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***The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem: Judah under Babylonian Rule*, by Oded Lipschits. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005. xiv + 474 pp., 13 figures, 8 tables, 12 maps. Cloth. \$47.50.**

Some 20 years ago, relatively little research had been done focusing on the Babylonian period (sixth century B.C.E.) in Israel. Now many articles, and even several books, have appeared covering this period. Oded Lipschits has been a key force in this development, authoring and editing many publications on this topic. It is a great pleasure to review his latest opus here. The present volume is based on the author's 1997 Tel Aviv University dissertation which was subsequently expanded and published in Hebrew in 2004, and now appears, with some updates and revisions, in the present English edition.

The volume is divided into five chapters and a summary of quite differing lengths: "1. The End of the Kingdom of Judah: The Geopolitical Background" is a summary/synthesis of Near Eastern (mostly Levantine) history covering the century of Assyrian rule, through the brief period of Egyptian domination, and into the Babylonian era (pp. 1–35). "2. Judah under Babylonian Rule" continues the summary of chapter 1 into the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, with more emphasis on Babylonian activity in and around Judah (pp. 36–133). "3. Changes in the Borders of Judah between the End of the Iron Age and the Persian Period" uses archaeological data (*m(w)sh* and *yhwd* impressions, number and distribution of settlements and settlement sizes) and textual data (mainly the various population lists in Ezra-Nehemiah) to show how the slight improvement/expansion of Judah in the last part of the seventh century was followed by a severe retrenchment which cost it territory in the Shephelah and from Hebron southward. He argues that the borders of the Persian Yehud province and its demographics were largely shaped by the collapse brought upon Judah by the Babylonian invasion. He sees no significant growth until the Hasmonaean era (pp. 134–84). "4. The Significance of Material Culture for Understanding the History of Judah under Babylonian Rule" summarizes what is and can be known about the likely pottery horizon of this period, and what is known about sites destroyed in, or known to be occupied, in the sixth century, both from excavation and survey data (pp. 185–271). "5. Babylo-

nian Rule, the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Exile, and the 'Remnant' in Judah: Perceptions and Trends in Biblical Historiography" is a critical review of texts from Jeremiah (primarily the "Biography") and 2 Kgs 24–25 as they demonstrate how different segments of Judaeon society (both in and outside of Judah) understood and wrote about the destruction of Jerusalem and subsequent Babylonian Exile (pp. 272–359).

This is a thought-provoking work. The author does a fine job of surveying scholarship on various topics and forthrightly sets out his own opinions on them. For example, he takes issue with the commonly asserted destruction of Ekron in the wake of Nebuchadnezzar II's 604 B.C.E. campaign (p. 41, n. 19).

There are some pages where a bit more editing might have clarified the author's intent. For example, two passages on p. 31 left questions in my mind: "It is doubtful that the Babylonians planned in advance how far to the west and south they would force the Egyptians"; and "It seems that, for the Babylonians, Egypt was the primary target." There are also occasional points of confusion. For example, this reviewer *does* see the transition between Strata 2 and 1 at Tell en-Naşbeh as marked by a destruction, as demonstrated by two in situ pottery assemblages, just not a fiery destruction (p. 239).

The analysis and use of settlement area and population size derived from survey data is perhaps the most arguable part of the volume, as Lipschits himself acknowledges on pp. 246–48 and 259–60 (especially n. 249). About all one can really say about a site from ceramics gathered in a survey is if it was occupied in a given era; one cannot even be certain if the absence of pottery from a certain period indicates a true gap in occupation, or only represents the vagaries of the survey. This reviewer only feels comfortable with the generalization that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, there seems to have been a great drop in the number of occupied settlements, and that concomitantly there was a significant, but not really quantifiable, drop in population. A related issue involves the existence and identification in the archaeological record of survivors and refugees of settlement destructions. For example, the Babylonians sacked and burned the Lachish II settlement. How many people fled the city even before the siege began (Jer 40:11–12)? How many died as a result of the siege itself, how many did the Babylonians slay in the aftermath of their conquest, how many of its inhabitants did the Babylonians send into exile (if any), how many died in the years afterward from disease or starvation? What became of the survivors and those who had fled in advance? Did they return to the smoking, gutted ruins of their old (or neighbors') homes? How are we to identify the likely ephemeral material cultural remains of these squatters before they rebuilt their settlement or moved on? How are we to incorporate such phantoms into our population estimates? It behooves historians and archaeologists

to remember that a settlement is not necessarily abandoned immediately after its destruction. Life can linger among the ruins.

