316&mag_id=115)
- 2010 Ashqelon: Final Report. HA-ESI 122 (26.5.2010).  
[http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\\_detail\\_eng.asp?id=1401&mag\\_id=117](http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp?id=1401&mag_id=117)
- Trigger, Bruce G.  
1967 Settlement Archaeology—Its Goals and Promise. *American Antiquity* 32: 149-160.
- Tsafir, Yoram  
1968 A Painted Tomb at Or ha-Ner. *Israel Exploration Journal* Vol. 18, No 3, pp. 170-180
- Tsafir, Yoram, Leah Di Segni, Judith Green, Israel Roll, and Tsvika Tsuk.  
1994 *Tabula Imperii Romani; Judaea-Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods: Maps and Gazetteer.* Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Tsoar, Haim  
2000. *Geomorphology and Paleogeography of Sand Dunes That Have Formed the Kurkar Ridges in the Coastal Plain of Israel.* *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 49:189-96.
- Tzaferis, Vassilios.  
1967 Ashkelon-Barnea IEJ 17:125-6  
2006 A Greek Inscription from Tel Ashdod. 'Atiqot 51:3\*-%\* (Hebrew; English Summary, pp. 233-4).
- Tzaferis, Vassilos and Lawrence E. Stager  
2008 The Church by the Jerusalem Gate in Ashkelon 1, 393-404.
- Van Berchem, Max  
1915 La chaire de la Mosquée d'Hébron et le martyrium de la tête de Husain à Ascalon. In *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G. Weil, 298-310. Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer.
- Van de Velde, C.W.M.  
1858 *Memoir to Accompany the Map of the Holy Land.* Gotha: Justus Perthes.
- Varga, Daniel  
1999 Hurvat Hoga. HA-ESI 110:69\*-70\*.  
2001 Ashkelon. [Hebrew] HA-ESI 113:177.  
2002 Ashqelon, Afridar and Barnea' (B) HA-ESI 114: 108-9. [note, if we end up with a 2002a and 2002b- this is b]  
2003 Ashqelon (B). [Hebrew] HA-ESI 115: 80.  
2005 Tel Ashdod. HA-ESI 117 (19.6.2005)

