

**Ian Stern**

# EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA SUBTERRANEAN COMPLEX 169

FINAL REPORT  
Seasons 2000–2016





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Ian Stern

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*Dedicated by Adam and Tracey Stern and family  
in loving memory of our mother Christine Hassuk*

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## FORWARD

In September, 2014 the Archaeological Seminars Institute came under the academic auspices of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Jerusalem. Archaeological Seminars' flagship project was the "Dig for a Day" expedition investigating the subterranean complexes surrounding Tel Maresha directed by Dr. Ian Stern. This was an "acquisition" to be celebrated; Dr. Stern brought with him an efficient operation intent on publishing the mass of data it had gleaned from a period that the School had not really dealt with previously—the Hellenistic period. A research institute like ours needs to expand its horizons from time to time (we have mostly centered on Bronze Age and Iron Age archaeology).

Archaeological Seminars is a unique organization which has made an immense contribution to public appreciation of archaeology, worldwide. Founded by Bernie and Fran Alpert in 1982, Archaeological Seminars was set up as an educational tourism business designed to combine the excavation experience with touring. It targeted youth groups and families. Its early projects included the Damascus Gate (Magen), Jaffa Gate moat (Sivan), Ketef Hinnom (Barkay) excavations in Jerusalem, Ein Yahel (Edelstein), Ramat Rahel (Barkay) and Mt. Zion, "Gate of the Essenes (Chen). In 1989 its focus moved to Maresha in the Shephelah, where Amos Kloner directed the excavations under the auspices of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

The people who sign up for the Archaeological Seminars program usually excavate for a few hours

and then take a field trip around the extended site. Such people are almost always completely new to the painstaking business of archaeological excavation, such that they cannot be inserted into sensitive, stratified contexts. This is why the subterranean complexes were chosen; they are, for the most part, without stratigraphic deposition, being, essentially, dumps and colluvium originating in the surface above.

Many archaeologists (myself included) were inclined to belittle the potentials of such unstratified contexts. But this report speaks volumes for the value of the endeavor. While the fills' resolution is perhaps coarse, the huge artifactual inventory really does tell us a great deal about the economy, politics, exchange relations, subsistence, crafts, leisure and beliefs of the inhabitants of Hellenistic Maresha. And there are, in fact, depositional patterns to be discerned. Ian Stern is to be commended in producing such a comprehensive, concise, useful and astonishingly beautiful volume.

Perusal of this report will demonstrate that scholarship has been served. But just as important, an estimated 1.2 million laypersons have tasted the intellectual adventure of archaeology through the Maresha project. In a sense, Ian Stern's volume is for them. May our amateur cohorts continue to descend down into the subterranean deposits, year after year, to enrich the artifactual database, and the cultural cargo of their own lives!

*David Ilan*  
Jerusalem, May 2019



## PREFACE

The large assemblage of finds presented in this volume is the result of an extensive excavation that spanned over 16 years.<sup>1</sup> While the sheer quantity of material is impressive, what stands out in the following chapters is the variety of finds reflecting both foreign influence—primarily from Magna Graecia, Greece, Egypt, and Phoenicia—as well as local Idumean/Mareshan traditions.

The following chapters, which discuss the finds from Subterranean Complex 169, serve as an introduction to several facets of life in Idumea in general and Maresha in particular that have not, to date, been addressed. A number of influential volumes have already been published illuminating this important Hellenistic-period city. It is our hope that this volume will enlarge the scope of understanding of Maresha and become part of a platform upon which future scholars will be able to elaborate. The contributors understand that it will require many more years to completely unravel the vast amounts of material discovered here.

This excavation was carried out under the direction of I. Stern and B. Alpert from 2000 to 2016. The study of the 13 rooms in this subterranean complex is the first comprehensive, multidisciplinary study of its kind at Maresha. The contents of SC169 are made up of anthropogenic material that resembles a dump. However, the manner in which the fill was discovered presents a certain conundrum. If the material had been simply dumped into the subterranean areas from openings in the ceilings of the rooms, the fill inside the cave complex would have fanned out in the shape of a cone. The fact that the vast majority of the fill was level, even in rooms without direct access to the surface, suggests a systematic, deliberate filling.

As such, only tentative chronological conclusions can be reached. The *terminus ante quem* for Maresha has already been established in earlier excavations as ca. 107 BCE, which is consistent with the dating of our finds.

The material finds do not inform us about the actual use of SC169 but rather reflect the contents of

structure(s) that once existed on the surface above. The function of the actual subterranean complex can be gleaned primarily from the architectural elements (Chapter 1) that are preserved inside it. Nevertheless, the volume of diverse, unstratified material dumped inside SC169 provides us with an enormous database affording the opportunity to investigate and better understand this ancient city.

On a technical note, most of the catalogs in these volumes contain registration numbers. These numbers give the license or permit number, the year followed by the locus and basket numbers, ending with an “S” indicating a special find. In some of the catalogs there will be differences based upon the author’s preferences. Finds that were photographed are marked in the catalogs with an asterisk and the numbers in the plates follow the registration numbers in the respective catalogs. The photographs in the plates are not to scale unless otherwise indicated.

These volumes would not have been possible without the constant, diligent and dedicated work and organizational skills of Sonia Shacharit. We are very grateful to Ludmila Yavorsky for her work in the field registering and restoring the finds, and to Yosef Bukengolts for his work on the kernoi restoration as well as his patient advice and help on so many technical matters.

Special thanks go to Gabi Laron for his work on the photos of the imported material, to Clara Amit of the Israel Antiquities Authority for her photography of the kernos lamps, many of the other lamps, altars, and her RTI work on the votive plaques. We wish to also thank Asaf Stern for his field photography as well as the photography of most of the small finds. The meticulous drawings of the small finds were done by Yulia Rodman, Carmen Hersch and Rika Grinfeld, while the plans and sections were done by Amitai Stern and Silvia Yogev-Neuman. The lab work on the coins and metal objects was done by Lena Kupershmidt and Raisa Vinitsky, and measurements of the altars and loom weights were made by Matti Davis.

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<sup>1</sup> License and permit numbers: G-3/2000, G-52/2001, A-3567, A-3941, A-4099, A-4361, A-4687, A-4997, A-5343, A-5574, A-5808, A-6092, A-6380, A-6701, A-7015, G-37/15, G-2/16

I am grateful to Silvia Krapiwko for her constant encouragement, patience, advice and professional work on the graphics and plate design. Special thanks also go to Noga Ze'evi and Conn Herriott for their fine work in designing many of the plates.

Insights and help often came from many colleagues at the Israel Antiquities Authority; firstly to the late Amos Kloner, the godfather of the Maresha excavations over the past three decades. Unselfish advice was freely given as well by Alon De Groot, Fanny Vito, Elisheva Kamaisky, Rachel Bar-Natan and Yael Barshak. I also wish to thank the following people for their advice, critique and feedback on a number of the chapters; Andrea Berlin, Sam Wolff, Nahshon Szanton, Nachman Zachson, Gerald Finkielstejn, Adi Erlich and Michael Sebanne. Special thanks to my co-director and dear friend, Bernie Alpert, for his insights and participation in the excavation and his constant support. I thank the site supervisors, Arava Allon Kamm, Nimrod Wilner and Ben Alpern, for their tireless work over the years. Heidi Stern's indefatigable administering of the program as well as David Fogelman's efforts at the site, freed me up to work on the manuscript and to them I am also grateful.

I would like to acknowledge the following people and bodies whose support made these volumes possible: David Ilan of Hebrew Union College for his constant support, advice and encouragement throughout the process, the IAA, and specifically Gideon Avni

and Zvi Greenhut, for their help and support of the Maresha project. The project also owes thanks to the Israel Nature and Parks Authority for their help in the field, especially Tsvika Tsuk, Tomer Saragusty and the staff of the Beit Guvrin-Maresha National Park.

Finally, I must acknowledge the hard work of Miriam Feinberg Vamosh for her patience and professional work on the editing in bringing these volumes to publication, and to Anya Hayat for her work on the layout of these volumes.

These volumes would not have been possible without the work of the tens of thousands of participants in the Archaeological Seminars Institute's Dig for a Day program. Not only did the participants do all of the excavating, the funds from this program helped in the processing of the finds.

This project went beyond the normal financial capabilities of Archaeological Seminars Institute. We are grateful to the IAA for their support in processing many of the special finds. We also wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Kaplan Foundation. This publication however, would not have been possible without the incredible generosity of the AKS Family Foundation. To all of you we are very grateful.

*Ian Stern*  
Jerusalem, 2019

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION AND ARCHITECTURE

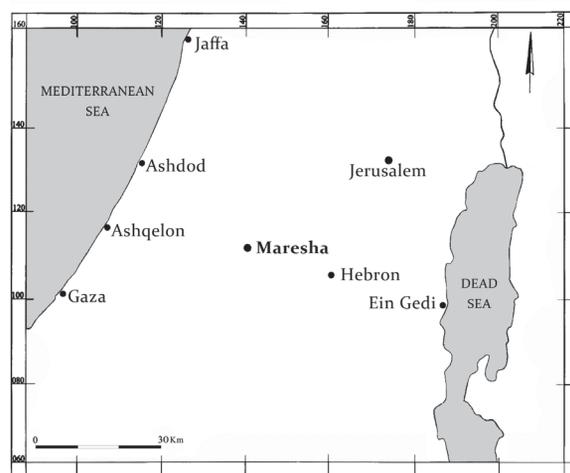
*Ian Stern*

### BACKGROUND

Excavations at Tel Maresha, located in Israel's southern lowlands (Fig. 1.1) began in 1898, when Bliss and Macalister excavated the tell and surveyed 63 subterranean complexes. The next major excavation at the site took place from 1988 to 2000, directed by A. Kloner. At that stage, the excavation focused primarily<sup>1</sup> on the lower city of Maresha including a number of subterranean complexes. Since 2000, excavation of the lower city has continued under the direction of I. Stern and B. Alpert. The subject of this report, Subterranean Complex 169 (henceforth SC169), is the most interesting subterranean complex excavated at Maresha to date. The rich and diverse corpus of finds from this complex is included in this report. These finds provide us with a comprehensive, detailed catalog of material, primarily from the third to second centuries BCE that reflects the diverse, eclectic nature of the population.

There is, however, one very important caveat. SC169, like almost all of the other excavated subterranean complexes at Maresha to date (with the exception of SC75), contains unstratified debris or alluvium that was either deliberately dumped into it or simply collapsed down from the dwellings on the surface over time. Within the rooms that have openings to the surface in the ceilings, one would have expected debris to have been discarded in a cone-shaped configuration, reflecting the point of origin and fanning out from there. However, we

observed that the debris in the rooms was relatively level, in some cases less than 1m from the ceilings, and continued at those heights even in rooms that had no access to the surface in the ceiling. That is to say, we have not been able to discern any stratigraphy within SC169. Nevertheless, the chronological mixture of the finds, ranging from the Iron Age II to the late second century BCE, remains very similar at all levels (see Tables 1 and 2 in Chapter 2). Various patterns have been discerned, and certain conclusions can be arrived at, but our understanding of the finds remains limited.



**Fig. 1.1.** The location of Maresha.

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the Bliss and Macalister material see Kloner, 2003: 1–30, for a brief history of Maresha as well as an overview of Kloner's material see Kloner 2003. For a revised chronology, see Finkielsztein 1998: 33–38, 40–43, 44, 47–51 (passim), 57–58.



**Fig. 1.2.** A plan of subterranean complexes of Maresha.

SC169 is located 105m southwest of Tel Maresha (OIG coordinates 140512–111002, NIG 190560/611070). It is located ca. 15m east of SC57<sup>2</sup> and ca. 30m south of Area 800<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 1.2) an area identified as a temple (Graicer 2012:183, 375–376). The entrance was discovered by chance: In January 2000, during the course of a survey of the area southwest of the tell, a number of plastic bottles

were found next to an opening in the ground that appeared to have been exposed by recent rains. Upon entering, it became evident that SC169, to which this entrance led, had been robbed. Large quantities of earth had been moved and a sizable amount of garbage had been left behind by the robbers, including the plastic bottles on the surface. Our excavation began in July 2000.

## METHODOLOGY

This excavation was very unusual. It was carried out by thousands of people of all ages from all around the world participating in the Archaeological Seminars Institute's Dig for a Day program. This paid activity, underwrote most of the costs of the excavation, as well the processing of most of the materials. Excavation took place throughout the year although most of the work was done during high tourist seasons. In low-season months digging

was sporadic and our focus was more on the processing of the finds.

Initially, the work space was very limited as the debris in many of the rooms was less than 1m from the ceiling. As the work proceeded, and the excavation level descended, it became easier to excavate. The participants excavated the debris and then sifted each bucket on the surface, with the guidance of the institute staff.

<sup>2</sup> Stern, 2014: 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> Stern, 2014: 1–2.

Each room was given a specific room number as well as a locus number. Due to the lack of stratigraphy as well as the sporadic nature of the excavation, locus numbers were only changed annually. The change usually reflected a change in heights rather than any difference in the nature of the room or the debris being excavated. It reflects the mixture of Iron Age II, Persian-period and Hellenistic finds at almost all of the different levels within the fill; evidence that, as noted, precludes any stratigraphic analysis. Heights were measured sporadically (usually every few weeks), dependent on the amount of work being done in any particular room or locus. The heights were measured from fixed positions on the ceiling of the rooms.

All finds were washed and sorted by our staff (L. Yaborsky and S. Shaharit), in our work area near the amphitheater at Beit Guvrin. Then they were marked by a locus number and given a basket number. All sherds were counted and the quantities logged but only the special finds were fully recorded, with an additional order number in a given basket; these were then transferred to our office at the Israel Antiquities Authority in Har Hotzvim in Jerusalem. All diagnostic pieces were saved.

Certain areas were left untouched. This was due either to safety concerns (such as areas west of Room 5, the northwestern corner and the southern side of Room 9) or deliberately left as a baulk (such as the area beneath entrance E4, between Rooms 6 and 7) for future analysis.

## THE ARCHITECTURE

The excavation focused on 13 interconnecting rooms (Fig. 1.3). Five entrances that led from the surface into SC169 were discovered, one of which was blocked (E3) by large *nari* boulders placed on top of the inner staircase. These 13 rooms can be subdivided into three clusters, each with an entrance or two, leading down from the surface.

### *Cluster 1 (Rooms 8, 9a and 9b)*

This cluster was entered via E1. It was initially excavated as Room 9 without subdivisions. A single row of eight *kirton* (chalk) bricks (W2) was found running on an east–west axis on the southern side of the room. The southern portion of Room 9 measures 7.0 x 9.7m. A ledge slightly north of this wall (W2) contains the negative of a small silo or storage pit, ca 1.1m deep. The ledge or floor level then drops ca. 3.8m. This lower level on the northern side of Room 9 was designated Room 9a and the area above the ledge, Room 9b. There is another small ledge on the northern side of Room 9a that is the same height as the southern ledge in Room 9b. On the southern side of Room 9a a narrow staircase was found quarried into the bedrock, leading toward the surface. It ascends from west to east and continues around a pillar southward toward E1.

The name “ZABDADA” (cross-section 1:1, Fig. 1.4) is engraved in Greek on the northern wall of Room 9a, 3.5m above the bedrock floor. The area to the west of the inscription was not excavated due to safety concerns. This unexcavated area leads in the direction of SC57 (126). East of the inscription is a low ledge and opening in the wall that leads into Room 7. East of this opening is Room 8, an alcove, 2.1 m above the floor of Room 9a. It also opens to the north into Room 7.

### *Cluster 2 (Rooms 6, 7, 10–13)*

This cluster was entered from the surface via E5. All of these rooms, with the exception of Rooms 12 and 13, contain negatives of 10 silos or storage pits. The height of the openings to these silos is at the same level in all of the rooms (Fig. 1.5). The bedrock floor in the central areas of all the rooms shows clear signs of quarry marks from the hewing of chalk bricks (Fig. 1.6). Remains of some of the partially excavated bricks are still evident. On the northern side of Room 6 there is a built wall made (W1) of *kirton* bricks above a bedrock ledge, that separates the room from Room 3. This room contains the negative of a silo, the only one in the complex not adjacent to a pillar or wall.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

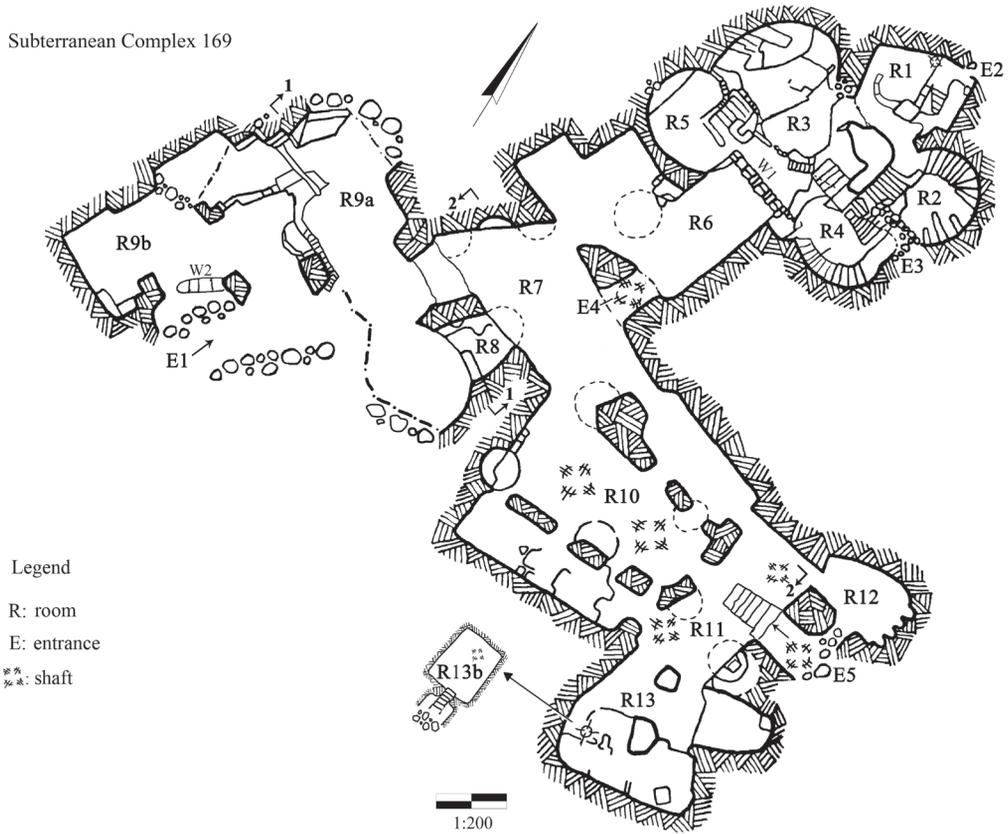


Fig. 1.3. Plan of SC169.

