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MEANING IN ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE ART: A STUDY  
IN METHODOLOGY

by

Ruth M. Vale

B.A., Wilfrid Laurier University, 1980

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Master of Arts degree  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
1984

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The original proposal for this thesis was entitled "Factors in the Appearance and Disappearance of Representational Art in Synagogues of the Second to Seventh Centuries." By referring to the title page, it will be noticed that the focus of this work has changed from the phenomena of art, to the problems of methodology by which we study it. This change reflects the difficulties I encountered in my attempts to understand the art of ancient synagogues.

My original hypothesis involved acceptance of Sukenik's argument that figurative art appeared for a short period in the third and fourth centuries, a period which was followed by an hiatus in which figurative art was actively discouraged, and subsequently, the figures emerged again for a final time before the medieval period. This hypothesis was overwhelmingly disproved by the quantity of archaeological data which did not fit easily into the scheme. The problems mounted, as is shown in the first part of the thesis, as I attempted to answer what seemed at first a very simple question: What was Heliös doing in the zodiac of the synagogue floor at Hammath Teverya? Answers in the literature proved to be confusing and often contradictory and I eventually realized that it was not the art itself which was problematic, but the apparatus by which I was attempting to understand it.

The thesis begins by looking at some of the methodological problems which confused and obstructed my own attempts to interpret the material. Those problems ranged from the mechanical and technical to the major weaknesses of accepted interpretive structures. Many of those problems are detailed in the first half of the thesis, but I concentrated on the implications raised by Sukenik's tension-laxity theory. In short, that the rabbis were responsible for regulating the alleged "appearance" and "disappearance" of figurative art, by enforcing or relaxing their authoritative stance in relation to Halakhic law. From a criticism of Sukenik's theory, and of the stylistic architectural typologies, I show that the habit of using evidence from a few major sites has provided false security as a valid interpretive framework for the art traditions of Palestinian Judaism. Without a complete inventory of the material culture, our dependence on a limited number of well known sites biases our interpretation in favour of a monolithic, generalized portrait of synagogue art tradition that obscures local differences in selection patterns.

The thesis examines the current literature on synagogue art and concentrates on exposing the distance between the nature of literary-historical interpretations, and art-historical studies. This gap has contributed to ineffective answers for my original question: What was Helios doing in the synagogue? I seemed on one hand to have the art forms, on the other the talmudic admonitions against their use.

When faced with this impasse, I turned to the epigraphic evidence for new perspectives on the role of authoritative figures in synagogue life. The literature presents us with two different portraits of the rabbi in Jewish life in this period: the academic and pious recluse, and the public figure, a duality which seems to be born out in a preliminary look at the titled donors. The conclusions reached by this analysis remain speculative in view of the incomplete evidence, but they clarify and enhance the hypothesis that the "synagogue Judaism of Palestine" must be spoken of in the plural -- that we have Judaisms belonging to particular places, and perhaps times, who generated meanings peculiar to their own geographical and cultural context.

The "culture region" formed the foundation for a method which could begin from the art forms themselves, and integrated with other artifacts of a cultural system, they could illuminate the basic configurations of the thought forms which motivated their production. Boundaries, both geographical and cultural, established the units of comparison, after the local site, and the thesis discusses several different types of regions within which sites can be grouped.

The major problem of an incomplete inventory of synagogue art forms is then addressed in terms of a monothetic classification system of art motifs and their archaeological provenance. Thirteen primary types were established and given computer-readable notation. From this coding, variations within the primary types can potentially

be fed through a computer program of multi-variate analysis to determine whether there are patterns of selection. When those patterns can be correlated with thought forms found in the literature, we have managed to bridge the gap between the literary and the archaeological evidence.

Although the full multi-variate analysis was not undertaken, the analysis of primary types was helpful in determining a geographic distribution for each motif that varied in frequency of selection from one region to another. Although not every variation proved to be significant, nonetheless it was determined that while some groups of sites participated in a full range of motifs selected from Jewish and Hellenistic environments, other communities seemed to have depended on a narrow range of a few highly selected and dominant types. The content, intensity of selection, and range of selection in the art motifs changed from one region to another, but proved consistent enough to suggest a typical pattern for any one region.

I see the contribution of this thesis in the following ways -- in relation to the study of post-biblical synagogue art, the regional approach to the study of art motifs provides the important foundation of the local environment from which meaning is derived. The site catalogue is intended to provide practical direction in terms of the regional presentation of each site. The site and its motifs, with the epigraphic data, is presented both discreetly and with its neighbours in order that communities

sharing a common ecological experience can be seen together. Unlike many presentations of synagogue art, every attempt has been made to provide clear detail for all decorative forms, on each site, according to the evidence which is presently available. Finally, the motifs and inscriptions form the principle content of this investigation, but the medium is sufficiently flexible that it can be adapted to a broad range of archaeological and cultural data in a similar computer-readable code for multivariate analysis.

This thesis is an attempt to bridge the gap, to provide the preliminary organization for a sound interpretation of the data. It emphasized the need to recognize the role of the local environment in shaping "meaning" for any particular set of symbolic forms. If these art forms were symbolic, then it is at this level that the interpretive process must begin. The method can be adapted to any particular set of cultural artifacts, but this thesis is designed to apply the monothetic principles of classification to synagogue art. In so doing, it is hoped that new research is stimulated in the areas of the social structures and symbolic thought forms which were expressed in synagogue art forms.

## II

### Methodological Problems

A brief description of the types of art found in association with the synagogues of the Roman provinces of Palaestina Prima

and Secunda would be an impossible task. Excavations and surveys since the years when Goodenough encountered stiff resistance<sup>3</sup> to the idea of any form of Jewish art, have demonstrated that synagogue construction and decoration constitute a substantial collection of material remains.

Kohl and Watzinger (1916) attempted to systematize the archaeological material of the synagogue according to the type of floor plan. Their efforts represent the basic work in synagogue archaeology, and they have provided the foundation for an architectural typology which has been used to set the structures in a chronological framework. Sukenik and Avi-Yonah were responsible for establishing three basic types of floor plans, and the latter set those plans into a chronological development. Avi-Yonah has been equally responsible for criticizing and eventually discarding his own theory. Meanwhile, modern scholars have used this typology to show relationships between sites, and to postulate social relationships which may have existed throughout the period. Avi-Yonah's architectural and stylistic criteria have been used to set the date for a considerable number of sites, which in turn have provided dates for further inference.

Floor plan typology<sup>1</sup> has provided the chronological basis for interpretations about changes in architectural forms. Before Avi-Yonah, Sukenik (1934:65) suggested that in the periods which show only a limited range of art motifs, and especially figural motifs, rabbinic authority was strongly enforced, and in the periods

when "forbidden" figures appear in profusion, that authority was relaxed in favour of lenient enforcement. Sukenik based his theory on a survey of a few important sites, and it has remained an accepted theory to explain changes in the selection of figured motifs during the Late Roman period. Recent excavations since then, however, have brought to light new evidence which cannot be fitted easily into his scheme. The patterns of use were not consistent or uniform within each period of tension or laxity, and therefore the theory that the enforcement of Halakhic prescriptions alternated between liberal or conservative administration must be re-evaluated. At the very least, it is necessary to re-examine the archaeological data to determine whether the relationships, which have been assumed to exist between sites, can be supported from the evidence.

#### Lack of a Systematic Inventory

When I attempted to bring together the archaeological evidence for the material culture of the synagogue, I was faced with enormous gaps in the amount and type of data available between sites in the given region. When the frame of reference was narrowed to include only those sites within the borders of Roman Palestine in 300 C.E. (Avi-Yonah, 1976) I was still unable to draw together complete and consistent data. In addition to detailed drawings and explanations of motifs in use, I needed ceramic, numismatic and architectural profiles, which would provide a context that could be

compared and contrasted from one site to another. Many sites are mere ruins; others have disappeared, except from memory; and only a limited number have been excavated. When the reports on sites were published, it was difficult to obtain clear and usable illustrations. Vague and incomplete verbal descriptions compounded the problems.

Previous archaeological study of the synagogue has tended to concentrate on the architectural remains, and other than Goodenough's massive treatise (1953-68), there has been no systematic attempt to describe and catalogue the decorative elements which are associated with those remains. The work of Huttenmeister and Reeg (1977) and more recently, Chiat (1979) were similar in that they concentrated on aspects of synagogue archaeology other than the decorative forms. Huttenmeister and Reeg provided no illustrations at all, while Chiat's final plates were photocopies, and frequently of poor quality. The bulk of her catalogue description was made up of architectural and geographical details, while the decoration and art represented a minor aspect of each site. Without a systematic description of the visual aspects of the decorative forms, it is impossible to form any concept of similarity between different motifs, combinations of motifs, or the sites to which they belong. One is left with a generalized, seamless "art" of the synagogue, a concept which masks the many variations within the genre.

In order to develop some idea of the variations hidden by this sort of monolithic generality, the systematic inventory of

synagogue art forms must be specifically designed to provide independent treatment of each site within the sample. Each site in the specific region must be treated individually, and yet it must be placed within the context of the social entity (Judaism) in which the synagogue developed as a venerated institution.

There are obstacles to such a treatment, but some of the material is available, scattered in short reports, throughout a wide area of scholarly pursuit. Much of the information is accompanied by visual representations that are few, and of poor quality. In many cases, essential primary research has not been carried out.

Any discussion of meaning to be assigned to synagogue decoration is dependent upon an understanding of just what materials do exist. Neusner has said it most emphatically:

First, we have to interpret the restricted symbolic vocabulary of the synagogue by finding out, as best we can, how these particular items have been chosen out of a much longer list of available forms and representations.... When we grasp what might have been used, we shall have a more accurate notion of why what has been used has been chosen. We shall be able to discover the principles of selection, and the key to the system as a whole. This procedure must lead us to confront the entire corpus of ancient Jewish writings. (1981:9)

These materials of synagogue art occur in a social environment. Their selection (or avoidance) is based on specific, socially determined principles inherent to the fabric of the synagogue institution.<sup>2</sup> To understand the meaning of these motifs in their specific, ancient environment, we must have some understanding of

its social structure, and the geographical, economic and political restraints under which it operated. The function and use of the building is basic to how it may have been conceived by participants in synagogue Judaism, and when that context is different between two sites, we must be prepared to take account of those differences. Once we have established a decorative "vocabulary" for specific sites, we can fix in our minds some idea of the specific social context in which these motifs occurred. Only then can we begin to discuss the different types of meaning which may be applied to these motifs. Without the detailed, systematic inventory, we have no basis of comparison between sites. With nothing other than an occasional parallel we have only a feeble understanding of how specific motifs were used, in what combinations, and on what sites in any specific time period. We are unable to construct a detailed portrait of a "synagogue art", even less are we able to determine the variety of configurations and patterns which make up the selections which adorn the synagogue. This failure rests on the lack of data available in a concise, consistent form.

#### Faculty Architectural Chronology

Our picture of a generalized, seamless art of the synagogue is derived in part from the view that Judaism in Late Antiquity represented a seamless uniformity in practice. This view, that a uniform, religious behaviour provided the cohesive force among the Jewish people during the period after the Hadrianic wars, has long

been the guiding principle of the study of post-biblical Judaism.

Sukenik (1934:64f) found a chronological seriation in the use and non-use of figures in Palestinian synagogue art. In his view, two stages in the development of interior design could be distinguished. The Galilean type of synagogue contained a portable ark of the Law, while the New Galilean type had a permanent bema upon which the ark was stationary. Sukenik characterized the New Galilean synagogue by a Byzantine date, a mosaic pavement, and an apse or niche located in the wall closest to Jerusalem, the site of the now-destroyed temple. The New Galilean type synagogues were exemplified at Beth Alpha, Na'aran and Hammath Gadar. Sukenik proposed that the exercise of a prohibition against the use of figures can be detected in the decorative scheme of chronologically arranged sites. In his view, the persecution and misery of the Jewish population motivated the rejection of two dimensional forms and figures.

The only rational explanation of the situation found in the ancient synagogues is therefore that pictorial art had its ups and downs in Jewish history, a period of greater laxity being followed by a reaction...the Talmudic literature distinguishes degrees of gravity in the offence of iconography, and from it we may imagine, though we cannot prove, that the Palestinian authorities first set their faces against sculpture, but still tolerated wall paintings and mosaic; then, with increasing persecution and misery, also vented their bitterness upon two dimensional representations of animals and human beings. (1934:65)

His first phase of lax enforcement, after the Wars, is represented by the Kefar Nahum synagogue, and the second by the synagogue at 'Ain Duk, where the "zodiac was deliberately smashed (in the mosaic

floor) while the accompanying inscriptions were spared." Korazim, (given a fourth century date) is taken as the end of the early reaction against sculpture, on the basis of statements by Eusebius and Jerome, that it was already uninhabited at the time that they lived in Palestine. Since Beth Alpha was already paved with a zodiac, seasons and the Akedah, the sixth century date was put forward as the end of the later reaction against figures.

A figural chronology of this sort is necessarily dependent upon the accurate dating of the material which is being described. Since Sukenik, however, Avi-Yonah has rejected the stylistic chronology of architectural development.<sup>c</sup> The categories have proven to be poorly defined and the few definite dates which are available are based on limited archaeological evidence. Those dates which are derived from inscriptions do not necessarily coincide with the date of building construction, and the stylistic dating system is unreliable.

There are less than a dozen excavated sites to which definite dates can be assigned. Important sites are still the centre of controversial discussion.<sup>?</sup> The date of the inscription at Beth Alpha commemorates a renovation of the structure in the sixth century. Date of the original construction is uncertain. (Chiat, 1979:279) Only recently has the date of the Kefar Nahum synagogue been fixed to the late fourth and early fifth century. (Tzaferia, 1983:203) Meiron was abandoned in 350 C.E. according to the excavator, and Khirbet Shema, nearby, was occupied in two phases

from 284 C.E. to 419 C.E. (E. Meyers in Levine, 1981:70-74). The Nabratein inscription is fixed to 565 C.E.; Gaza has an inscription which is established at 508-509 C.E. A church was built over the synagogue at Gerasa, in Transjordan, in 530 C.E.

(Avi-Yonah, 1981:279). These six sites constitute the only stratigraphically verified dates in the archaeological record of over one hundred synagogue sites. All other sites which have been dated, have been on the basis of the stylistic typology.

That stylistic typology has been readjusted in the case of Gush Halav, where new excavation revealed that Kohl and Watzinger had assigned the site to the wrong type of floor plan. When new excavation unearthed further details of the plan, it was discovered that the plan thought to be square (broadhouse or transitional type) was in fact a basilica with a complex of adjacent rooms which gave the square appearance to the structure. As a result, the synagogue was moved back in time to the earlier, basilical type. If something as simple as a re-excavation can drastically adjust the typology, then it follows that dating procedures must be based on something more substantial than a stylistic chronology. The original chronology of two categories, with the third added by Avi-Yonah, was based on a limited number of well-known sites. Although Sukenik made reference to other sites, his argument for a tension-laxity chronology was based on only half a dozen scattered sites. As a result of this dependence on a stylistic chronology derived from a limited number of sites, the

monolithic, uniform view of Jewish practice was reinforced and supported by archaeological arguments. Since more sites have been excavated and surveyed, and the body of evidence has been increased, these theories have been called into question and there is great need to re-evaluate the material in light of its incompatibility with the old syntheses.

There are other facts which mitigate against the use of an architectural typology as a basis for the chronological arrangement of figural art. Little is known of the origin of the architectural structure, or its function in the community, prior to the third century. Further to that, our knowledge of synagogue Judaism, and the manner in which its architecture constituted a theological statement is limited. Therefore, we cannot separate those elements which may be symbolic from those which may have been added for aesthetic pleasure. Further, so few of the sites have been firmly dated that any theory of process and change in the use or non-use of figures cannot be reliably checked against the evolutionary developments in architecture. In the final analysis, any scheme of classification which is dependent upon an a priori assumption about the chronological relationship between different sites, is flawed and therefore unsatisfactory for inference about symbolic function and meaning. Without the chronological typology,<sup>10</sup> we are unable to postulate historical continuities or developments in the use or perception of those motifs. There may yet prove to be sequential and regional continuities in the selection of motifs, but we cannot begin from the architectural

typology. Below we shall assume the relative independence of each site, and when the site has been fully catalogued, bring it into relationship in a scheme without reference to a stylistically assigned date.

#### Distance Between Literary and Archaeological Evidence

From a survey of modern interpretations (pp.22ff) of ancient synagogue art, the observation can be made that there is a specialized emphasis on particular bodies of evidence. Literary historians tend to concentrate on rabbinic and related materials, while art historians study the graphic details of the art forms. As a result, these two fields of study remain separate and distinct, further divided by contradictions between our expectation and ancient practice. In a superficial encounter with the literature, we are led to believe that art traditions existed only in an uneasy alliance with Halakhic authorities, and yet the archaeological remains show a profuse, figural tradition which is not explained by reference to the Talmud.

The reconciliation of the "contradiction" is delayed by our inability to integrate the literary and archaeological evidence. We suffer from a paucity of regional studies in which specific personalities, rabbinic and others, have been placed in their historical and spatial context. As a result, there is no direct evidence for the effective exercise of Halakhic authority in a specified location. Its corollary, that a rabbi who may have tried to exercise

a judgement was openly defied, is also unproven. Levine (1975) has begun this important task of regional analysis at Caesarea, a city where Rabbi Abbahu exercised considerable influence in the third century.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the technical problems of juxtaposing contemporary sites and personalities, we are unable to compare the conceptual framework of these two bodies of evidence. Without the systematic inventory of synagogue motifs, we cannot correlate dominant motifs to important concepts in the literature. It is a logical question to ask who the parties were that built the synagogues in question. If the Roman authorities were imposing an unwanted gift on a solidly-reluctant population (Howarth 1950:142-3) then the "meaning" of those figures is derived from their origin outside the Jewish milieu. On the other hand, if the rabbinic leaders designed the synagogues, we would expect the selection of motifs to reflect their thinking. However, we have yet to begin the process of discovering categories in rabbinic thought which can be compared to the archaeological material.

The methodological problems which handicap the study of synagogue art forms in their local context can be summarized in three technical areas. Different amounts of information have been collected about the synagogue sites, some have not been searched at all, while others have been incompletely and inadequately reported. Our understanding of post-biblical Judaism relies on an assumption that Jewish practice was essentially the same through-

out a broad, geographical region, an assumption reinforced by a stylistic typology and the further assumption that the rabbinic guild was directly involved in synagogue decoration. The initial assumptions are unsupported by new evidence, and we are faced with the need to re-evaluate the material. Finally, the relationship between the synagogue, its art forms and the academic tradition of the Talmud is uncertainly understood. Due to the specialized nature of art and literature studies to this point in time, we have two bodies of evidence which can only be linked by surmise and assumption. Clearly, our expectations about what these forms may have indicated to their creators must be reformed, and new directions must be taken to cast the evidence in different light.

### -III-

#### The Inadequacy of Traditional Approaches: The Literary Foundation

In order to discover what meaning may have been attached to the use of figures in ancient synagogues, we must return to the assertion that the context in which something occurs provides the definition. (p.2ff) To determine the social context, then, we can refer to the various appellations by which it is defined.

In the literature, several terms can be found to refer to Judaism in the Late Roman period. Most familiarly, Talmudic Judaism refers to a tradition of study and observance according to proscriptions recorded in Talmudic literature. Accordingly, Moore's study of Judaism concentrates on this literary material, apparently without reference to the archaeological material. He

reflects the literary and philological approach which has characterized the traditional view of post-biblical Judaism since Moore:

Three main subjects dealt with in works of post-biblical times are: religion, literature, martyrology to which a little philosophy with a little sprinkling of culture history is added.... (Ginzberg, 1928:111)

In contrast, Goodenough has dismissed the rabbinic material as a suitable seedbed for the inspiration of synagogue art forms, and turned wholeheartedly to the archaeological evidence.

The hypothesis on which I am proceeding is that later rabbinical tradition has always correctly interpreted the Tannaim and Amoraim as deeply disliking figural representation and allowing their use only in exceptional instances, if at all. If that is so, and yet we see that Jews of their own day commonly made such representations, then we cannot take without scrutiny the claim that those who made them were under strict rabbinic contract. (Goodenough, 1953:13)

We have no trace of the rabbis controlling Jewish thinking or observance outside the academics. It does not prove they had no control, but it remains that our only test of rabbinic control over the centres which produced the art is the way in which that art squares with the major rabbinic traditions and positions. It meant accepting ideas which did not come from or generally please the rabbis. (Goodenough, 1953:Vol.1,13)

On the basis of a negative conclusion, Goodenough has postulated the existence of a form of "Hellenized" Judaism which expressed religious aspirations in the language of Philonic mystery and metaphysics. The "Hellenistic Jew" differed from the "Talmudic" or "Rabbinic" Jew in that the hellenized Jew appropriated pagan iconographic forms and vocabulary to express his own mystic experience. Members of this group of Jews found the symbolic

vocabulary of later Greco-Roman art suitable to their thinking.

In Goodenough's view, they remained "Torah-true" and did not give allegiance to any other deity than Yahweh; nonetheless, they ascribed to Him characteristics derived from pagan tradition. He asserts that these Hellenized Jews were loyal to the ethnic community and the Holy Writings, insofar as their Judaism was based on the same Torah and proof texts as the rabbis were using, and their ritual behaviour conformed to Halakhic proscription. (Goodenough, 1968:197)

We have in addition to Talmudic, Hellenistic and Synagogue Judaism, that Judaism which was practiced outside the land of Palestine among the far-flung Diaspora communities. These Jews lived outside the land, but directed their eschatological and territorial allegiance to it.<sup>12</sup> Beth Se'arim became the central focus for the final return in that it provided a massive burial ground for individuals who were brought from far and wide. (Maser, 1973, Avigad, 1976) Talmudic Judaism is further defined by its literary phases of development. The Amoraim followed the closure of the canon of the Mishnah, and were followed in turn by the Tannaim and the Gaonim. These watersheds in time have provided the structure for our basic knowledge of the social forms of post-biblical Judaism. These types of Judaism, however, do not provide for the nuances of variation which may occur within the massive territorial areas they include. The context of the discussion has been literary and historiographical, and based on traditional rabbinic materials, rather than local and regional.

In order to use these territorially ambiguous definitions to classify or interpret figural motifs, we must assume that the iconic proscriptions were consistently applied by Halakhic authorities who interpreted their "meaning" without regard to local variation. We know from the tradition itself, that the policy on permitted figures was neither uniform nor clearly defined. We may know that a particular motif was either permitted, or considered idolatrous, and sometimes we may even know why, but we cannot place that motivation in a particular regional context of specific material remains. The field of reference must be narrowed to determine the local context in which "meaning" can be applied. By focusing on the material remains and the individual site, such a goal can be met. "Synagogue Judaism" in this thesis will refer to that population which designed, built, and used these buildings. Our evidence points to this population<sup>13</sup> and it remains to some other study to investigate the relationships between the forms of Jewish practice which are expressed in other appellations. The literary watersheds in the Talmudic tradition are, by their nature, generalized rather than territorially specific. We cannot assign specific aspects of that tradition to specific sites with any degree of consistency or certainty.

#### The Myth of Normative Judaism

Moore posited the existence of a "normative Judaism", a concept which he developed into a systematic framework in reference to the Talmudic literature:

Through the study of the scriptures and the discussions of generations of scholars (Judaism) defined its religious conceptions, its moral principles, its forms of worship, and its distinctive type of piety, as well as the rules of law and observance which became authoritative for all succeeding time....the great achievement of these centuries was the creation of a normative type of Judaism and its establishment in undisputed supremacy throughout the wide Jewish world. (1927:3)

The predominant concerns of "normative Judaism" centred around ritual observance in a "rigid and mainly ethical" framework which "had no place in its structure for religious symbolism or ideas of the Hellenistic world." (Neusner, 1979:230)

However, the Talmudic literature from which Moore developed his synthesis is a literature which stemmed from the academic activity of the Beth Midrash. It records the minutiae of exercises in jurisprudence and ritual observance, rather than their practical application:

The bulk of early rabbinic exposition has no apparent end save the exposition itself, is devoted to the exact determination of the sense of the particular laws, deals with regular sets of questions asked in regular succession about each successive law, and deals with them in fixed legal formulae recurring again and again. Such material owes its content to the school and its form to memorization. (Smith, 1963:197)

The life of the Bet Midrash presents us with an entirely different context from than of an assembly of full-time labourers, craftsmen and merchants. There is evidence that although they supported themselves with such trades, the rabbinic guild kept to itself, maintained an ethnic identity apart from the average Jews and main-

tained their own place of assembly. There were disparaging remarks about the synagogue, and some rejected the institution altogether.<sup>14</sup>

The point is that the literature of the school presents only one aspect of Jewish life in the Late Roman period. Its didactic and legal concerns colored the quality of the historical information which was preserved, so that we are presented with a "fully homogenized and intellectually seamless form" which masks the local differences in opinion which may have contributed to this expository literature.

Spelled out simply and rapidly, Neusner explains:

First, as to the axioms of scholarship, "all the rabbinic sources are treated as representatives of a single, seamless world view and as expressions of a simple, essentially united group, either the Jews as a whole, or, among the enlightened, the rabbis as a group. While some more critical souls conceded there may have been distinctions between the first-century rabbis' thought and that of those of the fourth, the distinctions make no material difference in accounts of 'the rabbis' and their thought. - Whether in anthologies or anthological essays (Moore, Montefiore, and Loewe, Bonsirven, Urbach); the rabbis are represented in their views on God, world, and redemption, as though all rabbis for seven hundred years had the same thing to say. (Neusner, 1979:403)

What has not been proven is that the synagogue with its decorative and liturgical forms belongs entirely within the thought system of rabbinic tradition.

Just as the rabbinic tradition assumes a seamless united tradition the architectural typology developed by Suknik and Avi-Yonah requires the assumption that the categories of description

can be applied uniformly across the whole of synagogue architecture in Palestine. The corollary is that conceptions about these buildings were also uniform.

The acceptance of a uniformity in date and characteristics for these buildings confirms the long-held belief that a certain conformity existed within Judaism during the Roman and Byzantine periods. Jews may have ignored some of the tenets of their faith, such as the prohibition of figurative art, but the fact remains, that whether this Judaism be normative, rabbinic or Goodenough's controversial mystic, the Galilean type synagogue supports the premise that it was a uniform religion, proving a cohesiveness among the Jewish people during this important period in their history. This thesis (of uniformity)...can no longer be supported. (Chiat, 1979:768)

Simply put, the thesis of uniformity implies that the rigid anti-figural traditions suspected at the northern site of Meiron in 300 C.E. (E. Meyers, Strange and Groh, 1978:73-92) stem from the same set of conceptions and accompanying absolute prohibition, as the fourth century sites of Esthemoa and Khirbet Susiya in Eleutheropolis. (Yeivin, 1971:174-5) The non-use of figures, or the postulated anti-iconic reaction of rabbinic fundamentalism, is explained in a similarly generalized manner. The Sepphoris rebellion, which E. Meyers calls a "minor incident of no importance," seems to have excited no corresponding iconoclastic reaction in the neighbouring regions of Tiberias and Scythopolis. (E. Meyers, Strange and Groh, 1978:20) Contemporary sites in Tiberias had figures in their decorative scheme. We have (if we trust the dating procedure) sites in which figures do exist, and sites from the same period in which figures

have been mutilated, or have been avoided in decorated schemes. The iconoclastic, or aniconic model cannot be applied uniformly to the whole of Roman Palestine in any single period. Each site, then, becomes an individual, recognized by its own character as a product of a local environment.

If a rigid aniconic prohibition were adhered to in all cases, we would expect that no figures at all would be found. If the rabbis exercised a final veto, in accordance with a unified policy, we would expect a similar uniformity in selection. On the other hand, if Goodenough was correct in insisting that the motivation for the use of figures could not have arisen in rabbinic circles, then we must assume that the synagogues are remains of another type of Judaism. The fallacy occurs when we assume that all rabbis were part of a unified aniconic attitude on the use of figures, and involved themselves in decisions of synagogue decoration, dictated according to the proscribed forms. There is more evidence to suggest that different rabbis held different opinions as to the metaphysical and theological implications in the use of figures. We cannot assume a uniformity in the exercise of rabbinic authority, any more than we can assume that each motif carried a consistent meaning from one end of the country to the other. To assert that the eagle spread on the underside of the lintel at Gus Halav, in the north, carried the same implications as the eagle flaunting itself above the human head in the Na'aran mosaic floor is to ignore the individual situation of each site. The local

environment supplies its specific and individual tensions and social forces which shape and influence the structure and operation of the social group in each place. Individual rabbis functioned within the context of those local tensions, and therefore must be considered in that context.

In the "normative" conception of post-biblical Judaism, the general, monolithic theory masks the cultural diversity apparent in the variety of the synagogue art motifs. The concept of "normative" Jewish practice leans heavily upon a unified tradition of practice which is implicitly theological, intellectual and philosophical. Goodenough, on the other hand, collects a philosophical definition of Judaism which rests on "normative" behaviour, but is motivated by a mystical, allegorical form of thought.<sup>15</sup> It is premature to assume one set of conceptions entirely supplanted the other as the dominant interpretation of all forms of art found in all synagogues in which Jews assembled. We do not know the degree to which individual rabbis, in local situations, were involved in the design and construction of the synagogues for which we have material evidence. Nor do we know the extent to which the rabbinic guild, as a social group, and the academies, as a political force, were able to direct and shape the attitudes of the synagogue population. Until these matters are better understood, the literature provides only supplementary information to our interpretation of meaning in ancient synagogue art. The integration of rabbinic and archaeological evidence

emerges as a methodological problem which inhibits our understanding of ancient Judaism. The myth of "normative" practice obscures the local variation which may have emerged in response to forces active within and around the community.

There are large gaps in the fabric which binds literature to the archaeological evidence. Individual habits of disagreement and non-conformity have been immersed in an historiographic tradition which derives its authority from its essential unity. As a result, we do not understand the social relationships between the various forms of Judaism which are implied by the different appellations we use. Moore's theory of "normative Judaism" has been discredited<sup>16</sup> (Neusner, 1966:230) but nothing has emerged to take its place. As a theory of social structure, it lacked sensitivity to the variations which may have existed at the local level, in contrast to an approach which begins from the local site. When individual sites are placed in relationship to each other, and to specific personalities remembered in the rabbinic tradition, it may be possible to shape bodies of evidence into an integrated whole. The material focus of the local site and its cultural and material artifacts provide an important, empirical data base from which we can interpret the selection patterns of synagogue art motifs.

#### Traditional Approaches

Traditional attempts to explain synagogue art have been two different forms. The morphological-historical approach has

been utilized by art historians, who tend to lean heavily on the stylistic and aesthetic criteria. The literary-historical approach is generally taken by those who draw from the rabbinic library with prominent reference to the written documents of the period, rather than the art forms. It would be inaccurate to say that art-historians ignore the literary evidence, or that literary studies show blindness to aesthetic considerations. It is a matter of emphasis. Each investigator naturally draws on that body of evidence with which he or she is most familiar, to the detriment of the less-familiar specialization. It is common to find references which reach into the other specialty, but those cross-disciplinary treatments are frequently beset by a lack of critical understanding of the other material.

To illustrate the point, we might glance at a collection of some of the studies which are repeatedly referred to in scholarly discussion about synagogue art, and in particular about the problems of figures. Beginning with an art-history approach, Appelbaum (1961:225-252) defines a Jewish art object as an object which bears a Jewish symbol and is discovered in association with remains "assumed to be Jewish." The evidence from which he works represents the synagogue sites of Hamman Lif in Africa, several sites in the Aegina and the site of Naveh in Palestine.<sup>17</sup> Consideration of the funerary art scratched on the Beth Se'arim catacombs completes his discussion of the Palestinian material. His discussion of style proceeds in a social vacuum, except for one or two sentences about

possible different perceptions which may have been shared about public and private art, and is briefly supported from the literature.

The longer work of Avi-Yonah (1981) is basic to any study of the morphological and stylistic art traditions of Roman Palestine. He was particularly concerned about the Oriental details which infused the popular art in Palestine. For Avi-Yonah, art is "the result of any activity directed toward satisfaction of the aesthetic sense and exercised by those trained in it." (1981:9) He rarely alludes to possible meanings of symbols and limits himself to morphological developments. The intimate social environments of particular sites are not his concern. The classifications which he has developed, however, are encouraging steps in a useful and detailed description of the evidence.

Bickerman (1965:127-151) criticizes Goodenough on the basis of art-historical arguments of style, composition and motif adaptation across cultural boundaries. He admits to the possibility that isolated fragments of ideas may have been unconsciously assimilated but goes no further in suggesting how this may have come about. He points out possible differences over time in rabbinic rules, but his outline of the social situation, for any one site, in which those ideas may have been "assimilated", is vague and unsubstantiated.

Goldman, in an article published in 1961, is preoccupied with the task of proving the existence of a "Jewish art", but only

because "the existence of a true Judaic art tradition with carefully defined characteristics would provide deep insights into the foundation of Christian art." The article focuses on the aesthetic aspects of style and his frame of reference is the Classical art tradition. In his view, the "provincial arts" of the Jewish tradition occurred during an hiatus in major art traditions and was constrained by rabbinic proscription, roots in a nomadic pastoral culture and the general lack of a figured art tradition. (1961:303) This "social" explanation is not pursued, but he does suggest that the art is ideographic in content and serves a purpose of communication that is "typical of the oriental aesthetic." In his view, the art at Dura Europos summarized the spiritual history of the Jews, and a scene in which a series of motifs formed a conceptual unit was designed as a theological statement. That statement, however, is defined in a few sentences without substantiation from literary sources.

Talmudists and historians have discussed the issue in a variety of forums and the most prominent thrust among serious attempts to bring the literary material to the art is theological and philosophical in content. Here the art seems to take a back seat to the problem its existence poses.

Baumgarten's concise treatment of rabbinic thought (1975:79-89) on the subject of art ranges across the whole field of <sup>their</sup> debate: from circumstances of public rather than private use, to judgements of leniency rather than strict censure. Essentially

the rabbis dealt with the issue by not raising it at all, conditionally condoning the use of figures, or vocally opposing the use of any figures designed with special censure as doubtful or forbidden.<sup>19</sup> Baumgarten is careful to hypothesize "contacts" with the Hellenistic world, but it would be too easy from his discussion to assume that the rabbis spoke for the whole of the Jewish population. Here the relationship of synagogue art (and synagogue Judaism) to the larger social environment is described in vague generalities. The literary material is the focus of his treatment while the art exists as a generalized and undefined entity.

Cohen's (1954:165-176) historical survey of the changing attitudes of Jewish legal authorities toward representational forms is thorough (although he does not provide footnotes to the Talmudic literature), and he carefully points out the ambiguity in the literature between proscription and practice. He highlights the rabbinic efforts to reinterpret the Torah for a new age. His reflections on the social environment, coupled with the literary commentary, are useful, but the art receives short shrift because of his concentration on the literary evidence. The incompleteness of this treatment leaves the reader to assume a provincial uniformity to the art tradition.

Urbach (1959) has worked primarily from first century and biblical sources in a "single-format" argument; that the need for Jewish craftsmen and scrap dealers to survive the economic turmoil of the third century provided the whole motivation for the use of

figures in the synagogue art tradition. It was, in his view, the economic function of the art that pressed rabbinic judges (who, like the craftsmen, "were not impressed by the idols themselves"), to relax the severity of their legal judgement. Stringent control in matters which infringed upon the imperial cult or pagan festivities remained outside the fixed limit. His economic interpretation of the literary sources omits an examination of the art motifs and his undefined "allegorical" mechanism becomes a simplistic answer for what has proven to be complicated process of communication in the public arena.

There is a striking shortage of detailed art or historical studies of synagogue decoration which run to any length, or pretend to any measure of completeness. The studies which attempt to fill the gap are post-Goodenough and reflect his concern with symbolic interpretations.

Goldman, in an in-depth study (1966) researched a central iconographic motif in synagogue art. In his view, the Sacred Door, represented by the double doors of the Torah Shrine, serves to communicate a "consistent complex of related conceptions." These conceptions are related to thresholds and sacred space, ideas which are rooted in the religious life of the community. The burden of his evidence falls in the camp of art history as he draws on surrounding cultures for possible symbolic associations. The careful, restrained argument is marred by a disconcerting tendency to revert to vague generalities about the manner in which the motif was

understood by the audience as a symbol, or the character of the community in which the motif, as a symbol, would have been important. Regarding the Akedah motif at Beth Alpha, he states:

In the figures of the Patriarch we see indicated the covenant aspect of Judaism.... The binding of Isaac can stand for Israel in its bondage... and Isaac is also the Jew is bondage to other nations. (1966:38)

His detailed discussion of the iconography draws ideas from the rabbinic literature in an uncritical and limited fashion, and he seems hesitant to work out the social implications of any possible interpretations to which he alludes. Thus he gives us possibilities without delineating the probabilities. This is in keeping with his stated purpose,

...concentration on the character of the art, why this particular set of motifs, what are the sources of symbol and how they are used, factors that shaped the context and style of its appearance at this time and place in history. (Goldman, 1966:15)

In his illumination of the synagogue art tradition, Goldman defines the beliefs and concepts of the culture in terms of rabbinic literature.

Rachel Wischnitzer's brief treatment of figured art (1961:191-224) is stylistic and descriptive in tone, and she draws on biblical and rabbinic literature, as well as the art of manuscript illumination in the early medieval period, to support the theory that the use of portraiture was acceptable in Jewish circles. The archaeological frame of reference is the synagogue site at Dura-Europe in Syria. The conceptual arrangement of the biblical-thematic

content is discussed, but one is discomforted by the question as to whether those views were shared by artist, teacher and general labourer alike. Wischnitzer has suggested that homogeneity of content and strong popular appeal are the main features of synagogue art.

(1961:92) Basing herself on a brief survey of materials from synagogues at Dura, Beth Alpha, Na'aran and Hamman Lif, Wischnitzer has argued that the motifs reflect a systematic arrangement of a selected repertoire based on biblical story cycles (chronological events as well as ideological themes, some of which are derived from Rabbinic and Midrashic legend) and liturgical elements (temple, menorah and incense, torah shrine). In her view, synagogue art is evidence of the development of a pictorial language, that employed a series of figures and other motifs inspired by the Bible, and formed a conceptual whole. She does not include a possible repertoire of 'pagan' motifs and understands the zodiac as a calendric device adjusted to the celebration of Jewish festivals. (1961:89-90) Her theory does not easily account for the use of the mythically derived forms evident on some of the sites. At Korazim, a head is thought to be a Medusa, and a centaur shown on the screen from Bar'am. These are two of the eight sites in my analysis<sup>19</sup> which show mythic forms. Nor does her theory account for the prevalence of lion and eagle figures which occur in predictable arrangements (flanking pairs, wreaths or garlands, and frequent location on lintels or entrance facades). For Wischnitzer, the "homogeneity" of the content of synagogue art, occurring in mediums conventional

to the age, suggests that the pagan implications have been 'displaced' and the Jewish population has applied new meanings to a standard pictorial vocabulary. Thus the arrangement of selected motifs, and their assigned meanings, are not haphazard but systematic and determined by concepts based on Torah and on the liturgical Service. In her view, the symbols and motifs were related to a common symbolic dictionary understandable to the entire community and based on Biblical, rabbinic, and liturgical ideology.

Tawil (1979) discusses the Purim panel at Dura in a similar fashion, but draws meaning from a specific iconographic order conventional to Parthian art. In particular, the investiture, triumph and enthronement motifs form part of Parthian imperial iconography and therefore are symbolic expressions of the "imperial right of kings." The meaning is derived from the deliberate selection, by the designer, of iconographic motifs which fitted together to form a complete concept. The significance lies, not in the use of individual components, but in the ideological arrangement of a meaningful aggregate of motifs.

The morphological-historical approach taken by Appelbaum, Avi-Yonah, Bickerman, and Goldman, represents stylistic studies, in which they attempt to relate the motifs to known art traditions. From this basis, each scholar begins to draw inferences about possible meanings which may have been taken from the employment of a particular motif. Parallels are drawn from the literature, often in the nature of a proof text, and examples of similar motifs in

adjacent cultures provide the data base from which conclusions are drawn about influences, effects and so forth. To my mind, such an approach seems to lead to generalized and superficial conclusions about the social entity involved, a practice which leads, in turn, to monolithic cultural assumptions about a group of motifs from different environments. These assumptions smooth away differences and variations between dissenting and "unorthodox" parties within, and on the fringes of, the larger ethnic unit.

The above treatments show approaches which tend to confirm and support the myth that the practice of Palestinian Judaism existed in a sort of conformist, cultural monolith. This view of a Jewish, orthodox, normative practice, has been outmoded by the profusion of evidence that decorative styles were varied and did not conform to Halakhic regulations. Many of the treatments described in this survey chose their evidence from a limited number of well-known sites. Their authors seem content to generalize for the entire area from the evidence of a few sites. Those sites can be widely scattered, both in space and time. Hence we lose the special character of individual selections of art motifs, and their "meaning" is watered down. In the articles discussed above, we have only the vaguest notion about the social milieu in which the motif may have operated as a discursive symbol, and no idea at all, what historical events or social forces affected the possible range of meanings a motif may have engendered in any particular situation. From the literary-historians, we are given a reasonably clear idea of how

those, who are remembered in rabbinic tradition, felt about the use of images, but it is a decidedly narrow perspective. Whatever regulations may have been issued, we cannot be sure to what extent those proscriptions were followed and by what segment of the population.

The gap in our knowledge between the rabbinic proscription and the varieties of practice, evident in the archaeological record, permitted Goodenough to express the mechanism of significance in terms of the subjective "unfixed language of poetry." His interpretation was based on a model of psychological archetypes, that developed into a personal definition of the universal drive for life, hope of immortality and freedom from frustration. (1953:49)

Although his work has proven to be both lasting and controversial, it is flawed by the chaotic presentation of the individual artifacts. Funerary sarcophagi, from Beth Shean, ceiling mosaics from Rome, and floor mosaics from Hamman Lif are presented side by side or provenance of each piece, and only by tedious comparison with the index can we determine an item's source. It is impossible to determine how any one area may have uniform or contrasting selection patterns in comparison to its neighbour, or to a region more distant. We must assume that Jews in Palestine, and in the Diaspora, shared a common art tradition, and took the same or similar significance from its use. The art historians, Appelbaum and Goldman, showed the same tendency to select and compare sites from geographically distant sites. In short, Goodenough, along with Appelbaum and Goldman,

depended upon a monolithic assumption of similar ideas about motifs from different, distinctive regions. Certainly if the context was comparable between these sites, then we can suggest a similar "meaning" may have been attached to these motifs, but evidence will be introduced, that the contexts even in nearby areas like Upper and Lower Galilee were not similar, either in lifestyle or in the decoration of synagogues. Therefore these approaches have failed to provide an adequate explanation which can account for the full range of "meaning" which is called upon in the use of the variety of motifs on all of the synagogue sites in Roman Palestine.

The deficiencies of traditional interpretations can be correlated to the three areas in which methodological problems occur. A systematic inventory of synagogue art forms has not been produced, and therefore scholars are dependent upon a small selection of motifs from well-known sites which are widely dispersed in different cultural and geographic environments. We are unable to date sites with certainty or consistency, and that problem weakens our interpretation. It has been the practice to develop theories of process and development between sites which are uncertainly related in time. We are unable to integrate the literature and the archaeological evidence, and are frustrated when we try to impose the literary historians' monolithic, conformist view of Jewish behaviour on evidence which is more remarkable in its variety than in its uniformity.

### The Use of Figures in Rabbinic Teaching

I have encountered two very different positions in the discussion of the rabbinic attitudes to figures. Both are extreme in that the literature is accepted as the sole source of information, as in a "normative" approach, or it is rejected (except when it suits the purpose of the writer). There may be another approach which strikes a balance between these two views by referring to a third body of evidence -- the inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> Synagogue Judaism may have been composed of a wide variety of theological positions on the use of figures, and on any one site, the enforcement of Halakhic authority may prove to be a local expression within the national, ethnic identity. The inscriptions provide some evidence for the involvement of the various officers of the synagogue as donors and noted personalities. The question is the degree to which those donors, and important personalities were rabbis, or members of the academic guild. More precisely, we need to investigate the issue of their influential involvement in synagogue government.

The Talmudic tradition provides some information on the involvement of the rabbinate in the community, but there is also some evidence that some of its members preferred to remain within the academic milieu. Alon describes a specialization of interest within the guild. (1980:88) Some rabbis became scholars who

disdained public responsibility (Toratam 'Umanutam) while others embraced the role of Anshei Ma'aser (Men of Action in public affairs). (see also Neusner, 1975:66, Baron, 1952:202)

Evidence for the involvement of members of rabbinic circles in the larger life of the community stems from the accounts of individuals remembered in the tradition. Rabbi Abbahu was a well-known leader of the Jewish Community in Caesarea. He came from a wealthy family, functioned in the prestigious role of market commissioner, and had considerable influence in Patriarchal and diplomatic circles. He took an active role in the management of synagogue liturgy and preaching, made changes to set prayers and readings, and took part in polemic wranglings with Gentile and Christian factions in Caesarea. R. Abbahu was directly involved with the decoration of synagogue furnishings in that he offered dedications on those items commissioned by wealthy patrons. (Brumgarten, 1975:82) According to Levine, the rabbinic professionals, like Rabbi Abbahu, were particularly active community leaders and participated in banking and commercial ventures. This group apparently rejected gnostic extremists, although they tolerated mystic speculation in their own ranks so long as traditional axioms were observed and accepted. (Levine, 1975:65-77, Mantel, 1965:201-2)

At the same time that the rabbis were involved in community activity, they maintained a distinctive standard dress, separate burial catacombs, separation during prayer, and obtained, from the community at large, the support of their poor, tax exemptions,

privileges of usury, and marketing of goods, as well as exceptional rights in court proceedings. They regarded their tax concessions and grants as the class privileges of an intellectual elite. Levine (1975:103) cautions us that Caesarea is unique, with an equally balanced ethnic population of Jews, Christians and Hellenistic adherents in a cosmopolitan setting. We have, however, for this city, a detailed portrait of the status enjoyed by rabbinic professionals. With such an active rabbinic guild, we would expect that the art traditions in the synagogue would reflect their influence. Therefore we are not surprised to discover that the synagogue art at Caesarea does not contain any elements which would be disturbing to proper observance of Halakah. We must be aware, however, that Rabbi Abbahu was active in the third century, while the stratum in which we find the non-figured ornamentation is dated approximately two centuries later. The description of the third century community in Caesarea provides us with one example of an active rabbinate<sup>21</sup> who took on the role of the Anshei Ma'aser. Their influence extended deep into the daily affairs of synagogue life.

This solid picture of orthodoxy is tempered by evidence that some members of the Palestinian rabbinate revealed a penchant for mystic speculation. The disciples of R. Johanan ben Zakkai were involved in esoteric speculation, and Haggadiatic tales. They were cautioned not to enquire about things beyond their reach. Baron (1954:314-316) describes this interest as the "esoteric

Midrash of an intellectual elite," and the preoccupation of a small circle of students of secret lore. The official attitude tended to keep mystical speculation to a minimum. Baron concludes that apocalyptic and Merkabah mystic traditions were relegated to folklore rather than to official rabbinic thought. The Merkabah traditions, with the gnostic tendencies, date primarily from the fourth and fifth centuries, and the hymns from the third. They are marked by monotheistic concepts, Halakhic ritual elements, and proscriptions which generally do not conflict with central Jewish axioms. Its borrowings tended to be from Hellenistic thought rather than Christian ideas. (Scholem, 1935:64) Goodenough cautions his readers against a close identification between the mystic traditions, described by Scholem, and the Judaism of the ordinary folk which he has attempted to elucidate in his investigation of symbolic meaning in ancient synagogue art. (Goodenough 1968:12:190)

In addition to these "unorthodox" rabbis who dabbled in esoteric mysticism, there were other rabbis -- the Toratim 'Umanutam who avoided confrontation with the daily affairs of the community and retreated into academic study. Their loyalty to the Beth Midrash, rather than to the institution of the synagogue, is shown by the rejection, by some, of the synagogue as a place of prayer. R. Oshaya criticized the lavish expenditure on ornate synagogues at the expense of funding to scholars. R. Abun and R. Mani disputed over the same issue from the late third or fourth

century. (Baron, 1954:283. Ber. 8a) Some wanted nothing to do with the synagogue:

...although there were thirteen synagogues in Tiberias R. Ammi and R. Assi prayed between the pillars, in the place where they studied. (B.T. Berakhot 30b, Y Peah 21b)

They criticized lavish expenditures on synagogues, which they felt were made to the detriment of souls saved, Torah study and the needs of scholars. (Baumgarten, 1975:202) In light of the attitude of these exclusivists, Neusner has concluded that the rabbis, as a group, did not play a central role in synagogue life, since they did not conduct services, or participate in public reading, a responsibility which was fulfilled by the lay leadership in the community. (Neusner, 1975:56-6, also Levine, 1975:102)

Clearly, some care must be taken if we are to use rabbinic materials to interpret synagogue decorative motifs. We have seen evidence of at least two different attitudes toward the central element of Jewish life. Some felt that the community and its life in the world provided the central focus for the ethical observance of Judaism, while others preferred to emphasize the value of scholarship and Torah study as a means of salvation. In any case, some rabbis were involved in synagogue affairs, while others decidedly were not. These differences between the perspective of different personalities may provide us with some clue to the relative differences in figural judgements which seem to have occurred from one place to another.

### Rabbinic Traditions and Figures

The first denials that a figured art tradition actually existed in Judaism came primarily from those who applied a strict interpretation of the Decalogue. According to this view, rabbinic authorities applied sanctions against the use of figures in order to preserve the community against blasphemy and apostasy.<sup>22</sup> The discussions recorded in the Talmudic literature reflect the opinions of those who committed themselves to this strict observance, but detailed rulings are also recorded that determined when figures were premitted. Indeed the enumeration of special circumstances forms a substantial part of the content in the arguments and discussions which concentrate on the matter of images. (Safrai, 1975:161-2)

The strict degree of the Decalogue has been demonstrably modified in the Targum version of Lev. 26:1, in which grudging allowance is made for figured motifs in mosaic patterns.

A figured stone you shall not put in the ground to worship thereto but a colonade with pictures and likenesses you may have in your synagogues, but not to worship. (Targum Jonathan Lev.26:1, in Baumgarten, 1975:80)

So in the days of R. Jonathan, they began to paint on walls and they did not prevent them. In the days of R. Abun they began to depict designs on mosaics and they did not prevent them. (Abodah Zara 41d, in Sukenik 1934:3)

Baumgarten has made the following distinctions in the purpose and function for which a figured object was ruled permissible: first, there was a careful distinction between decorative intent, and utilitarian purpose. (So long as the object was needed for a practical purpose, the figure did not detract from its usefulness. The

conditions are enumerated in this ruling.); second, public opportunity and private possession came under separate sets of regulation and observance. (When proper observance hindered the necessary participation in public affairs, the ruling was modified.); third, the intent or action of worship made any figured object off limits to the observant Jews. (Baumgarten, 1975:81f) (This latter motivation provided the focus for much of the discussion about figures.)

Tractates which preserve the discussions about idolatry show that angels, human figures (particularly parts of the anatomy), astronomical figures and the creatures of the "Heavenly Chariot" were considered especially dangerous. The Abodah Zara tractate gives special reference to the astronomical models which were adopted by Patriarch Rabbi Gamaliel. Evidently, he used them as a pedagogical device to establish the calendar and mark the festivals. He also visited the bath of Aphrodite, and found a ready answer for those who questioned him. (Abodah Zara 42b) Although his carelessness of "forbidden" images surprised both Babylonian and Palestinian authorities, no objections were preserved in the tradition of the Jerusalem Talmud. The Babylonian Talmud goes to some lengths to legitimize the use of the model. (Baron, 1952:119)

The discovery of figures frequently used in the adornment of synagogues has rendered obsolete the idea that there was an effective, blanket prohibition against the use of figures, uninformed and simplistic. On the other hand, sites like Caesarea and Meiron seem to comply with the prohibition, and figures are noticeably

absent. We have been presented with two very different and conflicting pictures of the response to Halakahic authority among Late-Roman Jews.

On the one hand, rabbinic literature shows us the rabbis exercising a wide influence, and its evidence is confirmed by that of Roman Law. On the other hand, the preserved archaeological material shows us details which look very different from what the rabbinic literature would lead us to expect. (Smith, 1958:492)

Smith is correct in his statement that a great deal of the relevant literature may not have survived, and that missing material may provide the information for a potential reconciliation of these conflicting phenomena. That material may take the form of epigraphic evidence which has been available for some time, but has not been applied to the question of the use of figures.

#### Analysis of Gift-Giving in the Synagogue

We have been considering the question of rabbinic involvement in synagogue affairs, and the following analysis should bring new information to that discussion. Two aspects of the record of gift-giving will be considered. First, the language in which the inscription is written and, second, the social status of those who contributed to the community treasury or to the building itself in the form of patronage and gifts. The assumption is that those who donated furnishings, funds, or architectural items were prominent members in the community, who could afford to make a donation, and thereby preserve and increase their authoritative weight among local

decision-makers. Thirty-five sites were examined<sup>23</sup> and the content of inscriptions was analyzed according to two aspects of the inscriptions, in relation to the gift-giving process.

The first aspect of our analysis is the language in which the inscription was written. We find inscriptions in Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew, with some bilingual inscriptions on several sites. Each inscription can be indicated on the site map (Map 1) to indicate the predominant language which occurred in any one region.

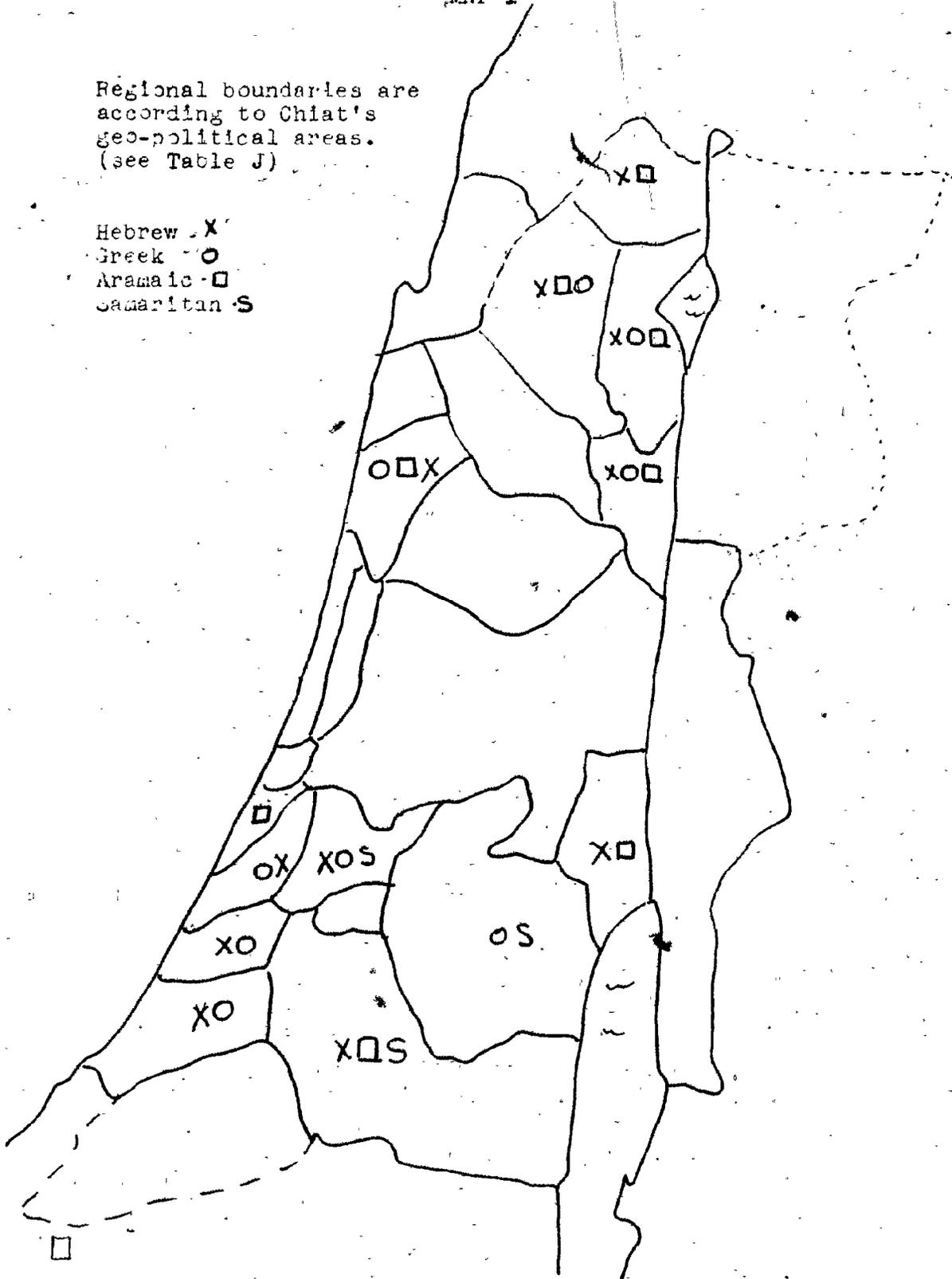
A striking pattern of distribution can be observed. The non-Samaritan inscriptions from the territories of Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, and Lydda Diospolis in the Judean Hills, are in either Greek or Hebrew. Aramaic inscriptions were found in Jamnia and in Jericho, as well as in Eleutheropolis. Aramaic inscriptions are consistently found in Galilee, and along the North Coastal Plain. Those regions which we might call trilingual are concentrated in the urbanized territories of Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Caesarea. These are areas of cosmopolitan settlement in which cross-cultural influences would have been particularly active. The district of Tetracomia does not have any Greek inscriptions in those synagogues which are included in this sample, and this causes us to look more closely at the local peculiarities of a culture which leaves no record that it used Greek. This simple exercise demonstrates regional patterns in the use of specific languages. The details of language differences have been pointed out more thoroughly by the Meiron excavation team. (Meyers, Strange, Meyers, 1981:62-91)

# SYNAGOGUE INSCRIPTIONS - DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES

MAP 1

Regional boundaries are according to Chiat's geo-political areas. (see Table J)

Hebrew X  
 Greek O  
 Aramaic □  
 Samaritan S



According to their study of inscriptions in Galilee, the Greek inscriptions (Map 3) are tightly clustered around the shores of the Sea of Galilee and the Valley of Jezreel. The Hebrew inscriptions (Map 4), however, are found west of the Rift Valley, and north of the Meiron massif. Aramaic inscriptions are scattered throughout the whole area (Map 2). Although this distribution is interesting in itself, it can be used to cast light on the involvement of the rabbis among the synagogue population.

None of the Greek inscriptions in the sample provided titles which could be used to establish whether a donor was both an officer and a rabbi. Those inscriptions which used that title were exclusively in either Aramaic or Hebrew. Other titles included in the Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions were "scholar", "priest" and "parnas". Bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic mention that, among the donors, was an "archisynagogos,"<sup>21</sup> individuals referred to as "kyrios" and individuals without specific titles. One inscription in Greek and Hebrew commemorated a craftsman. The title "rabbi" is mentioned in relation to donations to the synagogues at Na'aran, Hammath Gadar, Beth Alpha, En Geddi, Khirbet Susiya, Ar-Rama, Beth Shearim and Husifah. The Rabbis are commemorated by name, as individual donors, in the sites of the southern territories (En Geddi, Khirbet Susiya, Na'aran), but in the Galilean communities, and at Husifah, the rabbis are commemorated in collective donations along with the entire community. Ar-Rama seems to be an exception, but the donation is for a "guest-

Map 2

Distribution of Sites with Aramaic  
Inscriptions



Map 3

Distribution of sites with area inscriptions



7

Map 1.

Distribution of sites with merged island lines.



house," rather than for synagogue furnishings.<sup>25</sup> As a social group, the rabbis do not seem to be important people in the roster of donors, particularly in the northern sites. Although this professional group is commemorated more often than any other professional group, there are considerably more inscriptions which have untitled and anonymous donors. A mosaic and wall plaster were major donations by the son of Rabbi Yohanan to the synagogue at Khirbet Susiya. In the north, the donation of a tremissis (a small gold coin) to the treasury at Hammath Gadar, in the Rift Valley, warranted prestigious recognition by an inscription near the bema. The rabbis of Galilee, then, were not nearly so involved in the synagogue support as those who lived in the southern territories. When they did become involved, as at Hammath Gadar, their contribution was acknowledged among the rest of the commemorations. These are our only Galilean inscriptions about rabbis.

When the references to the title "rabbi" are correlated to language and geographical distribution, the following pattern emerges for the social profile of synagogue donors. The rabbis were formally remembered as important personalities who gave major contributions to the synagogue building, in the southern communities of Palestine. When they are commemorated by inscription, the inscriptions are in Aramaic or Hebrew. The language selection remained consistent in the north, but individual rabbis do not seem to be as directly involved in the economic support of the synagogue.

I am, of course, unable to date many of these inscriptions, or their sites, with any degree of certainty. There are too few sites, or inscriptions, to do more than suggest a hypothesis. However, where a correlation exists between the use of the title "Rabbi", the use of Hebrew or Aramaic, and the pattern of economic support, and that correlation corresponds to patterns in the use, or non-use, of any combination of (especially figural) motifs, it may be possible to hypothesize that Halakhic proscriptions have influenced the selection of decorative motifs.

Further patterns suggested by a detailed study of the inscriptions can provide a comparative base, against which, the analysis of motifs can be set. The inscriptions, and their regional characteristics can function as another factor in the larger composite of the "cultural region." Clearly we can not make a blanket statement that the rabbis controlled the selection of motifs in all synagogues, unless we look more carefully at the nature of the relationships between individual rabbis and the local synagogue populations.

Inference about "meaning" and the enforcement of Halakhic authority, at any specified site, is a product of a complex series of inter-related factors which may vary from one place to another. In the same way that regional variations are evident in the content of the inscriptions, a selective patterning can be discovered in the geographic distribution of art motifs. The practice proves to be neither conformist, nor uniform. Each site presents its local

and specific configuration of social factors. When those factors are shared between adjacent sites, "meaning" may also be shared, and this becomes the basis for a "culture region" in which sites can be grouped together. Further speculation on the exact nature of that meaning is beyond the scope of this paper, but the local definitions implied by the motifs represent the scaffolding of any general theory about the symbol systems which may emerge from behind the varying patterns of selection.

Some rabbinic authorities viewed the figure as an image which pointed to a significant metaphysical entity. At another level of meaning, the figure may have been less a metaphysical sacrament, than a socially functional representation of dominance or coercion. By working at different levels of symbolic meaning, individual rabbis could sort out careful distinctions between the different uses of particular figures. In a public context, the motif may point to something other than that to which it points in a private setting. The same applies to the distinction between utilitarian purpose and decorative intent, and to the problem of worship and idolatry. When we can isolate the aggregates of motifs which represent components in the local symbol systems, it may be possible to identify these aggregates with individual, rabbinic, personalities and their teachings. Prior to any attempt to link motif and literary tradition, however, the careful and detailed inventory of the whole range of motifs found in ancient synagogues must be undertaken.

### Groundwork for a Synthetic Method

The art motif, as an artifact, is material and tangible, and occupies measurable space. The sites to which these artifacts belong can be defined in geographical space and plotted on a map by standard co-ordinates.<sup>26</sup> From this beginning in commonly shared geographical space, we can hypothesize that a careful analysis of different "types"<sup>27</sup> of motifs in relation to their geographical arrangement will demonstrate coherent patterns of occurrence. Those patterns will be called "motif-preference patterns," and represent particular motifs, or motif-aggregates which are considered favorite, and therefore occur more often in any specified set of sites. In relation to architectural types, Seager notes that:

The Galilean "type" of synagogue occurs in a relatively small area rising from the Golan Heights through Galilee and perhaps over to Mount Carmel. No clear examples have come to light elsewhere. The "Apsidal" synagogue, those in the Holy Land at any rate, occur further south. Their ranges meet at Hammath Tiberias, but they do not overlap as far as I can determine. (Seager, 1981:31)

Meyers and Strange have taken the lead in adopting the regional hypothesis in their study of synagogue artifacts in Galilee. They found a similar regional range of highly ornate synagogues (which include figures) in the southern area of Galilee, a preference pattern that differs significantly from the more restrained

decoration of sites in northern Galilee. That restrained decoration was more similar to selection patterns to the east:

In general Upper Galilee was less affected by an increasingly developed aesthetic from the south. The evidence from Golan places it closer to the cultural continuum of Upper Galilee, with eastern Golan being more like sites along Lake Tiberias: (Meyers, 1976:99)

In this manner, we can begin to map the preference pattern of specific aggregates of motifs. Some motifs occur more frequently in some areas than in others, and only when the preferred motif pattern bears similarity to patterns in adjacent areas can we link sites together to form a composite "meaning".

In a recent study of Galilee and the Golan, E. Meyers (1976:99f) noted that the Upper Galilee region was characterized by a conservative use of representational art as well as an active tradition involving geometric designs, eagles and menorot. Although the craftsmanship may not have been of the highest imperial standard, the individual features of the various motifs nonetheless "reflect skilled artistry." In contrast, the Jordan Valley and Lower Galilee communities show a synagogue tradition of decoration and colour. To Meyers, this is clear evidence of "syncretistic liberality" and "borrowing of motifs" in a "completely Jewish context led by a Hellenized rabbinate." In each case, Meyers was able to discern clear differences in the types of motifs selected. The implication is that where the preference pattern was different, the motivation for that selection differed. For whatever reason, certain motifs

were selected over others, and that selection process resulted in a different preference pattern.

#### The Provenance Study of Material Culture

According to the principles of regional studies, there are recognized limitations to social unity imposed by geographic distance and topographic features in the natural landscape. (Whittlesey, 1967:35-37) These limitations are contributing factors in the intensity of regional self-awareness, and the degree of economic and political self-sufficiency which the region can maintain. In regional analysis, "phenomena are studied and related simply because they converge in a given area to affect the economy and culture of the particular societies in the area." (Whittlesey, 1967:31)

The provenance study of synagogue can be initiated by an emphasis on regional foci. All the factors which contribute to a region's local character can be studied as an integrated system. The whole range of phenomena may include topographic features, natural boundaries or mountain barriers, administrative and supply patterns, transportation corridors, and subsistence resources. Each site represents a convergence of these factors in a unique mix that bears relationship to nearby sites, and yet retains its own distinct character. In relation to the social structure of six Diaspora synagogues, Kraabel concluded that:

The archaeological data reviewed here suggest that the most important factors shaping a Diasporan synagogue building are local: location, size, decoration, architectural features and even symbolism depend in large part on the forces at work and the patterns available in a particular gentile city or town.  
(Kraabel, 1981:87)

Any interpretation of the art motifs must be able to account for their varied and changing character over space and time. Mapping their occurrence as a geographical "range" provides us with a clearer idea of how any pattern of motif selection may relate to other cultural phenomena.

Regional analysis provides a social context in which to determine the possible range of "meanings" engendered by the use of a motif. The Meiron team was able to detect differences in the selection patterns of a whole series of artifacts, and provided enough information to map the regional continuities in style and selection. The "meaning" of any one type<sup>27</sup> of artifact was, then, dependent upon the entire system of selection in the context of a complete cultural profile.

The term "cultural region" has been suggested as a "useful term in spatial analysis" (Dohrs, 1967:487) that defines areas with a high degree of homogeneity. It is faulted by the massive generality of it -- the term encloses the whole diversity of culture from agricultural practice to religious belief. It is built up from a series of studies focused on selected phenomena, and it is the correspondence between the individual profiles which lend

credibility to the concept. The term emphasizes the essential unity between different aspects of collective human behavior.

Whittlesey defines "cultural region" as

an important heuristic device for defining a region which is sufficiently limited to have a consciousness of its custom and ideals... a sense of its own distinct identity... a wholeness that sets it apart from other distinct groups. (Whittlesey, 1967:35)

We know that in some areas, culture groups which shared a sense of identity tended to settle in recognizable "quarters" or concentrations which took distinctive ethnic characteristics.

(Strange, 1982:85-87) The degree to which that ethnic character was isolated or assimilated depended in part on the rural or urban setting of the community. In order to discuss "meaning", then, we must be able to recognize the degree of social distance between ethnic communities and surrounding cultures, and between regional concentrations of the same ethnic group. The extent of the interaction between different groups provided the vehicle for shared conceptions about the various elements of their symbol system.

The regional hypothesis, then, will make it possible to sort out the archaeological data into groups of preferred motifs according to their geographical location.

The degrees of social similarity or dissimilarity between sites can be measured by using several different sets of boundaries. Chiat (1979) has provided a spatial definition, on the basis of

Roman administrative boundaries, but it remains to be proven, as to what extent the gentile political boundaries corresponded to the cultural limits of social interaction among the Jewish population. It may be pointed out that culture boundaries are seldom fixed in either time or space. Rather than a sharp discontinuity, social boundaries are more accurately understood as transitional differences in the degree of intensity in which a phenomenon occurs. (Whittlesey, 1967:31) On the question of the cultural patterns which mark Galilee, E. Meyers comments:

Both Avi-Yonah (1966, The Holy Land) and Baly (1957, Geography of the Bible) have argued that only Lower Galilee remained under the effective control of Rome during the Roman period, whereas Upper Galilee remained less affected by foreign politics and urbanization in particular. The question thus arises as to whether the cultural patterns of the people of the Roman period might have divided along regional lines. Further, might there be continuity in pattern between the north and the Golan Heights...the answer to both these questions is affirmative. (Meyers, 1976:95)

The political boundary system used by Chiat (Map 6) corresponds to the recognized administrative structure of the day. Her assertion that these boundaries "reflect more accurately the religious, social and cultural configuration of Palestine during the Roman and Byzantine periods" (Chiat, 1976:4) has not been proven. It implies a sharp discontinuity in the cultural phenomena, demarcated by an arbitrary political line that violates the transitional nature of cultural boundaries.<sup>28</sup>

The boundaries of the land of Israel (Eretz Israel)

according to Talmudic sources included lands which were to adhere to proscriptions of Halakah in the observance of offerings, tithes and agricultural practices. These boundaries have not been established with any certainty (Chiat, 1979:800) and are therefore unable to provide an adequate basis for us to select sites for regional analysis. In addition, Eretz Israel expressly encompassed a region which was populated by those returning from Babylon and deliberately excluded non-Jewish areas, like the city of Ascalon. Since many of the synagogues were located within excluded urban areas, the application of Talmudic boundaries eliminates many of the sites which we need to consider. This may be an important point in itself, but it certainly eliminates the Talmudic criteria as a basis for establishing boundaries in synagogue motif selection.

