# Hypogea2023

Proceedings of IV International Congress of Speleology in Artificial Cavities Italy, Genoa, September 29th / October 1st



#### **EDITORS**

Stefano Saj, Carla Galeazzi Michele Betti, Francesco Faccini, Paolo Madonia









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# PROCEEDINGS OF IV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SPELEOLOGY IN ARTIFICIAL CAVITIES

# HYPOGEA2023

SEPTEMBER 29th / OCTOBER 1st GENOA, ITALY

PALAZZO DUCALE, SALA MINOR CONSIGLIO Piazza Matteotti 9, Genova



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# Quarried underground hiding complexes in the Galilee, Israel: new evidence for their use in the Second-Century CE Revolt against the Romans

Yinon Shivtiel<sup>1</sup>

#### **Abstract**

Since the discovery of hiding complexes in the Judean Foothills during the seventies, there has been almost complete consensus among scholars of the Bar Kokhba Revolt that these complexes closely parallel the description of the Roman historian Cassius in the third century CE. He describes how during the Bar Kokhba Revolt, Jewish rebels hid in underground spaces carved out by them in the Land of Judea, both as preparation for, and during, the revolt itself. The question as to whether the Bar Kokhba Revolt spread as far as the Galilee has been a subject of controversy for many years. Theoretically, Cassius has nothing to say about this region, and there is a paucity of other historical sources. When they do occur, they are unclear about the question of the Galilee's participation in the rebellion, leaving the question unresolved. Until recently, the prevailing view has been that the Galilee took no part in the revolt, in light of the absence of clear historical sources or archaeological evidence. The exposure, exploration and documentation in the Galilee of 75 hiding complexes whose characteristics resemble those of complexes in the Judean Foothills sparked renewed interest in the search for evidence of the spread of the revolt into the Galilee, despite the virtual absence of historical sources. Due to typological similarities between some of the Galilean hiding complexes and those of the Judean Foothills, the above question has recently been asked with increasing frequency. Unlike the finds from the Judean Foothills, until recently the Galilean material finds provided insufficient evidence to establish a definitive new position on this matter. However, the discovery and excavation of 14 hiding complexes in the Lower Galilee revealed significant finds that increase the likelihood of the Galilee's involvement in the Bar Kokhba Revolt. In my lecture, I will first present the theory, based on historical research, that in using the expression 'Judea', Cassius actually refers to the entire Province of Judaea, including the Galilee. Secondly, I will make a typological comparison between the hiding complexes in the Galilee and those in the Judean Foothills that have been firmly identified as having been used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Finally, I will present a number of recently excavated Galilean hiding complexes that have yielded finds dating from the period of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

Keywords: Bar Kokhba Revolt, Galilee, hiding complexes, Romans, underground.

Since the 1960s, researchers have been exploring underground cavities connected by narrow, low passages quarried beneath the remains of ancient Jewish settlements in Galilee. The passages were deliberately cut with sharp, right-angled bends. They can only be accessed by belly-crawling, doubling up around the bends to continue, and eventually reaching man-made cavities large enough for a few families to sit or lie down in (figs. 1-5). Niches for oil lamps are hewn along the walls of the passages and cavities, which have yielded various finds including storage and cooking pots and tableware, coins, jewelry, arrowheads and oil lamps (fig. 6). Some of the passages are continuations from other underground cavities used as storerooms, ritual baths, cisterns, oil presses and sometimes even burial caves (fig. 7). From the beginning of their exploration, it was clear that these locations served as underground hideouts from an enemy who, even if those hiding there were discovered, would find it extremely difficult to reach them, weighed down with heavy equipment. These

rock-hewn systems have been classified as 'hiding complexes'.

