ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

SUPPLEMENT 54

THE LURE OF THE ANTIQUE

Essays on Malta and Mediterranean Archaeology in Honour of Anthony Bonanno

Edited by

Nicholas C. VELLA, Anthony J. FRENDO
and Horatio C.R. VELLA

PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT.
2018

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

RECEPTION OF THE ANTIQUE

SOILS, SNAILS AND STORYTELLING

PREHISTORY

THE CLASSICAL WORLD

'ROME' AT QUMRAN? – WHAT IF? SOME REMARKS ON THE SO-CALLED ROMA JAR FROM QUMRAN CAVE 7Q*

Dennis MIZZI

As a former student of Anthony Bonanno, it is a real pleasure to contribute a paper to this *Festschrift* in his honour. I recall Bonanno's notion that our reconstruction of the past depends on three pillars: archaeology, texts, and epigraphy, all of which feature prominently in his enduring work on Roman Malta. In this paper, I use these three major sources of information to furnish a new possible interpretation of the so-called ROMA jar from Qumran.

Background

Khirbet Qumran is a small but well-known site situated along the north-western shores of the Dead Sea, in the Judaean Desert (**Fig. 1**). The site was originally inhabited in the Iron Age II (eighth–sixth centuries BCE), when it functioned as an Israelite fort.[1] Following the Babylonian invasion of 586 BCE, the site lay in ruins for about five hundred years, until it was re-occupied at the beginning of the first century BCE.[2] The settlement thrived for around one hundred and seventy years and was abandoned in circa 68 CE, in the midst of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome.[3] Subsequently, the site was re-occupied for relatively brief stretches of time in the late first (post-70 CE) and early second centuries CE.[4] The focus of this paper is largely on the occupation phase dating from the beginning of the first century BCE till 68 CE, which will conveniently be referred to as Period I-II, in accordance with the chronological nomenclature current in the field.[5]

* I would like to thank Joan Taylor and Abigail Zammit for their comments on this paper.

[1] See de Vaux 1973, pp. 1–3; Magen and Peleg 2006, pp. 72–79, 101–102, although some of the conclusions in the latter work are questionable.

[2] De Vaux (1973, pp. 3–5), the original excavator of Qumran, posited that the re-occupation of Qumran took place in the late second century BCE. Although some scholars hold on to this early dating of the re-occupation of the site (*e.g.*, Hirschfeld 2004, pp. 59–60, 83, 87; Cargill 2009, pp. 210–212), the majority of scholars have accepted the revised site chronology proposed by Jodi Magness (2002, pp. 47–72), who has argued that the published evidence indicates that the re-occupation of Qumran could not have taken place prior to the beginning of the first century BCE.

[3] See de Vaux 1973, pp. 5–41; Magness 2002, pp. 50–62. The date of the site's abandonment has also been the subject of some discussion, and a small number of scholars have suggested that Qumran was abandoned between 68 and 73 CE (*e.g.*, Meshorer 2003–2006, pp. 21–22; Lönnqvist and Lönnqvist 2006, p. 143); however, very few scholars support this view. See Popović (2011) for the most recent discussion on the site's abandonment and destruction.

[4] See de Vaux 1973, pp. 41–44; Magness 2002, pp. 62–63; Taylor 2006.

[5] Periods I and II represent the two main phases of occupation identified by Roland de Vaux, the excavator of the site, for the period between the late second century BCE and 68 CE. However, as hinted in the previous notes, the site's chronology has been the focus of many discussions. Some scholars have identified more phases

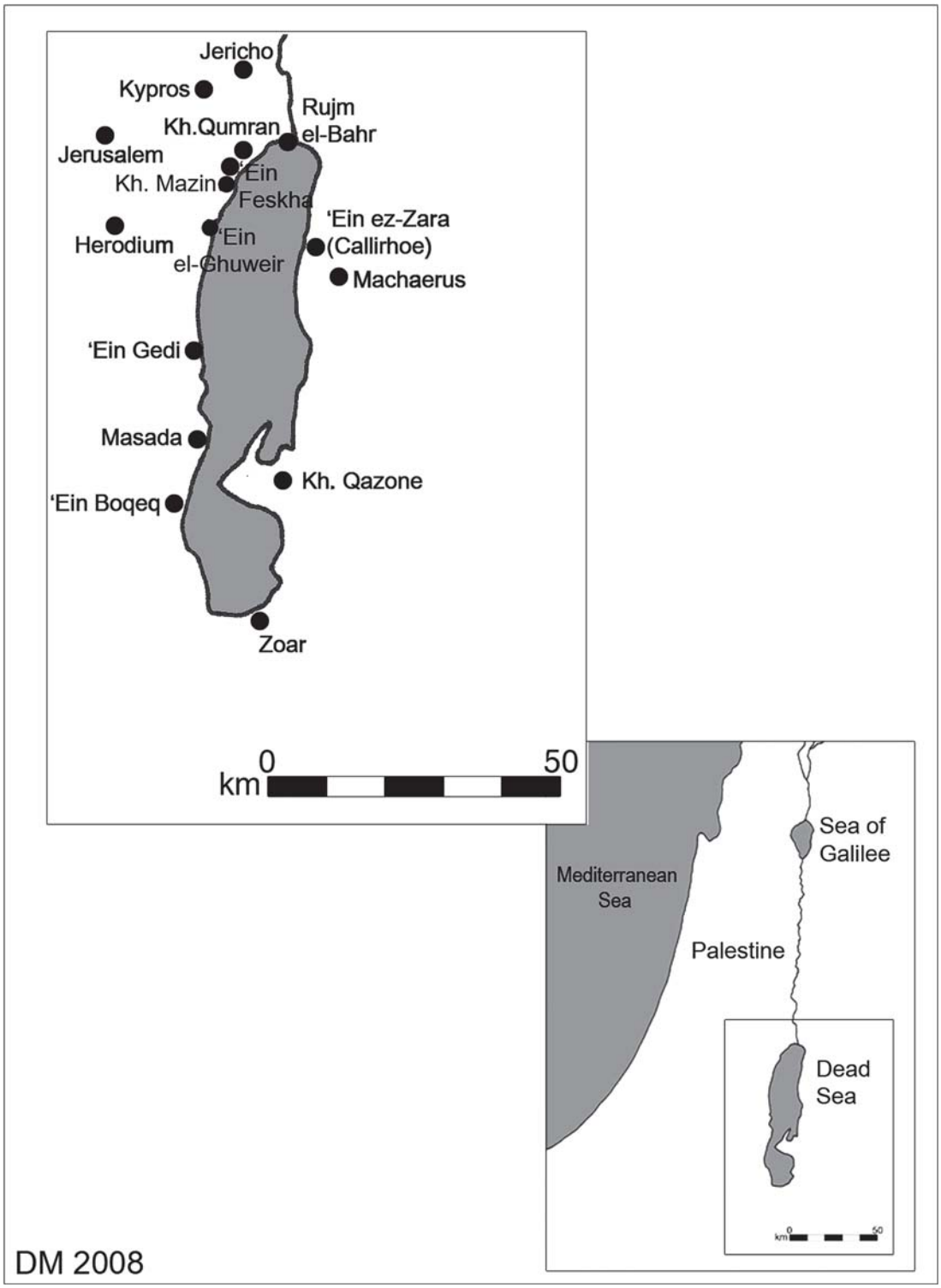
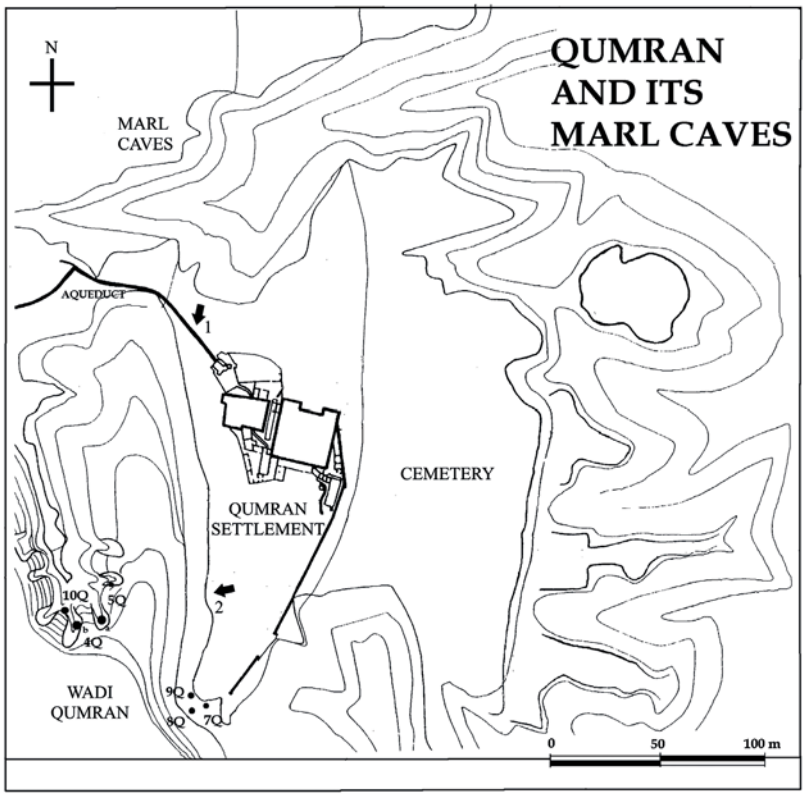


Fig. 1. Map showing various sites (including Qumran) situated around the Dead Sea region, in the Judaean Desert.