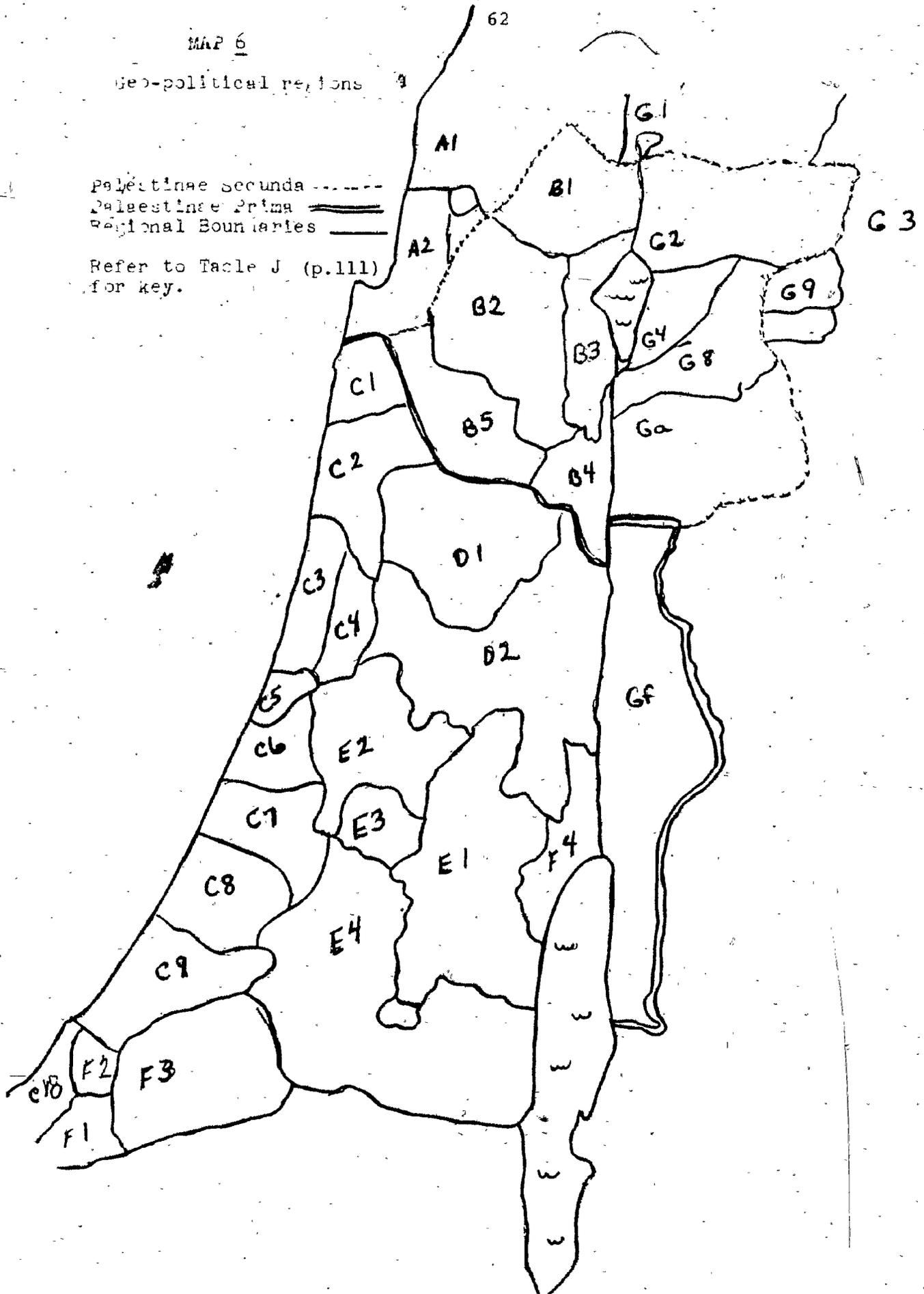
A third set of boundaries is created by the topographic features which represented barriers to communication between different groups of people (Map 8, p.64). These features are rugged mountain ranges, water barriers (or channels of communication), or other natural features which require some effort to cross. Unlike the political boundaries, these features remain relatively constant and lose their effectiveness slowly in the face of technological challenge. In EMeyer's study (1976) he was able to note cultural differences which corresponded, roughly, to geographical landforms. (Map 7, p.63 and Table W, p.135 ) The actual boundaries are less abrupt than the political definition, and therefore represent a closer analogy to the sort of cultural behavior we may

MAP 6

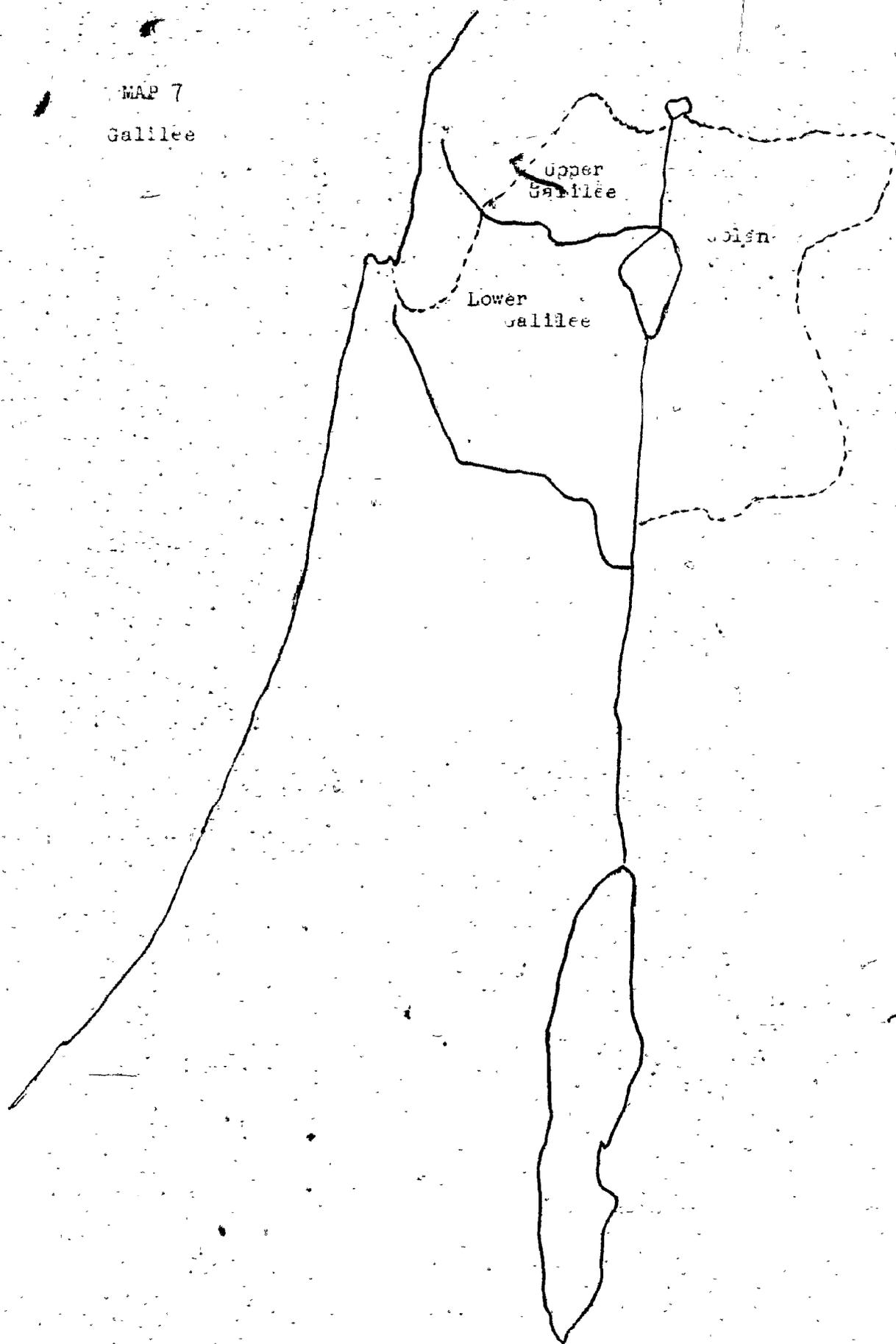
Geo-political regions

Palæstinae Secunda -----  
Palæstinae Prima ====  
Regional Boundaries ———

Refer to Table J (p.111)  
for key.



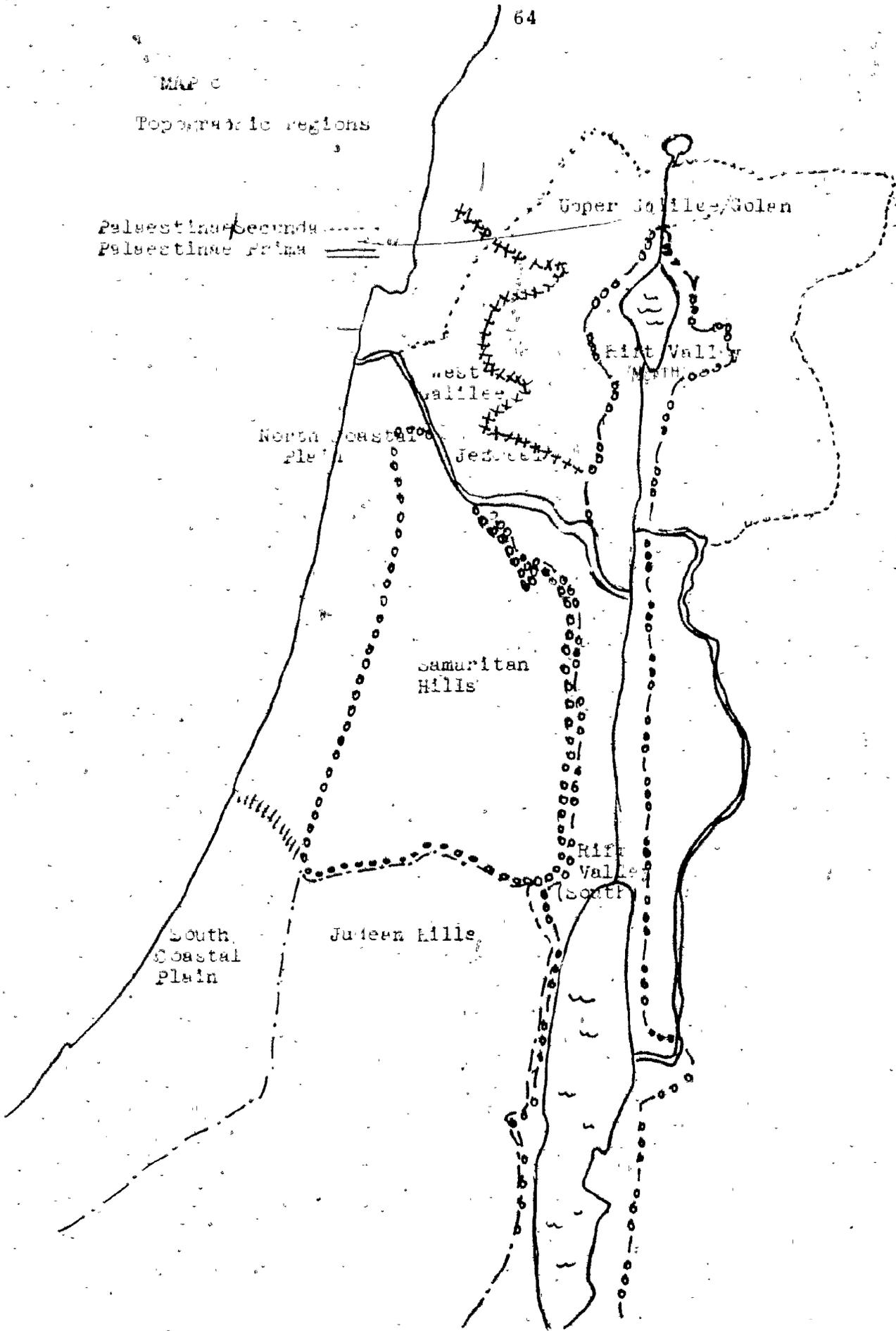
MAP 7  
Galilee



MAP C

Topographic regions

Palestinae Secunda  
Palestinae Prima



Upper Galilee/Golan

Rift Valley  
NORTH

West Galilee

North Coastal Plain

Samaritan Hills

Rift Valley  
SOUTH

Judean Hills

South Coastal Plain

expect in the regional analysis of social phenomena. The maps which have been provided are drawn so that they can be overlaid and compared in relation to the sample of sites used in later analysis in this thesis. That analysis will provide first steps in the development of a preferred motif profile, that can be added to other regional phenomena to increase our knowledge of local variations in the practice of synagogue Judaism.

A cultural region, then, is an integrated concept which sees the region, and human behaviour within it, as related parts in a dynamic system. It takes advantage of geographical proximity to define degrees of similarity or difference in the occurrence of phenomena. In relation to the preferred selection of motif types, we are able to work within a regionally defined context to interpret the artistic repertoire of a single site.

#### The Classification of Material Culture

Inference about meaning must begin with as much raw data as possible. The ideal classification allows the data to be collected systematically, in order that any combination of sites may be compared, on the basis of similar phenomena. At the same time, each site must be recognized as an individual, with its own set of unique environmental and social forces. The basis of comparison must be similar. To avoid comparing apples to oranges, it is essential to collect the same categories of information about the art motifs, the site, its place in chronological time and

space, and the nature of its architectural features. Meaning becomes a product of comparisons of the archaeological record of different sites, on the assumption that a relationship exists between the discovery of the motif, the use of that motif in the ancient setting, and the various symbol systems which provide the structural unity in the society which left these remains. The detailed inventory then must be set up in such a way that the comparison of any specified set of variables (in the art, the architecture, or the site location) can be accomplished quickly and easily.

In order to find a method in which the variables can be set within a social context, we may begin from those elements which all artifacts hold in common -- their material nature. Their relationships to each other and to the site on which they were found provide a nucleus of empirically verifiable relationships from which we can develop a construct of a cultural region. For our purposes, the discovery of the same types of motifs in a similar cultural context, on two different sites, constitutes sufficient cause to assume similar understandings of how a motif may have been interpreted. The work done by E. Meyers implies that the concept of regionalism, and regional patterning of artifacts, can be applied to the decorative motifs. When the patterns of various types of artifacts converge, it is possible to map those patterns in a "cultural region." The alignment of a common social environment among sites with a common selection of motifs

may provide us with the context in which we can speculate on meaning.

In order to determine the possibilities of "meaning" which may have been attached, in a specific social context, to any given combination of motifs, I have adopted the stages of iconological analysis proposed by Panofsky (1939:5-7). He distinguishes three strata of subject matter which can inform or give meaning to distinctive configurations of line and colour in Renaissance art. In the initial stage of "pre-iconographic description," pure form is analyzed in terms of configurations of line, colour and shape which represent objects common to empirical sense experience. This primary, or natural meaning involves the identification of motif types -- animals, plants, objects -- and the expressive qualities which are immediately recognizable and common to human experience. Panofsky makes a distinction between form, which is the empirical data, and subject matter or meaning, which is implied by the form, but is less direct. The pre-iconographical description is dependent upon the correct interpretation of form, and that in turn provides the basis for the secondary or conventional level of meaning. The analysis of the subject matter of a form interprets it in terms of shared networks of symbolic communication. This includes gestures, customs and other culturally conditioned, non-verbal forms of communication. He includes the possibility that an individual may have his own variation in the understanding.

but the purpose is to determine the social mean around which those individual meanings circulate. Motifs and combinations of motifs become, therefore, carriers of secondary meaning when their themes and concepts are understood as symbols which point by means of images, stories or allegory, to meanings beyond themselves. The secondary level corresponds to the "discursive symbol" (Rader, 1960:238) which employs conventional, shared meanings, and to which symbols point in a corporate social body. The correct identification of the concepts which define the discursive symbol presupposes a familiarity with specific themes or concepts as they are transmitted through literary sources and oral tradition. The third level of iconographic analysis involves the search for

underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, period, class, religious or philosophical persuasion...unconsciously qualified by one personality (the artist) and condensed into one work. (Panofsky, 1939:46)

In all of these levels, the context in which the symbols are interpreted is corporate and shared. The symbol is a bridge by which some meaning is carried from one person to another as an agreed-upon set of forms and shapes. The investigation of the symbol begins, then, at the level of form. The systematic adaptation of specific forms, as they are detected in the material culture, provides the foundation for interpretation of the secondary, conventional meanings of the form as symbol.

The material presently available for synagogue art can be organized on the first level of pre-iconographic analysis. These artifacts represent material objects with distinctive morphological characteristics that are readily identifiable, and empirical verification can be accomplished easily. The initial step in classification, then, requires that the data be organized according to a primary definition of morphological type.

The problem of a classification system may be approached by presenting the material in a regional format (p.55ff) and adopting a notation code borrowed from explicit monothetic categories, similar to those developed for North American artifact typologies. In a monothetic system (Williams and Dale, 1965:38), the data are coded into categories on the basis of its presence or absence in the artifact assemblage. Translated into iconographical terms, we either have a human figure (or animal, plant,...), or we do not. Degrees of presence or absence are not indicated. Either another category is created to account for the cross-over of types, or the detail is relegated to a note in the analysis, is considered irrelevant to the typology as a whole, and therefore is "lost." In the case where a third category can be created, this course is preferred. For example, a centaur is neither human nor animal. The form, however, is familiar from the literature of the period, and we can therefore adopt another category of "mythic" forms.<sup>29</sup> In this manner, all the data are classified in types which are mutually exclusive, and noted as present or absent in the repertoire of the

site. In my classification, this system was modified to account for the less-than-perfect condition of archaeological remains by including a "degree of damage" column, in which I have provided a means to indicate that a form is incomplete, or cannot be further identified. All forms, however, must be indicated within the pre-iconographical types, which I call "primary types." The finer distinctions in forms are sub-types, in which an "other" category permits the unidentified forms to be included in analysis. The result is a numerical notation which can be fed into a computer for analysis of circumstances of presence or absence for any number of sites, arranged in any specified manner.

The problem, however, is to find clear types in which criterion are mutually exclusive and do not cross between primary types. The system must be based on the careful morphological description of artifacts, grouped into types according to similarity of form. Those uniform types can be further refined according to variation within the broader type. The subtypes will belong exclusively to their own primary type. The first level of iconographic classification, then, involves the sorting of iconic materials according to general, or primary types. These categories are then successively compartmentalized into a variety of sub-types. All these categories can be translated into computer-read notation through which analysis is undertaken.

The development of a typology represents innumerable problems because of the complexity of classification theory by which analysis of multiple variables ("multivariate analysis"<sup>30</sup>)

can be performed. The relationships within the complex of data can be elucidated when the information is translated into a coherent body by the use of descriptive numerical languages. The analysis of the data, however, is dependent upon the initial selection of relevant criteria for categories of description. It is essential that the selection criteria be explicitly stated, that types be mutually exclusive, and that descriptive units be meaningful to the population, and to the nature of the data. (Read, 1974:216)

At first sight, the problem is straightforward; related units must be simply grouped together into classes of types and these elements are used as the basis for subsequent discussion. (Doran, 1975:158)

The term, "related units," however, proves to be frustratingly slippery. In archaeological terms, it is necessary to give careful consideration to what is meant by "association," and on what grounds, one unit is "related to" another. The basic unity of description is of fundamental importance to the validity of the entire classification scheme. For example, the vague, stylistic categories of the architectural typologies were weakened and confused by the imprecise nature of their criteria. (Seager, 1981:42) It is hoped that the classification provided in this thesis may contribute to a more complete typology of synagogue archaeological materials, and in doing so, illuminate the order which the collapsed architectural typologies have failed to show. According to the North American artifact typologies, artifact units must be tangible, with dimensions directly measurable and recorded as present or absent. This method

takes advantage of the material nature of the artifact. We can consider artifacts of synagogue art in this manner, since:

In order to exist at all, a work of art must be tangible. It must renounce thought, must become dimensional and must both measure and qualify space. (C. Meyers, 1976:3)

The selection of unit categories for classification is further governed by their relevance to the "target population." Our study is directed toward the population associated with synagogue remains. That population may have been composed of a mixture of different occupational and political groups, but the common element of their experience is their contribution to our involvement in the design, construction and use of synagogue buildings:

Table A (p.75) shows a classification of the art forms according to thirteen primary types. For our purposes, art is defined as any decorative element which is not normally part of the functioning architectural orders. For example, a capital of the Corinthian order is not considered decorative, but the lamp-stand and horn carved on its surface are treated as decorative. These elements may be located on friezes, columns, capitals, mosaic floors, on walls, pediments and facades. "Synagogue" refers to the hall proper and rooms immediately adjacent to the central hall. We do not have clear knowledge about the use of other rooms in the building complex, and therefore have excluded those rooms from this analysis. Regarding the use of outlying rooms, E. Meyers and Strange (1981:60) suggest that:

It is not always clear that they are an integral part of the synagogue complex. Indeed it is sometimes obvious that a room is used for synagogue purposes in one period and not in another.

Since we do not know the function of these rooms, and frequently even the dimensions remain underground, it is necessary to narrow our reference to the synagogue proper.

When a motif has been so damaged as to make identification doubtful, a category labelled "other" may be sufficient to include the motif, without requiring further identification. In addition, a distinction can be made in a degree-of-damage column as to the extent and nature of the defacement. The damage is considered systematic, if certain aspects (the face, head, the figure) have been obliterated but the surrounding field is untouched. This systematic pattern is particularly noticeable at Na'aran, where the Hebrew lettering on the zodiac was untouched, while the figures have been systematically removed from the mosaic floor (Avi-Yonah, 1960). Random damage is indicated where such a pattern cannot be determined, and the condition of the artifact is a product of the ravages of time, rather than any specific intent to damage. Our concern is that the categories are empirically definable in a visual sense, in a manner which resists the subjectivity of the individual observer. This is the only aspect of pre-iconographic description in which the subjective judgement of the archaeologist is required. The argument can be added to the supplementary discussion of the code for the particular site in question. In most cases, the nature of the

damage will be obvious from the illustration of the motif and its artifact.

## VI

Data Gathering and OrganizationSelection of Thirteen Primary Types

The first column of Table A (p.75) identifies thirteen primary types of motifs found in synagogue art. The motif is treated as an artifact type defined as "any recurring combination of attributes which can be shown to have historical or spatial meaning." (Whallon, 1971:6) The categories are derived from recognizable forms which correspond to concepts in literature contemporary to the period.

The ritual forms are enduring symbols in Jewish tradition. They can be divided into three types. The branched lampstand is a long-lasting motif that has been identified by Jewish tradition with the Solomonic Temple, and was one of the three famous cult objects in Herod's Temple. (Goodenough, 1954:72) That strong association continued through the Second Temple period and rabbinic regulations exist on its form and its use. Significantly, those regulations forbid its use in the synagogue. (Goodenough, 1954:771f)

A man may not make...a candelabrum after the design of its (the Temple) candelabrum. He may however make one with five, six or eight branches, but with seven he may not make it even though it be of other metals. (Abodah Zara 43a; also see BT Menahoth 28b; Rosh Ha-Shanah 24a,b)

Table A

## Classification Code for Motifs

Primary Type	Variations and sub-types
(Ritual) Menorah/Lampstand	
1. present	
0. absent	(number of menorot) Ø. not applicable 1. single 2. pair, linear (number of branches) Ø. not applicable J. four branches and centre stand 2. six branches and centre stand 3. eight branches and centre stand X. other (shape of base) Ø. not applicable 1. solid block 2. two footed 3. three footed, clas base 4. base type is not clear 5. not base 6. stepped block base X. other
Increments	
1. present	
0. absent	(shofar, ram's horn) 1. present 0. absent Ø. not applicable
	(Variations) Ø. not applicable 1. single, to left of menorah 2. single, to right of menorah 3. paired, symmetrical left 4. paired, symmetrical right 5. paired, assymetrical X. other
	(lulav, palm branch) Ø. not applicable 1. present 0. absent
	(Variations) Ø. not applicable 1. branch 2. stylized roll X. other

		(Etrog, citrus fruit)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
			(Variations)
			Ø. not applicable
			1. pomegranate
			2. circle
			X. other
		(incense shovel)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
Torah Shrine (Aron Kodesh)			
1. present			
0. absent	1	(Curtain)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
			(arrangement)
			Ø. not applicable
			1. fastened open
			2. drawn closed
		(doors)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
		(pilasters)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
			(description)
			Ø. not applicable
			1. columns only
			2. columns/base
			3. columns/capital
			4. columns/capital/base
		(foundation)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
			(description)
			Ø. not applicable
			1. simple box
			2. stepped
			3. wheeled
			X. other
		(acroteria on gable)	
		Ø. not applicable	
		1. present	
		0. absent	
			(ornament)
			Ø. not applicable
			1. birds
			2. geometric
			X. other

Despite this prohibition, the candelabrum has been one of the primary indicators which scholars have used to identify a synagogue. In Hevron, it is the only indication that a synagogue may have existed (see site catalogue, p. 241). The subtypes, or variations in form, which are given in the second and third columns of the classification, provide detailed descriptive criteria for the subtypes of the primary category. These details include the arrangement of more than one menorah in a group, the number of branches, and the shape of the base. As we can see from the quotation of Abodah Zara 43a, these details are important in view of the Talmudic minutiae given in these regulations.

The ritual forms frequently presented adjacent to the menorah are called "increments" in this classification. They have associations with biblical tradition and temple liturgy. The sounding of the shofar, or ram's horn, is traditionally associated with the celebration of the High Holy Days. In synagogue art, it appears with the candelabrum, and is frequently paired with the lulav, or palm branch. The palm branch is associated with the celebration of the Feast of Sukkoth. The etrog, or citrus fruit, and the incense shovel complete the ritual aggregate which is frequently composed in a complementary arrangement, often enclosed within a wreath or circle.

The Torah shrine functioned as a central symbol in Jewish worship. The rabbinic tradition felt the "sanctity of the shrine almost entirely in terms of the sacred scrolls within it." (Goodenough,

1954:99) Goldman (1966) has demonstrated the continuing use of the sacred cabinet, and the powerful symbolism of the threshold.

The increments are remembered in the Biblical and Mishnaic literature. The shofar is first mentioned in Exodus 19:16. It is used to proclaim the Jubilee Year of "freedom throughout the land." (Lev. 25:9) It was to be sounded during festivals and used as a musical instrument (Ps. 98:6), in processions (Josh. 6:4f) as a signal (Josh. 6:12ff, II Sam. 15:10), as a clarion call in war (Jud. 3:27) and in order to induce fear (Amos 3:6). In the Temple, the Shofar was used with the trumpet. Regulations of the shape and material from which the shofar should be made are recorded in the Talmudic tractate Rosh Ha-Shanah (27a, 26b, 3:2, 33b). The lulav (shoot) is a term applied in the Mishnah to all trees (Shev 7:5, Or 1:7). Its use, however, was particularly confined to the palm branch, one of the components of the Four Species (Suk. 3,4). Its use in Jewish ritual is on the Feast of Sukkot. The etrog is a conspicuous ornamental motif among the Jews during the Second Temple period and appeared on coins of Simon and other Hasmoneans. The Bible describes this fruit as "the fruit of the goodly tree (Lev. 23:40), and it may have been a relatively new import to Palestine in the period after Alexander (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1971, 6:948). All these increments are derived from symbols used in the liturgy and remembered in the rabbinic tradition. They represent continuities in synagogue tradition throughout this period, and are therefore valid categories of classification of synagogue decorative motifs.

Geometric motifs (Table B, p.80) can be classified according to motifs used in mosaics, in a classification originally developed by Avi-Yonah (1981:44-52). Although that repertoire has differences in its selection of individual forms from those adopted in synagogue art, it provided a useful foundation which could be supplemented during the course of my investigation. Among geometric shapes, the lack of a common vocabulary for the individual shapes is a consistent and vexing problem. All too often, descriptions are made vague by the lack of full description. When "squares and geometric forms" constitute the entire description of the forms on a site, it is not surprising that a detailed classification cannot be carried out. The lack of a vocabulary for these shapes which is readily understandable from one scholar to another is particularly frustrating. To avoid this problem altogether, I have cast the geometric classification criteria in graphic form (Table C, p.83) using the categories initiated by Avi-Yonah, and further supplemented during this investigation. Although I have provided a verbal description, authoritative reference must be made to the visual glossary of Table C to determine the category into which a form belongs.

The vegetable categories in Table D (p.96) have been derived from their biological counterparts, and include vine scrolls, trees, the individual aspects of isolated leaf forms, and various types of fruit. The floral decorations have been classified according to their biological counterparts, and for both types, a visual glossary has been included to clarify ambiguous forms.

## Geometric

- 1. present
- 0. absent

## (rectilinear)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- a. parallel mouldings
- b. multi-parallel mouldings
- e. dentil, left of moulding
- f. dentil, right of moulding
- g. squared dentil
- m. triangular dentil
- n. line of squares
- y. linked swastika fret
- x. lintel moulding
- o. double squared dentil
- w. key-hole linked fret
- q. gable moulding
- s. bent swastika fret
- t. stretcher-heading blocks

## (curvilinear)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 2. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- d. three strand guilloche
- b. one strand twisted
- a. one strand twisted within frame
- g. linear wavelets to right
- h. linear wavelets to left
- m. tongue & circle guilloche
- w. one strand twisted, no border
- n. tongued double reverse guilloche
- t. rope-like torus
- u. egg and dart
- v. linear wave with circles
- f. four strand guilloche
- c. roll and circle
- s. interlaced scroll
- y. double volutes
- e. eyelet

## (circles)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

- z. double scoop
- Ø. not applicable
- a. circle within circle
- b. crossed circle
- c. bouy circle
- d. single box within circle
- e. crossed circle, squared core
- f. fret within square enclosed by circle.

(Geometric) - continued

(circles) - continued

- g. back-to-back fret within box, enclosed by circle
- h. ovoid
- j. zodiac wheel
- k. whorl with plain core
- m. intertwined medallion
- u. six-pointed convex with circle core
- o. whorl
- p. plain circle

(crosslets)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- a. simple crosslet
- b. x crosslet
- c. five-cube crosslet
- e. four-cube crosslet
- f. elongated, horizontal diamond with three divisions.
- g. elongated horizontal diamond with inner circle, two divisions.
- h. linked horizontal lozenges
- j. interlaced weave knot

(lozenges)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- a. multi-cube diamond
- b. indented square
- c. multi-block lozenge
- d. multi-block lozenge with three divisions.

(rectilinear field II)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- a. alternate checkerboard
- b. linear checkerboard
- c. multi-colour checkerboard
- e. solid checkerboard
- d. double-border checkerboard

(rectilinear field II)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

## Table B - continued

(Geometric) - continued

(Rectilinear Field-continued)

- Ø. not applicable
- f. star-burst triangles
- a. dentilated square blocks
- b. dentilated x underlying framed square, interlaced
- c. dentilated octagon with square core, interlaced
- d. triangle-square pattern with plain centre square
- e. inter-linked polygons
- g. five-pointed star
- h. six-pointed star

(Ornamental Field)

- Ø. not applicable
- l. present
- 0. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- b. interlaced circle and square
- h.g. scallop, fan
- i. interlaced angles
- q. amphora
- r. bow knot
- s. "hercules knot"
- t. "double granny" knot
- w. simple line ribbon
- u. tabbed x with square core

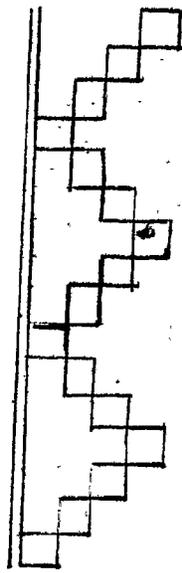
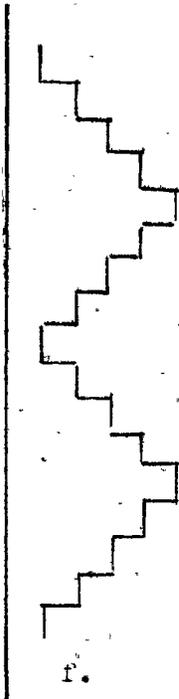
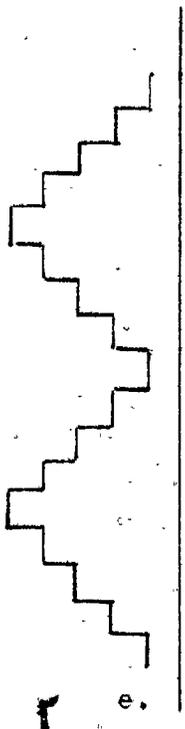
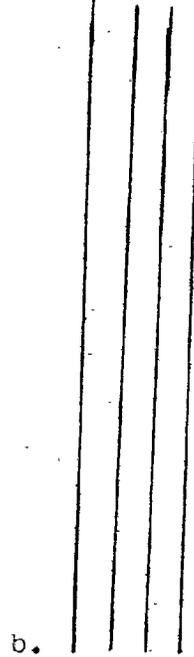
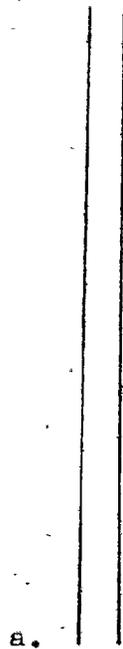
(Curvilinear Field)

- Ø. not applicable
- l. present
- 0. absent

- Ø. not applicable
- c. offset semi-circles
- d. circles interlaced with continuous pattern
- e. semi-circle, square x
- g. toothed
- J. stylized leaflets in symmetrical arrangement
- f. triple intertwined figure of eight

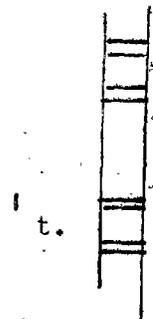
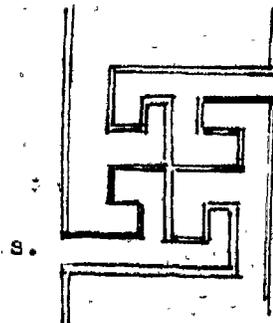
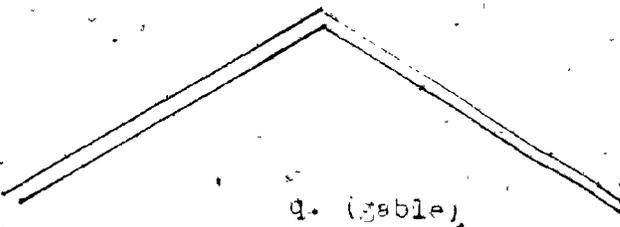
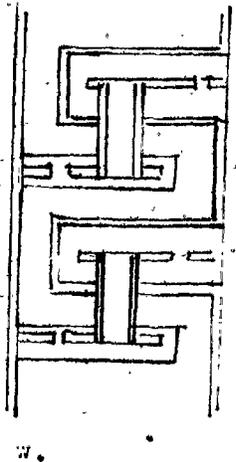
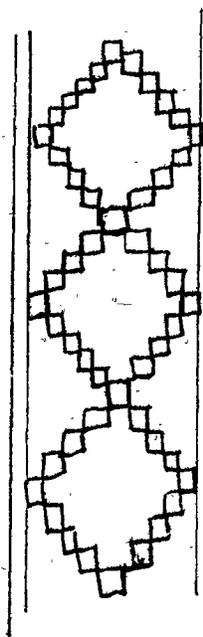
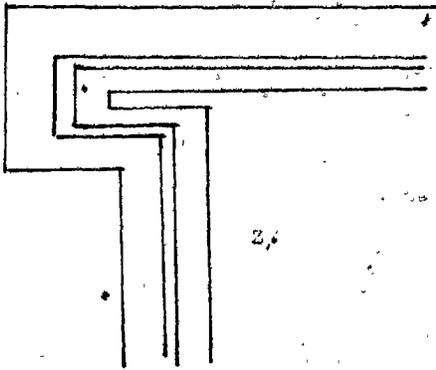
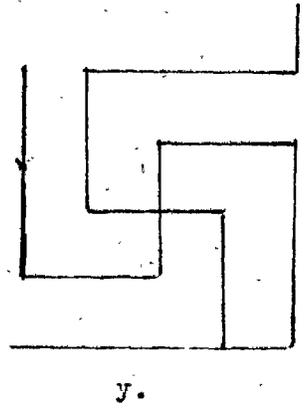
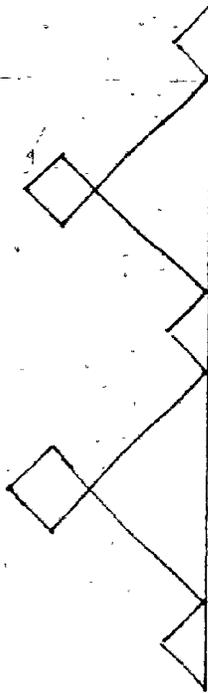
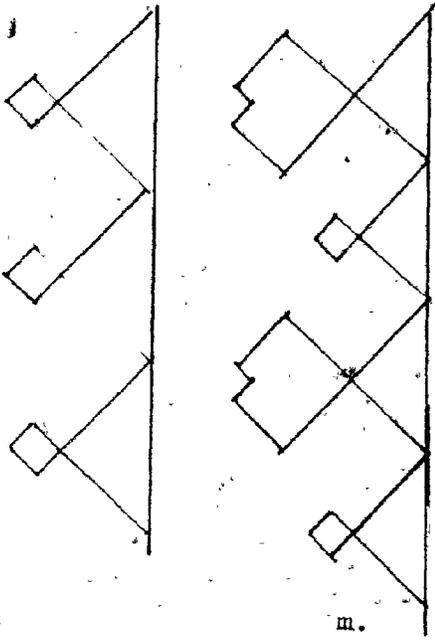
Table C

Rectilinear

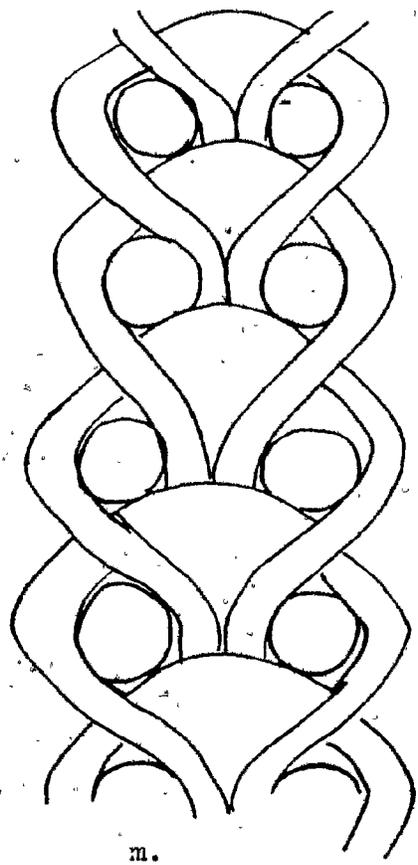
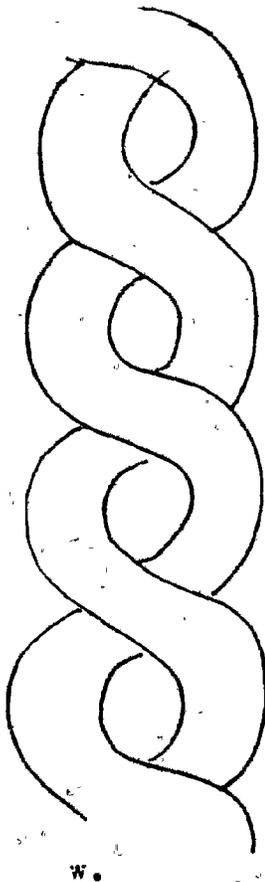
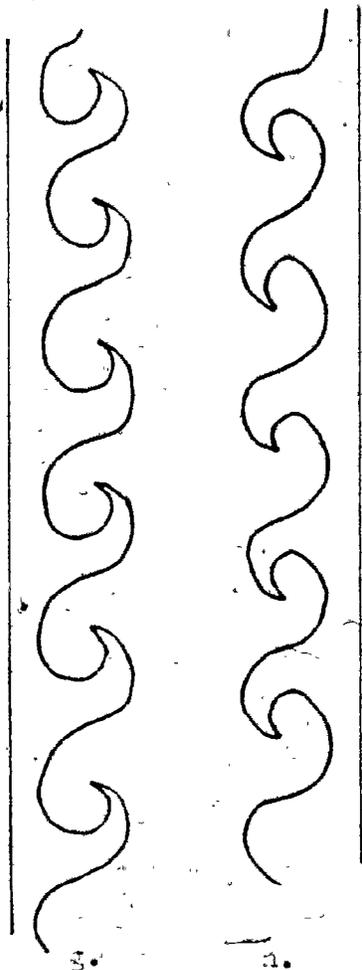
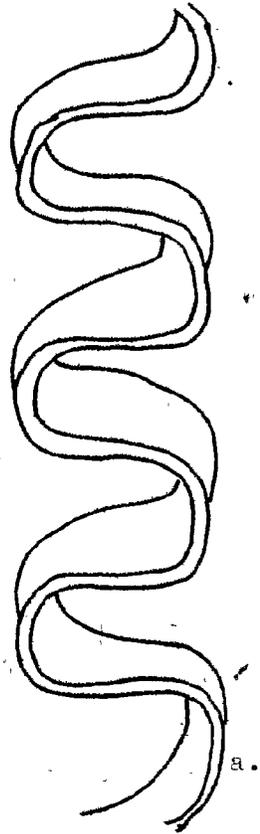
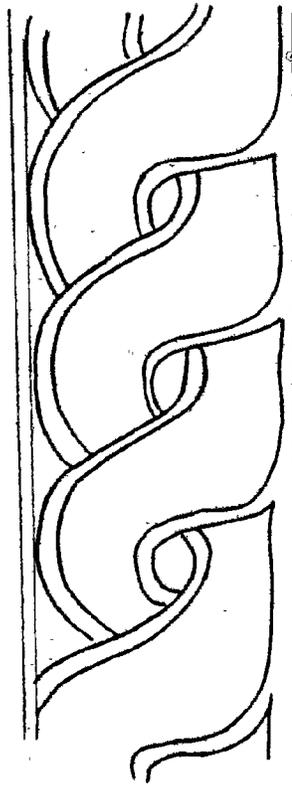
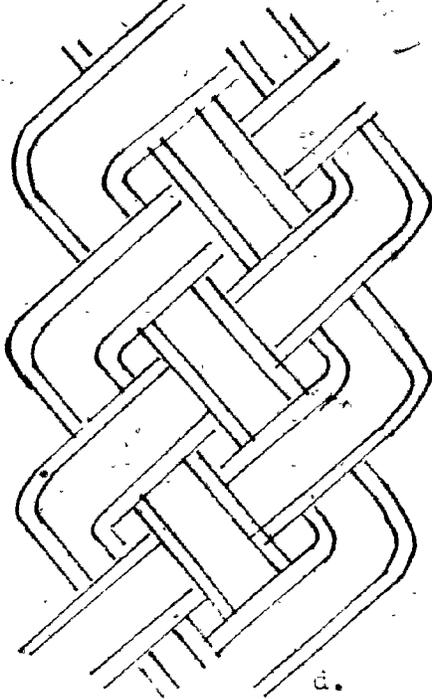


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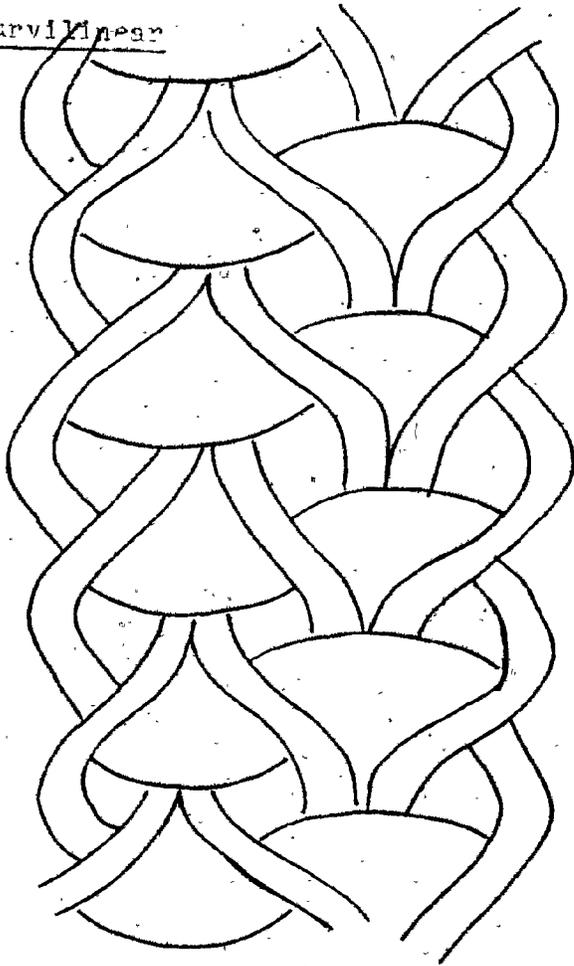
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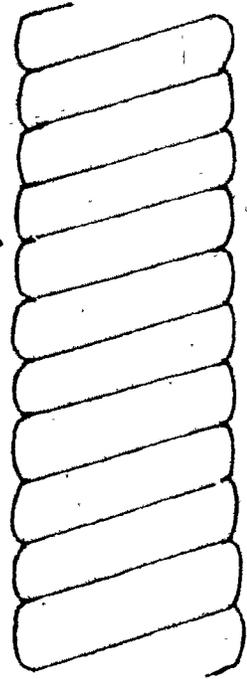
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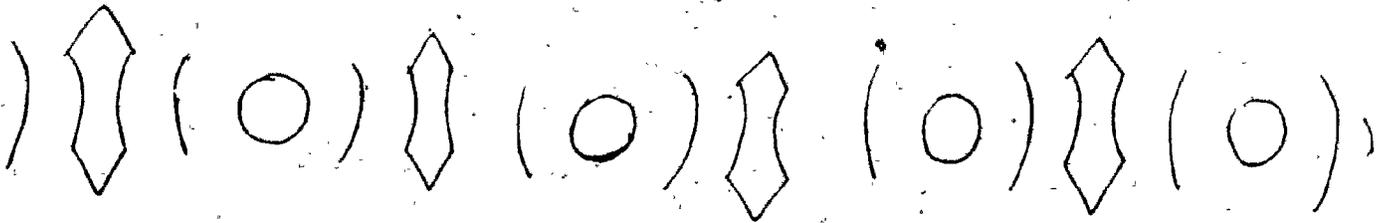
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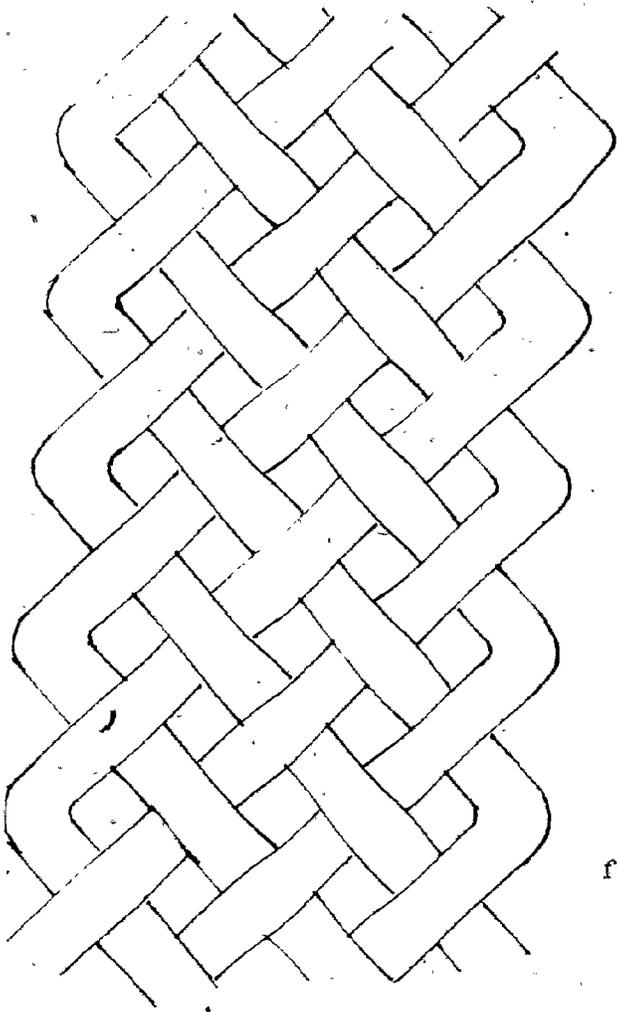
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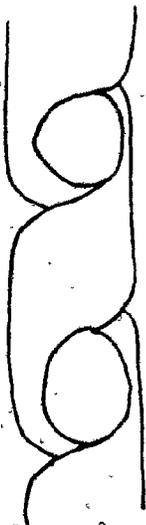
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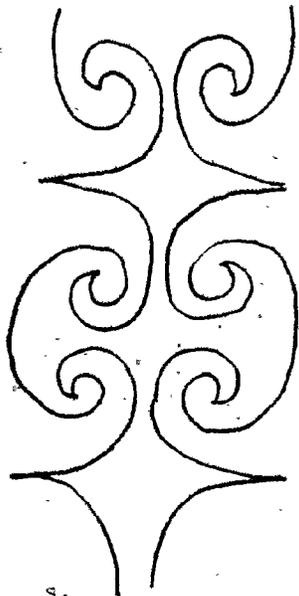
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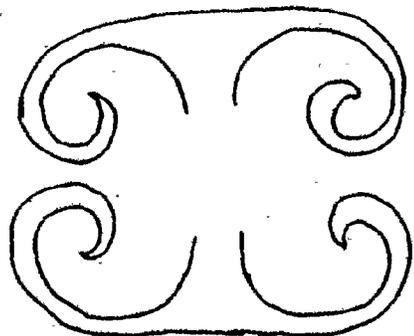
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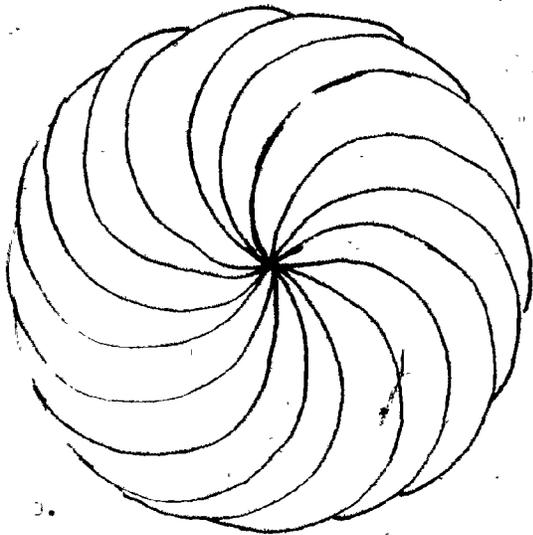
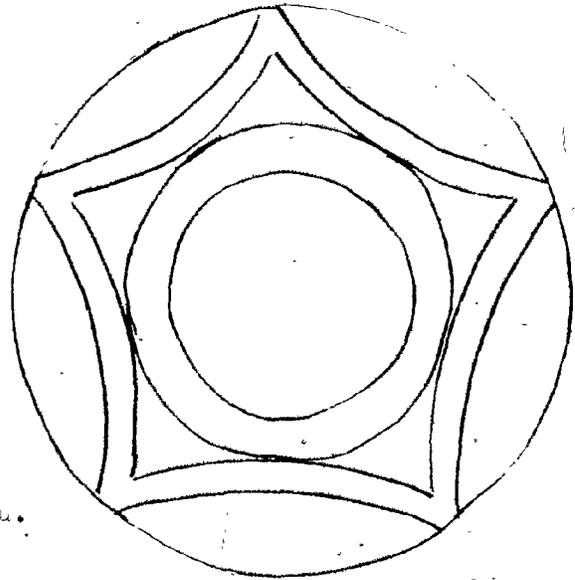
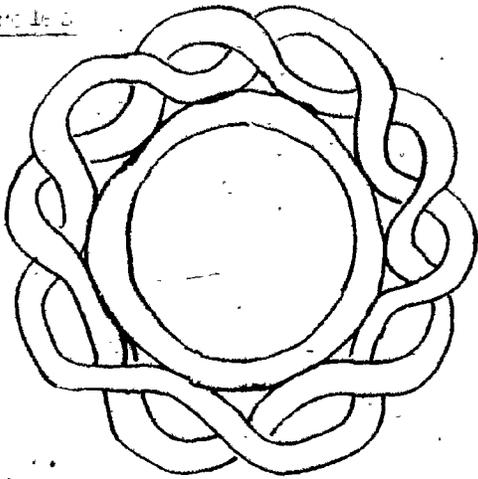


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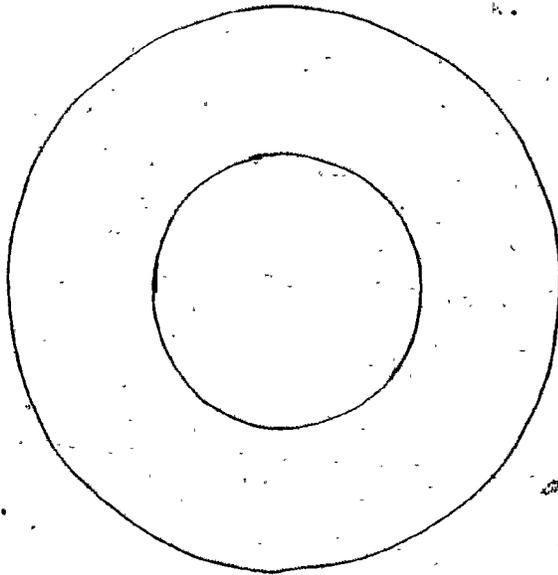
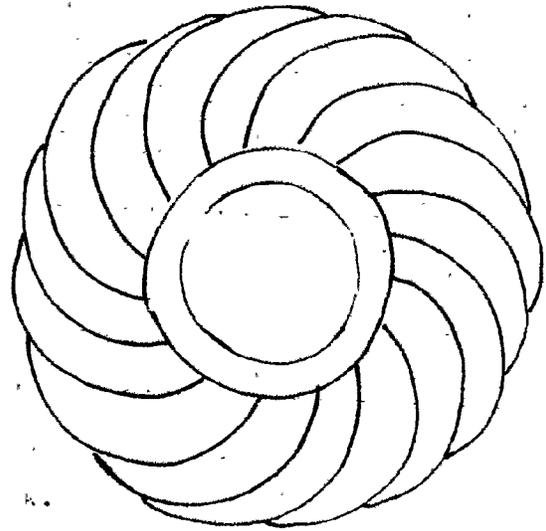


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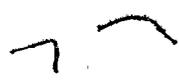
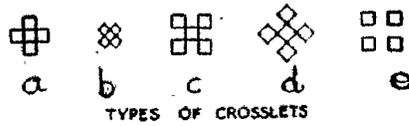
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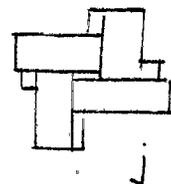
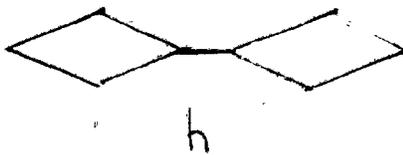
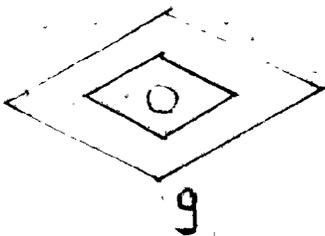
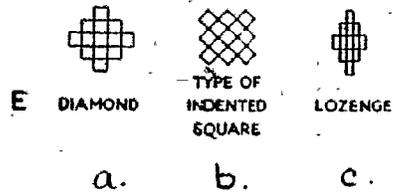
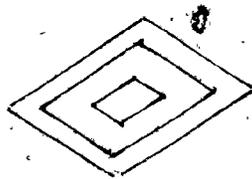
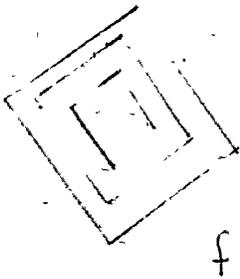
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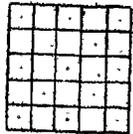
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Lozenges



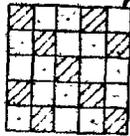
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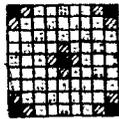
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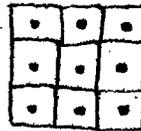
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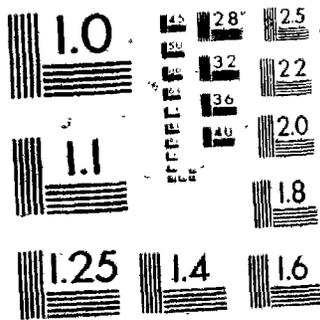


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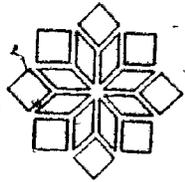


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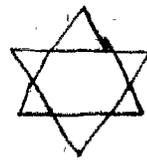
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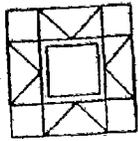
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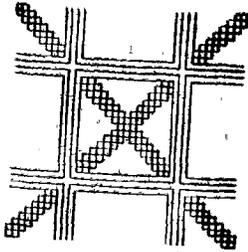
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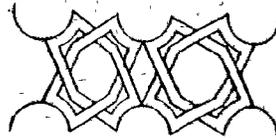


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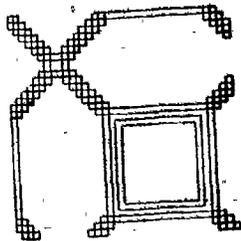


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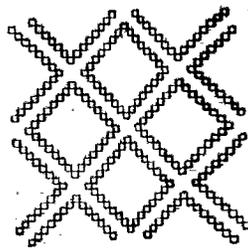
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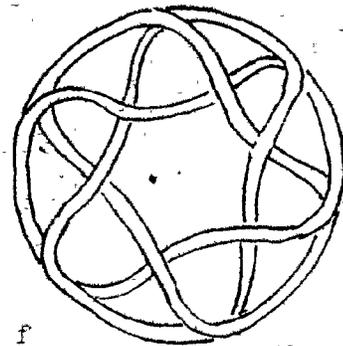
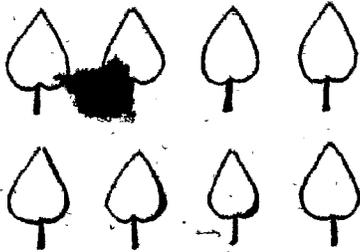
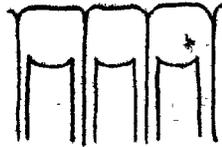
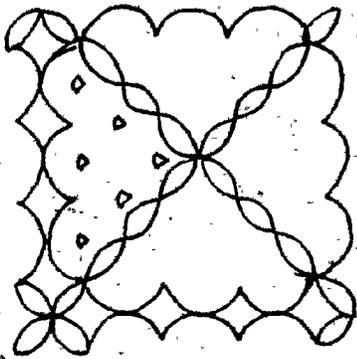
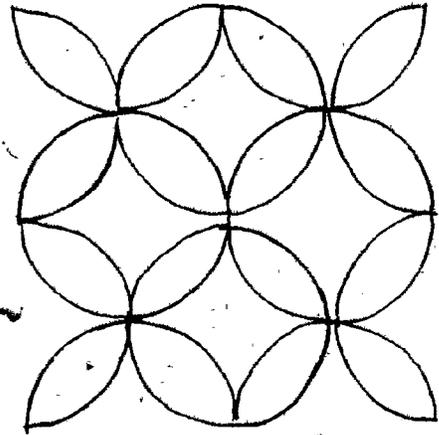
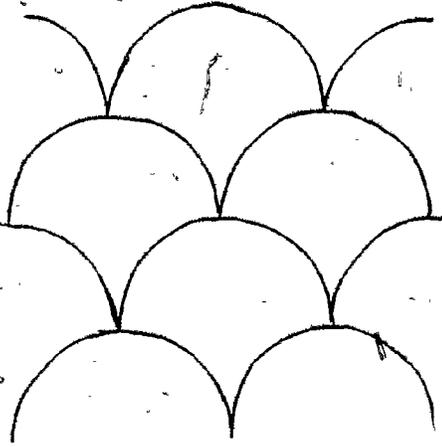
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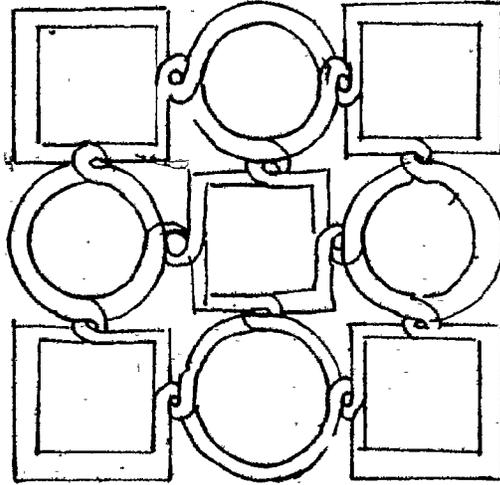
d

Curvilinear Field

Curvilinear Field.

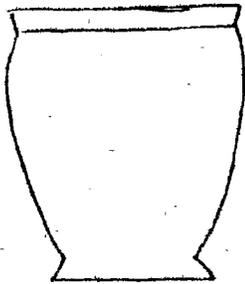
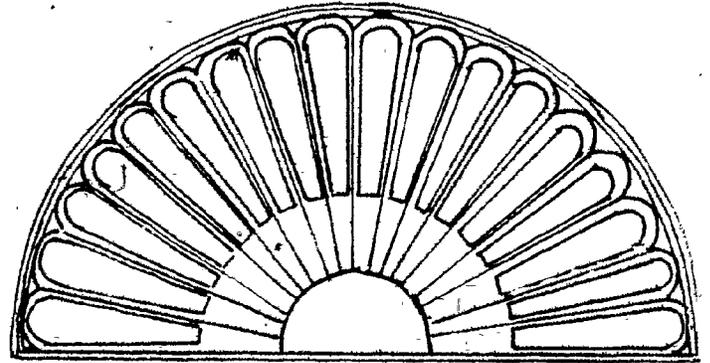
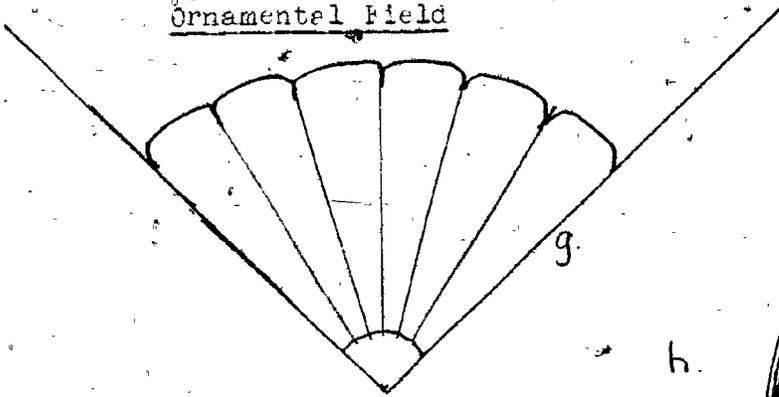


Ornamental Field



b.

Ornamental Field



AMPHORA

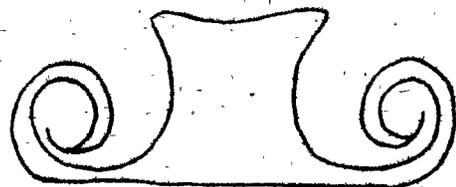
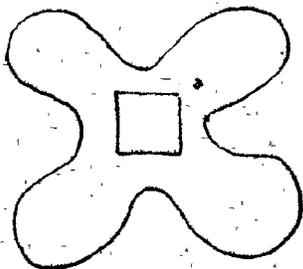
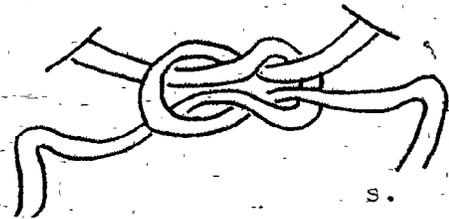
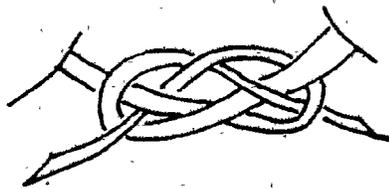
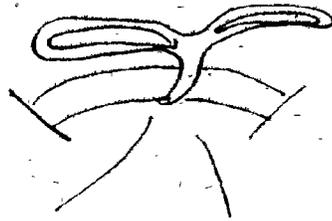


Table D

## VEGETABLE

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(vine scroll)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

(arrangement)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. trellis rooted in amphora
- 2. meander rooted in amphora
- 3. tendril and vine without root
- 4. garland
- X. other

(tree)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

(species)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. palm tree
- 2. sheaf
- 3. stalk
- X. other

(fruit)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

(species)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. citrus (without menorah)
- 2. berry cluster
- X. other

(leaf)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

(species)

- 1. broad leaf
- 2. acanthus
- 3. grape
- X. other
- Ø. not applicable

## FLORAL

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(type)

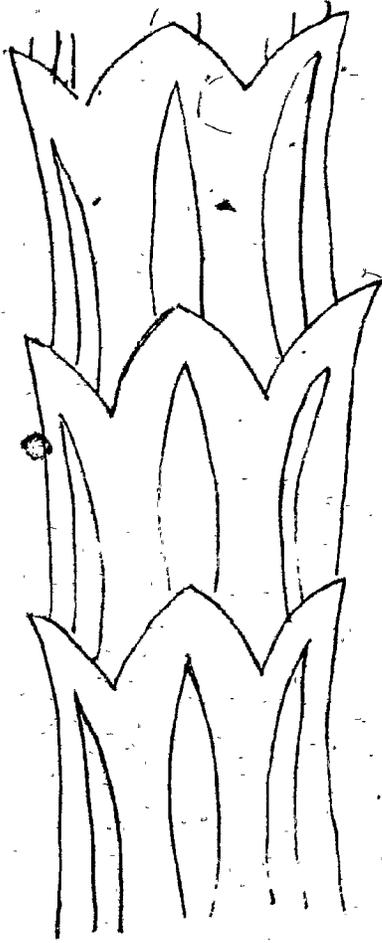
- 1. rosette
- X. other
- Ø. not applicable

2. blossom

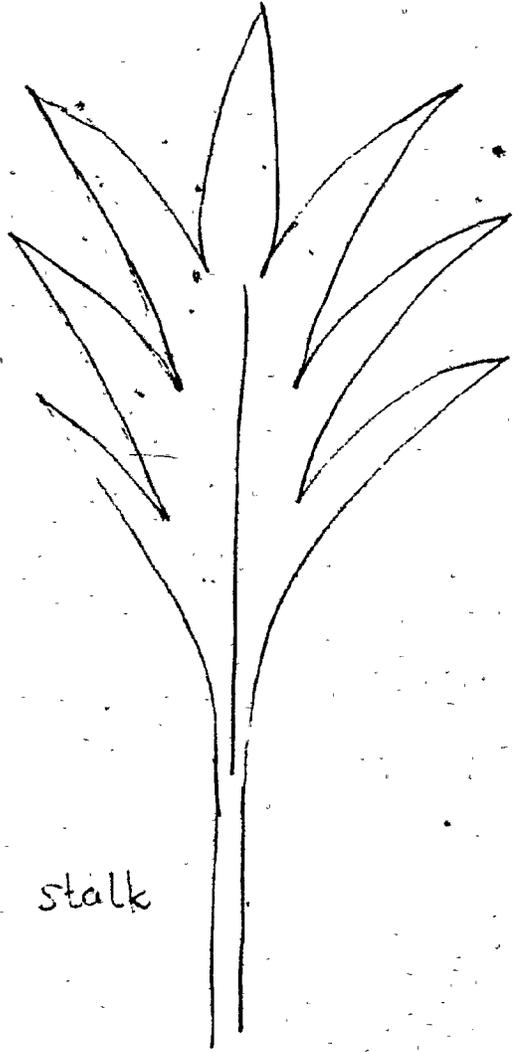
(form)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. broad petalled, floral
- 2. narrow petalled, daisy
- 3. petal and leaf combination
- X. other
- 4. lily

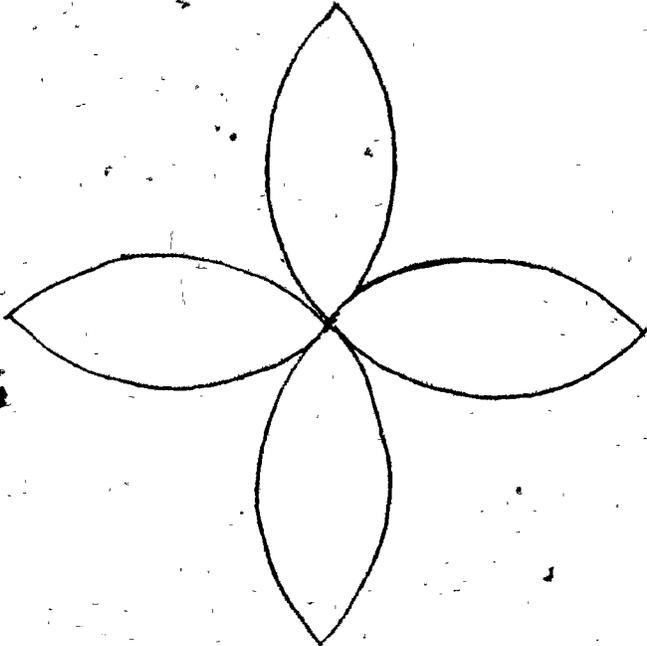
97  
Tree



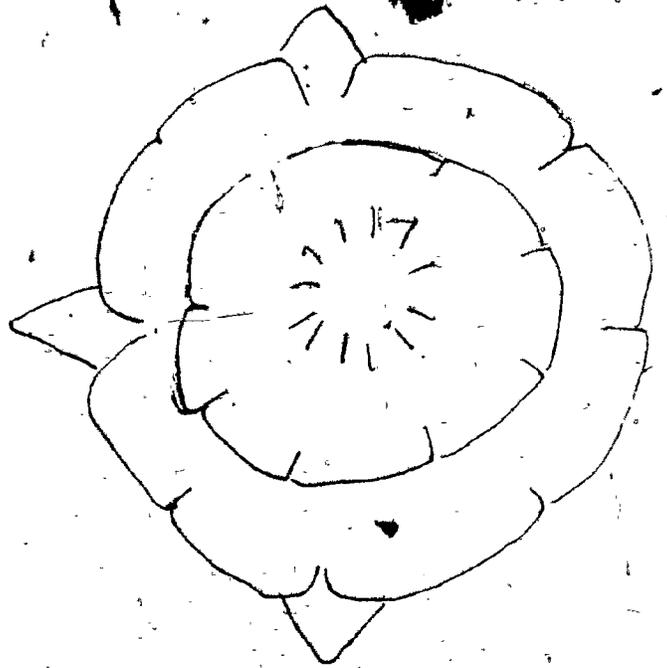
sheaf



stalk

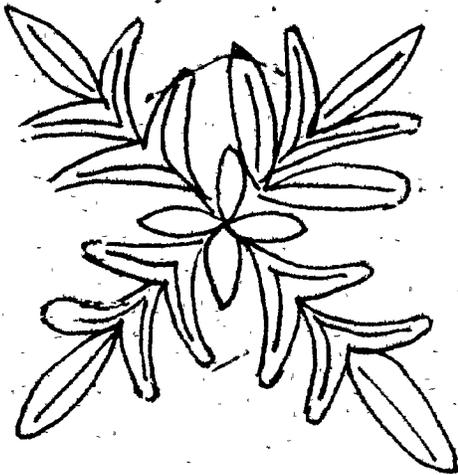


3. 5-merous petals, etc.

