



## Endnotes for “New Evidence of a Roman Attack at Shiloh”

Fall 2023 *Bible and Spade*

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For a more complete treatment of these finds, see Boyd V. Seevers and Kenneth E. Downer, “The Roman Conquest of Shiloh (A.D. 69): The Archaeological Evidence,” *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin* 68 (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> In *Jewish War* 4.550–51, Josephus indicates the launching of Vespasian’s Judean campaign in AD 68, and we now know that Vespasian’s movement eastward into Samaria and Judea occurred in the summer of AD 69, likely giving the time and military context for the battle at Shiloh.

<sup>3</sup> *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, vol. 2, *The Jewish War, Books I–III*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), 617.

<sup>4</sup> Jodi Magness, “Arrowheads and Projectile Points,” in *Gamla III: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations 1976–1989, Finds and Studies, Part 1*, by Danny Syon, with contributions by Shua Amorai-Stark et al., IAA Reports 56 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2014), 21–24; Guy D. Stiebel and Jodi Magness, “The Military Equipment from Masada,” in *Masada VIII: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports*, The Masada Reports, ed. Joseph Aviram, Gideon Foerster, Ehud Netzer, and Guy D. Stiebel, associate editor Alan Paris (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007), 22–26; Guy D. Stiebel, “Military Equipment from the Area of the Mausoleum and the Theater at Herodium,” in *Herodium: Final Reports of the 1972–2010 Excavations Directed by Ehud Netzer*, vol. 1, *Herod’s Tomb Precinct*, by Roi Porat, Rachel Chachy, and Yakov Kalman, with contributions by N. Ahipaz et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2015), 435–38.

<sup>5</sup> Roman slingstones have been published from other sites attacked during the First Revolt. For Jerusalem, see Guy D. Stiebel, “The Military Equipment,” in *Jerusalem: Excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley (Giv’ati Parking Lot)*, vol. 1, by Doron Ben-Ami, with contributions by Donald T. Ariel et al., IAA Reports 52 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2013), 299–302; for Jotapata, see Andrew E. Holley, “Stone Projectiles and the Use of Artillery in the Siege of Gamla,” in *Gamla III: The Shmarya Gutmann Excavations 1976–1989, Finds and Studies, Part 1*, by Danny Syon, with contributions by Shua Amorai-Stark et al., IAA Reports 56 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2014), 53, Table 3.9; for Khirbet el-Maqatir, see Katherine A. Streckert and Boyd V. Seevers, “Militaria,” in *The Excavations at Khirbet el-Maqatir: 1995–2001 and 2009–2016*, vol. 2, *The Late Hellenistic, Early Roman, and Byzantine Periods*, by Scott Stripling, ed. Scott Stripling and Mark A. Hassler, with contributions by Yoav Farhi et al. (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2023), 303.

<sup>6</sup> *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, 2:637.

<sup>7</sup> Other places where Roman javelin (pilum) heads have been found include Yoqne’am (E. Khamis, “The Metal Objects,” in *Yoqne’am I: The Late Periods*, by A. Ben-Tor, M. Avissar, and Y. Portugali, with contributions by S. Agadi et al., Qedem Reports 3 [Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in cooperation with the Israel Exploration Society, 1996], 219); Samaria (Guy D. Stiebel, “*Armīs et Litterīs*: The Military Equipment of Early Roman Palestine, in Light of the Archaeological and Historical Sources,” 3 vols. [PhD diss., University of London, 2007], 2:23); and England and Germany (M. C. Bishop, *The Pilum: The Roman Heavy Javelin*, Weapon 55 [Oxford: Osprey, 2017], 23, 33, 63).

<sup>8</sup> *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, 2:627, 2:645; *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, vol. 3, *The Jewish War, Books IV–VII*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 287.

<sup>9</sup> Ballista balls have been published from other sites attacked during the First Revolt. For Gamla, see Danny Syon, “Gamla: City of Refuge,” in *The First Jewish Revolt: Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, ed. Andrea M. Berlin and J. Andrew Overman (London: Routledge, 2002), 141; for Masada, see Andrew E. Holley, “The Ballista Balls from Masada,” in *Masada IV: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports*, The Masada Reports, ed. Joseph Aviram, Gideon Foerster, and Ehud Netzer, associate editor Alan Paris (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994), Table 6; for Khirbet el-Maqatir, see Streckert and Seevers, “Militaria,” 303, 308.

<sup>10</sup> No similar needles have been published from Judea, but Roman medical equipment is known from Masada (Malka Hershkovitz, “Roman Medical Instruments on Masada: Possible Evidence of a Roman Infirmary,” *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* [Israel Exploration Society] 25 [Joseph Aviram Volume] [1996]: 351–55 [Hebrew]). Roman suture needles are known from Neuss, Germany (Roy W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army*, ed. David Breeze and Valerie A. Maxfield [New York: Columbia University Press, 1989], 218; Hans Lehner, “Die Einzelfunde von Novaesium,” in “Novaesium: Das im Auftrag des Rheinischen Provinzialverbandes vom Bonner Provinzialmuseum 1887—1900 ausgegrabene Legionslager,” special issue, *Bonner Jahrbücher: Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* [Bonn, A. Marcus und E. Weber’s Verlag] 111/112 [1904]: 399–403 [German]).

<sup>11</sup> Publications of similar arrowheads found at other sites attacked during the First Revolt: Gamla (Magness, “Arrowheads and Projectile Points,” 31); Jerusalem (Stiebel, “The Military Equipment,” 297).

<sup>12</sup> *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, 2:625.

<sup>13</sup> *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, 3:385, 3:395.

<sup>14</sup> Aeneas Tacitus, *Aeneas on Siegewcraft*, a critical edition prepared by L. W. Hunter; revised, with some additions, by S. A. Handford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 97 (38.6–8). For hand-thrown stones from Gamla, see Holley, “Siege of Gamla,” 49–50; for Jerusalem, see Stiebel, “The Military Equipment,” 299; and for Jotapata, see Mordechai Aviam, “Yodefah/Jotapata: The Archaeology of the First Battle,” in Berlin and Overman, *First Jewish Revolt*, fig. 8.9.

<sup>15</sup> *Josephus: In Nine Volumes*, 3:163, 3:165.

<sup>16</sup> Boyd V. Seevers, “AG 31,” chap. 9 in “Shiloh Excavations: Annual Report for Season 4 - 2022,” directed by Scott Stripling, ed. Mark Hassler and Scott Stripling (unpublished manuscript, October 2023), PDF file, 84–85.

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