1



2

Fig. 2: 1. Plan of Qumran, showing the settlement and the adjacent marl caves, north, west, and south of the buildings [the plan has been adapted from Taylor 2012, fig. 34, which in turn is an adaptation of a plan that appears in Humbert and Chambon 1994; plan is used by courtesy of Joan Taylor]; **2: 2.** (looking south) shows part of the marl outcrop in which Cave 4Q was hewn (bottom right corner) and the natural limestone cliffs that dominate the region (top right corner). The Qumran settlement is located on the marl plateau visible in the bottom left corner of the photograph.

Qumran became renowned worldwide following the discovery of hundreds of Jewish manuscripts — popularly known as the Dead Sea Scrolls — in eleven caves in the environs of the settlement, and, ever since its excavation in the 1950s, it has been the focus of much debate. The majority of scholars assert that the Period I-II inhabitants of the site (henceforth the Qumranites), were closely linked with the sectarian movement depicted in some of the Scrolls, and hence they interpret the site accordingly. In addition, a large number of these scholars also link Qumran and the Scrolls with the Essenes of the classical sources (Josephus, *War* 2.119–161; *Ant.* 18.18–22; Philo, *Quod*. 75–91; *Hypoth.* 11; Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 5.17).[6] In a nutshell, the classic Essene/sectarian hypothesis understands the site of Qumran as a communal centre for a sectarian community, a centre where members wrote, copied, and studied various religious compositions, and led a communal life in prayer, work and other matters, such as in the partaking of ritually pure meals. The hypothesis also holds that the Qumranites were probably a celibate male community who led a somewhat austere life, who stringently practised a ritually pure lifestyle, and who were, to some extent, cut-off from general society. The site displays a number of seemingly peculiar archaeological features which have been regarded, by adherents of this hypothesis, as giving further credence to the sectarian interpretation of Qumran.[7]

While, in a general sense, this remains the best interpretation of the site during its Period I-II phase, it has not gone unchallenged,[8] and there are still numerous unanswered questions. Accordingly, the Essene/sectarian hypothesis is very much open to further refinement, and our understanding of this group that inhabited Qumran remains in flux. In view of the discussion in the final part of this paper, specific reference should be made to the shifting perspectives regarding Qumran's supposed isolation. Scholars who have challenged the Essene/sectarian interpretation have raised the important point that Qumran was not an isolated settlement. For the most part, adherents of the Essene/sectarian hypothesis have accepted this critique and they have moved on from an understanding of Qumran as an isolated site. Therefore, scholars now acknowledge that Qumran must have been integrated within the regional economy, although it must be stated that Qumran was not situated along any major trade routes.[9] There is plenty of archaeological evidence which highlights

of occupation and introduced new chronological nomenclature of their own. Others have accepted de Vaux's basic chronology, but revised the termini of his phases. Some have also suggested that Qumran was inhabited by different groups of people during the long period covered by de Vaux's Periods I and II. The matter is very complex and it goes well beyond the scope of this paper. In a nutshell, however, a critical examination of the archaeological evidence supports none of these hypotheses. Most probably, during the first centuries BCE and CE (up to 68 CE), Qumran was occupied uninterruptedly by the same group. For this reason, de Vaux's Periods I and II can be amalgamated together as one long phase of occupation, here designated as Period I-II. For a detailed review of these issues, see Mizzi 2015; forthcoming. See also Mizzi and Magness 2016.

[6] *E.g.*, de Vaux 1973; Broshi 1992a; Cross 1995; Magness 2002. See Taylor 2012 for a detailed and systematic analysis of the descriptions of the Essenes in the classical sources.

[7] *E.g.*, de Vaux 1973; Broshi 1992a; Magness 2002.

[8] For works that have challenged the sectarian identification of Qumran, see Donceel and Donceel-Voûte 1994; Donceel-Voûte 1994; Golb 1995; Cansdale 1997; Hirschfeld 2004; Zangenberg 2004; Magen and Peleg 2006; Stacey and Doudna 2013. For works that have proposed a variant of the Essene/sectarian hypothesis, see Humbert 1994; 2003a; 2003b; 2006; Stegemann 1998; Mizzi 2009; Cargill 2009; Taylor 2012. For a brief overview of scholarship on Qumran, see Mizzi 2017.

[9] Broshi 1999; Gibson and Taylor 2008; Taylor and Gibson 2011; *pace* Cansdale 1997; Hirschfeld 2004.

links with the broader economy (*e.g.*, pottery, glass and stone vessels, coins). Even the textual sources — assuming that they can tell us something about the Qumranites[10] — underscore the fact that Essenes and members of the movement behind the Scrolls lived in proximity to and interacted with other people. Some of the Scrolls also show that trade and economic transactions with outsiders were permitted as long as these met the rigid guidelines of the movement.[11] Consequently, the operating framework of this paper is that Qumran was inhabited by a sectarian community which was integrated within the regional (and perhaps wider Mediterranean) economy.

CONTEXT

The site of Qumran has yielded plenty of material remains, including thousands of pottery vessels (with tableware and storage jars being especially prominent in the corpus), a few glass vessels, stone vessels, tools and other metal implements, some personal items, as well as a relatively large number of coins. Pottery was also found in the various caves in the immediate region, and eleven of the caves also yielded manuscripts.[12] A number of inscriptions on pottery, stone vessels, weights, seals, and other artefacts have also been identified, written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, or Latin.[13] These amount to circa 93 inscriptions,[14] dating to different phases of the site's occupation and including four from the site at 'Ein Feshkha, located less than five kilometres to the south of Qumran and with which it might have been connected (**Fig. 1**).[15] The majority of the inscriptions were found within the built settlement or in nearby fills and dumps, whereas others were retrieved from some of the surrounding limestone and marl caves. A few are without provenance, but are presumed to have come from the region of Qumran. On the whole, these inscriptions comprise names of individuals, measures, labels, economic transactions, and abecedaries. A few of them remain undecipherable. The focus of this paper is on a double inscription found on a jar discovered in Cave 7Q.

[10] It is important to point out that, despite the probable connection between the sectarian movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Qumranites, one should not assume that the Scrolls and the classical sources on the Essenes are necessarily windows that shed direct light on life at Qumran.

[11] See further Murphy 2002; Mizzi 2009; Richey 2012; Taylor 2012.

[12] There are two types of cave in the Qumran area: natural limestone caves and artificially hewn marl caves (**Figs 2–3**). The former are situated in the cliffs that dominate the region, whereas the latter are situated in the immediate vicinity of the Qumran settlement, which was built on top of a marl plateau. The presence of cylindrical and ovoid jars – which are virtually unique to Qumran – in both the caves and the settlement establishes a strong connection between the two. Moreover, as far as the marl caves are concerned, their connection with the settlement is demonstrated by the presence of paths leading from the caves to the buildings (see Broshi and Eshel 1999) and by the fact that some of these caves – namely those which were hewn within the same marl plateau on which the settlement was built – could only have been accessed through the buildings. As to the function/s of these caves, this remains a matter of debate.

[13] See Puech 1984; Cross and Eshel 1997; Yardeni 1997a; Lemaire 2003; Doudna 2004; Magen and Peleg 2006, p. 72; Strange 2006, pp. 51, 53.

[14] Hamidović 2009, pp. 465–466.

[15] For the link between Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha, see de Vaux 1973, pp. 59–60, 84; Hirschfeld 2004, pp. 183, 185, 209; Humbert 2006, pp. 24–27; Taylor 2007, p. 256.