Since the beginning of their research, 80 such hiding complexes have been discovered in Galilee. Similar systems, found in much larger numbers (c. 500) have been discovered in Judea, Samaria and the Land of Benjamin. Research in these regions has yielded abundant finds and enabled them to be classified according to quarrying methods and typology and, above all, dated to specific periods of distress during which the Jewish population retreated to underground shelters, mainly during the Roman period (Shivtiel and Osband 2019). We know of two fateful rebellions that had severe consequences for the Jews in their resistance to the Romans: the Great Revolt of 66–70 CE and the Bar Kokhba Re-

 $<sup>^1\,</sup>$  74 hiding complexes were recently published by the author (Shivtiel 2019) and the remainder are published in various articles (see references), other still under research

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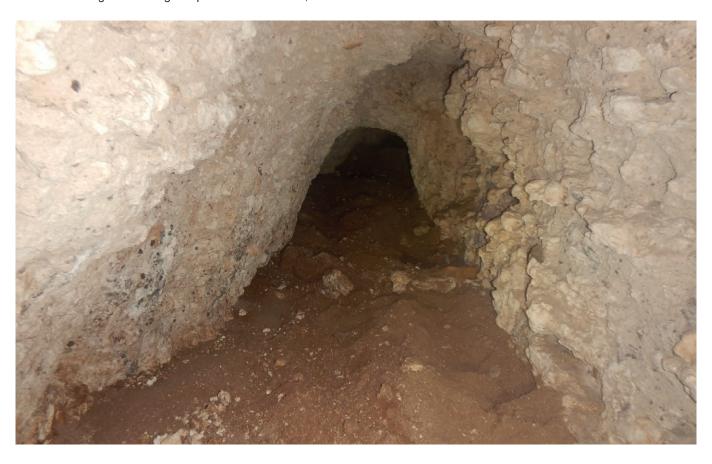
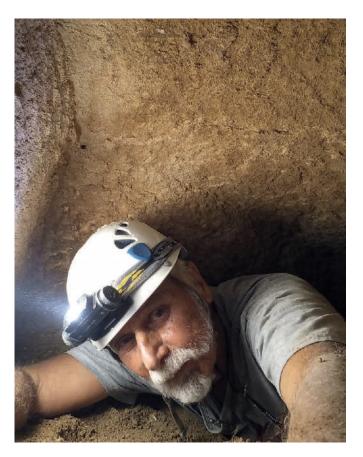


Fig. 1 – Hewn tunnel in hiding complex (photo Y. Shivtiel).



Fig. 2 - Hewn cavities reached by crawling (photo Y. Shivtiel).



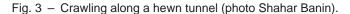




Fig. 4 – Hewn passage between chambers (photo Y. Shivtiel).



Fig. 5 – Long, meticulously hewn passage with right-angled bend (photo Y. Shivtiel).

volt of 132–136 CE. Since the hiding complexes are not proper dwellings, they were evidently prepared by the Jewish population to hide from the might of the Roman army during the Great Revolt—when a force of 60,000 soldiers was sent to suppress the rebellion—as well as during the Bar Kokhba Revolt when the Romans sent an army of 70,000 soldiers to crush the second rebellion (Rappaport 1984:283; Gichon 2016:158). The hiding complexes were quarried out wherever there was Jewish settlement, in both Judea and Galilee. When it became evident that the hiding complexes discovered in Judea were comparable with those in Galilee, the same classification was adopted in the two regions (Shivtiel 2019:98–102; Shivtiel and Osband 2019).

In investigating the use of the Galilean hiding complexes during the Great Revolt, researchers can also rely on the writings of Josephus, who describes all the events of the Great Revolt and the use of caves for hiding. Furthermore, Josephus distinguishes between natural caves and man-made caves (Shivtiel 2011:24–25; Shivtiel 2016a:180–181). In contrast, the paucity of historical sources regarding the Bar Kokhba Revolt poses a major problem for scholars. The only historical description of this rebellion was written by Dio Cassius, a third-century CE Roman historian. Apart from never having visited the country, Dio Cassius devotes barely two pages of his treatise to a description of the rebellion. The reliability



Fig. 6 - Niches for oil lamps (photo Y. Shivtiel).

of this source is further compounded by the fact that the original manuscript was lost and is only known from a later *epitome* by the eleventh-century Greek monk Xiphilinus (Gichon 2016:11). Nevertheless, Dio Cassius's source specifically describes the fact that the Jews quarried out subterranean passages and cavities in order to hide from the Roman legions (Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 69.13 [Cary and Foster]). Elsewhere in the same source, Dio Cassius states that the Jews rebelled against the Romans in Judea. Based on this account, combined with the fact that no second-century CE destruction layers have been found in archaeological excavations throughout Galilee (with the exception of three sites, see below), many scholars concluded that the Bar Kokhba Revolt failed to reach the Galilee.