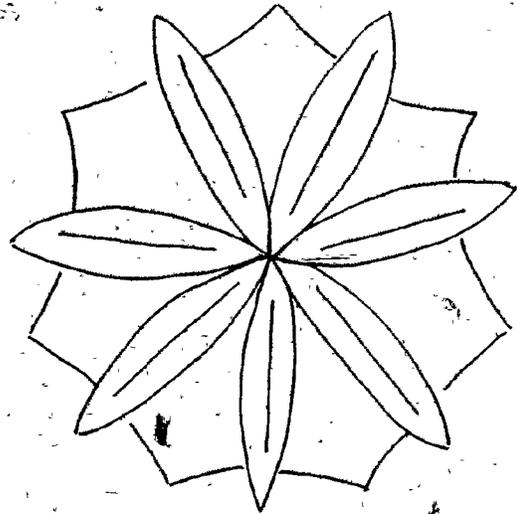


3. 5-merous petals, etc.

Rosettes



3. Petal and leaf combinations



The "circle-surround" has no counterpart in the natural realm but occurs frequently in synagogue art. The circle is seen in the form of a stylized wreath (which is not classified as a vegetable type or an undecorated circle -- "clipeus"). It is a standard leifmotif on stone ossuaries, catacomb doors, and other funerary motifs, and is frequently flanked, in synagogue art, by other motifs in the form of winged figures, menorot, or other figures. (Goldman, 1966:62) A separate column accounts for the internal motif. (Table E)

Table E

CIRCLE SURROUND

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(Type of Circle)

- 1. wreath
- 2. medallion (clipeus)

(Internal Motif)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. present
- 0. absent

(Type of Motif)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. menorah
- 2. increments
- 3. Torah shrine
- 4. geometric
- 5. vegetable
- 6. floral
- 7. marine
- 8. reptile
- 9. mythic
- 10. fowl
- 11. animal
- 12. human

Animal figures are zoologically identified in Table G (p.101). The species are familiar and recognizable without further explanation. This applies to marine, fowl and reptile motifs as well.

The thematic subtypes which classify human figures (Table H, p.102) represent conceptual categories, and emerge from the secondary level of iconographic classification. The categories I have used are derived from literary concepts available in biblical and rabbinic literature, as well as in the general art, literary, and mythological traditions in the Near East. These themes may constitute combinations of motifs, rather than individual figures, since it is the posture and arrangement of those figures which provide the significance.

It is at this level that many of the studies of synagogue art have developed. The zodiac wheel and its various components constitute a recurrent theme in synagogue decoration. The zodiac was the subject of Kramer's work (1965), and Hachili (1978) has taken up the matter more recently. Thematic ideas of enthronement form the substance of Tawil's interpretation of the Dura synagogue, and Wischnitzer uses the same site to suggest a full range of biblical, talmudic, and midrashic themes. The remainder of the themes are common to the art of the Near East, and have been discussed more thoroughly in Goddenough's Symbols of the Greco-Roman Period.

All the other primary types are classified according to pre-iconographic criteria. The forms are empirically verifiable

Table G.

## Reptile

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(species)

- 1. snake
- X. other
- Ø. not applicable

## Mythic

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(stance)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. full profile
- 2. full profile face to front
- 3. full figure facing, head turned to side
- 4. head only, in profile
- 5. head only, facing
- 6. full figure in active stance
- 7. full figure head turned over back
- 8. sculpture in round
- 9. too fragmentary for certainty
- X. other

(arrangement)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. isolated figure
- 2. heraldic
- 3. flanking
- 4. asymmetrical group
- 5. linear repetition
- 6. theme-zodiac
- 7. theme-other
- X. other

(species)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. centaur
- 2. griffin
- X. other

## Fowl

- 1. present
- 2. absent

(arrangement)

- Ø. not applicable
- 1. heraldic (flanking, face to face, rearing up)
- 2. isolated figure
- 3. flanking, standing on ground
- 4. asymmetrical group
- 5. linear repetition following architectural line
- 6. theme-zodiac
- 7. theme-other
- X. other

## Fowl-continued

(species)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. cock
- 2. hen/dove/quail/partridge
- 3. peacock
- 4. eagle
- 5. heron
- X. other

## Animal

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(arrangement)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. isolated figure
- 2. heraldic (flanking face to face, rearing up)
- 3. flanking face to face, on ground
- 4. asymmetrical group
- 5. linear repetition following architectural line
- 6. theme-zodiac
- 7. theme-other
- 8. sculpture in round, fragments thereof
- 9. circle surround (within circle)

(position) 0. not applicable

- 1. full figure in profile
- 2. full figure, facing
- 3. full figure, face in profile
- 4. head only, in profile
- 5. head only, face to front
- 6. full figure in active stance
- 7. full figure head turned over back

(species) 0. not applicable

- 1. antelope
- 2. bull/ox/calf/buffalo
- 3. goat/ram/sheep
- 4. lion/lioness
- 5. other large cats
- X. other

## Table II

## Human

- 1. present
- 0. absent

(arrangement)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. single figure
- 2. enclosed within medallion or wreath
- 3. heraldic/flanking
- 4. linear repetition
- 5. theme

0. not applicable

- 1. her/warrior/rider
- 2. constellations
- 3. solar/Helios/sun chariot

Human-continued

4. Harvest/Dionysiac
5. Hunter
6. Seasons
7. Zodiac Wheel (includes  
whole complement of 2,4,6)
8. Enthronement
9. Musician
10. biblical/talmudic/midrashic
  - Ø. not applicable
  1. Akedah
  2. narrative
  - X. other
11. winged figure/genii
  - X. other

and common to human experience. The code notation indicates that a motif does, or does not, occur in the repertoire of a specific site. In a complete code, each artifact is treated individually in the context of the site. For example, a capital is taken as the basic unit to be described, and is coded according to the full set of motif categories. The basic unit of description can be reduced (i.e. to a panel in a mosaic floor) or expanded (i.e. to the full facade) whenever necessary, so that the full range of motif selection can be included in the code. In this system, the degree of presence or absence of a motif is not indicated, and the rigidity of that requirement is tempered only by the recognition that the condition of the artifact has some bearing on the final conclusion. The degree-of-damage column provides the information, coded as another variable, in the full analysis of motif variation.

Once the basic set of primary types (first column of Tables A-H) has been determined, the sub-types or variables within the primary categories can be translated into numerical notation. The information then can be introduced to multivariate techniques.<sup>90</sup> The data required to classify sites by primary types are generally available, but subsequent classification in the secondary types cannot be consistently accomplished at this time. It is regrettable that the state in which we find the inventory process is one of neglect and deficiency. The inadequate publication of data, and other deficiencies in the reporting process hinder the analysis.

In this thesis, I have therefore restricted my analysis to

the general, primary types, for which we have sufficient data. These types are very general categories of motifs which can be further refined into subtypes when the data becomes available. In any event, the method developed in this thesis must necessarily represent a provisional analysis, until the information, upon which a complete data base can be established, is gathered and inventoried.

The classification which I have developed summarizes the complex mass of data for comparative purposes. The descriptive categories can be used to establish counts of the number of times a particular motif has been used. The "numerical-frequency counts" can be compared from one region to another. The assumption is that if a motif is somehow more important, or more "significant" to the symbol system of a local community, it is more likely to occur often and methodically in the repertoire of the sites that share the same system. Those sites which consistently share a particular pattern of motif selection can be said to constitute a region of motif preference, a construct that can be compared to other regional profiles. The nominal digit code permits a computer to perform the initial sorting of sites according to primary types. The refined comparison of variables, and the measurement of the frequency of combinations of sub-types, further correlated to geographical location and architectural plan, is a task best left to the technological capabilities of a computer designed for multivariate programs. It can be done by hand, but the addition of more than twelve to fifteen

variables increases the mathematical calculations accordingly.

(Cowgill, 1968:369) For our purposes, the thirteen primary types provide a sufficient number of variable to illustrate the concept of regional variation in the selection of motifs.

The comparison of a wide variety of profiles from different types of evidence (numismatic, ceramic, folkloric) presented in the form of culture regions provides us with a comprehensive view of the local environment in which the "meaning" of synagogue motifs can be established. The classification system, by which the material culture of the synagogue can be inventoried, thus, contributes to the regional construct through which we interpret motif meaning. In combination with other regional profiles, the motif region then becomes a "means of generating fruitful hypotheses" (Doran, 1975:158) about the possible reasons behind the clustering observed in the selection of motifs. The complexity of methods which can be applied to measure correlation is limited only by the knowledge and creativity of the analyst, but the hypotheses, so generated, must be brought back to the archaeological testing ground in order to prove their historical usefulness. If the results of a complete inventory of synagogue art motifs do not produce results similar to the preliminary analysis of primary types, then we must adjust our conclusions and our method accordingly.

The goal of classification should not be considered one of finding the typology. Rather it is the existence of different classifications of the same data from different criteria that is critical for making sophisticated inferences about the data. (Read, 1974:220)

The systematic classification of synagogue decoration provides an empirically based profile of one aspect of material culture. It allows motifs to be compared and correlated in relation to their local environment. When important motifs are shown to be part of a regionally shared symbol system, they can be interpreted as a product of the unique combination of social, political, and economic forces which give the site its character, and the motif, its meaning.

#### Classification of Additional Site Information

The alpha-numerical digit notation, used in the classification of motif types, expresses the data in a system which can be expanded or contracted to take account of whatever variables the analyst would like to consider. In a statistical package written for the social sciences (SPSS)<sup>31</sup> the digits represent nominal categories of information which can be selected from the larger data base according to the particular set of variables which will be compared. In relation to the patterning of motif selection, individual sub-types can be correlated to a whole variety of other archaeological or social data, so long as the data are suitably coded into the system. Architecture, for example, provides seven categories of data: plan, type of flooring, the character of the facade, and four individual features of the interior furnishings (the beam, gallery, chair of Moses-cathedra, benches), either present or absent. (Table 2, Appendix, p. 163) The different sets of regional boundaries can be coded, just as the information

from the analysis of inscriptions has been included. Specific categories for assessing the reliability of information can be included in categories which define the extent of excavation, and nature and reliability of dating information, and the identification status of the site (as a synagogue). The classification has been provided for these (Appendix, Table 2, p. 163) but the pursuit of these variables lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

Much of the discussion up to this point has concentrated on the theoretical aspects of a method of classification and inventory of synagogue art forms. The many complexities of the detailed study of synagogue motifs have prevented me from establishing a solid basis for inference, and therefore I have not indulged in speculation on the nature of "meanings" which may have been understood from the motifs. The theory must be supported by evidence if it is to be proven valid, and this will be our preoccupation in the next section of this thesis. It must be emphasized however, that this analysis will be based on primary types, and will therefore miss much of the detail which is intrinsic to the interpretation of symbols. In view of this, the quantitative analysis of primary motif selection is provisional and tentative because of the uneven quality of data available.

## VII

### Quantitative Patterns of Motif Selection on Synagogue Sites

If we assume, for the present, that the information

currently available for a selected group of synagogue sites comprises a reasonable representation of the decorative tastes of synagogue Judaism, then it is possible to use this data to determine the most "significant" motifs in the repertoire. The validity of the results as a basis for inference about symbol systems is limited by the deficiencies in the data, but we can demonstrate that there are significant differences in the selection-patterns of different regions within Roman Palestine.

For that test purposes, the selection-pattern for the whole of Palestine provides the "norm" or pattern of "normative" practice. In a major generalization, then, the synagogue art is described in these terms. However, we can demonstrate that the distribution of particular motif types is not random throughout the area. The motifs can, in fact, be clustered according to their type, in a regional pattern. In some areas, certain motifs were preferred over others, and these motifs constitute the dominant selection for a regional concentration of sites.

The first test is designed to prove that the motifs occur in organized patterns, and that certain motifs are common to some regional clusters, while in other regions those motifs are used rarely or not at all. The method by which frequencies of selection were obtained (see summary, Appendix, p. 168) was tested on forty-eight sites within Roman Palestine. These sites, in the sample, can be set within the four centuries of the second to sixth centuries C.E. with some degree of certainty. The differences in motif

selection, which may be attributed to different methods of excavation or survey, have not been included as a factor in our analysis of that selection. The original selection of sites was random, from the available literature. I included whatever sites I came across except for those sites which had no decoration, according to the scant reports available, and information was very limited. These were eliminated from consideration prior to analysis.

By chance, rather than design, the sites were evenly distributed across the whole of Palestine. Table J (p.111) lists the sample sites according to their geographical location within several sets of regional boundaries. Detailed information on each site is available in the Site Catalogue, and a cross-reference name index has been included in the appendix. The latter is to dissolve some of the frustration which is caused by the use of a variety of names for the same site.

In Table J, the first column lists all the sites in Roman Palestine which were used in my sample. As a group, they constitute the basis for establishing the "normative" pattern of motif selection. These sites have then been divided into the provinces of Palaestinae Prima and Palaestinae Secunda. These two provinces can thus be compared to each other, and to the "norm." The second column identifies the geo-political region (Chiat, 1979:9-11), while the third indicates the topographic region in which the site is located. Regretably, I could not use Chiat's regional classification for a detailed analysis, since classification of the motifs reduced the

the number of sites in each area beyond the point of statistical usefulness. Map 9 (p.112) has been included to establish the actual locations of the site. Maps 6, 7 and 8 (pp.62-64) can be overlaid against this map to clarify the geographical relationships between these regional boundaries. In Table J (p.111), an asterisk (\*) indicates that the identity of the site is disputed. For an explanation of Chiat's code, see Appendix, Tables 1,2 (p. 162f).

In order to test the randomness of motif selection, all the sites which had decorative elements were analyzed for the presence or absence of the thirteen primary types. These sites were listed, by primary types. Each site was then grouped according to its location in three sets of regional boundaries. The largest group contained all the sites of Palestine. The second and third groups contained those same sites, divided into provincial territories of Palaestinae Prima and Palaestinae Secunda. The borders of those territories were those established by Avi-Yonah to apply in 300 C.E. (1976). Three sets of calculations were then prepared. The number of sites, in each of the three regions, which showed the motifs, were summed up and transformed into a percentage of the total sites within each regional boundary. Those frequencies were then listed in descending order to establish a rank-order of preference. Those sites which were found most frequently on the sites within the region showed the highest ranking, while the motif which was less frequent received the lower ranking.

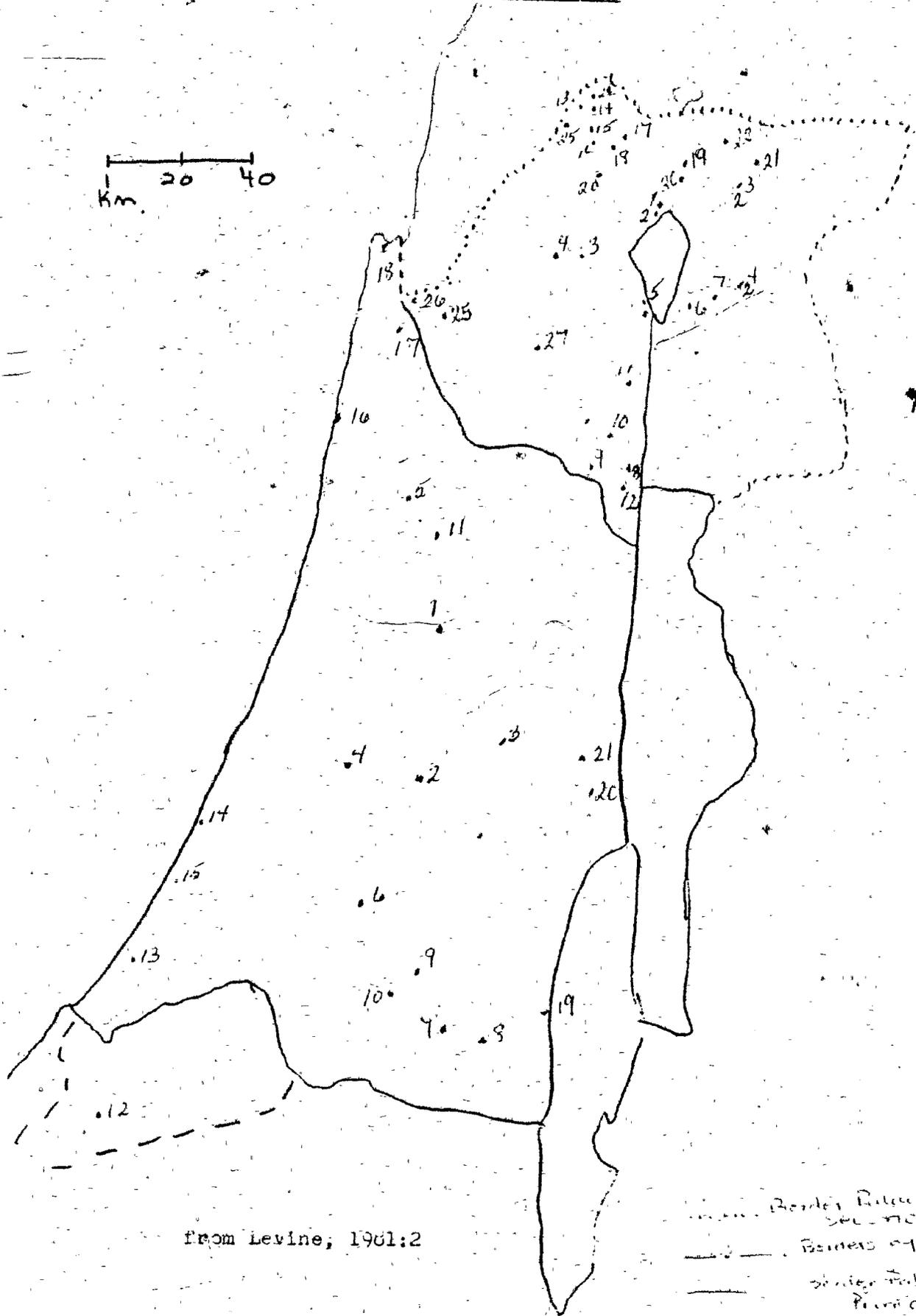
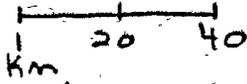
Table J

Location Key to Sample Sites

<u>Palestine</u>	<u>Geo-Political Regions</u>	<u>Topographic Regions</u>
<u>Palaestinae Prima</u>		
1. Fehma	D 1 (no reference)	Samaritan Highlands
2. Imwas	E 1 (no reference)	Samaritan Highlands
3. Na'ana	E 2 2 2	Samaritan Highlands
4. Sa'alevim	E 3 1 1	Samaritan Highlands
5. Khirbet Abu Smir	D 1 (no reference)	Samaritan Highlands
6. Beth Guvrin	E 4 2 1	Judean Hills
7. Esthemoa	E 4 1 2	Judean Hills
8. Khirbet Susiya	E 4 1 3	Judean Hills
9. Hevron	F 3 (no reference)	Judean Hills
10. Khirbet Karmil	F 3 (no reference)	Judean Hills
11. Silo	D 2 (no reference)	Judean Hills
12. Ma'on	F 1 1 1	South Coastal Plain
13. Gaza A	C 0 1 1	South Coastal Plain
14. Asdod	C 7 2 1	South Coastal Plain
15. Asquelon	C 3 2 1	South Coastal Plain
16. Caesarea	C 2 3A 1	North Coastal Plain
17. Khirbet Sumao*	C 2 3B 1	North Coastal Plain
18. Khirbet Devela	E 4 1 1	North Coastal Plain
19. En Geddi	E 4 1 2	Rift Valley (south)
20. Jericho		Rift Valley (south)
21. Na'aran		Rift Valley (south)
<u>Palaestinae Secunda</u>		
1. Korazim	B 3 1 2	Rift Valley (north)
2. Kefer Nahum	B 3 1 1	Rift Valley (north)
3. Arbela	B 2 1 1	Rift Valley (north)
4. Khirbet Ammudim	B 2 1 2	Rift Valley (north)
5. Hammath Teverya	B 3 1 3	Rift Valley (north)
6. Afec	G 4 2 1	Rift Valley (north)
7. Hammath Gadar	G 0 1 2	Rift Valley (north)
8. Beth Shean	B 4 1 2	Rift Valley (north)
9. Beth Alpha	B 4 1 1	Rift Valley (north)
10. Kokev ha-Yarden	B 3 2 1	Rift Valley (north)
11. Rehov	B 4 1 6	Rift Valley (north)
12. Bar'am	B 1 1 2	Rift Valley (north)
13. Gus Halav	B 1 1 1	North Galilee/Golan
14. Sifsufa*	B 3 3B 11	North Galilee/Golan
15. Dalton	B 1 2 3	North Galilee/Golan
16. Nevoraya	B 1 1 5	North Galilee/Golan
17. Meron	B 1 1 4	North Galilee/Golan
18. Khirbet Sema*	B 1 1 3	North Galilee/Golan
19. Horvat Rafid*	G 2 (no reference)	North Galilee/Golan
20. Ad-Dikka*	G 8 3A 1	North Galilee/Golan
21. Al-Ahmediyeh	G 2 2 1	North Galilee/Golan
22. Ar-Pama	B 1 2 7	North Galilee/Golan
23. Umm al Qanatir*	G 4 3B 2	North Galilee/Golan
24. Peou'in	B 1 2 7	North Galilee/Golan
25. Isfiya	C 2 1 2	North Galilee/Golan
26. Beth Se'arim	B 2 1 2	West Galilee/Jezreel
27. Yafia	B 2 1 3	West Galilee/Jezreel

K12  
Synagogue Sites

Map 9



from Levine, 1961:2

- ..... Border, Ptolemaic
- ..... Site 12
- Border of Egypt
- Site 1, Ptolemaic
- Site 2
- Border, Roman

To evaluate the ranking, shown in Table K (below), I began from the null hypothesis that the frequency distribution of primary types occurs randomly throughout Palestine. If the distribution could be proven regionally variable (and not random), then I could infer that the motif selection on these sites was influenced by the local factors. The counter hypothesis, that the absence of one or more art motifs implies that they did not exist on that site, is rendered unreliable by the weakness of archaeological sample data. For the purpose of this test, I have assumed that the motif repertoire found on the site is characteristic of the site in question.

Classification of the decorative repertoire of the forty-eight sites in the sample showed the following frequency distribution when these sites were treated as an homogeneous group. The information is derived from the listing of sites by motif type. (Appendix, Table 3, p. 169)

Table K  
Occurrence of Motif Types in Palestine

<u>Motif Type</u>	<u>No. of Sites</u>	<u>% frequency</u>
Geometric	42	87.5
Menorah	29	60.4
Vegetable	25	52.1
Animal	24	50.0
Floral	23	42.9
Circle Surround	19	39.6
Increments	15	31.2
Fowl	13	27.0
Human	9	18.8
Mythic	8	16.7
Marine	6	12.5
Torah Shrine	6	12.5
Reptile	2	4.2

Clearly, for this sample, the geometric motifs occur most frequently and represent the dominant motif in synagogue art. The menorah occurs in the second position. Since the menorah has been used as an index to confirm the identification of a site as a synagogue, this is not unexpected. It is interesting to note that the Torah shrine occurs at only six sites, in eleventh rank, which stands at odds to Goldman's assertion that it should be considered a "dominant motif" in synagogue art (1966:3). It may prove to be a dominant concept in rabbinic tradition, but for these sites, all the other types in the classification, with the exception of the reptile forms, occur more frequently. We can infer that the Torah shrine was not a popular motif in comparison to other motif types. Further, from the ranking, we can infer that the synagogue population selected from within the motif categories we call figural, and that of all those types, they preferred animal and human figures. Mythic, marine and reptile forms are found in less abundance, and are therefore further down the rank-order.

When all the figural types are combined, the following distribution was calculated. Thirty sites, or 62.5% of the sites in Palestine had figures of one type or another. The frequency distributions shown in Table K (p.113), and the calculation of sites with figural motifs, constitute a pattern of "normative" selection against which we can compare designated groups of sites. When motif selection is ranked, we can observe that specific motif types emerge as dominant in the selection-pattern.

Variation in the "normative" pattern can be detected by grouping the sites into smaller regions. Some of the variety can be detected by adopting the regional classifications of the provinces of Palaestinae Prima and Palaestinae Secunda. The same sites were grouped within these boundaries, and frequency distributions were calculated. Table L (below) and Table K (p.116) show the results.

Table L

Palaestinae Prima  
Total - 21 sites

<u>Motif Type</u>	<u>No. of Sites</u>	<u>% frequency</u>
Geometric	19	90.5
Menorah	14	66.7
Floral	11	52.3
Circle Surround	10	47.6
Vegetable	9	42.9
Increments	6	28.6
Animal	5	23.8
Torah Shrine	4	19.0
Human	3	14.3
Fowl	3	14.3
Marine	1	11.8
Reptile	1	11.8
Mythic	1	11.8

Among the sites of Palaestinae Prima, geometric and menorah motifs dominate the repertoire, as they did in the "normative" ranking for all Palestine. The third and fourth level motifs (vegetable, circle surround) are in an inverted order, compared to the norm, but floral motifs retain a comparable rank. This also applies to the circle

surround, increments and fowl types. Mythic and human motifs occur in inverse order, but rank comparably last in the possible choices of motifs. For the region as a whole, the Torah shrine is ranked second to last (6 sites) but we find most of the sites in Palaestinae Prima. The motif remains in the lower half of the ranking.

In Palaestinae Secunda, the rank-order is different, as this table demonstrates.

Table M  
Palaestinae Secunda  
27 sites

<u>Motif Type</u>	<u>No. of Sites</u>	<u>% frequency</u>
Geometric	23	85.2
Menorah	15	71.4
Animal	19	70.4
Vegetable	14	44.4
Floral	12	51.8
Circle Surround	11	40.7
Increments	9	33.3
Fowl	8	29.6
Mythic	7	25.9
Human	6	22.2
Marine	5	18.5
Torah Shrine	2	7.4
Reptile	1	3.7

The geometric and menorah motifs remain dominant, but the third ranked motif in Palaestinae Secunda is the figural motif, animal, in contrast to the floral motif in third rank in Palaestinae Prima. There are other differences in the ranking, but the most dramatic difference can be observed when all figured motifs are combined, and their frequencies calculated:

Table N

Frequency Distribution of  
Figured Sites

	PP.	PS	Palæstine
Figured Sites	33.3%	81.5%	62.5%
Torah Shrine	19.0%	7.4%	12.5%

Clearly, figures are ranked higher in Palaestina Secunda (PS), than in Palaestina Prima (PP). The dramatic difference is hidden in the relatively high frequency for the whole of Palestine. When the frequency distribution for figures is paired with the occurrence frequency of another motif, the Torah shrine, we can see that these two motifs tend to occur in different proportions. The lower-ranked Torah shrine occurs most frequently in Palaestinae Prima, and occurs in only two sites (7.4%) of the northern region. Figures dominate in the repertoire of the northern region, after the standard geometric and menorah types, while the Torah shire occurs more frequently in the south. Both types occur in both regions but the proportion of their occurrence is significant and noteworthy.

A similarly varied selection of motif types can be seen when sub-type and aggregate groups of motif types are compared. The zodiac wheel, for example, represents a recognizable aggregate of figural and geometric motifs. It includes human, reptile, marine and mythic types. The eagle as a sub-type of the fowl category has been recognized by E. Meyers (1976:99) as an element in Galilean

synagogue art. The frequency of these motifs can be calculated and compared in a table. The calculations are based on material collated in Appendix Table 4 (p. 176).

Table F

	<u>Palaestinae Prima</u>	<u>Palaestinae Secunda</u>	<u>Palestine</u>
Zodiac Wheel	(2 sites) 4.5%	(4 sites) 14.8%	(6 sites) 12.5%
Eagle	(3 sites) 14.3%	(5 sites) 18.5%	(8 sites) 16.7%

Since the quantity of the sample in each region is different, we cannot compare the actual number of sites, but the percentile provides a basis of comparison. We can observe from the above table, that in Palaestinae Prima, the zodiac is to be found in a very low percentage of sites, and it is more likely to occur in sites in Palaestinae Secunda than in the former. The "normative" percentile obscures the variation. In any case, it can hardly be considered "ubiquitous." Nor is it a dominant type, in that it is used on only a small percentage of sites in each region.

In this pair, the eagle occurs more often than the zodiac wheel. In Palaestinae Prima, the eagle occurs on fewer sites, in comparison to Palaestinae Secunda. The percentage frequency indicates a negligible difference, with the higher ranking going to Palaestinae Secunda. The zodiac wheel occurs more frequently in the north as well, but in no way can we call either of these motifs a dominant theme in comparison to other motifs in the repertoire. Both types rank well

into the bottom half of the "normative" scale. These differences between these two regions would go unnoticed, when Palestine is treated as an homogeneous whole.

Inference about meaning must begin with a thorough preparation of the data. This classification system, which is dependent upon the systematic collection of data, is designed to permit the comparison of any designated set of sites, with any designated combination of motifs and variables. The same categories of information are applied to each site, to its decorative scheme, and to any combination of other variables which may be relevant to the question which the analysis is intended to answer. It is particularly amenable to comparison of groups of sites, and pairs of primary types. The ranking of the most popular pairs, rather than single types, which dominate the selection of motifs somewhat more sensitive to the collective nature of symbol selection. Symbols bear meaning in relation to each other, and when motifs are paired, those relationships can be given closer examination.

#### Comparison of Motif Pairs

Similarity of motif selection-patterns within a region can be measured by ranking sites according to their dominant motif pairs. When a large number of sites within a region share a distinct group of dominant motifs, or pairs of motifs, we can infer a similar or shared principle of selection. In a rank-scale, the higher ranks of motifs are more frequent and occur on more sites within the region.

The region, then, can be considered to be a more cohesive cultural region, when the sites within it share a similar pattern of selection. The closer the similarity, the more cohesive is the cultural system which binds them to each other. In a region where sites are markedly dissimilar, the hypothesis of cultural cohesion is disproven.

The rank-order of motif selection is obtained in a step-by-step process of classification in which each motif type is assigned an arbitrary, nominal number. The assignment of those numbers is shown in the following key.

Table R

Nominal Assignment of Motif Types

1. Menorah	8. Marine
2. Increments	9. Reptile
3. Torah Shrine	10. Mythic
4. Geometric	11. Fowl
5. Circle Surround	12. Animal
6. Vegetable	13. Human
7. Floral	

Using the more convenient identification numbers, all possible combinations of these motifs are listed. In this analysis, I have worked with pairs, but it is conceivable that combinations of three, four or more motif types could be illuminating.

The following test is performed to show that when sites are classified by topographic region, they will show clustered selection-patterns. Sites in a region can be shown to have similar

patterns of selection which demonstrate the relative cohesion of the art traditions. That similarity will be most noticeable when topographic regions coincide with culture regions. Similarity is measured by frequencies of motif preferences, and by the ranked order of motif pair selection.

We begin by sorting the sample sites into lists according to the possible pair combinations. Table S (p.122) shows the sample sites within their regional boundaries. Each regional unit constitutes a comparable unit in this test. The frequencies of pair occurrence are calculated by correlating the sites in each region to the pair combination which are found on those sites. This can be accomplished by using the lists of sites according to primary type (Appendix, Table 3, p. 169) and comparing them to possible pair combinations. It is vital that this data be cross-checked and spot-checked frequently! Usable results depend on the proper calculation of frequencies from each pair, and when the sample is small, an omitted site from one of the lists could render the analysis inaccurate. Table S shows, in addition to the names of the sites, the level of excavation which has been undertaken at the site. In those areas where there are few sites, this becomes an important factor.

To determine the rank order of frequency, the pairs are grouped in descending order of occurrence. The number of sites on which a pair occurs is used as an assignment of rank in Table U (p.124). In each region, the sum total of sites which have the

Table S

List of Sites by Topographic Region			
Palaestinae Prima	Excavated	Unexcavated	Number of Primary Types
Samaritan Highlands			
Fahma		x	1
'Imwas		x	2
Na'ana		x	4
Sa'alevim	x		3
Khirbet Abu Amir		x	4
Silo		x	2
Judean Hills			
Beth Guvrin		x	3
Esthemoa		x	7
Khirbet Susiya	x		4
Hevron		x	1
Khirbet Karmil		x	2
South Coastal Plain			
Ma'on	x		7
Gaza	x		9
Asdod		x	5
Asquelon		x	6
North Coastal Plain			
Caesarea	x		3
Khirbet Devela		x	5
Khirbet Sumaq		x	2
Rift Valley			
En Geddi	x		5
Jericho	x		5
Na'aran	x		9
Palaestinae Secunda			
Rift Valley (Scythopolis and Tiberias)			
Korazim	x		6
Kefar Nahum	x		9
Arbel		x	2
Khirbet Ammudim		x	4
Hammath Teverya	x		9
Afeq	x		3
Hammath Gadar	x		8
Beth Shean	x		8
Beth Alpha	x		8
Kokay Ha-Yarden	x		4
Rehov	x		7
West Galilee/Jezreel Valley			
'Isfiya	x		7
Beth Se'arim	x		4
Yafia	x		8
Northern Galilee/Golan			
Bar'am	x		8
Gus Halav	x		3
Sifsufa		x	5
Dalton		x	2
Nevoraya	x		6

	Excavated	Unexcavated	Number of Primary Types
North Galilee/Golan			
Meron	x		1
Khirbet Sema	x		4
Horvat Rafid	x		4
Ad-Dikka	x		4
Al-Ahmediyeh		x	6
Ar-Rama		x	3
Umm Al-Qanatir		x	4
Peqi'in		x	4

Table U

## Ranking of Dominant Pairs Within Regions

Topographic	Number of Sites in Region
Samaritan Highlands	6
2. 4/7;5/7;4/5	
1. 1/3;1/4;1/5;1/6/1/7	
Judean Hills	5
3. 1/6;4/6	
2. 6/7	
1. 1/3;1/4;1/12;1/13;3/4;3/6;3/7;3/11;3/12;4/11;4/12	
South Coastal Plain	4
4. 1/2;1/3;2/4;2/5;4/5	
3. 1/4	
2. 1/6/1/7;1/12;2/6;2/7;2/11;4/6;4/7;4/11;4/13;5/13;6/7;6/11 6/12;6/13;7/11;7/12	
North Coastal Plain	3
1. 1/4;4/5;4/6;4/7;4/11;4/12;6/7;6/11;5/6;5/7	
Rift Valley (south)	3
3. 1/5;4/5	
2. 1/2;1/4;1/6;4/6;5/6	
1. 1/3;1/7/1/8;1/13;1/10;1/11;1/2;2/3;2/6;2/7;2/12;2/13;3/5 3/6;3/7;3/5;3/10;3/12;3/13;4/7;4/8;4/10;4/11/4/13;8/10;8/11 5/7;5/8;6/10;5/11;5/12;5/13;9/11;9/12;9/3	
Rift Valley (north)	11
3. 6/11/6/13/7.10;9/13;.0/12;1/10;2/7;2/10;2/11;4/11; 4/13; 5/6; 5/7;5/12;12/13	
2. 1/5;11/12;9/11;1/8;1/13;2/5;2/9;2/13;4/8;6/8;7/13;11/13;8/10;8/12	
1. 1/3;1/9;2/3;3/4;3/6;3/7;3/10;3/11;3/12;4/9;5/10;5/11;5/13;6/9 7/8;8/11;8/13;9/10;10/11	
1. 1/3;1/9;3/4;3/6;3/7;3/10;3/11;3/12;4/9;5/10;5/11;5/13;6/9;7/8; 8/11;8/13;9/10;10/11	
West Galilee/Jezreel Valley	3
2. 1/11; 1/12;1/12; 10/12	
1. 1/2;1/4;1/7;1/8;2/8;2/12;2/13/4/5;4/7;4/11;4/12;4/13;5/11; 5/12;4/13;6/11;7/12;7/13;8/11;8/12;8/13;10/11;11/12;12/13	

Table U - continued

Northern Galilee/Golan

13 sites

6. 4/6
5. 4/12
4. 4/5;4/7;5/7;6/12;7/12
3. 1/4;4/11;4/10;5/6;5/12;6/7
2. 1/5;4/8;4/13;5/10;6/8;6/11;11/12
1. 1/2;1/3;1/6;1/7;2/4;5/13;6/13;12/13;9/13;9/12;7/8;7/10;  
7/13;8/10;8/12;9/10;9/11

motifs serves as an identification of rank, as well as a measure of dominance in the motif repertoire for that region. Thus in the topographic region of the Samaritan Hills, the motif pairs (4/7) geometric/floral, (5/7) circle surround/floral, and (4/5) geometric/circle surround are shared by two of the six sites in the region. There are other motif pairs in the region, but these pairs represent the dominant pairs. The relatively limited sharing of motif selection-patterns in this group contrasts with the pattern in the northern Rift Valley where fifteen pairs are shared by only three of the eleven sites. The regional selection in the Samaritan Hills is diverse, but the selection-patterns are not obviously shared. The South Coastal Plain represents a third contrast, in that all four sites share a selection-pattern of five dominant pairs, in a full repertoire of twenty-three pairs. The relative cohesion of these different areas can be measured according to the sharing observed in the selection of motifs. The sites in the South Coastal Plain and the Rift Valley (south) are more similar, within their areas, than are the sites on the Judean Hills, or the North Coastal Plain. These share few motifs and are therefore less likely to be selecting from a shared system.

In the following rank order of motif pair occurrence, the topographic regions are large enough to have a statistically relevant selection of sites, and yet small enough that eight regions can be compared. Each topographic region is rooted in a similar landform region, in which resources and settlement patterns are similar from one site to another. <sup>32</sup>

Table T  
Motif Pair Occurrence by Topographic Region

	# of sites which show dominant pairs	# of sites	degree of similarity in region
South Coastal Plain	4	4	1.00
Rift Valley (South)	3	3	1.00
West Galilee	2	3	.67
Judean Hills	3	5	.60
North Galilee/Golan	6	13	.46
Samaritan	2	6	.30
North Coastal Plain	1	3	.30
Rift Valley (North)	3	11	.27

The rank order in this table, then, becomes a measure from which we can determine that a region shares a similar pattern of selection. Thus the sites in the South Coastal Plain and the Rift Valley (South) are similar and cohesive in their selection-patterns while the North Galilee / Golan sites are more markedly dissimilar. The five motif pairs in the repertoire of the South Coastal Plain, however, are different from the two dominant pairs which emerge in the southern Rift Valley. The motif pairs (1/5) menorah/circle surround, and (4/5) geometric/circle surround constitute the only dominant pairs in the southern Rift Valley. The pair (4/5) geometric/circle surround is shared in both regions.

An argument can be made, then, for a shared symbol system for this pair. Any discussion of meaning for these primary types, and the aggregate pair must take into account their relative significance for the communities in these regions. Both regions lie in

geographical proximity to each other. Since they are located close to each other, local communities probably established forms of social intercourse. Therefore, the "meaning" attached to these motifs in both settings would bear some similarity. In areas where similarity is reduced, the same argument cannot be made. Only in those areas which share some aspect of their motif selection, can it be argued that these sites also shared aspects of their symbol system.

The similarity between the sites in the other topographic region is less marked, and the number of dominant types which are shared in the motif repertoire is reduced. The sites in West Galilee are less similar, in that, out of four sites show the dominant pairs (1/11;1/12;1/13;10/12). In these sites, the menorah (1) represents the dominant primary type. In the Judean Hills, three of five sites showed two dominant pairs (1/6;4/6) and the dominant type is vegetable (6). Northern Galilee and the Golan show a marked degree of dissimilarity in that only six of the thirteen sites showed shared characteristics in their motif selection. Only one pair (4/6) emerged as a dominant motif. Translated, the geometric/vegetable pair represents the only shared aggregate in the North Galilee/Golan region. The sites of the North Coastal Plain are so dissimilar that not one pair is shared by more than one site. This would lead me to question whether these three sites can be considered part of the same cultural region.

The analysis of motif pair selection, by topographic

region, leads to the conclusion that the sites in the southern regions tend to be more cohesive, and more likely to share similar selection-patterns, than the sites of the northern regions. Where the similarity is especially noticeable, as in the south, it is possible to treat these sites as an homogeneous unit. In the northern regions, however, care must be taken when generalities are applied to sites of different geographical locations. The common adoption of similar motifs, selected from the larger repertoire, would suggest that conceptions about the "meaning" of these motifs would also be held in common. Certainly, an awareness of the range of interpretations attached to the motif, or motif combination, would be alive within the cultural milieu. In the north, however, inferences about meaning must be applied more carefully when sites or regions are being compared. Where the selection and use of motif pairs differs so widely from site to site, even within a shared geographical region, care must be taken to avoid generalizations between dissimilar sites.

In my discussions of the rabbinic involvement in the synagogue, I referred to the geographic dissimilarities of references to rabbis in synagogue inscriptions (p.42f). Among the inscriptions from the Judean Hills, and the South Coastal Plain, the rabbis are commemorated principally as individual donors. In the northern areas, however, there is little evidence of donations by an individual rabbi, to a synagogue. The rabbis in the latter region, seem to have kept their distance from economic support of the synagogue

in a manner which would have earned them specific commendation. When the incidence of figured art is compared to this distribution, there is further evidence that the factions of the rabbinic guild which insisted on strict observance of anti-figural Halakah spoke with less authority in northern Palestine. Not only are figures more popular, but the wealth and power implied in the remembrance of the individual donor was less likely to be from the strictly observant rabbi (the Toratem Umanutam, see page 39f ). The communities in the south seemed to have been tight-knit social units, which remembered their rabbis in their synagogues as individuals and donors worthy of the title. In the north, where motif selection is dissimilar from one site to another, the rabbis do not seem to be particularly important people on their roster of donors. From the high incidence of figural motifs, I am led to conclude that the conservative element of the rabbinic guild kept its distance from the financial responsibilities of the donor, and from the synagogue itself.

The extent and variety of the motif pairs can be further detailed by comparing the frequencies of pairs in the context of the full regional repertoire. The number of dominant pairs in each region is ranked, in Table V (p. 131), according to the extent of its repertoire (the motifs which are shared as well as the total selection of possible pairs), within the full range of one hundred and fifty six possible choices.

Table V

	# of dominant pairs in region	# of sites in region	# of possible pairs found in répertoire
Rift Valley (North)	15	11	40
North Galilee/Golan	1	13	37
South Coastal Plain	5	4	23
West Galilee/Jezreel	4	3	28
Samaritan Hills	3	6	8
Judean Hills	2	5	23
Rift Valley (South)	2	3	42

Each area seems to have selected a distinct repertoire of possible primary motif pairs from the larger range of possible pairs. The Rift Valley (North) shows the greatest variety, in both the extent of its repertoire (forty motif pairs) and in the selection of dominant pairs (fifteen). This variety is seen on a total of eleven sites in the entire region. In contrast, the thirteen sites of the Golan/North Galilee show only one shared pair. The full repertoire, however, is varied and on thirteen sites, thirty-seven pairs emerge. "The relatively meager nature of the art remains attested in Upper Galilee suggests a kind of conservatism rather than a limited repertoire of symbols." (E. Meyers, 1980:106) The art tradition in the northern regions is varied, complex and isolationist. Sites are highly dissimilar, but carry a broad range of selected motif pairs throughout the region. Almost as many pairs occur in Northern Galilee/Golan as in the Rift Valley (North) but only one pair is common between more than one site. (Table U, page 124)

In the remaining regions which are arrayed in the lower half of Table V (p.131), the number of possible pairs remains within the range of twenty-three to forty-two. Only a limited number of those pairs are shared characteristics. When this regional pattern is compared to motif pair occurrence (Table T, p.127 and Table U, p.124) we can see that the dominant motifs are consistent within regional boundaries, but beyond these four regions, the similarity is less consistent, and selection of pairs is local and individualistic. There is cause, then, to surmise that these pairs bear some relationship in their regions to a locally shared symbol system.

The Samaritan Hills show a reduced range of selection, but there may be another factor involved here. The sites in this region have not been excavated and are known only from brief reports. Since the number of sites is also limited, it is wiser to exclude this area from analysis until more information is available.

It is clear, from this preliminary analysis, that sites in different regions reflect a wide variety in their selection of motifs. That variety comes nowhere near the possible limits of the choice produced by pair combinations. We do not know how this pattern, in each region, compares to the total cultural pattern, but we can infer that where specific dominant types emerge in a region, these types can be expected to have "significance" to the synagogue population in that area.

We have been discussing the variations which exist within the "homogeneity of synagogue art" and have discovered a pattern of

selection based on sites grouped into topographic regions. The wider range of motif choices found in these regions has been further reduced to a selected number of dominant pairs. These dominant pairs are shared by more than one site in the region, and sometimes by more than half of the total number of sites in the area. The number of dominant pairs differs from region to region, as does the total number of sites in each area. The regional selection of dominant pairs can be discovered within this differentiation. Each region seems to have created an individual repertoire in which elements of the thirteen primary types are differentially combined. Clearly, where dissimilarity is indicated (as in North Coastal Plain), the region must be understood to be less cohesive than areas where most sites share many dominant motif pairs. Each region must be recognized for its individual character, and the picture of a monolithic, conformist practice, at least in the decoration of synagogues, becomes an even more remote possibility.

#### Selection Patterns Within Galilee

The same method of frequency analysis can be used to determine the configuration of the selection-patterns within a region. E. Meyers has found evidence for a division of cultural continuity in Galilee, based on a topographic subdivision. He defines:

...Lower Galilee as the territory whose western boundary is defined by the slopes of Mt. Carmel and whose eastern boundary is marked mainly by the Sea of Galilee. On the south, the line

follows the Nazareth Fault to Mt. Tabor, where it turns north to the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee. The northern boundary is fixed by the southern slopes of the Mt. Meiron massif at the sites of Kefar Hananiah (Kefar Inan) and Beersheba North (Bersabe) in the Beth ha-Kerem Valley...the Lower Galilee contains around 470 square miles...Upper Galilee, referred to as "Tetracomia" (four villages) by Josephus, is a self-enclosed area defined by the awesome slopes of the Meiron massif. The territory extends northwards into the foothills of the Lebanon range, reaching westward to Peqi'in or the boundary with Akko-Ptolemais. Its eastern region contains approximately 180 square miles. (1976:95)

Within these boundaries (Map 7, p.63) there are nine sites (Table W, p.135) from our sample in Upper Galilee, and thirteen sites in Lower Galilee. It should be noted that the quantitative analysis about to be explained is based on different sites from those which were used to elucidate the general patterns of selection. The same method, however, is used to rank motif pairs according to their selection. The popular types (Table X, p.136) are placed high in the rank order.

In Galilee, the geometric forms remain the dominant motif, as is the case for the whole of Palestine. The second rank, which indicates the number of sites that share the indicated motif pairs, is different in each region. In Upper Galilee, the second rank is the menorah; in the Golan, it is the mythic (figural) forms. In Lower Galilee, the equally ranked forms of animals, and geometric forms dominate while vegetable motifs take the second rank. In both Lower Galilee and the Golan, the menorah falls to the lower end of

Table W.

## Sample Sites in Galilee

## Lower Galilee

"Lower Galilee (is) the territory whose western boundary is defined by the slopes of Mt. Carmel and whose eastern boundary is marked mainly by the Sea of Galilee. On the south the line follows the Nazareth fault to Mt. Tabor, where it turns north to the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee. The northern boundary is fixed by the southern slopes of the Mt. Meiron massif at the sites of Kefar Hananiah (Kefar Inan) and Beersheba North (Bersabe) in the Beth ha-Kerem Valley...the Lower Galilee contains around 470 square miles."

(E. Meyers, 1976:95 after Avi-Yonah, 1966:133-35)

## Upper Galilee

"Upper Galilee, referred to as 'Tetracomia' (four villages) by Josephus, is a self-enclosed area defined by the awesome slopes of the Meiron massif. The territory extends northwards into the foothills of the Lebanon range, reaching westwards to Peqi'in, or the boundary with Akko-Ptolemais. Its eastern extremity extends to the Jordan Valley. This region contains approximately 180 square miles."

(E. Meyers, 1976:95)

## Golan

"Adjacent to Upper Galilee is the Golan Heights or ancient Gaulinitis, which is bordered by the territory of Caesarea Philippi (Banias) on the north, and by Hippos-Susith on the south."

(E. Meyers, 1976:95)

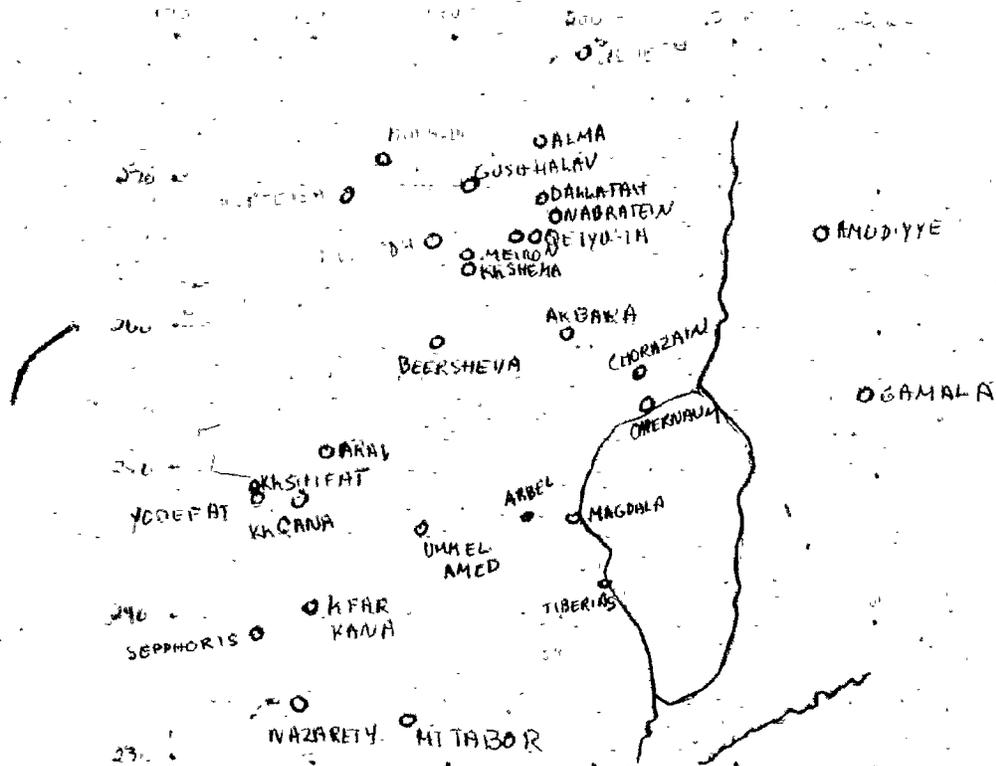
## Sites

Korazim  
Kefar Nahum  
Arbel  
Khirbet Ammudim  
Hammath Teverya  
Beth Shean  
Beth Alpha  
Kokav Ha-Yarden  
Rehov  
'Isfiya  
Beth Se'arim  
Yafia

Bar'am  
Gus Halav  
Sifsufa  
Dalton  
Nevoraya  
Khirbet Sema  
Meron  
Afeq  
Peqi'in

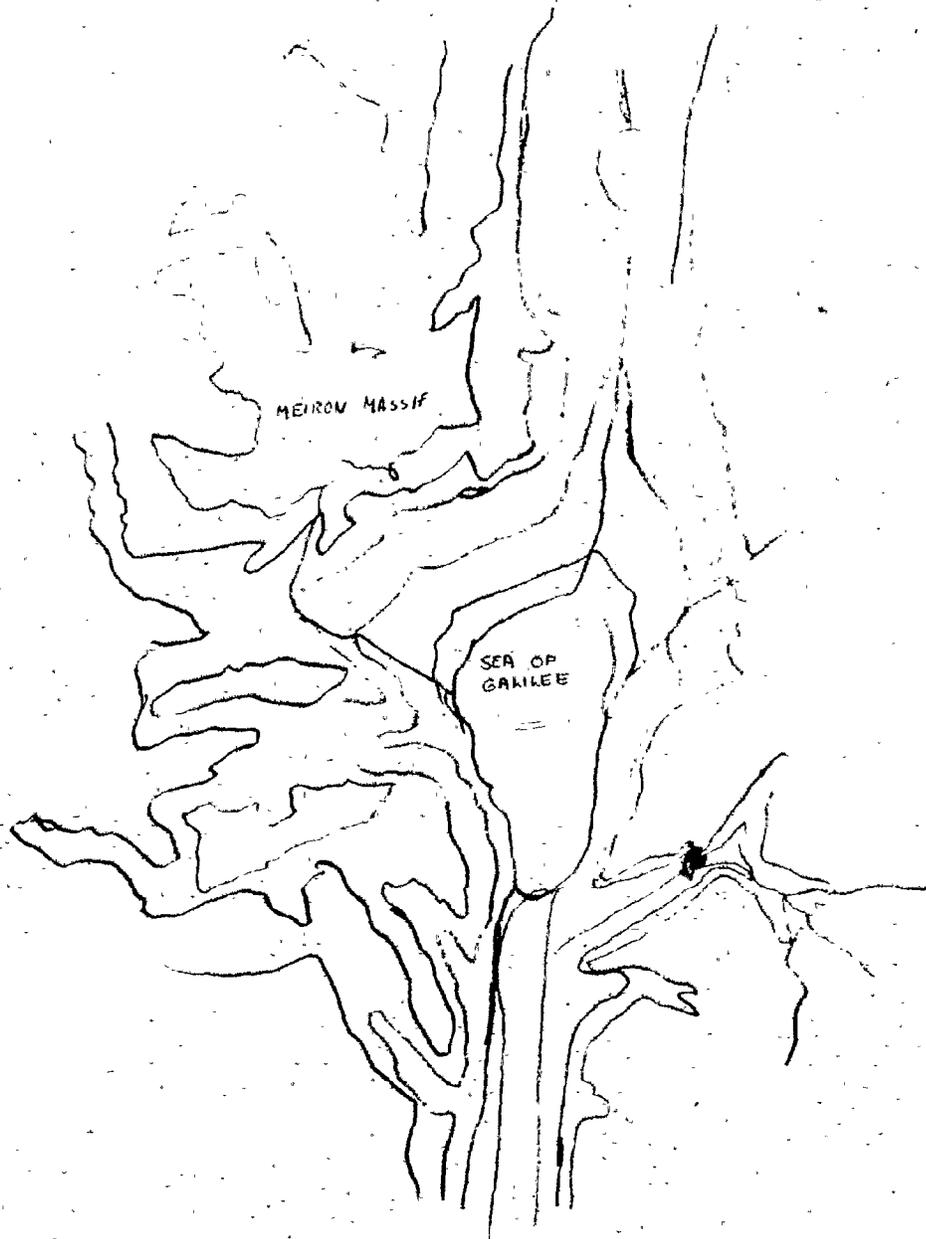
Horvat Rafid  
Ad-Dikka  
Al-Ahmediyeh  
Ar-Rama  
Umm Al-Qanatir

Sites in Galilee



from Meyers, Strange, Groh 1975:2

Map 10b - Topography of  
Northern Galilee



the selection scale. If the selection for any motif pair can be construed as a measure of the significance of the pair to the sign or symbol system of its respective local group, then clearly, these populations assessed the menorah in a different light. The menorah is rarely selected, and seldom shared by more than one site in these regions of Palaestinae Prima and Secunda. Although direct comparison is not possible, certainly the ranking order represents a vast difference. There are similar differences in the ranking of mythic forms, between the Galilee, and the Golan. The Golan synagogue populations seem to have been more willing to adapt mythic forms to their vocabulary, than were the communities who lived west of the Sea of Galilee.

Further comparisons should be treated with caution, since there were only five sites in the Golan, while the sample from Galilee was more than double in size. The data from the rank order, however, can serve to qualify E. Meyer's statement that the "Jewish art" of northern Galilee "is, in the main, limited to menorahs, eagles and simple decorative elements." (1976:99) If the "decorative elements" are geometric, then certainly the statement applies. However, we find, in addition to these forms, vegetable motifs, the circle surround, floral, animal, marine, human and mythic types. Again the differences in the smaller cultural regions are hidden without a detailed analysis of the motifs. The cultural differences between these regions have been noted by E. Meyers (1976). The Lower Galilee had access to the trade and commerce of the Rift Valley

Table X

	Number of sites which share characteristics	Sites as a percentage of total in region
Upper Galilee (nine sites)		
Geometric	7	77.7
Menorah	5	55.5
Vegetable	5	55.5
Circle Surround	4	44.4
Floral	4	44.4
Animal	3	33.3
Marine	1	11.1
Human	1	11.1
Mythic	1	11.1
Fowl	1	11.1
Increments	1	11.1
Torah Shrine	1	11.1
Lower Galilee (thirteen sites)		
Animal	11	84.6
Geometric	11	84.6
Vegetable	7	53.9
Increments	6	46.2
Circle Surround	5	38.7
Floral	5	38.7
Fowl	5	38.7
Human	5	38.7
Menorah	4	30.8
Mythic	4	30.8
Marine	3	23.1
Torah Shrine	1	7.7
Reptile	1	7.7
Golan (five sites)		
Geometric	3	60.0
Mythic	2	40.0
Fowl	2	40.0
Animal	2	40.0
Circle Surround	1	20.0
Menorah	1	20.0
Floral	1	20.0
Vegetable	1	20.0
Marine	1	20.0
Human, Torah Shrine, Increments, Reptile, do not occur.		

and the channel from the Jezreel<sup>Valley</sup> to the sea. The harsh, rugged backlands of Northern Galilee seem to be isolated from the comings and goings of widely different, cosmopolitan urbanites. It would be naive to assume that the local populations, in either region, understood the same symbols in an identical fashion, in spite of the incongruencies and cultural differences.

The differences in practice, among the selection-patterns of synagogue art motifs, are clear from an analysis of its forms. The full variety in the repertoire of motif forms is demonstrated in Table Y (p.140). The data are derived from the lists in Appendix Table 6A and 6B (p.190,193).

Table Y

Range of Motif Selection in Galilee

	# of dominant pairs in region	# of sites in region	# of possible pairs in repertoire
Upper Galilee	2	9	40
Lower Galilee	1	13	66
Golan	1	3	14

Predictably, the motif selections (third column) are highly varied and take liberally from the full number of motif choices available to the repertoire. Only one or two dominant pairs emerge, in Lower Galilee, from a full vocabulary that exceeds anything we have seen so far. It should be noted that the Lower Galilee includes the topographic regions of the Rift Valley (north) and the West Galilee/

Jezeel Valley area. We noticed earlier (p. 121) that the sites in the North Coastal Plain were markedly dissimilar, a pattern which disappears when two of its three sites are combined with the Galilean profile. Table Z (below) shows the similarity pattern.

Table Z

Comparison of Similarity: Dominant Pairs

	# of sites which share dominant motif pairs..	total # of sites in region	% of similarity
Lower Galilee	11	13	.85
Upper Galilee	4	9	.40
Golan	3	3	1.00

The sites of the Lower Galilee, composed of the three topographic regions (Rift Valley, West Galilee and part of my North Galilee) show a higher degree of similarity than that which occurs when each region is treated separately. (Table T, p.127) Therefore, we have sufficient reason to treat the sites in Lower Galilee as a cohesive region. The similarity of sites within Upper Galilee and the Golan is less distinct. Certainly the pairs which occur in common (two dominant pairs are shared among nine sites) in Upper Galilee, may form the basis for an argument that their meaning is shared among its sites, but it is clear that there are many motif pairs which are not common between sites. With two exceptions, then, these sites followed individual habits of selection. It should be emphasized that none of the sites in the Golan sample has

been excavated. Since the entire sample is small, an error, or a new discovery could change the ranking and cause us to re-adjust the conclusions we have reached. From this preliminary analysis, however, it is possible to reach some tentative conclusions about the variation which occurs in the selection-patterns of different regions.

Throughout our analysis, some patterns have remained consistent. The geometric and menorah types remain a dominant form throughout synagogue art tradition. The selection of the rest of the forms in the repertoire is highly varied from one site to another and from one region to another. Within regional boundaries, preferred motifs can be identified in concentrations selected from the full repertoire of synagogue art. Elements of the patterns frequently overlap from one region to another, but selection in each region seems to illustrate a coherent group of preferred motifs.

#### The Role of Excavation in Sample Reliability

I have relied on samples of archaeological data to determine the frequency distributions of motif pairs at several groups of sites in Roman Palestine. The reliability of that sample is reduced by the fact that many of the sites have not been excavated. To determine whether the frequencies are more likely to be a function of the level of excavation, rather than of the preferred patterns of the local community, I compared the information in a seriation

diagram. Table BB (p.144) provides the individual status of each site, and Table AA (below) shows the correlation to the number of primary types which are represented in each case. Those without decorative elements were eliminated from the sample prior to analysis. Of the decorated sites, the maximum range was nine types and the minimum, one. Those sites which have not been worked since the survey of Kohl and Watzinger in 1905, are counted as unexcavated, since the German team was not consistent in uncovering the whole floor plan of the site. This practice has proven misleading to their classification of Gush Halav, and there may be others.

Table AA

Seriation of sites according to their level of Excavation  
(each dot stands for one site in the sample)

<u># of primary types</u>	<u>Excavated</u>	<u>Unexcavated</u>
9	.....	
8	.....	
7	.....	
6	.....	
5	.....	.....
4	.....	.....
3	.....	.....
2	.....	.....
1	.....	.....

Each site contained an average repertoire of five primary types. Those sites which show a larger number of primary types tend to be excavated, while the unexcavated sites are clustered below the average. Clearly, more excavation is needed before we can use frequency counts as a reliable measure of significant "types."

Table BB - Level of Excavation

Site	Number of Primary Types	Unexcavated, Brief Reports Available	Latest Excavation and Name of Excavator
Fahma	1	x	
'Imwas	2	x	
Na'ana	4	x	
Sa'alevim	3		1949 - Sukenik
Khirbet Abu Amir	4	x	
Beth Guvrin	3	x	
Esthemoa	7		1969-1970 - Yeivin
Khirbet Susiya	8		1970-1971 - Yeivin
Hevron	1	x	
Khirbet Karmil	2	x	
Silo	2	x	
Gaza	9		1976 - Ovadiah
Asdod	5	x	
Ma'on	7		1957 - 1958 - Levy
Asqueion	6	x	
Caesarea	3		1945 - 1962 - Avi-Yonah
Khirbet Sumaq	2	x	1905 - Kohl, and Watzinger
Khirbet Devela	5	x	
En Geddi	5		1970-1972 - Barag, Yeivin
Jericho	5		1936 - Baramki
Na'aran	9		1921, 1932, 1961 Vincent
Korazim	6		1926 - Makhoul, Ory
Kefar Nahum	9		1905-1921, continuous Orfali, Corbo, Loffreda.
Arbel	2	x	1905 - Kohl and Watzinger
Khirbet Ammudim	4	x	1905 - Kohl and Watzinger
Afeq	3	x	
Hammath Teverya	9		1921 - Slouschz
Hammath Gadar	8		1932 - Sukenik
Beth Shean	8		1950 - Tsori
Beth Alpha	8		1929 - Sukenik
Kokav Ha-Yarden	4	x	
Rehov	7		1974 on - Vitto
Bar'am	8		1950 - Hiram
Gus Halav	3		1977- 1978 - Meyers
Sifsufa	5	x	
Dalton	2	x	
Nevoraya	6		1980 - 1981 - Meyers
Meron	1		1974 - 1975 - Meyers

Site	Number of Primary Types	Unexcavated, Brief Reports Available	Latest Excavation and Name of Excavator
Khirbet Sema	4		1976 - Kraabel
Horvat Rafid	4	x	
Ad-Dikka	4	x	1905 - Kohl and Watzinger
Al-Ahmedieh	6	x	
Ar-Rama	3	x	
Umm Al-Qanatir	4	x	1905 - Kohl and Watzinger
Peqi'in	4	x	
Isfiya	7		1933 - Makhoul, Avi-Yonah
Beth Sarim	4		1958 - Avigad
Yafia	8		1950 - Sukenik

The weakness introduced by the differing levels of excavation is offset, in part, by the general nature of our primary types, but it is a factor which must be kept in the forefront of analysis in regions which have a small number of sites.

In order to find a method which will provide the social context for a detailed range of artistic motifs, we began from that element which all artifacts hold in common -- their material nature. Their relationships with each other, and the site on which they were used by a particular community provide us with a nucleus of empirically verifiable relationships from which to develop a construct of a cultural region. We could see some clear differences in the selection of primary types in the archaeological record, when different groups of sites are analyzed, but we are halted from more detailed variable analysis by the appalling gaps in the data. By grouping sites according to known cultural regions, we can begin to make inferences about the context in which these motifs occurred, and suggest some of the ideas which these motifs, as symbols, expressed. Although we are forced to be tentative about "meaning" of these motifs, it has been possible to determine, in an empirical manner, the range of primary motif types which occur on particular sets of sites, and compare the selection patterns from one regional set to another. The individual identity of the site is respected by this method, which uses the local site for the basic unit of description. When the sites are grouped together, according to geographical or cultural boundaries, the regional composite forms

the framework for determining a typical decorative motif pattern. The content, intensity of selection, and range of selection in the art motifs changed from one region to another but proved consistent enough to suggest that shared concepts undergirded the motif repertoire on similar and geographically proximate sites. This was the case in the regions of the South Coastal Plain and the Rift Valley (North) where the content and range of selection was different between the regions, but sites within these regions reflected a high degree of similarity. In the same way that similarity could be measured, dissimilarity was demonstrated in the North Coastal Plain sites and in the Northern Galilee and Golan regions. For these we must re-evaluate the grouping of these sites. The classification of the material culture, and especially of the decorative elements of the synagogue, is the beginning of an immense task of interpretation, a beginning which cannot be successfully shortened by quick generalizations or hasty speculation. Only when the sites have been consistently inventoried and placed within their local context will we be able to determine some of the ideas to which these "symbols" speak.

#### Limitations of the Method

The analytical method developed in this thesis must necessarily represent a provisional analysis, since the data upon which a complete work would be based are still incomplete and scattered. The sample of forty-eight sites (of over two hundred

possible sites) has not been differentiated, here, by the level of excavation. Those sites about which we have been informed through scientific excavation, are not weighted, in comparison with those sites for which only a few fragments have been reported. A number of important and elaborate sites are stratified, and represent several levels of occupation. To reduce the mathematics (which would have been feasible by computer, but which I had to do by hand) I treated these sites as a single unit. Many of the sites have been excavated, but have not been fully published. The lack of data prevents the analyst from achieving the completeness of data which is crucial to the reliability of statistical inference. The criteria by which we identify a site as a "synagogue" and "Jewish," is as imprecise as the architectural typology which is used to fix it in chronological time. Many of the sites cannot be firmly dated. Epigraphic evidence is plagued by the imprecise translation of important terms<sup>33</sup> and the literary evidence remains a mystery in view of the paucity of critical and regional research. There are many obstructions to the continuation of this study, but it is hoped that the intense study of synagogue art motifs may provide the first steps in new directions.

## VIII

### New Directions for Research

The obstacles to a statistical analysis of the art motifs present areas in which new research must be continued. They can

be summarized in four major areas.

Inadequate publication and documentation persistently cause frustration, and prevent the comparison of the quantities and categories of data across the regions. Vague descriptions of the details of motifs sabotage the attempt to classify material by precise, empirical criteria. Something as simple as a glossary of terms becomes a major undertaking. Illustrations are frequently of poor quality, and verbal descriptions are occasionally misleading and contradictory. My site catalogue, with line drawings, has been a partial answer to these dilemmas, although the nomenclature problem persists. The reliability of inference, based on the incomplete data, is reduced by the shortcomings of these tools of study.

Sampling reliability is also affected by gaps in our knowledge about archaeological sites. The identification of sites as synagogues, their identification with that which is "Jewish," and the relationship of architecture to function is imperfectly understood. The architectural development, which has been thrown out, takes along with it a master chronology which has been the foundation for a whole complex of interpretations. Without the master chronology, we cannot arrange sites in time, and therefore cannot establish relationships of process and change. These gaps in the synthesis prevent the development of firm conclusions about the "meaning" of synagogue art forms.

The third major weakness in synagogue art studies is the shortage of regional investigations which provide details about the local environment in which a synagogue was built. This especially applies to the study of the literary evidence. Trying to identify sites with specific personalities, and their teachings, is an exercise in frustration. As a result, there is no direct evidence for the effective exercise of Halakhic authority by anyone, rabbinic or otherwise.

Finally, the social dynamics upon which the authority of any personality or group rested is unclear. These are obviously local in character, and again we face problems in relation to the lack of regional data. This investigation has been seen as a beginning in the systematic study of synagogue art motifs. There are a number of directions for further research, based on the patterning of motif selection, which may add new dimensions to our understanding of the Judaism of Late Antiquity. Study of the manner in which symbolic codes coincide with similar concepts in the rabbinic literature, the functional dimensions of symbolic codes, and the investigation of the forms and exercise of authority in the institution all may prove to be fruitful directions of new investigation. When a complete inventory of the archaeological record has been established, and the handicaps described above have been addressed, it may be possible to create a new synthesis, based on inferences from the data.

It follows from the discussion of motif selection-patterns

that there are a number of directions in which art forms lead us toward an understanding of the structure and functioning of the synagogue institution. I have assumed that a relationship exists between the discovery of a primary motif, the site, its place in chronological times, and the use of that motif in an ancient setting. That use is related to the various symbol systems which provide the unifying structure of ancient synagogue populations. This is based on a "well-known theory of Gestalt psychology -- that there may be a similarity of form between different fields of experience." (Rader, 1960:238) The congruence of motif preference-patterns with symbolic codes in the semantic structures of rabbinic materials may prove to be an interesting area of investigation. It would be especially fruitful for those elements of rabbinic literature which can be directly related to synagogue experience.

The corporate, shared dimensions in symbolic art may be pursued in terms of a functional model of social structure. Some aspects of the "meaning" may have been cohesive, while equally meaningful aspects may have proven to be contentious. In particular, the exercise of authority in the social group may have emerged in the coercive establishment of particular symbols as central themes in the institutional life. In such a manner, Torah study may have been moved into the synagogue life in order to establish and confirm the final, absolute religious and political authority of the rabbinic guild. This is sheer speculation at this point, but it could prove to be a fascinating question.

The third direction, to which the motif preference patterns point, is the process by which power was distributed in the synagogue institution. The forms of authority may be designated by a study of status in relation to occupational titles, the use of active forms of social control, and the role of Torah study in maintaining a cohesive social identity. This latter idea may be pursued in terms of the mechanisms of that social unity, the manner in which authoritative office was reinforced, and the manner in which a distinctive ethnic identity was formed and preserved.

Another theme, which emerges from the study of art forms, is the question of the role of figures as symbols in synagogue art. If these symbols represent functional aspects of the synagogue symbol system, at what point did those same figures threaten social unity and become unwanted and discarded motifs? The study of the aniconic and iconoclastic forces in Jewish tradition, and the evidence for systematic damage to figures, may provide us with additional insight into this aspect of synagogue art.

Finally, the intense study of the occurrence of motifs may start us on the long journey to a description of the varieties of Judaism which populated Palestine in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. The development of local foci, in the form of cultural regions, will assist the scholar to establish patterns of ethnic and cultural identities within the social entity we call Judaism.

### Conclusions

The primary focus of this thesis has been on methodology. It is a critique of the theoretical apparatus by which we have attempted to understand and interpret ancient synagogue art. As a result I have put forth new ideas for the organization of the bodies of evidence. The epigraphic evidence has not traditionally been used to determine the role of the rabbi in the synagogue community, and the correlation of these data to the detailed motif selection-patterns represents new work outside the standard theoretical frameworks. The work is essentially preliminary and tentative, since much excavation has yet to be done.

Analysis of the epigraphical data from the synagogue inscriptions suggests that the rabbis were less involved and of lesser status, in their contributions to the synagogue treasury than were the rabbis in the southern communities. Investigation of the role of the rabbis in the synagogue by means of a correlation between regional selection patterns of primary types, and the epigraphic analysis of donors represents another departure from traditional methods. It permits the scholar to remain sensitive to local variation within the regional setting.