This cave was artificially hewn in the southernmost part of the marl plateau on which the Qumran settlement was built, and it was only accessible through the built area and via a hewn staircase in the marl bedrock (**Fig. 4: 1–2**).[16] There is therefore little doubt that Cave 7Q was used by the settlement's inhabitants. The function of the cave itself – just like that of the rest of the caves in the region – is still disputed. The marl caves could have been used as permanent or temporary dwelling quarters, as depositories for manuscripts, as workshops, or as storage areas. Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence from these caves is not sufficient enough to support one interpretation over the others.[17]

Cave 7Q yielded four jars, two bowl-lids, a juglet, two bowls, a goblet, and a lamp,[18] as well as 19 manuscript fragments,[19] all of which are in Greek and written on papyrus.[20] It should be noted that the southern part of Cave 7Q and part of its floor collapsed into the wadi below,[21] which means that a substantial amount of material culture has probably been lost.

On the basis of the pottery, the cave appears to have been used throughout the first centuries BCE and CE. De Vaux records (but does not publish) a goblet that, according to him, is of a type well-attested in early first century BCE contexts.[22] The two bowls,[23] the two bowl-lids, and the juglet can be attributed to both the first century BCE and the first century CE. The lamp (unpublished), described as 'Herodian,' belongs to a common class of lamps that emerged in the late first century BCE and became popular in the first century CE.[24] Two of the published jars[25] belong to the class of broad cylindrical jars with four pierced ledge handles on the shoulder. On the basis of the published evidence, these types probably belong to the late first century BCE and the first century CE.[26]

The object of our study (jar 7Q6) belongs to this same class of jars that are so typical of Qumran, but it differs from the aforementioned two jars in terms of typology. This jar is ovoid in shape (with the broad part being at the top), it has four pierced ledge handles on the shoulder as well as two ridges (**Fig. 5: 1**).[27] Jar 7Q6 is very different than other ovoid jars found in early first century BCE contexts at Qumran and in the Hasmonaean winter palaces at Jericho, and which continue to be attested in late first century BCE and first-early second centuries CE contexts. One of the major differences is that the latter

[16] De Vaux 1962, pp. 27, 30.
[17] See Mizzi (2016) for a detailed exploration of this issue.
[18] See de Vaux 1962, p. 30, figs 6: 5, 8, 11–13.
[19] Tov 2010, p. 65.
[20] In view of the fact that the majority of the Scrolls from Qumran are written in Hebrew and Aramaic, the presence of a small collection of exclusively Greek manuscripts in Cave 7Q has been considered as a significant datum (*e.g.*, Stökl Ben Ezra 2007, p. 323; White Crawford 2012, p. 259; but see Popović 2012, pp. 570–572).
[21] De Vaux 1962, p. 27.
[22] De Vaux 1962, p. 30.
[23] De Vaux 1962, figs 6: 8, 13.
[24] For a general survey of first century BCE–CE pottery, see Loffreda 2000. For important studies dealing with first century BCE–CE pottery in the region of the Dead Sea, see Loffreda 1996; Bar-Nathan 2002; Bar-Nathan 2006b.
[25] De Vaux 1962, fig. 6: 12.
[26] Bar-Nathan 2006a, p. 275; 2006b, pp. 67–72; Magness 2002, pp. 80–81.
[27] See de Vaux 1962, fig. 6: 5.

type of ovoid jars typically carried two ring handles on the shoulder.[28] Three close (but not identical) parallels to jar 7Q6 are jar M-SJ17D from Masada, which was found in contexts dating to the First Jewish Revolt (66–73/4 CE),[29] jar J-SJ18 from the Roman Estate at Jericho, found in contexts dating to the late first-early second centuries CE,[30] and a jar from Qumran Cave 4Q, which probably belongs to the late first century BCE-first century CE.[31]

In view of the above, it appears that jar 7Q6 belongs to a type which developed out of earlier ovoid jars that sported ring handles. It should therefore probably be dated to the first century CE, as its closest parallels suggest. This is corroborated by the fact that numerous fragments from this jar were excavated from Cave 7Q, enough to enable an almost complete reconstruction. This indicates that jar 7Q6 was still in use during the last phase of the cave's occupation – otherwise, only a few residual fragments would have been retrieved.

On the basis of the extant evidence, however, it is difficult to pinpoint (with a high degree of confidence) when the cave was last used. The pottery seems to indicate that Cave 7Q was in use throughout Period I-II, but, in theory, it could also have been used during Period III, which refers to the re-occupation of the site after 68 CE. Furthermore, jar 7Q6 could typologically be dated to the late first-early second centuries CE on the basis of its close parallels. Therefore, a pre-68 CE date may not necessarily be the obvious or only possible chronological attribution for this jar. On the other hand, none of the extant material from Cave 7Q points clearly to a late first century CE date, in contrast with the clear pointers for the cave's use in earlier times. Moreover, the evidence from the other marl caves adjacent to the settlement overwhelmingly indicates that their use did not extend into Period III.[32] For these reasons, it is most probable that Cave 7Q was last intensively used during Period I-II, and therefore jar 7Q6 should probably be assigned to the pre-68 CE part of the first century CE.

THE 'ROMA' INSCRIPTION ON JAR 7Q6

Jar 7Q6 has two identical Hebrew/Aramaic inscriptions painted in black ink on two sides of the jar's shoulder (**Fig. 5: 2–3**). These inscriptions consist of four letters, which read רומא (RWM').[33] All the letters are clear and, thus, the reading is quite certain. The interpretation, however, is another matter.

[28] See also Magness 2002, pp. 80–81; Bar-Nathan 2002, pp. 23–25, pls 1–2; 2006a, p. 275, fig. 15: 7; Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013, pp. 11, 12, pl. 1.18: 689.

[29] Bar-Nathan 2006b, p. 69, fig. 19, pl. 15: 81.

[30] Bar-Nathan and Eisenstadt 2013, pp. 11–12, pl. 1.18: 691.

[31] De Vaux 1977, p. 15, fig. 5: 2. This jar also happens to have a painted Hebrew inscription on its shoulder, consisting of three words.

[32] The only unambiguous evidence for post-68 CE activity in the marl caves comes from Cave 4Q, in which a round lamp, typical of the late first century CE and onwards, was discovered (de Vaux 1977, pp. 17, 20, fig. 6: 10). This is the only clear evidence for a late first century CE presence not only in Cave 4Q but in all the marl caves. The meagre evidence for post-68 CE activity can only indicate a transient visit that was made to Cave 4Q rather than any intensive use of the marl caves.

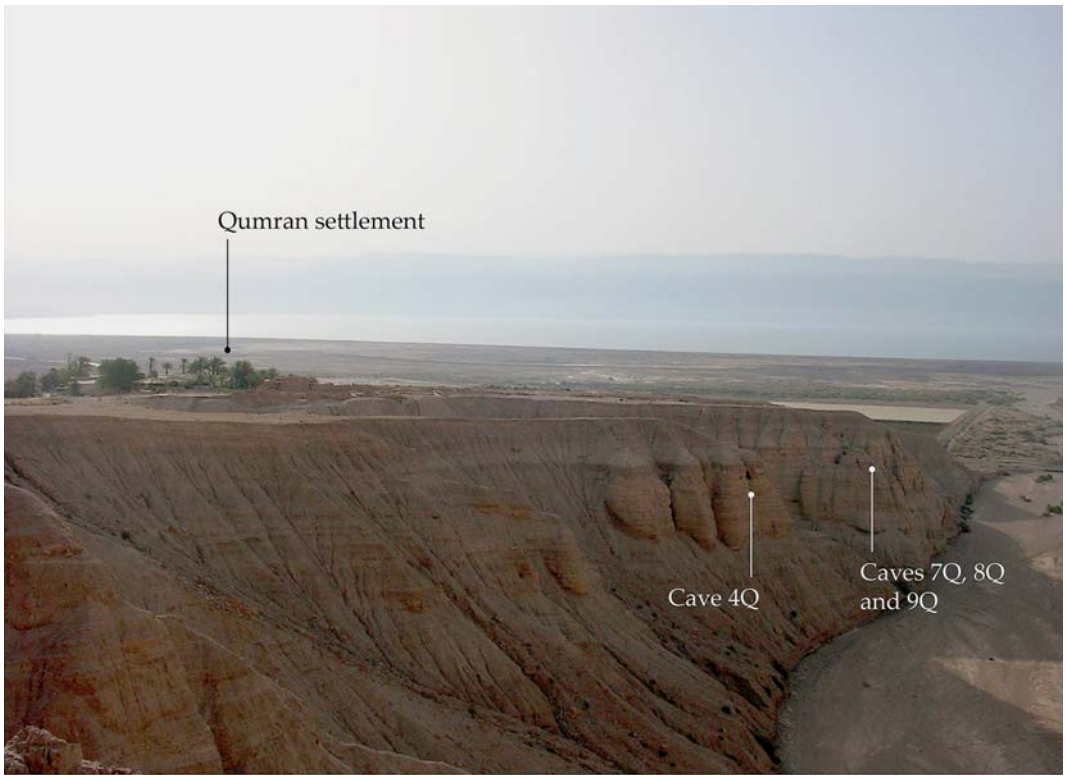
[33] See Lemaire 2003, pp. 375–376.