I confess to being initially uncertain about the role of chapter 5 within the scope of this work; it was only from p. 349 and on that the purpose of the chapter became clear to me. The chapter would profit from a few introductory comments about its objectives and methodology.

Despite this minor qualm, I found this chapter one of the most thought-provoking sections of the book. For example, Lipschits argues that 2 Kgs 25:22–26 (the précis on Gedaliah's reign) and 25:27–30 (the release of Jehoiachin) are appendices added by followers of the Deuteronomistic school in Babylon intended to encourage a sense of reconciliation with the status quo created by the Babylonians—that is, to foster hope for some level of restoration. If so, one must ask why the appendices do not go on past the time of Gedaliah, because restoration and life did continue after Gedaliah's assassination (as attested by the life span of Tell en-Naşbeh 2 well down into the fifth century). If the answer is to avoid giving a sense of legitimacy to those who remained in Judah during the Exile (important for the exiled Judaeans as they attempted to return to their old homes and social position), why include Gedaliah at all?

A debatable point might be how truly desperate things continued to be in Jerusalem after the Return (p. 372). For example, Nehemiah mentions merchants and goldsmiths helping to repair walls (3:31–32). Tyrian merchants are said to have come to Jerusalem (13:16). It is difficult to imagine them making the journey if no profit was to be had.

I was also struck by the relatively limited use made of Lamentations. To my mind, this is a crucial text for painting a picture of the lives of the survivors of the destruction of Jerusalem. On p. 367 of the summary, Lipschits describes Jerusalem as being completely empty. If Lamentations reflects postdestruction reality, this is obviously not the case. Our biblical accounts do not mention widespread massacres after the city fell, though doubtless there were deaths; nor do they describe a complete exile of the city's inhabitants. Lamentations mentions priests, princes, prophets, and elders as those suffering in the wake of the siege, and these elites are only mentioned to provide a sense of the tragedy of the city's fall. Certainly others besides some number of the city's cultic and civic leadership survived as well. It is perhaps best not to perpetuate the "myth of the empty city" as we move away from the "myth of the empty land."

The volume has many maps and charts that well illustrate the author's perspective. I found myself wishing for a couple of plates showing the pottery forms that Lipschits would assign to this period. Similarly, photographs and/or line drawings of the *m(w)sh* and *yhw*d stamp impressions would have been helpful, as would plans from sites (other than Tell en-Naşbeh) with sixth-century remains—Tell el-Fûl, for example.

Despite the few caveats above, this volume is an important and worthy addition to the ever-growing corpus of publications on the Babylonian era. This reviewer looks forward to additional publications by Dr. Lipschits on this still shadowy period.

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***The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC: A Study of the Earliest Coins of Palestine*, by Haim Gitler and Oren Tal. *Collezioni Numismatiche 6*. Milan: Edizioni Ennerre, 2006. 411 pp., 55 figures, 123 plates, 31 tables. Cloth. €120.00.**

Over a century ago, George Foote Hill published a catalog of the "Greek coins" of Palestine in the collections of the British Museum. These coins included the so-called Philisto-Arabian coins, often imitating the tetradrachms of fifth-century B.C.E. Athens. Scholars have long known that there were mints striking small change in Palestine during the period of Persian hegemony—including Ashdod, Jerusalem, and Samaria. Recent increased interest in the archaeology and history of the Persian period has resulted in a series of new publications bringing some order to the fourth-century coins struck in Samaria, for example. The present volume revisits an entire series of coins from several possible mints in the southern Levant.

Gitler and Tal focus on the earliest coins of Philistia, using the collections of the Israel Museum as a starting point. Coins from other collections fill out this compendious catalog of early coins, including examples from some private collections and from institutional collections of universities and museums in Israel, Europe, and the United States. The result is the fullest picture yet produced of the varied and relatively unknown early coins of "Philistia." This is a very important period—historically and economically. It was in the sixth through the fourth centuries B.C.E. that the use of weighed metal gave way to the use of foreign coinage and, subsequently, local issues (p. 9). *Hacksilber* hoards have been found in Iron II contexts in the southern Levant. One recent example was found at Ashkelon and dated to the city's 604 B.C.E. destruction layer (Stager 1996: 66). This was a payment in silver for grain. The metal economy gave way to a truly monetary economy by the end of the Persian period. Initially, coins came to the region from mints in Greece, East Greece, and Phoenicia. These coins circulated in the markets along the *Via maris*, and eventually, supplementary small change was issued locally.

Although coins from the Phoenician mints dominated the local economy farther north along the coast, the coins