The preliminary work or organization also involved the development of a monothetic classification of synagogue decorative motifs. Thirteen primary types were established, and although the variations within these types were not utilized in this study, their classification has been included in the appendix. This provides the

first steps in the process of a complete and systematic inventory of the repertoire.

The site catalogue treats the local <sup>site</sup> as a discrete unit within the context of geographically associated sites. All of the decorative epigraphic material available to this author has been included. Most importantly every attempt has been made to provide clear line drawings which show, in a visual, empirically-verifiable manner, the details of the motifs observed on each site.

This is therefore a preliminary work. I have avoided speculation on the "meanings" to which these motifs may point because I have been unable to determine in what way they constitute symbols for the synagogue communities. The emphasis has been on gathering the information required for such a task in the form of a reference source which can be used to develop hypotheses about the ideas, and the synagogue communities, from which and to which these decorative forms speak.

#### ENDNOTES

1. (p.6) In Sukenik's view (1934:63) the two stages in the development of the synagogue were marked by changes in interior design. The Galilean type was thought to contain a portable ark of the Law, while the New Galilean type (a development from the original Galilean suggested by Kohl and Watzinger) had a permanent Bema upon which the Torah shrine was stationary. Sukenik gave the New Galilean synagogue a Byzantine date, and characterized it by its mosaic floor, and an apse or niche

located in the wall closest to Jerusalem. The New Galilean types were exemplified at Beth Alpha, Na'aran and Hammath Gadar.

Avi-Yonah's architectural types can be described succinctly in relation to their nomenclature and criteria.

The Galilean/Basilica/Early synagogues featured an elaborate triple entry portal, flagstone pavements, a rectangular plan with two interior colonades, and an entrance in the wall facing Jerusalem. The interior was furnished with stone benches, a portable shrine and (hypothetically) a galler. (Meyers, 1981:43)

Byzantine/Apsidal/Later synagogues featured a permanent shrine in the wall facing Jerusalem, when the centre of the triple portal was evidently blocked up. The entrance was opposite the apse in which the shrine was placed, and the floor was mosaic. Many had a permanent bema, and the Torah shrine was closed-off from the larger hall with a decorative screen.

The Transitional/Broadhouse category served as a catch-all for those synagogues which did not fit into either of the above types. Avi-Yonah suggested that this category fit chronologically between the other types, and was evidence for a period of experimentation in architectural design. The floor plans of this type are varied, although there is usually a fixed receptacle for the Torah scrolls, and a bema. (Avi-Yonah in Gutmann, 1975:32f, Seager, 1981:39f)

2. (p.9) It is a fundamental axiom of modern anthropology that "every detail of custom is seen as part of a complex; it is recognized that details, considered in isolation, are as meaningless as isolated letters of the alphabet." (Leach, 1976:1) When the selection of art forms is considered in the context of a socially prescribed set of behavioral patterns, the study of art forms may lead us back to the central rules of normal and acceptable behavior which governed its choice.
3. (p.10) I am referring here to levels of symbolic meaning, which I define at three levels. The sign refers to the simple transformation of natural or conventional motion, gesture, sound, or image to convey conventionally understood information. The symbol, in this thesis, refers to the level of meaning beyond itself to which an image points. The symbol is taken as a conventional mark, standing for a wider concept. The sacrament brings in the metaphysical dimensions which are incurred when symbols become religious symbols. In addition to their conventional definitions, the religious symbol embodies a role of channel or gateway through which the Ineffable penetrates finite human experience.

4. (p.10) For example, the lintel from Khirbet Kanef bears resemblance to the material from Fahma. The eagle at Gus Halav resembles a similar emblem at Baalbek in Syria. The manner in which these forms constitute symbols with similar "meaning" has not been contextually explored.
5. (p.12) For details on these sites refer to the site catalogue, and to the relevant pages in Chiat. She provides a full discussion of the criteria by which dating was established for these sites. (also, Sukenik, 1943:65)
6. (p.12) Avi-Yonah described the "bewildering variety of plans" which "precludes any attempt to use them as a basis to determine chronology." In effect, the "whole question of the development of synagogal plans from the third to the sixth century will have to be reconsidered...." (Avi-Yonah in Gutmann, 1975:107)
7. (p.12) Caesarea has proven to be contentious, as has the synagogue at Kefar Nahum. (Levine, 1952:60)
8. (p.13) Chiat lists one hundred and twenty seven sites including many sites which are disputed or doubtful. Although they map 106 synagogues, Huttenmeister and Reeg include law courts and academies for a total of two hundred and twenty seven. There is no comprehensive definition by which we can identify a site as a synagogue, so that, of the currently known sites, we cannot determine a definitive total.
9. (p.14) for a discussion see Chiat, 1979:777-787.
10. (p.14) for further details refer to Seager, 1981, Chiat, 1981 and Gutmann, 1975.
11. (p.16) The synagogue at Caesarea occupies the upper two strata of the site. These strata belong to the fourth and fifth century, based on the monogram of Patricius, who was consul in 459 C.E. (Chiat, 1979:375)
11. (p.19) It became an issue of piety to be buried in Eretz Israel, and the central territorial appeal of the "chosen land" remained a central image in rabbinic thought.
13. (p.20) On the occupational aspects of synagogue definitions see further, Landsburger, 1941:332. Meg. 26a.

14. (p.22)  
 ....although there were thirteen synagogues in Tiberias, R. Ammi and R. Assi prayed only between the pillars, the place where they studied. (Ber 30B) see further, Goodenough, 1958:22, Y Peah 21b, and Baumgarten in Gutmann, 1975:202f.  
 "See how much money my ancestors invested here, (R. Hana b. Hanina) Hama observed proudly. R. Osha'ya countered, "How many souls did your forefathers sink here were there are no people to study Torah? (Y. Sheqalim 49b)
15. (p.25) The mystical form of Hellenized Judaism which Goodenough espoused was developed from the works of Philo, in the pattern of allegorical adaptations of meaning. "He searched out the meaning that each symbol universally had, indicating its specific denotative value in the respective cultures which used it, as well as its broader connotative value emerging in all cultures. Such symbols evoke in man, not merely among specific groups of men, a broader, psychologically oriented meaning." (Neusner, 1981:8)  
 The meaning, in Goodenough's sense of "value" is emotive, presentational, and sensory, rather than discursive and logically coherent. (Vol. 4:26f)
16. (p.26) for a further discussion see Neusner, in Gutmann, 1981:7-15.
17. (p.27) Naveh is located 45 kilometers ENE of Tiberias. It is a broadhouse synagogue, dated stylistically, by Mayer and Reifenberg who visited the site in 1923. No plan has survived since then, although some stones are in secondary use in the immediate area. (Chiat, 1979:673)
18. (p.30) Regarding a cup with a painted figure of the Goddess Tyche:  
 ...since the water is flowing over the figure of the Goddess, the vessel is considered as an object with practical import and hence is permitted.  
 (Cohen, 1954:166-170)  
 "Where the public is concerned it is different."  
 (Rosh ha-Shanah 24b)
- Regarding a figure in the Nehardea (Babylonian) synagogue  
 "That which is public cannot be forbidden." (Bildstein, 1974:154f)  
 "That which is treated as divine is forbidden, but that which is not treated as divine is allowed."  
 (Abodah Zara 3:1-3)

"Make for yourselves no idols, idolatrous images or columns before which you would prostrate yourself..." (Abodah Zara 42A)

"One may not make "Any manner of likeness whether incised or in the round, of wood, stone, copper, iron, tin or lead. No animate creatures whatever are to be represented in any of these ways, whether cattle or fowl, fish, locust, unclean animal or reptile. No images are to be made of the sun, the moon, the stars or other planet or of angels, cherubim, orphanim or of anything under the earth which includes anything reflected in water. (Mekilta: Bahodesh vi:6-85, quoted in Goodenough, 1958:13)

19.

(p.33) For the list of sites, see Table J (p.111), and the analysis in section VII.

20.

(p.38) Translations of the inscriptions have been included in the site catalogue.

21.

(p.40) A shift from discouragement of ambitious office seekers to an emphasis on everyone's communal responsibility under the burden of Roman taxes is evident during the period. (Neusner, 1971:42, Baron, 1954:201,270) "You are all responsible for one another. If there be only one righteous man among you, you will all profit from his merit...but if one of you sins the whole generation will suffer." (M. Abot 1,9, Tanhuma Mishaptum ii, homily quoted in Baron, 1954:200)

22.

(p.43) (Cohen, 1954:168) see n.21. Also Baron, 1954:200f Exodus 20:3,4

23.

(p.46) see Map 1 (p.47) and Table J (p.111) for key to location of districts on map. For the inscriptions, see the site catalogue.

24.

(p.48) "Archisynagogos" occurs in inscriptions at Caesarea, Sepphoris, Jerusalem (in an early inscription), and at Beth Shearim. The exact function of this office is uncertain, although it has generally been translated as "overséer" or "administrator." It is interesting to note that each of these sites are major urban centres, and the title does not appear at all in northern Galilee beyond the Jezreel Valley. In the Diaspora, the term is more frequent. (Kraabel, 1981:84)

25.

(p.52) The following sites are arranged by titles mentioned in their inscriptions. For translations, refer to the site catalogue.

- Rabbi - Donor-En-Geddi, Khirbet Susiya, Beth Alpha
  - Commemorative-Beth Se'arim, Ar-Ramah
  - Blessing-(wife of) Husifah
- Scholar - Blessing-(wife of) Isfiah
- Priest - Donative-Na'aran, Eshtemoa, Jerusalem
  - Commemorative-Khirbet Susiya
- Craftsman - Donative-Gaza
  - Commemorative-Beth Alpha, Kefar Baram, Beth She'an
  - Blessing-Tiberias
- Parnas - Commemorative-Na'aran
- Hazzan - Donative-Khirbet Amudim
  - Fragmentary-En Geddi
- Founders - Fragmentary, Blessing?-Huldah
- "Office of..." - Fragmentary-Nabratein
- Named Donors Without Title - Donative
  - Husifah, Caesarea, Ascalon, Gaza, Ma'on, Gush Halav, Sapphoris, Kefar Nahum, Korazim, Hammath Tiberias
  - Commemorative
- Beth Guvrin
- Community - Donative-Rehov, Husifah, Beth Alpha, Hammath Tiberias, Khirbet Susiya, En Geddi, Huldah, Na'aran, Ma'on, Caesarea.
  - Fragmentary-Beth Shean

26. (p. 55) Refer to Table J (p. III) for list of sites. The site catalogue gives the details, to be further analyzed in section VII. The specific sites, and the material from sites used for the analysis of inscriptions are not identical, and therefore not directly comparable. The epigraphical data for synagogues is scattered, and I used whatever material was available. For the most part, the sites are used for both sets of analysis where possible.
27. (p. 58) "Type" is defined as a "recurring combination of attributes which can be shown to have historical or spatial meaning." (Krieger, 1944:271)
28. (p. 60) Refer to Table J (p. III) for specific sites in each region. Map 6 (p. 62) shows the political boundaries for Chiat's regions. A location key, using her coding system has been included in the Appendix, Table I. (p. 62)
29. (p. 69) The relatively few mythic forms in the synagogue motif repertoire are here described according to their familiar name. In Greek mythology, the centaur's origin stems from the unlawful passion of Ixion for the goddess Hera. The form itself probably emerges from the equestrian mythology of the horse. (Stapleton, A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology, 1978:58) The griffin is a creature with an eagle's head and wings, and a lion's body. Similar types of composite creatures are familiar throughout the art traditions of the Near East.
30. (p. 103) Multivariate analysis is defined as "the study and interpretation of complex interrelationships among a multiplicity of characteristics." (Selvin, "Durkheim's Suicide: Further Thoughts on a Methodological Classic" American Journal of Sociology 63:607-619. 1958).

31. (p. 106) This particular classification was designed for use with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). It is a simple, consistent computer language which is easy to learn and does not require extensive knowledge about computers. See further Klecka, 1975 and Nie, 1970).
32. (p. 126) see the discussion beginning p. 57.
33. (p. 149) Particularly problematic is the translation of the hebrew verb AWH, which can be translated "made" as a craftsman fashions an object, or "donate" as a contribution. See further, Hestrin, 1960:66f)

## Appendix Table I

Key to Location Codes for Chiat's  
Geo-Political Regions

Region	A. Phoenician Cities
	B. Galilee
	C. Coastal Cities
	D. Samaria
	E. Judea
	F. Limes Palaestinae (district)
	G. East of the Jordan River
City/District	
	A. 1. Tyre
	2. Ptolemais
	B. 1. Tetracomia
	2. Sepphoris/Diocaesarea
	3. Tiberias
	4. Beth She'an/Scythopolis
	5. Legio/Maximianopolis
	C. 1. Dora
	2. Caesarea
	3. Apollonia
	4. Antipatris
	5. Joppa
	6. Jamnia
	7. Azotus
	8. Ascalon
	9. Gaza
	10. Raphia
	D. 1. Sebaste
	2. Neapolis
	E. 1. Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem)
	2. Lydda/Diospolis
	3. Nicopolis/Emmaus
	4. Bethgabra/Eleutherpolis
	F. 1. Saltus Constantiaces
	2. Sycomazon
	3. Saltus Gerarticus
	4. Jericho
	G. 1. Caesarea Philippia/Paneas
	2. Gaulanitis (district)
	3. Batanea
	4. Hippos/Susitha
	5. Trachonitis
	6. Auranitis
	7. Dium
	8. Gadara/Umm Qeis
	9. Abila
	a. Pella
	b. Gerasa
	c. Philadelphia/Amman

- G. c. Philadelphia/Amman
- d. Heshbon
- e. Medeba
- f. Peraea (district)
- g. Rabbath Moab/Areopolis
- h. Charachmaba

• Appendix Table 2

Classification of Other Site Information

(Geographic Region)

- A. Phoenician cities
- B. Galilee
- C. Coastal Cities
- D. Samaria
- E. Judea
- F. Limes Palaestinae (District)
- G. East of the Jordan River

(City, District)

- A. 1. Tyre
- 2. Ptolemais
- B. 1. Tetracomia (district)
- 2. Sepphoris/Diocaesarea
- 3. Tiberias
- 4. Beth She'an/Scythopolis
- 5. Legio/Maximianopolis
- C. 1. Dora
- 2. Caesarea
- 3. Apollonia
- 4. Antipatris
- 5. Joppa
- 6. Jamnia
- 7. Azotus
- 8. Ascalon
- 9. Gaza
- a. Raphia
- D. 1. Sebaste
- 2. Neapolis
- E. 1. Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem)
- 2. Lydda/Diospolis
- 3. Nicopolis/Emmaus
- 4. Bethgabra/Eleutheropolis
- F. 1. Saltus Constanticus
- 2. Sycomazon
- 3. Saltus Gerarticus
- 4. Jericho
- G. 1. Caesarea Phillipi/Paneas
- 2. Gaulanitis (district)
- 3. Batanea
- 4. Hippos/Susitha

- G.
5. Trachonitis
  6. Auranitis
  7. Dium
  8. Gadara/Umm Qeis
  9. Abila
    - a. Pella
    - b. Gerasa
    - c. Philadelphia/Amman
    - d. Heshbon
    - e. Medeba
    - f. Peraea (district)
    - g. Rabbath Moab/Areopolis
    - h. Charachmaba

(topographic regions)

1. South Coastal Plain
2. Rift Valley (south)
3. West Galilee
4. Judean Hills
5. North Galilee/Golan
6. Samaritan
7. North Coastal Plain
8. Rift Valley (South)

(Galilee)

1. Lower Galilee
2. Upper Galilee
3. Golan

(identification category--from Chiat, 1979:9-11)

1. Validated: Ruin of a building bearing Jewish inscriptions and/or motifs.
2. Attested: Architectural or decorative fragments bearing Jewish motifs or inscriptions from a synagogue. Location of the building is uncertain.
3. Disputed:
  - A. Attributed: Jewish inscriptions or motifs but identified as remains of a synagogue by the consensus of scholars.
  - B. Not accepted: Ruin of a building, or fragments lacking Jewish inscriptions and/or motifs, making attribution questionable on the basis of present evidence.

(level of excavation)

1. unexcavated/ surveyed by Kohl and Watzinger
2. excavated according to scientific techniques.

(source of dating information)

1. inscription
2. site stratigraphy
3. structure stratigraphy from sealed layers.
4. architectural style
5. literary references
- X. date unknown

(date-degree of certainty)

1. probable date, site excavated
2. generally accepted, without excavation, from literary references
3. no empirical evidence other than style
4. firm date by agreement of excavation and literary references
- X. date unknown

(date of construction)

(When approximate dates range across several categories, take the earliest date possible.)

- Ø. not applicable
- U. unknown
1. before 220 C.E.
2. 220 C.E. - 300 C.E.
3. 300 - 350 C.E. (early fourth century)
4. 350 - 400 C.E. (late fourth century)
5. 400 - 450 C.E. (early fifth century)
6. 450 - 500 C.E. (late fifth century)
7. 500 - 550 C.E. (early sixth century)
8. 550 - 600 C.E. (late sixth century)
9. 600 - 650 C.E. (early seventh century)
- X. after 650 C.E.

(stage of re-building)

- Ø. not applicable
1. First renovation
2. Second renovation
3. third renovation

(date of renovation)

- Ø. not applicable
- U. unknown
1. before 220 C.E.
2. 220 C.E. - 300 C.E.
3. 300 - 350 C.E. (early fourth century)
4. 350 - 400 C.E. (late fourth century)
5. 400 - 450 C.E. (early fifth century)
6. 450 - 500 C.E. (late fifth century)
7. 500 - 550 C.E. (early sixth century)
8. 550 - 600 C.E. (late sixth century)
9. 600 - 650 C.E. (early seventh century)
- X. after 650 C.E.

(stage of abandonment or destruction)

- Ø. not applicable
- U. unknown
1. Abandoned
2. Destroyed
3. Re-used by another cultural group.

(date of abandonment/ destruction)

(used above categories for date)

Degree of Damage of Art motif

1. Systematic
2. random
3. not relevant.

## (inscriptions).

1. present
2. inscription is fragmentary, results uncertain
0. absent

## (type of blessing)

1. Donative
  1. present
  0. absent
2. Blessing
  1. present
  0. absent
3. Salvatory
  1. present
  0. absent
4. Literary (biblical, talmudic, midrashic, liturgical)
  1. present
  0. absent

## (donors)

0. not applicable
1. titled individual or family (name given)
2. name given without title
3. anonymous
4. title without name.

## (title)

0. not applicable
1. rabbi/scholar/teacher
2. archisynagogos
3. Kyria/Kyrios
4. priest
5. parnas
6. hazzan
7. merchant/craftsman
8. levite
9. scribe

## (nature of donation)

0. not applicable
1. sum of money
2. furnishings
3. architecture

## (gift)

0. not applicable
1. "gate of heaven"
2. stoa/colonnade
3. mosaic

## (Language)

0. not applicable
- U. unknown
- H. unilingual Hebrew
- A. unilingual Aramaic
- G. unilingual Greek
1. bilingual Hebrew/Aramaic
2. bilingual Greek/Aramaic
3. bilingual Hebrew/Greek
- T. trilingual Hebrew/Greek/Aramaic
- X. other

(Architectural features)

(Plan)

- 0. no evidence
- 1. basilica
- 2. broadhouse
- 3. absidal
- X. other

(nature of proof)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. surveys
- 2. excavation, partial
- 3. excavation, complete
- X. controversial

(Flooring)

- 0. no evidence
- 1. flagstone/stone slab
- 2. mosaic
- X. other

(phase)

- 1. single occupation
- 2. several phases, consistent type
- 3. several phases, type changes

(flooring chronology)

- 0. not applicable
- 1. flagstone to later mosaic
- 2. mosaic to later flagstone

(bema)

- 0. no evidence
- 1. present as stone structure/feature
- 2. niche construed as a bema by the consensus of scholarship.

(frong facade)

- 0. no evidence
- 1. triple portal
- 2. single entrance way

(gallery)

- 0. no evidence
- 1. suggested by architectural fragments and scholarly consensus
- 2. controversial
- 3. definite evidence of its existence

(cathedra "chair of Moses")

- 0. not evidence
- 1. plain stone
- 2. carries inscription and/or decoration

(benches)

- 0. not evidence
- 1. suggested by fragments
- 2. confirmed in situ

Analysis of Primary Types  
Summary of Method

Objectives:

1. to prove that the frequency with which motifs occur at synagogue sites is not random.
  - that motif types occur systematically distributed across geographical space.
  - that the distribution can be correlated to other regionally defined phenomena.
2. to prove that when sites are classified by topographic region, sites within a region will show similarity to each other, and the degree of similarity is not the same in each region. Similarity is measured by the number of motif pairs which are held in common by sites in the region, and by the range of possible pairs which are used in a local repertoire.
3. to prove that the sites of Lower Galilee are more similar to each other than are the sites of Upper Galilee, or the Golan.
4. to determine whether the number of motif pairs at any one site is correlated to the level of excavation. This provides a measure of sample reliability.

Method:

1. A. classification of decorative artifacts according to thirteen primary types.  
B. classification of sites according to their location within the regional boundary sets: Palestine, Palaestinae Prima, Palaestinae Secunda.  
C. rank of primary types in descending order of frequency. Frequency is defined as the number of sites which include a designated motif in its repertoire.
  1. list of sample sites by primary motif, and region
  2. calculation of total sum of sites which show each motif, and the percentage frequency of sites in each region which show the motif types.
- D. comparison of frequency distributions within the regional boundaries.
  1. Palestine ("norm") to Palaestinae Prima
  2. Palestine ("norm") to Palaestinae Secunda
  3. Palaestinae Secunda to Palaestinae Prima
- E. comparison of selected sub-types, specifically the zodiac wheel, the eagle, and figures on sites across the different regional sets.
  1. list of sites which show an eagle in their repertoire
  2. calculation of the number of sites and percentage frequency
  3. list of sites which show a zodiac wheel
  4. calculation of the number of sites and percentage frequency
  5. list of sites which show figured (animal, human, mythic, reptile, marine, fowl) types
  6. calculation of the number of sites and percentage frequency
2. Similarity in motif selection, between sites, within a region, is measured by the ranked correlation of motif pair combinations.
  - A. list of possible pair combinations which could occur among the thirteen primary types. (156 possible pair combinations). Cross check this data for accuracy.
  - B. classification of sample sites according to motif pairs. Cross check this data for accuracy.
  - C. calculation of the number of sites in each region which show motif pairs:
    1. list by topographic region
    2. Galilee, Upper and Lower
    3. GolanCross check this data for accuracy

Appendix Table 3

Sample Sites By Primary Type

Menorah	Number of Sites	Percentage of total for region
Khirbet Abu Amir		
Na'ana		
Beth Guvrin		
Esthemoa		
Hevron		
Khirbet Susiya		
Asdod		
Asqūlon		
Gaza		Palaestinae Prima
Ma'on		
Caesarea		
En Geddi		
Jericho		
Na'aran	14	66.7
Afeq		
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean A**		
Dalton		
Hammath Gadar		
Hammath Teverya		
Kefar Nahum		
Kokav Ne-Yarden		
Nevoraya		
Rehov		Palaestinae Secunda
Peqi'in		
Al-Ahmediyeh		
Khirbet Sema		
'Isfiya		
Yafia	15	71.4
Total number of sites with menorot	29	60.4%

Increments	Number of Sites	Percentage of total for region
Asdod		
Asquelon		
Gaza		
Ma'on		Palaestinae Prima
Jericho		
Na'aran	6	28.6
=====		
Afeq		
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean*		
Hammath Gadar		
Kefar Nahum		
Kokav Ha-Yarden		Palaestinae Secunda
Al-Ahmediyeh		
"Isfiya		
Hammath Teverya	9	33.3
Total number of sites with Increments	15	31.2%
Torah Shrine		
Fahma		
Na'ana		Palaestinae Prima
Khirbet Susiya		
Na'aran	4	19.0
Kefar Nahum		Palaestinae Secunda
Peqi'in	2	7.4
Total number of sites with Torah Shrine	6	12.5
Circle Surround		
Na'ana		
Sa'alevim		
Asdod		
Asquelon		
Gaza*		
Ma'on		
Khirbet Devela		
En Geddi		Palaestinae Prima
Jericho		
Na'aran	10	47.6

## Circle Surround - continued

Number of Sites

Percentage of  
total for region

Afeq  
 Khirbet Ammudim  
 Beth Shean\*  
 Korazim  
 Rehov  
 Bar'am\*\*  
 Nevoraya  
 Ar-Rama  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Yafia  
 Sifsufa

11

Palaestinae Secunda

40.7

Total #. of sites with circle surround 19

39.6%

## Floral

Imwas  
 Na'ana  
 Sa'alevim  
 Esthemoa  
 Khirbet Karmil  
 Khirbet Susiya  
 Silo  
 Asquelon  
 Ma'on  
 Khirbet Devela  
 Na'aran

11

Palaestinae Prima

52.3

Khirbet Ammudim  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Korazim  
 Rehov  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 Bar'am\*  
 Nevoraya  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Yafia  
 Sifsufa

12

Palaestinae Secunda

44.4

Total number of sites with floral motif 23

47.9%

Geometric	Number of Sites	Percentage of total within region
Fahma		
'Imwas		
Khirbet Abu Amir		
Sa'alevim		
Beth Guvrin		
Esthemoa		Palaestinae Prima
Khirbet Karmil		
Khirbet Susiya		
Silo		
Asdod		
Asquelon		
Gaza*		
Caesarea		
Khirbet Devela		
Khirbet Sumaq		
En Geddi		
Jericho		
Na'aran	19	90.5
Khirbet Ammudim		
Arbel		
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean**		
Kefar Nahum		
Kokav Ha-Yarden		
Korazim		
Rehov		
Dalton		
Ad-Dikka		
Al-Ahmediyeh		Palaestinae Secunda
Gus Halay		
Meron		
Nevoraya		
Peqi'in		
Horvat Rafid		
Ar-Rama		
Umm al-Qanatir		
Yafia		
Sifsufa	23	85.2
Total number of sites with geometric motifs	42	87.5%

Vegetable	Number of sites	Percentage of total sites within region
Khirbet Abu Amir		
Beth Guvrin		
Esthemoa		
Khirbet Susiya		
Asquelon		
Gaza**		
Khirbet Devela		
Jericho		
Na'aran	9	42.9
Palaestinae Prima		
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean**		
Hammath Gadar		
Hammath Teverya**		
Kefar Nahum		
Korazim		
Rehov		
Ad-Dikka		
Bar'am		
Dalton		
Gus Halav		
Nevoraya		
Horvat Rafid		
Sifsufa	14	51.8
Palaestinae Secunda		
Total number of sites with vegetable motifs	25	52.1%
Reptile		
Gaza*	1	4.8
Palaestinae Prima		
Beth Alpha	1	3.7
Palaestinae Secunda		
Total number of sites with reptile motif	2	4.2%
Mythic		
Na'aran	1	4.8
Palaestinae Prima		
Beth Alpha		
Hammath Teverya		
Kefar Nahum		
Korazim (?)		
Ad Dikka		
Bar'am*		
Ar-Rama	7	25.9
Palaestinae Secunda		
Total number of sites with mythic motifs	8	16.7%

Fowl	Number of sites	Percentage of total sites in region
Khirbet Susiya Gaza*		
Ma'on		Palaestinae Prima
Khirbet Devela		
En Geddi	5	23.8
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean**		
Kefar Nahum		
Ad-Dikka		
Gus Halav		Palaestinae Secunda
Um al-Qanatir		
'Isfiya		
Yafia	8	29.6
Total number of sites with fowl motif	13	27.0%
Marine		
Na'aran	1	Palaestinae Prima 4.8
Beth Alpha		
Bar'am*		
Hammath Teverya*		Palaestinae Secunda
Horvat Rafid		
'Isfiya	5	18.5
Total number of sites with marine motif	6	12.5%
Human		
Khirbet Susiya		
Gaza*		Palaestinae Prima
Na'aran	3	14.3
Beth Alpha		
Hammath Teverya		
Korazin		
Bar'am*		Palaestinae Secunda
'Isfiya		
Yafia	6	22.2
Total number of sites with human motifs	9	18.8%

Animal	Number of sites	Percentage of total sites within region
Khirbet Susiya Gaza* Ma'on Khirbet Sumaz Na'aran	5	Palaestinae Prima 23.8
Khirbet Ammudim Arbel Beth Alpha Beth Shean** Hammath Gadar Hammath Teverya Kefar Nahum Kokav Ha-Yarden Korazim Rehov Al-Ahmediyeh Bar'am* Al-Ahmediyeh Bar'am* Nevoraya Horvat Rafid Umm al-Qanatir Beth Se'arim 'Isfiya Yafia Sifsufa	19	Palaestinae Secunda 70.4
Total number of sites with animal motif 24		50.5%

Appendix Table 4

## Sub-types - List of Sites

<u>Eagle</u>	Number of Sites	Percentage of total sites within region
Khirbet Devela		
Khirbet Susiya		
Na'aran	3	Palaestinae Prima 14.3
Yafia		
Nevoraya		
Kefar Nahum		Palaestinae Secunda
Gus Halav		
Khirbet Sema	5	18.5
Total number of sites with eagles	8	16.7%
<u>Zodiac Wheel</u>		
Khirbet Susiya		
Na'aran	2	Palaestinae Prima 9.5
Beth Alpha		
Hammath Teverya		
Yaffa		Palaestinae Secunda
'Isfiya	4	14.8
Total number of sites with zodiacs	6	12.5%
<u>Figures</u>		
Marine		Palaestinae Prima
Na'aran	1	4.8
Beth Alpha		
Bar'am*		
Hammath Teverya*		
Horvat Rafid		Palaestinae Secunda
'Isfiya	5	18.5
Reptile		Palaestinae Prima
Gaza*	1	4.8
Beth Alpha	1	Palaestinae Secunda 3.7
Mythic		Palaestinae Prima
Na'aran	1	4.8
Beth Alpha		
Hammath Teverya		Palaestinae Secunda
Kefar Nahum		
Korazim		
Ad Dikka		
Bar'am*		
Ar-Rama	7	25.9

Animal - continued	number of sites	percentage of total sites within region
Khirbet Susiya Gaza* Ma'on Khirbet Sumaq Na'aran	5	Palaestinae Prima 23.8
Khirbet Anmudim Arbel Beth Alpha Beth Shean** Hammath Gadar Hammath Teverya Kefar Nahum Kokav Ha-Yarden Korazim Rehov Al-Ahmediyehi Bar'am* Nevoraya Horvat Rafid Umm Al-Qanatir Beth Se'arim Yafia 'Isfiya Khirbet Susiya	20	Palaestinae Secunda 74.1
Human		
Khirbet Susiya Gaza* Na'aran	3	Palaestinae Prima 14.3
Beth Alpha Hammath Teverya Korazim Bar'am 'Isfiya Yafia	6	Palaestinae Secunda 22.2
Fowl		
Khirbet Susiya Gaza* Ma'on Khirbet Devela En Geddi	5	Palaestinae Prima 23.8
Beth Alpha Beth Shean** Kefar Nahum Ad-Dikka Gus Halav Umm Al-Qanatir 'Isfiya Yafia	8	Palaestinae Secunda 29.6

## Total Number of Figured Sites:

(includes Marine, Reptile, Mythic, Animal, Human and Fowl)

Palaestinae Prima	7	33.3% of total sites in region
Palaestinae Secunda	<u>23</u>	81.5% of total sites in region
Palestine	<u>30</u>	62.5% of total sites in region

## Appendix Table 5

Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

1/2		1/13	
Asdod		Khirbet	
Asquelon		Gaza	
Gaza		Na'aran	3 = 14.3
Ma'on		Beth Alpha	
Jericho		Hammath Teverya	
Na'aran	6 = 28.6%	'Isfiya	
Afeq		Yafia	$\frac{4}{7} = 14.8$
Beth Alpha			$\frac{7}{7} = 14.6$
Beth Shean			
Hammath Gadar		1/6	
Kefar Nahum		Khirbet Abu Amir	
Kokav Ha-Yarden		Beth Guvrin	
Al-Ahmediyeh		Esthemoa	
'Isfiya		Khirbet Susiya	
Hammath Teverya	$\frac{9}{15} = 33.3$	Asquelon	
	$\frac{15}{15} = 31.3$	Gaza	
		Jericho	
1/3		Na'aran	8 = 38.1
Na'ana		Beth Alpha	
Khirbet Susiya		Beth Shean	
Na'aran	3 = 14.3	Dalton	
Kefar Nahum		Hammath Gadar	
Peqi'in	$\frac{2}{5} = 7.4$	Hammath Teverya	
	$\frac{5}{5} = 10.4$	Kefar Nahum	
		Nevoraya	
1/4		Rehov	8 = 29.6
Khirbet Abu Amir			$\frac{16}{16} = 33.3$
Beth Guvrin			
Esthemoa		1/7	
Khirbet Susiya		Na'ana	
Asdod		Khirbet Susiya	
Asquelon		Asquelon	
Ma'on		Ma'on	
Caesarea		Na'aran	5 = 23.8
En Geddi		Hammath Gadar	
Jericho		Hammath Teverya	
Na'aran	11 = 52.4	Kefar Nahum	
Beth Alpha		Nevoraya	
Beth Shean		Rehov	
Dalton		Khirbet Sema	
Hammath Gadar		Yafia	$\frac{7}{12} = 25.9$
Hammath Teverya			$\frac{12}{12} = 25.0$
Kefar Nahum			
Kokav Ha-Yarden		1/8	
Rehov		Na'aran	1 = 4.8
Peqi'in		Beth Alpha	
Al-Ahmediyeh		Hammath Teverya	
Yafia	$\frac{11}{22} = 40.8$	'Isfiya	$\frac{4}{5} = 14.8$
	$\frac{22}{22} = 45.8$		$\frac{5}{5} = 10.4$

1/9

Gaza 1 = 4.8  
 Beth Alpha  $\frac{1}{2}$  = 3.7  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  = 4.2

1/11

Gaza  
 Ma'on  
 En Geddi 3 = 14.3  
 Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Kefar Nahum  
 'Isfiya  
 Yafia  $\frac{5}{8}$  = 18.5  
 $\frac{5}{8}$  = 16.7

1/10

Na'aran 1 = 4.8  
 Beth Alpha  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Kefar Nahum  $\frac{3}{8}$  = 11.1  
 $\frac{3}{8}$  = 16.7

1/12

Khirbet Susiya  
 Gaza  
 Ma'on  
 Na'aran 4 = 19.0  
 Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Kokav Ha-Yarden  
 Nevoraya  
 'Isfiya  
 Yafia  $\frac{9}{13}$  = 33.3  
 $\frac{9}{13}$  = 27.1

1/5

Na'ana  
 Asdod  
 Asquelon  
 Gaza  
 Ma'on  
 En Geddi  
 Jericho  
 Na'aran 8 = 38.1  
 Afeq  
 Beth Shean  
 Nevoraya  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Yafia  $\frac{5}{13}$  = 18.5  
 $\frac{5}{13}$  = 27.1

## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

2/3  
 Na'aran 1 = 4.8  
 Kefar Nahum  $\frac{1}{2}$  = 3.7  
 $\frac{2}{2}$  = 4.2

2/4  
 Asdod  
 Asquelon  
 Gaza  
 Ma'on  
 Na'aran 5 = 23.8  
 Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Kokav Ha-Yarden  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 Hammath Teverya  $\frac{7}{12}$  = 25.9  
 $\frac{12}{12}$  = 25.0

2/5  
 Asdod  
 Asquelon  
 Gaza  
 Ma'on  
 Jericho  
 Na'aran 6 = 28.6  
 Afeq  
 Beth Shean  $\frac{2}{8}$  = 7.4  
 $\frac{8}{8}$  = 16.7

2/6  
 Asquelon  
 Gaza  
 Jericho  
 Na'aran 4 = 19.0  
 Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Kefar Nahum  $\frac{5}{9}$  = 18.5  
 $\frac{9}{9}$  = 18.8

2/7  
 Asquelon  
 Ma'on  
 Na'aran 3 = 14.3  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Hammath Teverya  $\frac{3}{6}$  = 11.1  
 $\frac{6}{6}$  = 12.5

2/8  
 Na'aran 1 = 4.8  
 Beth Alpha  
 'Isfiya  
 Hammath Teverya  $\frac{3}{4}$  = 11.1  
 $\frac{4}{4}$  = 8.3

2/9  
 Gaza 1 = 4.8  
 Beth Alpha  $\frac{1}{2}$  = 3.7  
 $\frac{2}{2}$  = 4.2

2/10  
 Na'aran 1 = 4.8  
 Beth Alpha  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Hammath Teverya  $\frac{3}{4}$  = 11.1  
 $\frac{4}{4}$  = 8.3

2/11  
 Gaza  
 Ma'on 2 = 9.5  
 Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Kefar Nahum 3 = 11.1

2/12  
 Ma'on  
 Na'aran 2 = 9.5  
 Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 'Isfiya  
 Hammath Teverya  $\frac{7}{9}$  = 25.9  
 $\frac{9}{9}$  = 18.8

2/13  
 Gaza  
 Na'aran 2 = 9.5  
 Beth Alpha  
 Hammath Teverya  
 'Isfiya  $\frac{3}{5}$  = 11.1  
 $\frac{5}{5}$  = 10.4

## 3/4 Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

Fahma

Khirbet Susiya

Na'aran 3 = 14.3

Kefar Nahum

Peqi'in  $\frac{2}{5} = 7.4$  $\bar{2} = 10.5$ 

3/5

Na'ana

Na'aran 2 = 9.5

 $\bar{2} = 4.2$ 

3/6

Khirbet Susiya

Na'aran 2 = 9.5

Kefar Nahum 1 = 3.7

 $\bar{3} = 6.3$ 

3/7

Na'ana

Khirbet Susiya

Na'aran 3 = 14.3

Kefar Nahum 1 = 3.7

 $\bar{4} = 8.3$ 

3/8

Na'aran 1 = 4.8

3/9 0.0

3/10

Na'aran 1 = 4.8

Kefar Nahum 1 = 3.7

 $\bar{2} = 4.2$ 

3/11

Khirbet Susiya 1 = 4.8

Kefar Nahum 1 = 3.7

 $\bar{2} = 6.3$ 

3/12

Khirbet Susiya

Na'aran 2 = 9.5

Kefar Nahum 1 = 3.7

 $\bar{3} = 6.3$ 

3/13

Khirbet Susiya

Na'aran 2 = 9.5

 $\bar{2} = 4.2$

## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

4/5			'Imwas		
Asdod			Sa'alevim		
Asquelon			Esthemoa		
Gaza			Khirbet Karmil		
Khirbet Devela			Khirbet Susiya		
En Geddi			Silo		
Jericho			Asquelon		
Na'aran			Ma'on		
Sa'alevim	9 = 42.9		Khirbet Devela		
Khirbet Ammudim			Na'aran	10 = 47.6	
Beth Shean			Khirbet Ammudim		
Korazim			Hammath Gadar		
Rehov			Hammath Teverya		
Bar'am			Kefar Nahum		
Nevoraya			Korazim		
Ar-Rama			Rehov		
Yafia			Al-Ahmediyeh		
Sifsufa	$\frac{9}{18} = 33.3$		Bar'am		
			Nevoraya		
			Yafia		
			Sifsufa	$\frac{10}{20} = 37.0$	
				$= 41.7$	
4/6			4/10		
Khirbet Abu Amir			Na'aran	1 = 4.8	
Beth Guvrin			Beth Alpha		
Esthemoa			Hammath Teverya		
Khirbet Susiya			Kefar Nahum		
Asquelon			Korazim		
Gaza			Ad-Dikka		
Khirbet Devela			Bar'am		
Jericho			Ar-Rama	$\frac{7}{8} = 25.9$	
Na'aran	9 = 42.9			$= 16.7$	
Beth Alpha			4/11		
Beth Shean			Khirbet Susiya		
Hammath Gadar			Gaza		
Hammath Teverya			Ma'on		
Kefar Nahum			Khirbet Devela		
Korazim			En Geddi	5 = 23.8	
Rehov			Beth Alpha		
Ad-Dikka			Beth Shean		
Bar'am			Kefar Nahum		
Dalton			Ad-Dikka		
Nevoraya			Gus Halav		
Horvat Rafid	$\frac{13}{22} = 48.1$		Umm Al-Qanatir		
	$= 45.8$		Yafia	$\frac{7}{12} = 25.9$	
				$= 25.0$	
4/8			4/9		
Na'aran	1 = 4.8		Gaza	1 = 4.8	
Beth Alpha			Beth Alpha	$\frac{1}{2} = 3.7$	
Bar'am				$= 4.2$	
Hammath Teverya					
Horvat Rafid	$\frac{4}{5} = 14.8$				
	$= 10.4$				

4/12

Khirbet Susiya

Gaza

Ma'on

Khirbet Sumaq

Na'aran 5 = 23.8

Khirbet Ammudim

Arbel

Beth Alpha

Beth Shean

Hammath Gadar

Hammath Teverya

Kefar Nahum

Kokav Ha-Yarden

Korazim

Rehov

Al-Ahmediyeh

Bar'am

Nevoraya

Horvat Rafid

Umm Al-Qanatir

Yafia

Sifsufa  $\frac{17}{22} = 63.0$  $\frac{22}{22} = 45.8$ 

4/13

Khirbet Susiya

Gaza

Na'aran 3 = 11.1

Beth Alpha

Hammath Teverya

Korazim

Bar'am

'Isfiya

Yafia  $\frac{6}{9} = 22.2$  $\frac{9}{9} = 18.8$

## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

5/6			5/11		
Asquelon			Gaza		
Gaza			Ma'on		
Khirbet Devela			Khirbet Devela		
Jericho			En Geddi	4	= 19.1
Na'aran	5	= 23.8	Beth Shean		
Beth Shean			Yafia	$\frac{2}{6}$	= 7.4
Korazim				$\frac{6}{6}$	= 12.5
Rehov			5/12		
Bar'am			Gaza		
Nevoraya			Ma'on		
Sifsufa	$\frac{6}{11}$	= 22.2	Na'aran	3	= 14.3
		= 22.9	Khirbet Ammudim		
5/7			Beth Shean		
Na'ana			Korazim		
Sa'alevim			Rehov		
Asquelon			Bar'am		
Ma'on			Nevoraya		
Khirbet Devela			Yafia		
Na'aran	6	= 28.6	Sifsufa	8	= 29.6
Khirbet Ammudim			5/13		
Korazim			Gaza		
Rehov			Na'aran	2	= 9.5
Bar'am			Korazim		
Nevoraya			Bar'am		
Khirbet Sema			Yafia	$\frac{3}{5}$	= 11.1
Yafia				$\frac{5}{5}$	= 10.4
Sifsufa	$\frac{8}{14}$	= 29.6			
		= 29.7			
5/8					
Gaza	1	= 4.8			
		= 0.0			
	$\bar{1}$	= 4.2			
5/10					
Na'aran	1	= 4.8			
Korazim					
Bar'am					
Ar-Rama	$\frac{3}{4}$	= 11.1			
		= 8.3			

## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pairs

6/7		
Esthemoa		
Khirbet Susiya		
Aşuelon		
Khirbet Devela		
Na'aran	5	= 23.8
Hammath Gadar		
Hammath Teverya		
Kefar Nahum		
Korazim		
Rehov		
Bar'am		
Nevoraya		
Sifsufa	$\frac{8}{13}$	= 29.6 = 27.1

6/8		
Na'aran	1	= 4.8
Beth Alpha		
Bar'am		
Hammath Teverya	$\frac{3}{4}$	= 11.1 = 8.3

6/9		
Gaza	1	= 4.8
Beth Alpha	$\frac{1}{2}$	= 3.7 = 4.2

6/10		
Na'aran	1	= 4.8
Beth Alpha		
Hammath Teverya		
Kefar Nahum		
Korazim		
Ad-Dikka		
Bar'am	$\frac{6}{7}$	= 22.2 = 14.6

6/11		
Khirbet Susiya		
Gaza		
Khirbet Devela	3	= 14.3
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean		
Kefar Nahum		
Ad-Dikka		
Gus Halav	$\frac{5}{8}$	= 18.5 = 16.7

6/12		
Khirbet Susiya		
Gaza		
Na'aran	3	= 14.3
Beth Alpha		
Beth Shean		
Hammath Gadar		
Hammath Teverya		
Kefar Nahum		
Korazim		
Rehov		
Bar'am		
Nevoraya		
Horvat Rafid		
Sifsufa	$\frac{11}{14}$	= 40.7 = 29.2

6/13		
Khirbet Susiya		
Gaza		
Na'aran	3	= 14.3
Beth Alpha		
Hammath Teverya		
Korazim		
Bar'am	$\frac{4}{7}$	= 14.8 = 14.6

## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

7/8  
Na'aran 1 = 4.8

Bar'am  
Hammath Teverya  $\frac{2}{3} = 7.4$   
 $\frac{3}{3} = 6.3$

7/9 0.0

7/10  
Na'aran 1 = 4.8

Hammath Teverya  
Kefar Nahum  
Korazim  
Bar'am  $\frac{4}{5} = 19.5$   
 $\frac{5}{5} = 10.4$

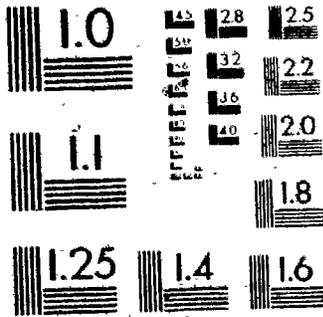
4/11  
Khirbet Susiya  
Na'on  
Na'aran 3 = 14.3

Khirbet Ammudim  
Hammath Gadar  
Hammath Teverya  
Kefar Nahum  
Korazim  
Rehov  
Al-Ahmediyeh  
Bar'am  
Nevoraya  
Yafia  
Sifsufa  $\frac{11}{14} = 40.7$   
 $\frac{14}{14} = 29.7$

7/13  
Khirbet Susiya  
Na'aran 2 = 9.5

Hammath Teverya  
Korazim  
Bar'am  
Yafia  $\frac{4}{6} = 12.5$   
 $\frac{6}{6} = 12.5$

3



## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

8/9			9/13		
Beth Alpha	1	= 3.7	Na'aran	1	= 4.8
			Beth Alpha		
	$\bar{T}$	= 4.8	Hammath Teverya		
			Korazim		
8/10			Bar'am	$\frac{4}{5}$	= 14.8
Na'aran	1	= 4.8		$\frac{5}{5}$	= 10.5
Beth Alpha					
Hammath Teverya			10/11		
Bar'am	$\frac{3}{4}$	= 14.3	'Isfiya		
		= 8.3	Beth Alpha	$\frac{2}{2}$	= 7.4
					= 4.7
8/11					
Beth Alpha			10/12		
'Isfiya	$\frac{2}{2}$	= 7.4	Khirbet Susiya		
		= 4.2	Gaza	2	= 9.5
8/12			Beth Alpha		
Na'aran	1	= 4.8	Beth Shean		
Beth Alpha			Kefar Nahum		
Bar'am			'Isfiya		
Hammath Teverya			Yafia	$\frac{5}{7}$	= 18.5
Horvat Rafid					= 14.6
'Isfiya	$\frac{5}{6}$	= 18.5			
		= 12.5	10/13		
8/13			Khirbet Susiya		
Khirbet Susiya	1	= 4.8	Gaza	2	= 9.5
Beth Alpha			Beth Alpha		
Yafia	$\frac{2}{3}$	= 7.4	'Isfiya		
		= 6.3	Yafia	$\frac{3}{3}$	= 14.3
					= 10.5
9/10			11/12		
Beth Alpha			Na'aran	1	= 4.8
Kefar Nahum			Beth Alpha		
Ad-Dikka	$\frac{3}{3}$	= 11.1	Bar'am		
		= 6.3	Hammath Teverya		
			Horvat Rafid		
9/11			'Isfiya		
Na'aran	1	= 4.8	Sifsufa	$\frac{6}{7}$	= 22.2
Beth Alpha					= 14.6
Bar'am					
Hammath Teverya	$\frac{3}{4}$	= 11.1	11/13		
		= 8.3	Na'aran	1	= 4.8
9/12			Beth Alpha		
Na'aran	1	= 4.8	Bar'am		
Beth Alpha			Hammath Teverya		
Hammath Teverya			'Isfiya	$\frac{4}{5}$	= 14.8
Kefar Nahum					= 10.5
Korazim					
Bar'am	$\frac{5}{6}$	= 18.5			
		= 12.5			

## Correlation of Sites by Motif Pair

12/13	
Khirbet Susiya	
Gaza	
Na'aran	3 = 14.3
Beth Alpha	
Hammath Teverya	
Korazim	
Bārlan	
Isfiya	
Yafia	$\frac{6}{9} = 22.2$
	$\frac{9}{9} = 18.8$

## Appendix Table 6A

## Sample Sites By Primary Types

## Upper Galilee

## Menorah

Dalton  
 Nevoraya  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Afeq  
 Peqi'in

## Increments

Afeq

## Torah Shrine

Peqi'in

## Geometric

Peqi'in  
 meron

Dalton  
 Nevoraya  
 Sifsufa

Gus Halav  
 Bar'am

## Circle Surround

Afeq  
 Nevoraya  
 Sifsufa  
 Bar'am

## Floral

Bar'am  
 Sifsufa  
 Nevoraya  
 Khirbet Sema

## Vegetable

Bar'am  
 Dalton  
 Gus Halav  
 Nevoraya  
 Sifsufa

## Mythic

Bar'am

## Fowl

Gus Halav

## Marine

Bar'am

## Animal

Bar'am  
 Nevoraya  
 Sifsufa

## Human

Bar'am

## Ranking (9 sites)

Geometric	7	71.7%
Menorah	5	55.5
Vegetable	5	55.5
Circle Surround	4	44.4
Floral	4	44.4
Animal	3	33.3
Marine	1	11.1
Human	1	11.1
Mythic	1	11.1
Fowl	1	11.1
Reptile	0	0.0

## Sample Sites by Primary Type

## Lower Galilee

## Menorah

Kefar Nahum  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Kokav Ha-Yarden  
 Rehov

## Increments

Kefar Nahum  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Beth Shean  
 Beth Alpha  
 'Isfiya

## Torah Shrine

Kefar Nahum

## Geometric

Korazim  
 kefar Nahum  
 Kokav Ha-Yarden  
 Arbel  
 Khirbet Ammudim  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Beth Shean  
 Beth Alpha  
 Rehov  
 Yafia

## Circle Surround

Khirbet Ammudim  
 Beth Shean  
 Korazim  
 Rehov  
 Yafia

## Floral

Khirbet Ammudim  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Rehov  
 Yafia

## Vegetable

Korazim  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Beth Shean  
 Beth Alpha  
 Rehov

## Reptile

Beth Alpha

## Fowl

Beth Alpha  
 Beth Shean  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Yafia  
 'Isfiya

## Marine

Beth Alpha  
 Hammath Teverya  
 'Isfiya

## Animal

Arbel  
 Khirbet Ammudim  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Beth Shean  
 Beth Alpha  
 Kokav Ha-Yarden  
 Rehov  
 Beth Se'arim  
 'Isfiya  
 Yafia

## Human

Beth Alpha  
 Hammath Teverya  
 Korazim  
 'Isfiya  
 Yafia

## Ranking - thirteen sites

Animal	11	84.6
Geometric	11	84.6
Vegetable	7	53.7
Increments	6	46.2
Circle Surround	5	38.7
Floral	5	38.7
Human	5	38.7
Menorah	4	30.8
Mythic	4	30.8
Marine	3	23.1
Torah Shrine	1	7.7
Reptile	1	7.7

Sample Sites By  
Primary Type

Menorah  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 Increments  
 (none)  
 Torah Shrine  
 (none)  
 Geometric  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 Ad-Dikka  
 Umm-Al-Qanatir  
 Circle Surround  
 Ar-Rama  
 Floral  
 Ad-Dikka  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 Reptile  
 (none)  
 Mythic  
 Ar-Rama  
 Ad-Dikka  
 Fowl  
 Ad-Dikka  
 Umm-Al-Qanatir  
 Marine  
 Horvat Rafid  
 Animal  
 Horvat Rafid  
 Al-Ahmediyeh  
 Human  
 (none)

Ranking - five sites

Geometric	3	60.0%
Mythic	2	40.0
Fowl	2	40.0
Animal	2	40.0
Circle Surround	1	20.0
Menorah	1	20.0
Floral	1	20.0
Vegetable	1	20.0
Marine	1	20.9

Human, Torah Shrine, Increments,  
 Reptile forms do not occur

## APPENDIX - TABLE 6B

Galilee

## Lower Galilee

13 sites

11. 4/12
8. 1/4;1/12
7. 4/6;6/12;7/12
6. 1/2;1/6;2/4;2/12;4/7
5. 1/7;1/11;2/6;4/5;4/10;4/13;5/12;6/7
4. 1/13;4/11;5/7;4/5;4/14;4/13;5/12;6/7
3. 1/8;1/10;2/7;2/8;2/10;9/13;7/13;2/11;2/13;5/6;6/11;6/13;7/10
2. 1/5;4/8;5/11;5/13;6/8;7/11;8/10;8/11;8/13;9/10;9/11;7/8;6/9;  
5/10;4/9;3/12;3/11;3/10;1/3;1/9;2/3;2/5;2/9;3/4;3/6;3/7

## Upper Galilee

9 sites

4. 5/7;4/6
3. 6/12;6/7;5/12;5/6;4/12;1/5
2. 7/12;11/12;4/5;4/7;1/4;1/6
1. 7/8;7/10;7/13;8/10;8/12;9/11;9/12;9/13;11/13;12/13;6/13;6/11  
6/10;5/13;5/10;5/8;3/4;4/8;4/10;4/11;4/13;1/2;1/3;1/7;1/12;2/5

## Golan

3 sites

3. 4/12
2. 4/11;4/10
1. 4/8;4/7;4/6;4/5;2/4;1/4;11/12;5/10;6/11;7/12;9/10

Site Name Cross Reference and  
Index to Site Catalogue







Site Name Cross Reference  
and Index- continued

Ni'ana  
 Nirim  
 Noarah  
 Pekin  
 Peqi'in  
 Peqi'in  
 Rafid, Khirbet  
 Rama  
 Ramah  
 Rehov  
 Rehovot  
 Sa'alevim  
 Safsaf  
 Safsafa  
 Salbit  
 Sasaf  
 Seilun  
 Sema, Khirbet  
 Seilun  
 Sepphoris  
 Shabim  
 Shaalbim  
 Sheikh Abreiq  
 Sheikh Ibreiq  
 Shema, Khirbet  
 Sifsufa  
 Sippori  
 Sufsaf  
 Sumar, Khirbet  
 Summaka  
 Tell Asquelon  
 Tell Bani  
 Tell es-Sarum  
 Tell es Sultan  
 Tell Harube  
 Tell Hum  
 Tell Istaba  
 Tecuqa  
 Tiberias  
 Tulel Farwana  
 Umm al-Kanatir  
 Umm al-Qanatir  
 Umm el-Kanatir  
 Usfiya  
 Yafa  
 Yafia  
 Yaphia

Na'ana  
 Ma'on  
 Na'aran  
 Peqi'in  
 Peqi'in  
 Peqi'in  
 Horvat Rafid  
 Ar-Rama  
 Ar-Rama  
 Rehov  
 Peqi'in  
 Sa'alevim  
 Sifsufa  
 Sifsufa  
 Se'alevim  
 Sifsufa  
 Silo  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Silo  
 Sepphoris  
 Sa'alevim  
 Sa'alevim  
 Beth Se'arim  
 Beth Se'arim  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Sifsufa  
 Sepphoris  
 Sifsufa  
 Khirbet Sumaq  
 Khirbet Sumaq  
 Asquelon  
 Hammath Gadar  
 Rehov  
 Jericho  
 Gara A  
 Kefar Nahum  
 Beth Shean Z  
 Khirbet Sema  
 Tiberias  
 Rehov  
 Umm al-Qanatir  
 Umm al-Qanatir  
 Umm el-Kanatir  
 'Isfiya  
 Yafa  
 Yafa  
 Yafa

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## Glossary of Terms

**Akedah:** biblical account of the "binding" of Isaac, describing God's command to Abraham to offer Isaac, the son of his old age, as a sacrifice. Divine intervention prevented consummation at the last moment.

**Amoraim:** see Judaism, Amora

**Aron Kodesh:** (heb. "holy ark") In the temple, and in the tabernacle, it is referred to as a "chest" or "box", meaning the cupboard for the storage of revered objects. In the synagogue, the chest was used for the storage of the Torah scrolls when they were not in use. The Septuagint, and John Chrysostom, use the greek "kibotos" for the Torah shrine. (Goodenough, 1954:115, Yoma v,1; Y. Berakhot iv, 8; Genesis Rabbah, 55)

**Art:** used here for the decorative features which are not normally part of the functioning architectural orders.

**Beth Din:** (heb. "house of judgement") in rabbinic sources, the Jewish court of law.

**Beth Knesset:** (heb. "house of assembly") The building for public assembly commonly associated with prayer and reading. They were common before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. although we do not have firm archaeological evidence, and the primary source is literary. After the destruction, it became the focus of Jewish communal life. It is usually synonymous with the greek term "synagoge" which means "to bring together," "assembly", "meeting." (Chiat, 1979, 802ff)

**Beth Midrash:** (heb. "house of interpretation") academy in which midrashic study took place.

**Beth Tefillah:** (heb "house of prayer") Is. 56.7.  
"...these I will bring to my holy mountain, I will make them joyful in my house of prayer."

**correlation:** having mutual relationship: the state in which two variables correspond to each other and are regularly used together.

**cultural region:** term in regional studies used to distinguish between larger areas of commonality, if not homogeneity. An area having a unique cultural environment readily visible to the geographer in the field, and perhaps even more evident when plotted on a map.

**cyma:** Ogee moulding of cornice in a double continuous curve, concave below, passing into convex above: an S-shaped moulding.

**Geonic:** see Judaism, Gaonic

**Galilean:** see Judaism, Galilean

**Haggidah, Aggidah, Haggadiatic:** Referring to those sections of Talmud and Midrash which contain homiletic explications of Bible stories, legends, folklore, anecdotes or maxims. Includes homiletic additions to Bible stories as well as old legends preferred among the people.

**Halakah, Halakhic:** (heb. "law, practice, adopted opinion, rule"). Referring to sections of Talmud and Midrash which deal with practical, legal exposition of Mosaic law. A traditional law or traditional interpretation of Torah, in which the results are not necessarily stated in Scripture, but are derived from it and given Biblical authority.

**Hellenistic:** see Judaism, Hellenistic

**Index:** In communication theory, a static, descriptive message in which meaning is generally accepted and more or less fixed. Sub-categories of an index are the natural indices ("Smoke means fire") and the signs, or signs with with cultural and conventional associations.

**Institution:** An institution is defined by Webster's Third New International Dictionary as:

a significant and persistent element (as a practice, relationship--an organization) in the life of a culture that centers on a fundamental human need, activity or value; occupies an enduring and cardinal position within the society and is usually maintained and stabilized through social regulatory agencies;

**Judaism:** In a religious sense, this term connotes belief in ethical monotheism and its precepts. As a civilization, it encompasses common experiences shared by Jewish people involving historical and national elements as well as religious. Further defined in the following terms:

**Amora:** (ara. "spokesmen") title used originally for those who interpreted lessons of the rabbi for his pupils. Later used for Jewish scholars who taught in Eretz Israel and especially Babylonia (3rd-7th centuries) in the period after the conclusion of the Mishnah. Their work is comprised of the Gemara.

**Galilean:** Judaism defined by cultural idiosyncracies found in the northernmost region of Eretz Israel, considered a stronghold of Judaism in Mishnaic and Talmudic periods (see further, p. )

**Gaonic:** formal title of heads of academies of Sura and Pumbedita in Babylon (6th - 11th centuries). Also used for a time in Eretz Israel.

**Hellenistic:** defined by Goodenough as that Judaism which appropriated pagan iconography to express Philonic mystic ideas while retaining proper observance and ethical monotheism according to the Torah.

**Rabbinic:** Ethical monotheism and observance as defined by rabbinic tradition, usually in terms of Halakhic requirements for ritual practice.

**Synagogue:** Synagogue Judaism defines that population which designed, built, and used the synagogue buildings.

**Tanna:** term applied to academy reader of tannaitic texts, served as teacher of Mishnah and Baraita during the first two centuries C.E.

Lulav/lulab: (heb. "shoot") palm branch, one of the "four species" used on Sukkot.

Menorah: (heb. "lampstand") branched lampstand used in the tabernacle and temple to hold the candles used in ritual observances. It was later applied to the Hanukkah candelabrum.

Merkabah mysticism: (heb. "Ma'aseh Merkavah") Mishnaic name given to the first chapter of Ezekial. Term used by the rabbis to designate a complex of speculations, homiletics and visions connected with the Throne of God and the chariot ("Merkavah") which bears it and all which is embodied by this symbol.

Monothetic typology: Monothetic methods of classification used only a single attribute to determine membership of an item in one or another sub-group of a typology (Whallon, 1971:1)

Motif: in artistic composition, an ornament, form or shape used in decoration.

Multivariate analysis: The study and interpretation of complex interrelationships among a multiplicity of characteristics.

Null Hypothesis: a supposition used as a starting point for investigation.

Rabbi: an expounder or interpreter of the Bible or Oral Law. From the Middle Ages onward, a teacher, preacher and spiritual head of a community in which his livelihood was often derived from his function was often derived from his function as rabbi. (Everyman's Judaice, 1975:495)

Regionalism: "that fundamental element of modern geography that takes into account the existence within larger geographic territories of smaller or more detailed units in which the characteristic features of geo-morphology and climate, thus land use, distinguished these units one from another." (C. Meyers, 1983:52)

Sacrament: The religious symbol which incorporates within itself the role of channel or gateway through which the Ineffable penetrates finite human experience.

Seriation: an arrangement of data in the form of a series, in an orderly sequence.

Sign: In communication theory, an index having approximately fixed, conventional, phonetic values. Signs do not occur in isolation: a sign is always a member of a set of contrasted signs which function within a specific cultural context. Conveys information only when it is combined with other signs and symbols from the same context. (leach, 1976:13)

Symbol: "A thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogue qualities or by association in fact or thought." (Concise Oxford Dictionary)  
 Goodenough uses Ovid's definition: "crede mihi: plus est, quam quod videatur, imago," translated: "an image or design with a significance; to the one who uses it, quite beyond its manifest context." (Goodenough, 1954:28) see further n. 6.

Talmudic Judaism: See Judaism, Talmudic

Tanna: see Judaism, Tanna

Type: "a recurring combination of attributes which can be shown to have historical or spatial meaning." (Krieger, 1944:271).

SITE CATALOGUE

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Index to Sites in Site Catalogue	403

Abbreviations Used

## Periodicals

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestinian Exploration Society
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JPOS	Journal of the Palestinian Exploration Society
PEFQ	Palestinian Exploration Fund Quarterly
PEFQS	Palestinian Exploration Fund Quarterly, Statement
RB	Revue Biblique
QAD	Qadmoniot
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine

## Symbols Used

// parallel or similar motif from another site

(p) source provides illustration or picture

"Symbols" Goodenough, E.R. Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period.  
Bollingen Series. New York: Pantheon Books: Vols. I-XIII.

\* disputed identification of the site as a synagogue

\* disputed site, identification as a synagogue is controversial

\*\* site not accepted (by Chiat) as a synagogue



PALAESTINAE PRIMA

SAMARITAN HIGHLANDS

PAHMA

Samaritan

Christ: no reference (D 1)  
Palaestinae Prima

(Jenin subdistrict)  
Unexcavated

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Torah shrine

Provenance, Descriptive Unit

fragment of lintel, in continuous  
curvilinear, "twisted ribbon" or  
torus pattern

(No illustrations available of Torah Shrine

"R. Avi-Yonah reports on a relief of a door representing the  
ark of the Law and on a lintel of the 3rd to 4th century  
A.D." (Saller, 1969:#26)

References:

Saller, 1969:#26

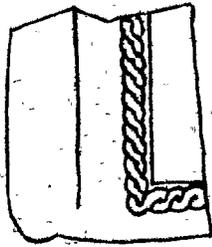
Goodenough, Symbols III:550 (p)

Goodenough, Symbols I:214

Avi-Yonah, BJPS XIII:154, pl.VIII. 1947

Avi-Yonah, JS I:214. 1947

FAHMA



Source: Folder #, Serials III:558

S

L. 1. 1. 1.

Amwas  
EmmausSamaritan Highlands  
Chiat: no reference (E. 1)  
1494, 1336 (22 km WNW of Jerusalem)  
Unexcavated

## Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Floral

## Provenance, Descriptive Unit

capital, with inscription on  
reversestylized, broad petalled rosettes  
set in an arch  
spiral lines following volutes  
of ionic type capital

## Inscription

Yhwh is a hero in war, Yhwh  
is his name. Yhwh, you have driven through  
Come, blessings of Yhwh  
No one is like the God JeschurunSamaritan, from Ex. 15:3, 13  
Gen. 24:31  
Deut. 33:26Yhwh is victor  
of war. Praised is Yhwh

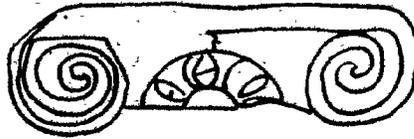
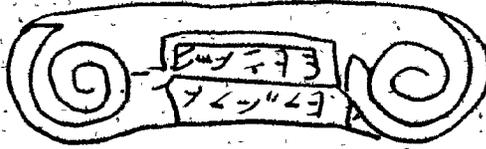
Samaritan Targum; Ex. 15:3

Two other inscriptions are fragmentary, and untranslated.  
-samaritan, greek

## References:

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1979:603-609  
Saller, 1969:#8  
Goodenough, Symbols III:569 (p)

IMVAS



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:509

---

225

JUDEAN HILLS

---

KHIRBET ABU AMIR  
 Horvat Abu Amir  
 Horvat Amir

Judean Hills  
 Chiat: no reference (D 1)  
 1703-2095

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Vegetable

Circle Surround

Inscriptions

Provenance, Descriptive Unit

frieze- geometric, vine medallion,  
 curvilinear and rectilinear  
 patterns

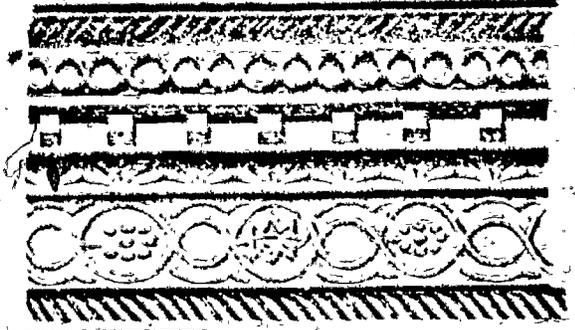
Capital, stylized acanthus leaves  
 with the tip shaped to form the  
 top of the menorah

Carved stones with whorl and  
 stylized petals inside medallions

References:

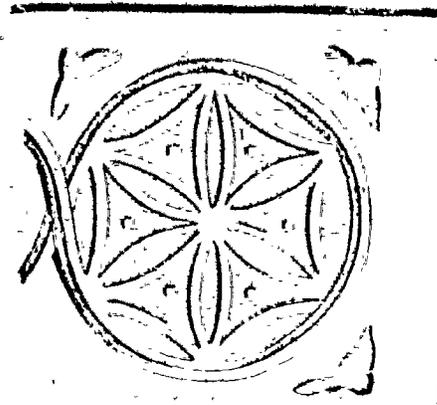
Goodenough, Symbols III:552,557,559 (p)  
 Saller, 1969:#66  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:1

KHIRBET ABU AMIR



559. Frieze, synagogue(?), Khirbet abu Amir (I, 214)

552



552. Carved stones, synagogue(?), Khirbet abu Amir, Palestine (I, 214)

557. Capital, synagogue(?), Khirbet abu Amir (I, 214)



557

Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:figs. 1952

NA'ANA

Judean Hills  
 Chiat: Lyda/Diospolis E 2 2 2  
 possibly Samaritan

## Primary Types Represented

Circle surround

Floral

Menorah

Torah Shrine

## Provenance, Descriptive Unit

Bronze plate--rim decorated with projecting beads, followed by an interlaced vine rinceau containing rosettes. Within one vine medallion is a seven branched menorah on a tripod base with a horizontal crossbar joining the branches. To the menorah's right within a second medallion is a gabled Torah shrine. Center of plate is divided into quarters by four plants with curling tendrils. Between them in each of the four openings, a pair of palm branches emerge from an amphora.

Capitals-squared, ivy plant with two branches terminating in heart shaped leaves. Second face is decorated with an acanthus leaf, flanked by a small trefoil.

## INSCRIPTIONS:

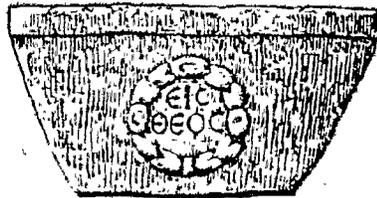
Heis Thos (One God)

Sukenik, 1932:23-4  
 parallel at 'Inwas (E 3 2 1)  
 suggests a synagogue, the phrase is also popular in Christian use. Located on second capital

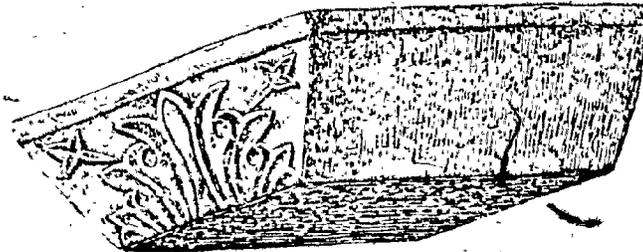
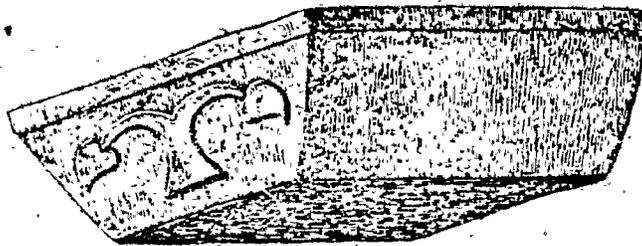
## References:

Chiat, 1979:483-485  
 Huttenmeister and Rees, 1977:621  
 Sukenik, 1932:23-4

NA'ANA



590. Capital, synagogue, Naaneh (I, 225)



591. Capital, synagogue, Naaneh (I, 225)

SOURCE: Goodenough, 1952, III:figs.

## SA'ALEVIM

Shaalbim  
Salbim  
salbit

Palaestinae Prima

Chiat: Nicopolis/Emmaus E 3 1 1

1480 1419

(7 km. N. of 'Inwas, 12 km S. Ramalla, NW of Latrun)

## Primary Types Represented

Circle Surround

Floral

Geometric

## Provenance, Descriptive Unit

Mosaic floor-with squares and diamonds, petalled flowers are stylized. Wreath, with greek inscription, four petalled rosettes, medallion in centre encloses mountain (Mt. Gerazim?) border of chevrons and four petalled flowers frame a rectangular panel. medallion encloses last two lines of gk. inscription. Below, the mountain is "awkwardly" flanked by two menorot, one larger than the other.