1

2

Fig. 3: 1. (looking west) shows Cave 4Q; **3:2.** is of a natural cave situated in the limestone cliffs to the north of the built settlement, beyond the limits of the plan.

1



2

Fig. 4: 1. Photographs (looking east) showing the marl plateau on which the Qumran settlement was built and the now collapsed Caves 7Q, 8Q, and 9Q at the southernmost part of the plateau; **4: 2**. Cave 4Q, hewn within a separate marl outcrop further to the west (see plan in **Fig. 2:1**).

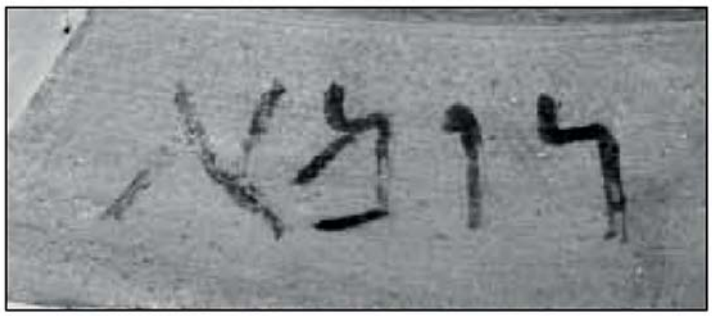
Roland de Vaux, the original excavator of Qumran, suggested that רומא should be understood as a personal name,[34] a view that has also been adopted by André Lemaire and Esther Eshel, among others.[35] The name is unattested in contemporary Jewish contexts in ancient Palestine (*e.g.*, inscriptions and documentary texts),[36] although variants of it occur in some literary texts (see below). However, occurrences of this name (or variants thereof) are particularly common in Nabataean contexts – *cf.* רומא (RWM'), רמא (RM'), רם (RM), and רמאל (RM'L) – and they are also attested in Palmyrene sources – *cf.* רמא (RM') and רומי (RWMY), and רמי (RMY) – and the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine – *cf.* רמי (RMY).[37] In a Palestinian Jewish context, besides the inscriptions from Qumran, forms of this name only appear in literary texts – *cf.* רם (RM) (Ruth 4:19; Job 32:2; 1 Chr 2:25, 27), possibly רמיה (RMYH) (Ezra 10:25) and ראומה/רומה (R'WMH/RWMH) (Gen 22:24),[38] and רומא (RWM') in the Targum of Job (11QtgJob xx, 7) found at Qumran. It has also been proposed that רומא could be a transliteration of the Greek name Ῥούμας (Romas), which is known from Dura-Europos.[39]

An alternative interpretation of the רומא inscription has been proposed by Stephen Pfann. He notes that some inscribed jars from Qumran carry only one letter and that this phenomenon might reflect a system of abbreviations relating to priestly tithes.[40] For example, a jar from Cave 3Q is inscribed with the letter ט (Ṭ),[41] which could stand for טבל (ṬBL, *ṭebel*) – meaning that the jar's contents were not yet subjected to priestly tithing – or for טהור (ṬHWR, *ṭahor*) – meaning that the jar's contents were pure.[42] A similar practice is known from Masada, where the letters ת (T) and ט (Ṭ) marked a number of jars and amphorae. In fact, Yigael Yadin's interpretation of these letters as abbreviations pertaining to priestly tithes – namely תרומה (TRWMH, *terumah*) and טבל (ṬBL, *ṭebel*), respectively[43] – has served as a basis for the interpretation of the examples from Qumran. This interpretation is supported by a passage in the Mishnah (*m. Ma'aser Sheni* 4.11), which refers specifically to the use of abbreviations to designate priestly tithes and offerings.[44] On the

[34] De Vaux 1962, p. 30.
[35] Eshel 1997, pp. 42–43; Lemaire 2003, p. 376.
[36] See Ilan 2002.
[37] De Vaux 1962, p. 30; Eshel 1997, pp. 42–43; Lemaire 2003, p. 376, nn. 115–116.
[38] The reading רומה – whereby the *'aleph* (א) has been assimilated (Weiss 1975, p. 141) – is attested in the Samaritan Pentateuch.
[39] De Vaux 1962, p. 30; Eshel 1997, pp. 42–43.
[40] Pfann 2004, pp. 173–174.
[41] De Vaux 1962, p. 8. Lemaire (2003, p. 376) mistakenly identifies this jar as coming from Cave 8Q; however, the registration date of this jar dates to a time when Cave 8Q had not yet been excavated (I would like to thank Marcello Fidanzio for clarifying this issue to me). The error seems to have arisen because Cave 3Q was also designated as Cave 8, which is different from Cave 8Q. All limestone caves that yielded manuscripts carry two designations, one without the 'Q,' denoting the cave number assigned during the survey of the region, and one with the 'Q,' denoting the order of discovery of the manuscript caves. Thus, for example, Cave 1Q is also designated as Cave 14, and it is different from Cave 1; and Cave 3Q is identical to Cave 8, but not to Cave 8Q.
[42] Lemaire 2003, pp. 376–377.
[43] Yadin and Naveh 1989, pp. 32–33.
[44] Yadin and Naveh 1989, pp. 32–33; Pfann 2004, p. 174.

1

2



3

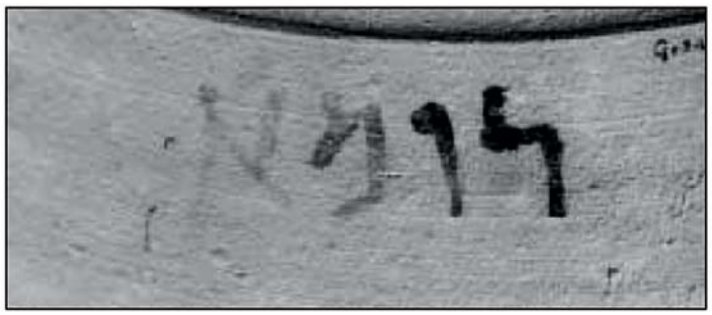


Fig. 5:1. Jar 7Q6, reconstructed. [Photograph by Jean-Baptiste Humbert; courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem]; **5: 2–3**. The two identical inscriptions – reading רומא (RWM') – on jar 7Q6. [photographs of the inscriptions are taken from Lemaire 2003, p. 375; all photographs are used by courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem].

basis of this practice, Pfann suggests that רומא might be an abbreviation of תרומא, a variant of תרומה.[45]

A possible third interpretation of רומא is to consider it as a place name, referring either to a local settlement – *cf.* the existence of an Iron Age town, in the region of Judah, called רומה (RWMH, *i.e.*, Rumah),[46] for example – or, perhaps, to Rome. The latter is a reading that has been embraced by a small number of scholars, most notably Jose O'Callaghan, who believed that the Greek manuscript fragments in Cave 7Q belonged to the New Testament.[47] For him, this inscription provided a further link between Qumran and Rome (*i.e.*, the early church in Rome). O'Callaghan suggested that the double inscription רומא indicates the provenance of the manuscripts or, more specifically, the contents of the jar – namely manuscripts coming from Rome.[48]

Epigraphists and scholars have not embraced this interpretation of the inscription.[49] Indeed, it must be emphasised that there is today universal consensus against the presence of New Testament fragments among the Scrolls. Moreover, the typology of the jar on which the רומא double inscription is found is virtually unique to Qumran. Thus, a Roman provenance is highly improbable. This has been confirmed by INAA analyses, the results of which show that jar 7Q6 was manufactured from regional clay.[50] Nonetheless, 'Rome' as a reading remains plausible, in theory, and it should not be rejected outright simply because it was endorsed by scholars who argued for and linked the jar with the alleged presence of New Testament fragments at Qumran.