- http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=200&mag\_id=110  
 2007 Ashqelon, Barne'a. HA-ESI 119 (7.1.2007)  
 http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=462&mag\_id=112  
 Wachmann, S.  
 2008 Underwater Survey, 1996-1997. Pp. 97-100 in Ashkelon 1.  
 2010 Ashqelon, Barne'a (north). HA-ESI 122 (15.3.2010)  
 http://www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report\_detail\_eng.aspx?id=1368&mag\_id=117
- Wallach, Zvi  
 2000 Ashqelon, el-Jura. ESI 20: 120\*-121\*.  
 2003 Ashqelon (A). HA-ESI 115: 77-9
- Warren, Charles  
 1871 The Plain of Philistia. PEFQS 3: 82-96.
- Weinstein, James M.  
 1984 The Significance of Tell Areini for Egyptian-Palestinian Relations at the Beginning of the Bronze Age. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 256: 61-69.
- Weiss, Ehud, and Mordechai E. Kislev  
 2004 Plant Remains as Indicators for Economic Activity: A Case Study from Iron Age Ashkelon. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31:1-13.
- Weiss, Ehud, Mordechai E. Kislev, and Yael Maher-Slasky  
 2008 Plant Remains. In *Ashkelon 3: The Seventh Century B.C.*, by L.E. Stager, D.M. Master, and J.D. Schloen, pp? Winona Lake: Harvard Semitic Museum/Eisenbrauns.
- Wilkinson, Tony J.  
 1982 The Definition of Ancient Manured Zones by Means of Extensive Sherd-Sampling Techniques. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 9:323-33.  
 1989 Extensive Sherd Scatters and Land-Use Intensity: Some Recent Results. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 16:31-46.  
 2003 *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.
- Wilkinson, Toby A. H.  
 1999 *Early Dynastic Egypt*. London: Routledge.
- Yalçinkaya, Sinan  
 2006 The Sanjaq of Gaza in 1548 according to the tahrir defter numbered 265. Ph.D. diss. Fırat Üniversitesi, Elazığ, Turkey. [Turkish].
- Yasur-Landau, Assaf, and Alon Shavit  
 1999 Netiv Ha-'Asara. HA 110: 80\*-81\*.
- Yāqūt Ibn-'Abdallāh ar-Rūmī.  
 1866-73a Mu'djam al-buldān. *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Vol 1. ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig: Brockhaus.  
 1866-73b Mu'djam al-buldān. *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Vol 2. ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig: Brockhaus.  
 1866-73c Mu'djam al-buldān. *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Vol 3. ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig: Brockhaus.  
 1866-73d Mu'djam al-buldān. *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Vol 4. ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Yazbak, Mahmoud.  
 2011 The Muslim Festival of Nabi Rubin in Palestine: From Religious Festival to Summer Resort. *Holy Land Studies* 10(2): 169-98.
- Yeivin, Efrat T., and Yaakov Olami  
 1979 Nizzanim: A Neolithic Site in Nahal Evtah; Excavations of 1968-1970. *Tel Aviv* 6:99-113.  
 1980 Nizzanim - Nahal Evtah: A Site from the Pottery Neolithic Period; Excavations in 1968 - 1970 [in Hebrew]. In *Dedicated to the Memory of Efrat-Tirzah Yeivin; 1930-1975*, ed. S. Yeivin, 9-46. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- Yeivin, Shmuel  
 1961 First Preliminary Report on Excavations at Tel "Gat" (Tel Sheykh Akhmed el-Areyny). Jerusalem: Gat Expedition.
- Yeivin, Shmuel, and Aharon Kempinski  
 1993 'Erani, Tel. In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 2, ed. E. Stern, 417-22. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and Carta.
- Yekutieli, Yuval, and Ram Gophna  
 1994 Excavations at an Early Bronze Age Site near Nizzanim. *Tel Aviv* 21:162-85.
- Yishay, Schuster  
 2000a Horbat Herev. HA-ESI 112: 106\*-107\*.  
 2000b Nir'am Junction. HA-ESI 112: 107\*-108\*.
- Zadok, Ran  
 1995-97 A Preliminary Analysis of Ancient Survivals in Modern Palestinian Toponymy. *Mediterranean Language Review* 9, 93-171.
- Zbenovich, Vladimir G.  
 2004 The Flint Assemblage from Ashkelon, Afridar - Area E. *'Atiqot* 45:63-84.
- Zelin, Alexey  
 2001 Ashqelon, Barnea' HA-ESI 113: 108.  
 2002 Ashkelon, Barnea'. HA-ESI 114:86\*
- Zissu, Boaz

1996 Ziqim. ESI 15: 100-1.

Other Maps and Archives:

Maps

Conder, C. H. and Kitchner, R. E.

1880 Map of Western Palestine in 26 Sheets. London: Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

1931 British Mandate Survey of Palestine, 1:20,000, Topocadastral Series, Jaffa: Survey of Palestine.

1939 Survey of Palestine 1:100,000. London: War Office

Archives

1929 Schedule: Provisional Schedule of Historical Sites and Monuments, ed. E.T. Richmond. Official Palestine Gazette Extraordinary, 15 June 1929.

1933 Schedule: Schedule of Historical Monuments and Historical Sites, additions, ed. R. W. Hamilton. 16 August 1933.

1944 Schedule: Schedule of Historical Monuments and Sites. Supplement No. 2, Palestine Gazette Extraordinary, No. 1375, 24 November 1944.

Yalqut HaPirsumim 1964. Schedule of Monuments and Historical Sites. In Reshumot (Official Gazette of the State of Israel) No. 1091 from 18 May 1964 [in Hebrew with English index of sites]. Jerusalem.

Department of Antiquities Geographical List of the Mandatory Records Files (Jerusalem 1976).

Missing References

Sasson, Avi 2002a pg. 103,