Fragmentary upper panel contains geometric and floral patterns

## Inscription

...  
...  
...eukterion...

fragmentary, in medallion, two lines, in greek  
this word frequently found in Christian inscriptions

The Lord shall reign forever and ever

Samaritan, in Hebrew letters followed by Exodus 15:18 in Samaritan letters

...

fragmentary, Samaritan, three lines

## References:

Chiat, 1979:493-496

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:635-6

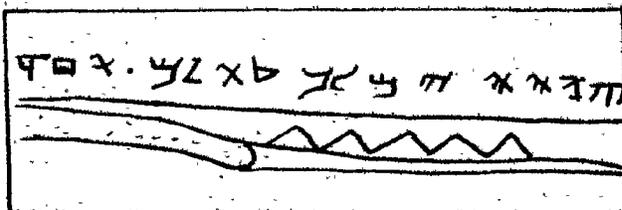
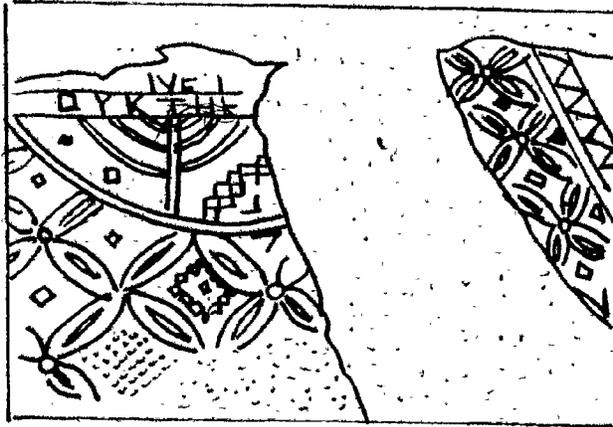
Saller, 1969:59 # 96 (p)

Sukenik, 1949:15, 26-30, pl. 14-16

Goodenough, Symbols III:661,663,665 (p)

Goodenough, Symbols I:262-3

Pod, M.N. 1951:27f, pl. 12



SIL0  
Seilun

Judean Hills  
Chiat; no reference (D 2)  
1770 1621 (15 km NNE Ramalla)

Primary Types Represented

Floral

Geometric

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

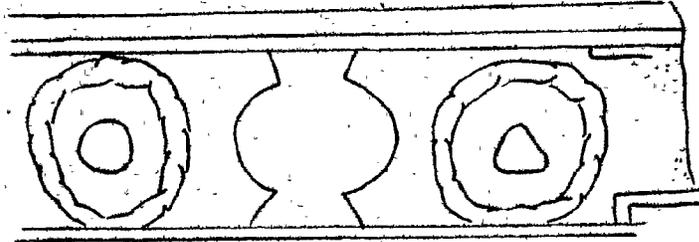
Lintel-amphora flanked by  
broad petalled rosettes

Inscriptions:

References:

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:596-7  
Saller, 1969:#99 (p)  
Goodenough, Symbols III:556 (p)

SILO



Lintel

Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:556

BETH GOVRIN  
Bet Gibrin  
Bet Jibrin  
Beth Gouvrin  
El-Maqerqesh

Judean Hills  
Palaestinae Prima  
Chiat: Judean; Bethgabra/Eleutherpolis E. 4 2 1  
ILO 112

Primary Types Represented	Provenance, Descriptive Unit
Vegetable	three mosaic floors
Menorah	
Geometric	

Inscriptions:

Remembered be/for good Kyris/...  
...peace upon his soul, the son  
of Auxentios/ who built this column/  
in honor of the synagogue.  
Peace

aramaic  
on column drum

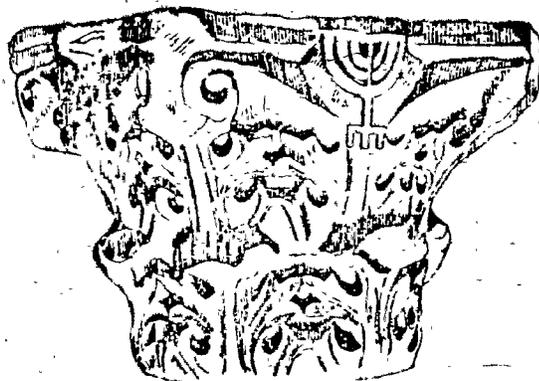
Remembered be for good/ Severus (?) son of  
Jo(na)than/ son of...

aramaic, on marble  
colonette

References:

Abel, RB XXXIII:509-604. 1924  
Sarag, IEJ 22:147-9. 1972  
Beyer, ZDPV, 1932:54  
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:51-53  
Kirk, PEQ, 1947:97-98  
Chiat, 1979:531-533  
Saller, 1969:#14  
Goodenough, Symbols III:537, 542 (b)  
Sukerik, 1934:72

BETH DAVRIN



542. Capital, synagogue, Beit Jibrin (*I*, 212)



537. Face of square column, synagogue, Beit Jibrin (*I*, 212) 537

## ESTHEMOA

Estemoa  
 Esthemoa  
 Eshtemoa  
 es-samou'a  
 samoa

## Judean Hills

Cnial; Bethgabra/Eleutheropolis E 4 1 2  
 1554 Oc 98

## Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Floral

Geometric

Vegetable

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Mosaic-multicoloured, three  
 inscriptions, floral geometric  
 ornaments, menorah, rosettes  
 six pointed star, grape vine

ornamented stones in village  
 houses. (These have disappeared,  
 along with the stones of the  
 lower niche, sometime between  
 1936 and 1967)

## Inscriptions

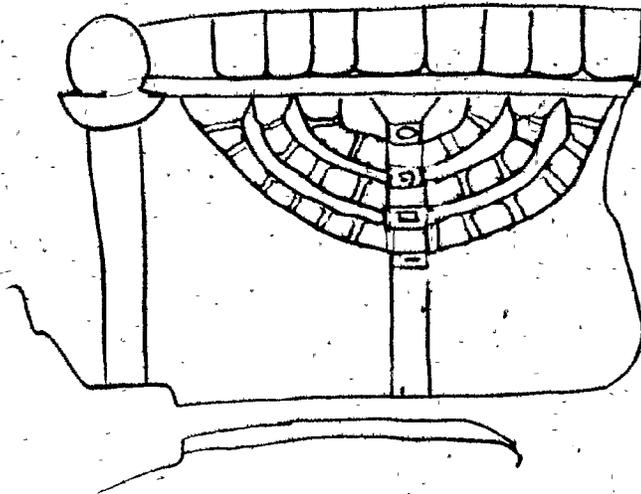
Remembered by For good Eleazar the Priest  
 and his three sons who donated one tremisses  
 in the synagogue...

aramaic, on narthex pavement

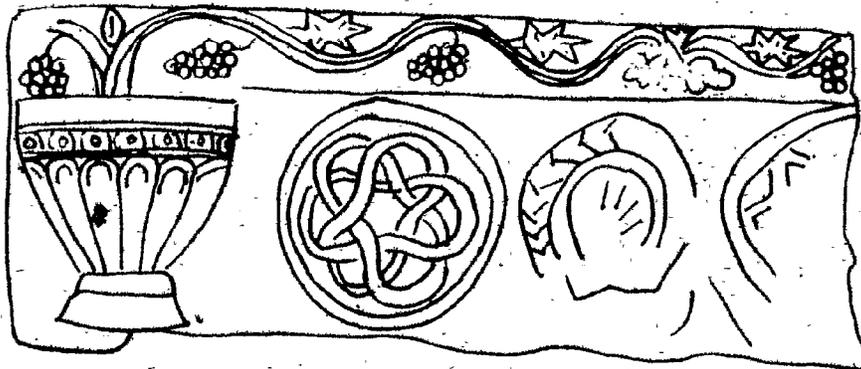
## References

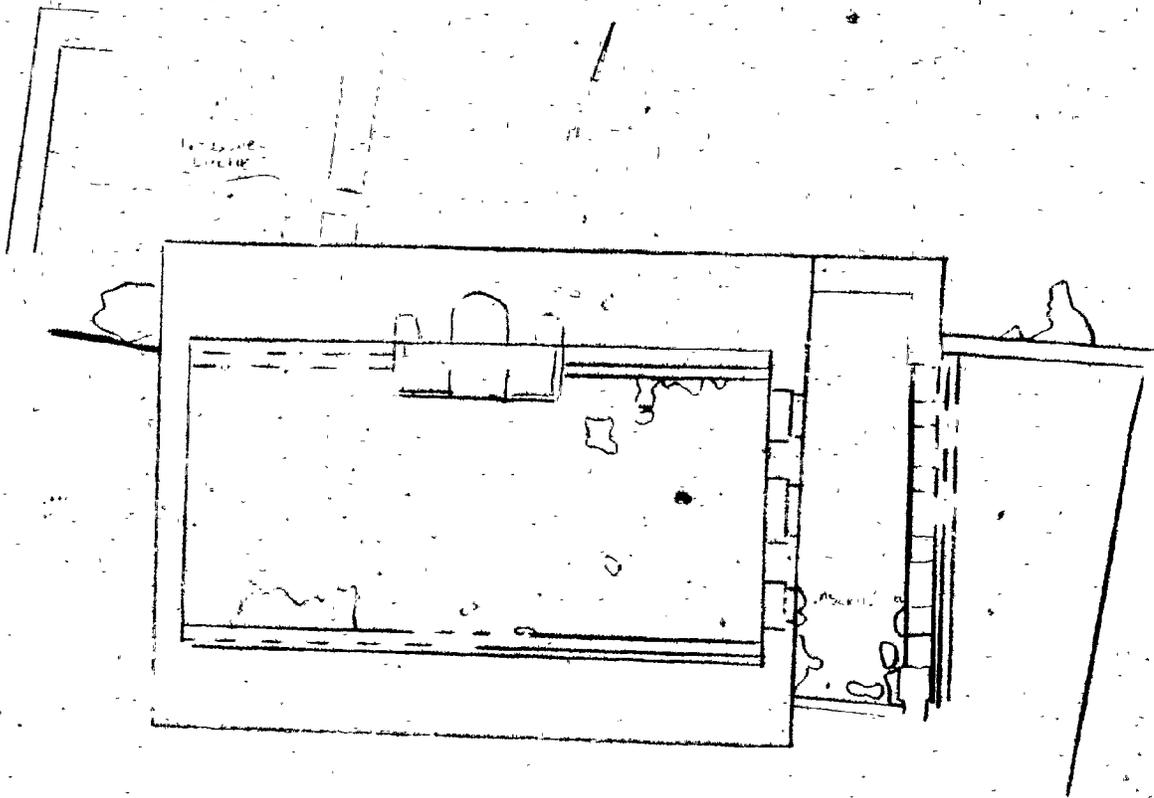
- Avi-Yonah, Encyclopedia 1976:387  
 Eusebius, Onomasticon 26:11;36;20.  
 Chiat, 1979:516:523  
 Klein, History of Jewish Settlement in Israel. Tel Aviv. 1935  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:236  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:606-614  
 Mayer and Reifenberg JPOS 19:314-326. pl. xxii-xxx. 1939-40.  
 Yelvin REJ 77:401-3. pl xxiv. 1970.  
 Yelvin IEJ 21:174-5. 1971

EUTHYMIA

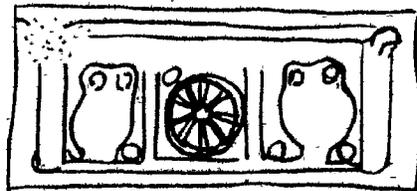
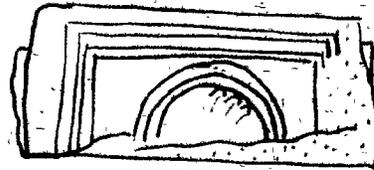
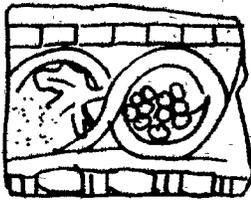
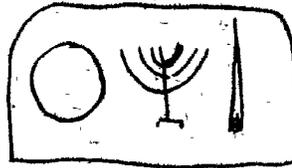
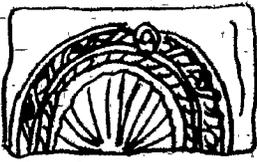
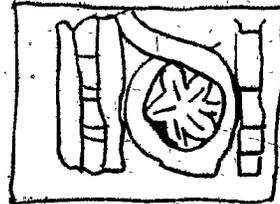
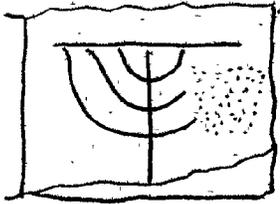


Source: Goodenough, Symbols 111:615,616.





Source: Avi-Yonah, 1978:386



Source: Probenot. h, SpA de III: 50-615

## HERODIUM

Judean Hills  
 Chiat: E 4 3A-2  
 1731 1193

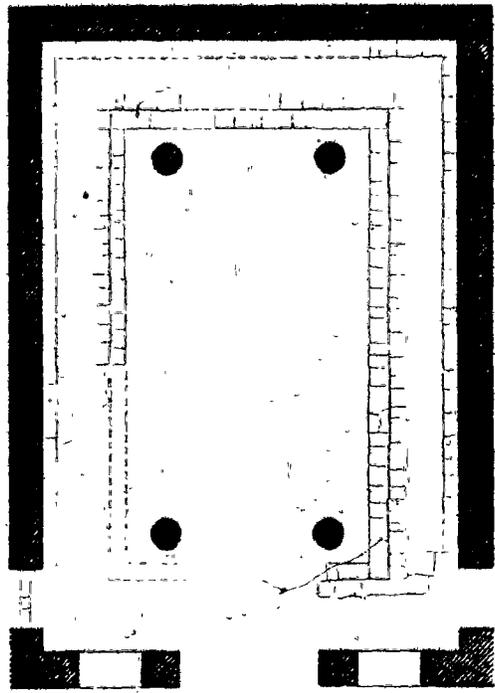
Primary Types Represented

Provenance, Descriptive Unit

## Inscriptions

## References

Avi-Yonah, 1978:509  
 Foerster, IEJ 19:123-4. 1969  
 Foerster, Qad 30-42. 1972 (heb)  
 Saller, 1969:# 30  
 Segal, IEJ 23:27-29. 1973.  
 Shanks, 1979:26-7 (p)



Source: Shanks, 1979:29

## HEVRON

Hebron  
al-Halil

Judean Hills  
Chiat: no reference (E.I.)  
31 km SSW Jerusalem

## Primary Types Represented

Menorah

## Provenance, Descriptive Unit

stones re-used in modern  
building as part of a lintel

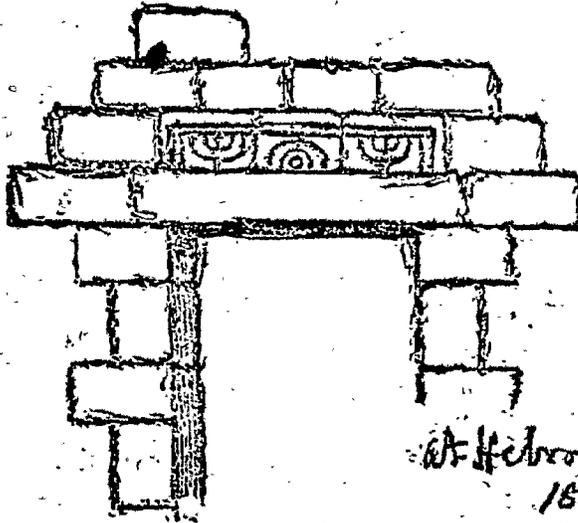
## Inscriptions

## References

Mattenmeister and Reeg, 1979:003-009  
Goodenough, Symbols III:509 (p)  
Saller, 1969:#8

213

HEVRON



At Hebron  
1856

585. Three stones from synagogue, Hebron (I, 224)

SOURCE: Goodenough, Symbols III:585

## HULLAH

Hulda  
 Horvat Ar-Raqadiyah  
 Horvat Ar-Ruqqadiyah

Judean Hills  
 Chiat: Lydda/Liospolis  
 1374 1385  
 possibly Samaritan

## Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Increments

Circle Surround

Geometric

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

North room-tesserae pavement set  
 in the form of three squares, one  
 within the other.

South room-tesserae pavement.  
 facing entrance is an oblong pavement  
 panel of finer tesserae. Single  
 line of black tesserae frames a  
 menorah, flanked on right by  
 shofar and left by lulab, ethrog  
 and incense shovel. East of this  
 panel is a square border  
 enclosing a circle which frames  
 a wreath. Greek inscription  
 within wreath.

## Inscriptions:

Blessing to the people...

greek, menorah panel

Good luck to/ Eustachios and Hesychios/  
 and Euagrios/ the founders

greek, within wreath.

## References:

Avi-Yonah, 1960:27  
 Chiat, 1979:478-481

Jerusalem  
 Aelia Capitolina  
 1725 1313  
 Chiat: E 1 2 1  
 Judean Hills

Primary Types Represented

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

One of a group of piled and stored limestone blocks found by Weill, during excavation of the Orphel

INSCRIPTIONS

Theodotus, son of Ouettenos (Vettenos) priest and archisynagogus, son of an archisynagogus, grandson of an archisynagogus, built this synagogue for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the Commandments, and the hostel and the chambers and the water fittings for the accomodation of those who (coming) from abroad have need of it, of which (the synagogue) the foundations were laid by his fathers and by the Elders and Simonides.

References:

- Chiat, 1979:462-463  
 Fitzgerald PEPQS 1921:175-181  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:225, 192-5  
 Sukenik, 1934:69-70  
 Weill, R. La Cite de David, Compte rendu des fouilles executees a Jerusalem, sur le site de la ville primitive. Campagne de 1913-15. Paris 1920.

## KARBET KARMIL

Horvat karmil

Yatta

Judean Hills

Chiat: no reference (F 3)

(11 Km S. Hebron)

## Primary Types Represented

Floral

Geometric

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

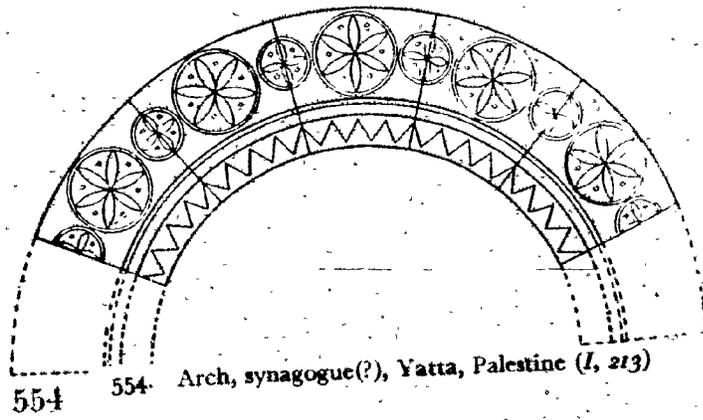
Arched Lintel

## Inscriptions

## References

Goodenough, Symbols III:554 (p)  
 Saller, 1969, :112  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:253

KHIFLET KAWMIL



554 554 Arch, synagogue(?), Yatta, Palestine (I, 213)

source: Goodenough III:554

KHIRBET SOSIYA  
 Khirbet Susiyye  
 Khirbet Susiyeh  
 Khirbet Sousieh  
 Horvat Susiya

1598 0905  
 Judean Hills  
 Chiat: E 4 1 3

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Menorah

Vegetable

Animal

Fowl

Torah shrine

Human

Floral

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Original plain white mosaic floor overlain by mosaic floor with dedicatory inscription on south portico. Later multi-colored scenes of hunt, musician, figure in lion's den, Zodiac circle later replaced by geometric, rosettes, bird and plant motifs.

Small bema: Torah shrine, menorah ram, geometric panels in north corner of floor. Ornamented doorposts and lintel

Mosaic floor in three panels:  
 a. Torah shrine facade/tree  
 b. West aisle: hunt scene, lion's den  
 c. Border: alternate swastikas and squares, multicolored spoked wheel

References:

Levine, 1961:123-128

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:422-432

Chiat, 1979:524-530

Gutman, Netzer, Yeivin, Qadmoniot 5:47-52. 1972 (heb)

Yeivin, IEJ 24:201-209. 1974.

## KHIRBET SUSIYA

## Inscriptions

May he be remembered for good the saintly master  
and teacher/ isi the priest the honored the eminent  
scholar made/ this mosaic and covered its walls/ with  
plaster as he vowed at the feast of Rabbi Yochanan/ the  
eminent priest scribe/ His son. Peace upon Israel.  
Amen

"elegant and perfect  
hebrew"

SE corner of portico  
with tabula ansata

"Remembered be for good and for blessing/  
who donated and made.../In the second  
year of the Sabbatical.../in the year  
4000.../Since the world was created. Shalom

Hebrew, fragmentary  
inside central entry of  
main hall

Remembered...Yoshua...Yehudan...(Mena)huma...

Aramaic  
middle of narthex pavement

well remembered Menahem (?)...Yeshua that  
...Menahem that g...

Aramaic, fragmentary  
north end of narthex\*

Remembered be for good Lazar and Isai sons  
of Simeon son of Lazar.

screen  
marble fragments  
aramaic

Yudan the Levite son of Simeon made the...

Hebrew, fragmentary

Remembered be for good all the people of  
the town who endeavored

(May the kin)g of the world g(ive his blessing)

fragmentary. When fragments  
are combined, the following  
reading is possible.

(Rabb)i Yudan the Levite, son of Simeon...

(May the kin)g of the world g(ive his blessing)

...(Rabb)i Yudan the Levite son of Sime(on)

(may be the same Yudan referred to  
in aramaic inscription

Hebrew, upper edge of  
marble slab

and Lazar/donation of.../sons of...

carved on two adjacent  
sides of a chancel screen

KHIRBET SUSIYA

Inscriptions-continued

...built...

...save...

MASADA

1837 0507

Chiat: F 1 IIA 1 (Saltus Gerarticus)

Primary Types Represented      Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Inscriptions

References

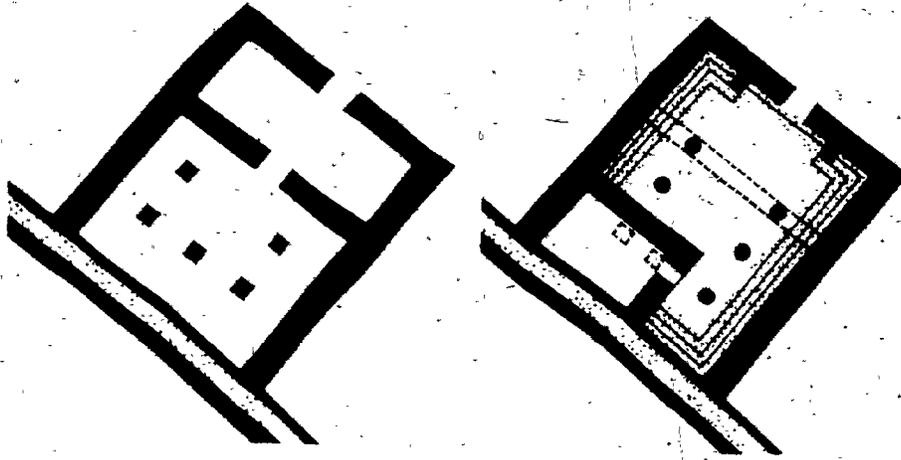
Chiat, 1979:561-567

Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:314-315

Foerster, Gideon. JJA 3/4:6+11. 1977

Yadin, Yigael Masada. Random House, New York, 1966

## MASADA



23

*First plan at right*

Masada—A plan of the synagogue as built by Herod. An outer room served as an entrance hall. Inside the synagogue were columns.

*Second plan at right*

Masada—A plan of the synagogue as modified by the Zealots. Removing the wall which stood between the entrance hall and the synagogue in Herod's time, the Zealots replaced it with two columns to provide the roof support previously supplied by the wall. They also added the room in the corner of the synagogue. The walls of this room supported the roof, so two of the columns from Herod's synagogue (which were now inside the corner room) could be safely removed, thus allowing full utilization of the corner room.

SOURCE: Shanks, 1979:23

SOUTH COASTAL PLAIN

## ASDOD

Isdud  
 Ashdod  
 Azotus  
 Mesogaieus/Hippenus

1178 1293

South Coastal Plain

Cnlat: Azotus Mesogaieus/Hippenus. C7 2 1

## Primary Types Represented

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Menorah

marble screen-wreath encloses a  
7B menorah, shofar, lulab.

Increments

Herculean knot trails lines from  
wreath to flanking acanthus leaves.

Geometric ("lesbian cyma")

Geometric moulding runs parallel  
to edge of screen. Upper border

Circle surround

is incised with greek inscription

Vegetable

## Inscriptions:

Lord remembered be for good and bless...Peace

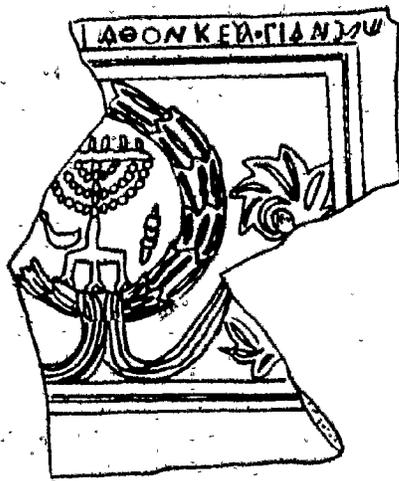
greek, chancel  
screenLet them be for good and for blessing on the...  
Peace,

alternate reading

## References

Cnlat, 1979:352-354  
 Avi-Yonah, 1960:69-70, pl.14#4  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:210  
 Shanks, 1979:115  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:19-21.  
 Saller, 1969:12

Ashdod



ASHDOD

Source: Shanks, 1979:115

## Asqelon

Asnkelon  
 Ascalon  
 Asqelon  
 Tell Asqelon

107-119  
 South Coastal Plain  
 Chiat: C 3 2 1

Primary Types Represented	Descriptive Unit, Provenance
Menorah	marble pedestal-with 7B menorah, increments
Increments	screen-four clusters of leaves, medallions enclose various floral (rosettes, petal and leaf) motifs.
Circle surround	two menorot are flanked by lulab and shofar. Triangles and circles line the top of the screen and leaves line the bottom.
Floral	screen-wreath, enclosing a menorah framed by parallel mouldings
Geometric	
Vegetable	

## Inscriptions

Remembered be for good...who offered...  
 for the glory of heaven

hebrew

For the salvation of Menahem and his wife  
 Mairona and their son Samuel

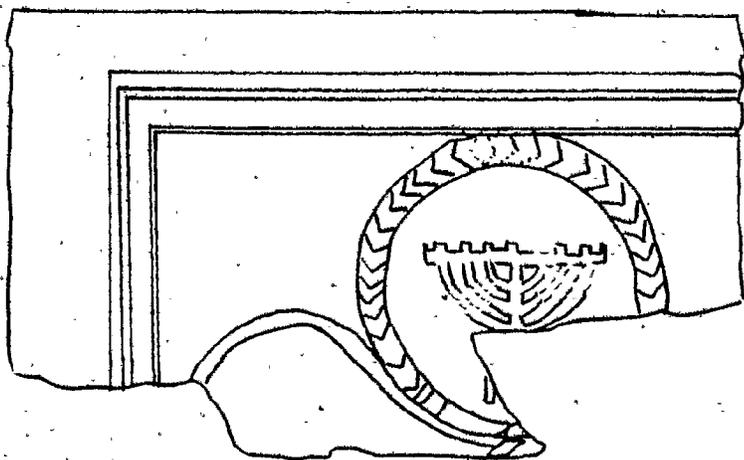
greek  
 on column

To the Helping God, we Kyria Domna, daughter  
 of Ju(liaa?) and kyrios Mari, son of Nonnos,  
 in gratitude present Kyrios...the son of...the  
 grandson of Helkios...  
 has presented to God and to the Holy Place for  
 his salvation...Kyrios Commodus has presented  
 for his salvation...life. Year 709

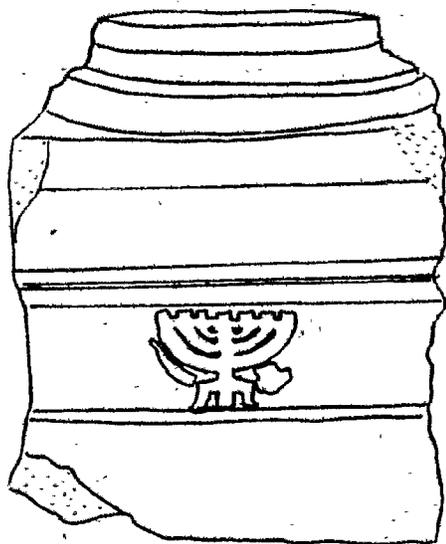
greek

## References

Sukenik, 1935, JPOS:154-156  
 Chiat, 1979:402f  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:21-26  
 Saller, 1969:#11  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:575,576 (p)  
 Avi-Yonah, 1960:61 pl. xi. (p)

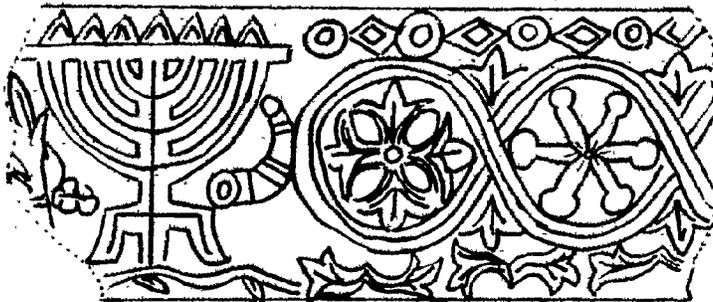
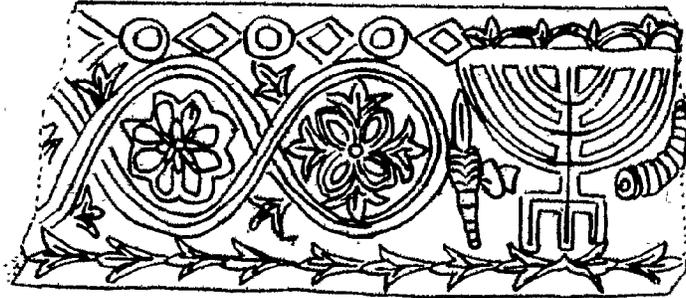


Source: Shanks, 1979:110



Avi-Yonah, Bulletin III:vi

Ashpelen



source: Goodenough, Symbols III: 576, 575

## GAZA A

Tell Harube

Gazza

South Coastal Plain

0950 1033

Chiat: C 9 1 1

## Primary Types Represented

Human

Animal

Powl

Vegetable

Geometric

Circle surround

Menorah

Reptile

Increments

## Inscriptions:

David

hebrew, above musician

Menahem and Yeshua/ the sons of the late Isses (Jesse)  
wood merchants. (A.D. 500/9) according to the the era of Gaza  
greek, south aisle pavement

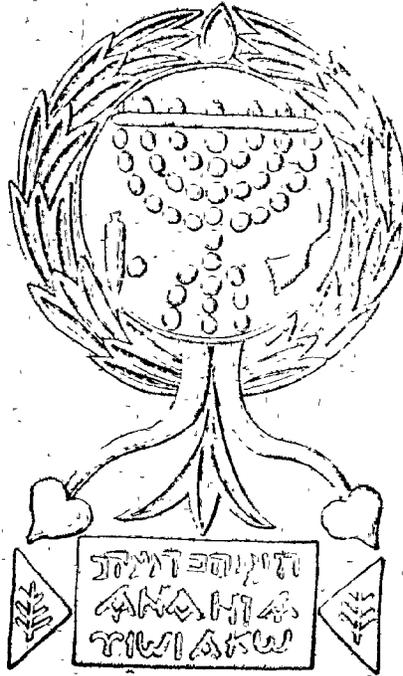
Menahem and Yeshua the sons of the late Isses  
wood merchants, as a sign of respect for a most  
Holy Place, have donated this mosaic in the month  
of Loos, 569 greek

For the salvation of Roubelos and Isses  
and Benjamin greek, on marble basin

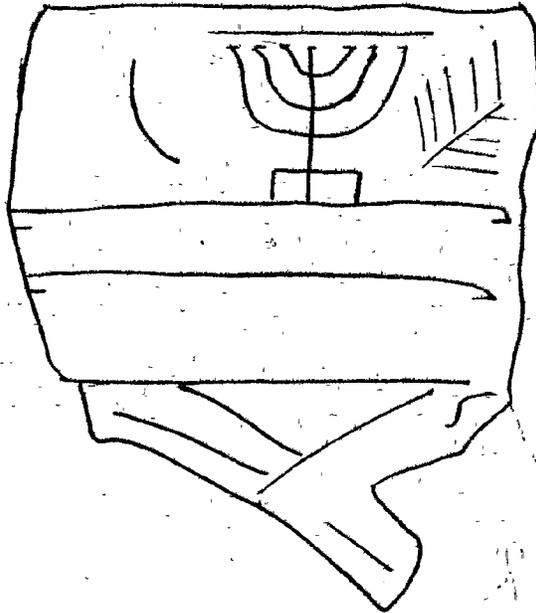
## References

- Goodenough, Symbols I:223,129-132, III:584,583  
Ovadiah, LEJ 19:193-198, 1969  
Avi-Yonah, 1978:412  
Chiat, 1979:414-419  
Shanks, 1979:34,36-7 (p)  
Levine, 1981:129-132, pl. 1-iv  
Huttermeister and Reeg, 1977:130-179  
Saller, 1969:#30

Gaza

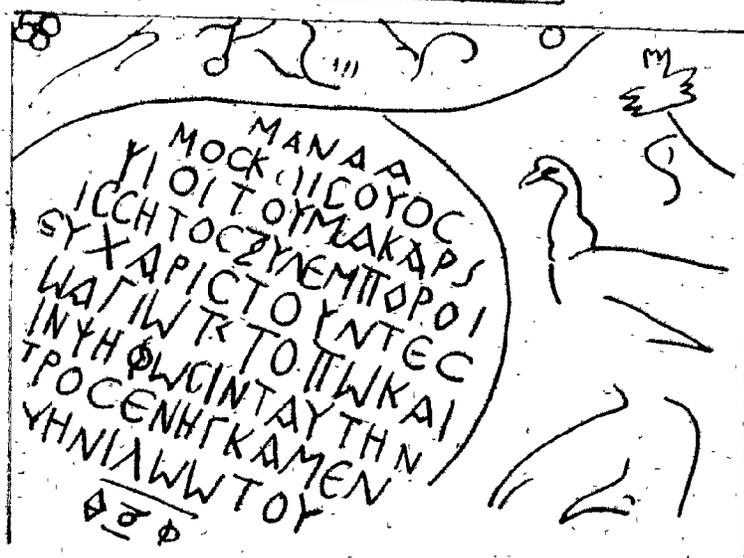


Source: Goossens, Symbols III: 53, 54

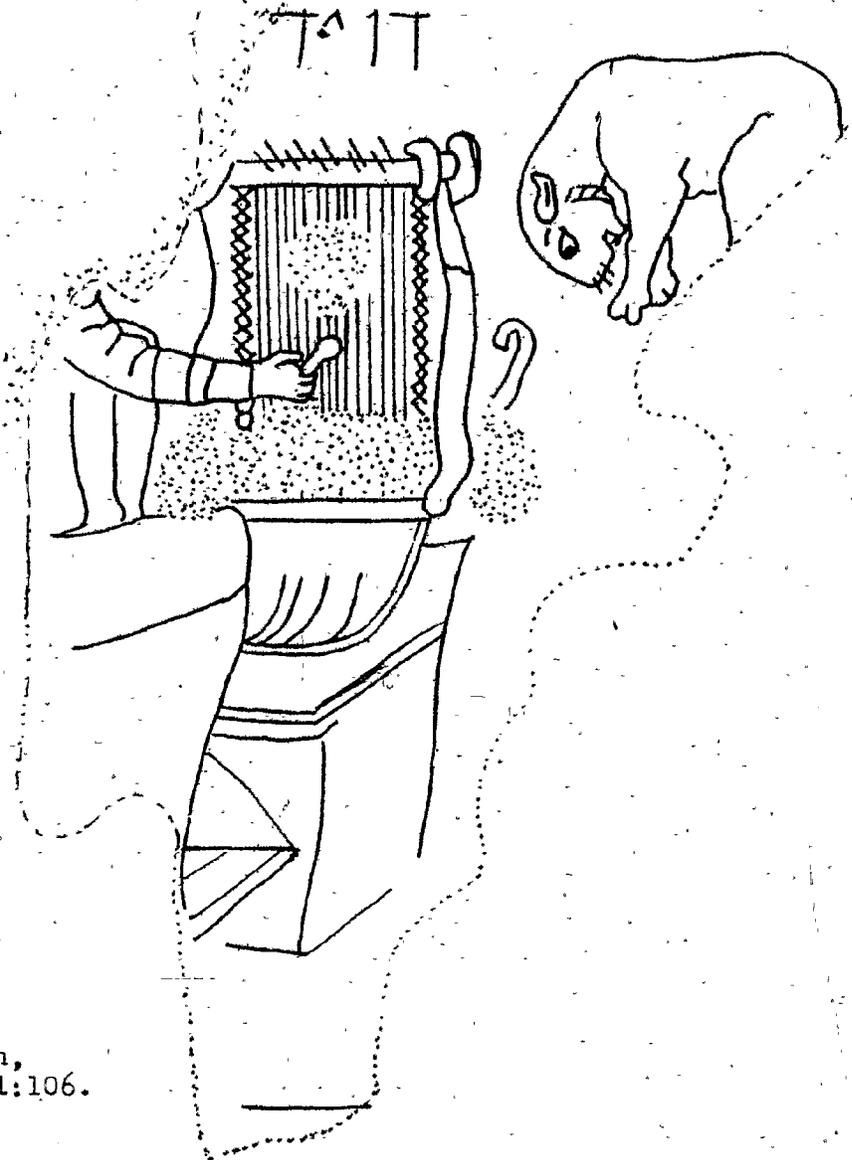




Слова: Деян. 13:1  
130



Gaza Mosaic Pavement 509 C.E.



Source: Avi-Yonah,  
in Gutman, 1981:106.

Ma'on  
 Horvat al-Ma'in  
 Nirim

0937.0522  
 South Coastal Plain, 21 km SW Gaza  
 Chiat: F 1 1 1

Primary Types Represented

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Animals

Top layer of two phases of mosaic pavement--border of flowers alternates facing inward and outward, frames a field of vine trellis forming fifty five medallions (five per row) Eighteen are partially or completely destroyed. Vine emerges from amphora framed by peacocks. Top medallions frame a 75 menorah on lion claw base. Flanked by ethrog, shofar, and two "stylistically dissimilar" lions

Circle surround

Menorah

Increments

Fowl

Geometric

Floral

(similar to Shellal church mosaic)

Inscriptions:

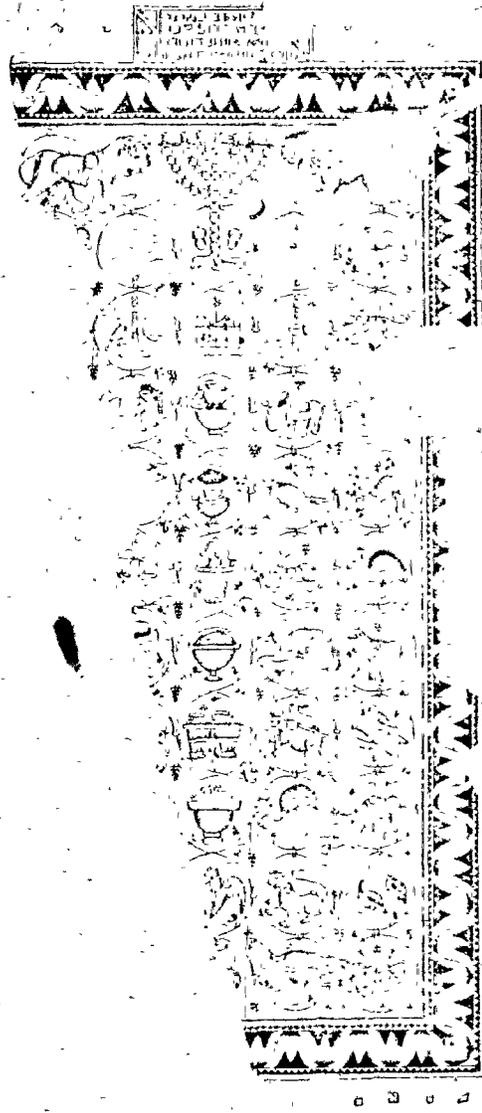
Remembered for good be the whole congregation/  
 (who) have contributed this mosaic/ (and further)  
 more Leisin and Thoma and Judah/ who have donated  
 (the) sum (of) two denarii.

aramaic,  
 directly in front of bema

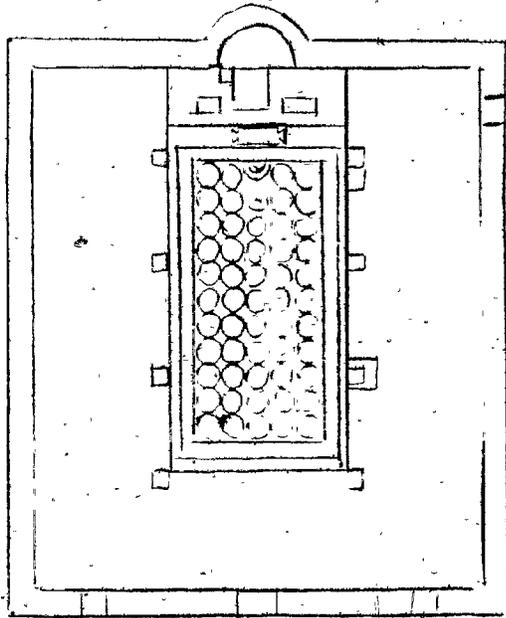
References

- Avi-Yonah, 1980:19-36 (p)  
 Chiat, 1979:556  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:302-306  
 Saller, 1969:#74  
 Shanks, 1979:124 (p)  
 Levine, 1981:17 (p)

Mat' on



source: Avi-Yonah in Ency. III 1974:100



Arch. Jonah, Encyclopedia, 1978.

265

NORTH COASTAL PLAIN

## CAESAREA

1402 2125  
North Plain  
Dist: C 2 1 1  
37 km. S. of Haifa

## Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Geometric

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Capital with three menorot incised underside. 7B with claw base, flanking menorot with damaged base; crossbar does not meet all branches.

Mosaic floor-simple guilloche and stepped blocks, with blocks of circles, knots, lozenges, greek inscription in centre

## Inscriptions

Ma/milah/ Nazareth/ Akhlah/ (Mi)gdal list of priestly courses similar to (now lost) Ascalon. I Chr. 25:7-10.

The gift of Theodoros son of Olympus for the salvation of his daughter Matrona greek on marble column

Beryllus the head of the synagogue (?) and the administrator, son of Iu(s)tus, made the mosaic work of the triclinium from his own means greek narthex pavement

God help us! Gift of the people in the time of Marutha greek block of stone with hole in centre

Ioullis in fulfillment of a voew made ...feet (of mosaic) greek pavement, second phase

Amos son of Gabriel donated the semi circular stoa greek

...

badly damaged, from book of Isaiah,

(# of feet contributed by members of the community)

...Patricius, consul...

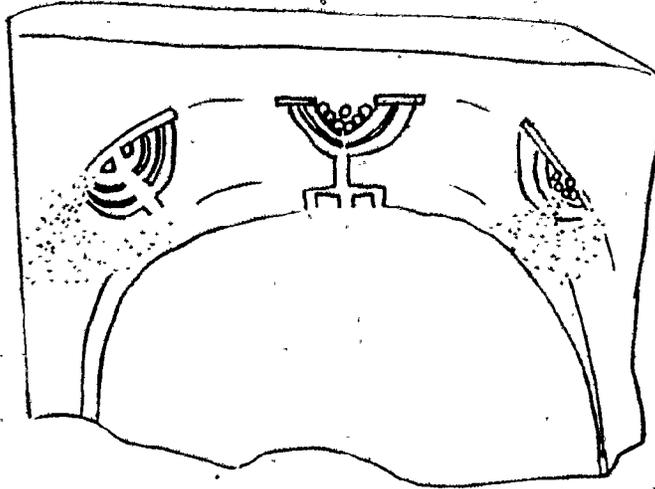
monograms, on capitals

References:

- Lifshitz, 1967:66-68  
 Chiat, 1979:369-376  
 Sukenik, 1951:29  
 Avi-Yonah, 1978:277-8  
 Sukenik, 1949:18-19, (p)  
 Avi-Yonah, IEJ 6(1956):260-261  
 Avi-Yonah, IEJ 13(1963):1146-117.  
 Levine, 1975  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:79-90  
 Saller, 1969:#20  
 Avi-Yonah, 1960:pl. ix-xi (p)  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:997,998,996  
 Josephus, Wars II:285-291

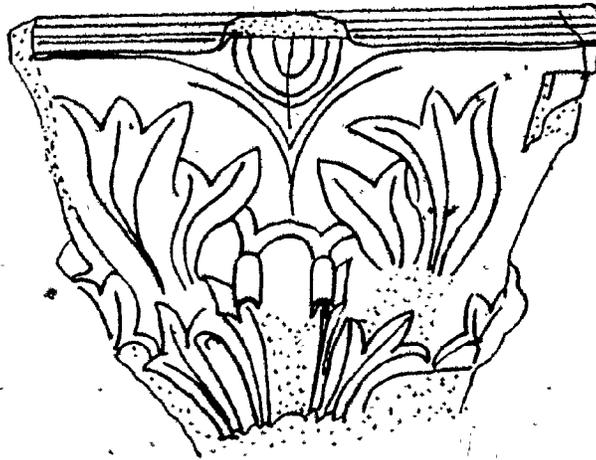


Caesarea



Underside of  
Capital

source: Goodenough, Symbols III  
995



Capital

source: Goodenough, Symbols III:  
998

KHIRBET LEVELA  
Khirbet Lu'ail

1542 2328  
North Plain, near Mt. Carmel  
Chiat: C 2 3B 1

Primary Types Represented

Vegetable

Geometric

Circle Surround

Floral

Fowl

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

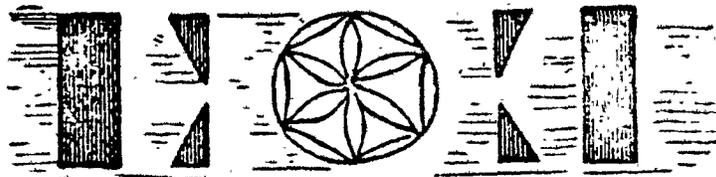
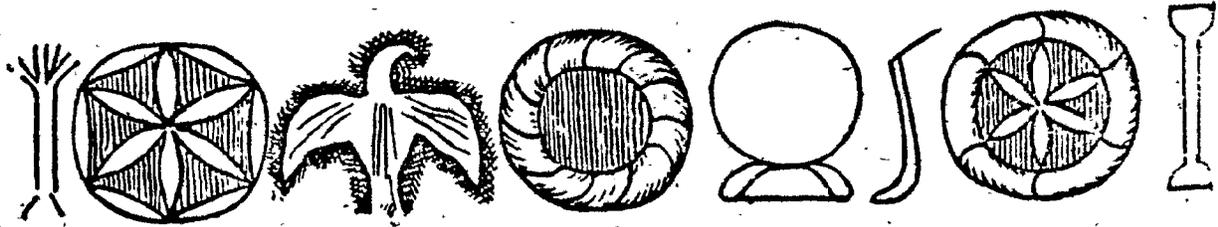
Lintel-motifs in linear arrangement, with circles and wreath, with internal daisy-type rosettes, tree and spread-winged eagle (head to right). Other motifs are not identified. Rectangular and triangular forms flank rosette.

Inscriptions

References

Goodenough, Symbols: 596, 598  
Saller, 1969: #63  
Huttenmeister and Heeg, 1977: 102-105  
Chiat, 1979: 386-385

KHIRSET DEVELA



SOURCE: Goodenough, Symbols III:598,596

KHIRBET SUMAQ  
 Khirbet Summaka  
 Sumaka  
 Horvat Sumaqa

1538 2307  
 North Plain  
 Chiat: C 2 3 A-1

Primary Types Represented

Animal

Geometric

Descriptive Unit

Lintel-two lions(?) flank an  
 amphora, or goblet, carved on  
tabula ansata

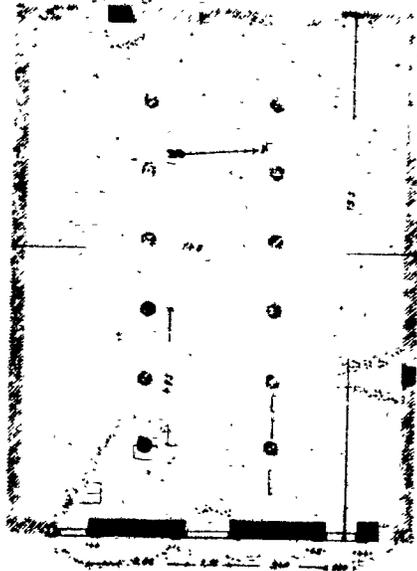
Sukenik refers to a zodiac  
 (1934:c6)

Inscriptions

References

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:419-420  
 Saller, 1969:68  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:208, III:536,529 (o)  
 Avi-Yonah, 1978:1136  
 Sukenik, 1934:86  
 Oliphant, PEGQ 1884:41  
 Chiat, 1979:382-384  
 Meyers, 1980:97-108

KHIRBET SUMAC



Floor Plan



536. Lintel, synagogue, Khirbet Semmaka (I, 208)

536

Lintel

SOURCE: Goodenough, Symbols III: 536, 529

274

RIET VALLEY  
(SOUTH)

En Geddi  
 En Gedi  
 Bin Gaddi

187L 0965  
 Rift Valley  
 Chiat: E 4 1 1

Primary Types Represented

Geometric  
 Fowl  
 Vegetable  
 Menorah  
 Circle surround

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Mosaic floor in two phases-  
 early mosaic has a large swastika  
 on white field. Later mosaic  
 has peacocks arranged within  
 a circle. Two off-set squares  
 enclose the circle with shell  
 and square geometric motifs  
 in each of the eight corners.  
 The corners of the floor outside  
 the squares present pairs of  
 peacocks flanking fruit, probably  
 grape bunches. Other fruits are  
 scattered across the field just  
 outside the centre circle.  
 Bronze menorah found in situ,  
 shows scorch marks associated  
 with use.  
 Western aisle-series of five  
 inscriptions  
 Mosaic floor of narthex to the  
 west of the sanctuary.

References:

- Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:108-111  
 Shanks, 1979:133-16 (p)  
 Mazar IEJ 14(1964):121-130, 17 (1967) 133-43.  
 Ussishkin BA 34(1971):23-39  
 Kempinski IEJ 22(1972):10-15  
 Shanks, 1979:136  
 Chiat, 1979 :510-516  
 Levine, 1981:116-119,141 (p)

## Inscriptions

Remembered be for good  
all the people of this city      aramaic

Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared  
Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth      hebrew  
Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo  
Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, and Squarius, Pisces  
Nisan, Iyar, Sivan, Tammuz, Av, Elul  
Tishrei, Marheshvan, Kislev, Tevet, Shevat  
and Adar Abraham Isaac Jacob. Peace

Hananiah, Michael and Azariah. Peace unto Israel      hebrew  
May they be remembered for good: Yose and Ezron  
and Hizziqiyu the sons of Hilfi

Anyone causing a controversy between a man and his friend,  
or whoever slanders his friend before the Gentiles, or  
however steals

the property of his friend, or whoever reveals the secret  
of the town

to the Gentiles-He whose eyes range through the whole earth  
and who sees hidden things, He will set his face on that  
man and on his seed and will uproot him from under the heavens.

And all the people said: Amen and Amen. Selah      aramaic

Rabbi Yosa the son of Hilfi and Nizzikiyyo  
the son of Hilfi of blessed memory/  
The upper (great?) step was made by them in the  
name of the Merciful.

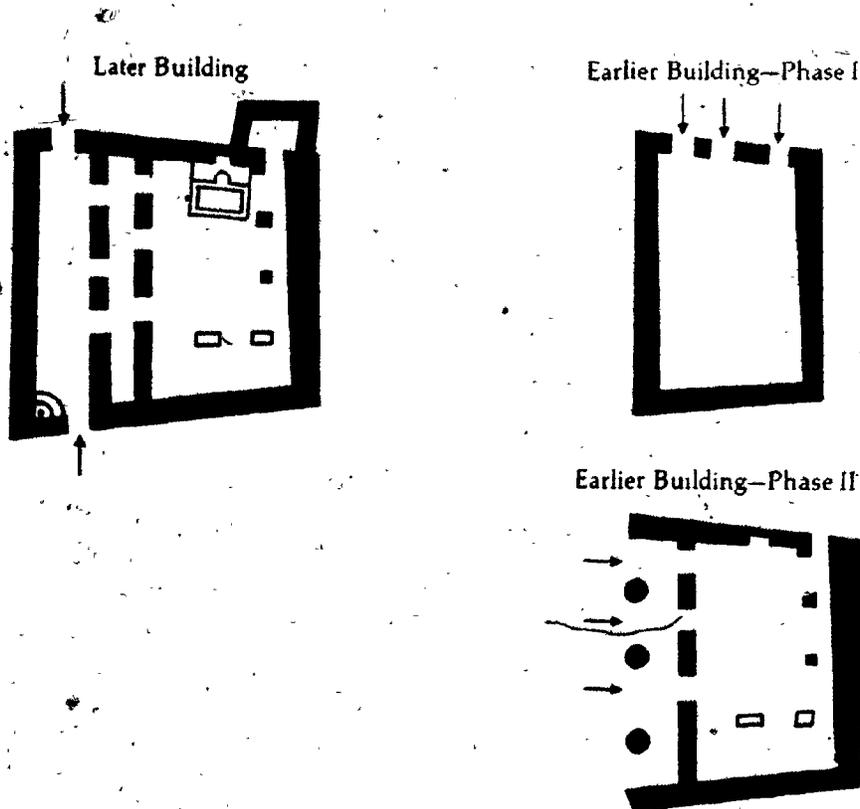
aramaic

Remembered to the good all the people of this city.)  
...Hazan...

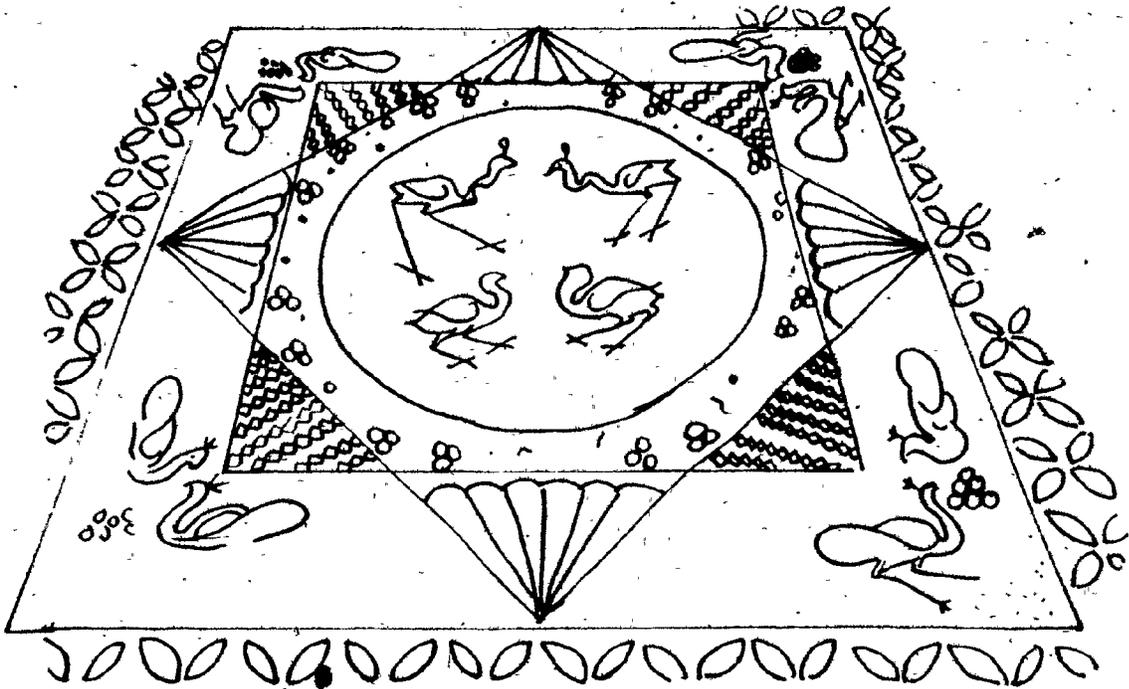
aramaic

## EN GEDDI

Shanks, 1979:138



At a later date, a new synagogue was built on top of the old one and the peacock mosaic floor was laid atop the old swastika floor. In addition, the portico was closed in and a narthex, or entrance hall was added on the western side of the synagogue. The narthex was entered by a door at either end. But the most important change was in the Torah shrine. In this later building, a new Torah shrine was built out from, and in front of, the north wall. In the side of the Torah shrine facing the congregation was a niche for the Ark of the Law. Behind this was an area for storage—a genizah\*—in the charred ruins of which were found the ashes of numerous Torah parchments and the disc which once formed part of the Torah roller. In front of the niche for the Torah ark was a *bema* containing its own mosaic floor.





Jericho  
Tell es Sultan

1928 1428  
Rift Valley  
Chiat: F 4 1 1  
(1 km. NE of Tell es Sultan)

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Circle Surround

Menorah

Increments

Vegetable

North panel contains aramaic inscription, framed by grape vine and po

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

mosaic pavement with stylized geometric and floral patterns with guilloche border. Two registers: lozenges, ivy, rhombus; interwoven square & circle. Aisle between pillars has simple geometric forms.

South end of nave shows possible rendition of Torah Shrine with double doors, stylized conch. Centre medallion shows 7B menorah lulab and snofar with inscription.

North panel contains aramaic inscriptions, framed by grape vines and pomegranates. Centre panel has sixty four alternating squares and circles, lozenges. South panel has lozenges divided by floral shapes in the form of a Maltese cross.

Inscriptions

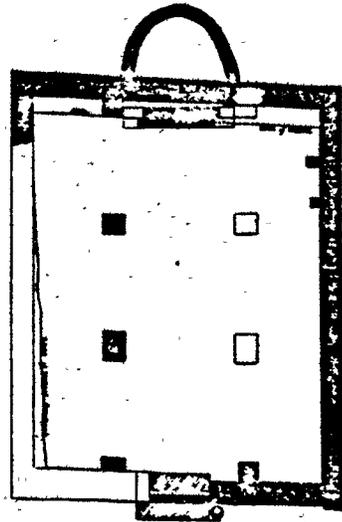
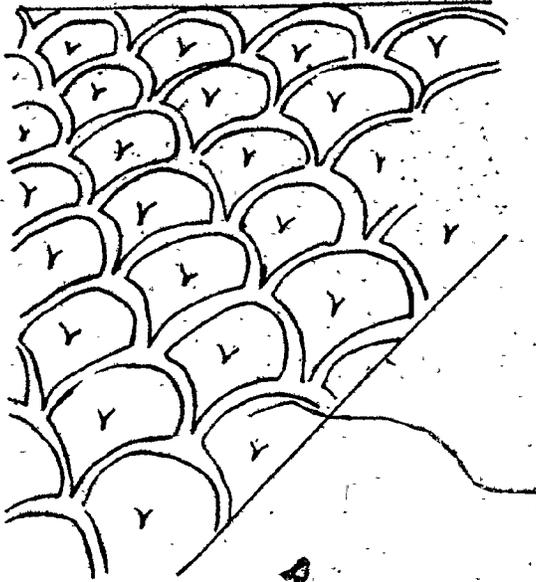
Ma: they be well remembered, may their memirt be for good all (the) holy community, its elders and its youth, whom (the) King of (the) World helped and who exerted themselves and who made the mosaic. he who knows their names and the names of their children and the names of the people of their households, shall write them in the Book of Life together with the just. They are associates with all Israel. Peace (Amen. Selah)

References

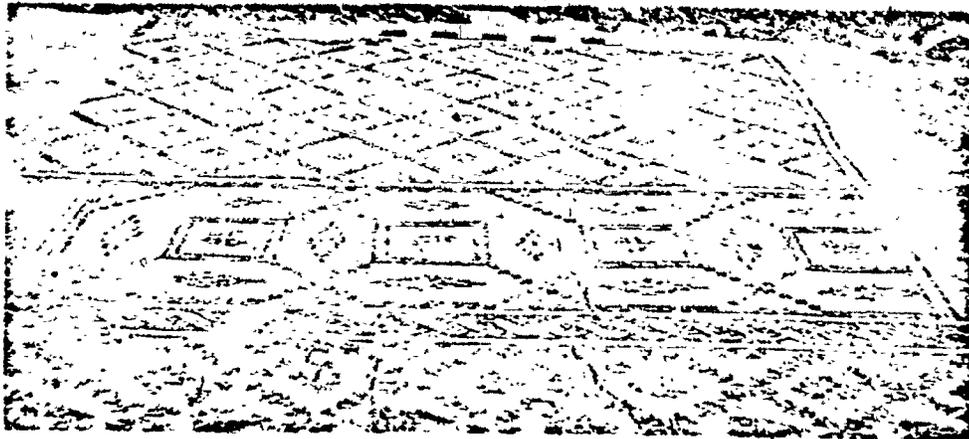
- Avi-Yonah, 1978:571-3  
Goodenough, Symbols I:262, III:657, 659, 666  
Shanks, 1979:40, 109  
Chiat, 1979:579-582  
Saller, 1969:#42  
Suknik, 1949:plvii.  
Baramki, QDAP 6(1938):73-77  
Avi-Yonah, 1960:35  
Mowry, BA 15(1952):33

JERICO

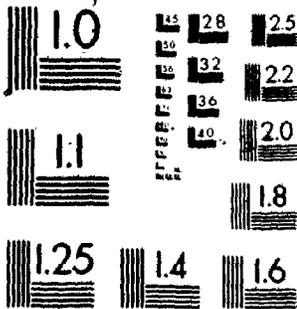
Source: Goodenough, Symbols II:656,657,655,666

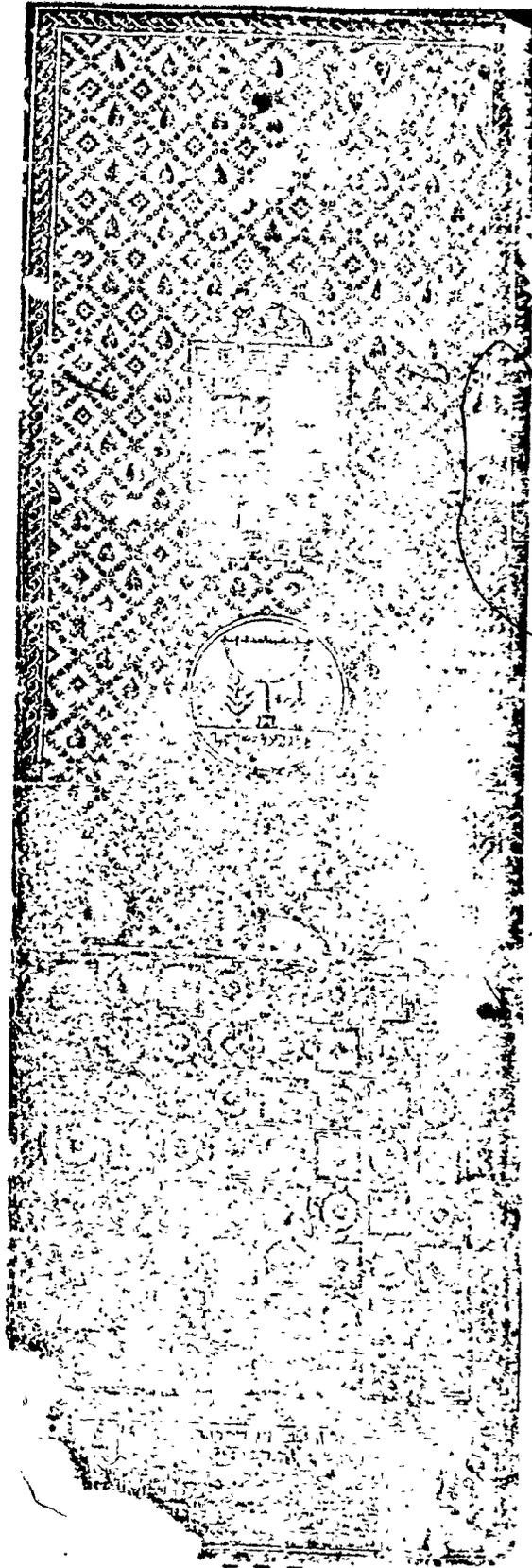


655  
655. Synagogue, Jericho (I. 260)



4





Source: Avi-Yonah  
1978:656

NA'AKAN  
Ain Luk  
En Lok  
Nearah

1901 1110  
Rift Valley, 5 km NW Jerusalem  
Chist: F 4 1 2

Primary Types Represented

Animal  
Circle Surround  
Menorah  
Increments  
Torah Shrine  
Geometric  
Floral  
Vegetable  
Mosaic

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Mosaic pavement in four panels.  
1. polygons, circles and semi circles bound by bands of guilloche, lotus flowers, bands of color. These frame images of animals (hare, jackal, bird) fruits and vegetable motifs.  
2. zodiac circle set within a square frame. Figures are removed, but Hebrew letters intact. Disorientation of signs has parallels at Beth Alpha and Husirah.  
3. Human figure flanked by lions. Inscription "Daniel." Torah shrine flanked by menorah, circle acroteria on roof, lamps have parallels at Beth Alpha.  
Marthex pavement-stylized menorah with floral motifs, stem decorated with guilloche, base has three semi-circular shapes (mountain on hills?) flanked by inscription.  
4. pair of antelope/ibex? flanking tree

Inscriptions:

Remembered be for good the priest Philehas son of Justa who gave the price of the mosaic and the laver.

aramaic, above menorah

Remembered be for good  
Ebekkah, wife of Philehas

beside menorah

Remembered be for good/Benjamin the Parnas/ the son of Jose./ Remembered be for good any one/ that shall lend his support and give, or/ has given/ to this Holy Place/ either gold or/ silver or any precious thing/ whatsoever: or any that have brought their contribution/ to this Holy Place. Amen

aramaic

Remembered be/ for good/ Rivkeh/ the wife/ of Philehas

aramaic, narthex

Remembered be for good/ Benjamin the Parnas/ the son of Jose

aramaic, Daniel Panel

Remembered be for good, Maruth...Ketina  
and Jacob his son who donated to this place, Amen

aramaic  
(Maruth="lordship, honored"  
name at Caesarea)

Remembered be for good, Mar...son of Chrospedah  
who brought their share to this holy place, Amen

aramaic

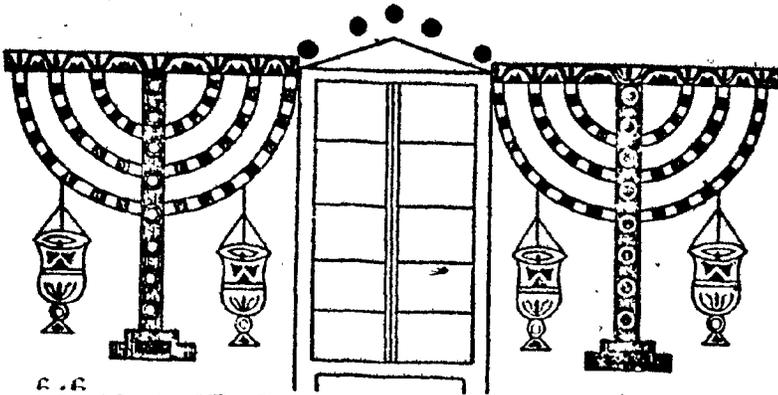
Remembered be for good Halifu daughter of rabbi  
Saphra who gave (to) this holy place. Amen

aramaic

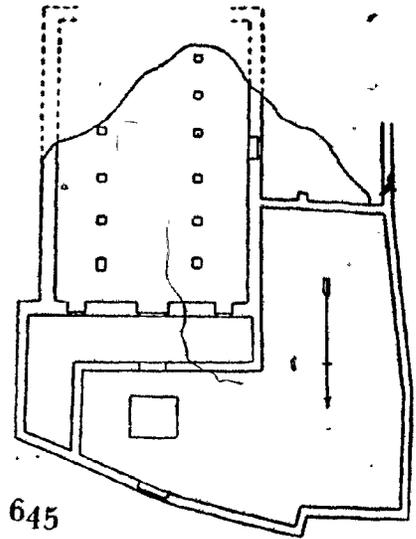
#### References-

- Av-Yonah, 1976:694  
Suknik, 1934:73, pl. i-iv, v,  
Goodenough, Symbols I:255  
Cohen, 1954:170  
Suknik, 1949:9ff, pl i-iii  
Avi-Yonah, ADAP 3(1934):63f  
Goodenough, Symbols III:253-259, IV 642-6, 995

Na'aran



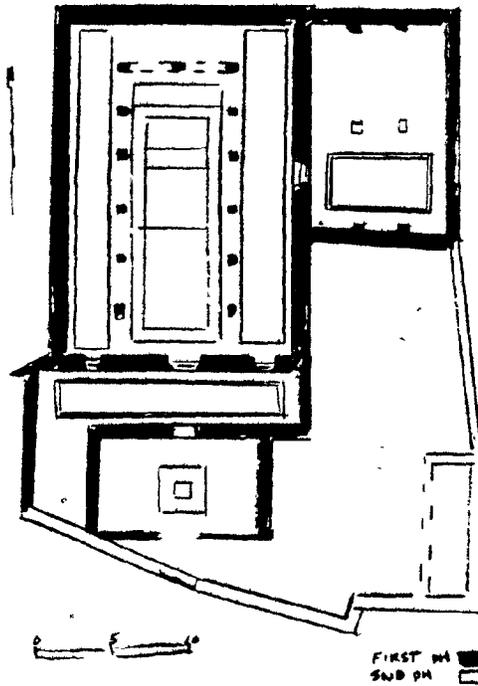
646. Mosaic of Torah shrine with menorahs, synagogue, Naaran (I, 256)



645

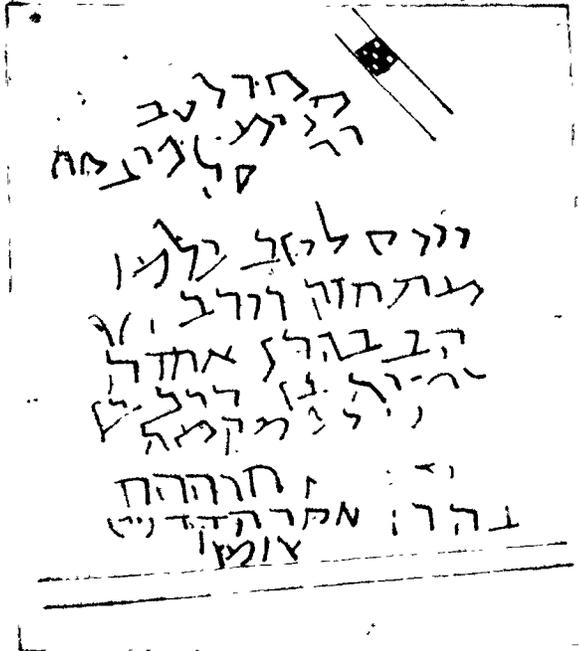
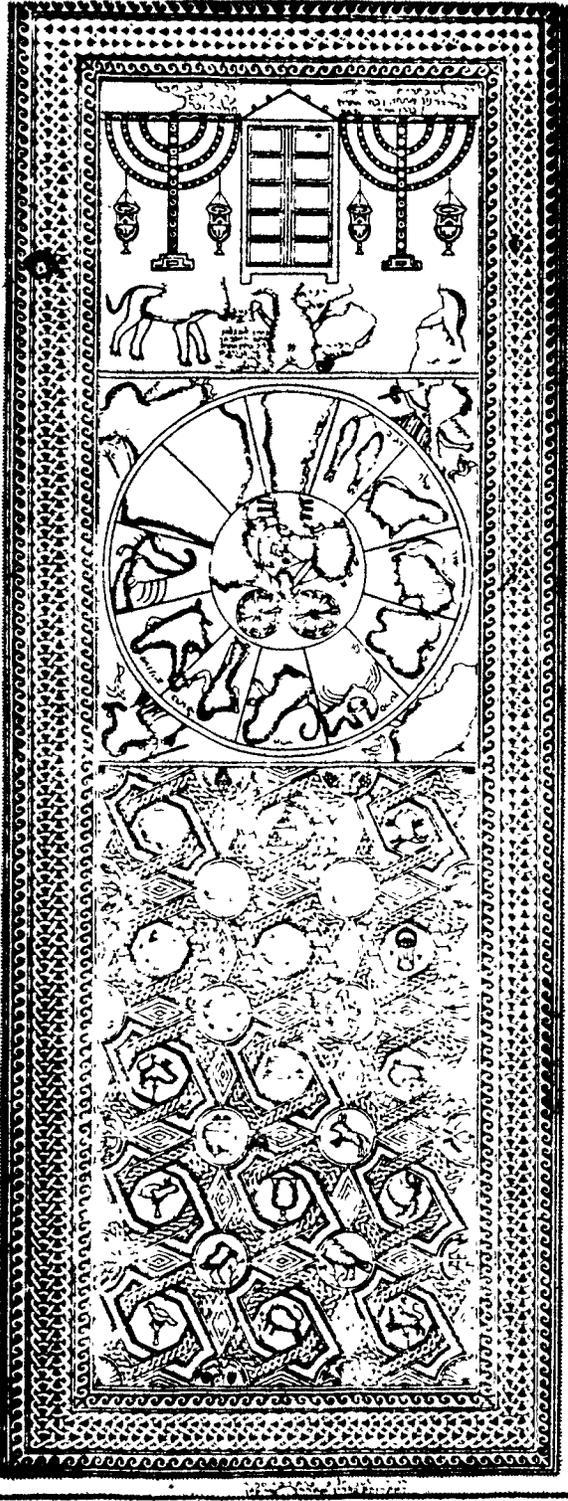


286

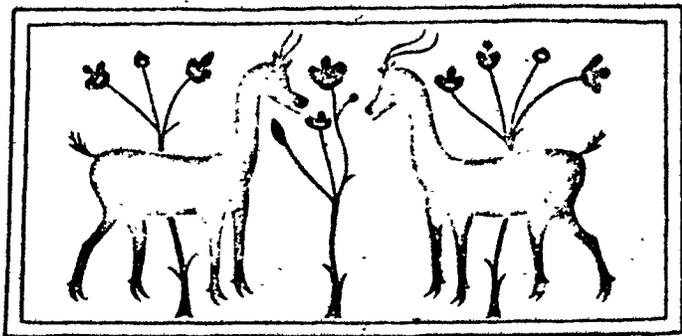


SOURCE: AVL-Jonah 1978, III: 892

Na'aran



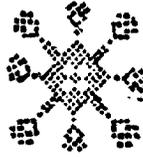
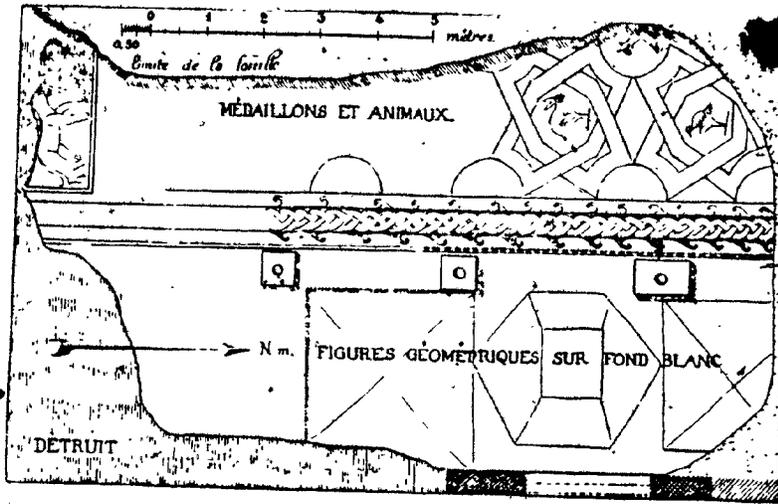
Source: Levine, 1981: 36



995. Mosaic detail (restored), synagogue, Naaran (I, 225)

zodiac cycle and other inscriptions in mosaic pavement, Na'aran synagogue

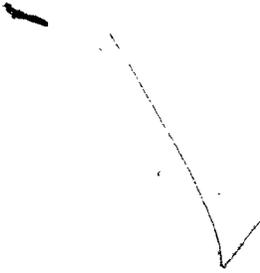
Source: Goodenough, Symbols 11: 995,



PALÆSTINA SECUNDA

a

PAGE 290 OMITTED



RIFT VALLEY  
(NORTH)

Afeq  
Fiq  
Fik  
Aohex  
Aphica

2160 2424  
Chiat: G 4 2 1  
Rift Valley.  
(East side, 13 km NNE of Hammata Gadar)

Primary Types Represented

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Menorah

Small column-seven branched  
menorah with inscription, basalt,  
Lintel, basalt, -circle enclosing  
a menorah flanked by an ethrog and  
shofar.