It should be noted that, orthographically, רומא could justifiably be read as 'Rome.' In addition, despite Yadin's observation that one-word inscriptions do not typically refer to place names, such inscriptions have since been identified, albeit from earlier chronological contexts.[51] At any rate, one should always leave room for the possibility of idiosyncrasies at any given site. Furthermore, it is perhaps significant that we are dealing with a double inscription, which might add weight to the possibility that רומא is not a personal name. It should be noted that none of the other one-word inscriptions from the Qumran corpus that may be interpreted securely as personal names are double inscriptions. Finally, while the jar's typology and chemical fingerprint rule out a foreign provenance for this jar, they do not exclude the interpretation of the inscription it carries as a place name referring to Rome. The interpretation of the inscription is an independent philological matter, although

[45] Pfann 2004, p. 174, n. 34.

[46] See Elitzur (1994) for the existence of this town, and Lemaire (2003, p. 376) for the possibility of reading רומא as a place name referring to a local settlement.

[47] See O'Callaghan 1974.

[48] O'Callaghan 1974, pp. 22–23. This qualification of the interpretation apparently arose after a conversation that O'Callaghan had with Yadin, who informed him that one-word inscriptions on jars usually refer to personal names or to the jars' contents and not to place names.

[49] *E.g.*, Eshel 1997, pp. 42–43; Lemaire 2003, p. 376; Pfann 2004, p. 174, n. 34.

[50] Gunneweg and Balla 2001, pp. 182–185; 2003, pp. 11, 13; Yellin, Broshi, and Eshel 2001, p. 75. The two studies present different results with regard to the exact provenance of the jar, with one study concluding that it was made from clay local to Qumran (Gunneweg and Balla 2001; 2003) and the other concluding that it was made from Jerusalem clay (Yelling, Broshi, and Eshel 2001). A detailed discussion of the results from these two studies can be found in Yellin 2015.

[51] See Lemaire 2004, pp. 2114, 2121. I would like to thank Abigail Zammit for bringing this reference to my attention.

in this specific case, because we are dealing with a one-word double inscription, its reading remains very much an open one. The fact that the reading רומא is essentially unique at Qumran exacerbates the problem,[52] since we are deprived of any immediate parallels that could potentially shed further light on the meaning of this inscription. Accordingly, I believe that the 'Rome' reading cannot be categorically rejected, and thus it remains a viable option, but one which still needs an explanation that is free from the problems of earlier explanations of 'Rome.' Therefore, it seems justifiable to attempt such an endeavour and, to this end, I propose two possible explanations for רומא as 'Rome.'

Quite simply, the first possibility is that the contents of the jar in question were intended to be exported to Rome, hence the label רומא on two parts of the jar. It seems evident that the Qumranites were involved in the cultivation of palm trees, the processing of dates, and the production of date products.[53] Dates were a lucrative crop, and they appear to have been one of the most important Judaean exports after balsam.[54] Thus, jar 7Q6 might have contained dates which were to be exported to Rome. The problem with this explanation is that no cylindrical or ovoid jars of the type found at Qumran have so far been excavated elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Therefore, I would like to propose a second potential explanation.

It is perhaps possible that the jar's contents were set aside for Rome, as part of the tax contribution. Our knowledge of Roman taxation is very limited, and it is clear that different systems of taxation were implemented in different provinces of the Roman Empire.[55] In general, however, it seems that people from the provinces paid two direct taxes, namely a poll tax (*tributum capitis*) and a land tax (*tributum soli*).[56] The latter appears to have been paid either in kind or in money, depending on the region.[57] Therefore, because of the possibility of payment in kind, the land tax is of particular importance for this second potential explanation for 'Rome' on jar 7Q6.

As far as land taxation in Judaea is concerned, we know, for example, that Julius Caesar imposed a tribute on the soil (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.202–206), which seems to have been paid in kind.[58] Under Herod, it is likewise evident that the system of taxation included land

[52] Although Lemaire (2003, pp. 348–349) tentatively identifies a variant of רומא on KhQ681 – which he reads as רמא[? (?]RM') – he notes that this reading is highly uncertain and "très conjecturale."

[53] There various indicators for the existence of this industry at Qumran. First of all, one should note that the area between Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha would have been perfectly suitable for the cultivation of palm trees (Broshi and Eshel 2006, p. 251). Secondly, large quantities of dates and date pits were excavated in the various dumps around the Qumran settlement (Magen and Peleg 2007, pp. 5, 7, figs 9–10). Thirdly, sealed jars containing date honey have also been found (Magen and Peleg 2007, p. 45, figs 46–47). Fourthly, a date press (L.75) has been identified within the settlement, and various other industrial installations are reminiscent of contemporary installations used to manufacture various date products using traditional methods (Patrich 2006, p. 248). This issue is discussed at length in Mizzi (forthcoming).

[54] See also Broshi and Eshel 2006, p. 251; Taylor 2006, pp. 142–146; Goodman 2007, p. 104. Judaean dates seem to have been quite well renowned in antiquity (*e.g.*, Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 13.6–9).The importance of the date palm for the Judaean economy is also hinted at by the fact that the tree became synonymous with Judaea, as indicated by its use as a symbol for Judaea on both Jewish and Roman coins.

[55] See Duncan-Jones 1990, pp. 187–198; Isaac 1994.

[56] Schürer 1973, pp. 401–404; Rathbone 1996, pp. 312–313; Ando 2006, p. 187.

[57] See, for example, Schürer 1973, pp. 401–402; Duncan-Jones 1990, pp. 187–194; Rathbone 1996, pp. 313–314; Erdkamp 2005, pp. 219–225; Ando 2006, p. 188.

[58] See also Smallwood 1976, pp. 40–41; Duncan-Jones 1990, p. 189; Pastor 1997, p. 84; Erdkamp 2005, p. 220.

taxes in kind (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.303).[59] The evidence for the first century CE – when Judaea transitioned from a client kingdom to a Roman province in 6 CE – is less clear (*e.g.*, Josephus, *Ant.* 18.3–4; *War* 2.118. 403–407; Mark 12:14; Matt 22:17, 19; Luke 20:22),[60] but there is little reason to doubt the continued practice of paying land taxation in kind, even if some scholars have indeed questioned this.[61] It is, of course, entirely possible that the *tributum soli* was paid both in kind and in money – depending on the crop – as in other provinces of the Roman Empire, most notably Egypt.[62] Various documentary texts found at 'Ein Gedi (to the south of Qumran) (**Fig. 1**), dating to the early second century CE, attest to a similar practice in the neighbouring province of Arabia.

Indeed, this archive of texts from 'Ein Gedi is of particular importance as it shows that the practice of land taxation in kind was still in existence in the early second century CE, in

[59] See also Stern 1974a, p. 259; Pastor 1997, pp. 93–94; Rocca 2008, p. 206.

[60] It is not clear whether the census of 6 CE was intended to calculate the poll tax or the land tax or both. Josephus (*Ant.* 18.3–4) says that Quirinius was tasked to value the property (οὐσία, which can also mean "substance, immovables, estates"; see the LSJ entry at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?la=greek> [accessed 10 April 2014]) of the Jews and that, upon the advice of Joazar the High Priest, the Jews registered their property (ἀπετίμων τὰ χρήματα) with the Roman authorities; Josephus also mentions opposition to this taxation, referring to it by the term ἀποτίμησις ("pledging of a property, valuation, tax"; see the LSJ entry at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?la=greek> [accessed 10 April 2014]). In this passage, the method of payment, however, is not hinted at. Elsewhere, Josephus (*War* 2.118) uses the term φόρος with reference to the same census, a term that Josephus typically employs in connection with the tribute that subject peoples paid to a ruling power, and which could have consisted of taxes in kind and money (Mason 2008, pp. 81–82, n. 727). It should be noted, for example, that φόρος is used in *Ant.* 14.202–206 and 15.303, in contexts that clearly refer to the land tax paid in kind. Josephus uses the plural form of the same term (φόρους) with reference to the collection of the arrears of the tributes in the later first century CE (*War* 2.405). In this case, he states that the gathering of the tributes resulted in the collection of forty talents. It is, however, unclear whether φόρους, here, refers to the poll or the land tax. The use of the plural could possibly be indicative of both. Moreover, it is possible that the collection of forty talents signifies the collection of taxation in kind, since τάλαντον can refer either to a weight or to money (see the LSJ entry at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?la=greek> [accessed 10 April 2014]). With reference to this specific passage, Mason states: "I.e., 40 talents' worth: how much of this was in cash and how much in kind is unclear" (Mason 2008, p. 312, n. 2546). Therefore, Josephus does not present a clear-cut picture on the matter of the payment of land taxation in the first century CE.