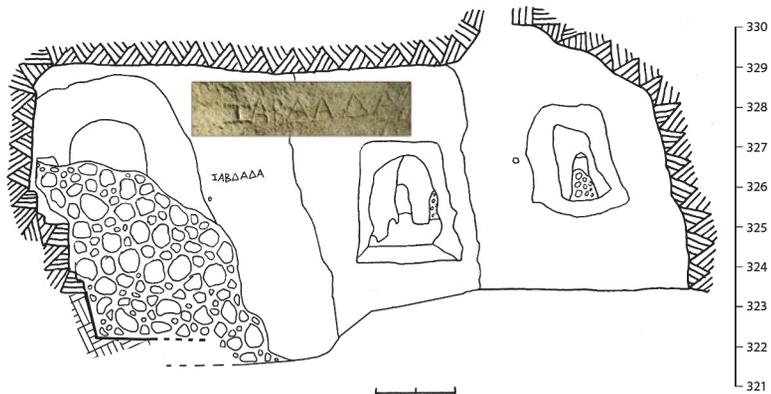


Fig. 1.4. Photo and cross-section 1:1 Rooms 8 and 9 with Greek inscription “ZABDADA”

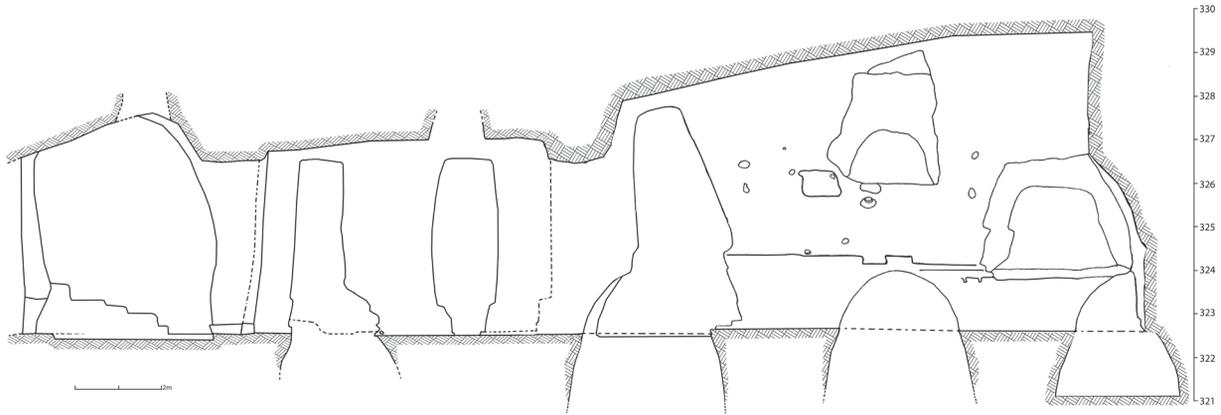


Fig. 1.5. Cross-section 2:2 Rooms 11, 10, 7.

On the southern side of Room 6 are two passages that lead to Room 7. The passage on the west we excavated, while we left the second untouched, as a baulk. Room 7 contains four negatives of silos. The height of the ledge on its southern side, leading into Room 9, corresponds to the height of the tops

(original openings) of all of the silos. Two large niches were hewn into the western and southern walls 1.5m above the level of this ledge and 3.0m above the bedrock floor. Room 10, measuring 10.6 x 11.7m, contains three more negatives of silos, all at the same level as those in the other rooms. Seven pillars, ca. 4.6m in height, support the ceiling and separate the room into three corridors.



Fig. 1.6. Bricks/quarry marks on floor.

Room 11 contains one negative of a silo and one complete silo on its eastern side. Remains of the lower portion of the original rock-cut stairs leading straight down from E5 is visible on the eastern side of the room. Room 12, the smallest of these rooms, contains six niches quarried into its eastern wall (Fig. 1.7). It has a domed ceiling made up of *kirton* bricks. Room 13 has two large, square pillars that support the ceiling (Fig. 1.8). On the eastern side of the room is a ledge, ca. 0.7m above the bedrock floor, which leads to a small alcove. There is a very small breach in the wall at floor level, leading into the side of a silo in Room 11, on the northern side of the alcove. That silo, unlike the others in this subterranean complex, has a square opening rather than a round one; the opening was found intact.

Room 13 has a small opening in the southwestern corner of its ceiling. This opening leads to a very small chamber, only 1m high, which upon entering we found completely empty (R13b). On the southern side of this upper chamber is a quarried staircase that leads to the surface.



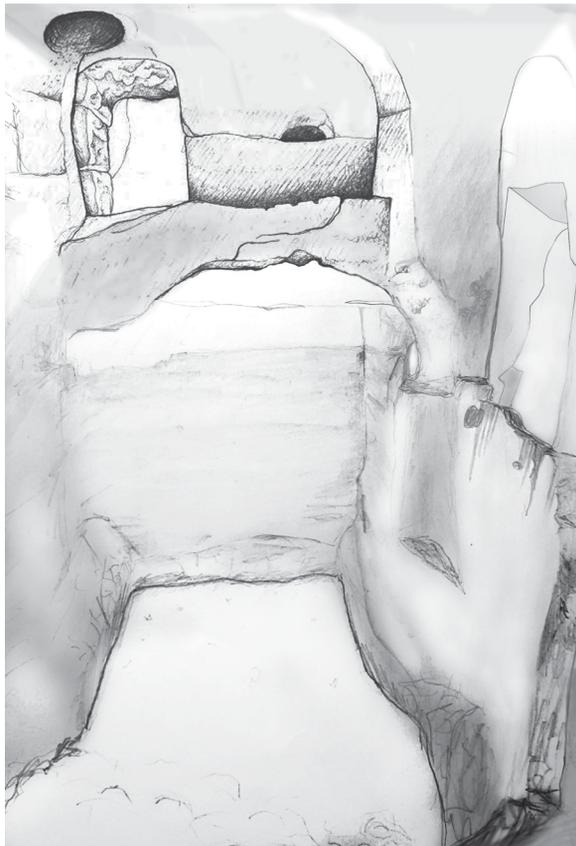
**Fig. 1.7.** Room 12 aedicula?



**Fig. 1.8.** Room 13 with two supporting pillars.



Fig. 1.9. Photo/drawing of cultic niche.



### *Cluster 3 (Rooms 1–5)*

There were two entrances to this cluster, E2 and E3. E3 leads to a straight rock-cut staircase that descends via Room 2 into Room 3. A decorative cultic niche is evident on the northern side of the entrance from Room 2 into Room 3 (Fig. 1.9). The upper portion of these stairs was found blocked by large *nari* ashlar. The stairs lead to a ledge on the northeastern side of Room 3. This ledge is at the same level as the top of the bedrock base on which W1 was constructed. Room 3 is oval and has a large opening in its ceiling. On the southern side of the room, to the east and west of W1, 3m above the floor, two small installations were found hewn in the wall. The floor of the room contains quarry marks.

On the western side of Room 3 is Room 5. The entrance to Room 5 is 1.85m above the floor level in Room 3. Five stairs lead southward down into this small room. At the bottom of the stairs a low banister curves eastward. There is a small breach in the

Fig. 1.10. Room 3, cistern.

wall in the northwestern side of Room 5 that was found blocked by debris and was not excavated.

On the southeastern side of Room 3 a large breach in the wall connects it to Room 4. The ledge at this opening is 6.6m above the bedrock floor of Room 4 but contiguous with the entrance from Room 2 into Room 4.

The second entrance into this cluster is via E2 which leads from the surface into Room 1. A partially destroyed, rock-cut staircase with a banister winds around the room (Fig. 1.10). Rope marks are visible in portions of the banister. The inner walls of the room contain remnants of plaster, and a small round shaft can be seen in the northern corner of the ceiling. Along the southern side of the

staircase a small breach in the wall leading to Room 3 was partially blocked with *kirton* bricks.

A corridor on the southeastern side of the room leads to two staircases in Room 2. One ascends and intersects with the stairs descending from E3 to Room 3. The cultic niche mentioned above is where these stairs intersect. The second staircase spirals down into Room 2. Room 2 contains three “spines” of *nari* that protrude from the floor. An opening to the south leads to Room 4. As one enters Room 4 from Room 2, to the west there are truncated steps that lead down from E3. Thirty-five steps in Room 4 descend to a depth of 6.6m. The quarry marks on the walls of this room vary in size at different heights.

## DISCUSSION

While the lack of clear stratigraphy precludes precise chronological conclusions, the architecture allows us to get a glimpse of the stages that were involved in the hewing of this subterranean complex. The contents of these rooms are the debris from the dwellings that once stood on the surface above them. The dating of this debris allows for a general chronological framework regarding when the complex was created as well as approximately when it went out of use. As will be shown later in this volume, ca. 90% of the ceramic remains, and, with one possible exception, all of the epigraphic material, can be dated from the late fourth century BCE to the late second century BCE. The vast majority of this material was from the third–second centuries BCE. The earlier finds, dated to the Iron Age II and the Persian period, are probably residual material not necessarily related to the dwellings that once existed on the surface above SC169, with the possible exception of some of the late Persian-period material.

It appears that Cluster 1 was created in at least two stages. The upper area, or Room 9b, which contained W2 and the small silo, was part of the first stage. This bedrock floor continues across to the ledge on the northern side of Room 9a. At a later stage the floor was deepened, destroying the small silo and leaving only its negative. At this stage

a staircase was quarried, not necessarily all at once, but eventually down to the bedrock level in Room 9a. The ledge that divides Rooms 9a and Room 7 was originally a solid wall that at a later stage was quarried to the level of the ledge, creating an opening providing easy access to Room 7. This opening is at the same level as the tops (openings) of the silos in the adjacent rooms in Cluster 2 and by extension, at the same level of the floor in those rooms at that time. Room 8 was a small alcove off of Room 9a. The small opening in the northern wall of Room 8, leading to Room 7, may have preceded the breaching of the larger opening just described.

Cluster 2 also had at least two stages. In the first stage, this was a storage area containing 10 storage pits or silos. No other subterranean complex at Maresha contains this concentration of storage pits, this complex may somehow have been connected to the nearby temple (Area 800). At the later stage, when the silos were no longer in use, the floor was lowered to the current level in order to extract more building bricks, leaving only the negatives of the silos. Room 12 contains shallow niches that had no apparent function. The small chamber above Room 13, only 1m in height, could have only been used for storage. It is connected to a passage that leads to the surface and originally was not part of this complex. The small circular opening in the ceiling of Room



**Fig. 1.11.** Room 10, negatives of silos looking east to west.

13 that connects the two areas was a late addition. It resembles the numerous small, tight breaches in the wall found in many of the subterranean systems of Maresha that may have been created during the siege of John Hyrcanus to allow undetected movement in underground hideaways.

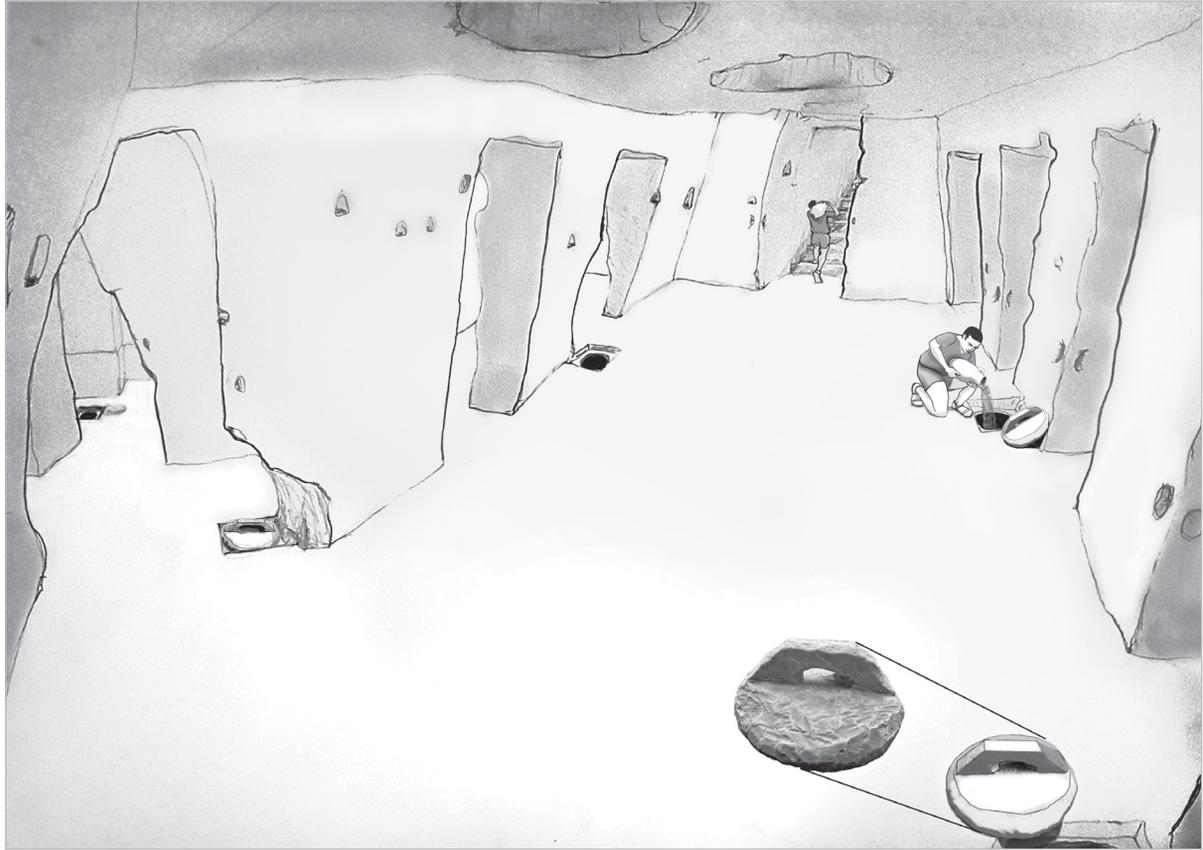
Cluster 3, Room 1 contains what was clearly a cistern. The room has remains of a spiral staircase descending from E2. The banister bears many clear rope marks as well as plastered walls. The presence of the negative of a silo at an upper level of the cistern indicates an earlier stage and use of the room before it was made into a cistern. E3 was the original entrance to Rooms 2, 3, and 4 and was not connected to Room 1. At a later stage an opening into Room 1 was created, intersecting with the staircase of the cistern. The ledge on the eastern side of Room 3 preserves the original height of the room. This is the same height as the top of the ledge on the south side of the room, on which W1 was constructed. It is also the level of the two installations in that southern wall, as well as the height of the upper ledge at the entrance to Room 5. Room 5 contains a short staircase that descends to a low banister before turning to the east. The truncated stairs descending from E3 into Room 4 indicate an earlier staircase and level that was put out of use before Rooms 2 and 4 were connected.

Room 4, which descends 6.6m and was the final portion of the cluster to be hewn, functioned as a quarry. The lowering of the floors, as well as the breaching of the walls and staircases in these rooms, was done in stages to provide building material for the dwellings on the surface. With the exception of the two small installations off of Room 3, the other rooms in this cluster were quarries that were gradually deepened over time.

Most of the subterranean complexes in Maresha were created to provide raw building material for the dwellings on the surface. In almost every such complex, the bedrock floor and walls contain clear signs of the quarrying of *kirton* bricks identical to the size of the bricks found both within the excavated debris as well as those found in many built installations in, around or above the complexes. Remains of unfinished bricks are visible in many areas within the complex.

Nevertheless, a number of rooms had a distinct function, at least in one of their stages. Room 1 was clearly a cistern, containing an opening in the ceiling from which it could be filled, plastered walls, and rope marks on the banister of the spiral staircase. Rooms 6–11 contain storage pits that probably held grain (Fig. 1.11–12). Sealed pits were an efficient means of storing perishable products such as grain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ilan, 2008: 95, see also Reynolds 1979: 71–82, Rosen 1994: 344.



**Fig. 1.12.** Room 10, artists rendition before silos were hewn away, looking west to east.

Varro (a Roman-period source, 116–127 BCE, albeit referring to Cappadocia) mentions that these small, bell-shaped installations, when sealed, would have had limited or no air flow (almost airtight) and therefore were ideal for storage.<sup>5</sup>

The technology is simple: As long as the oxygen consumed by grain respiration, micro-organisms and other pests is greater than the amount of oxygen entering the installation, the pests and micro-organism die and the grain reduces its respiration rate (thus preserving its nutritional value and weight).

Some farmers have their granaries in underground caverns, which they call *sirus*, as in Cappadocia and Thrace; others have pits, as in the country around Carthago and Osca in the eastern half of Spain. The bottoms of these pits are covered with straw, and the farmers

are careful not to let any moisture or air get into them except when they are opened to be used, because no weevils will hatch if there is no air. When stored in this way, wheat will last for fifty years, and millet for more than a hundred, in fact (Varro, *On Agriculture* 1:57).