Over the years, several archaeologists, the current author in particular, have mapped and documented some 20 of the 80 hiding complexes so far discovered in Galilee, recovering many second-century CE pottery vessels in the process. Archaeological excavations at 16 of these complexes have all yielded finds dating from between the period of the Great Revolt and the second century CE (Table 1).

The table reflects a new archaeological-historical perspective on the Galilee and the defensive preparations for the Bar Kokhba Revolt made by its Jewish population. The hiding systems are evidence of a concerted, collective effort to build underground shelters by the



Fig. 7 - Hiding complex leading from oil press (photo Y. Shivtiel).

	Location	Excavation type	Sources	Finds
1	Gush <u>H</u> alav Gisela (Jish)	Salvage excavation	Damati and Abu-'Uqsa (1992)	Greek inscriptions, one base and four lids of 1st-century CE jars. Oil-lamp niches. Assemblage dated exclusively to 1st–2nd centuries CE.
2	<u>H</u> orbat Meroth, Meroth synagogue	Cleaning/partial excavation	Ilan and Damati (1987)	The hiding complex was identified as having been used in two periods: Early and Middle Roman.
3	Mount <u>H</u> azon Kh. <u>H</u> azzur	Partial excavation	Bahat, D. (1974; 1983)	1st-century CE potsherds, fragment of Sixth Legion Ferrata roof tile. Dated by Dan Bahat to the 2nd century CE.
4	<u>H</u> orbat <u>H</u> uqoq synagogue complex	Cleaning/partial excavation	Shivtiel Y. (2016b)	1st–5th-century CE potsherds.
5	<u>H</u> orbat Khukha	Excavation (Barshad Dror)	Aviam 2004:125.	Potsherds dated to the second half of the 2nd century CE and ostracon with Hebrew inscription.
6	I'billin	Excavation	Mukari (1999).	Fragments of jars, stone vessels and pottery dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries C.E. Early Roman parednozzle lamps.
7	<u>H</u> orbat Ruma Kh. Ruma	Salvage excavation	Rochman (1986)	Plaster dated to the first half of the 1st century at earliest. 1st–2nd-century CE pottery.
8	Karm er-Ras, Kfar Cana. Area T and Area W Karm er-Ras	Salvage excavation	Alexandre (2008a; 2008b; 2008c).	11 intact jars of a type used during the Great Revolt. Two bronze Jerusalem-mint coins from the second year of the Great Revolt. Further excavations yielded 2nd–3rd-century CE finds and a habitation layer.
9	'Enot Sho'im -'En Mahel 'Enot Sho'im	Excavation	Leibner, Shivtiel and Distelfeld (2015).	1st-, 2nd- and 3rd-century CE pottery and coins; 2nd-century CE type gemstone ring.
10	Zippori citadel complex Saffuriya	Excavation	Strange and Longstaff (1985).	Intact Early Roman jars, bone hairpin, pottery lamp and potsherds dated to 1st–3rd centuries CE.
11	Zippori, southwest of citadel Saffuriya	Excavation	Strange and Longstaff (1987).	Middle Roman cooking-pots, jars and sherds.
12	Migdal Ha-'Emeq	Excavation	Shalem (1996).	1st century CE coin from Tyre, coin of the Governor Felix, 3rd-century CE Severan coin, 17 4th-century CE coins, Early Roman pottery and glass.
13	Bet Sheʻarim	Excavation	Erlich, et al, 2022	2nd-century CE finds. Meager finds from one room may be of a later date (3rd-4th centuries CE), suggesting renewed use of the passageway. The passage was interpreted by its excavators as having been hewn in the context of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, with possible later use.
14	Geva' Parashim	Excavation	Safrai and Linn 1988: 208–9; Shivtiel and Safrai 2021.	Mixed Hellenistic—Mamluk finds (from surface intrusion). Intact Byzantine Samarian lamp with a possible menorah motif. Various 1st—6th-century potsherds retrieved from building where the hiding passage was located.
15	<u>H</u> orbat <u>H</u> uqoq 2	Excavation	Shivtiel et al. (2022)	Predominantly 2nd-century CE pottery and other finds.
16	<u>H</u> orbat Beit Netofa	Excavation	Still under research	Predominantly 2nd-century CE pottery and other finds.