The evidence of the New Testament is not any clearer. In the episode when Jesus is tested with regard to the legitimacy of paying taxes/tribute to Caesar, Luke 20:22 uses φόρος, whereas the other synoptic gospels (Mark 12:14; Matt 22:17, 19) have κῆνσος. In Matthew's case, it is clear that we are dealing with the payment of taxes in money (*cf.* Matt 22:19, which speaks of the coin of the tribute [νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου]). Moreover, some of the Greek and Syriac manuscripts that preserve Mark 12:14 read δοῦναι ἐπικεφάλαιον καίσαρι, thereby linking this episode more explicitly with the poll (or head) tax. Indeed, various scholars seem to equate κῆνσος in Matthew and Mark with the poll tax (*e.g.*, Harrington 1991, pp. 310–311; Nolland 1993, p. 958; Hagner 1995, p. 636; Donahue and Harrington 2002, p. 344; France 2007, p. 829), although others consider the term as a general reference for direct taxes (*e.g.*, Davies and Allison 1991, p. 744; 2004, p. 214; Evans 2001, p. 246). Therefore, whether φόρος and κῆνσος are used with specific reference to the poll tax or to direct taxes in general remains a bit unclear. Moreover, it is not certain whether the former term is used synonymously with the latter or whether Luke intends something different by it. This means that this evidence cannot be used to make a case for the payment of land taxes in money.

[61] Duncan-Jones (1990, p. 189) suggests that land taxes were paid in money following the census held in Judaea in 6 CE, but he does not support this statement with any evidence. Other scholars, such as Stern (1974b, p. 331) and Smallwood (1976, pp. 150–151), only mention the imposition of the *tributum soli* without specifying whether this was paid in kind or in money. Of course, the reason for this is the lack of any clear evidence in this regard.

[62] See Duncan-Jones 1990, pp. 189, 191–193.

a province that was the geographic neighbour of Judaea.[63] Some of these texts reveal that some Jewish families owned date groves in Maḥoza[64] and that they paid land taxes or rent[65] both in kind and in money (*e.g.*, XḤev/Se 60,[66] XḤev/Se 62,[67] XḤev/Se 64,[68] XḤev/Se 12,[69] P. Yadin 16[70]). Therefore, the probability that, at least, some taxation in kind continued to be levied in Judaea during the first century CE is quite high.

These documentary texts also demonstrate that dates were among the crops that could have been taxed in kind, which is especially important in view of the probability that the Qumranites cultivated date groves. This means that the Qumranites could also have paid their land taxes or rent directly in dates. Therefore, the so-called ROMA jar could have contained dates set aside as taxes or payment in kind.

While it is clear that in the provinces taxes were gathered by local tax collectors,[71] there remains some uncertainty as to where they went, that is, whether taxes fed into the private wealth of the emperor or whether they were directed into the public *aerarium* in Rome or the provincial chests.[72] The problem is exacerbated by divergent interpretations of the term *fiscus*.[73] Nonetheless, scholars in general assume that taxes from the provinces went into the provincial treasuries, which are defined as extensions of the *aerarium* in Rome.[74] Many also point out that "a neat division" cannot be maintained "between 'imperial' and 'senatorial' finances and their control".[75] In other words, the emperor seems to have been very much in control of all state finances, whether these belonged to his private property (from which much money was injected into the running of the state) or to the public treasury.[76]

[63] Admittedly, in view of the inhomogeneous nature of Roman taxation, one must be cautious with using evidence from other provinces and/or from later periods. Nevertheless, there is also no reason to exclude other provinces – especially neighbouring ones – as analogous case studies. See also Isaac 1994.

[64] See, for example, Cotton and Greenfield 1994; 1995.

[65] From the surviving documents, it is very difficult to determine whether the texts speak of private landowners or of tenants who cultivated date groves belonging to the royal or imperial estate. If we are dealing with the latter, however, it is clear that we have a case of hereditary tenancy, that is, a case of leased land that could be sold and left as an inheritance, and which could be cultivated quite freely as long as rent was paid. In this sense, the payment of rent could still be very much considered as a form of taxation akin to the land tax. See the discussion in Cotton 1994; 1997a, pp. 167–168, 221–223; 1997b.

[66] See Cotton 1997a, pp. 166–173. This text consists of a tax or rent receipt on produce, paid in money.

[67] See Cotton 1997a, pp. 181–194. This document records a land declaration submitted during the provincial census of 127 CE. It also includes a statement regarding the amount due in taxes, which were to be paid both in kind and in money.

[68] See Cotton 1997a, pp. 203–223. This is a deed of gift which makes reference to the tax or rent that was to be paid – possibly in kind – on the inherited land.

[69] See Yardeni 1997b, pp. 60–64; Cotton 1997a, pp. 222–223. This document comprises a receipt for tax or rent, paid in kind or in the equivalent value in money.

[70] See Lewis in Lewis, Yadin, and Greenfield 1989, pp. 65–70. This document consists of the registration of land in the census of 127 CE. It also specifies the due taxes or rent on the land, some of which were to be paid in kind and others in money.

[71] Goodman 1987, pp. 33, 34, 44, 115–116, 131–132; Cotton 1997a, p. 168; Isaac 1994, p. 266.

[72] Brunt 1966, p. 83; Mason 2008, pp. 310–311, n. 2537.

[73] *E.g.*, Jones 1950; Millar 1963; Brunt 1966; Rathbone 1996, pp. 319–322.

[74] *E.g.*, Rathbone 1996, p. 320; Mason 2008, pp. 72, n. 676, 310–311, n. 2537.

[75] *E.g.*, Rathbone 1996, p. 320.

[76] *E.g.*, Jones 1950; Brunt 1966; Rathbone 1996, pp. 320–322; Mason 2008, pp. 72, n. 676, 310–311, n. 2537.

Some of the aforementioned documentary texts from 'Ein Gedi mention that payments were due to the *fiscus* of the emperor – εις λογον κυριακου φισκου (XḤev/Se 64 frag. b, line 29) – or to Caesar – κυριῳ καισαρι (XḤev/Se 60 lines 5–6). In light of the above, Hannah Cotton is right to highlight the fact that this does not automatically mean that the land in question belonged to the imperial estates and that tax/rent from such land went directly into the private *fiscus* of the emperor. Rather, such land could still have been privately owned.[77] Cotton argues that in these texts we might have "a case of 'loose terminology': whoever wrote the deed of gift or the receipt was convinced that the monies belonged to the emperor,"[78] even if these might have gone into the public funds rather than directly into his private estate. One could argue that the New Testament (Mark 12:14, 17; Matt 22:17, 21; Luke 20:22, 25; 23:2) reflects a similar scenario, where the people's perception was that the annual taxes – the κῆνσος and the φόρος, which would probably have gone to the provincial *fiscus* – were being paid directly to Caesar.[79] We do not know whether the land between Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha belonged to the imperial *fiscus* or whether it was privately owned. Whatever the case, the label רומא on jar 7Q6 could reflect another case of perception, that is, the understanding might have been that payments in kind belonged to or went to Rome, whether they actually ended up in the public *aerarium* in Rome, or in the imperial *fiscus*, or in the provincial treasury, and regardless of who actually controlled and administered these finances.

Many scholars have highlighted the importance of categorisation at Qumran. For example, Jodi Magness suggests that one of the functions of the peculiar shape of ovoid and cylindrical jars was to indicate that their contents were pure as against the contents of normal bag-shaped jars.[80] Pfann underlines the use of some of these jars as tithe jars.[81] Looking at the Dead Sea Scrolls – again, assuming they can tell us anything concrete about the Qumranites – one can likewise discern a concern with categorisation, with separating the pure from the impure, for example. Therefore, the practice of physically setting aside produce intended as taxation in kind fits quite well with this picture. And in view of the virtual absence of ovoid and cylindrical jars beyond Qumran, it is likely that it is the contents of jar 7Q6 and not the jar itself that would have been transferred to the local tax collectors.

In the unlikely possibility that jar 7Q6 dates to Period III,[82] the aforementioned explanation of the רומא inscription would still stand. Recently, Joan Taylor has argued convincingly that, following the First Jewish Revolt, Qumran was probably occupied by local pro-Roman supporters who continued to exploit the natural/economic resources of this part of

[77] See note 65 above, regarding the difficulty in discerning whether we are dealing with private land or imperial estates in the documentary texts from 'Ein Gedi.