Varro also delivers the following warning, which can be interpreted as a description of the dangerous low level of oxygen in the installations:

Those who keep their grain underground in the pits which they call *sirus* should remove the grain sometime after the pits are opened, as it is dangerous to enter them immediately, some people having been suffocated while doing so (Varro, *On Agriculture* 1:63).

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Ran Kaftory for pointing this out. For other Classical sources as well as Iron Age references see Currid and Navon 1989: 67–78.

It was suggested by Petrie at Lachish and Tell Jemmeh,<sup>6</sup> and later by Blakely<sup>7</sup> at Tell el-Hesi, that these storage pits may have been used as storage facility/supply depots for the Persian armies during the fifth–fourth centuries BCE in the course of military campaigns against Egypt. This was a period of instability in this region, with the Egyptians in an almost constant state of resistance or rebellion vis a vis Persia.<sup>8</sup> Stager (1971: 86–88) does not accept this theory. He agrees that they were storage facilities but were for local use; silos similar in purpose were discovered at Tell Halif (Seger 1983: 1–24) and Tel ‘Erani (Yeivin 1993: 417–419). Following this line of thinking, it is possible that the silos at Maresha were storage facilities utilized for the same purpose during the Ptolemaic period, for use in future wars with the Seleucids. Later, perhaps after 198 BCE, these facilities were no longer needed and were hewn through.

Given the many cultic items discovered in this subterranean complex, and its proximity to the shrine in nearby Area 800, the possibility that these pits may have had a ritual function should also be considered. Could these pits have been utilized as

*favissae* or *bothroi*? While possible, the fact that the debris inside the storage pits is no different than the debris outside them leaves this an open question (although this whole subterranean complex may have functioned as such).

The area above Room 13 is unique and appears to have been used as a storage space for the dwelling above it. A staircase leads from the surface into this low storage facility. The opening in its floor leads down to Room 13. It is small and inconvenient for human passage in normal times but may have been used when the city was under siege by Hyrcanus.

Room 12, with its shallow niches, may have had a cultic function. The shallow depth of the niches would have made it difficult to place even a small altar in them. Their shape, however, had no apparent utilitarian purpose; the room may possibly have been used as an *aedicula*.

The fill in Subterranean Complex 169 remains a mystery. The ceramic tables in Chapter 2 indicate that there was an even chronological distribution of Iron Age II and Persian materials throughout almost all of the levels excavated mixed within the mostly Hellenistic-period finds.

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## CHAPTER 2 THE LOCAL CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

*Ian Stern*

The vast majority of the material culture from Maresha in general and Subterranean Complex 169 in particular is from the Hellenistic period. Nevertheless, within each subterranean complex Iron Age and Persian-period intrusions have been discovered. As has already been explained in Chapter 1, there are no clean loci in SC169 as this system, like most of the other subterranean systems at Maresha,

contains debris that was either deliberately dumped into the cave as garbage and building refuse from the surface or is alluvium that collapsed inside at a later date. Due to the paucity of Iron Age and Persian material, all of these sherds, including body sherds, were saved and counted. The total number of sherds of each vessel type as well as their room and locus is noted below in Tables 1 and 2.

### METHODOLOGY AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Counting was done mostly by rim but varied according to vessel. The most distinctive feature of the vessel was systematically counted throughout the sorting — rims completing the diameter of a vessel, bases, handles, etc. When only part of a rim of a specific type was found, or a similar diagnostic piece was found of a different fabric or color, it was counted as a different vessel. When calculating vessels based on rims, the average estimated circumference of the rim was used. The estimated totals of vessel types are based upon profiles, bases, and rims and are noted parenthetically next to each vessel category (“n=”). In addition, the find spots (rooms and loci) of the Iron Age II and Persian-period material are illustrated in Tables 1 and 2 to highlight the way distribution of these finds in the

different levels of these rooms reflects the manner in which the rooms were filled. Locus numbers were changed at the end of each year, and reflect relative heights within each of the rooms. The purpose in doing so was to provide a broad general discussion of the different vessel types and their distribution areas, as well as to show internal and external influences at Maresha. The inventory number of each item consists of the following components: license or permit numbers/year, subterranean complex number, locus number, basket number and special find-types (S). The designation “PH” refers to preserved heights of the vessels that were not complete or were not a complete profile, and “DR” stands for the diameter of the rim.

### IRON AGE POTTERY

The Iron Age pottery types found in SC169 have long been known. Bliss and Macalister in 1902 published the sequence of occupation in the upper city of Maresha, illustrating Iron Age II and Persian-period

pottery along with the Hellenistic material (Bliss and Macalister 1902: 58, 124–134, Pls. 58–62). The present study aims to show a typological cross-section of the assemblage. The finds should be regarded

as residual and based upon *comparanda* belonging to the Iron Age II. There is only a brief description of representative vessels along with parallels. Not surprisingly, most of the parallels are from Judah and Samaria with fewer from the coastal areas. Two

*LMLK* seals are included in the catalog. These can be added to the 17 that were discovered by Bliss and Macalister (1902: 107) and 4 others discovered in the lower city (unpublished).

## IRON AGE II POTTERY CATALOG

### **Bowls** (Figs. 2.1:1–9)

#### *Carinated Bowls*

#### *Everted Rims* (n=277)

1. Reg. No. 3/00-169-10-115 (Fig. 2.1:1)

*Dimensions:* 5.2 x 7.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from lower body to rim; PH 5.2cm; Light brown clay, gray core; white grits; red slip, wheel-burnished inside and on the rim.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Stern and Alpert 2014: 19–20, Fig. 3:38); Lachish III (Zimhoni 2004: 1793; Fig. 26.3:19).

*Date:* Common in Judah in the fifth century BCE.

2. Reg. No. 3/00-169-06-198 (Fig. 2.1:2)

*Dimensions:* PH 5.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from upper body to rim with handle. Brown clay, gray core, burnished inside, small white and gray grits.

*Parallels:* variant of Lachish III (Zimhoni 2004; Fig. 26.42:2), Samaria (Tappy 2015a: 191; Pl. 2.3.2:8)

*Date:* Eighth century BCE.

3. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145b-2219 (Fig. 2.1:3)

*Dimensions:* 4.2 x 5.2cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to mid-body; only slightly carinated. Reddish-brown clay, brown core; red slip and wheel burnished inside and on rim, few white grits.

*Parallels:* Lachish III (Zimhoni 2004: 1793; Fig. 26.3:22), Dor (Gilboa 1995: 4–5; Fig. 1.8:9), Beer Sheba (Gophna and Yisraely 1971: 116, Pl. 77:8).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE.

#### *Long, everted downturned rim* (n=1)

4. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-44-719 (Fig. 2.1:4)

*Dimensions:* DR 17cm.

*Description:* Rim fragment. Reddish-brown clay, dark gray core; red slip, white grits.

*Parallels:* Dor (Gilboa 1995:2: Fig. 1.3:7–8), Ashkelon (Gitin 2015a: 387; Pl. 3.5.1:29).

*Date:* Late eighth century–beginning of seventh century BCE. Distribution suggests Phoenician origin for the type.

#### *Outwardly angled rim* (n=10)

5. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-177-2469 (Fig. 2.1:5)

*Dimensions:* 4.5 x 4.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to mid body. Pink clay, brown core; red slip; wheel-burnished inside and rim, few white grits.

*Parallels:* Dor (Gilboa 1995: 2; Fig. 1.3:5); Jerusalem (Gitin 2015a: 347; Pl. 3.3.1:16); Tyre Strata III–II, suggesting a Phoenician origin to the shape (Bikai 1978: Pls. VIIIa, IX: 11–18).

*Date:* Late eighth–mid-seventh century BCE.

#### *Hammerhead rim* (n=128)

6. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-39-897 (Fig. 2.1:6)

*Dimensions:* 3.3 x 5.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from upper body to rim. Brown clay and core; reddish-brown slip and wheel-burnished inside and on rim. Few white grits.

*Parallels:* Tell el-Far'ah (N) (Tappy 2015b: 328; Pl. 3.2.1:8), Lachish III (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.29:8).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE.

#### *Mortaria bowls* (n=7)

7. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-493 (Fig. 2.1:7)

*Dimensions:* 6.5 x 10.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from body to rim. Reddish-brown clay, gray core, many white and gray grits.

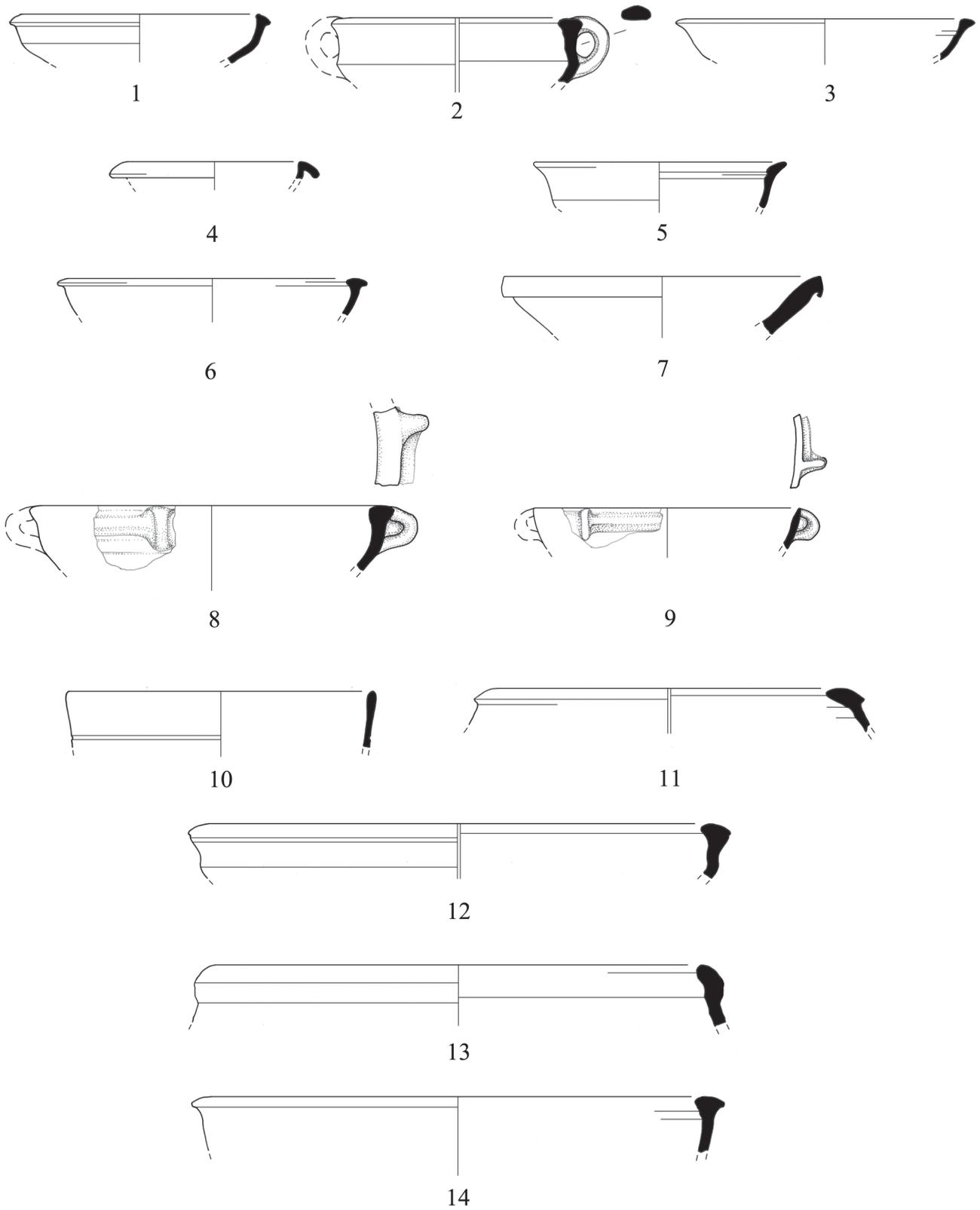


Fig. 2.1.

*Parallel:* Dor (Gilboa 1995: 3; Fig. 1.3:10).

*Date:* Eighth–seventh centuries BCE

**Bowls with bar-handle decoration (n=5)**

8. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-134-1984 (Fig. 2.1:8)

*Dimensions:* PH 3.7cm, DR 23.5cm, 3.7 x 8.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to body with handle fragment. Reddish-brown clay, dark gray core, red slip, wheel-burnished inside and out.

*Parallels:* Lachish V–IV (Zimhoni 2004: 1690–1691; Fig. 25.49:9); Ashdod (Bachi 1971: 106–107; Fig. 52:22, 24).

*Date:* Iron Age II.

9. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-76-1104 (Fig. 2.1:9)

*Dimensions:* 5.5 x 6.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from body to rim with handle fragment. Brown clay and core, reddish-brown slip, wheel-burnished inside and out.

*Parallels:* Lachish III–IV (Zimhoni 2004: 1690–1691; Fig. 25.49:9); Ashdod (Bachi 1971: 97; Fig. 39:29).

*Date:* Iron Age II.

**Krater (n=102) (Fig. 2:10–14)**

10. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a-2123 (Fig. 2.1:10)

*Dimensions:* 5.0 x 6.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from bottom of the neck to the rim. Brown clay, dark brown core, reddish-brown slip, wheel-burnished inside and out small white grits.

*Parallel:* Variant with slip and wheel-burnish, Dor (Gilboa 1995: 7; Fig. 1.1:12).

*Date:* Eighth–seventh centuries BCE

11. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-185b-2754/2 (Fig. 2.1:11)

*Dimensions:* 4.5 x 6.0cm.

*Description:* Rim fragment. Pinkish clay, light brown core, white and brown grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Gilboa 1995: 8; Fig. 1.5:7, 1.15:18).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE

12. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-36-517 (Fig. 2.1:12)

*Dimensions:* PH 4.8cm, DR 35.0cm. 4.8 x 7.7cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to body. Reddish-brown clay, brown core, red slip and wheel-burnished inside and on rim, small white grits.

*Parallel:* Lachish III (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.29:20).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE

13. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-68-1305 (Fig. 2.1:13)

*Dimensions:* 4.5 x 7.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to body. Reddish-brown clay, gray core, red slip and wheel-burnished inside and out, small white and gray grits.

*Parallel:* Lachish (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.29:21).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE.

14. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-148-2212 (Fig. 2.1:14)

*Dimensions:* 5.0 x 9.0cm.

*Description:* Rim fragment. Reddish-yellow clay, light brown core, wheel-burnished inside and out, many white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Stern and Alpert 2014: 20; Fig. 3:39).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE.

**Cooking Jugs (n=37) (Fig. 2.2:15)**

15. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-76-974

*Dimensions:* PH 8.7cm, DR 9.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to shoulder with handle. Dark red clay, dark gray core, many white grits.

*Parallels:* Variants — Lachish (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.18:15); Rehov (Ben-Tor and Zarzecki-Peleg, 2015: 140; Pl. 2.2.7:14).

*Date:* Ninth–eighth centuries BCE

**Cooking Pots (n=9) (Fig. 2.2:16–18)**

16. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-68-1327 (Fig. 2.2:16)

*Dimensions:* PH 8.9cm, DR 8.2cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to shoulder with handle. Brown clay and core, many white grits.

*Parallels:* Dor (Gilboa 1995: 9; Fig. 1.5:21); Lachish (Zimhoni 2004; Fig. 26.27:5); Samaria (Tappy 2015b: 329; Pl. 3.2.3:9).

*Date:* Eighth century BCE.

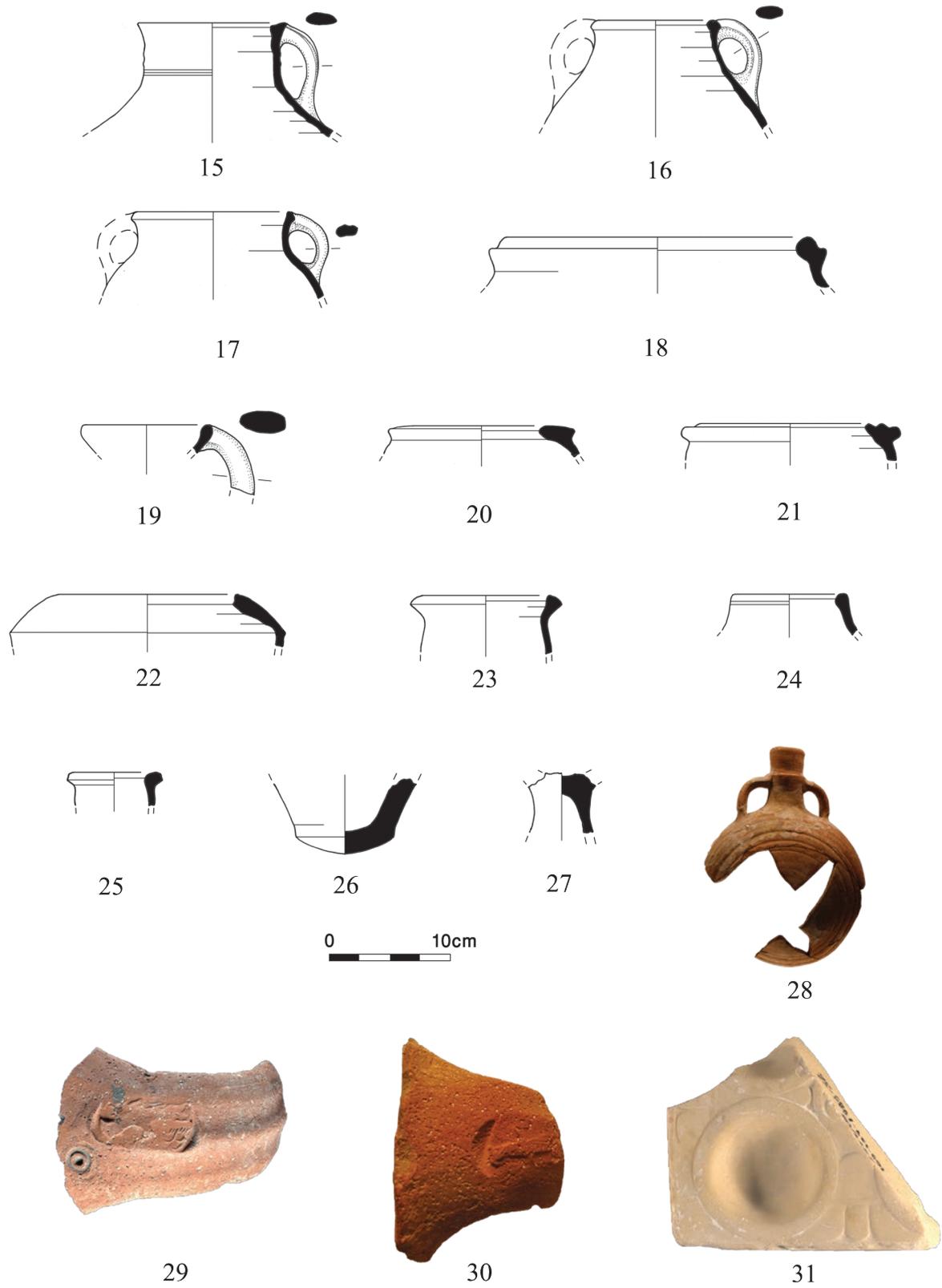


Fig. 2.2.

17. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a- 2137 (Fig. 2.2:17)  
*Dimensions:* PH 5.8cm, DR 14.0cm.  
*Description:* Profile from rim to shoulder with handle. Brown clay, dark gray core, many white grits.  
*Parallels:* Lachish (Zimhoni 2004; Fig. 26.55:11); Ashdod (Fortuna 1971: 138; Fig. 74:6).  
*Date:* Early Iron Age (Lachish II).
18. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-42-941/1 (Fig. 2.2:18)  
*Dimensions:* DR 22.0cm.  
*Description:* Rim fragment. Square, upper part of the rim is cut diagonally and upward. Red clay and core, white, gray and mica grits. Typical in both northern and southern Israel.  
*Parallels:* Dor (Gilboa 1995: 9; Fig. 1.1:22); Samaria (Tappy 2015a: 191–192; Pl. 2.3.5:9).  
*Date:* Eighth–seventh centuries BCE.
- Jugs (n=25)** (Fig. 2.2:19)
19. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-185b-2574/1  
*Dimensions:* 4.8 x 6.5cm.  
*Description:* Rim fragment with handle. Brown clay and core, white grits.  
*Parallel:* Dor (Gilboa 1995, Fig. 1.12:8).  
*Date:* Eighth–seventh centuries BCE.
- Jars** (Fig. 2.2:20–26)  
**Holemouth jars (n=29)**
20. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-77-981 (Fig. 2.2:20)  
*Dimensions:* 3.5 x 7.0cm. DR 15.5cm.  
*Description:* Flanged rim fragment. Pink clay, gray core, many white and gray grits.  
*Parallel:* Samaria (Tappy 2015a: 193; Pl. 2.3.7:3).  
*Date:* Iron Age II.
21. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-42-941 (Fig. 2.2:21)  
*Dimensions:* DR 16.0cm.  
*Description:* Ridged rim fragment. Reddish-brown clay, gray core, few white grits.  
*Parallels:* Rosh Zayit (Ben-Tor and Zarzecki-Peleg 2015: 141–142; Pl. 2.2.13:10–12); Ashdod (Dothan 1971: 35; Fig. 6:3).  
*Date:* Late Iron Age II.
22. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-148-2141 (Fig. 2.2:22)  
*Dimensions:* DR 13.5cm.  
*Description:* Rim fragment. Reddish-brown clay, gray core, few white grits.  
*Parallel:* Ramat Rachel (Gitin 2015a: 349; Pl. 3.3.5:12).  
*Date:* Iron Age II.
- Storage Jars (n=38)** (Fig. 2.2:23)
23. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-65a-1131  
*Dimensions:* DR 11.5m.  
*Description:* Rim fragment. Everted, high neck. Reddish clay, gray core, many white grits.  
*Parallels:* Samaria (Tappy 2015b: 329; Pl. 3.2.4:6–7); Lachish (Zimhoni 1990; Fig. 8:40).  
*Date:* Seventh century BCE.
24. Reg. No. 4997/07; Inv. No. 169-115b-1723 (Fig. 2.2:24)  
*Dimensions:* 3.4 x 3.8cm.  
*Description:* Rim fragment. Slightly thickened, with high, vertical neck. Reddish-yellow clay, brown core, gray and brown grits.  
*Parallels:* Dor (Gilboa 1995: Fig. 1.11:37–38); Lachish (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.30:19); Samaria (Tappy 2015a: 192; Pl. 2.3.6:3).  
*Date:* Iron Age II.
25. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-91-1547 (Fig. 2.2:25)  
*Dimensions:* DR 7.5cm.  
*Description:* Rim fragment. Pale brown clay, brown core, many brown and gray grits.  
*Parallel:* Lachish (Zimhoni 2004: Fig. 26.27:13).  
*Date:* Eighth century BCE.
26. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145b-2214 (Fig. 2.2:26)  
*Dimensions:* D8.2cm.  
*Description:* Base. Convex bottom. Pink clay outside, dark gray inside and dark gray core, white grits.  
*Parallel:* Ashdod (Dothan 1971: 29; Fig. 7:7).
- Chalice (n=3)** (Fig. 2.2:27)
27. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-689  
*Dimensions:* PH 5.0cm D5.3cm.

*Description:* Fragment of foot of the chalice. Reddish-brown clay, gray core, red slip and burnished, white and gray grits.

*Parallels:* Variant of Ashdod (Bachi 1971: 110; Fig. 58:7–10); Ramat Rachel (Gitin 2015: 347; Pl. 3.3.1:19).

*Date:* Seventh century BCE.

### Flask (n=2) (Fig. 2.2:28)

28. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-696

*Dimensions:* PH 28cm, DR 4.3cm, D22.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from lower body to rim. Dark gray clay inside and core, reddish-brown clay outside, pink slip.

*Parallel:* Variant of Ashdod (Kee 1971: 49; Fig. 11:11), Samaria-Sebaste III, Fig. 24

*Date:* Iron Age II.

### LMLK Stamps (Fig. 2.2:29–30)

29. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-116-1698-S4 (Fig. 2.2:29)

*Description:* Handle with a double-winged seal impression, *MMSHT*, with an incised concentric circle. *LMLK* stamps with a double-winged seal in the upper register and place name in the lower register are Type IIa according to Lemaire (Lemaire 1981: 54–60). Lipschits interprets stamps with incised circles as “recycled” and dates them to the mid-seventh century BCE, representing

ongoing administrative activity after 701 (Lipschits 2012: 1–15) contra Ussishkin who dates the stamp to Lachish III (Ussishkin 2004: 50–119).

*Date:* Eighth–seventh centuries BCE.

30. Reg. No. A-6092/11-169-157-2341-S6 (Fig. 2.2:30)

*Description:* Handle with a two-winged seal impression, no inscription. Lipschits describes this as Lemaire XII (see Lipschits above, No. 29).

### Stone Cosmetic Palette (Fig. 2.2:31)

31. Reg. No. A-5574/09-169-134-1989-S2

*Dimensions:* H 2.3cm; L 7.8cm; W 6.3cm.

*Description:* This is a decorated corner piece of limestone, polished to the smoothness of marble. It contains a cuplike depression and the beginning of a second and third cavity where the stone was broken off. The piece contains a floral decoration of a lotus in the space fillers between the surviving cup and the beginning of the other cavities. Brandl (2012: 397–404) places their origin at a stone workshop in Samaria, and their presence in other sites either as imported; as a result of plunder by Assyrian soldiers; or brought by refugees fleeing the northern kingdom of Israel.

*Parallels:* City of David (Brandl 2012: Fig. 14.114.6), Deve Huyuk near Carchemesh (Woolley 1914–16:124, Pl. 26:7), (Brandl: 2012: 397–404).

*Date:* Mid-ninth–eighth centuries BCE.

## PERSIAN-PERIOD POTTERY — CATALOG

### Burnished Deep Bowl with Wedge-Shaped Impression (n=1) (Fig. 2.3:1)

1. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125b-1901

*Dimensions:* 4.0 x 6.0cm.

*Description:* Rim fragment. Rows of impressed wedges linked at their base, most common on deep kraters. Yellow clay outside and red clay inside, gray core. Wheel-burnished inside and on the rim; many small, white grits. Zorn (2001: 689–699) suggests that this type was introduced to the area as a result of the incense trade between northwestern Arabia/Tayma and southern Palestine beginning in the Assyrian period.

*Parallels:* Tel Kedesh, Ein Gedi (Stern 1982: 133–135; Fig. 220); Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1982: 42; Fig. 29:4; Pl. XXV:4).

### Mortaria Bowls (n=38) (Fig. 2.3:2–3)

These bowls were discovered along the entire coast of the Eastern Mediterranean as well as inland sites throughout the Persian-period. Sometimes found at Iron Age II sites.

2. Reg. No. A-4687/06-169-97-1361 (Fig. 2.3:2)

*Dimensions:* D14.0cm.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

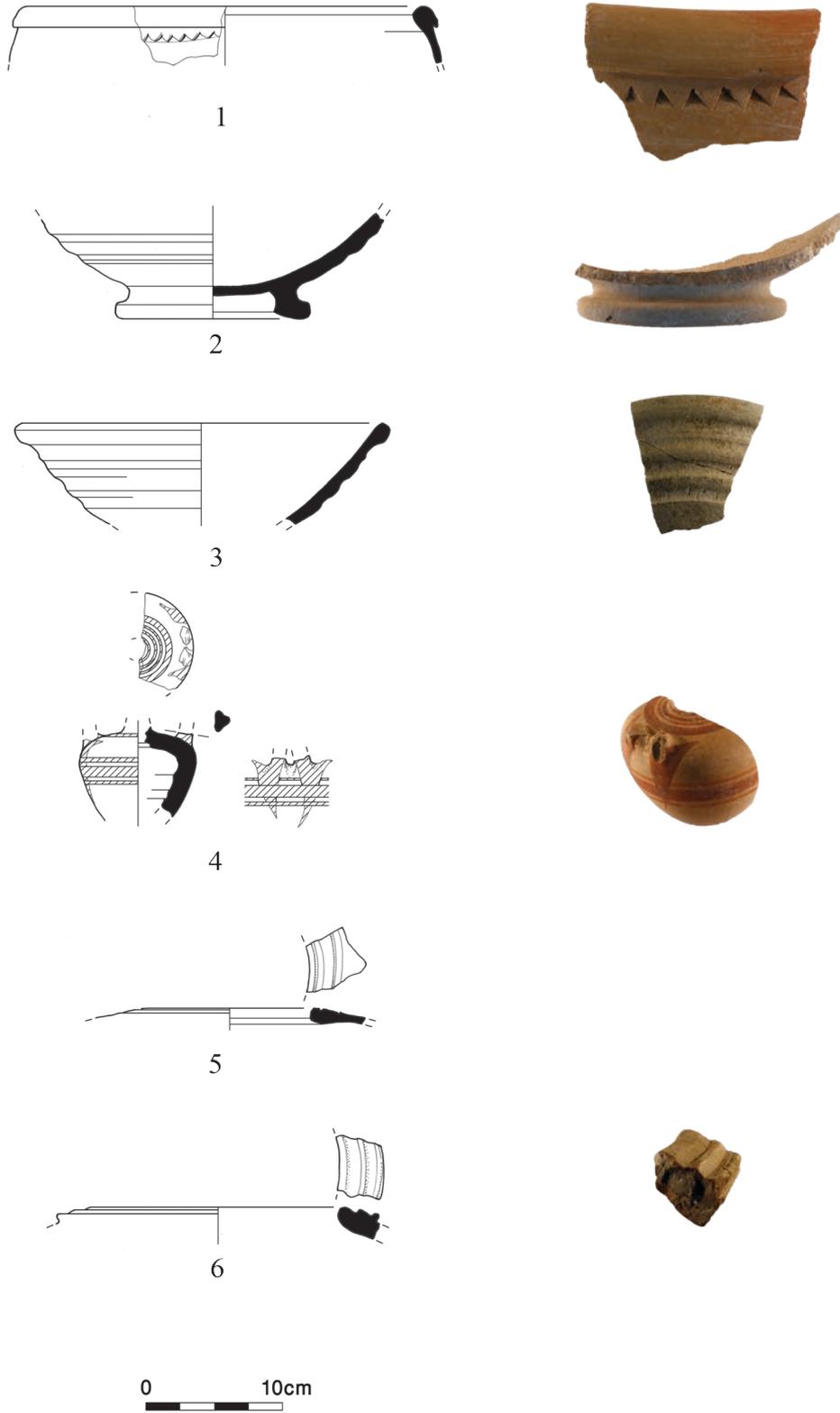


Fig. 2.3.

*Description:* Profile preserving foot. Pale yellow clay, many small white, brown and black grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Stern 1995: 53–55; Fig. 2.2:14).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

3. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125a-1813 (Fig. 2.3:3)

*Dimensions:* 9.5 x 10.0cm, DR 33.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from rim to mid body. Pale yellow-olive clay, many small white, brown and black grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Stern 1995: 53–55; Fig. 2.2:17).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

#### **Amphoriskos (n=2)** (Fig. 2.3:4)

4. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a-2222

*Dimensions:* PH 6.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from the lower body to the base of the neck. Decorated with reddish painted bands on yellowish/light brown background. Reddish-yellow clay outside and core, grayish inside. A broken, upright handle on one side is attached at right angles to the edge of the rim. Probably originated in Cyprus where they have been found in large numbers.

*Parallel:* Shiqmona (Stern 1982: 114; Fig. 163).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

#### **Holemouth Jars (n=6)** (Fig. 2.3:5–6)

5. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-2429/1 (Fig. 2.3:5)

*Dimensions:* 3.8 x 4.3cm.

*Description:* Grooved rim fragment. Yellow clay and core, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Stern 1995: 58; Fig. 2.5:2).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

6. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-169-2429/2 (Fig. 2.3:6)

*Dimensions:* 3.0 x 4.5cm.

*Description:* Rim fragment. Light yellow clay, light brown core, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Stern 1995: 58; Fig. 2.5:3).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

#### **Storage Jar (n=17)** (Fig. 2.4:7)

7. Reg. No. 37/15-169-195a-2797

*Dimensions:* PH 9.5cm, DR 11.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from upper body to out folded rim. Straight, conical shoulders, ridged outer wall. Reddish-yellow clay, few white and brown grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 312; Type JR3c, Fig. 6.38:1–6).

*Date:* At Tel Dor dated to late Persian-period and continuing into the third century BCE.

#### **Jug (n=4)** (Fig. 2.4:8)

8. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1031

*Dimensions:* DR 12.0cm.

*Description:* Profile from shoulder to rim. Light yellow clay, white grits. PH 7.8cm. According to Stern (1995: 63) they are more common on the northern coast as well as at Samaria.

*Parallel:* Variant of Dor (Stern 1995: 63; Fig. 2.11:11).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

#### **Juglets (n=27)** (Fig. 2.4:9–10)

9. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-66-1016 (Fig. 2.4:9)

*Dimensions:* PH 12.6cm, D base 2.4cm.

*Description:* Profile from flat base to upper body. Dipper juglet with elongated, cylindrical body and very small flat base. Light reddish clay, brown core, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Stern 1995: 65; Fig. 2.11:2–3).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

10. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1551 (Fig. 2.4:10)

*Dimensions:* PH 8.5cm.

*Description:* Profile from mid body to rim. Dipper juglet with ring handle attached from outward rolled rim to shoulder. Pale yellow-olive clay, brown core, white grits.

*Parallels:* This may be Type 2a with flat base (Stern 1982: 118–119, Fig. 178) or with rounded base (Stern 2015: 573–574; Pl. 5.1.18:7); Maresha (Levine 2003: 108; Fig. 6.13:121).

*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.



Fig. 2.4.

**Globular Juglets (n=36)** (Fig. 2.4:11–13)

11. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1055-S1

*Dimensions:* H 11.3cm, DR 4.6cm, W 9.0cm.*Description:* Entire profile from round base to out turned rim. Brown clay, white grits.*Parallels:* Maresha (Levin 2003: 108; Fig. 6.13:1), Tell el-Nasbeh, Tell Abu Hawam (Stern 2015: 574; Pl. 5.1.18:8, 12). Common in the coastal region, probably originated in Cyprus.*Date:* Sixth–fourth centuries BCE.

12. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-51-891-S1 (Fig. 2.4:12)

*Dimensions:* H 11.3cm, DR 4.5cm, D base 3.0cm, W 8.8cm.*Description:* Entire profile from flat base to outturned rim. Brown clay, many white grits.*Parallels:* Variant of Abu Hawam (Stern 2015: 574; Pl. 1.18:16). Common in the coastal region, probably originated in Cyprus.*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

13. Reg. No. 2/16-169-203-2828-S2 (Fig. 2.4:13)

*Dimensions:* DR 2.5cm, H 7.9cm, D base 1.8cm.*Description:* Squat juglet, entire profile preserved from somewhat convex base to outturned rim. Pink clay, brown core, white grits.*Date:* Fourth century BCE.**Bottles (n=13)** (Fig. 2.4:14–17)

14. Reg. No. 4368/05-169-65-995 (Fig. 2.4:14)

*Dimensions:* PH 16.5cm, D max 9.8cm.*Description:* Profile from lower body to base of neck. Light brown clay and core, white grits, reddish-brown bands decorating shoulder.*Parallel:* Gitin (Stern 2015: 576; Fig. 5.1.21:12).*Date:* Late fourth century BCE.

15. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115a-1661 (Fig. 2.4:15)

*Dimensions:* PH 4.3cm, DR 3.5cm.*Description:* Profile from base of neck to everted rim. Pink clay and core, red slip on rim and red horizontal band decoration.*Parallel:* Dor (Stern et al. 1995: 304; Fig. 6.26:3).*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

16. Reg. No. 6703/13-169-173-2487 (Fig. 2.4:16)

*Dimensions:* PH 7.5cm, D base 3.5cm, D max 7.3cm.*Description:* Profile from base to shoulder. Yellow clay, many small brown grits.*Parallel:* Dor (Stern et al. 1995: 304; Fig. 6.26:3–4).*Date:* Fifth–fourth centuries BCE.

17. Reg. No. 52/02-169-02-187-S1 (Fig. 2.4:17)

*Dimensions:* H 29cm, DR 4.5cm, D max 19cm.*Description:* Entire profile from rim to base. Piriform bottle with short, narrow neck and everted rim, pointed base. Light brown clay outside, gray inside and gray core, white grits.*Parallel:* Larger version of Megiddo (Stern 2015: 576; Fig. 5.1.21:13).*Date:* Stern states that this type starts in the Assyrian period and continues into the Persian-period.

## HELLENISTIC-PERIOD POTTERY — CATALOG

**Bowls** (Fig. 2.5:1–11)**Undecorated Incurved Rim Bowls (n=7,618)**

1. Reg. No. G-52/01-169-06-269-S1 (Fig. 2.5:1)

*Dimensions:* H 4.8cm, DR 11.6cm, D base 3.7cm.*Description:* Undecorated incurved rim bowl with disc base. Most common bowl at Maresha. Entire profile from rim to base preserved. Reddish-yellow clay.*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 8; Fig. 6.2:31–33), Ashdod (Bahat 1971: 173–174; Fig. 98:1–6; Kee 1971: 54–55; Fig. 16:3–4, 6–8).*Date:* Third–second centuries BCE.

2. Reg. No. A-4687/06-169-94-1372-S1 (Fig. 2.5:2)

*Dimensions:* H 9cm, DR 24.5cm, D base 9.7cm.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



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Fig. 2.5.

*Description:* Undecorated incurved rim bowl with ring base. Entire profile from rim to base is preserved. Reddish-brown clay.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 84; Fig. 6.2:35), Tel Michal (Berlin 2015: 634; Pl. 1.3:2).

*Date:* End of second century BCE.

***Decorated Incurved Rim Bowls with Ring Base (n=4,840)***

3. Reg. No. G-3/00-169-09-41-S1 (Fig. 2.5:3)

*Dimensions:* H 4.0cm, DR 9.5cm, D base 4.5cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from base to rim. Pink clay, red slip, white grits.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 84; Fig. 6.2:38), Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 289–290; Fig. 6.1:16).

*Date:* Late Hellenistic period.

4. Reg. No. G-3/00-169-06-133-S1 (Fig. 2.5:4)

*Dimensions:* H 5.9cm; DR 10.2cm; D base 5.2cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from base to rim. Reddish-yellow clay, red slip, white grits.

*Parallels:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 289–290; Fig. 6.1:15), Tell Sandahanna (Bliss and Macalister 1902: 127–128; Pl. 60:32).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

***Plain ware rolled rim saucer/lid (n=2248)***

5. Reg. No. G-52/01-169-06-272-S2 (Fig. 2.5:5)

*Dimensions:* H 2.3cm; DR 13.3cm; D base 4.8cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from base to rim. Reddish clay.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 83; Fig. 6.2:29), Tel Anafa (Berlin 1997: Pl. 18: PW 162).

*Date:* Mid-second century BCE.

***Decorated, flat, infolded rim plate (n=94)***

6. Reg. No. A-4099/04-169-36-636-S1 (Fig. 2.5:6)

*Dimensions:* H 3.4cm, DR 17.6cm. D foot 4.8cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from base to rim. Reddish-yellow clay, dark brown slip, red slip in center.

*Parallels:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 292; Fig. 6.4:8).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

***Undecorated, plain ware carinated bowls (n=171)***

7. Reg. No. A-3567/02-169-18-418-S1 (Fig. 2.5:7)

*Dimensions:* H 5.8 cm, DR 16.7cm, D foot 5.3cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from ring base to out-curved rim. Yellow clay.

*Parallels:* Tell Sandahanna (Bliss and Macalister 1902: 128; Pl. 61:22).

***Carinated Bowl Waster***

8. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a-2106 (Fig. 2.5:8)

*Dimensions:* H 7.5cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from ring base to out-curved rim. Green clay, white and brown grits.

***Decorated Carinated Bowls (n=71)***

9. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-50-745-S1 (Fig. 2.5:9)

*Dimensions:* H 4.7cm, DR 13.8cm, D base 4.8cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from ring base to out-curved rim. Light brown clay, reddish brown slip, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 290–291; Fig. 6.2:18).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

***Fishplates (n=2,848)***

10. Reg. No. A-3567/02-169-18-378-S1 (Fig. 2.5:10)

*Dimensions:* H 3.6cm, DR 16.5cm, D base 5.0cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from ring base to downturned rim. Pink clay, orange and black slip.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 85; Fig. 6.3:46), Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 291; Fig. 6.3:7), Ashdod (Kee 1971: 45; Fig. 8:5).

*Date:* Late second century BCE.

***Imitation of imported horizontal pinched “bow handle” bowls (n=1,050)***

11. Reg. No. A-3941/03-169-36-550-S1 (Fig. 2.5:11)

*Dimensions:* H 7.8cm, DR 16.4cm, D foot 5.5cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from ring base to out-curved rim. Two re-curved handles below rim. Reddish-brown clay, dark red slip.



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Fig. 2.6.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 86; Fig. 6.3:50), Kloner and Hess 1985: 128; Fig. 2:7–8), Ashdod (Kee 1971: 54, 49; Fig. 16:1; Fig. 10:15).

*Date:* Late Hellenistic period.

### **Kraters (n=190)** (Fig. 2.6:12–13)

#### *Decorated kraters*

12. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-131-1868 (Fig. 2.6:12)

*Dimensions:* PH 19.5cm. DR 32.0cm.

*Description:* Reconstructed profile of open globular krater preserved from upper body to out-turned ledge rim. Two horizontal handles on shoulder. Reddish-yellow clay exterior, red interior, white grits. Floral and egg-and-dart design painted red around rim.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 88; Fig. 6.4:57, similar form but undecorated).

*Date:* Third–second centuries BCE.

13. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-185a-2646 (Fig. 2.6:13)

*Description:* Reconstructed profile of four-handled deep krater preserved from mid body to out-turned rim. Two vertical handles set at rim and shoulder, reddish-yellow exterior and grayish-brown interior, white grits. Floral design painted red, “pie crust” decoration around the rim.

*Parallels:* Naukratis (Berlin 1997: Fig. 6.11:13, with similar rim).

### **Cooking Pots (n=2008) Fig. (2.6:14–16)**

14. Reg. No. A-3941/03-169-36-551-S1 (Fig. 2.6:14)

*Dimensions:* H 20.0cm, DR 15.2cm, W 22.5cm.

*Description:* Globular cooking pot with out-turned straight neck and rounded rim. Entire profile from convex base to rim, two vertical handles. Red clay.

*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 298; Fig. 6.17:2–3).

*Date:* Fourth–second centuries BCE.

15. Reg. No. A-4099/04-169-51-727-S3 (Fig. 2.6:15)

*Dimensions:* H 8.3cm, DR 6.7cm, W 11cm.

*Description:* Angular cooking pot with vertical neck. Entire profile from convex base to rim, one vertical handle set at rim to shoulder. Reddish clay.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 94; Fig. 6.6:75).

*Date:* Third–second centuries BCE.

16. Reg. No. A-3941/03-169-31-529-S1 (Fig. 2.6:16)

*Dimensions:* H 7.7cm, DR 6.5 cm, W 10.8cm.

*Description:* Decorated biconical cooking pot with incurved rim. Entire profile from base to rim. Pink clay, brown slip.

*Parallel:* Ashdod (Dothan 1971: 49; Fig. 10:20).

*Date:* Late Hellenistic period.

### **Casseroles (n=326)** (Fig. 2.6:17–18)

17. Reg. No. A4099/04-169-39-779-S1 (Fig. 2.6:17)

*Dimensions:* H 4.5cm, DR 15.5cm.

*Description:* Entire profile of a small grooved rim casserole, from convex base to rim. Reddish-brown clay, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (variant of Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 299–300; Fig. 21:10–13).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

18. Reg. No. A-3567/02-169-18-449-S1 (Fig. 2.6:18)

*Dimensions:* H 11cm, DR 24cm, W 25.3cm.

*Description:* Entire carinated profile of an angled grooved rim casserole from convex base to rim. Two horizontal handles pressed against rim’s outer edge. Reddish-brown clay. Not found at Judean sites.

*Parallels:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 300, Fig. 6.22:2); Ashdod (Kee 1971: 61; Fig. 24:4).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

### **Lids (n=89)** (Fig. 2.6:19–20)

19. Reg. No. 3/00-169-09-159-S2 (Fig. 2.6:19)

*Dimensions:* H 6cm, DR 20.5cm, D handle 5.2cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from rounded rim to handle. Yellowish clay, white grits.

*Parallels:* Dor (variant of Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 302; Fig. 6.24:4–10), Ashdod (Kee 1971: 61; Fig. 24:11).

*Date:* Late Persian period–second century BCE.

20. Reg. No. A-5343/08-169-28-1947-S1 (Fig. 2.6:20)

*Dimensions:* H 2.3cm, DR 10.0cm, D handle 3.0cm.



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Fig. 2.7.

*Description:* Entire profile from rim to ring handle. Dark red clay, small white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (variant of Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 302; Fig. 6.24:1–3).

*Date:* Late Persian period–second century BCE.

### Storage Jars (n=2,359) (Fig. 2.7:21)

21. Reg. No. A-4099/04-169-40-628-S1

*Dimensions:* H 59.0cm, DR 9.7cm, W 34.0cm.

*Description:* Pear shaped elongated storage jar. Entire profile from convex bottom to thickened rounded rim. Two vertical handles attached from shoulder to upper wall. Light yellow clay, white grits.

*Parallels:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 311; Fig. 6.35:10), Ashdod (Kee 1971: 60; Fig. 21:1).

*Date:* Late Persian period–second century BCE.

### Jar Waster (Fig. 2.7:22)

22. Reg. No. 52/01 169-09-306

*Dimensions:* H 8.0 cm.

*Description:* Profile from shoulder to rim. Greenish clay.

### Stands (n=30) (Fig. 2.7:23)

23. Reg. No. G-3/00-169-10-133-S1

*Dimensions:* H 13.2cm, DR 20.0cm, D foot 21.0cm.

*Description:* Decorated pot stand. Entire reconstructed profile with concave wall and out-turned foot and rim. Yellow clay, white grits, “pie crust” decoration around rim.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 98; Fig. 6.8:85).

*Date:* End of third–second centuries BCE.

### Jugs (n=3412) (Fig. 2.7:24–28)

24. Reg. No. A-4361/05-169-62-893-S1 (Fig. 2.3:24)

*Dimensions:* H 16.2cm, DR 11.2cm, D foot 7.7cm, W 18.0cm.

*Description:* Entire profile of globular jug with short, concave neck, ring foot, outward ledge rim. Yellowish clay, white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 103; Fig. 6.11:103).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

25. Reg. No. A-3567/02-169-18-465-S1 (Fig. 2.7:25)

*Dimensions:* H 21.5cm, DR 9.4cm, D foot 7.1cm, W 18.0cm.

*Description:* Jug with vertical neck and horizontal rim. Entire profile from ring foot to rim, vertical handle. Yellowish clay, white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003:104; Fig. 6.10:9)

*Date:* Hellenistic period.

26. Reg. No. A-4361/05-169-39-944-S1 (Fig. 2.7:26)

*Dimensions:* H 19.5cm, DR 8.5cm, D foot 6.8cm, W 16.0cm.

*Description:* Jug with concave neck and squared rim, entire profile from ring foot to rim. Vertical handle. Yellow clay, white grits.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 103–104; Fig. 6.11:107); Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 309; Fig. 6.31:11).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

27. Reg. No. 3/00-169-02-16-S1 (Fig. 2.7:27)

*Dimensions:* H 20.0cm, DR 9.4cm, D foot 5.7cm, W 16.0cm.

*Description:* Jug with concave neck and outward folded rim. Entire profile from ring foot to rim. Vertical handle. Yellow and red clay, white grits.

*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 104; Fig. 6.11:110); Ashdod (Kee 1971: 50; Fig. 11:4).

*Date:* Hellenistic period.

28. Reg. No. A-4361-169-39-947-S1 (Fig. 2.7:28)

*Dimensions:* H 19.0cm, DR 8.7cm, D foot 7.4cm, W 16.0cm.

*Description:* Decorated jug with concaved neck and outward grooved rim. Entire profile from ring foot to rim. Vertical handle. Light green clay, black slip, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (variant, with slip, Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 309, Fig. 6.31:4).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

**Jug Waster** (Fig. 2.7:29)

29. Reg. No. 5201-169-09-205

*Dimensions:* H 12.5 cm.*Description:* Profile from shoulder to rim. Green clay, white grits.**Lagynos (n=43)** (Fig. 2.7:30)

30. Reg. No. A-4361-169-68-1076-S1

*Dimensions:* H 16.0cm, DR 4.2cm, D foot 6.0cm, W 14.0cm.*Description:* Entire profile, carinated, with tall cylindrical neck, from ring foot to outward thickened rim. Vertical handle. Dark red clay, yellow slip.*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 106; Fig. 6.12:118), Ashdod (Kee 1971: 49; Fig. 11:3).*Date:* Second century BCE.**Flask (n=71)** (Fig. 2.7:31)

31. Reg. No. A-6092-169-151-2270-S2

*Dimensions:* H 22.5cm, DR 6.5cm, W 17.5cm.*Description:* Entire profile from bottom to rim. Long neck and two even discs joined on one side, two vertical handles. Pink clay.*Parallels:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 100; Fig. 6.9:90), Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 310–311; Fig. 6.34:1–2).*Date:* Second century BCE.**Amphoriskoi (n=36)** (Fig. 2.7:32–33)

32. Reg. No. A-5808/10-169-142-2112-S2 (Fig. 2.7:32)

*Dimensions:* H 21.8cm, DR 3.5cm, D base 4.2cm, W 8.7cm.*Description:* Entire profile from low ring base to downturned triangular profiled rim. Yellow clay. Semi-fine fabric, originated in Phoenicia. Discovered in many Hellenistic period sites, especially in the north at sites such as Dor, Tel Anafa and Shiqmona.*Parallels:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 308; Fig. 6.29:6), Tel Anafa (Berlin 1997: 54–57, Pl. 11).*Date:* Second and first centuries BCE.

33. Reg. No. A-7015/14-169-189-2717-S1 (Fig. 2.7:33)

*Description:* Entire reconstructed profile.

Preserved downturned, angled rim, narrow neck and body tapering toward a button toe. Small disc base, with two vertical handles attached at neck and shoulder. Yellow clay.

*Parallels:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 308; Fig. 6.29:3), Tel Anafa (Berlin 1997: Pl. 75, PW 71).*Date:* Second and first centuries BCE.**Juglets****Ovoid Juglets with Outturned Rim and Disc Base (n=161)** (Fig. 2.8:34–38)

34. Reg. No. A-4997/07-169-112-1673-S1 (Fig. 2.3:34)

*Dimensions:* H 11cm, DR 4.5cm, D base 3.4cm, W 7.0cm.*Description:* Undecorated juglet. Entire profile from disc base to rim. Vertical handle. Yellow clay, white grits.*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003:108–109; Fig. 6.13:131).*Date:* Second century BCE.

35. Reg. No. G-3/00-169-09-155-S1 (Fig. 2.8:35)

*Dimensions:* H 9.3cm, DR 4.2cm, D base 2.4cm, W 6.0cm.*Description:* Decorated juglet. Entire profile from small disc base to out-turned rim, vertical handle. Yellow clay, dark brown slip, white grits.*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 109–110; Fig. 6.13:132).*Date:* Second century BCE.**“Maresha Juglets” (n=383)**

36. Reg. No. A-3943/03-169-35-514-S1 (Fig. 2.8:36)

*Dimensions:* H 10.5cm, DR 4.0cm, D base 3.5cm, W 6.7cm.*Description:* Undecorated “Maresha juglet.” Entire profile from disc base to flattened rim. Vertical handle set at rim and mid-body. Red clay, white grits.*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 110–112; Fig. 6.13:133–137).*Date:* Second century BCE.



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Fig. 2.8.

37. Reg. No. A-5808/10-169-150-2264-S1 (Fig. 2.8:37)  
*Dimensions:* H 12.0cm, DR 3.5cm, D base 2.8cm, W 7.2cm.

*Description:* Decorated “Maresha juglet.” Entire profile from disc base to thickened rim. Vertical handle attached at rim and upper body. Pink clay, red slip, small white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 110–112; Fig. 6.13:138).

*Date:* Second century BCE.

**Cup-mouthed Juglet (n=218)** (Fig. 2.8:38)

38. Reg. No. A-7015/14-169-189-2700-S1

*Dimensions:* H 13.0cm, DR 3.4cm, D base 3.0cm, W 9.4cm.

*Description:* Entire profile of globular juglet. Preserving incurved cup-like rim, short narrow neck and disc base. Pink clay, red slip on upper wall, white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 109; Fig. 6.13:127).

*Date:* Second century–mid-first century BCE.