Tab. 1 – Archaeologically excavated hiding complexes with second-century CE finds.

### Hiding Complexes: Site Distribution Map Jish A Marus Kh. el V Kh. an Nabratein A ZEFAT ACRE . Kh. Hazzur Yaquq Kh. Mimla A Kh. Rubadiya Kh. Mushta l'billin Kh. Shifat Kh.'Ammudim Sea of HAIFA Kh. Natif A Kh. Maskana Galilee Kh. Usha 🛦 Kh. ar Ruma Lubiya▲ Rosh Maya al Khirba TIBERIAS G'abel Kat A Kafr Sejera (Ilaniya) Saffuriya (al Qal'a) A Kanna Kh. Mahil△ Kh. Bu'ein Kh. et Tira⊿ △ Kh. Dabbura Basum Bet She'arim ▲ ▲ 'Kh. Kisi Kh. Bu'eina Nazareth Migdal A Tirat el A Khariba Buleiq 4 Legend Hiding complexes B'ET SHE'AN

Fig. 8 - Map of hiding complex distribution (drawing by S. Add).

inhabitants of Jewish settlements (fig. 8). New hiding complexes were hewn underground and previous ones dating from the time of the Great Revolt were expanded and reused according to archaeological reports. (some hiding complexes have also yielded finds from even later periods). The complexes therefore pro-

vide hitherto unrecognized archaeological evidence of the Galilee's preparations for the Bar Kokhba Revolt (figs. 9-11).

The discoveries call into question the interpretation of Dio Cassius's historical source. Early researchers of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, although unaware of the exist-

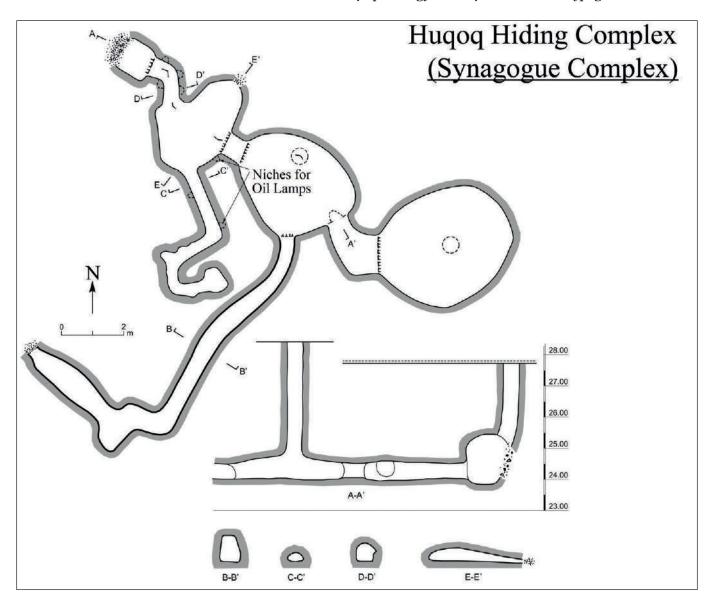


Fig. 9 - Plan of hiding complex in Galilee (drawing by A. Lev-Ari and Y. Shivtiel).

ence of the hiding complexes, drew an important conclusion regarding the rebellion's geographical extent from the work of Dio Cassius, which was overlooked by subsequent scholars. In their early work (Yeivin 1946; Alon 1955; Avi Yonah 1984) understood Dio Cassius's use of the word 'Judea' as referring to the Roman Province of Judaea, namely the entire region ruled by the Romans after the Great Revolt. At that time, the Province of Judaea included all the coastal cities from Caesarea to Rafiah, Idumea, **Judea** and

Samaria, Peraea, **Galilee**, and almost all the cities of the Decapolis. After the death of Agrippa II (92 CE), Agrippa's provinces of Peraea, Tiberias, Migdal and the Golan were also added to the Province of Judaea (Avi Yonah 1984:68).