[78] Cotton 1997a, p. 223; 1997b (especially p. 262).

[79] Schürer 1973, p. 372; Cotton 1997a, p. 223.

[80] Magness 2004, pp. 152–153.

[81] Pfann 2004.

[82] Although ovoid and cylindrical jars are characteristic of Period I-II, and despite the fact that jar 7Q6 most likely dates to this period of occupation (as argued above), the possibility that the Period III inhabitants might have found and re-used complete vessels from the previous occupation should not be discounted.

the Judaean Desert on behalf of the Romans.[83] These occupants would also have had to pay the land tax or rent. In this context, it is significant that, according to Pliny the Elder, the balsam (and, presumably, also the date) plantations in Judaea passed into Roman hands following the First Jewish Revolt (*Nat. Hist.* 12.54) and, in his own words, "now this (*i.e.*, the balsam tree) is a servant and renders tribute together with its race (*i.e.*, the Judaeans)" (*servit nunc haec ac tributa pendit cum sua gente*), the implication being that the balsam tree now serves Rome.[84] The interpretation of רומא offered here would, therefore, make equal sense if we were to locate jar 7Q6 within the new political and economic context of Judaea in the late first century CE, where the economic resources of the region would have been heavily exploited by Rome through its local dependants.

CONCLUSION

This paper has highlighted that the 'Rome' reading of the רומא inscription on jar 7Q6 remains a viable option, albeit a highly tentative one (which is very normal as far as one-word inscriptions are concerned). Nonetheless, since 'Rome' is still a possible reading, it requires an explanation. In this paper, I have proposed two possible explanations – with a clear preference for the second – which show that 'Rome,' as a reading, does not necessarily conflict with the traditional interpretation of Qumran and that there are other ways of explaining 'Rome,' without the need to resort to a New Testament connection. Naturally, the proposed explanation would only be applicable *if* 'Rome' proves to be the correct reading.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDO, C.
2006 "The administration of the provinces," in *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World), edited by D. S. Potter, pp. 177–192. Oxford: Blackwell.

BAR-NATHAN, R.
2002 *Hasmonaean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations*. Vol. 3, *The Pottery*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
2006a "Qumran and the Hasmonaean and Herodian winter palaces of Jericho: The implication of the pottery finds on the interpretation of the settlement at Qumran," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 263–277. Leiden: Brill.

[83] Taylor 2006; *pace* de Vaux 1973, pp. 41–44.

[84] The economic importance of the balsam plant for Rome is also hinted at by the tree's exhibition in the victory procession held in Rome following the suppression of the Revolt (*ostendere arborum hanc urbi imperatores vespasiani* [Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 12.54; the reading *arborum* follows that conjectured in the LCL edition]). I would like to thank Joan Taylor for bringing Pliny's reference to my attention. See further Taylor 2006, p. 145.

2006b *Masada VII: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Reports: The Pottery of Masada*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

BAR-NATHAN, R. and EISENSTADT, I.
2013 "The ceramic corpus from the Roman estate at Jericho: Late 1st-early 2nd centuries C.E.," in *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations*. Vol. 5. *The Finds from Jericho and Cypros*, edited by R. Bar-Nathan and J. Gärtner, pp. 3–84. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

BROSHI, M.
1992a "The archaeology of Qumran: A reconsideration," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 10), edited by D. Dimant and U. Rappaport, pp. 103–115. Leiden: Brill.
1992b "Agriculture and economy in Roman Palestine: Seven notes on the Babatha Archive," *Israel Exploration Journal* 42: 230–240.
1999 "Was Qumran at crossroads?," *Revue de Qumran* 19: 273–276.

BROSHI, M. and ESHEL, H.
1999 "Residential caves at Qumran," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6: 328–348.
2006 "Was there agriculture at Qumran?," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 249–252. Leiden: Brill.

BRUNT, P. A.
1966 "The 'Fiscus' and its development," *Journal of Roman Studies* 56: 75–91.

CANSDALE, L.
1997 *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence*. Tübingen: Mohr.

CARGILL, R. R.
2009 *Qumran through (Real) Time: A Virtual Reconstruction of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Bible in Technology 1). Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press.

COTTON, H. M.
1994 "Rent or tax receipt from Maoza," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100: 547–557.
1997a "Greek documentary texts," in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix containing alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 27), by H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, pp. 133–279. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1997b "Land tenure in the documents from the Nabataean Kingdom and the Roman Province of Arabia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 119: 255–265.

COTTON, H. M. and GREENFIELD, J. C.
1994 "Babatha's property and the law of succession in the Babatha Archive," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104: 211–224.
1995 "Babatha's 'Patria': Maḥoza, Maḥoz, 'Eglatain and Ẓo'ar," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 107: 126–134.

CROSS, F. M.
1995 *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

CROSS, F. M. and ESHEL, E.
1997 "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumrân," *Israel Exploration Journal* 47: 17–28.

DAVIES, W. D. and ALLISON JR., D. C.
1991 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*. Vol. 2. *Commentary on Matthew VIII–XVIII* (International Critical Commentary). Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
2004 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew*. Vol. 3, *Commentary on Matthew XIX–XXVIII* (International Critical Commentary). London: T. and T. Clark.

DONCEEL, R. and DONCEEL-VOÛTE, P.
1994 "The archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, edited by M. O. Wise *et al.*, pp. 1–38. New York: The New York Academy of Sciences.
DONCEEL-VOÛTE, P.
1994 "Les ruines de Qumran réinterprétées," *Archeologia* 298: 24–35.
DONAHUE S.J., J. R. and HARRINGTON S.J., D. J.
2008 *The Gospel of Mark* (Sacra Pagina Series 2). Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press.
DOUDNA, G.
2004 "Ostraca KhQ1 and KhQ2 from the Cemetery of Qumran: A New Edition," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 5: article 5, <http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_35.pdf> (accessed 25 March 2014).
DUNCAN-JONES, R.
1990 *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
ELITZUR, Y.
1994 "Rumah in Judah," *Israel Exploration Journal* 44: 123–128.
ERDKAMP, P.
2005 *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire: A Social, Political and Economic Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
ESHEL, E.
1997 "Personal names in the Qumran sect," in *These are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, Vol. 1, edited by A. Demsky, J. A. Reif, and J. Tabory, pp. 39–52. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.
EVANS, C. A.
2001 *Mark 8:27–16:20* (Word Biblical Commentary 34B). Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
FRANCE, R. T.
2007 *The Gospel of Matthew* (New International Commentary on the New Testament). Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans.
GIBSON, S. and TAYLOR, J. E.
2008 "Roads and passes round Qumran," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 140: 225–227.
GOLB, N.
1995 *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* New York: Scribner.
GOODMAN, M.
1987 *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66–70*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2007 *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations*. London: Penguin.
GUNNEWEG, J. and BALLA, M.
2001 "How Neutron Activation Analysis can assist research into the provenance of the Pottery at Qumran," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January, 1999* (Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 37), edited by D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D. R. Schwartz, pp. 179–185. Leiden: Brill.
2003 "Neutron Activation Analysis: Scroll jars and common ware," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha: II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie (Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 3), edited by J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg, pp. 3–53. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
HAGNER, D. A.
1995 *Matthew 14–28* (Word Biblical Commentary 33B). Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
HAMIDOVIĆ, D.
2009 "Do Qumran inscriptions show Hellenization of Qumran residents?," in *Names in Multi-Lingual, Multi-Cultural and Multi-Ethnic Contact: Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, August 17–22, 2008, York University, Toronto,*

Canada, edited by W. Ahrens, S. Embleton, and A. Lapierre, pp. 465–472. Toronto: York University.

HARRINGTON S.J., D. J.
1991 *The Gospel of Matthew* (Sacra Pagina Series 1). Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press.

HIRSCHFELD, Y.
2004 *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson.

HUMBERT, J.-B.
1994 "L'espace sacré à Qumrân: propositions pour l'archéologie," *Revue Biblique* 101–102: 161–214.
2003a "Reconsideration of the archaeological interpretation of Qumran," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha: II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie (Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 3), edited by J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg, pp. 419–440. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2003b "Arguments en faveur d'une résidence pré-essénienne," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha: II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie (Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 3), edited by J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg, pp. 467–482. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
2006 "Some remarks on the archaeology of Qumran," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 19–39. Leiden: Brill.

HUMBERT, J.-B. and CHAMBON, A. (eds)
1994 *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha*. Vol 1. *Album de photographies, repertoire du fonds photographique, synthèse des notes de chantier du Père Roland de Vaux OP* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 1). Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

ILAN, T.
2002 *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part 1: Palestine 330 BCE – 200 CE* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 91). Tübingen: Morh Siebeck.