**Feeders (n=52)** (Figs. 2.8:39–40)

39. Reg. No. A-3941/03-169-36-538-S1 (Fig. 2.8:39)

*Dimensions:* H 7.2cm, DR 3.3cm, D base 3.3cm, W 5.5cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to out-curved rim. Vertical handle set at rim and shoulder and spout at mid-body. Reddish-yellow clay, white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 112; Fig. 6.13:140).

*Date:* Late Hellenistic period.

40. Reg. No. A-4099/04-169-47-720-S1 (Fig. 2.8:40)

*Dimensions:* H 7.5cm, DR 3.6cm, D base 2.7cm, W 5.2cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to out curved rim. Vertical handle set at rim and shoulder and a spout at mid-body. Reddish-yellow clay, white grits.

*Parallel:* Maresha (undecorated variant of Levine 2003: 113; Fig. 6.13:141).

*Date:* Late Hellenistic period.

**Titros (Klepsydra) (n=1)** (Fig. 2.8:41–43)

41-43. Reg. A-4687/06-169-93-1512-S1 (Fig. 2.8:41)

*Dimensions:* H 10.8cm, DR 3.8cm, D base 5.5cm, W 9.0cm.

*Description:* Three views of vessel. Entire reconstructed profile of a small vessel that resembles a dipper juglet but with a rounded, sieve-like base. Two vertical handles, and a tiny hole at its top. Reddish-yellow clay, white grits. This vessel utilizes the vacuum principle for drawing liquids. It would be lowered vertically into a vessel containing liquid until the vessel was full and the air had been pushed out via the small opening at the top. Once full, a finger was placed over the hole preventing the liquid from escaping. When the finger was removed, the liquid would flow via the sieve at the bottom. This allows for equal extraction of liquids. It was a tool that enabled the extraction of small amounts of liquid without pouring or the use of a ladle. This vessel is mentioned once in the Talmud, — Mishah Kelim 2.6 (thanks to F. Vitto for the reference). Also referred to as a klepsydra.

*Parallels:* Royal Baths of Meroe (Nowotnick 2016: 402, 412–413; thanks to R. Heginbottom-Rosenthal for the reference); Jericho (Bar Natan 2002: 119).

*Date:* This type probably originated in Greece in the sixth century BCE and from there transferred to the Nile Valley and Kush.

**Unguentaria (n=546)** (Figs. 2.9:44–50)

44. Reg. No. A-3567/02-169-20-435-S1 (Figs. 2.9:44)

*Dimensions:* H 11.9cm, DR 2.6cm, D base 2.6cm, W 4.1cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to downturned rim. Long cylindrical neck and biconical body. Greenish clay.

*Parallels:* Tel Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: 111, Pl. 14:16); Tel Sandahanna (Bliss and Macalister 1902: 126, Pl. 60:6; Tirat Yehuda (Berlin 2015: 639, Pl. 6.1.20:10).

*Date:* Second century BCE.



Fig. 2.9.

45. Reg. No. G-52/01-169-06-366-S1 (Fig. 2.9:45)  
*Dimensions:* H 11.4cm, DR 2.3cm, D base 2.0cm, W 3.6cm.  
*Description:* Red-painted. Entire profile from disc base to outturned rim. Long neck and rounded body. Pink clay, red slip.  
*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 306; Fig. 6.26:37–40).  
*Date:* Second century BCE.
46. Reg. No. A-4099/04-169-47-843-S1 (Fig. 2.9:46)  
*Dimensions:* H 20.5cm, DR 3.6cm, D base 5.0cm, W 11.0cm.  
*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to everted thickened rim. Long, cylindrical neck and short, rounded body. Reddish-brown clay, black and brown grits.  
*Parallels:* Anafa (Berlin 2015: 639 Pl. 6.1.20:13); Tell Sandahanna (Bliss and Macalister 1902: 126; Pl. 60:8); Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 305; Fig. 6.26:9).  
*Date:* End of Persian period–second century BCE.
47. Reg. No. A-4687/06-169-96-1400-S1 (Fig. 2.9:47)  
*Dimensions:* H 14.8cm, DR 3.4cm, D base 3cm, W 6.8cm.  
*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to flat rim. Rounded body. Pink clay, red slip.  
*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 305–306; Fig. 6.26:32–35).  
*Date:* Fourth–second centuries BCE.
48. Reg. No. 52/01-169-10-217-S1 (Fig. 2.9:48)  
*Dimensions:* PH 34.0cm, DR 6.0cm, W 16.0cm.  
*Description:* Reconstructed profile from lower body to rim. Conical body, in-turned rim, very tall neck. Pink clay, dark red slip inside and outside of rim, red grits.  
*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 306; Fig. 6.27:5–7).  
*Date:* Second century BCE.
49. Reg. No. G-52/01-169-10-332-S1 (Fig. 2.9:49)  
*Dimensions:* PH 11.5cm, D base 3.0cm, W 6.5cm.  
*Description:* Athenian gray fusiform. Profile from disc base to shoulder. Dark gray clay, red core, white-painted horizontal lines, small white grits.  
*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 306; Fig. 6.27:1–4).  
*Date:* Second century BCE.
50. Reg. No. A-6092/11-169-155a-2277-S2 (Fig. 2.9:50)  
*Dimensions:* H 17.2cm, DR 2.9cm, D base 2.3cm, W 4.7cm.  
*Description:* Imitation Athenian gray fusiform. Entire profile from base to rim. Light clay, white-painted horizontal lines.  
*Parallel:* Maresha (Levine 2003: 113–114; Fig. 6.13:145).  
*Date:* Second century BCE.
- Miniature Vessels (n=44)** (Fig. 2.9:51–55)
- Miniature Bowl*
51. Reg. No. G-52/01-169-10-216 (Fig. 2.9:51)  
*Dimensions:* H 2.1cm, DR 4.8cm, D base 3.3cm, W 5.8cm.  
*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to incurved rim. Pink clay, white grits.  
*Parallel:* Tel Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980; Pl. 14:12).  
*Date:* Third–second centuries BCE.
- Miniature Bottles*
52. Reg. No. A-3941/03-169-27-500-S1a (Fig. 2.9:52)  
*Dimensions:* H 3.9cm, DR 2.6cm, D base 2.4cm, W 3.4cm.  
*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to outturned rim. Biconical body. Pink clay, white grits.  
*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 303–304; Fig. 6.25:9).  
*Date:* Third–second centuries BCE.
53. Reg. No. G-52/01-169-11-238-S1 (Fig. 2.9:53)  
*Dimensions:* H 3.5cm, DR 2.1cm, D base 2.4cm, W 2.4cm.  
*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to outturned rim. Rounded body. Pink clay, brown grits.  
*Parallel:* Tel Anafa (Berlin 1997: 78, Fig. 2 top right).  
*Date:* Late Second century BCE.

54. Reg. No. G-52/01-1v69-06-336-S2 (Fig. 2.9:54)

*Dimensions:* H 2.8cm, DR 2.4cm, D base 2.1cm, W 2.4cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to outturned rim. Nearly cylindrical body. Red clay, many small, white grits.

*Parallel:* Dor (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 303–304; Fig. 6.25:6).

*Date:* Third–second centuries BCE.

#### *Miniature Cup*

55. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-51-917-S1 (Fig. 2.9:55)

*Dimensions:* H 2.4cm, DR 4.4cm, D base 3.5cm.

*Description:* Entire profile from disc base to vertical rim. One vertical handle set at rim and lower wall. Greenish clay, white grits.

*Parallel:* None found.

## DISCUSSION

The Iron Age ceramic repertoire includes ca. 663 identifiable vessels that can be tentatively subdivided into a number of categories. We have ca. 411 carinated bowls and 25 jugs, which amount to 436 vessels that can be associated with tableware. In addition, we can approximate ca. 7 mortaria, 5 bar-handle jars, 102 kraters, as well as 29 holemouth jars and 38 storage jars. These 181 vessels can be categorized as being part of utility vessels. Finally, we count 46 cooking vessels.

Most of these vessels are Judean in character and have parallels from Lachish III, the dominant Judean city in the Shephelah during this period. This is consistent with the fact that most of the finds associated with the Iron Age II settlement at Maresha are Judean in character, exhibiting minimal coastal influence. Many of the vessels contain white grits in the clay, probably intrusions from the local chalk.

This is consistent with other finds discovered throughout the upper and lower city of Maresha. These include: Hebrew ostraca from SC147 (Eshel 2010: 36–38) as well as from SC169 (unpublished), seventh-century BCE bulla (Brandl 2014: 29–32), *LMLK* stamped seals (Bliss and Macalister 1902:106–123) as well as remains of storage jars, Iron Age II lamps (see Chapter 10) and burnished bowls with folded rims. The discovery of these early finds in the subterranean fills, despite the lack of stratigraphy, reinforces the claim of an Iron Age presence in the area of the lower city at this time.

The Persian-period material is very different. Very few vessels can be labeled "tableware." No remnants of

shallow or carinated bowls were uncovered. We estimate from the number of rims and profiles that there were ca. 36 juglets as well as 4 jugs and 13 bottles. This would account for only 53 tableware vessels. Remains of 38 mortaria bowls usually associated with utility vessels were discovered. To these we may add 6 holemouth jars and 17 straight-shoulder jars. This amounts to 61 utility vessels. No remnants of Persian-period cooking pots were uncovered. This modest assemblage of Persian-period remains is another example of the drastic decrease in the population of the region following the conquests and destruction in the early sixth century BCE. The archaeological evidence reflects a region that was only sparsely populated during the sixth–fifth centuries BCE in what has been termed a post-collapse situation (Tainter 1998: 988–1039, Lipschits 2003: 336–45). It is interesting to note that while only one Iron Age lamp base was discovered, more lamps from the Persian-period were found (see Chapter 4).

The Persian-period finds are primarily from the later part of that period, and suggest small-scale settlement. The Persian-period ceramic repertoire reflects a change that had begun to include coastal connections possibly introduced by the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians with their naval fleet, and Arab Qedarites with their command of the desert, supplied the Persians with valuable aid in their campaigns against Egypt. Both groups were rewarded for their assistance.

The Phoenicians, especially from Sidon and Tyre, were given commercial control of a number of coastal cities at this time, the most influential for

Maresha being Ashqelon. From these coastal cities the Phoenicians were able to spread their influence inland, providing new markets for goods from the coast as well as from abroad. Historical sources such as pseudo-Scylax and the Eshmunézer inscription (Grabbe 2004: 64, 159–162) mention the movement of Phoenicians from the coastal cities farther inland and such cultural influence has been discerned in northern inland sites such as Kedesh (Berlin and Herbert 2015) and Tel Anafa (Herbert 2003), as well as in Maresha. Aramaic ostraca dated paleographically to the late Persian–early Hellenistic periods have been found throughout the region (Eshel 2010: 38) although only two of the Maresha ostraca were Phoenician. Written reference to the Qedarites and Arabs was found on an ostrakon in Maresha in SC128 (Eshel 2010: 43–45, 80). Zorn (2001: 689–699) has made a case for Arabian influence on Persian-period pottery that is decorated with rows of impressed wedges (see Fig. 2.3:1). He claims that this type originated in Tayma in northwestern Arabia and was brought to southern Israel via the incense trade.

The distribution of these sherds in SC169 can be seen in Tables 1 and 2. It is important to note regarding these tables that each year reflects the relative heights within each of the rooms. That is to say for example, the number of finds from the year 2000 were discovered in the upper level of fill while the finds from 2016 reflect the material found in the lowest levels of fill. What is clear from Tables 1 and 2 is that the Iron Age and Persian-period material, while only a very small percentage of the total pottery, was dispersed throughout all levels of the dumped garbage/alluvium. The overwhelming majority of the finds are from the Hellenistic period.

It is possible that as the city expanded in the Hellenistic period the earlier material from the Iron Age and Persian period was cleared away and dumped into some of the subterranean complexes. Many of these subterranean rooms were probably used during the Hellenistic period as garbage dumps. Almost no architectural remains have been discovered from the pre Hellenistic periods.

### *Hellenistic-Period Pottery*

The overwhelming number of vessels were from the Hellenistic period, primarily from the late third–second

centuries BCE. Vessels considered “tableware” include 13,844 bowls, 2,848 saucers, 2,848 fishplates, 43 lagynoi, 36 amphoriskoi and 4,174 jugs and juglets. Utility vessels include 2,359 jars, 75 flasks, 564 unguentaria, 2,008 cooking pots, 326 casseroles and 190 kraters.

The pottery in our assemblage is primarily local and regional plain and semi-fine ware with parallels from contemporaneous sites in Israel. In addition to imports, discussed in Chapter 3, local imitations of these vessels are also prevalent.

We are able to identify the pottery as local to Maresha based on personal observation over many years along with published parallels from Maresha (Levine 2003: 73–136, Bliss and Macalister 1902). The presence of white grits in the pottery suggests that the local potters mixed the local chalky *kirton* rock, abundant around Maresha, into their clay.

We also have a significant number of vessels that were “wasters,” meaning vessels ruined during the firing process and yet preserved (Fig. 2.5:8, 2.7:22, 29). This is direct evidence for local pottery production and the preserved forms are complete enough to allow for local parallels to be determined. The discovery of “leather dry” vessels is further proof of a local pottery industry.

Parallels are found primarily at non-Jewish Hellenistic-period sites such as Dor, Ashdod, Tel Michal, as well as inland sites such as Tel Anafa, Samaria, Kedesh and Tirat Yehuda, where Phoenician semi-fine ware is abundant.

The absence of pottery typical of Jerusalem and its environs as well as Jericho, suggests isolation from Judea at this period of time. Maresha lacks the fusiform unguentaria typical of Judea as well as Hasmonean cooking vessels prevalent at Jericho (Bar Natan 2002: 68–75). The almost complete absence of the typical pinched Hasmonean oil lamps (Bliss and Macalister found two, see 1902: Pl. 62:4–5), among the hundreds of other oil lamps discovered in SC169 or in Maresha in general is a glaring example of this isolation from Judea. The finds suggest a lack of exchange with Maresha’s northern neighbors in Judea, while at the same time reflects contact with sites farther to the north and elsewhere. The Hellenistic-period ceramic repertoire of Maresha, like so many of the other finds here, such as figurines, lamps and epigraphic material reflect a Hellenistic *koine*.

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**Table 1.** Location and numbers of Iron Age II sherds in SC169.

Room	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
1	25	3			6	1		3	13	9	24	9	19	6	18	11		147
2					8	2	10	8	8	8		6						50
3	39	2	23	19	12	3												98
4					3	2	5	7	10	10	34	38	32	32	27	12		180
5				1	12		7			1								21
6	4			3	7	48	10	34	19	2	5	1	9		1			143
7				1	15	69	27	77	72	48	30	1	9	12	1	5		367
8								9										9
9a	8		3	26	6	20	25	114	86	44	88	16	16	13	11	37		367
9b			1			22	10	92	74	23	36	16	2		36			312
10	19	8			66	57	20	9	7				11	13	5			215
11				3	11	6	13	9		13	11	4		7				77
12						2	6		5	7	12		3					35
13			1	3	9	15	2											30
<b>Total</b>																		<b>2051</b>

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Table 2. Location and number of Persian-period sherds from SC169.

Room	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
1	3	1								2	5	3	4		1		1	5
2					1	2	1	1	1	3								8
3	1	1	1		2													5
4							1	1			2	5	2	3	2		3	18
5																		
6						2	1	3									5	11
7				3		4	1	2	13	10	10	4	3			1		51
8	2																	2
9a	2					5	13	16	20	3	14	5	2	4	3	10	4	101
9b	1		2		5	3	10	9	4		9	1			2			46
10	2	1	2	4	5	9	8		1					5	6	2	2	47
11				3		2												5
12																		
13				1		3												4
<b>Total</b>																		<b>303</b>

## CHAPTER 3

# IMPORTED POTTERY AND SELECTED LOCALLY MADE VESSELS

*Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom*

### INTRODUCTION

The chapter focuses on the table and kitchen wares imported from Athens, Italy, the Aegean, Asia Minor and Egypt, and on a small number of plausibly local vessels copying widespread prototypes of the Hellenistic ceramic koine. The bulk of the imports consists of fine tableware, mainly plates, saucers and bowls, table amphoras and drinking vessels, among them a fair quantity of mold-made bowls. Less common are closed vessels and cookware; a probable thymiaterion and a brazier are also recorded. The locally made vessels consist of an imitation Knidian cup, filter jugs, flasks and inkwells. As no archaeometric analyses were carried out, the attribution to production sites and areas is based on visual inspection, which in the case of Attic and Egyptian pottery and Eastern Sigillata A is fairly reliable, yet not unequivocal. Other attributions are tentative and need further analyses by petrographic sampling. The classification is the result of studying fabrics, wares and shapes, including production techniques, surface treatment and decorative elements.

The ceramics are discussed and cataloged according to Rotroff's two-part system employed in the excavation reports of the Athenian Agora: The vessels are classified by function (1997: 5–6) and forms, defined

as “a set of distinctive characteristics of shape that are shared by a number of pots” (2006: 6). The term “type” is used for vessels sharing the same form and the same single fabric, originating from a single production center (Berlin 1997: 4). The study's first target is the typological and chronological assessment; the second is the investigation of the probable function of the ceramics. No statistical calculations were carried out. The diagnostic specimens were sorted during field work, some restoration was undertaken, and the ceramics chosen for publication comprise the full range of diagnostic sherds.

The chapter is devoted to diverse categories of imported fine wares, intending to provide the reader with a concise summary of fabric, shape, function and dating evidence. The layout and description of the catalogued pieces does not conform to a fixed set of rules, but differs for each category. The principle of the arrangement was to define characteristic features without repeating basic data. Hence, references are kept to a minimum except when new discoveries like the considerable import of Ptolemaic Black and Red wares is dealt with, rarely recorded to date at sites in the southern Levant.