In the third century CE, Dio Cassius was referring to the Roman province he knew of, and thus described the Bar Kokhba Revolt as having occurred throughout the entire country, not confined to the limited region of Judea.

#### **Discussion and Summary**

It is now apparent that we have two significant kinds of evidence attesting to the spread of the Bar Kokhba Revolt to the Galilee. The absence of archaeological evidence for the destruction of settlements in Galilee in the second century CE as a result of the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Revolt does not necessarily detract from this evidence, since (a) in view of the limited extent of archaeological excavations in Galilee, it is difficult to claim that the archaeological contains a sufficient number of Jewish settlements from which to infer their situation

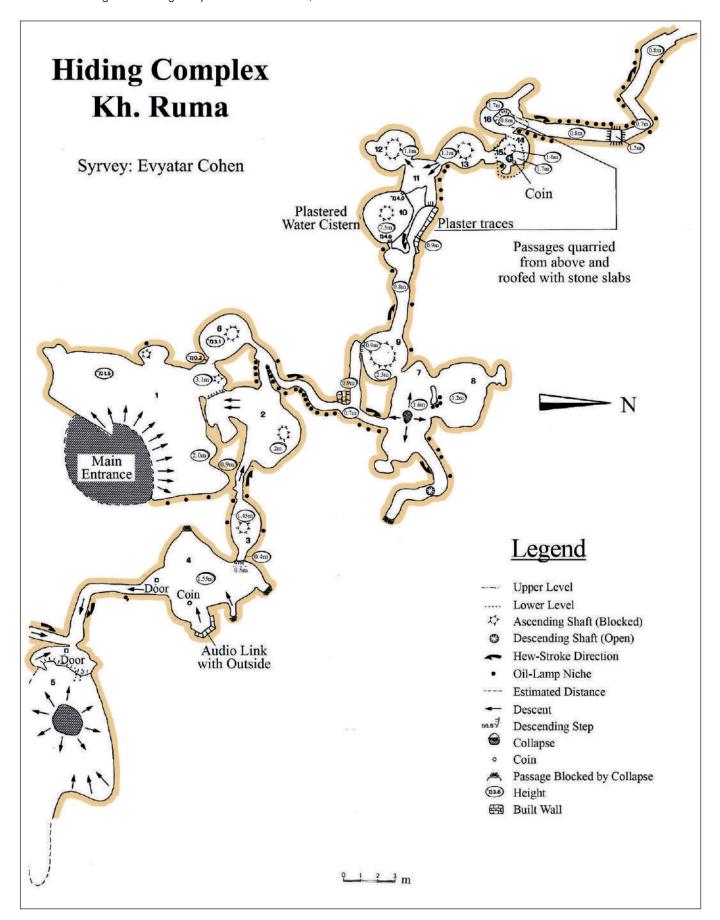


Fig. 10  $\,-\,$  Map of hiding complex in Galilee (drawing by A. Cohen).



Fig. 11 - Rappelling into a cistern at the bottom of which is a hiding complex from the second century CE (photo V. Boslov).

during the second century CE, and (b) three settlements that have been archaeologically excavated in this century (Migdal, Wadi <u>H</u>amam and Tel Ra<u>h</u>ash) exhibit clear signs of destruction and/or abandonment during this period (Zissu and Eshel 2013:64, note 1; Leibner and Bijovski 2013; Aviam 2018:1–9).

In any case, the evidence emerging from new research into the hiding complexes in Galilee, coupled with insight into the implications of Dio Cassius's testimony – by which 'Judea' refers to the entire Province of Judaea – prompts renewed discussion into the likelihood of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in Galilee. It is now abundantly clear that the Galilee did not remain peaceful during the Bar Kokhba Revolt and that it prepared underground shelters for the eventuality of the revolt reaching the Galilee, an eventuality that can no longer be ruled out.

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