Circle Surround

Stone fragment with five branched  
menorah, stone fragment with five  
branched menorah.

Increments

(There is some confusion as to  
exactly how many examples of the  
menorot were on this site.)

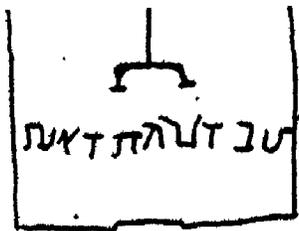
Inscription:

I Judah the Hazzan

aramaic

References:

Goodenough, Symbols III:579,580 (p)  
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:2-4  
Saller, 1969: # 29  
Avi-Yonah, 1960:62  
Chiat, 1979:685  
Buchler, PEFQS 1904:181



SOURCE: Goodenough, Symbols I

KHIBBET AMMUDIM  
 Umm el 'amed  
 Horvat Amudim

Rift Valley  
 Chiat: 3 2 1-1  
 (12.5 km NW Tiberias, edge of Beth Netopha Valley)

Primary Types Represented

Animal

Geometric

floral

Circle surround

Descriptive Units, Provenance,

Lintels, re-used, and damaged figures:

1. two lions with paws on calf's head, flanking a two-handled amphora over central entrance.
2. Lintel with three panels, wreath flanked by rosettes
3. Frieze floral ornaments
4. Plain mosaic pavement in area D, Area E has mosaic with aramaic inscription, enclosed by double circle of lilies, squares, fragmentary plain mosaic floor over older floor of flagstones.

Inscriptions:

Yo'ezer the Hazzan/ and Shimeon/ his brother made/ this Gate of the Lord/ of Heaven

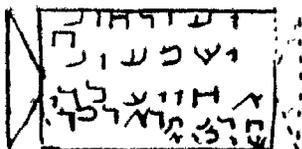
stone block built into synagogue wall  
 Galilean aramaic.  
 (Avi-Yonah, 1978:37. Suggests that this commemorates the whole building rather than just doorway.)

References:

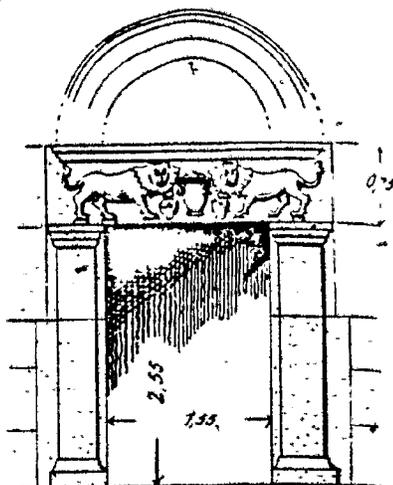
Goodenough, Symbols III:507,509  
 Avi-Yonah, 1978:1137  
 Sukenik, 1934:27  
 Avigad, 1960:62-64  
 Chiat, 1979:150-154  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:12-14

295

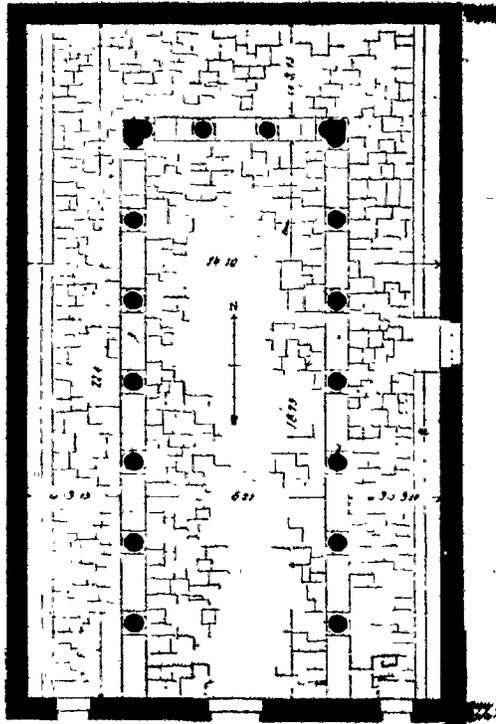
KHIRBET ANMUDIM



Source; Avi-Yonah, 1978, IV:1130



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:509

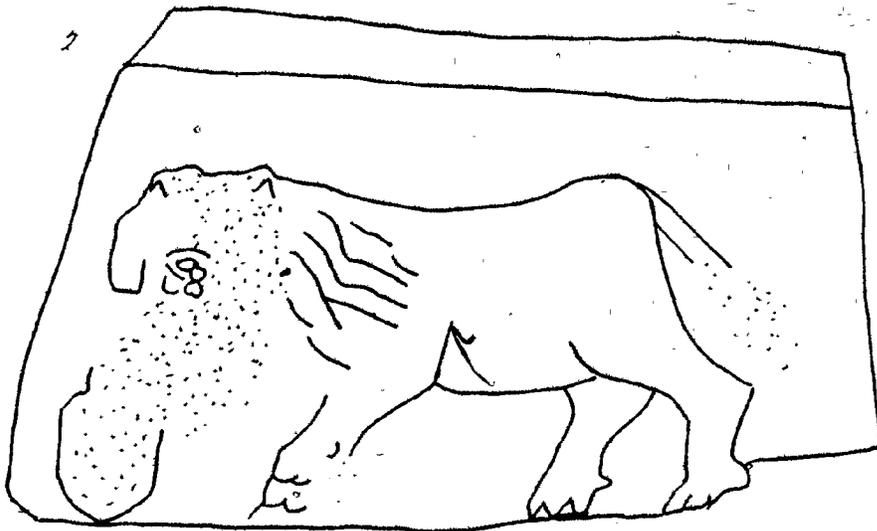


Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:507

KHIRBET AMMUDIM



From: Levine, 1981:180



From Levine, 1981:180

Arbel  
 Arbela  
 Irbil  
 Khirbet Irvil  
 Khirbet Arbel

1955 2468  
 Chiat: B 3 3A 1  
 Rift Valley

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Animal

Inscription

References

Avi-Yonah, 1978:1134  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:196, III:508  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:15-17  
 Salier, 1969 #38:30  
 Chiat, 1979:240-243  
 Avi-gad, BASOR 223:59-70. 1976.

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

gable with shell motif and parallel mouldings.

Chiat describes a "pulvinated frieze" with vine scrolls, and ionic capital with egg and dart moulding. (1979:242)

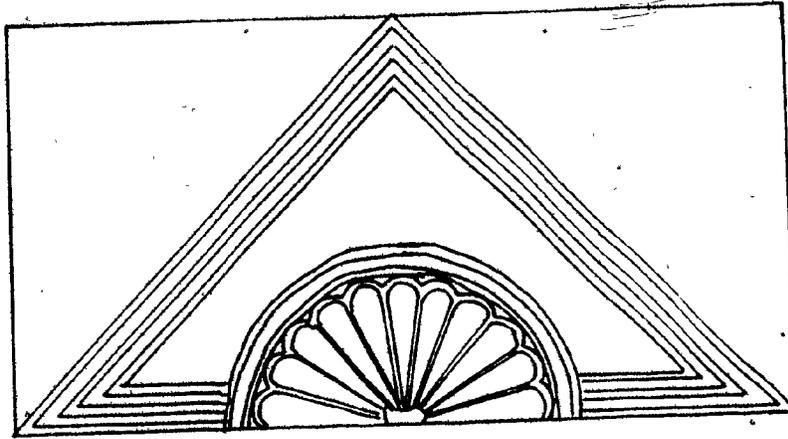
Goodenough refers to the latter as a cyma reverse, with egg and dart ornament, triglyph fragment.

Two lions flank an "object" found in nearby wall.

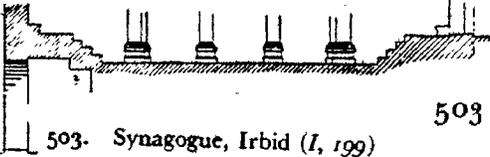
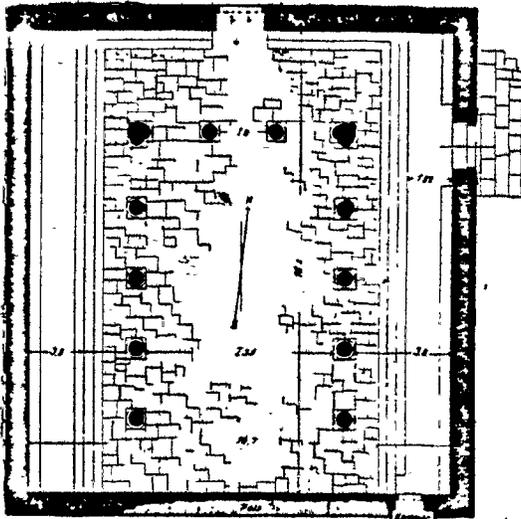
on corner of heart-shaped column near east entrance. (no further information).

299

ARBEL



FROM: Goodenough, Symbols III:508



503

503. Synagogue, Irbid (I, 199)

From: Goodenough, Symbols III:503

Seth Alpha  
 Alboutz Hehzhzah

1903 2139  
 Rift Valley  
 Chiat: B L 1 1

Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Increments

Human

Animal

owl

Geometric

Marine

Vegetable

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Two phases of construction:

1. fragments of mosaic floor with guilloche, snake (?) simple geometric forms.
2. elaborate mosaic covers the whole complex. borders show trapezoids with internal motif (hen, pomegranate tree, grapes fish, vine branches with fox eating grapes, hare goblet, lion, buffalo (?). Squares frame fruit basket with bunches of grapes.

Three panels:

1. sacrifice of Isaac
2. zodiac wheel, seasons, with appropriate animals.
3. Torah shrine flanked by lions and menorot, shofar, lulav, lamp flank each menorot. Birds rest on acroteria of Torah shrine. Curtains are drawn open.

Inscriptions:

May the craftsmen who carried out this work  
 Barianos and his son Han'na be held in  
 remembrance.

greek-north border within  
 tabulae ansatae

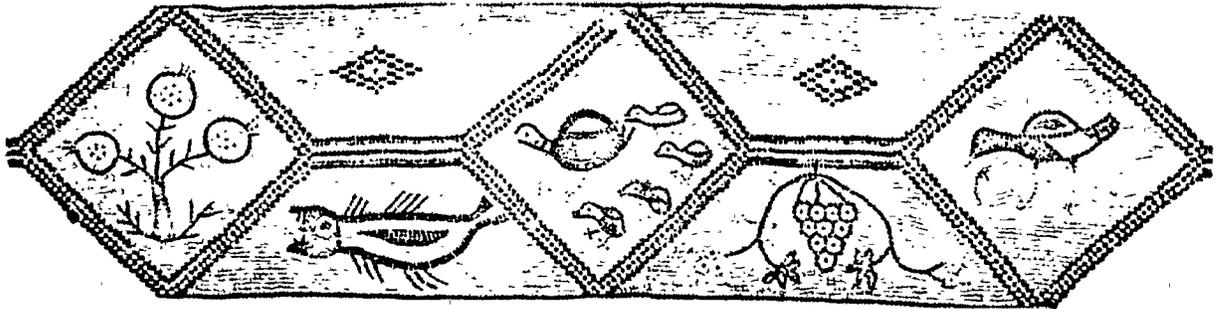
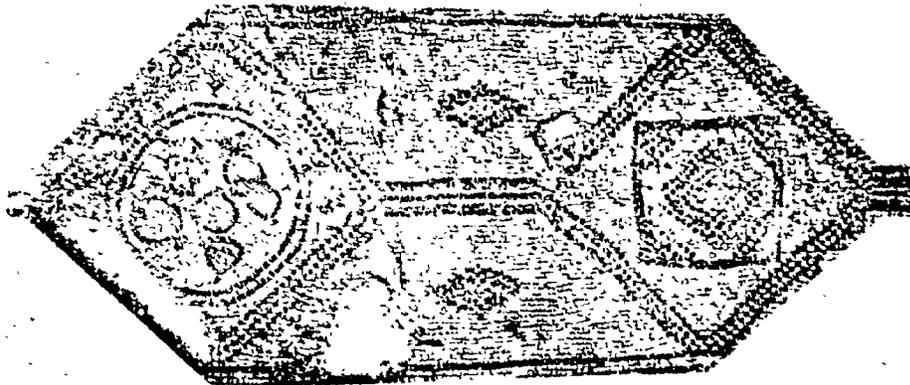
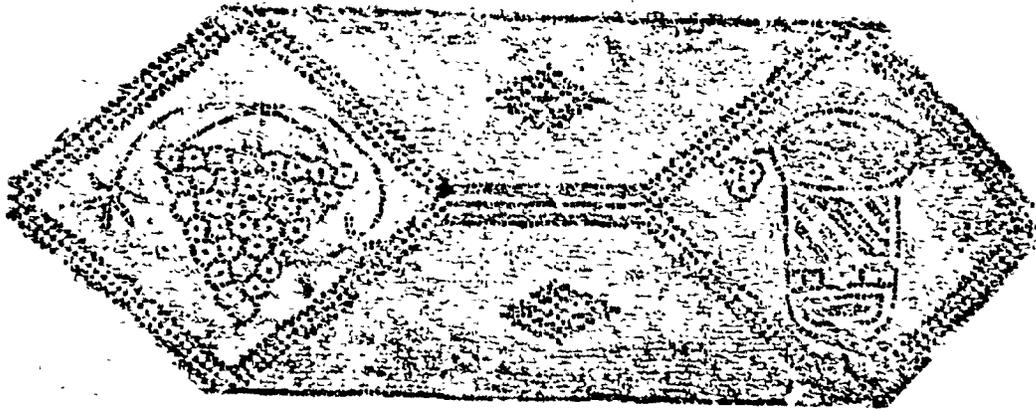
This mosaic was laid down in the...year  
 of the reign of Justinian...hundred...wheat  
 The contribution of all the members/ the congregation...  
 rabbi/ remembered be for good all/...amen.

aramaic. "ill-formed, uneven"

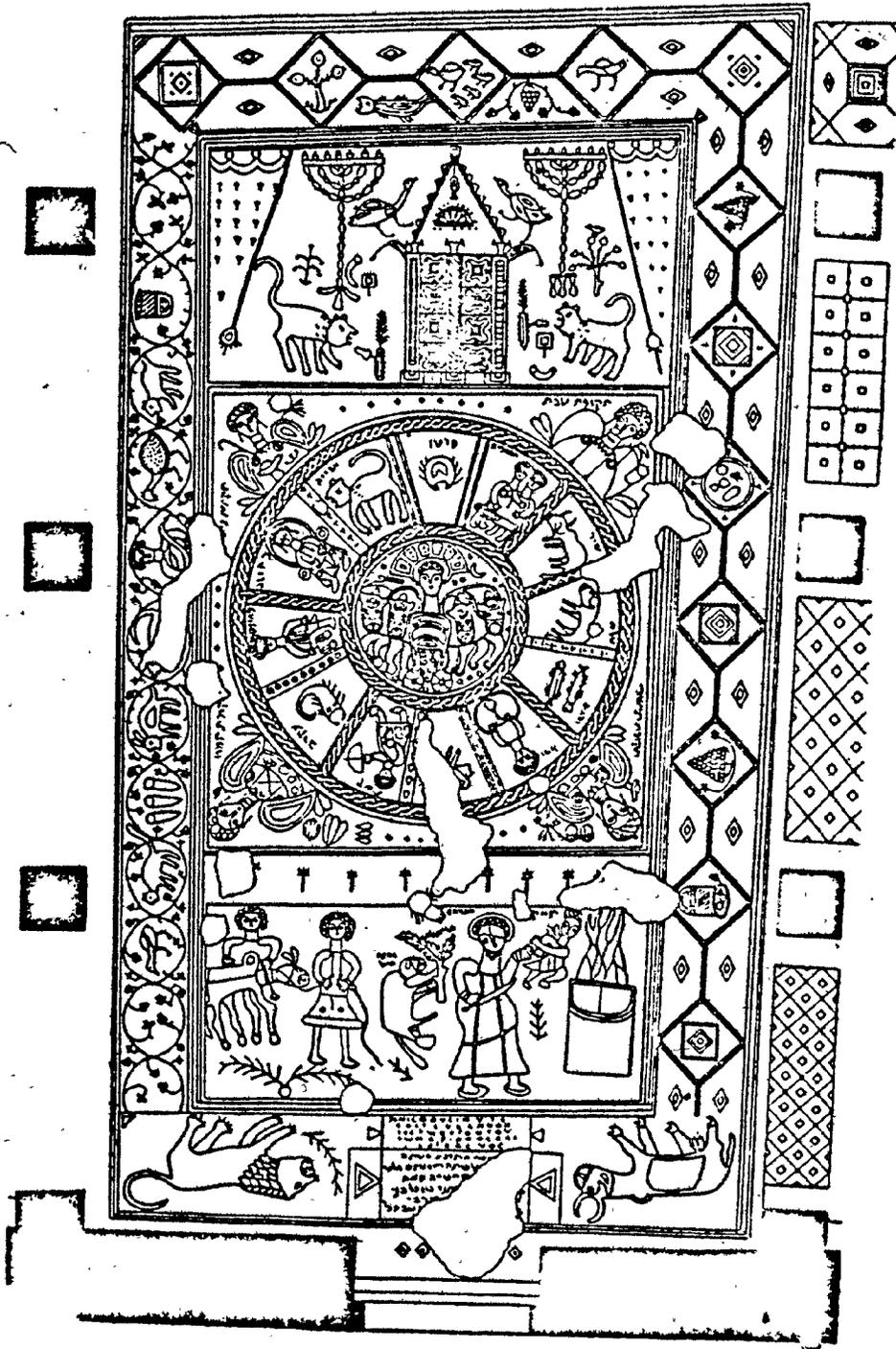
References

- Avi-Yonah, 1978:190  
 Chiat, 1979:270-280  
 Godenough, Symbols III:632-641  
 Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:44-50  
 Saller, 1969:20 # 15  
 Shanks, 1961:112-113  
 Sukenik, 1934:44      Sukenik, 1951:26

BETH ALPHA

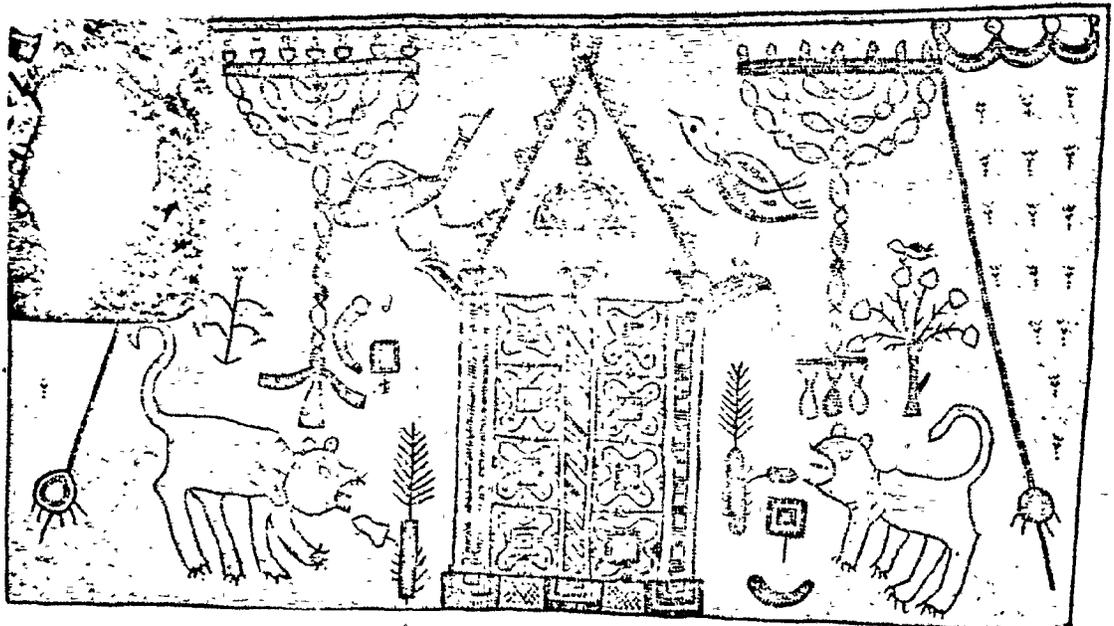


BETH ALPHA

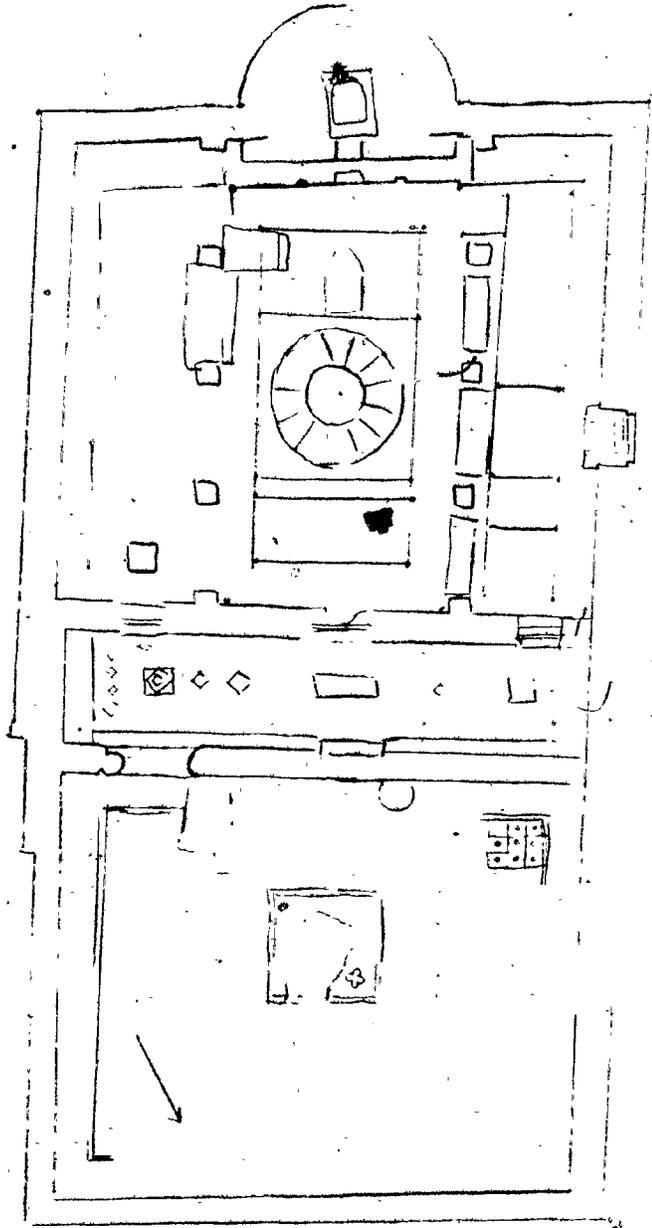




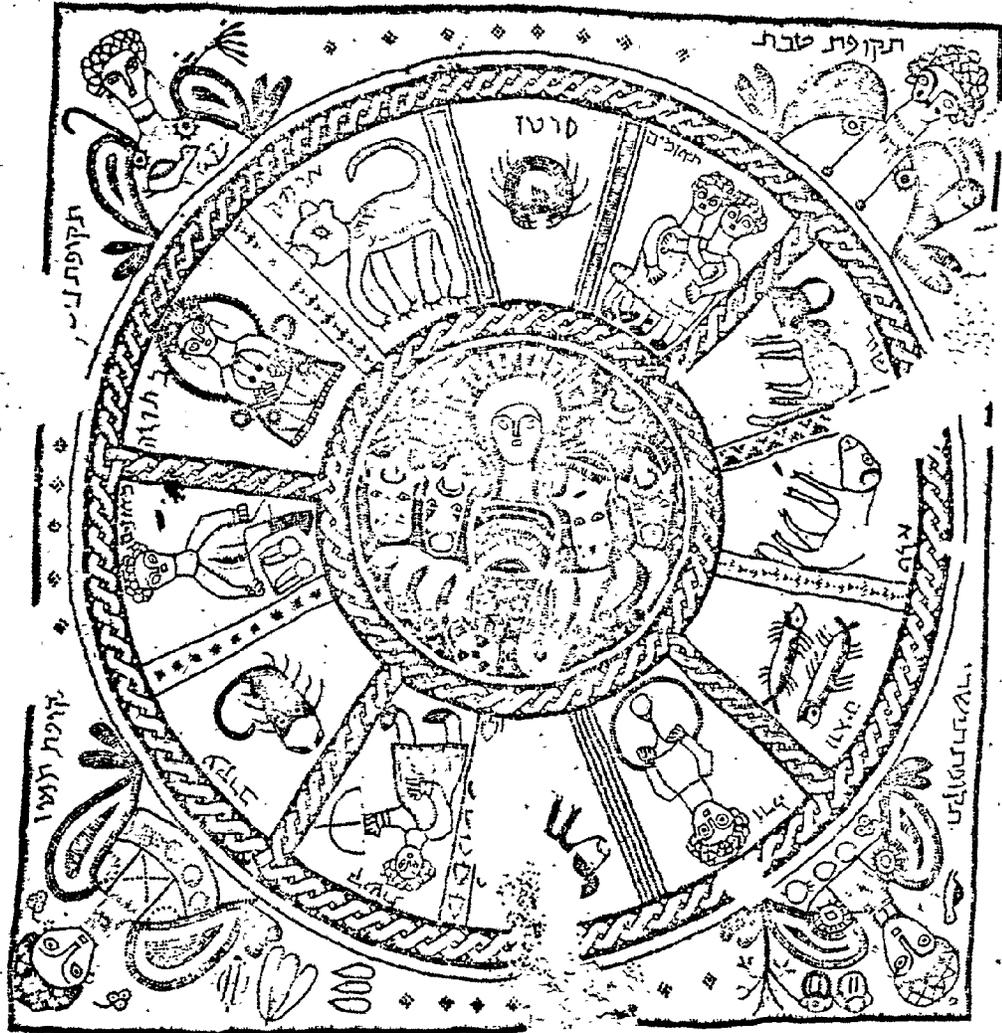
SOURCE: Goodenough, Symbols III:638



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:639



BETH ALPHA



BETH SHEAN A  
 Beth Sean  
 Besan  
 Beisan  
 Tell Istaba  
 Mastaba

1969 2126  
 Rift Valley  
 Chiat: B L 2

Primary Motifs Represented

Menorah  
 Increments  
 Fowl  
 Animals  
 Geometric  
 Vegetable

Descriptive Unit

Two phases:  
 I. mosaic pavement  
 II. mosaic pavement with five panels within a border of wave and guilloche.  
 1. grapes, greek inscription  
 2. intersecting circles framing fruits  
 3. squares, lozenges, framing fruits, plans, central octagon  
 4. triple circle within rectangle star motif in centre.  
 5. Torah shrine in front of bema similar to Beth Alpha.  
 Geometric vine scroll, double shrine with scalloped curtain closed, menorot flanking, with shofar, lamps.

Inscriptions:

Year...month January... greek, nave by entrance  
 The work of Marianos and his son Hanina greek, room seven  
 God held Afray, Sahay, 'Anan samaritan, room eight  
 north aisle, four lines in greek, fragmentary.

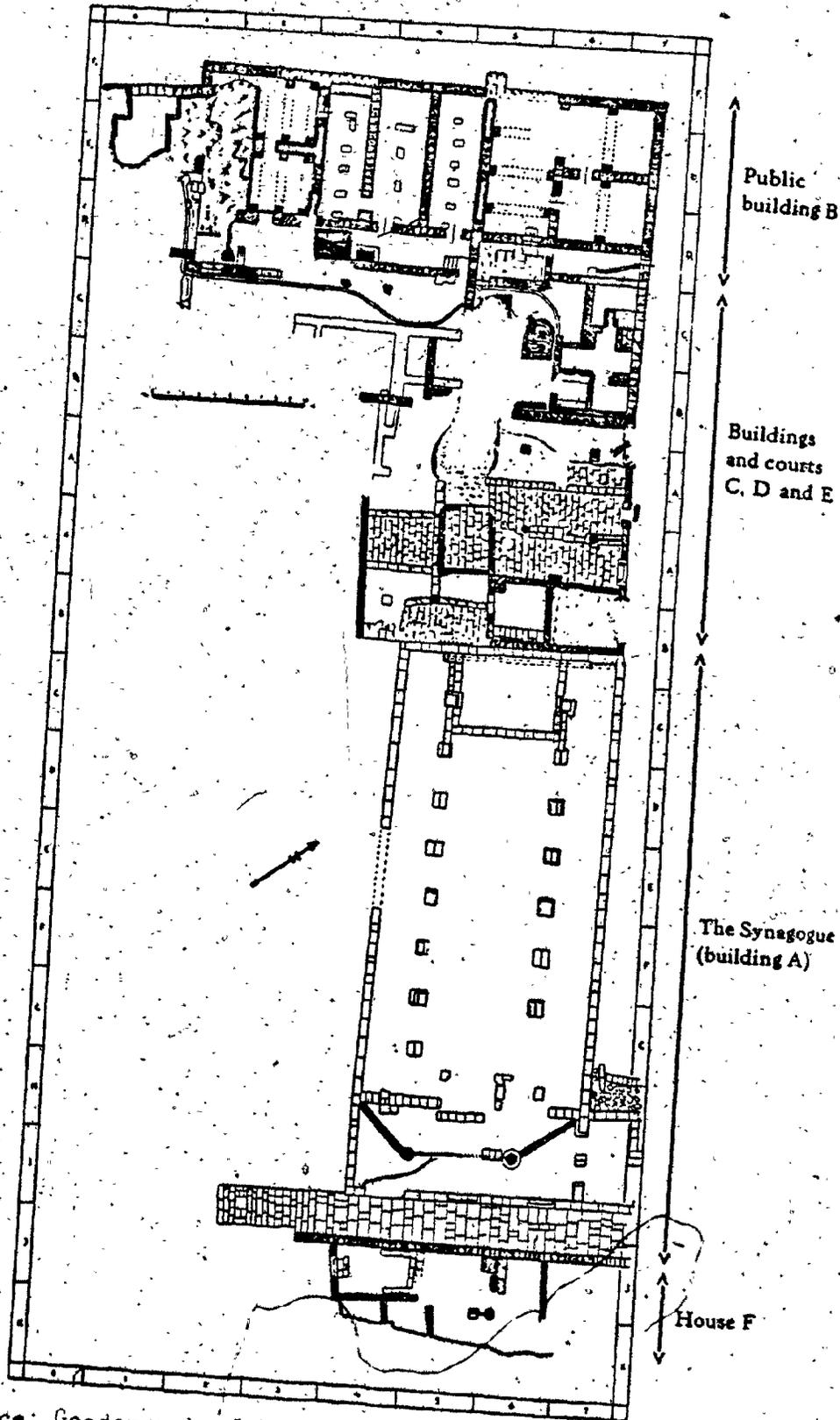
References:

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:58-67  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:62  
 Chiat, 1979:281-287  
 Levine, 1961:62-85  
 Saller, 1969:#17  
 Sukeik, 1949: pl xii.



th Shean—This mosaic contains two Torah arks, one within the other. The outer one is capped by a triangular pediment. From the topmost point of the pediment a lamp originally hung, but only a few tesseræ of the lamp and the chain from which the lamp hung remains. The inner Torah ark is capped by a semi-circular pediment housing a shell. A *paroket* or curtain hangs in front of the ark, rather than the panelled doors which we usually see. On either side of the ark is a *menorah* and a realistically depicted *shofar* and incense shovel.

SOURCE: Shanks, 1979:



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:535

Beth Shean E  
 Beth Sean  
 Resan  
 Beisan  
 Tell Istara  
 Mastaba

1929-1930  
 Rift Valley  
 Chist: B 4 1 7

Primary Types Represented

Menorah  
 Circle Surround  
 Fowl  
 Animal  
 Geometric  
 Vegetable

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

prayer, room, (not distinguished from "synagogue" in Behar's report.)  
 mosaic floor with wide border showing trees, lions, birds, fruit, baskets. Lions flanking possible menorah, fleurons and torus form border. Amphora is flanked by aramaic inscription. Vine medallions encloses animal forms.

Inscriptions:

Remembered for good all the members of the holy community, who contributed to repair the place/ the holy: peace upon them and blessing, Amen....Peace, grace in peace

aramaic, south border of mosaic.

Remembered/ be for good the artist/ who made/ this work.

aramaic, by north entrance.

Shalom...Peace upon Israel...

hebrew, above menorah

The gift of those whom the Lord knows the names, he shall guard them in times...

greek, east entrance

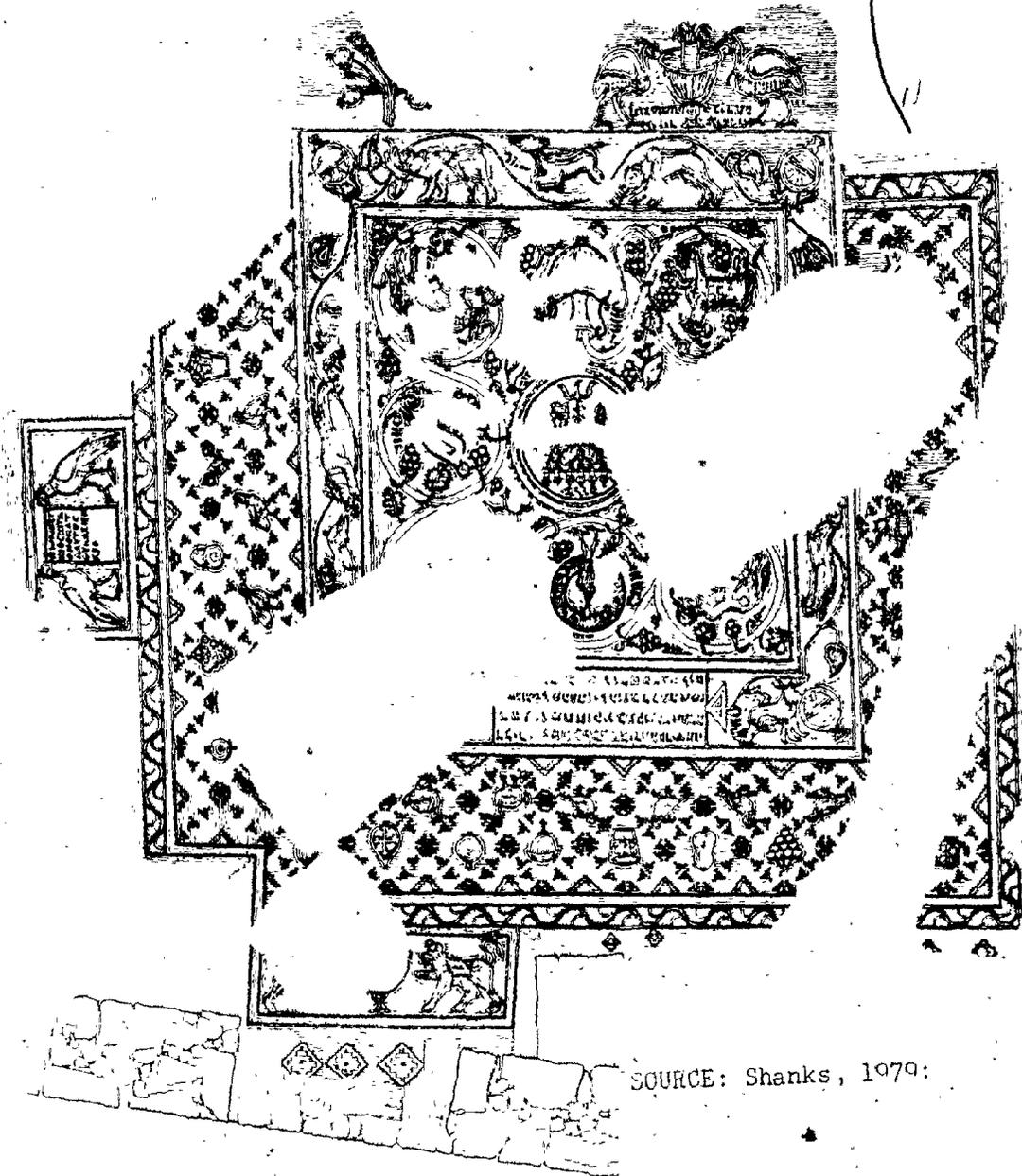
Remembered for / good and for/ fame...of Kyrios Leontis/ basket...since he for his recovery and for his brother Jonathan/ who made this mosaic/ from his own wealth/ ability...

greek, prayer room

## References:

Chiat, 1979:291  
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:56-67  
Saller, 1969:17  
Goodenough, Symbols III:535  
Shanks, 1979:15, 129  
Levine, 1981:82-85

BETH SHE'AN



SOURCE: Shanks, 1979:

## HAMMATH GADARA

Hammat Gader  
 Tell Sani  
 el-Hammeh  
 el-Hamma  
 Gadara  
 Hammath Gadara

1565 2360  
 Rift, Valley,  
 Chiat: G 8 1 2  
 East of Jordan River

## Primary Types Represented

Human  
 Marine  
 Animal  
 Menorah  
 Inplements  
 Vegetable  
 Geometric  
 Floral

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Entire hall is paved with mosaics. aisles: geometric squares, flowers, circles, intersecting guilloche. near bema: lozenges, flame, figures and plants in corners, borders are geometric-dentil, guilloche, wave. Nave: flanking lions, wreath with inscription, tree. Marble screen: wreath enclosing menorah flanked by lions, cypress trees. Intersecting squares with floral, pomegranates. superstructure destroyed by fire.

## Inscriptions:

And remembered be for good/ Kyris Hoples and Kyra/  
 Protone, and Kyris Sallustius/ his son-in-law, and  
 Comes Phroros his son/ and Kyris Photios his son-  
 in-law, and Kyris/ Haninah his son---they and their  
 children---/whose acts of charity are constant  
 everywhere/ (and) who have given five denarii/ (of)  
 gold. May the King of the Universe bestow the blessing/  
 upon their work. Amen. Amen. Amen.

aramaic, within wreath in  
 south panel.

and r(emembered be for) good Rab Tanhum the  
 Levite, the s(on of Hal)lipha, who has donated  
 one tremissis: and remembered be for good Monikos  
 of Susitha (?) the Serphorite/ and (Kyros Pa...)  
 Dositheus, of Capernaum, who have, all three, donated  
 three scruples. May the King/ of the Un(iverse  
 bestow the blessing upon their work. Amen! Amen! Selan!  
 Peace! And remembered be for good Yudan...of...who has

(continued)

donated three (?) / and remembered be for good the  
people of Arbela who have donated of their clothes.  
May the King of the Universe bestow blessing upon  
their work. Amen! Amen! Selah!

within tabula  
ansata

And remembered be for good Kyrios Leontios and  
Kyra Kalonixe, (who have donated...denarii in  
honor of the synagoge. / May the King of the  
Universe bestow blessing upon his work. Amen. Amen.  
Selah. Peace. And remembered be for good one woman/  
Anatolla (who had donate) d one denarius in honor  
of the synagoge. May the King of the Universe bestow  
blessing upon her work. / Amen. Amen. (Selah) Peace.  
(And remembered be for good the "wakefule" - (or inhabitants  
of the town)) who have donated one tr(em)isses.

(And remembered for) good be Ada the son of Tanhum/  
the son of Monikos, who has contributed  
one tremissis, and Yoše/ the son of Qarosah (?)  
and Monikos, who have contributed (one) half  
denarius toward th(is mosaic). May theirs be/  
the blessing. Amen. Selan. Peace.

with above.

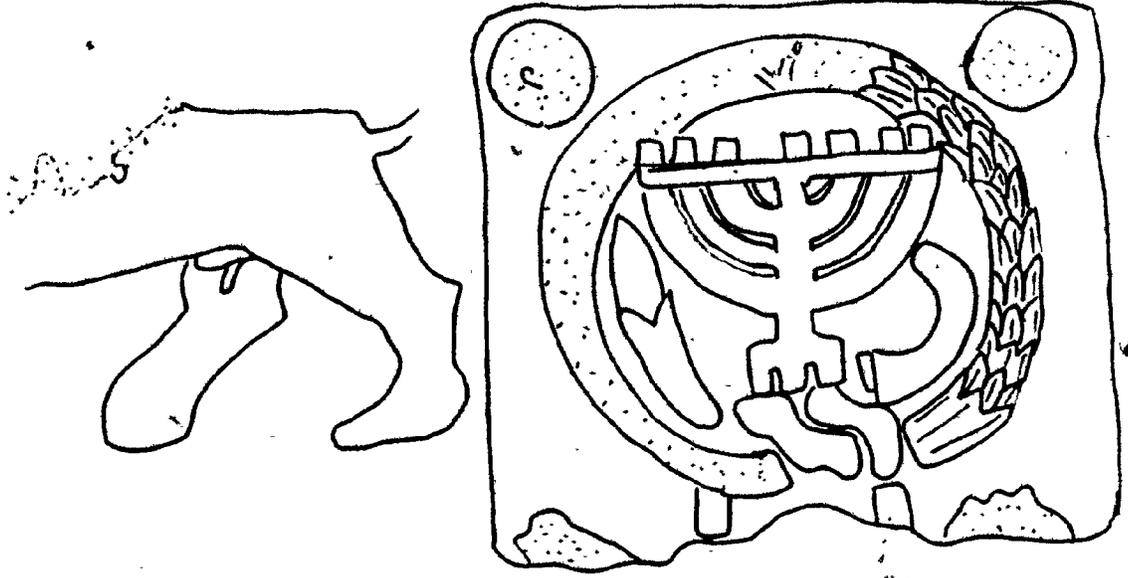
...son of Paregorious

Greek, fragment  
of marble screen

References:

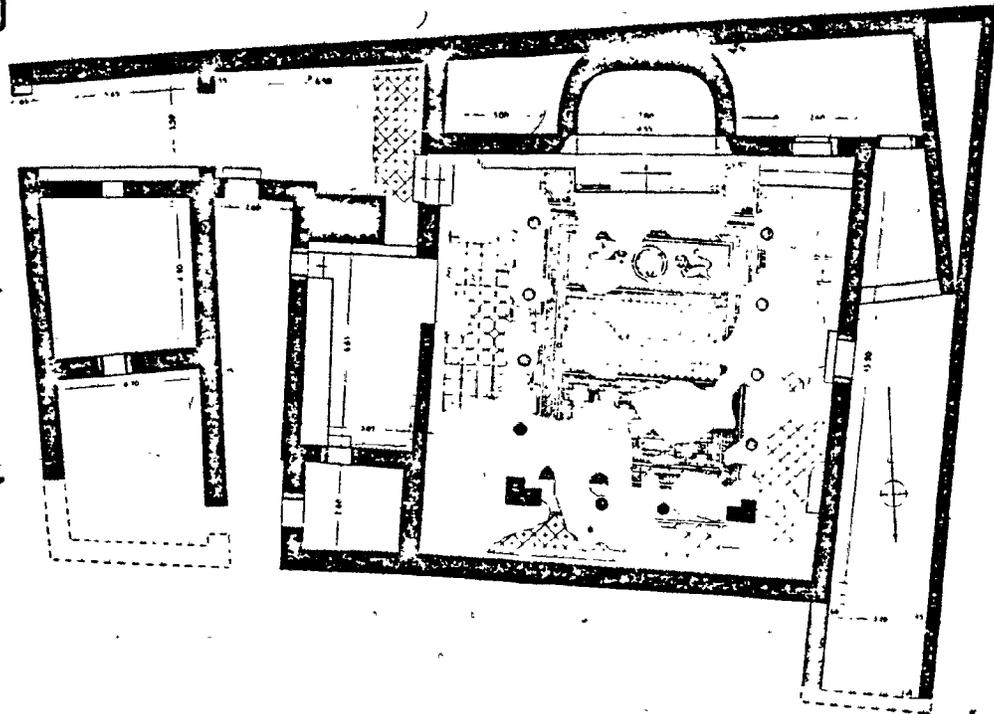
- Avi-Yonah, 1970:423  
Baron, 1952:174, 473  
Chiat, 1979:717-724  
Goodenough, Symbols I:241, III:522  
Hattenmeister and Reeg, 1977:146-7  
Levine, 1951:75-77.138  
Saller, 1969:#48  
Shanks, 1979:116, 117  
Suknik, 1934:81, 82

314  
Hammath Gadar



FROM: Shanks: 1979

From: Goodenough, Symbols III:574



From: Goodenough, Symbols III:626

PLATE I. COINAGE

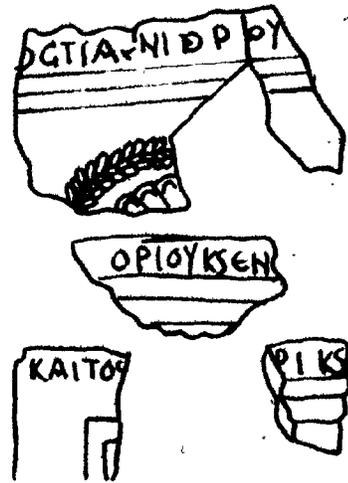
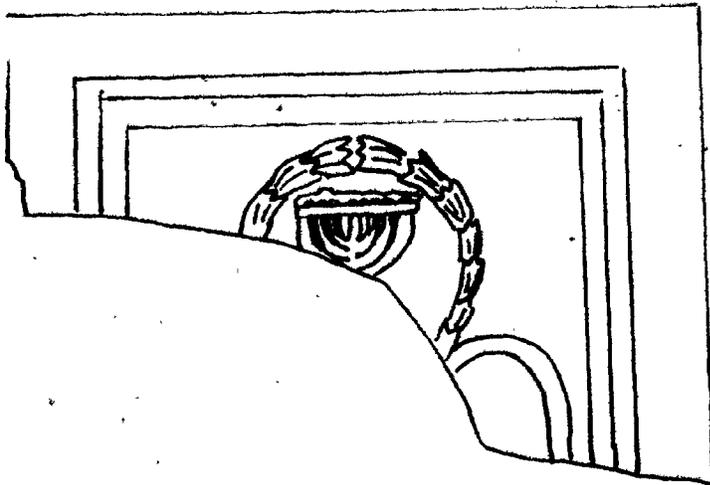
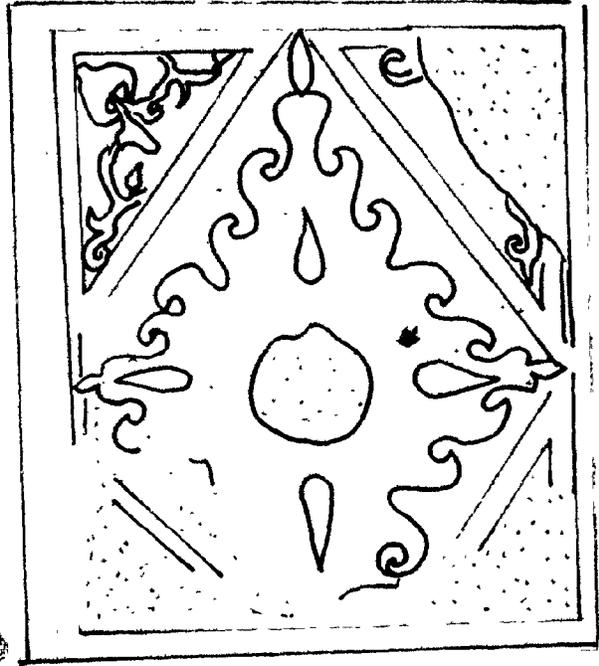
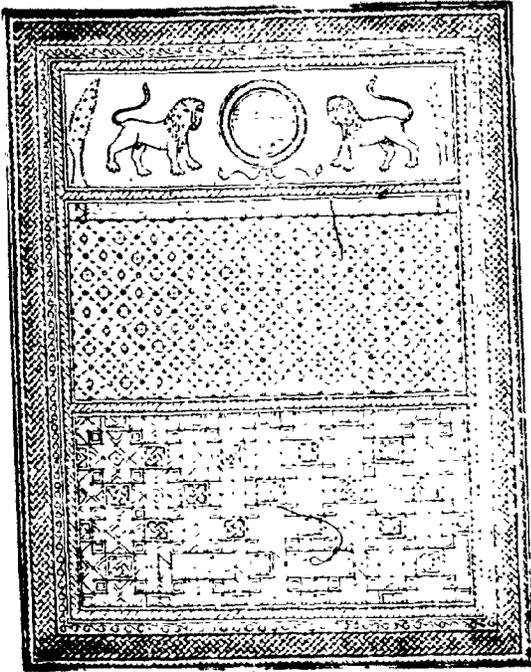


PLATE I. COINAGE. Symbols in the 4th century

HAMMATH TEVERYA  
 El-Hamma  
 Hammath by Tiberias  
 Al-Hamma

2016 2/11  
 Rift Valley  
 Chiat: B 3 1 3 , B 3 1 4

Primary Types Represented

	Descriptive Unit, Provenance
Menorah	A limestone menorah fragment
Human	Capital-corinthian style with 7B menorot on three faces.
Animal	Capital with cross in place of menorot.
Marine	
Geometric	Marble chancel screen, fragmented marble column crowned by a lotus capital.
Floral	
Vegetable	oblong slab decorated with 7B menorah flanked by shofar.
Increments	marble slab decorated with vine scroll
Mythic	marble fragment decorated with rich floral scroll bearing pomegranates and grapes.
	B mosaic pavement in three panels. 1. guilloche border enclosing an image of Torah Shrine flanked by seven-branched menorot. gabled roof, conche shell pediment. Curtain, clasped in middle hangs before closed doors. Lulab, ethrog, shofar, incense shovel. 2. zodiac wheel with seasons. Nude figure is uncircumcised. 3. Greek inscription flanked by two lions, floral motifs scattered through background. Aisles: fish scale patterns, quadrefoils, geometric motifs. Other phases of mosaic: "unimaginative" geometric patterns interspersed with plant motifs.

## Inscriptions:

Severus, the pupil of the most illustrious  
Patriarchs, has made this blessing. Amen

Greek, part of nine squares  
which list names of donors.

Peace upon everyone who has fulfilled the  
commandment in this holy place and who will  
fulfill the commandment. May the blessing be  
his. Amen. Amen. Selan. And unto me. Amen.

Galilean aramaic

...Profuturos, who...  
...made one of the halls for this Holy Place  
...peace

Greek, five lines from  
eastern aisle.

## References:

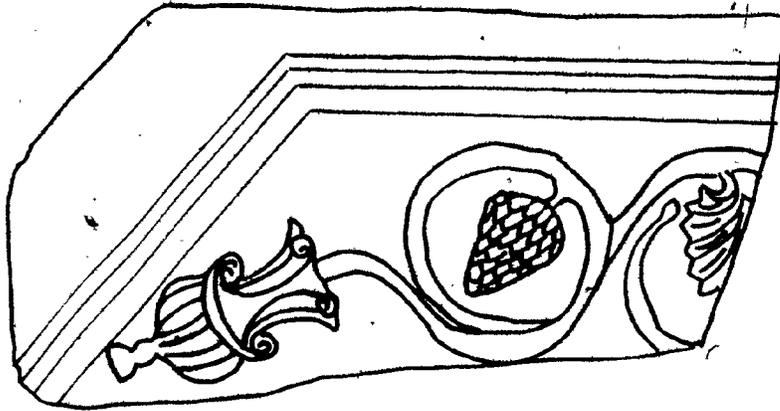
- Saller, 1969:#27  
 Avi-Yonah, 1978:1131,1181  
 Eisengerg, 1974:58  
 Chiat, 1979:222-227  
 Sukanik 1934:Appendix, 62  
 Avi-gad, 1976:37  
 Huttenmeister and Neeg, 1977:163-71  
 Levine, 1981:63-69  
 Shanks, 1979:16, 127-130  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:214, III:561-3  
 Lathan, IEJ 12:153-4  
 Renov, IEJ 5 (1955):262-267  
 Lifshitz, "Le Ancienne Synagogue de Riveriade, Mosaïque et  
 ses Inscriptions." Journal for the Study of Judaism  
 IV July, 1973:43-55.

Tishri (autumn)

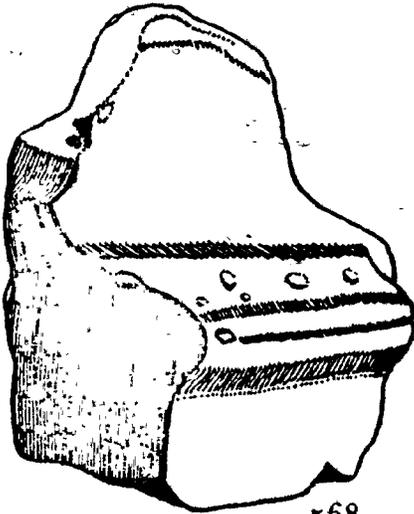


Source: Avi-Yonah, in Gutmann, 1975:105

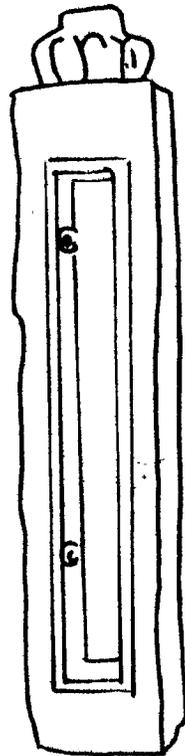
PLATE IV



Source: ...



68

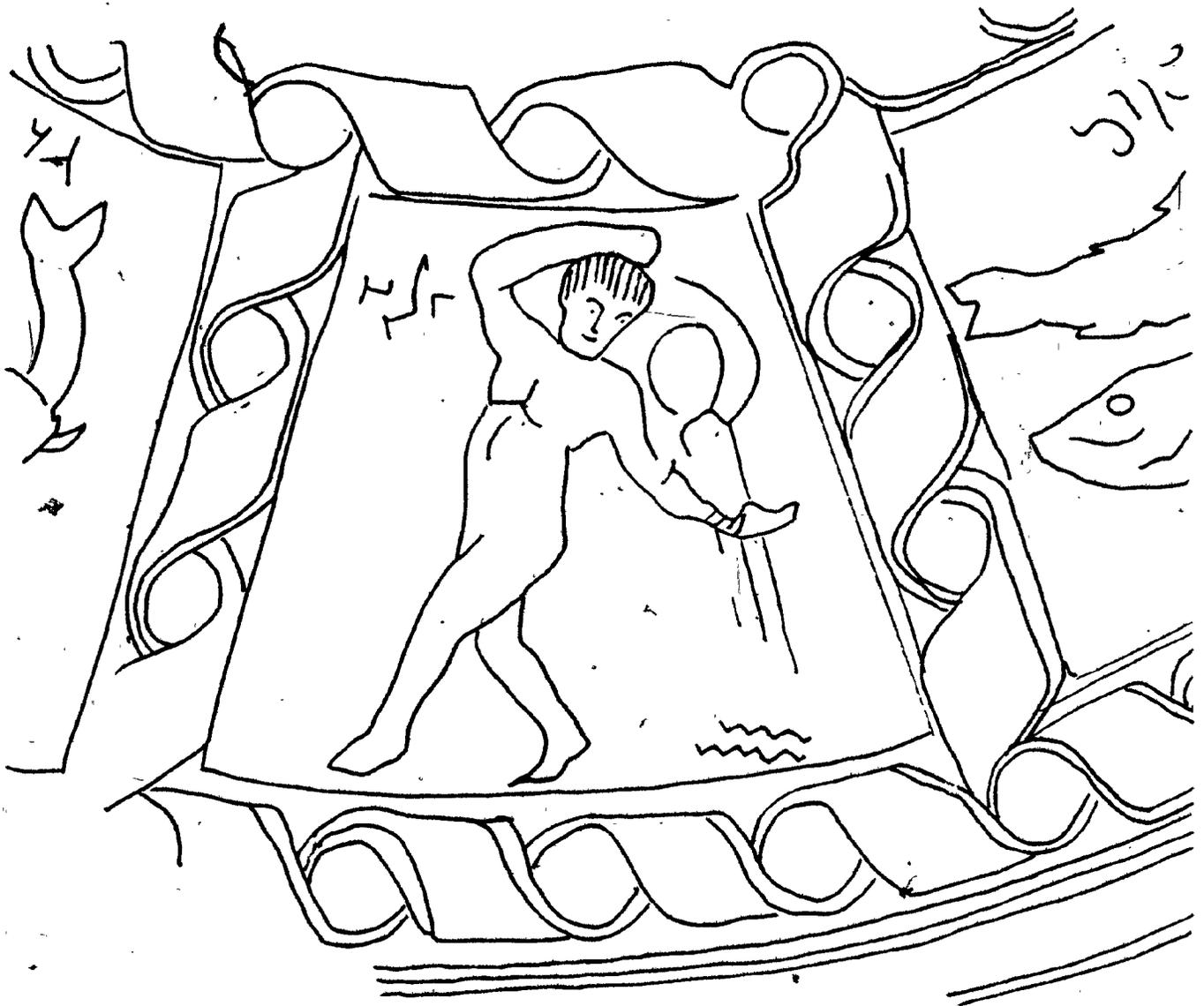


Source: ...

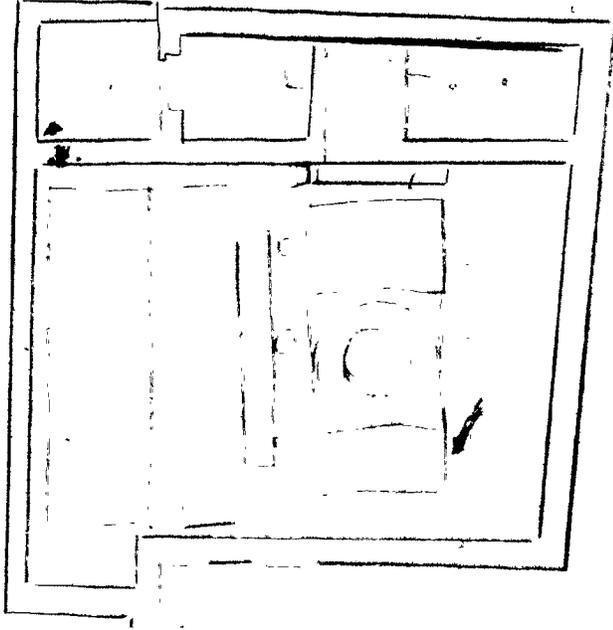


Source: Goodenough,  
Symbols III: 763

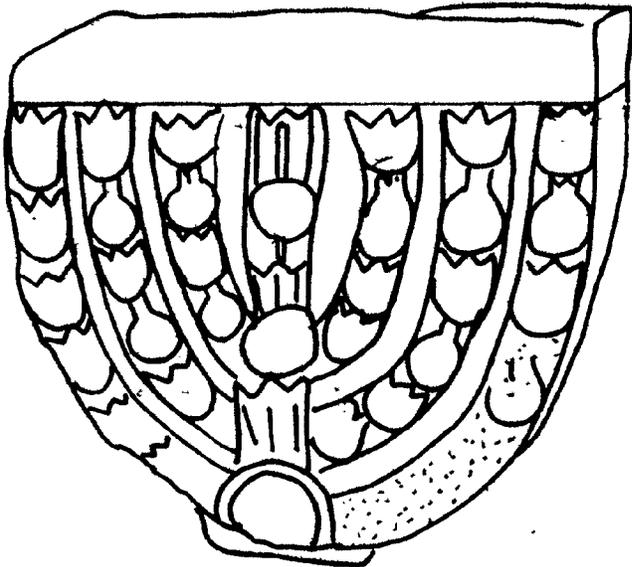
Shanks, 1976: 127



WALLA... LINE



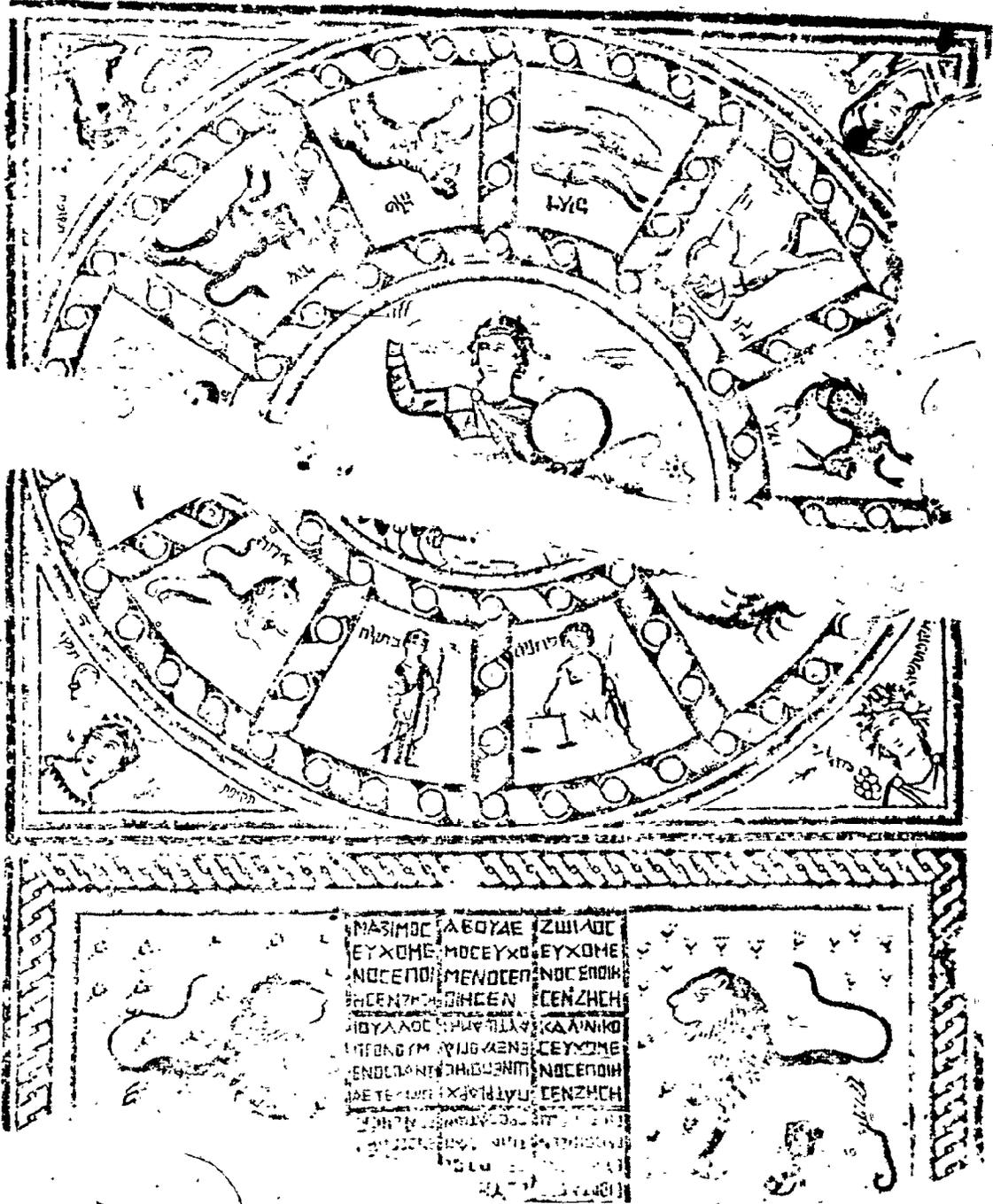
1079:111



1079:111

NO. 107. TIBERIA.

3rd Century B.C., 1st Century A.D.



Part of the mosaic floor — Hammath-Tiberias

L'BISSIN  
 l'billin  
 'Abellin  
 Avelin

Chiat: 3 2 24  
 160 24/  
 Rirt Valle

Primary Types Represented

Memorah

Geometric

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Two lintels. One was used as a step for the village Greek Orthodox Church. Second lintel broken, aramaic inscription within a rectangular flanked by a hexagram within a circle.

Inscriptions:

Remembered be for good (.../  
 son of ...) / who gained merit (by  
 making / this gate.  
 Amen. Shalom

aramaic, lintel

References:

Chiat, 1979:172-3  
 Huttenmeister, IEJ 23(1970):109-112  
 Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:27-29

Department of  
Well...

2201 2511  
Left alley  
17 17

REGARDING THE...

- Vegetable
- owl
- floral
- animal
- geometric
- fantasy
- animal
- increments
- Yorah Shrine

460- lintel, south wall of court, parallel  
moulding. two small enclosed rosettes,  
scalloped, truss.  
461- side door, east wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine and tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.  
462- side door, east wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine and tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.  
463- side door, east wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine and tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.  
464- side door, east wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine and tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.  
465- side door, east wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine and tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.  
466- side door, east wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine and tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.

DESCRIPTIVE UNIT, PROVENANCE

472-frieze with "carriage" part of  
475. acanthus stalks with boxed  
baseline. Wheel carriage shown in  
perspective, double winged doors  
scallop cable.  
473-frieze similar to 474 but not  
same piece. Solomon's seal, leaf  
within garlands in linear arrangement,  
Ball and chain, boxed baselines  
follow acanthus leaves along top.  
474-frieze. rosettes in acanthus  
wreaths run linearly. Rosettes are  
multi-petalled, floral. Solomon's  
seal. hexagram.  
475- Cornice. relief of hybrid  
horse. two eagles holding garland.  
476- fragment possibly from aedicule,  
Yorah (base broken) scallop.

467-lintel, north wall of court, parallel  
moulding. two small enclosed rosettes,  
scalloped, truss.  
468- side door to 464. lintel, four  
door to north wall of court. three  
fields: grape vine flanked by leaf of  
acanthus. right enclosing circle with  
urns below, rosette flanked by acanthus.  
469- lintel of side door, east wall of  
court. Three fields: grape vine and  
tendril frieze, acanthus, egg and dart  
on supporting column/capital.  
470-side door, east wall of court, central  
amphora and grape vine. flanking figures  
defaced.  
471-centre door, south wall of court  
lintel and pediment. Yorah shrine  
facade flanked by rosette on right and  
wreath, acanthus branch on left. frieze:  
egg and dart, acanthus.