### BLACK-GLOSS WARES

The primacy of black-gloss wares is conspicuous, comprising mainly Attic products of the third and second centuries BCE (Figs. 3.1–3) as well as some Italian wares (Fig. 3.3:4–15) and Ptolemaic Black Ware of the second century BCE (Fig. 3.4).

*Attic Ware* (Figs. 3.1:1–14; 3.2:1–15; 3.3:1–3)

The identification of Attic Ware is based on visual inspection; the fired clay of most vessels is the normal Attic light reddish-brown (Rotroff

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

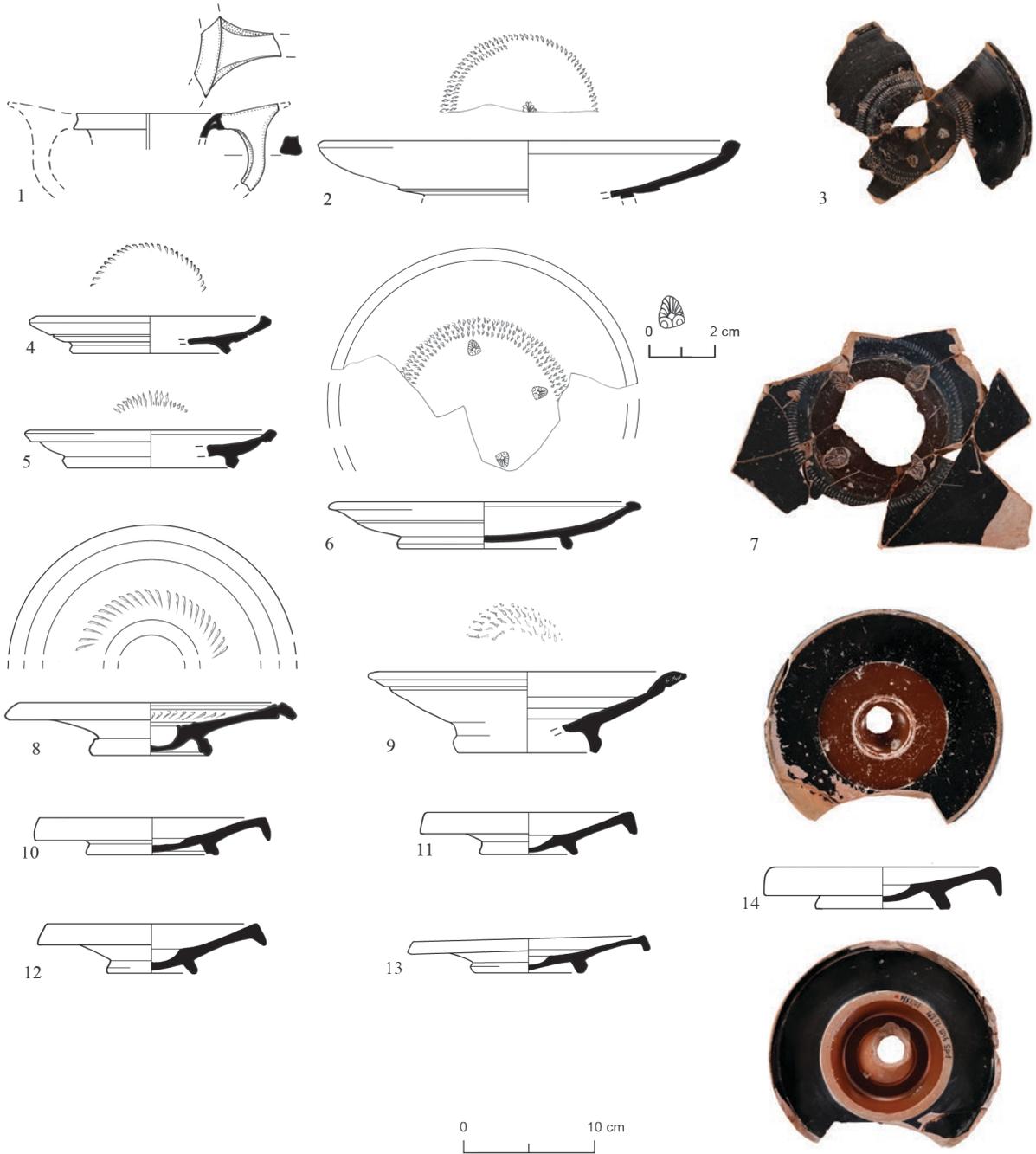


Fig. 3.1.

**Figure 3.1: Attic Ware**

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Kantharos	5574/09-169-134-2085	
2	Plate: rolled rim	52/01-169-09-249	Diam. 31.5
3	Plate: rolled rim	3567/02 + 3941/03-169-21-470 + 36-533	Diam. 18
4	Plate: rolled rim	4099/04 + 4687/06-169-50-877 + 93-1512	Diam. 18, base diam. 10.4
5	Plate: rolled rim	4997/07-169-115a-1667	Diam. 19, base diam. 10.6
6	Plate: rolled rim	4687/06-169-68-1305	Diam. 23, base diam. 12
7	Plate: rolled rim	52/01 + 3567/02- 169-12-364 + 13-443	Base diam. 10.7, H of foot 2
8	Fish plate	4099/04-169-50-889-S1 + 50-724 + 50-768	Diam. 22, base diam. 9.5
9	Fish plate	4687/06-169-94-1506	Diam. 24, base diam. 10.5
10	Fish plate	5343/08-169-125a-1920 + 124-1889	Diam. 17.5, base diam. 10
11	Fish plate	6092/11 169-159-2343	Diam. 16.5, base diam. 7.8
12	Fish plate	4361/05-169-65-1075-S1	Diam. 17.5, base diam. 6.5
13	Fish plate	3/00-169-02-55	Diam. 18.5, base diam. 8.5
14	Fish plate	4997/07-169-93-1546-S1	Diam. 18, base diam. 10

1982: 14), with occasional light brown also occurring (Rotroff 1997: 10). Most of the imported vessels have a thick black glaze, sometimes lustrous and silvery. Rotroff points out that Attic glaze can fire to a variety of colors in gray, brown, tan, red, purple and even greenish hues, with several shades found on a single pot (1997: 11). From the assemblage in Subterranean Complex 169 it appears that the inhabitants sought to import Attic vessels of reasonable quality, opting for evenly black-glazed vessels and two-tone vessels with a stacking circle. No fabric description will be given for the Attic Ware except for an unusual surface appearance. However, the property of the glaze — lustrous, silvery or dull — will be noted; a lustrous glaze, rare after 250 BCE, can serve as a chronological marker (Rotroff 1997: 11, after 250 BCE the lustrous glaze occurs only on 15% of the production).

#### *Classical Kantharos* (Fig. 3.1:1)

Fig. 3.1:1. Lustrous glaze. Rim, neck and handle fragment of a Classical kantharos with molded rim, the handle with flaring spur.

The shape represents the main drinking vessels of the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, made only in small numbers after 300 (Rotroff 1997: 83–85, Cat. Nos. 43–46). The only third-century example

BCE from the Agora is Cat. No. 46, with West Slope decoration and a date range of ca. 300–250 (1997: 246).

#### *Rolled-rim Plates* (Fig. 3.1:2–7)

During the Hellenistic period plates with rolled rim were the most popular plates in Attica; with a considerable range in size they were multi-purpose vessels for food service, from hors d'oeuvre dish to serving platter (Rotroff 1997: 142–143).

Fig. 3.1:2. Dull glaze. Entire profile, ring foot missing. On interior, two rows of rouletting and indistinct broken stamp.

Fig. 3.1:3. Silvery glaze. Entire profile, several joining fragments. On interior, two circles of rouletting and four stamped palmettes. Grooved resting surface.

Fig. 3.1:4. Light brown, silvery black glaze. Entire profile, center of plate missing. On interior, single circle of rouletting. Resting surface reserved.

Fig. 3.1:5. Silvery glaze. Entire profile, center of plate missing. On interior, rouletting.

Fig. 3.1:6. More than half of plate preserved. On interior, three rows of rouletting and four stamped palmettes. Resting surface reserved.

Two additional large plates, diam. 34cm (not illustrated, see Table 2:1–2).

For comparison see Rotroff 1997: 314, Cat. Nos. 684–685, Fig. 49.

Fig. 3.1:7. Black glaze with dark brown stacking circle (diam. 10cm), brown glaze on inner face of foot and underside. Rim missing, several joining fragments. Rouletting and four stamped palmettes on interior. Resting surface reserved.

Some 20 additional base and rim fragments of rolled-rim plates were retrieved, four with stacking circle. It can be concluded that the shape was popular at Maresha and that those with stamped palmettes are mostly third-century BCE imports. The Athenian plates made before ca. 200 BCE have stamped decoration on the floor: radiating linked or free palmettes within rouletting or, less commonly, rouletting alone. Linked palmettes were preferred through the early third century BCE; thereafter they are rare, but a few examples date as late as the last quarter of the third century BCE (Rotroff 1997: 311, Cat. No. 665). The most common number is six, but five, seven, eight, and nine also occur. Free palmettes became more common in the course of the third century; although there was much variation in number earlier, four was the standard in the late fourth century BCE and later. On Classical and early Hellenistic plates, the rouletting consists of closely spaced, very fine and often rather long lines; after about 275 BCE it became coarser, with shorter, thicker, more widely spaced lines. Stamped decoration on this shape probably died out around 200 BCE (Rotroff 1997: 141–143).

### *Fish Plates* (Fig. 3.1:8, 10–14)

These are plates with the entire profile preserved. The shape is well represented in the assemblage of SC169. Fish plates were used for serving and consuming food; the depression probably intended to collect broth or to hold sauces, a seasoning or relish (Rotroff 1997: 146–147; Kögler 2010: 146).

Fig. 3.1:8. Restored from eight fragments. On interior rouletting. Deep central depression. Resting surface reserved, scraped grooves along inner edge of rim and around depression. Reserved band near rim and around depression.

Fig. 3.1:9. Plate with non-joining base (restored drawing); depression missing. Reserved rim and reserved band below rim on exterior (W 1.7–1.9).

Groove on exterior below rim, on interior reserved band (W 1.2) around rouletting. Resting surface reserved.

Fig. 3.1:10. Resting surface reserved, scraped groove around depression (5–6mm) and along rim (6mm) and another at the junction of body and foot on the exterior.

Fig. 3.1:11. The black glaze did not adhere well, there are only slight remains on interior. Resting surface reserved.

Fig. 3.1:12. The black glaze did not adhere well on the exterior, around the depression the glaze is brown and on the inner face of the foot and on the underside, reddish-brown. Resting surface reserved.

Fig. 3.1:13. Pronounced scraped groove around depression (4mm), narrow groove at the junction of the inner rim and body and on interior mid-wall. Resting surface reserved. Nipped underside.

Fig. 3.1:14. Brown glaze on depression and lower half of interior, scraped groove around the depression and at the junction of the inner rim and body, brown glaze on inner face of foot and outer section of underside, scraped groove at the junction of body and foot on the exterior, red circle and reserved section on mid-underside. Resting surface reserved.

The bulk of these fish plates must have been imported in the third and early second centuries BCE, as the contextual evidence from the Athenian Agora indicates that after 175 BCE fish plates were rare, though not abandoned altogether; the shape remained popular in the eastern Mediterranean throughout the second century (Rotroff 1997: 148). Hence, Attic exports must have been severely limited or must have totally ceased; at Maresha they also could have been cherished heirlooms, as occasionally documented by vessels mended after breakage (see Figs. 2:3; 7:4 for plates with two and three mending holes).

### *Projecting-rim Saucer* (Fig. 3.2:1–2)

In Athens saucers with projecting rim were manufactured throughout most of the Hellenistic period, and though often classified as plates, the term saucer is more appropriate for a vessel never as flat or shallow as a plate (Rotroff 1997: 149).

Fig. 3.2:1. Black glaze with some light brown spots inside and out; misfired. Saucer with nearly flat rim

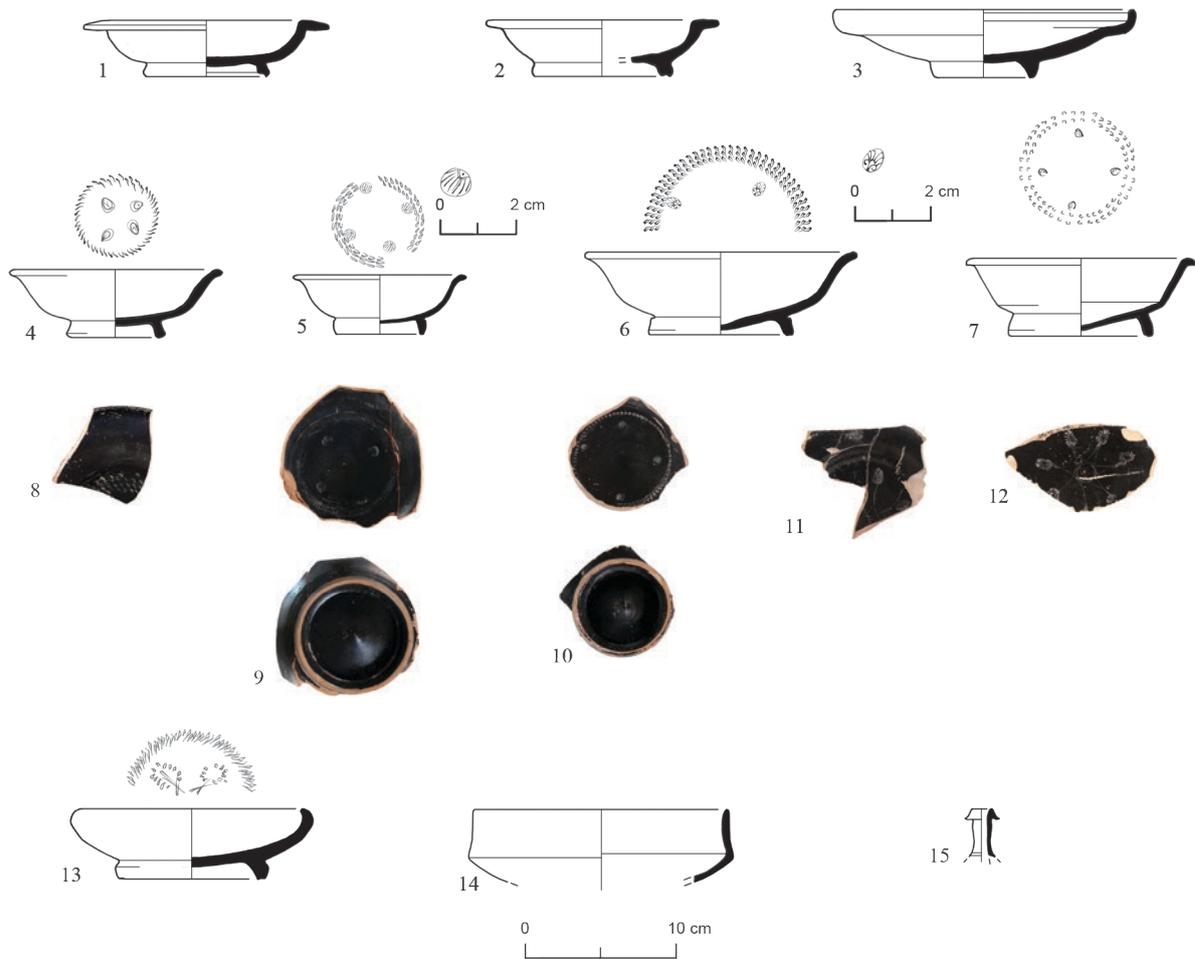


Fig. 3.2. Attic Ware

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Saucer: projecting rim	4687/06-169-97-1427	Diam. 16, base diam. 8
2	Saucer: projecting rim	5808/10-169-145a-2140	Diam. 15.5, base diam. 9
3	Plate: upturned rim	37/15-169-195a-2728	Diam. 20, base diam. 6.5
4	Bowl: upturned rim	4687/06-169-68-1338-S1	Diam. 13.5, base diam. 6.5
5	Bowl: upturned rim	3/00-169-06-165	Diam. 11, base diam. 6
6	Bowl: upturned rim	4687/06-169-93-1402	Diam. 18, base 9.4
7	Bowl: upturned rim	6701/13 + 6380/12-169-179-2495 + 169-2401	Diam. 15, base diam. 8.3
8	Bowl: upturned rim	5808/10-169-149-2203	
9	Plate: ring foot	52/01-169-06-199	Base diam. 7.5
10	Plate: ring foot	3/00-169-09-158	Base diam. 6.5
11	Plate	4997/07-169-115a-1666	Base diam. 9.6
12	Plate	7015/14-169-185a-2696	
13	Echinus bowl	5343/08-169-125-1980.	Diam. 14, base diam. 8.5
14	Cup	52/01-169-10-358	Diam. 17
15	Unguentarium	4361/05-169-67-1265	PH 3

with faint ridge. Stacking circle on the interior (Diam. 8cm). Grooved resting surface.

Two more saucers of the same size came to light (see Table 2:3–4).

Fig. 3.2:2. Silvery glaze, on exterior lustrous. Saucer with flat rim. Grooved resting surface reserved. Groove along outer wall and foot.

The contextual evidence from the Agora suggests a production period from ca. 270–50 BCE. The diameter ranges from 15 to 20cm; most measure between 16 and 19cm (Rotroff 1997: 149–150). The hasty manufacture is noticeable, usually with fingerprints on the foot and lower wall, where the vessel was held for dip glazing. Saucers must have been among cheapest of glazed goods.

#### *Upturned-rim Plate* (Fig. 3.2:3)

Fig. 3.2:3. Silvery glaze. Restored, five joining fragments. Three grooves on interior below rim. Three mending-holes on wall.

Smaller modules, diam. 18cm (see Table 2:5) and larger ones, diam. 32cm (see Table 2:6) have been documented.