ISAAC, B.
1994 "Tax collection in Roman Arabia: A new interpretation of the evidence from the Babatha Archive," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9: 256–266.

JONES, A. H. M.
1950 "The *Aerarium* and the *Fiscus*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 40: 22–29.

LEMAIRE, A.
2003 "Inscriptions de Qumrân et Aïn Feshkha," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Aïn Feshkha: II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie (Studies of Anthropology, Physics and Chemistry)* (Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus, Series Archaeologica 3), edited by J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg, pp. 341–388. Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg/Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
2004 "Hebrew inscriptions: Section A: Ostraca and incised inscriptions," in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973–1994): Volume IV* (Monograph Series 22), edited by D. Ussishkin, pp. 2099–2132. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology (Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University).

LEWIS, N.
1989 "Texts of Greek papyri," in *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*. Vol. 1. *Greek Papyri and Aramaic and Nabataean Signatures and Subscriptions* (Judean Desert Studies 2), edited by N. Lewis (Greek Papyri) and Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield (Nabataean Signatures and Subscriptions), pp. 33–133. Jerusalem:

Israel Exploration Society; Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum.

LIDDELL, H. G., SCOTT, R., and JONES, H. S.
Not dated *A Greek-English Lexicon*, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?la=greek> (accessed 10 April 2014).

LOFFREDA, S.
1996 *La Ceramica di Macheronte e dell'Herodion (90 a.C. – 135 d.C.)*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.
2000 *Ceramica del tempo di Gesù: Vasi della Terra Santa nel periodo romano antico 63 a.C. – 70 d.C.* Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.

LÖNNQVIST, K. and LÖNNQVIST, M.
2006 "The numismatic chronology of Qumran: Fact and fiction," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 166: 121–165.

MAGEN, Y. and PELEG, Y.
2006 "Back to Qumran: Ten years of excavation and research, 1993–2004," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 55–113. Leiden: Brill.
2007 *The Qumran Excavations, 1993–2004: Preliminary Report* (Judea and Samaria Publications 6). Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology – Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria; Israel Antiquities Authority.

MAGNESS, J.
2002 *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans.
2004 "Why scroll jars?," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches*, edited by D. R. Edwards, pp. 146–161. London: Routledge.

MASON, S. (with H. CHAPMAN)
2008 *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*. Vol. 1B. *Judean War 2: Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill

MESHORER, Y.
2003–2006 "The coins from Qumran," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 15: 19–23.

MILLAR, F.
1963 "The Fiscus in the first two centuries," *Journal of Roman Studies* 53: 29–42.

MIZZI, D.
2009 *The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran: A Comparative Approach*. Unpublished D.Phil diss. University of Oxford.
2015 "Qumran Period I reconsidered: An evaluation of several competing theories," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 22: 1–42.
2016 "Miscellaneous artefacts from the Qumran Caves: An exploration of their significance," in *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014* (Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 118), edited by M. Fidanzio. Leiden: Brill.
2017 "Qumran at Seventy: Reflections on Seventy Years of Scholarship on the Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Strata: Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 35: 9-45.
Forthcoming *An Archaeology of Qumran: A Contextual Approach to the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah). Leiden: Brill.

MURPHY, C. M.
2002 *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 40). Leiden: Brill.

NOLLAND, J.
1993 *Luke 18:35–24:53* (Word Biblical Commentary 35C). Nashville: Thomas Nelson.

O'Callaghan, J.
1974 *Los Papiros Griegos de la Cueva 7 de Qumrân*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.
Pastor, J.
1997 *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine*. London: Routledge.
Patrich, J.
2006 "Agricultural development in antiquity: Improvements in the cultivation and production of balsam", in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 241–248. Leiden: Brill.
Pfann, S. J.
2004 "*Kelei Dema*': Tithe jars, scrolls jars and cookie jars," in *Copper Scroll Studies*, edited by G. J. Brooke and P. R. Davies, pp. 163–179. London: T. and T. Clark. Original edition, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
Popović, M.
2011 "Roman book destruction in Qumran Cave 4 and the Roman destruction of Khirbet Qumran revisited," in *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 278), edited by J. Frey, C. Claußen, and N. Kessler, pp. 239–291. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
2012 "Qumran as scroll storehouse in times of crisis? A comparative perspective on Judaean Desert manuscripts collections," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 43: 551–594.
Puech, É.
1984 "Courtes inscriptions de la région de Qumrân," *Revue de Qumran* 11: 525–535.
Rathbone, D. W.
1996 "The Imperial finances," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 10, *The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69*, edited by A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin and A. Lintott, pp. 309–323. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Richey, M.
2012 "The use of Greek at Qumran: Manuscript and epigraphic evidence for a marginalized language," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19: 177–197.
Rocca, S.
2008 *Herod's Judaea: A Mediterranean state in the classical world* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 122). Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
Schürer, E.
1973 *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*. Vol. 1, revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
Smallwood, E. M.
1976 *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* (Studies in Judaism of Late Antiquity 20). Leiden: Brill.
Stacey, D. and Doudna, G. (with a contribution by G. Avni)
2013 *Qumran Revisited: A Reassessment of the Archaeology of the Site and its Texts* (British Archaeological Reports S2520). Oxford: Archaeopress.
Stegemann, H.
1998 *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans.
Stern, M.
1974a "The reign of Herod and the Herodian Dynasty," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, Vol. 1, edited by S. Safrai and M. Stern, in co-operation with D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik, pp. 216–307. Assen: Van Gorcum.
1974b "The Province of Judaea," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, Vol. 1, edited by S. Safrai and M. Stern, in co-operation with D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik, pp. 308–376. Assen: Van Gorcum.

STÖKL BEN EZRA, D.
2007 "Old caves and young caves: A statistical reevaluation of a Qumran consensus," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 14: 313–333.
STRANGE, J. F.
2006 "The 1996 excavations at Qumran and the context of the new Hebrew ostracon," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 41–54. Leiden: Brill.
TAYLOR, J. E.
2006 "Khirbet Qumran in Period III," in *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 57), edited by K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, pp. 133–146. Leiden: Brill.
2007 "Ein Fashkha," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., Vol. 6, edited by F. Skolnik and M. Berenbaum, pp. 255–256. Detroit: Macmillan.
2012 *The Essenes, the Scrolls, and the Dead Sea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
TAYLOR, J. E. and GIBSON, S.
2011 "Qumran connected: The Qumran pass and paths of the North-Western Dead Sea," in *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 278), edited by J. Frey, C. Claußen, and N. Kessler, pp. 163–209. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
TOV, E.
2010 *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert*. Leiden: Brill.
VAUX DE, R.
1962 "Archéologie," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran: Exploration de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 3), edited by M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, pp. 3–36. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
1973 *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press.
1977 "Archéologie," in *Qumrân Grotte 4: II* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 6), edited by R. de Vaux and J. T. Milik, pp. 3–22. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
WEISS, R.
1975 "זרע רומא in 11Q tg Job xx, 7," *Israel Exploration Journal* 25: 140–141.
WHITE CRAWFORD, S.
2012 "Qumran: Caves, scrolls, and buildings," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 153), Vol. 1, edited by E. F. Mason, S. I. Thomas, A. Schofield, and E. Ulrich, pp. 253–273. Leiden: Brill.
YADIN, Y. and NAVEH, J.
1989 "The Aramaic and Hebrew ostraca and jar inscriptions from Masada," in *Masada I: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Reports*, edited by J. Aviram, G. Foerster, and E. Netzer, pp. 1–68. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society; The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
YARDENI, A.
1997a "A draft of a deed on an ostracon from Khirbet Qumrân," *Israel Exploration Journal* 47: 233–237.
1997b "Aramaic and Hebrew documentary texts," in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 27), by H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, pp. 9–129. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
YELLIN, J.
2015 "A commentary on two scientific studies of the RUMA (רומא) jar from Qumran," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 22: 147–161.

YELLIN, J., BROSHI, M., and ESHEL, H.
2001 "Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir: The first chemical exploration of provenience," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 321: 65–78.
ZANGENBERG, J.
2004 "Opening up our view: Khirbet Qumran in a regional perspective," in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches*, edited by D. R. Edwards, pp. 170–187. London: Routledge.

Dennis MIZZI
University of Malta
dennis.mizzi@um.edu.mt