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance (continued)

477. frieze, apnora with grape vine, grape clusters, egg and dart, box mouldings, stylized scroll, acanthus leaves.  
 478. capital-corinthian, with menorah, shofar, incense shovel  
 479. facade. double torus columns with corinthian capitals support lintel and pediment. scallop shell. frieze above windows shows acanthus leaves, (defaced) lions, egg and dart mouldings, box mouldings on cornice. capital. acanthus leaves superficially carved, hexagram. capital. different symbol in each face-olive branch, pomegranate, wreath, /73 menorah, /shofar, /incense/shovel

## Inscriptions:

Herod, son of Mo(ni)/mos and Justos/ his son  
 together with their/children...erec.../ted/ this  
 column

Greek, on column.

Halphai, son of Zebedee, son Johanan/  
 made this column/ May blessing be his

aramaic, on column.

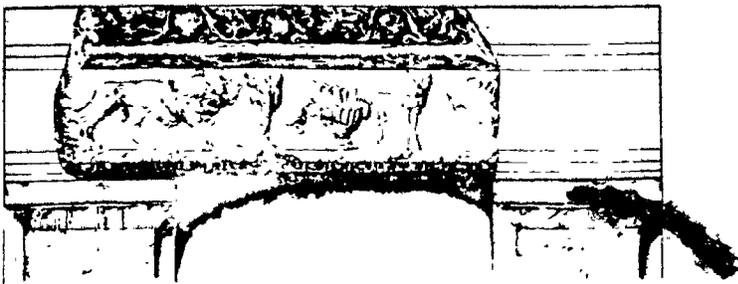
## References:

- Avi-Yonah, IEJ 23(1973):43-45  
 Gaiat, 1979:200-212  
 Foerster, IEJ 21(1971):207-211  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:650-666, 451-2, 459, 474, 460, 474  
 Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:261-270  
 Kohl and Watzinger, 1916:4-41  
 Levine, 1981:7, 14  
 Lifshitz, 1967:61  
 Loffreda, IEJ 23(1973):164  
 Orfali, JPOS 126:159  
 Saller, 1969:#105, 64-67.  
 Shanks, 1979:37-62, 65-66,  
 Sukenik, 1934:9, 71  
 Sukenik, 1949:16ff

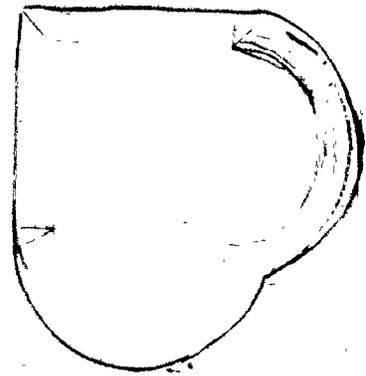


Aerial view of Capernaum synagogue environs. Note synagogue remains in foreground and Byzantine church in background

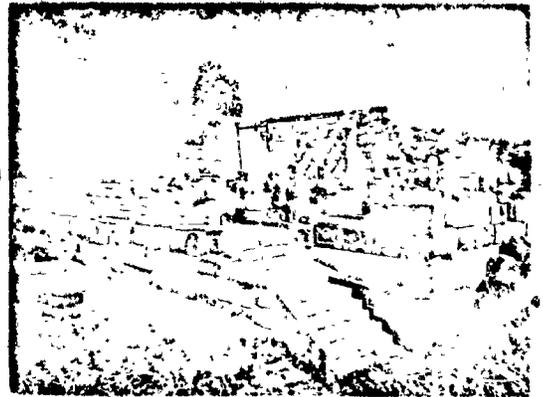
Levine, 1901:143



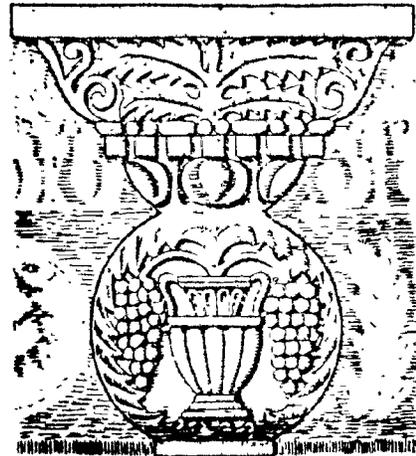
Symbols 11:460



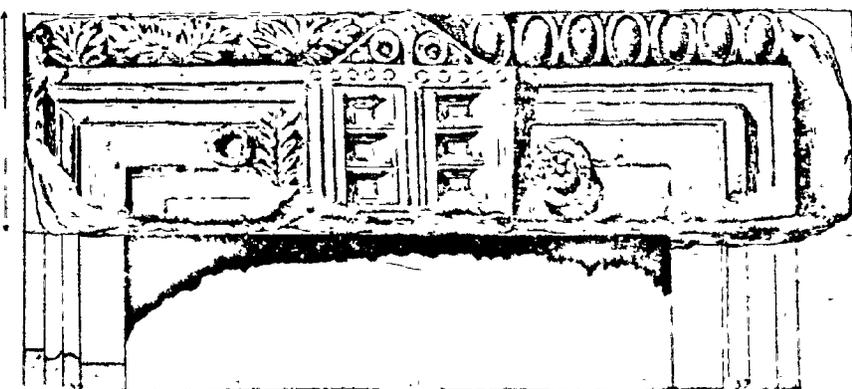
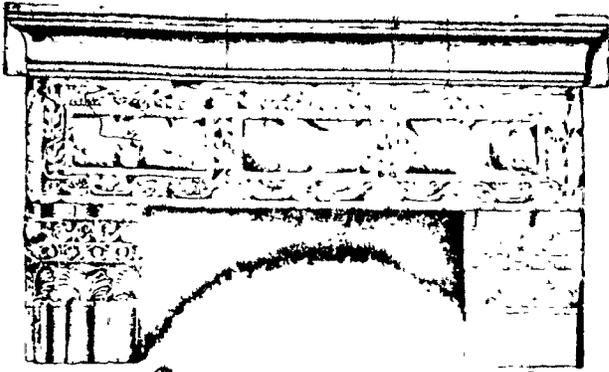
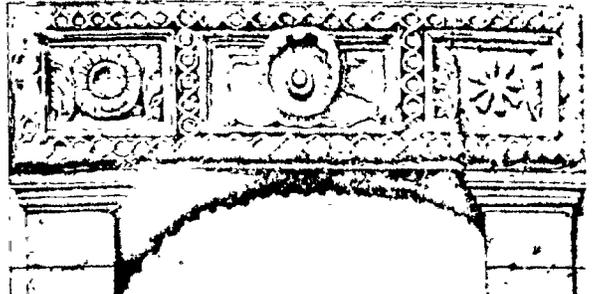
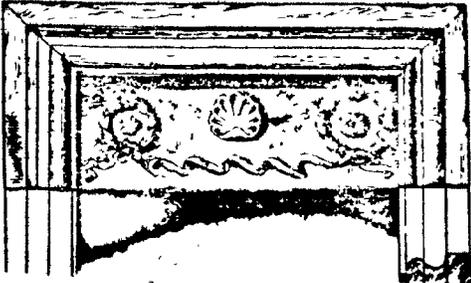
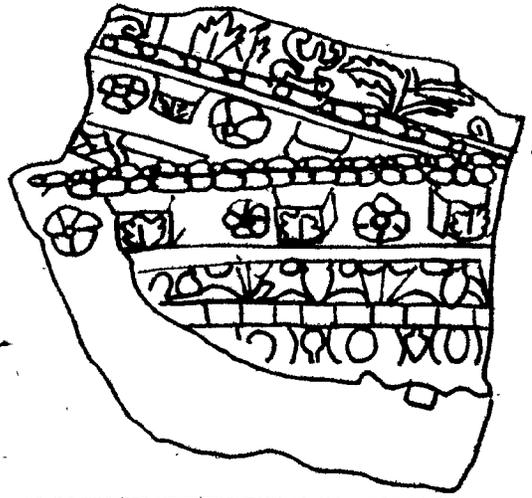
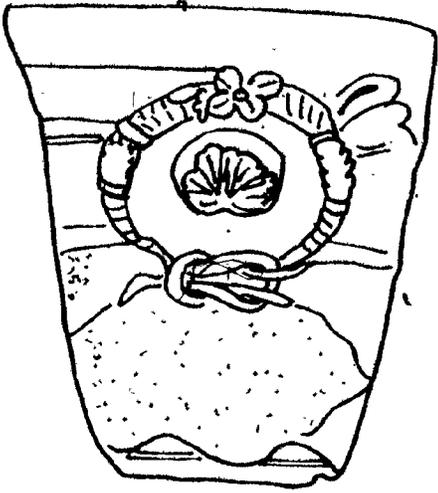
Symbols 11:477



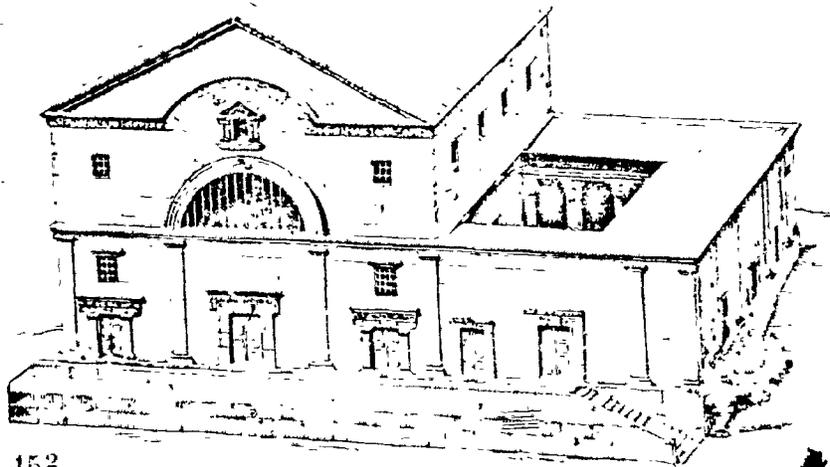
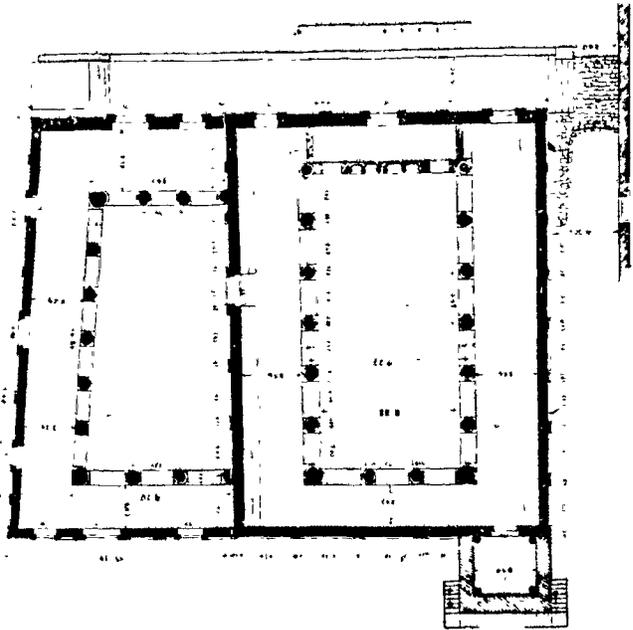
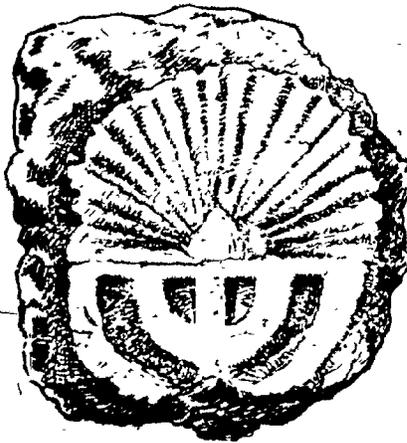
Symbols 11:480



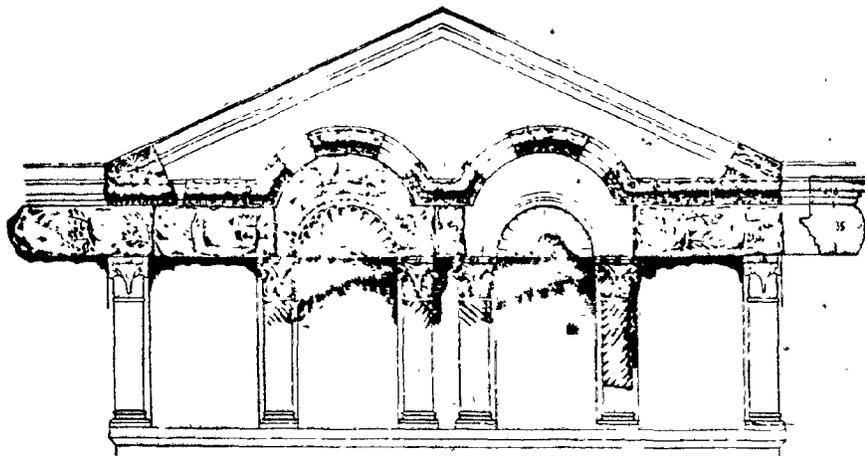
Symbols 11:479



Synagogue at Capernaum



452

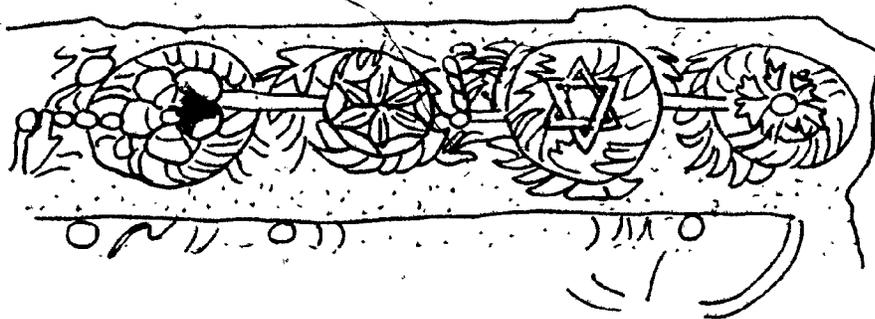
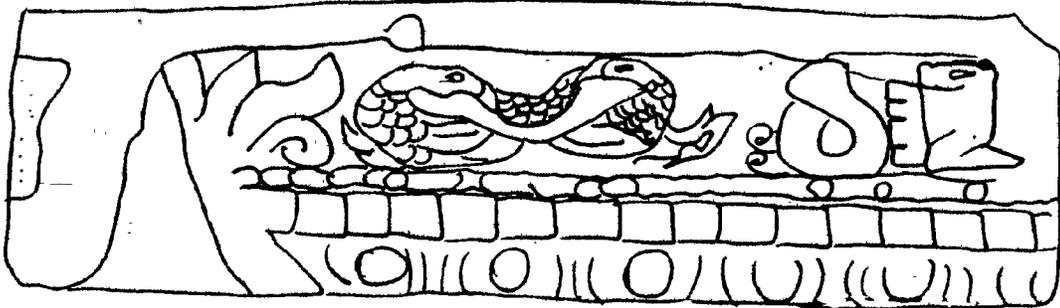
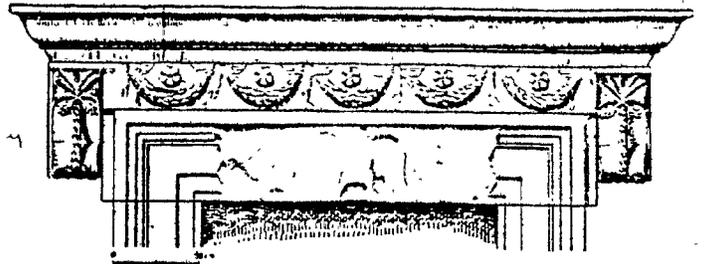


479. Aedicula, synagogue at Capernaum (I, 189)

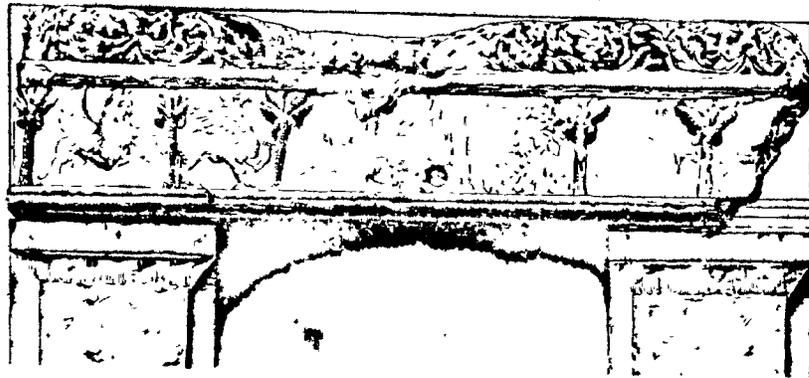
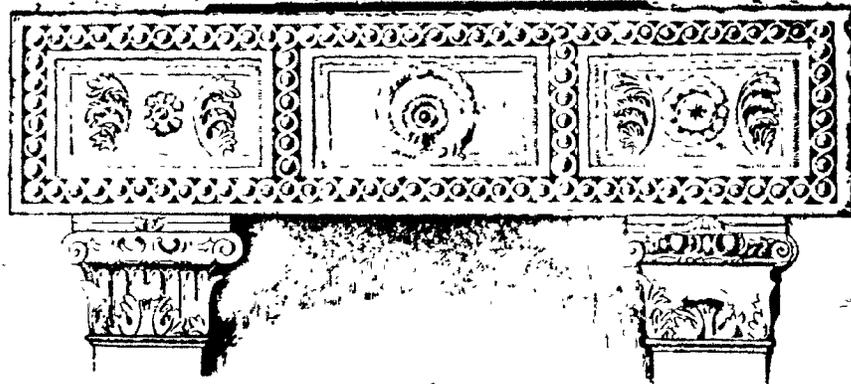
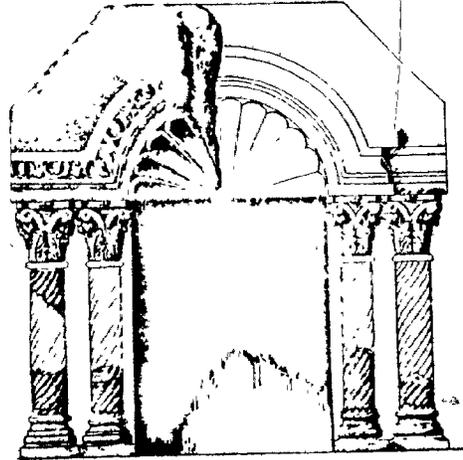
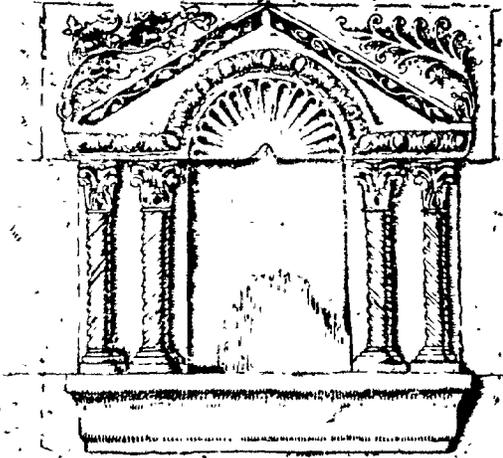
470

2 1

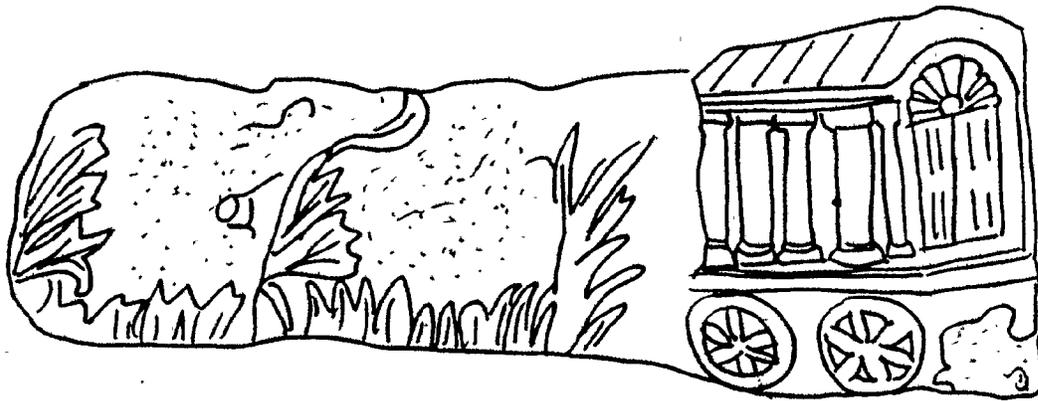
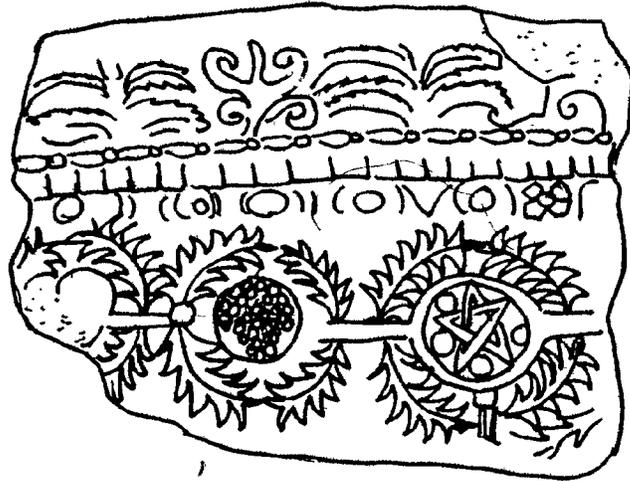
source: Goodenough,  
Symbols III: 171, 159,  
170, 175



... ..  
... ..  
... ..



KEPAR NAHUM



Source: Symbols III:273,273

KOKAV HA YARDEN  
 Belvoir  
 Kokav al-Hawa

Hift Valley  
 1994 2210  
 Chiat: B 3 2 1  
 (22 km S. Tiberias)

Primary Types Represented	Descriptive Unit, Provenance
Menorah	basalt lintel bearing motif of Torah shrine and 7B menorah
Geometric	Scallop rests on pillars and flank menorah with shofar on left.
Increments	
Animal	

Inscriptions:

(Blessed be the memory of.../ and his.../)  
 who have donated (?)/ this lintel (?)/ .../  
 the for\_giver (gave) their work (?) Amen, Amen, Selan.  
 aramaic, stones in secondary use.

...

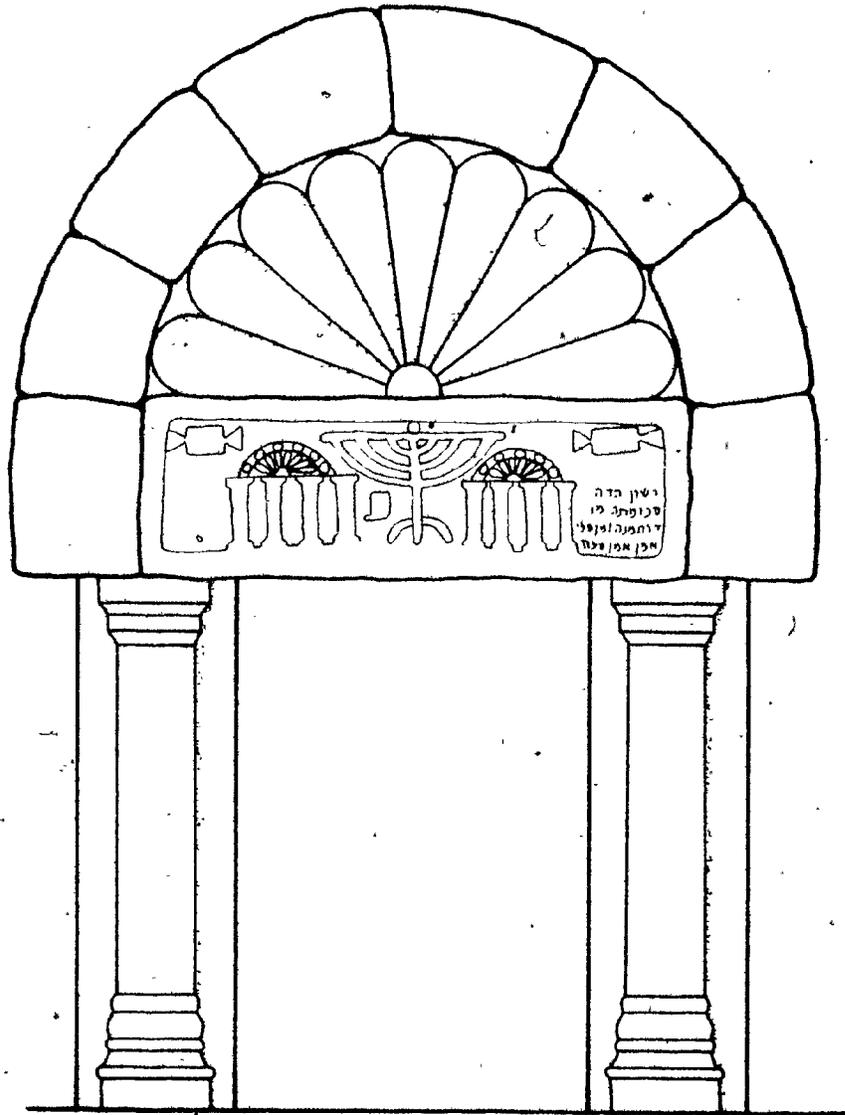
greek

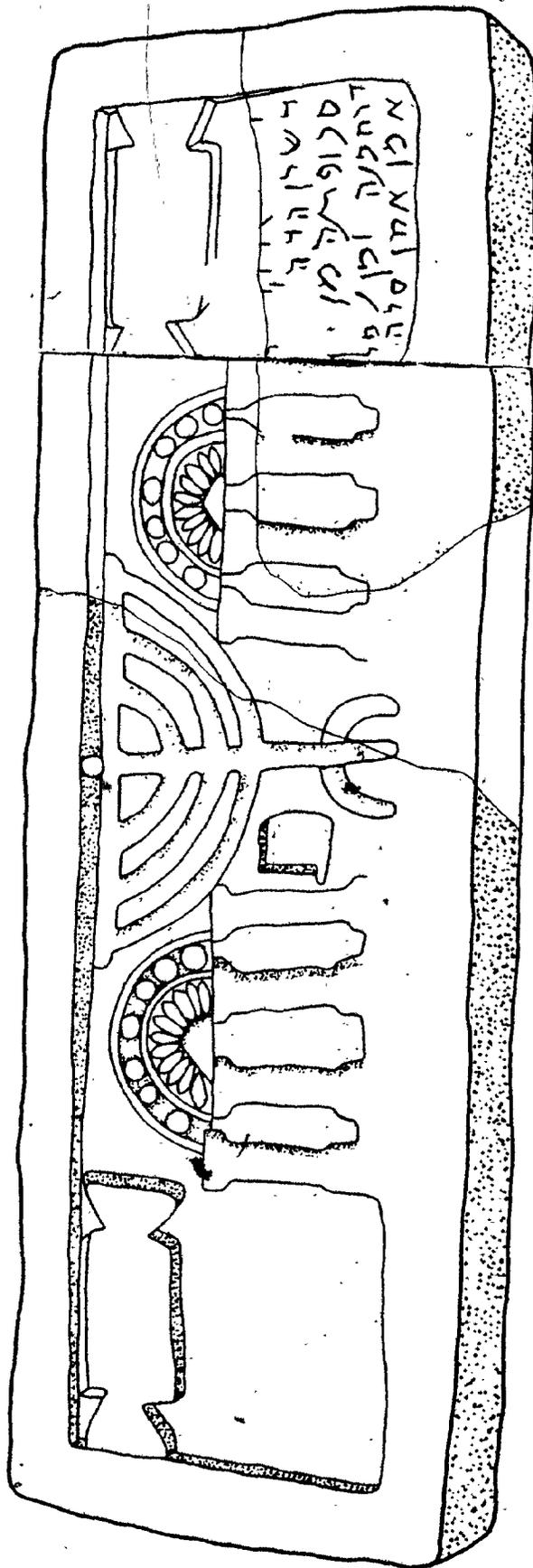
References:

Avi-Yonah, 1970:170  
 Chiat, 1979:23  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:272-274  
 Levine, 1981:95-97  
 Saller, 1989: #72  
 Shanks, 1979:30,32

תורה של יוסף

מספר 177:30-9





Corazin  
Khirbet Faraj  
Faraj  
Gherazain  
Gherazain  
2071 2080  
Tilt Valley  
Sheet: B 3 1 2

PRIMARY

- Human
- Vegetable
- Animal
- Floral
- Circle surround
- Geometric

SECONDARY

1. frieze, continuous acanthus wreath enclosing three different types of circles, whirl, pentagon, twisted.
2. frieze fragment, acanthus wreath, without internal motif, five petalled flowerlets, animal figures (shell or lion) are poorly preserved, faces, hands are defaced. colored diagonally (hexagon, eagle, etc.)
3. fragment of frieze, continuous medallions, holds torus and leaf, defaced quadruped nursing young.
4. frieze: wreath with hercules knot, grape leaves scattered around wreath, encloses shell
5. frieze: three wreaths arranged along linear fragment, rope torus with hercules knot, rosettes, wreath with internal flower, acanthus wreath with hercules knot, encloses circle.
6. frieze. linear arrangement of three wreaths with torus (shrine between first and second) (from left) pilasters with capitals, shell in center. acanthus wreaths enclose shell, vase, egg and dart along shrine pediment. ionic acedilia.
7. arch with couch shell. rope torus sheaf wreath, blocks outline shell, from window
8. same as 7 with parallel lines rather than torus outline of scallop.
9. frieze. acanthus leaves and branches in vine scroll, wreath encloses broad petalled rosette. possible menorah, egg and dart. three registers
10. figure in round. torso only. lion.
11. window(?) arch with couch. header stretcher, block border, sheaf in linear repetition. vine scroll with berry clusters, acanthus wreaths.

12. harvest scene, grapes within medallions, animal figures are defaced. lion grape vine.
13. floral design on column. Mosaic type rosettes in geometric arrangement
14. three acanthus wreaths with internal motif-whirl, leaf, knot centre wreath, internal motif is defaced. - figure?
15. wreaths with internal motif-circle, shell, Medusa. broad petalled blossoms. vase is in high relief, defaced.
16. frieze within vine scroll medallions.
  1. man holding staff in right hand, grasps cluster of grapes in left.
  2. man with woman on left, holds grape cluster, other clusters hang between them.
  3. two men tread grapes in wine press.
  4. griffin-third figure reaching for grapes.
17. chair of moses-aramaic inscription. (head with dishevelled hair)

Lukens, quoting from the dots. 1934:13

Korazain

Inscriptions:

Remembered be for good Judan b. Ishmael/  
 who made this stoa (?)/ and its steps.  
 For his work/ may he have a share with the righteous,  
 aramaic, on front of chair  
 of Moses.

alternate translations:

...made this stoa and its staircase from his property.

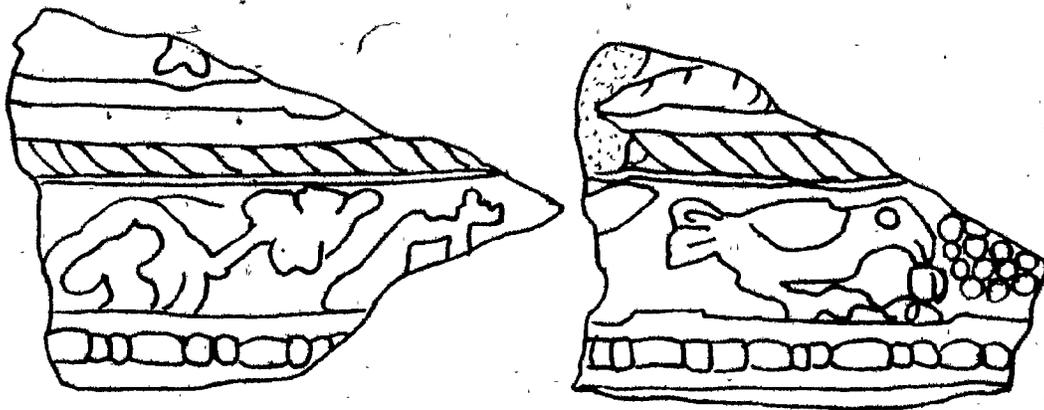
...made this portico and its staircase

For his work..(may also read) ...seven in number.

References:

- Avigad, 1967:36  
 Chiat, 1979:213-221  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:275-281  
 Levine, 1981:162-3  
 Saller, 1969:40 # 56  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:103-99, III:484-502  
 Shanks, 1979:73,159  
 Sukenik, 1934:21-24,60f  
 Sukenik, 1949:19

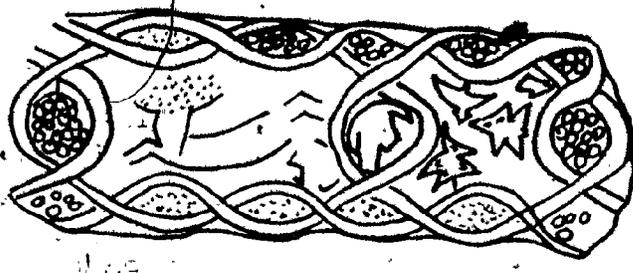
KORAZIM



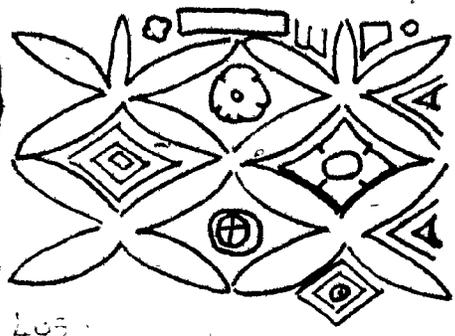
Source; Samoylov, Symbols II: 5/1, 1.7

KOPALIM

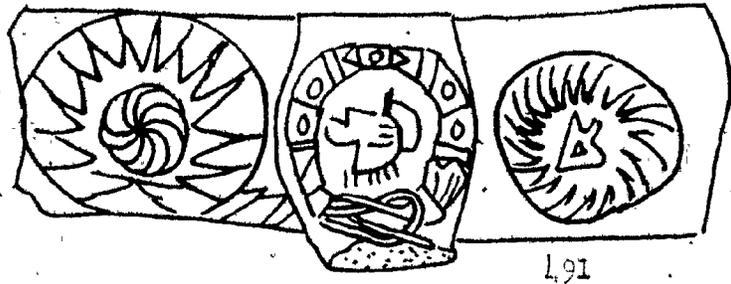
Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:



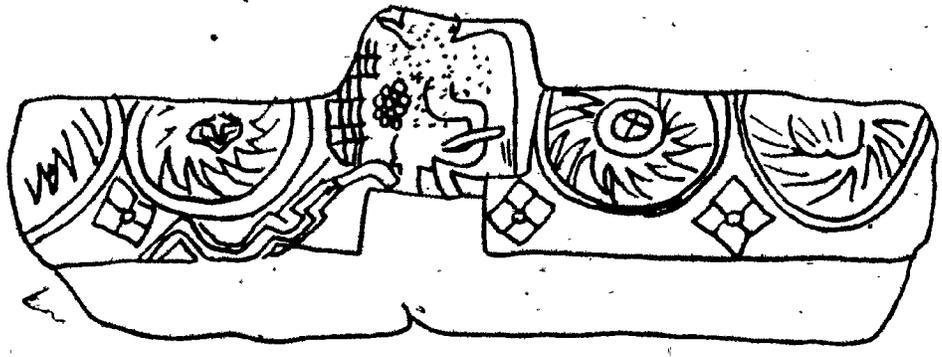
L89



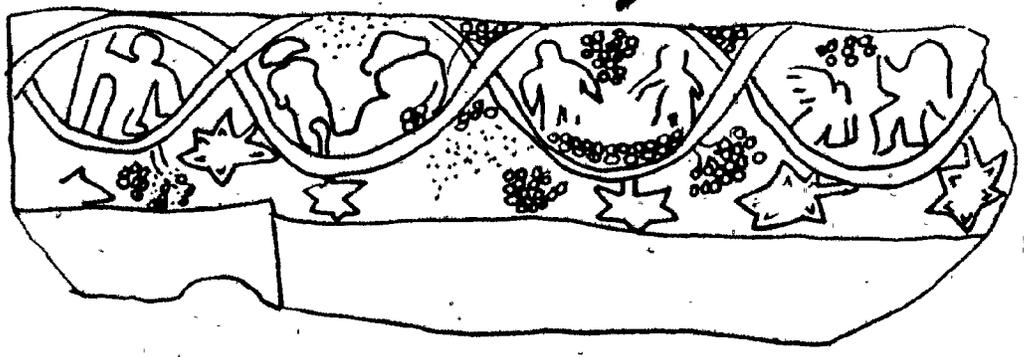
L89



L91



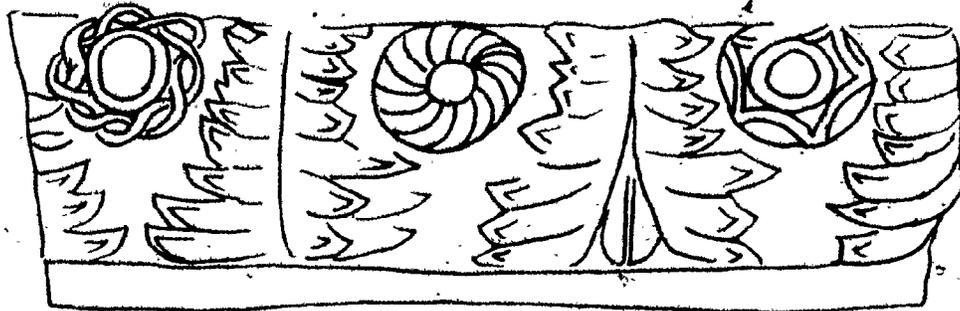
L93



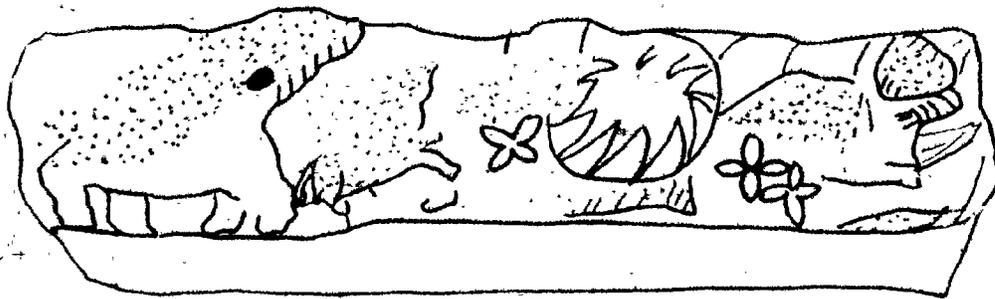
L86

1200

I

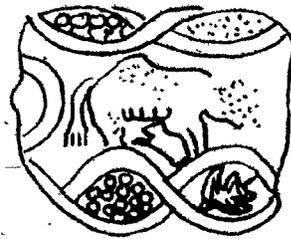
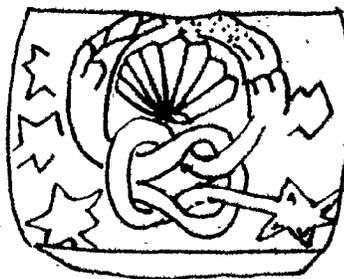


II

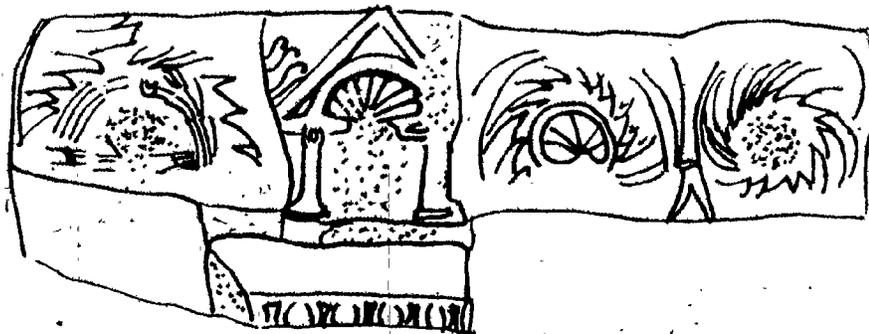
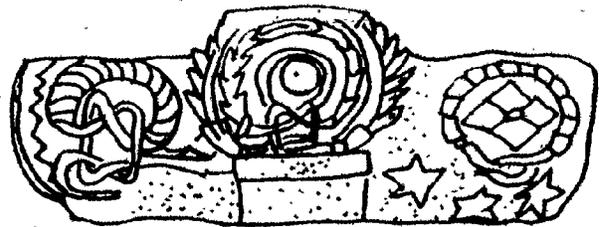


Scale: 1/2 inch, 1/4 inch

1:150

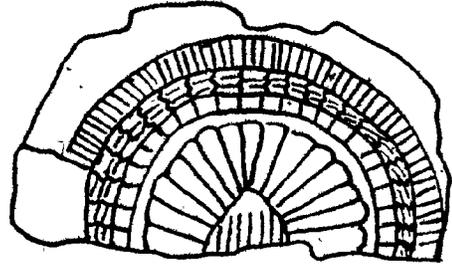
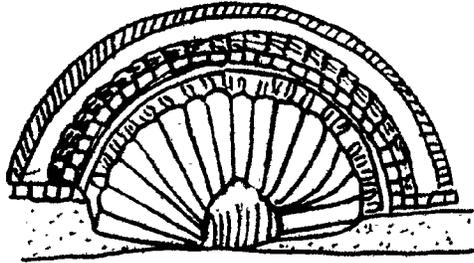


1:150



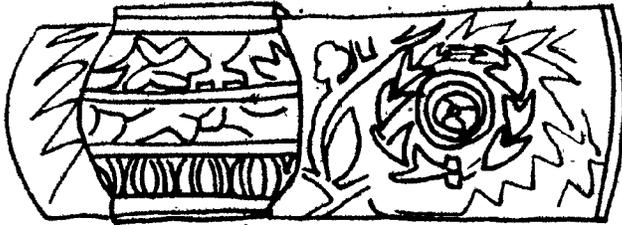
KOPAZIM

340



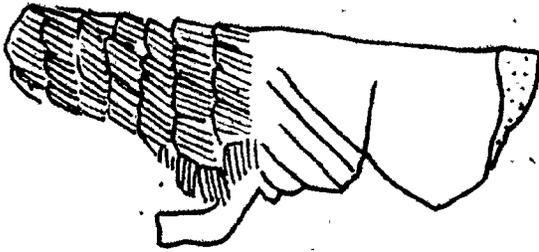
source: Goodenough,  
Symbols III:198

497

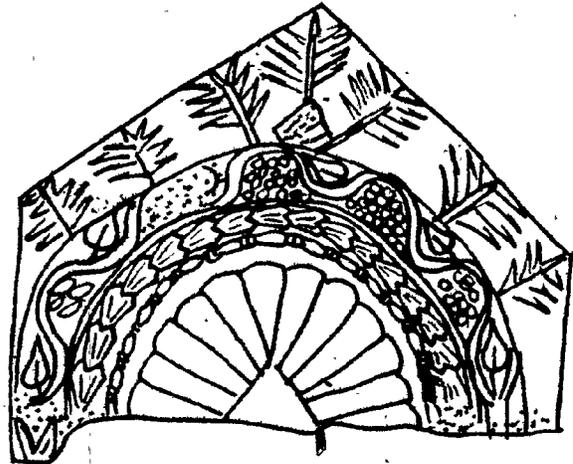


500

A



501.



502

KORAZIM



Shanks, 1979:73

*Sh*

## REHOV

Farwana  
Tulel Farwana  
Tell es Sarim

(Not to be confused with  
Rehovot/Peqi'in)

Rift Valley  
1967 2977  
Grid: B 4 1 6  
(4 km. S Beth Se'an)

## Primary Types Represented

Animal  
Geometric  
Floral  
Menorah  
Circle Surround  
Vegetable  
Floral

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Five phases:  
1. limestone relief (lion?)  
found near entrance.  
2. white mosaic pavement with  
black lines.  
3. polychrome mosaic with  
geometric patterns, possible  
figure?  
4. mosaic in process of  
installation. painted walls-  
red stripes on white ground,  
green frames on white,  
floral menorah, pillars  
have inscriptions in red  
paint on white ground with  
floral frame. Several  
inscriptions enclosed within  
tabulae ansatae, framed by  
wreaths tied with Hercules  
knot.

Chancel screen: 73 menorah  
within wreath tied with Hercules  
knot terminating in ivy leaves.  
Read of screen has four lilies  
issuing from amphora. border  
on two sides.

## Inscriptions:

...who contributed this lintel from their  
own and from public funds. Amen. Selah.  
lintel

...Yitzhok...Agrippa

...(talmudic inscription)

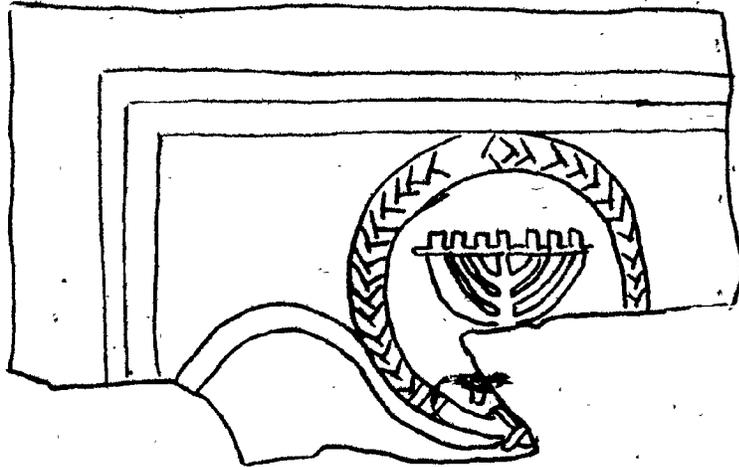
## Phase One

hebrew, aramaic, gives  
halakhic detail. For summary  
see Chiat, 1979:304-5.

## References:

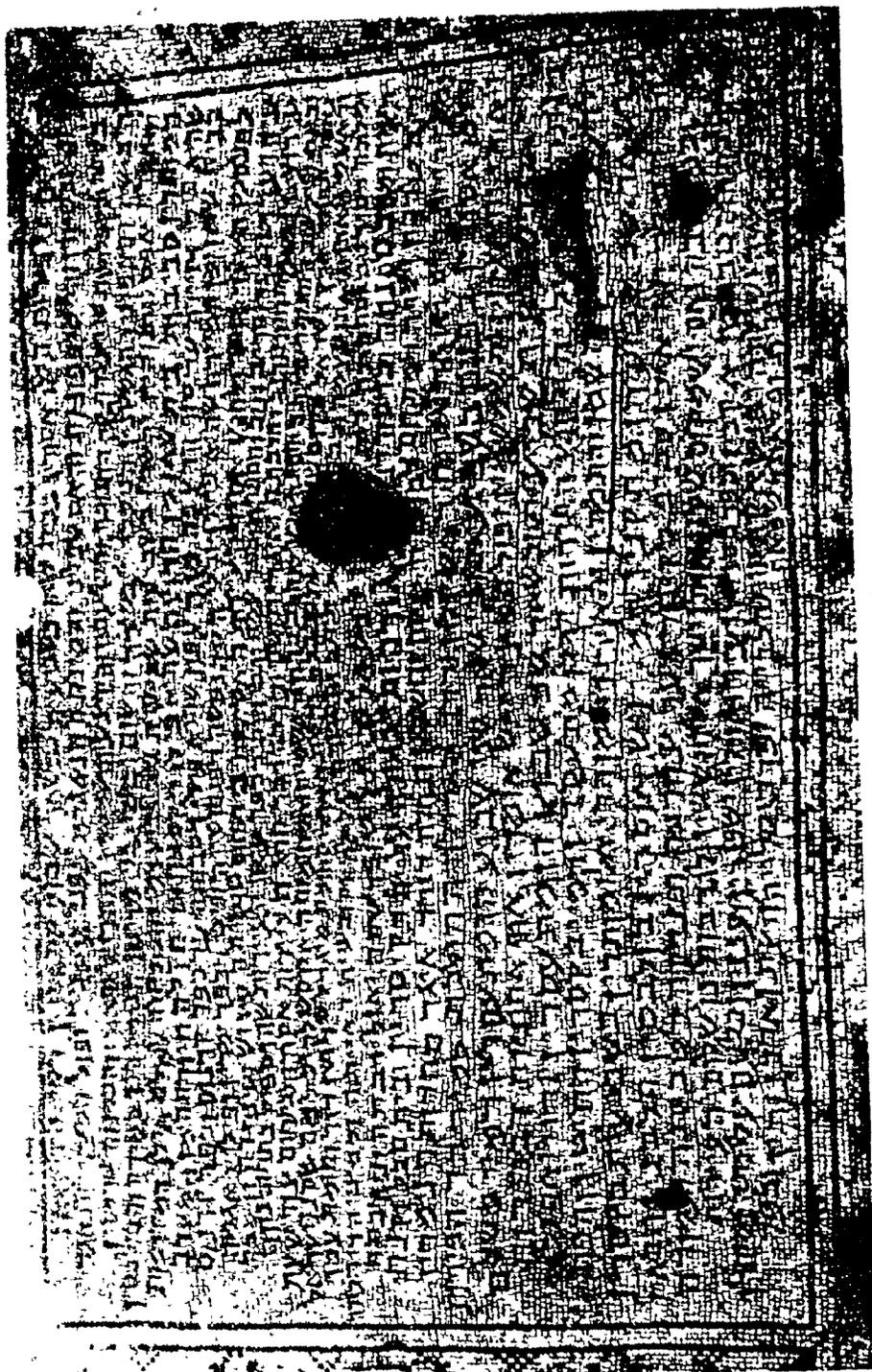
Chiat, 1979:204f  
Huttenmeister and Rees, 1977:369-376  
Saller, 1969:#85  
Shanks, 1979:47  
Levine, 1981:90-97, 146-153.

FIG. 10V



Standis, 1979:115

REHOV



Rehov—The largest synagogue inscription ever discovered and the oldest extant copy of a part of the Talmud. The inscription measures 9 x 12 feet. The text relates to laws of the sabbatical year and requirements of tithing.

Sepphoris  
Sippori  
Diocaesarea

Rift Valley  
1761 2799  
Chiat: B 2 2 6

Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Floral

Vegetable

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Capital-corinthian style.  
7b menorah on three faces.

Capital-cross in place of  
menorah

Green-marble, lotus capital  
menorah flanked by shofar,  
floral scroll, pomegranates,  
grapes

Stone block-menorah

Chair of Moses-

Inscriptions:

Honored be the memory of Jose, son of Tanhum  
son of Bitah, and his sons, who made this  
mosaic; may it be a blessing for them. Amen

aramaic, mosaic pavement

By Gelasios the scholastikos, the most illustrious  
Comes, the son of Aetios the Comes, by Judah the  
Archisynagogos, by Sidonios the Archisynagogos--  
these enclosure to the well-being (or in honor)  
of Janes (John) Aphros (Aphrodisias) the Archisynagogos  
of Tyre (or the Tyrian), the most illustrious...

Greek

References:

Chiat, 1979:177-178  
Avi-Yonah, JPOS 15(1934):39f.  
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:400-418

## TIBERIAS

Rift Valley  
Chiat; B 3 2 3

## Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Geometric

Vegetable

Fowl

Floral

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Several basalt stones carved with menorot, other had conch shells, and grape vine garlands. screen-marble, carved with lattice work pattern with circles emphasizing the intersecting points. A crudely carved 7b menorah placed in center of upper border of frame. It is flanked by two schematized birds. (heads defaced)

## Inscription

(Remem)bered for good and bless(ed)...  
Tor(ah). Amen

aramaic

May the Lord's goodness be on Abraham  
the marble worker

carved on the bottom part  
of an abacus. Lines separated  
by a rosette.

## References:

Foerster, IEJ 24, 3-4 (1974):196  
Schwabe, BIAJ 18 (1954):160-163  
Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:436  
Chiat, 1979:236-239

318

NORTHERN GALILEE/GOLAN

AD DIKKA  
 ed-Dik  
 ec-Dikkeh  
 ed-Likka

2088 2593  
 Northern Galilee/Golan  
 Chiat: G 8 3A 1

Primary Types Represented

Mythic  
 Vegetable  
 Fowl  
 Geometric

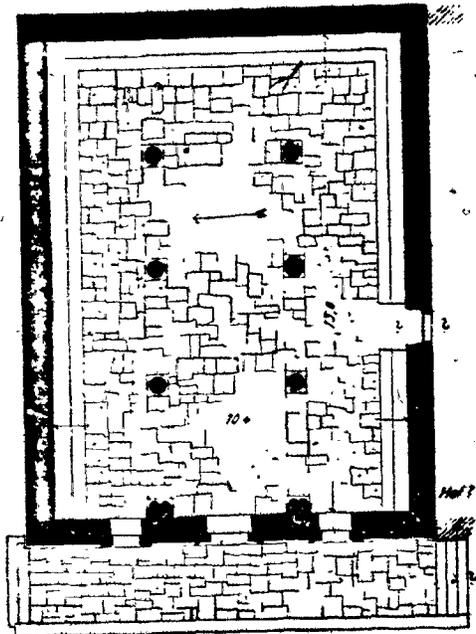
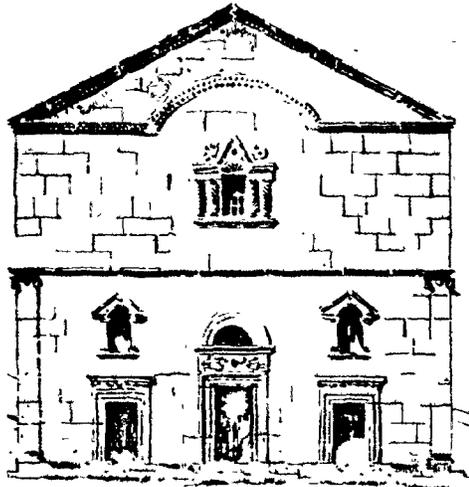
Descriptive Unit, Provenance

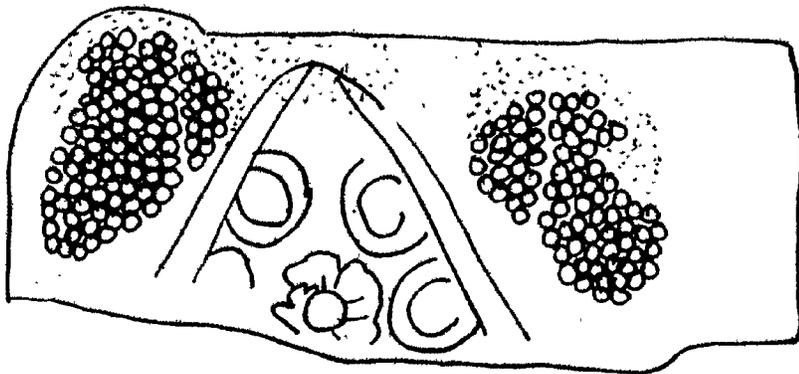
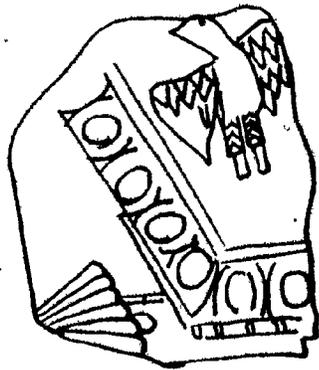
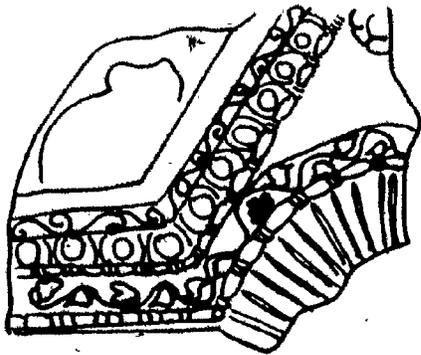
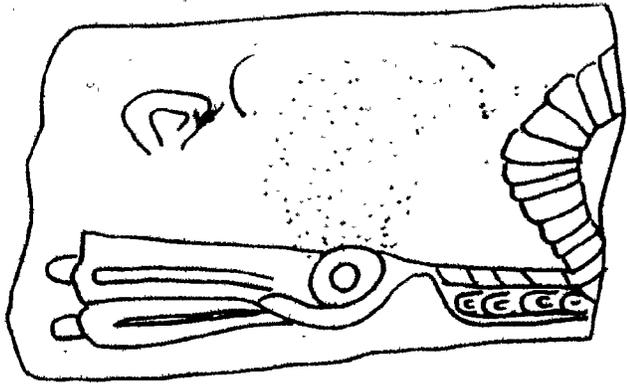
fragments of reliefs:  
 1. winged figures on lintel of  
 main entrance holding wreath/  
 garland.  
 2. Lintel, window, egg and  
 dart moulding, scallop.  
 // at Meiron. floral,  
 grape clusters.  
 3. window lintel, egg and  
 dart, vine and tendril,  
 scallop, rosette.  
 4. Avi-Yonah describes  
 fragments with colonettes,  
 scallop, gable corner with  
 dolphins, birds, grapes.  
 Scars of eagle, dolphin.

Inscriptions

References:

Avi-Yonah, 1978:1135  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:206, III:520-528  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:103-105  
 Kohl and Watzinger, 1916:112-124  
 Saller, 1969:#24  
 Sukenik, 1934:25





Source: ... ..

AL-AHMEDIYEH  
El-Ahmediyeh

Northern Galilee/Colan  
Chiat: G 2 2 1  
2160 2680

Primary Types Represented

Animal

Geometric

Floral

Fowl

Menorah

Increments

Inscriptions:

...

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Lintel in secondary use,  
decorated with 9B menorah  
flanked by a shofar, ethrog  
(?)

Stone decorated with part of  
a garland attached to a  
"bucranium" flanked by a  
bird and grape cluster.

Stone showing 7B menorah  
Architrave decorated with an  
amphora, grape vine, flowers.

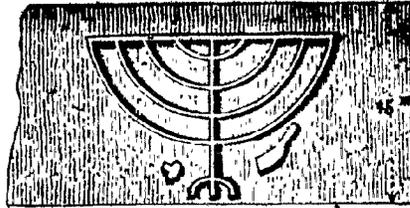
Aramaic

References:

Chiat, 1979:615-6  
Goodenough, Symbols I:222, III:577,578  
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:4-5  
Saller, 1969:#5

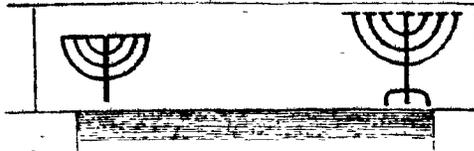
## AL-AMMUNIM

577. Stone from synagogue, el-Ahmediyeh, Palestine (I, 222)



K77

577. Stone from synagogue, el-Ahmediyeh, Palestine (I, 222)



578. Stone from synagogue, el-Ahmediyeh (I, 222)

ALMA

'Alma

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 1962 2735  
 Chiat: B 1 2 1

Primary Types Represented

Vegetable

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

inscribed lintel decorated  
 with three rows of ornamental  
 leaves, six petalled rosettes.

Inscription:

May there be peace upon this place and  
 upon all the places of His people Israel...  
 Amen, Selah, I Jose the son of  
 Levi the Levite the craftsman who made...

hebrew

aramaic

...nh from Tiberias  
 the making (or donating?) of the lintel...  
 May the King of the World...

aramaic

References:

Chiat, 1979:99-101  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:9-11  
 Naveh in Levine, 1981:137

AR-RAMA  
 Ar-Ramah  
 Er-Ramah

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 Chiat: B 1 2 L  
 18h 260

Primary Types Represented

Mythic

Circle Surround

Geometric

Descriptive Units, Provenance

Lintel-poorly preserved  
 winged figures flanking wreath.  
 double meander

Inscriptions:

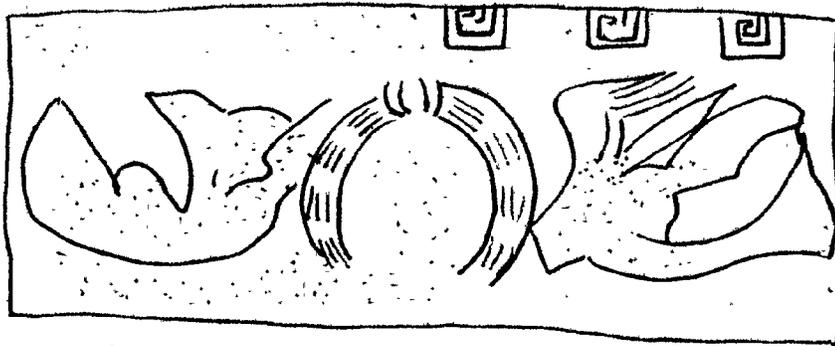
In grateful memory of Rabbi Eliezer, son of  
 Teodor who built this house as a guest house/  
 ...is dead (or buried) in front of the gate.

aramaic

References

Chiat, 1979:106-107  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:213, III:555, 553  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:367-369

Ar-Rama 355



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:555

SARAM A  
 Birim  
 Kafr Bir'm  
 Kafr Berein

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 Chiat: B 1 1 2  
 1901 2721

Primary Types Represented

Animal  
 Geometric  
 Circle Surround  
 Floral  
 Marine  
 Mythic  
 Vegetable  
 Human

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

central portal has three entries. Parallel mouldings on door posts and lintel. Defaced pair of winged figures holding wreath of olive leaves with Hercules knot. Frieze above lintel shows stylized vine scroll. Architrave surmounted by arch with series of mouldings in semi-circle. Blocks on either side of doorway show defaced figurative reliefs. West portal-line mouldings on posts and lintel, stylized vine scroll and cross hatched lintel (Lozenges?) above lintel. East portal-bay leaf frieze, similar to Palmyra. Window above as vine scroll and rosette. Frieze-meander relief. (As per Sukenik. Frey-lintel, Goodenough-screen) zodiac motif, swastika, scale of judgement, amphora, centaur scallop, bull, human head and shoulders, sheep, petal and leaf combinations, within meander pattern.

Inscriptions:

Built by El'azar son of Yudah

Hebrew (now lost)  
 Stone under window above east portal.

References:

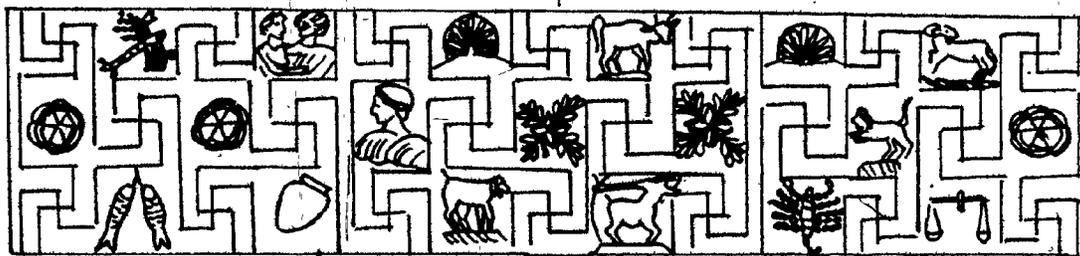
Amiran, IEJ 6(1956):239-245  
 Avi-Yonah, 1978:704-707  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:202, III:505-510-14

## BARAM A

## References-continued

- Chiat, 1979:70-76  
Kohl and Watzinger, 1916:199,510-514  
Hyttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:31-38  
Saller, 1969:36#47  
Shanks, 1979:64-5, 74  
Suknik, 1934:71,26

35c  
BARAM

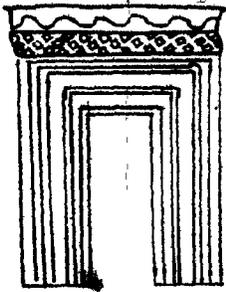
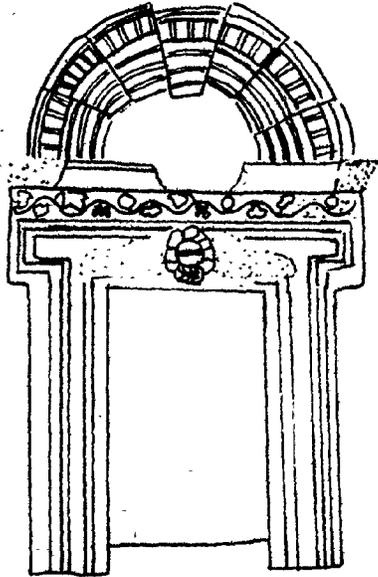


Source: Goodenough,  
Symbols III:513,515

360

BAR'AM

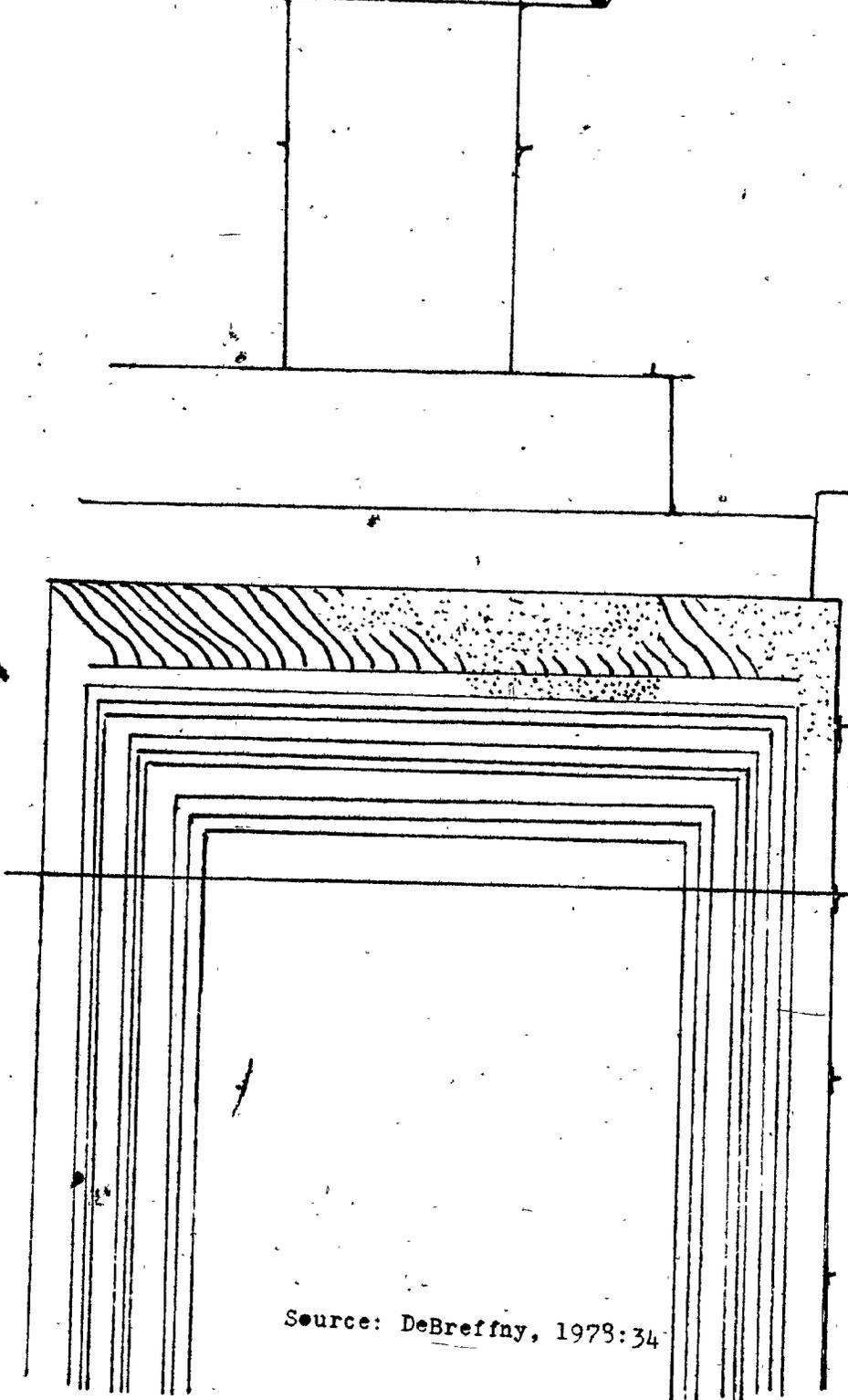
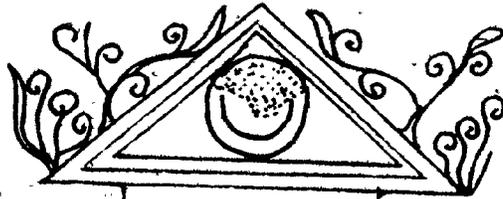
137



Source: Shanks, 1979:

361

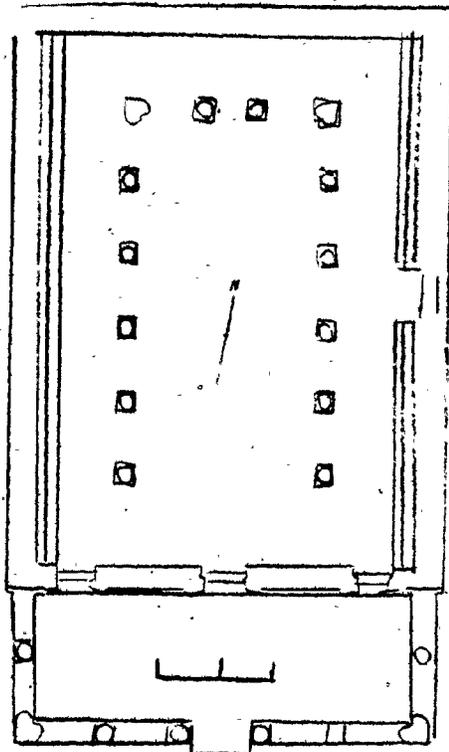
BAR'AM



Source: DeBrefny, 1978:34

362

BAR'AM



Source: Avi-Yonah, 1978: Vol. III: 707

BAR'AM B  
 Birim  
 Kafr Bir'm  
 Kefer Berein

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 1901 2721  
 Chiat: B 1 2 6

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Circle surround

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

lintel and door posts-parallel  
 mouldings. winged figures  
 (defaced) flank wreath with  
 internal rosette. Upper lintel  
 has curvilinear design, above  
 vertical parallel lines.

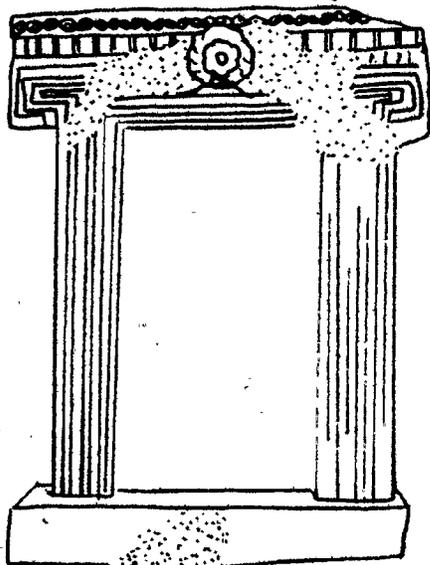
Inscriptions:

May there be peace in this place and  
 in all places of Israel. Jose the Levite  
 the son of Levi made this linte. May blessing  
 come upon his (this) deeds. Peace!

References:

Chiat, 1979:111-113  
 Hestrin, 1960  
 Naveh in Levine, 1901:137  
 Avigad, 1960:137

Kefar Bar'am B



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:

DALTON

Horvat Dalton

Northern Galilee/Golan

1970 2698

Chiat: B 1 2 3

Primary Types Represented

Vegetable

Geometric

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

Window gable with grapevine

scallop. (similar to Mevoraya)

Inscriptions:

(Lines 1-3 illegible)

Mercy.../Great...// His memory for good.../

...His memory for good...Blessing, amen, selah

Shalom (?)

Stone was inscribed with  
 sixteen lines in Hebrew on  
 obverse. Five illegible  
 lines on reverse.

References:

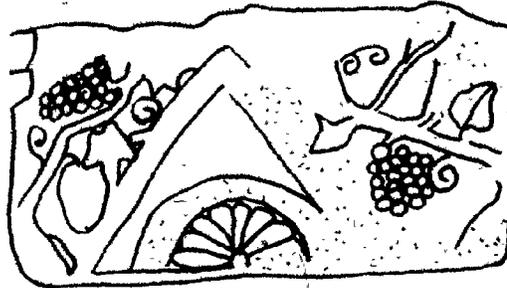
Chiat, 1979:104-5

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:96-98

Saller, 1969:#48

Goodenough, Symbols III:588 (v)

DALTON



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:588

GUS HALAV  
 Gush Halav  
 Giscala  
 el-Jish  
 al-Gis

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 1920-2701  
 Chiat: B 1 1 1

Primary Motif Types Represented

Fowl

Vegetable

Geometric

Descriptive Unit/Provenance

lintel-eagle with garland on  
 underside of lintel. Circles  
 at end of garland.

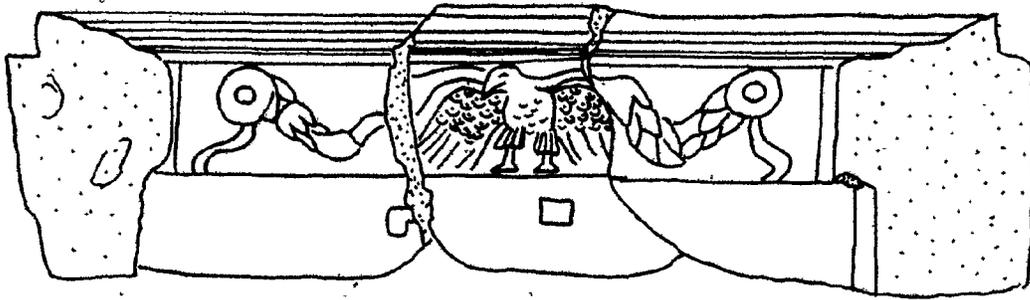
Inscriptions:

Jose son of Nahum/ made this (column)/  
 May it be for him/ a blessing | aramaic, on column

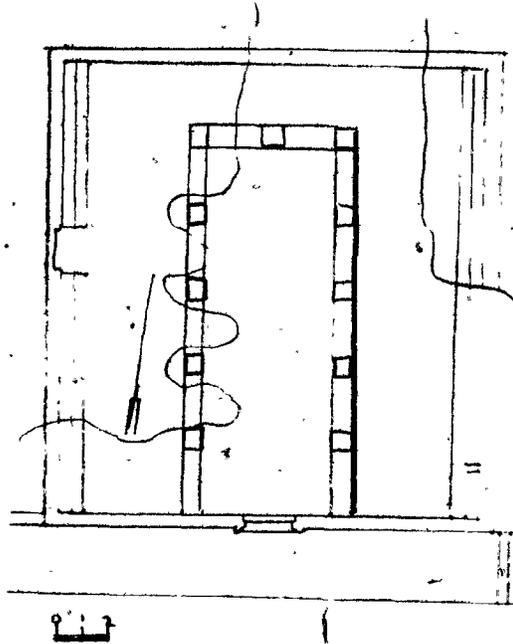
References:

Avi-Yonah, 1978:1135  
 Chiat, 1979:60-69  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:246-7  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:522 (p)  
 Meyers and Strange, BASOR 250(1976):1-24  
 Meyers, IEJ 27 (1977):253 - 254  
 Meyers, 1979:44  
 Meyers, BA 1980:101  
 Saller, 1969:#48  
 Shanks, 1979:76

GUS HALAV A

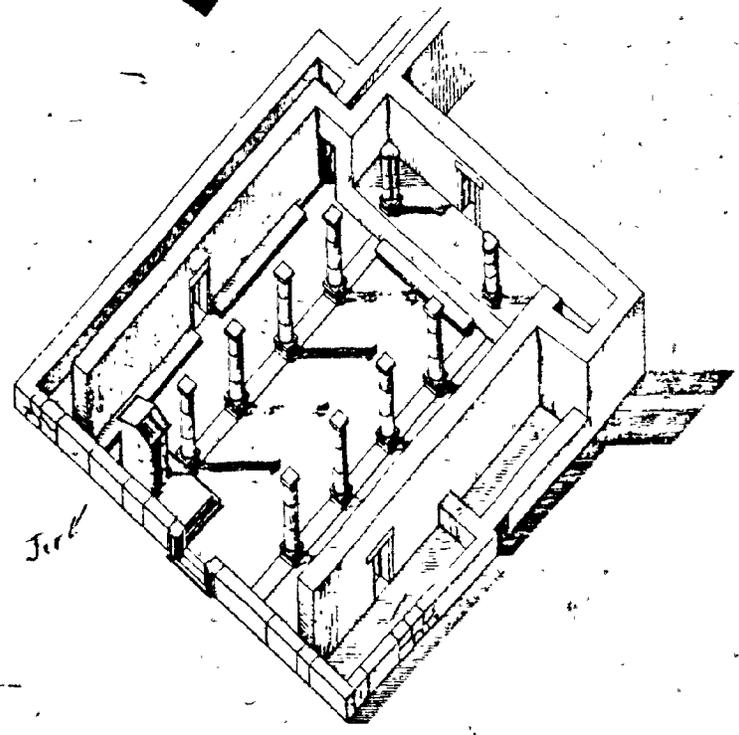
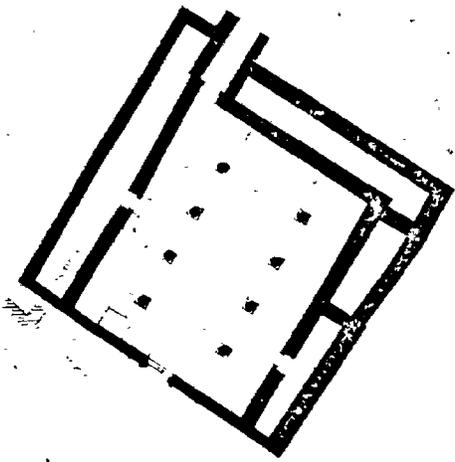
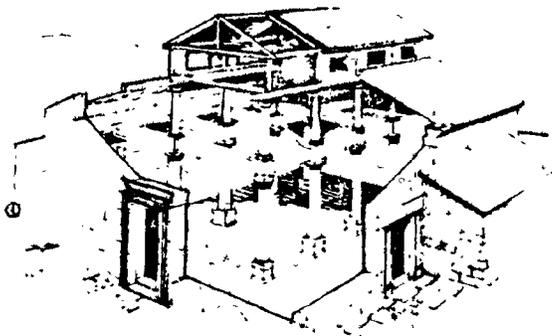


Source: Goodenough, Symbols III: 522



Avi-Yonah, 1978, Encyclopedia I:

369



J. C. C.

Meyers, 1980:101

Horvat Rafid  
 Er-Rafid  
 ar-Rafid

(not to be confused with  
 Ar-Rafid 2105 2675  
 Rafid 2345 2625)

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 2092 2624  
 Chiat: G 2 (no reference)  
 (500 m. east of Jordan R.)

Primary Types Represented

Descriptive Unit/ Provenance

Marine

lintel-two crossed fish,  
 stylized acanthus leaves.

Animal

lintel-gable with flanking  
 animals, motif in pediment  
 is defaced.

Geometric

egg and dart, curvilinear,  
 scallop.

Vegetable

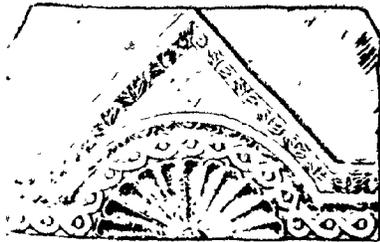
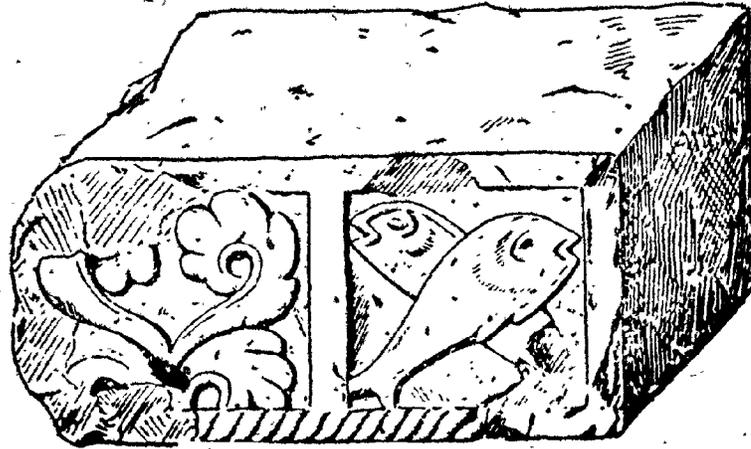
lintel-similar to above without  
 figures.

lintel-scallop and curvilinear  
 arch.

Inscriptions:

References:

Goodenough, Symbols III: 538-541  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977: 365-6



Symbols III:538-541

Khirbet Kanef  
 MaZra'at Kanaf  
 Kanaf  
 Kanif (?)

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 Chiat: G 8 (no reference)  
 2145 2531

Primary Motif Types Represented

Geometric

Circle

Vegetable

Descriptive Unit/ Provenance

Eight-pointed star enclosing  
 circle with sunburst centre.  
 egg and dart vegetable  
 incised motifs.

Carved stone-scallop centre,  
 geometric swastika, fruit  
 motifs follow curvilinear  
 line.

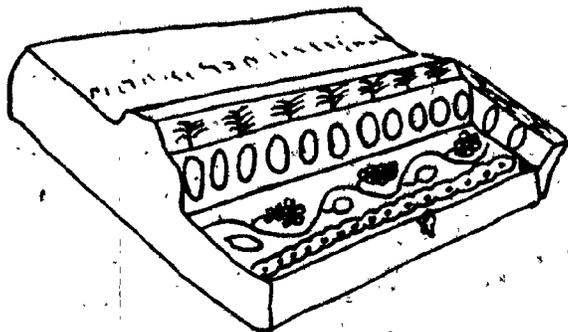
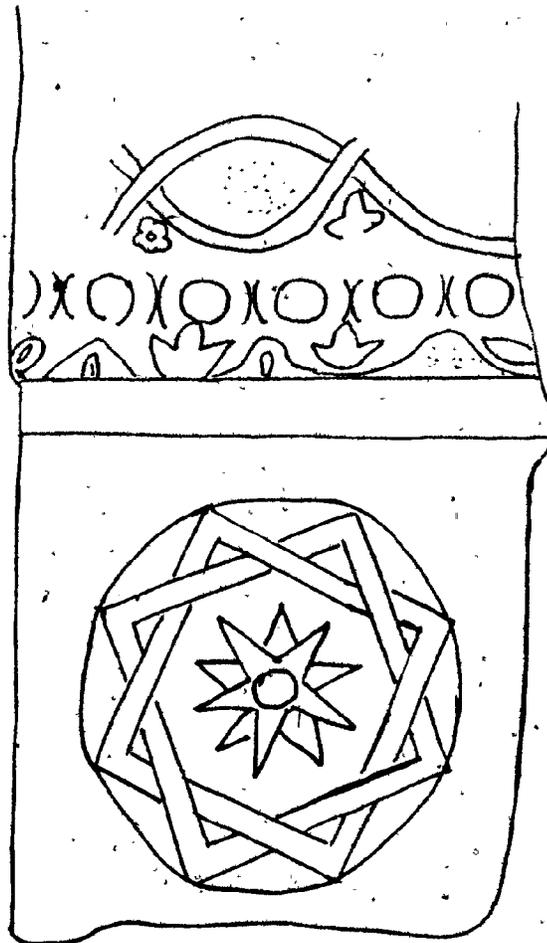
Lintel-egg and dart, vine  
 scroll, torus (//Fahma)

Inscriptions:

References:

Goodenough, Symbols IPI: 547, 553, 549

KHIRBET KANEF



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III: 547, 549, 553

KHIRBET SEMA  
 Khirbet Shema  
 Teqa'

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 1915, 26h6  
 Chiat: B 1 1 3

Primary Types Represented

Fowl

Circle Surround

Menorah

Floral

Descriptive Unit/Provenance

Phase I: eagle incised on  
 doorpost of west wall, menorah  
 fragment on lamp base.

Rosettes on capital

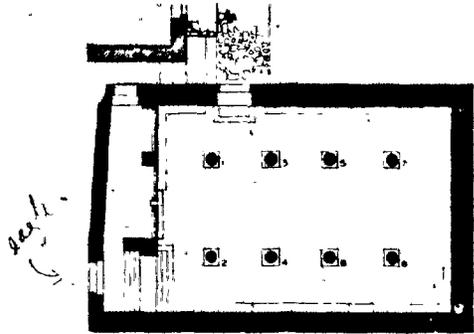
Phase II: lintel over north  
 entrance-menorah in high relief.  
 West room has fresco with  
 geometric designs in red and  
 white.

Inscriptions:

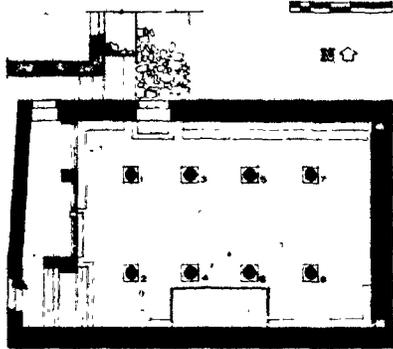
References:

- Avi-Yonah, 1978:1095  
 Chiat, 1979:77-85  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:367-9  
 Levine, 1981:70-79 (p)  
 Meyers, 1976:48  
 Meyers, 1980:104  
 Meyers, et als BA 35(1972):2-31  
 Meyers, et als AASOR 42(1976) (o)

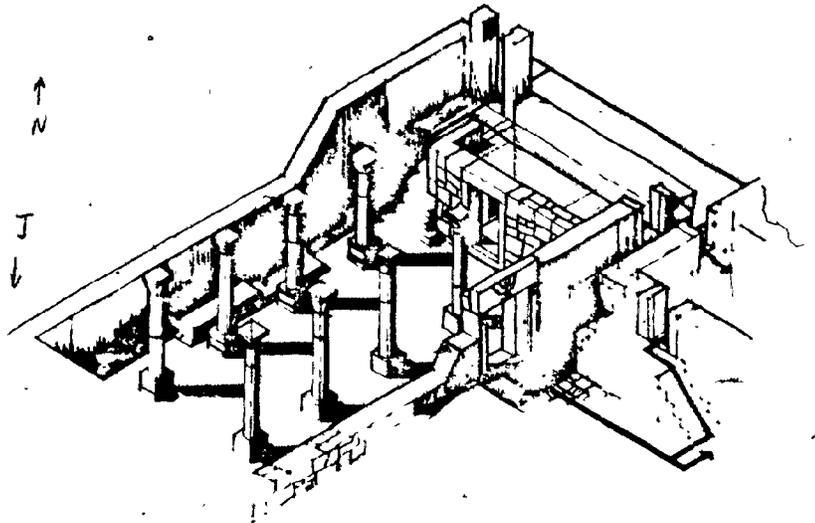
Khirbet Sema



Synagogue I



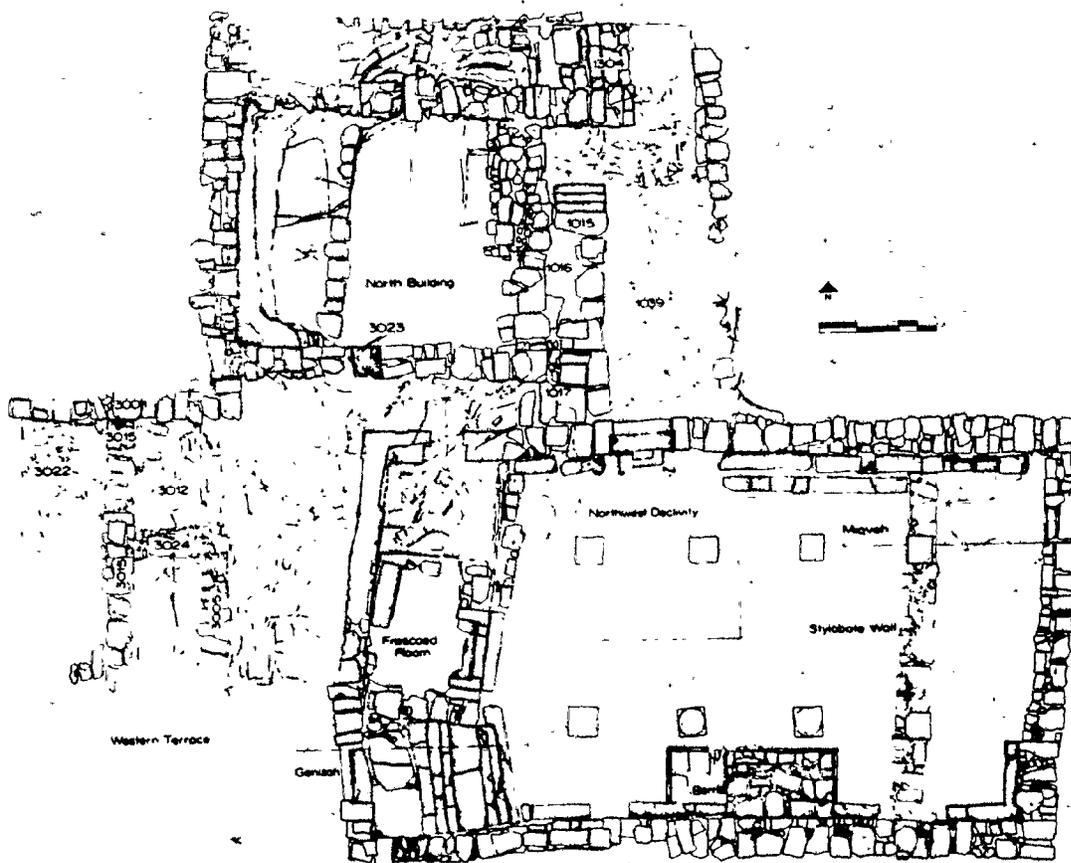
Synagogue II



Left: Two phases of Khirbet Sema<sup>s</sup> synagogue. Right: Isometric reconstruction of Khirbet Sema<sup>s</sup> synagogue showing traffic patterns.

Source: Meyers, 1980:98

Khirbet Sema



Source: Meyers, Kraabel, and Strange, 1970:83

KHIRBET SEMA



Meyers, 1976:46

KITSYON

Northern Galilee/Golan  
(near Safed)

Primary Types Represented

Descriptive Unit/ Provenance

## Inscriptions:

For the welfare of our lords, the emperors  
 Lucius Septimius Severus (the empress Julia Domna)  
 Marcus Aurelius, Antonius (Caracalla) and Lucius  
 Septimius Geta, his sons, a dedication ex voto of the Jews.

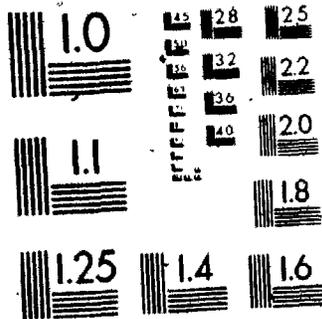
## References:

Avi-Yonah, 1976:77

Renan, E. Mission de Phenicie. Paris 1864:774

# 5 5

OF / DE



Merod  
Meiron

Northern Galilee/Colan  
1919:2654  
Chiat: 3114

Primary Types Represented

Geometric

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

lintel-parallel mouldings in  
classical style.

Inscriptions:

Made by Shalom son of Levi

References:

Avi-Yonah, 1978:862

Chiat, 1979:86-93

Goodenough, Symbols I:200, III:506, 543

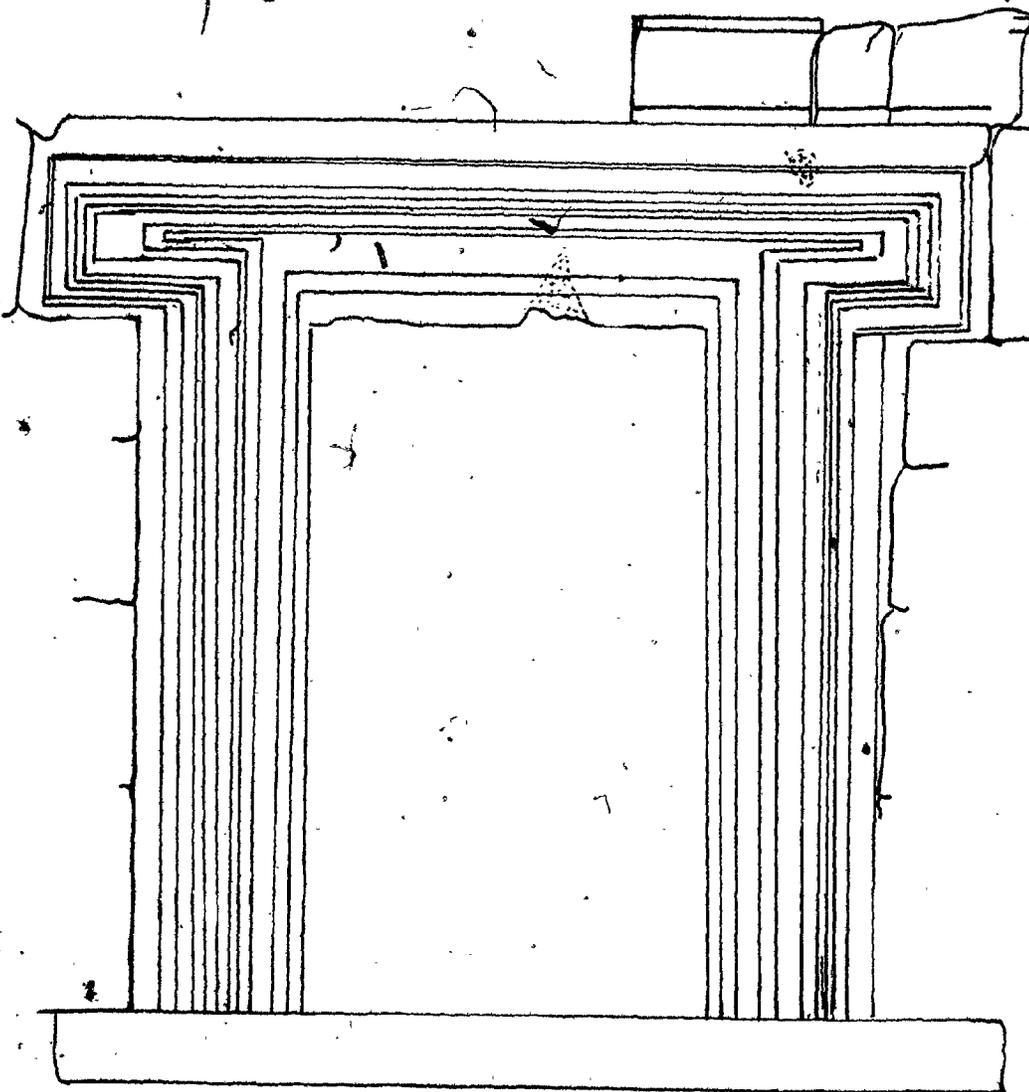
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:311-314 (p)

Kohl and Matzinger, 1916:80-88

Sailer, 1969:49#77 (p)

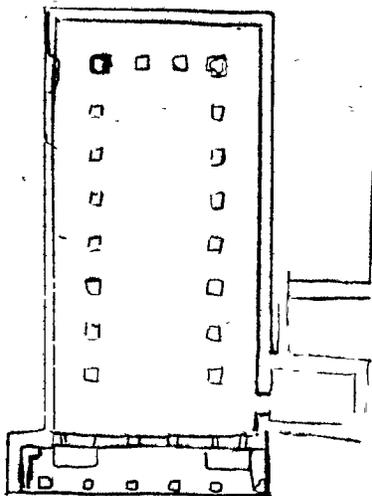
Shanks, 1979:75

MEIRON



DeBref fny, 1978: back cover

MEIRON



Avi-Yonah, Encyclopédia III, 1979:859

## Nevoraya

Nabratein A  
En Nabratein  
Kefar Niburaya

Northern Galilee/Golan  
1978 2675  
Chiat: B 1 1 5

Primary Types Represented	Descriptive Unit/ Provenance
Vegetable	Lintel-south portal has bay or laurel frieze above wreath tied with hercules knot. Encloses a menorah in relief. Dated inscription along mouldings.
Circle surround	"ark"- gable has two rampart lions in flanking position.
Menorah	egg and dart mouldings, rosette in centre of acroteria, scallop; has hole for lamp.
Animal	Lintel-pulvinated frieze with dentilated, parallel notches. grape vine issuing from anchora.
Geometric	column pedestal-running mare on front and a lion? on rear. (defaced)
Floral	

## Inscriptions:

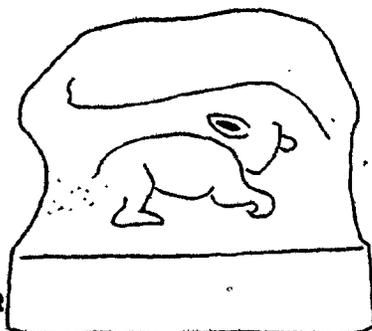
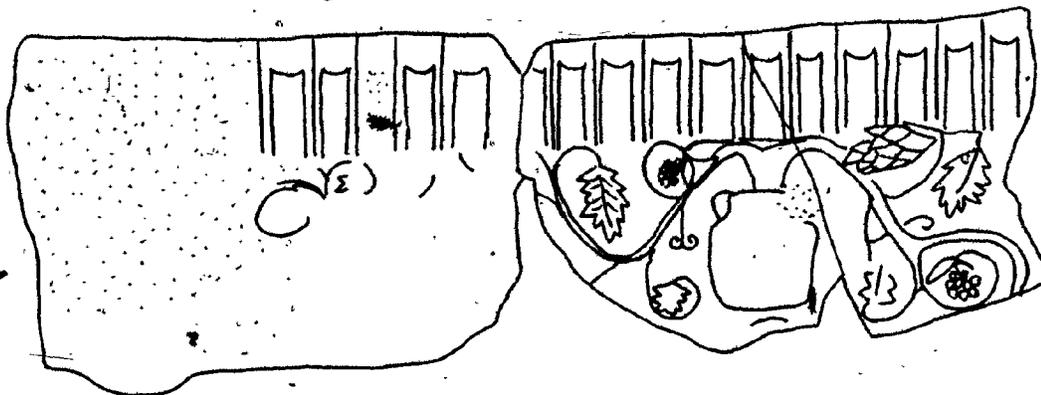
(According) to the number four hundred and ninety four years after the destruction (of the Temple) the house was built during the office of Hanina son of Lezer and Luliana son of Yudan.

(564 C.E.)

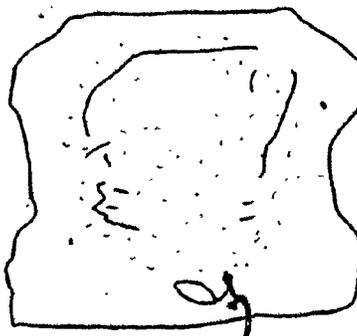
hebrew

## References:

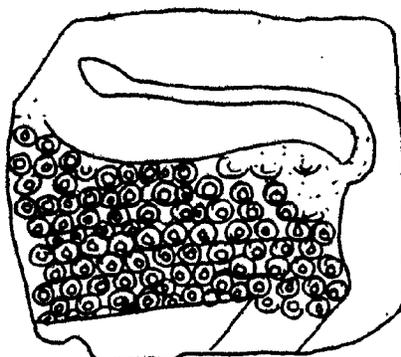
- Chiat, 1979:96  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:517,518,523 (p)  
 Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:347  
 Levine, 1981:15 (p)  
 Meyers, Strange, Meyers, BA 44#4 (Fall 1981):237-243.  
 Meyers, ASOR News 1980:4  
 Meyers, Strange, Meyers. BASOR 246(1983):35-54 Spring  
 Sukenik, 1951:pl. xiii (p)



front



rear

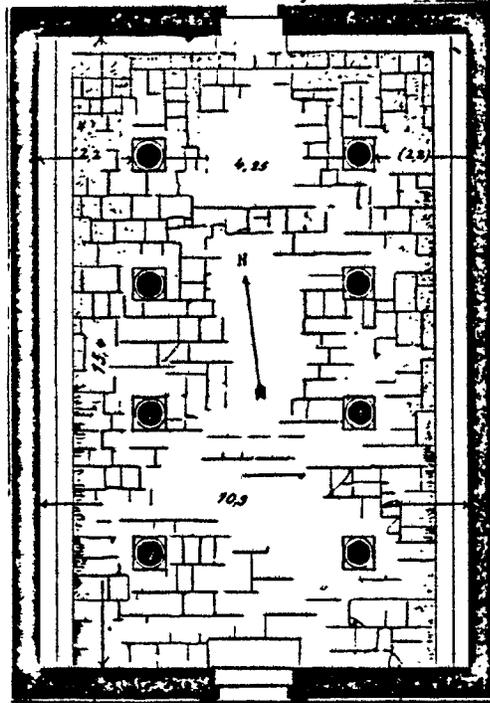


5.

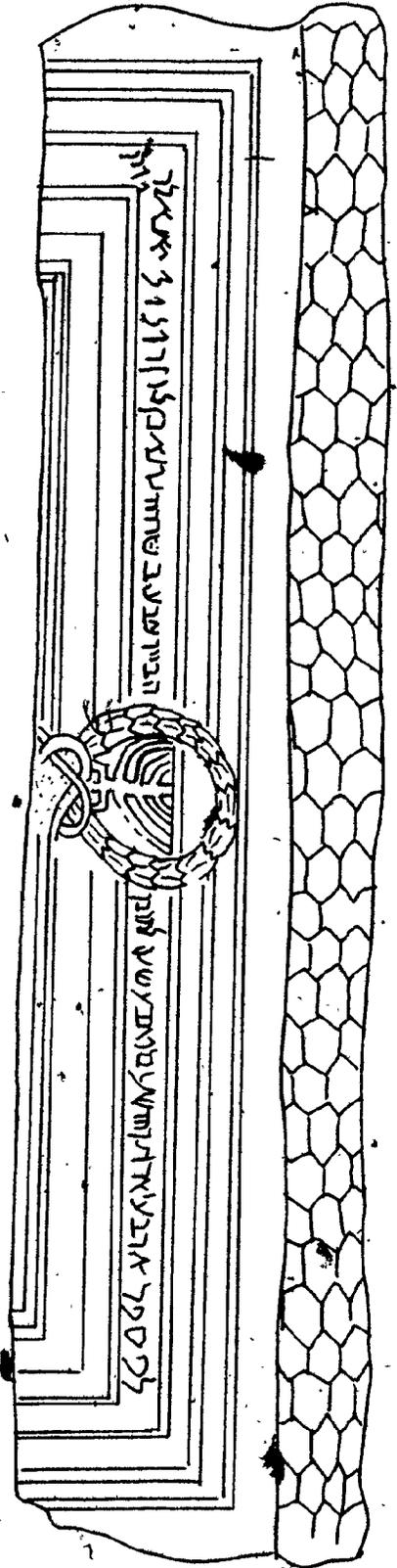
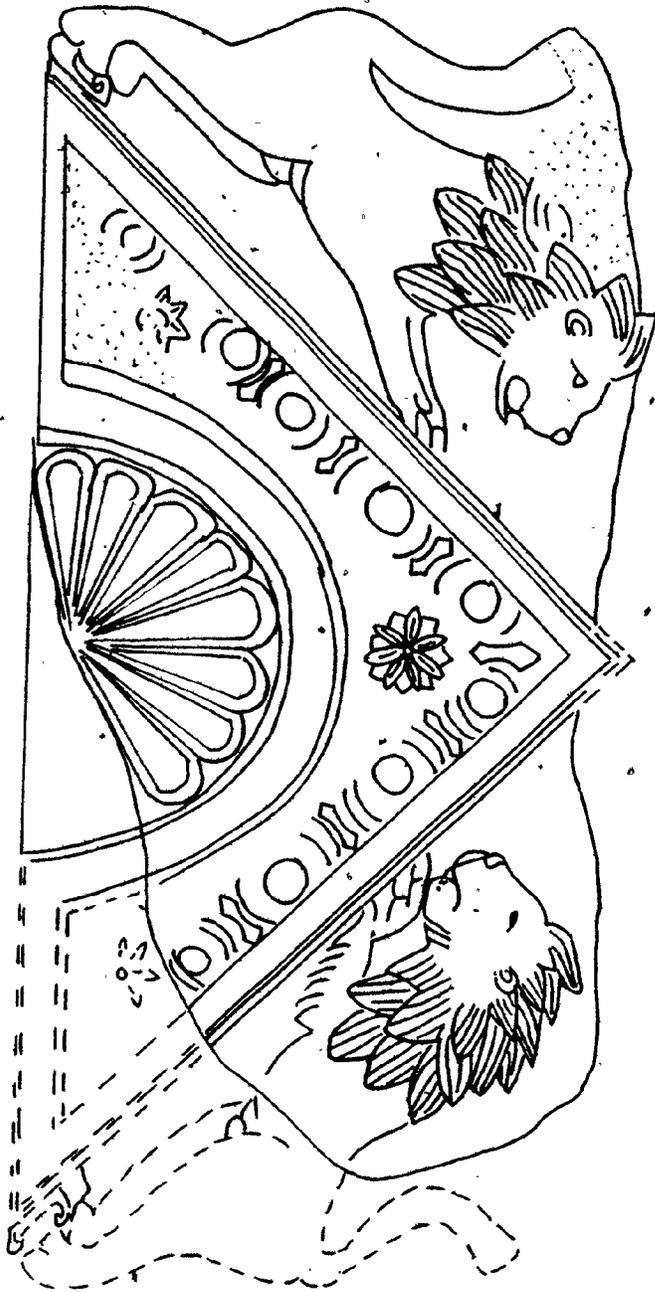
Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:516,517,523

Neveraya

384



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:504



Peqi'in (in Galilee)  
 al-Buqu'em  
 El-Buqar  
 Rehovot

(not to be confused with Rehovot,  
 Peqi'in in the shefela 7.118)

Northern Galilee/Golan  
 161 264

Chiat: B 1 2 7  
 (15 km W. Sefat)

Primary Types Represented

Menorah

Increments

Torah Shrine

Geometric

Inscriptions:

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

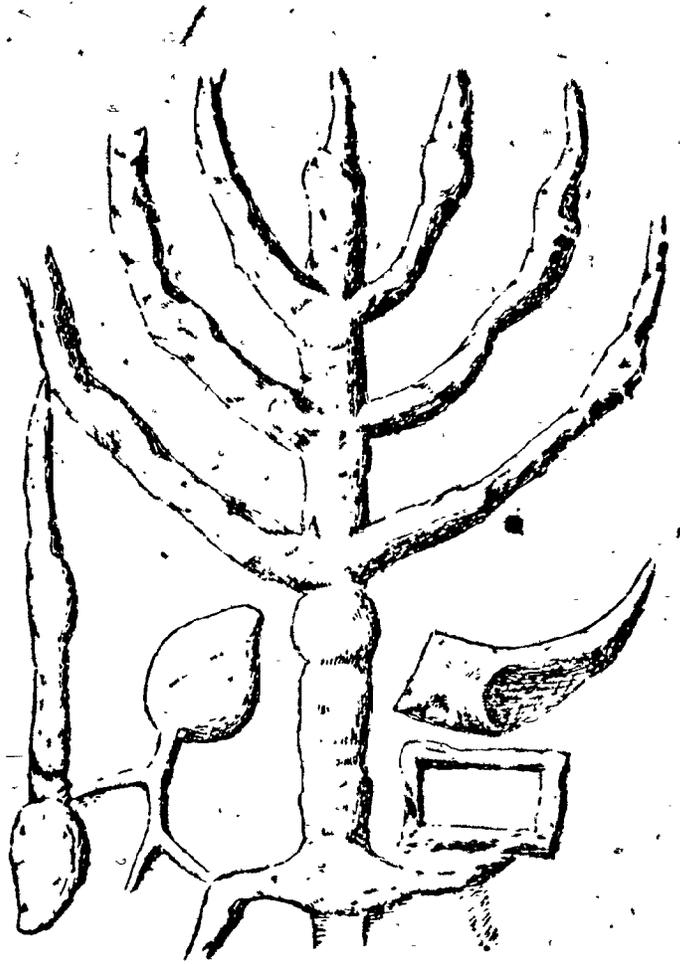
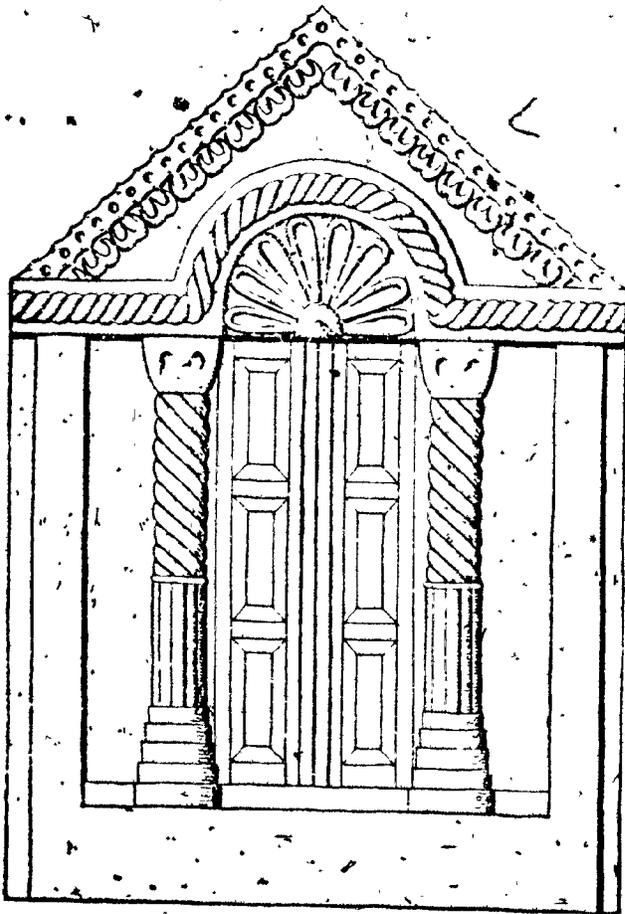
lintel-decorated with 5B  
 menorah "various geometric  
 motifs."

carvings on stone.

on stone.

References:

Chiat, 1979:114-5  
 Hattenmeister and Reeg, 1977:350-3  
 Goodenough, Symbols III:572-3 (p)



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:572,573

SIFBUHA

Safsafa

Sufsaf

Sasef

Northern Galilee/Golan

Chiat: B 1 38 2

1919 26cl

(7 Km. NW Safef)

Primary Types Represented

Circle Surround

Vegetable

Geometric

Floral

Animal

Descriptive Unit, Provenance

The lintel...was decorated by a wreath tied with a hercules knot flanked by bucranium. The entire composition was enclosed within a highly stylized grape vine with ogee type curves. The niche above the lintel was enclosed within decorated voussoirs, however they did not fit the niche...The shell within the niche was hinged at the bottom.

(Chiat)

Inscriptions:

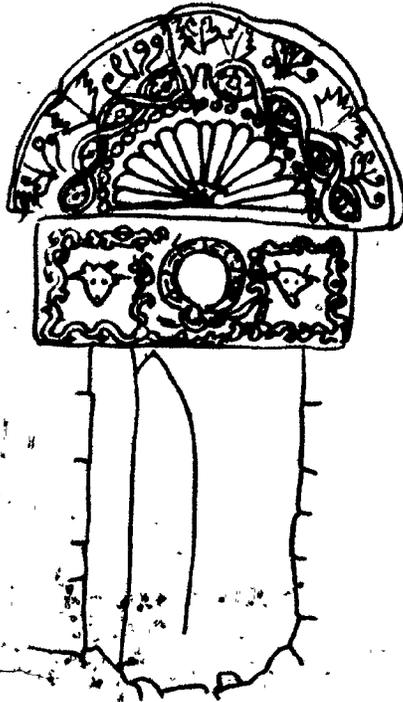
References:

Chiat, 1979:137-8

Goodenough, Symbols I:211, III:101, 54b (p)

Huttenmeister and Keeg, 1977:392-393

Saller, 1969:#95



Source: J. H. Brown, Jr., p. 11:54

Umm al Qanatir  
Umm al Kanatir  
Umm el-Kanatir

Northern Galilee/Golan  
2195 2506  
Chiat: 3 4 3B 2

Primary Types Represented

Powl

~~Animal~~

Geometric

Vegetable

Descriptive Unit/ Provenance.

decorated stones found in front  
of facade-eagle Relief, fore-  
quarters of a lion.

Triangular slab cut in shape of  
arch and decorated with  
mouldings.

Fragment of a niche and window  
frame decorated with a vine  
scroll and grape clusters,  
and an eagle with spread wings.

Fragment of a cornice decorated  
with egg and dart moulding.

Inscriptions:

References:

Avi-Yonah, 1970:113b

Chiat, 1979:660-690

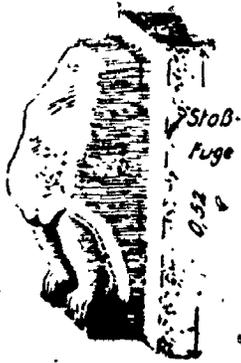
Jordanough, Symbols I:206-207, III:532-534 (p)

Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:465-468

Levine, 1951:101,106 (p)

Saller, 1969:#109

Sukenik, JPOS 13(1935)172-174

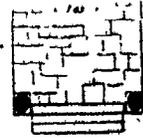
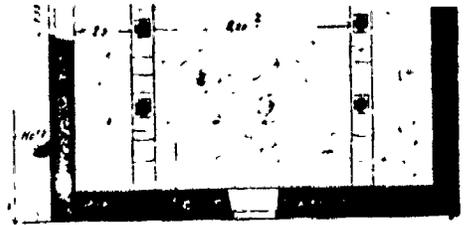


Stoß-  
Fuge

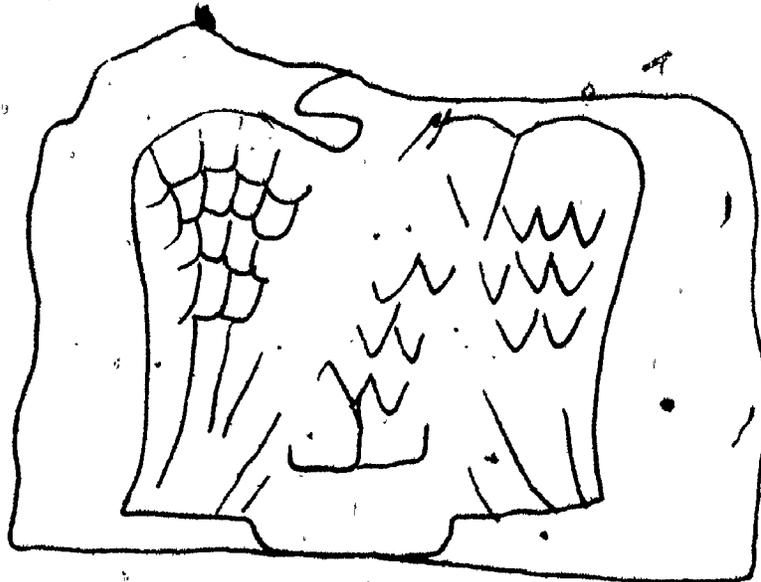
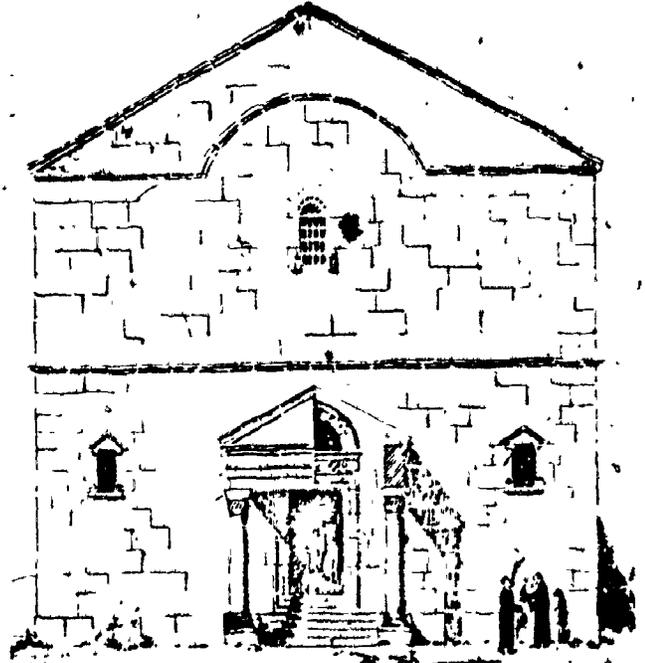
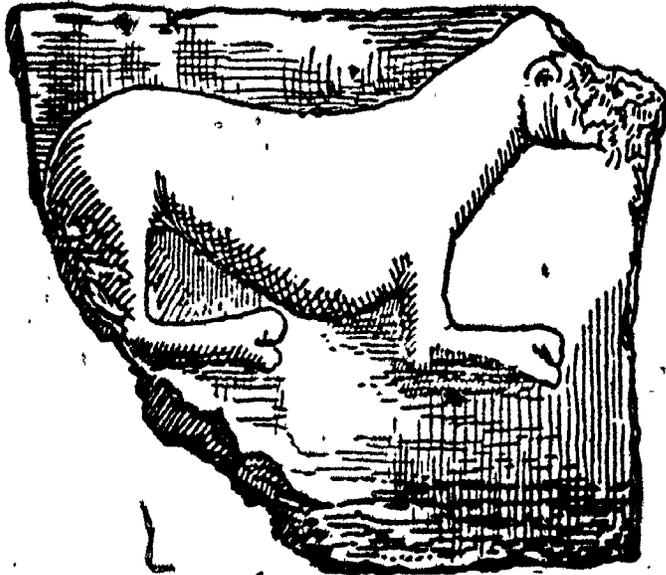


glatte  
Ansicht

rauh  
Stoß-  
Fuge

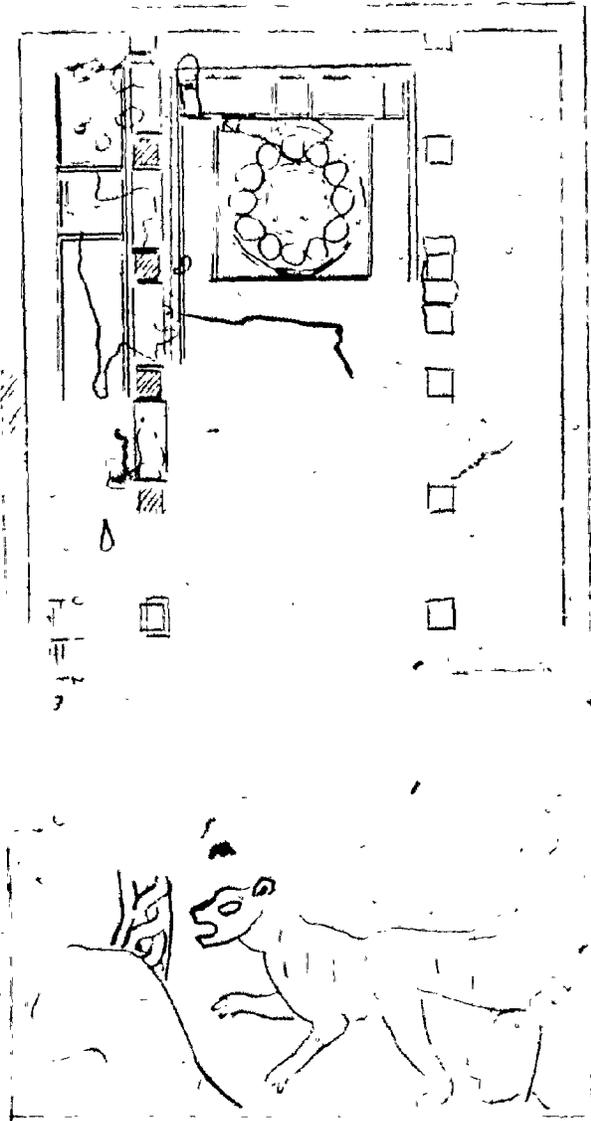


53:



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:533,534,530,531,532

YAFIA



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:994, .990

WEST GALILEE/JERPEL VALLEY

BETH EL'APIM  
 Beth Shearim  
 Sheikh Abreiq  
 est-Sheikh Ibreiq

West Galilee/Jezreel Valley  
 1625 2343  
 Chiat: 3 2 1 2

Primary Motif Types

Animal

Vegetable

Marine

Descriptive Unit/ Provenance

Two Phases:

I. Fragments of an architrave resembling catacomb 1h. Capitals and bases similar to catacombs 11, 1h  
 II. painted interior walls. Marble fragments with inscription and decorations. Relief of two trees, an unidentified animal and a fish. Second fragment may contain a portion of a zodiac

Inscriptions:

(16 greek, 1 hebrew-fragmentary)

Rabbi Samuel who arranges (the limbs of the dead) and of Judah who lays out the corpse.

greek, marble slabs in small room adjoining NW side of synagogue.

Jacob from Caesarea, the head of the synagogue, of Pamphylia, Shalom.

greek

"...jos, son of Galus dedicated (this)..."

greek

References:

- Avi-Yonah, 1970:247  
 Chiat, 1973:155-151  
 Avigad, 1976  
 Huttenmeister, and Reeg, 1977:66-72  
 Goodenough, Symbols I:205f, III:545, 535 (p)  
 Saller, 1969:62#100 (p)  
 Sukenik, 1949:16. pl. xii (p)

## Usfiya

Usfiya  
Esfia  
Husifa

West Galilee/Jezreel Valley  
1565 2360  
Chiat: C 2.1 2  
(13 km. SE Haifa) --

## Primary Types Represented

Human

Vegetable

Fowl

Membran

Instruments

Animal

Marine

Mythic

## Descriptive Unit, Provenance

pavement of main hall of blue marble and green glass. border of mosaic is dentils. interrupted in west by three square panels containing 1. wreath framing hebrew inscription. 2. menorah, shofar, lulab, ehrog and shovel in each of side panels.

Main field is three unequal panels. The west panel contains an inscription, the center a vine trellis enclosing birds. Two heraldic peacocks above inscription. (Parallels - at Bet Ouvrin, Jaza A) East panel has a fragment of a mosaic zodiac, Sagittarius to Aries. the horns of Capricorn, Aquarius is shown as a large amphora spilling water, the rine of Pisces and two legs of Aries. Autumn is placed next to motifs appropriate to spring.

(// at Naaran, Beth Alpha)

## Inscriptions:

Peace upon Israel

within wreath  
hebrew

...and blessed be...Halifu the wife of  
the Raobi...Honoured be the memory of  
everyone who promised and gave his donation  
be he blessed...Honoured be the memory.  
Honoured be the memory of Josiah who gave.

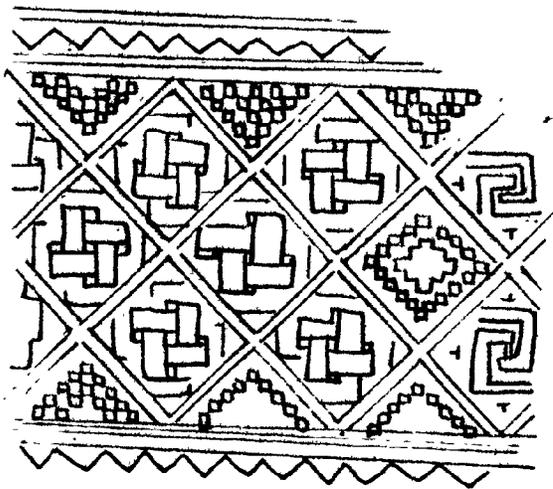
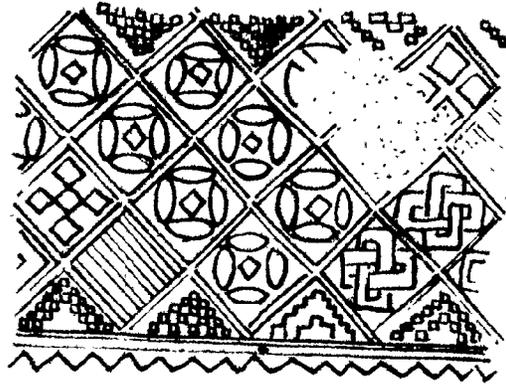
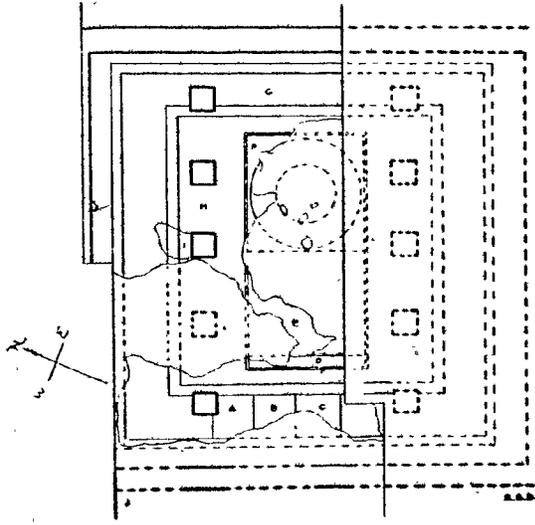
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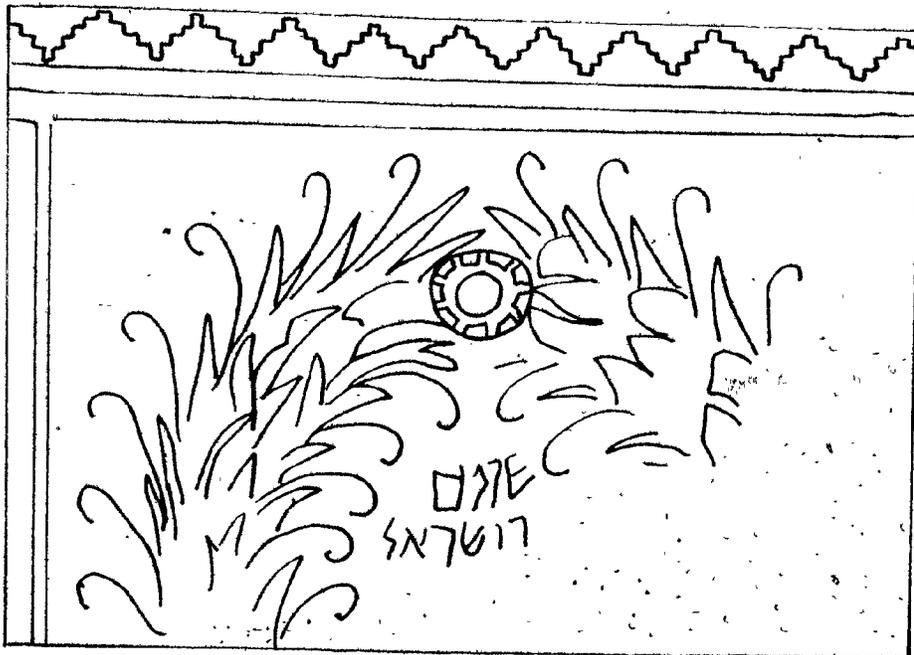
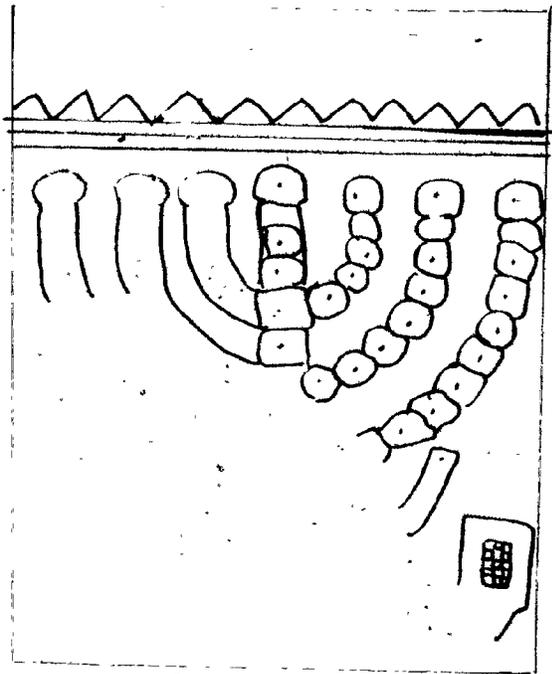
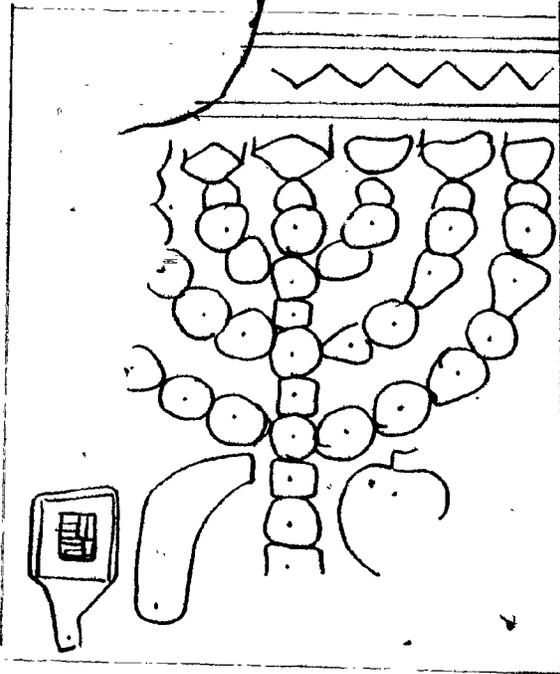
Chiat, 1979:377-381

Goodenough, Symbols I:257-259, III:64b-54, 658 (p)

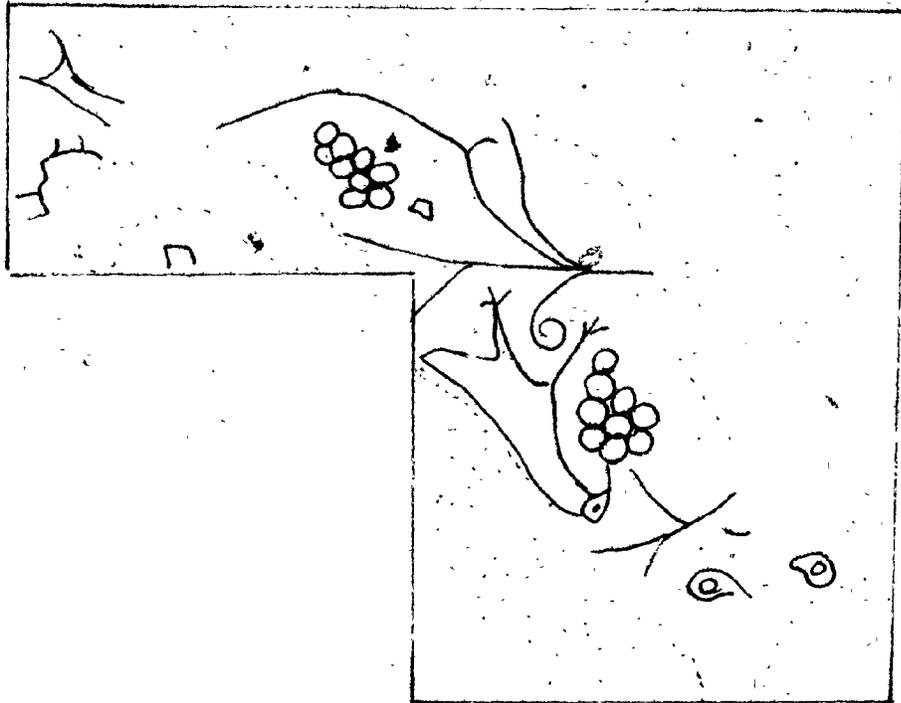
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:101-104

Saller, 1969:#39

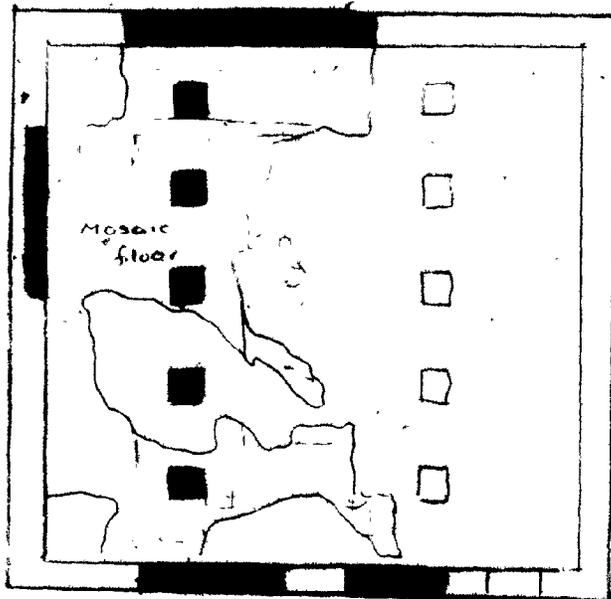




Hand-drawn sketches of jewelry designs, including necklaces and pendants.



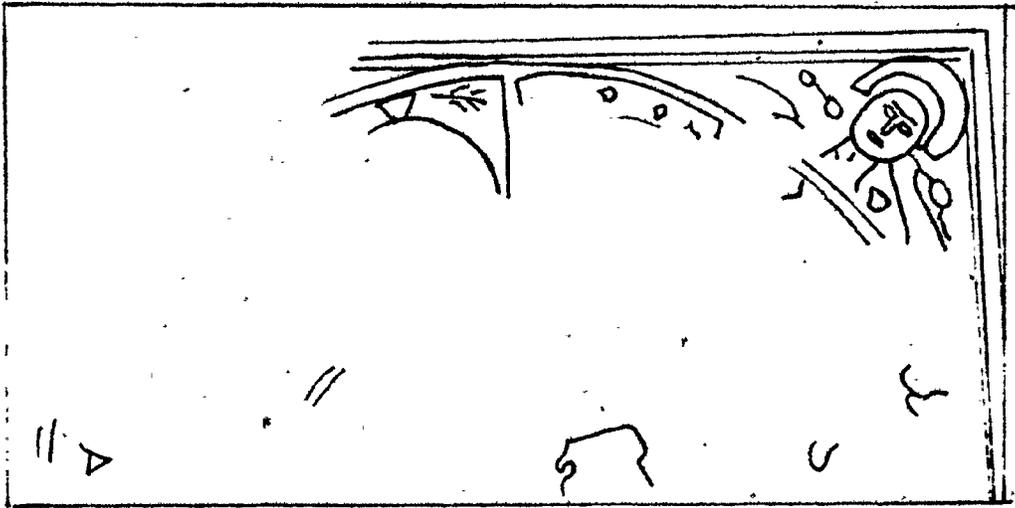
Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:654,



excavated ■

Source: Avi-Yonah, Encyclopedia II:524

'ISFIYA



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:658

Yafia

Yaphia  
Yafa

(Not to be confused with Na'aran)

West Galilee/Jazreel Valley  
Chiat: B 2 1 3  
(3 km. S. Nazareth)

## Primary Types Represented

Fowl

Animal

Geometric

Vegetable

Floral

Menorah

Circle Surround

Human

Mythic

## Descriptive Unit/Provenance

lintels in secondary use  
in three panels, guilloche  
moulding, the central panel  
contains a wreath tied with  
large fillets. The two  
flanking panels each contain  
an eagle, holding small  
wreaths. The second panel  
decorated with menorah flanked  
by rosettes.

Mosaic pavement: fragmentary  
Nave: inscribed with double  
circle.

Between two circles are  
twelve small intersecting  
circles, only two survive.  
One contains an ox, the other  
the head of a horned animal.  
Intertwined acanthus leaves  
enclosing animals, dolphins,  
tiger in corner where seasons  
are normally found.

Corner panel in SW, eagle  
perched on two pairs of  
volutes flanking a human head.  
(Melusa)

## Inscriptions:

(Eph)raim

beside the image of the  
horned animal.

(The symbol of the tribe is an  
ox, the buffalo is the sign  
for Manasseh)

## References:

Avi-Yonah, 1970:541

Chiat, 1979:162-165

Josephus, Wars II:573, III:269

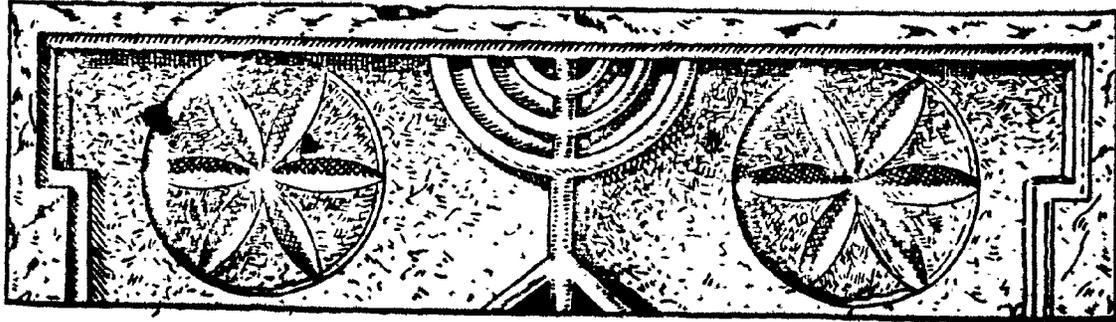
Huttenmeister and Reeg, 1977:479-62

Goodenough, Symbols I:216-218, III:569-570

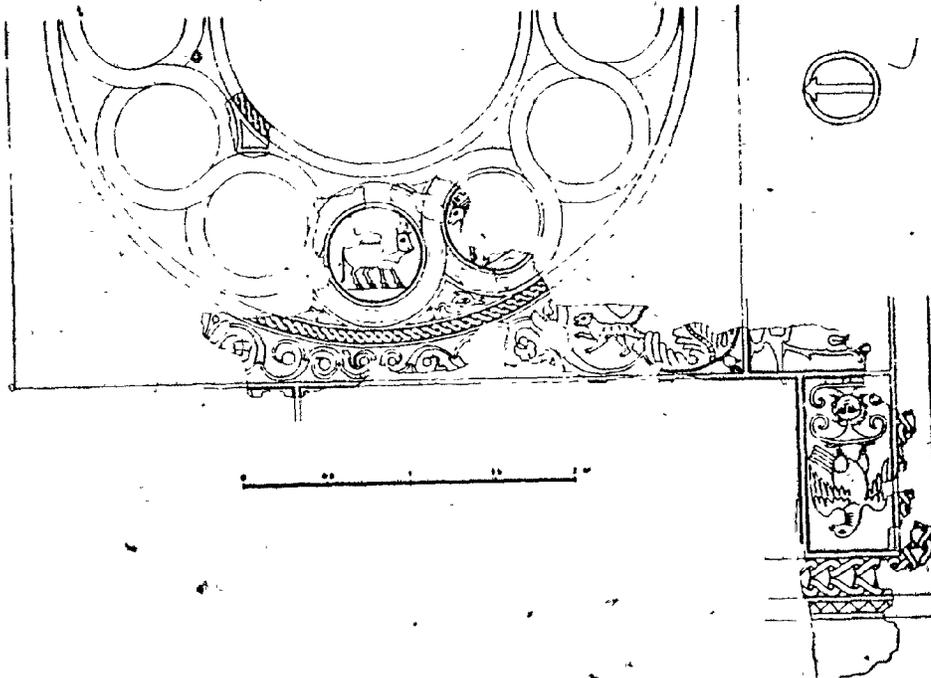
Saller, 1969:71#111

Shanks, 1979:35

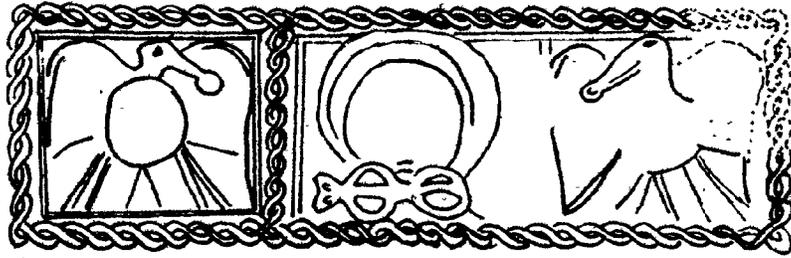
Suknik, 1951:16-24



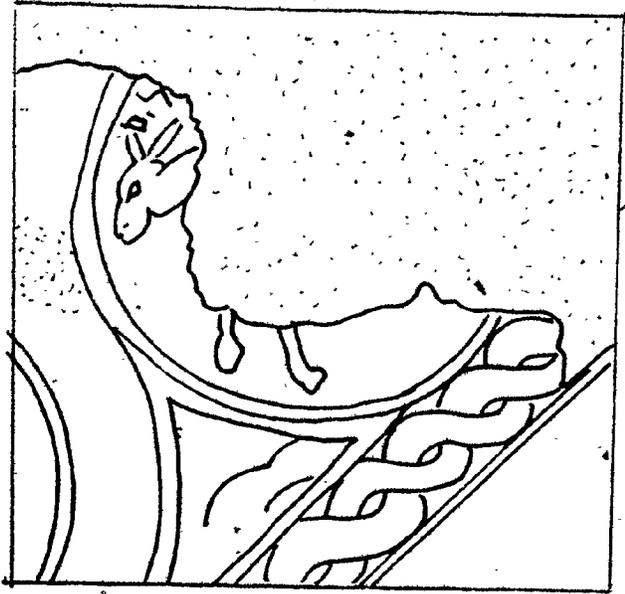
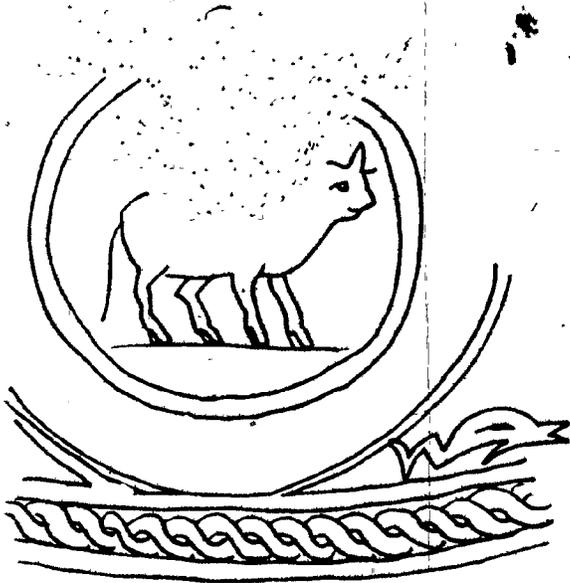
Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:570



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:991



Source: Sukenik, 1949:8



Source: Goodenough, Symbols III:992,993

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- Josh. - Joshua
- Jud. - Judges
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- Shev. - Shevuot
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