Not a common shape in the Athenian production, this vessel is characterized by its narrow ring foot, measuring about one third of the diameter of the plate. Unknown among the black-glazed vessels in the eastern Mediterranean, the plate was most likely produced in Athens over a short period during the late second and early first centuries BCE, imitating imported Italian prototypes (Rotroff 1997: 154–155). The plates are rare in the SC169 assemblage, and should be attributed to its last phase of deposition.

#### *Outturned-rim Bowls* (Fig. 3.2:4–8)

Bowls with outturned rim represent a shape that was dominant all over the Hellenistic world; in Athens they are more popular than echinus bowls, with their popularity increasing after 225 BCE to the extent that in second-century contexts they are three times as common as echinus bowls. The bowls from SC169 are totally glazed with the exception of the reserved or partially reserved resting surface, a feature of the Athenian Classical variety, probably no longer produced after the third quarter of the second

century BCE (Rotroff 1997: 156–157). The simpler and less carefully executed Hellenistic variety, rarely with stamped decoration, began to be produced in the third century and the semi-glazed variety in the late second and early first centuries BCE (Rotroff 1997: 158–159). Rotroff assumes that the Hellenistic variety was introduced as a less expensive product that eventually became standard (1997: 158). The SC169 assemblage indicates that Maresha's inhabitants acquired the higher quality products.

Fig. 3.2:4. Lustrous glaze. Entire profile, four joining fragments. Four stamped palmettes, rouletting and a groove matching ring foot, groove on exterior below rim. Partial glaze on resting surface, with brown blotches on outer foot and lower exterior wall.

Fig. 3.2:5. Entire profile, four joining fragments. Four stamped palmettes and rouletting matching ring foot. Resting surface (3mm) reserved. Scraped groove at the junction of body and foot.

Fig. 3.2:6. Entire profile, three joining fragments. Four tiny stamped palmettes and rouletting matching ring foot. Resting surface (6mm) reserved. Faint nipple on underside.

Fig. 3.2:7. Silvery glaze, black with dark brown patches on interior below carination and within ring foot, partial on resting surface. Entire profile. Four tiny stamped palmettes and rouletting matching ring foot. Scraped groove at the junction of body and foot. Nippled underside.

Fig. 3.2:8. Complete profile. Scraped groove at the junction of body and foot. Resting surface reserved.

In the Athenian production the bowls range from 9 to 30cm in diameter; 65% measure 11–15cm, with 12–13cm the most common (Rotroff 1997: 157). The 30 bowls discovered in SC169 range from 11 to 15cm; four bowls have a diameter of 22cm.

Based on their morphological properties the Athenian bowls with outturned rim of the Classical variety date between ca. 300–125 BCE. Their characteristic features are the absence of grooved resting surfaces, no nipped underside, no linked palmettes but four separate ones within rouletting; most are decorated with very small stamps, appearing at the end of the third century BCE (Rotroff 1997: 157–158). As Rotroff points out, the profiles can show marked differences, thus a precise dating is of the imports

impossible. The profiles of the bowls in Fig. 3.2:4–5 with their flat underside resemble an Athenian vessel from a context of 250–240 BCE (Rotroff 1997: Fig. 59:883), while those in Fig. 2:6–7 have a slightly pointed underside (Rotroff 1997: Fig. 59: 884 with a context dated to 250–240 BCE and Fig. 59:889 with a context dating to 250–225 BCE). Considering the predominant very small palmettes, the SC169 imports should be assigned to the late third and second centuries, while the absence of the simplified Hellenistic variety sets the end of the imports to around 125 BCE.

#### *Incised and Impressed Decoration* (Fig. 3.2:9–12)

Fig. 3.2:9–10. Silvery glaze. Two ring feet. Probably part of outturned rim plates. Four stamped palmettes and rouletting matching ring foot. Scraped groove at the junction of body and foot. Resting surface reserved. Nipped underside.

Fig. 3.2:11. Lower half of plate with broken ring foot. Linked palmettes (see above): two palmettes preserved within rouletting, with central circle. Scraped groove at junction of body and foot. Nipped underside. See Rotroff 1997: Pl. 142.

Fig. 3.2:12. Fragment of plate with seven linked palmettes, within central circle. See Rotroff 1997: Pl. 145:625 (six palmettes).

#### *Echinus Bowl* (Fig. 3.2:13)

Like the Classical variety of bowls with outturned rim, the shallow echinus bowls of the Classical type with a diameter between 9 and 27cm were used for serving food, though the wide range in diameter suggests multi-functional use. The medium-sized bowls with a diameter between 11 and 15cm may have been used as individual serving dishes (Rotroff 1997: 161–162).

Fig. 3.2:13. Lustrous glaze. Shallow bowl with wide ring foot. Of the originally four palmettes, two are preserved within rouletting. Scraped groove at the junction of body and foot. Grooved resting surface reserved. Shape, decoration and surface treatment suggest a date in the first half of the third century BCE, with the Hellenistic type lacking the stamped decoration that was produced until the mid-second century BCE (Rotroff 1997: 162).

#### *Cup with $\pi$ -shaped Handles* (Fig. 3.2:14)

Fig. 3.2:14. Lustrous glaze. Rim and upper wall, 10 fragments, some joining. Following the import of Knidian cups from at least the second quarter of the second century BCE onward, Athenian potters subsequently produced imitations (Rotroff 1997: 119). On the Athenian version the upper body is slightly concave and not convex like the prototype. According to the preserved profile, the cup should be attributed to the shape common after 175 BCE (Rotroff 1997: Fig. 23:399–404).

#### *Unguentarium* (Fig. 3.2:15)

Fig. 3.2:15. Black glaze with a brown blotch on neck exterior. Rim and neck fragment. Triangular rim with groove at inner edge, groove at base of neck. The shape recalls a West Slope unguentarium in the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 1997: 178, 355, Cat. No. 1171, dated to the third century BCE).

#### *Rope Handle* (not illustrated, see Table 2:7)

Blotchy black to brown glaze with spots of white paint.

Handle fragment with upper flat section. No twisting near neck and slight twisting on lower side. Diam. 2cm.

The handle belongs to a wheel-made table amphora; the profile resembles a West Slope amphora (Rotroff 1997: 287, Cat. No. 416, context date 240–220 BCE).

#### *Pyxides* (Fig. 3.3:1–3)

One special find from SC169 was a pyxis, consisting of a plain lower box and elaborately decorated lid. This container represents a luxury item of women's accoutrement, used as jewelry and cosmetic box. The deep lid has a dome-shaped top, a horizontal flange and a nearly straight, cylindrical wall, with decoration in West Slope technique on dome and sides. In such vessels, the lid slips over the box, which has a ring foot, a convex lower wall set off from the flange on which the lid rests, and a cylindrical upper wall (Rotroff 1997: 188–190).

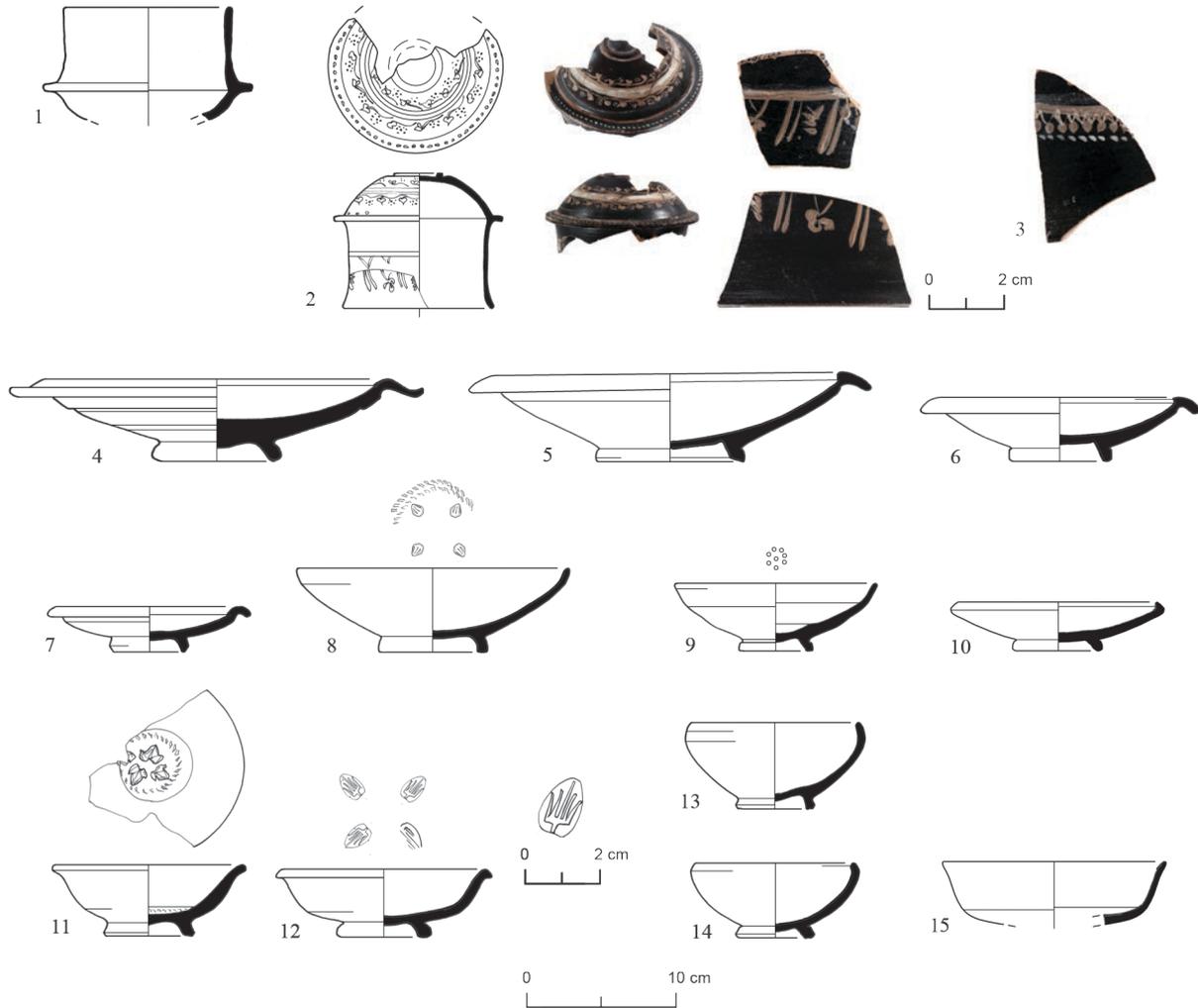


Fig. 3.3.

Fig. 3.3:1. Light gray, black glaze. Body of pyxis, foot missing. For shape see Rotroff 1997: 362, Cat. No. 1234, Fig. 75, Pl. 90, context date 200–175 BCE.

Fig. 3.3:2. Light gray, black glaze; paint: clay and white paint. Lid of pyxis, restored from several pieces. Dome and cylinder are separated by a flange. The dome is decorated with two garlands of ivy leaves and clay-colored corymbs, separated by a wide band composed of a central line in white painted with two clay-colored lines. The flange has a dotted-line border and on the vertical edge a clay-colored line. A scraped groove separates the flange and base of dome and the top of the dome and its center, marked by a sunken disc within a fillet. The cylinder is decorated with a row of vertical strokes alternating with a floral pattern.

This vessel resembles Rotroff 1997: 361, No. 1225, Fig. 75, Pl. 90, context date 270–250 BCE(?).

Fig. 3.3:3. Light gray, black glaze; paint: clay-colored and white. Fragment of lid, decorated with a simplified spearhead necklace incised and with clay dots, suspended from tainia, below a row of white dots.

#### *Campana A Ware* (Fig. 3.3:4–15)

Characteristic features are the paste fired brown-maroon with a black, glaze, often silvery, commonly found stacking circle of dark brown glaze on the interior matching the diameter of the ring foot and the blotchy glaze on the lower exterior wall around the ring foot and on the resting surface, with the body color shining through, the latter related to process of dipping.

**Fig. 3.3.** Attic Ware (1–3) and Campana A Ware (4–15)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Pyxis	4361/05-169-51-900	Rim diam. 9.5
2	Pyxis	4361/05-169-51-972	Diam. at lower wall 10
3	Pyxis	4099/04-169-36-607	
4	Plate: off-set rim	4687/06-169-68-1328	Diam. 29.5 (outer edge), base diam. 8.5
5	Plate: downturned rim	5808/10 + 4999/04 + 4997/07 + 6701/13-169-150-2204 + 50-831 + 114-1746 + 179-2522-S1	Diam. 27, base diam. 9.5
6	Plate: downturned rim	4997/07-169-114-1746	Diam. 18.5, base diam. 6.5
7	Plate: downturned rim	4099/04-169-50-8314	Diam. 13, base diam. 4.5
8	Plate: upturned rim	4361/05-169-39-961	Diam. 20, base diam. 7.5
9	Plate: upturned rim	52/01-169-12-364	Diam. 13, base diam. 4.8
10	Plate	52/01-169-06-365	Diam. 14, base diam. 5.3
11	Plate: outturned rim	4099/04-169-50-878	Diam. 13, base diam. 5.5
12	Plate: outturned rim	5808/10-169-145a-2221	Diam. 14, base diam. 6.3
13	Echinus bowl	3941/03-169-35-555	Diam. 12, base diam. 4.5
14	Echinus bowl	5343/08-169-126-1960	Diam. 11, base diam. 4.7
15	Bowl/cup	6701/13-169-179-2537	Diam. 16.5

Fig. 3.3:4. Three joining pieces, plate with off-set rim with raised edge.

The plate is Morel Form 1430 (1981: 111–113, close to Pl. 17:1431b 1; 1986: 464, Fig. 2:12), rare before mid-second century BCE, deriving from a Campana B shape. Two plates in Campana B ware imported to Athens have context dates of 110 BCE to early first century CE and 110–75 BCE (Rotroff 1997: 406, Cat. Nos. 1638–1639). For Beirut see Élaigne 2013: 215, Fig. 3:402–339; for Maresha see Levine 2003: 79 and Fig. 6.1:17, diam. 27.5cm, base diam. 8.2cm.

The following three vessels are Morel Form 1300, Subform 1, deriving from a Campana B shape: plate with downturned rim and a groove along the interior rim. From the SC169 assemblage it appears that the shape was quite popular; some 20 more plates were found, ranging greatly in diameter (Morel 1981: 102–103, see esp. Form 1310, Pls. 11–13; 1986: 463–464, Fig. 1, second half of second century BCE). For Beirut see Élaigne 2013: 215, Fig. 3:483–468; for Maresha see Levine 2003: 79, Fig. 6.1:16 and Stern and Alpert 2014a: 9, Fig. 3:2.

Fig. 3.3:5. Worn, dull glaze, also on resting surface. Eleven joining pieces. Stacking circle.

Fig. 3.3:6. Resting surface and inner face of foot reserved.

Fig. 3.3:7. Resting surface reserved.

The next two vessels are Morel Form 2910: the plate with upturned rim (1981: 235–236, Form 2910, Pl. 79; 1986: 466–467, Fig. 7; the date for one piece is the second half of second century BCE or slightly later).

Fig. 3.3:8. Eight joining pieces, four stamped palmettes within rouletting matching ring foot.

In Athens the shape with the low, upturned, vertical rim and small ring foot about one third of the diameter of the plate, was short-lived, dated ca. 110–86 BCE. It was more popular in Italy, and the Athenian plates are an imitation of the western imports (Rotroff 1997: 154–155, Fig. 58:850–853; see also the shallower plate Campana A(?), context date 250–165 BCE (1997: 407, Cat. No. 1642). For Alexandria and Beirut see Élaigne 2013: 215, Fig. 3:8015–8067, 98–71.

Fig. 3.3:9. Four joining pieces. Dull glaze, resting surface and face of foot and most of underside reserved.

Fig. 3.3:10. Small, low plate with rim beveled to exterior, undercut on interior, three grooves on central interior, within the ring foot. Closely resembles Morel 1981: 211, Form 2731, Pl. 67.

The next two bowls are Morel Form 2610, with outturned rim and carinated wall (1981: 190–192, Pl. 59; 1986: 465–466, Fig. 5, with a general second-century BCE date).

Fig. 3.3:11. Resting surface glazed. Two joining pieces, heavy-walled vessel, four closely set, triangular leaves within rouletting surrounded by groove. For Beirut see Élaigne 2013: 215, Fig. 3:98–52, for Maresha see Levine 2003: 79, Fig. 6.1:18 on p. 77 (with four palmettes).

Fig. 3.3:12. Wheel-ridging in/out. Four stamped palmettes.

The next two bowls are Morel Form 2780: the echinus bowl (1981: 222–226, Pls. 72–74; 1986: 466, Fig. 6, with a general second century BCE date).

Fig. 3.3:13. Five joining pieces. Nippled underside.

Fig. 3.3:14. Four joining pieces Nippled underside.

Fig. 3.3:15. Rim and upper wall fragment of bowl/cup with carinated wall.

As the foot of this vessel is missing, the attribution is tentative (Morel 1981: 192, Form 2660, Pl. 65:2662a 1). See also Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: Pl. 6.2.6:2 (from Tel Anafa).

## EGYPTIAN POTTERY

A substantial amount of Egyptian pottery came to light in SC169, imported, like Campana A ware and Eastern Sigillata A ware, mainly during the second half of the second century BCE. These imports herald a profound change in long-distance trade at a time when Attic imports no longer played a role in the Eastern Mediterranean trading networks. The same picture emerges from the ceramics at Alexandria (Élaigne 2013: 213).

To date, there are several basic studies on pottery production in Ptolemaic Egypt, focusing on aspects such as the imitations of Greek Hellenistic ceramics and the interdependence between Greek and local Egyptian pottery (Gill 2016: 46; see also Élaigne 2000; 2002; Harlaut 2002; Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012; David 2016). The imports recorded in SC169 consist of black- and red-gloss fabrics.<sup>1</sup> The majority belongs to the black fabric, the repertoire comprising mainly plates, saucers and bowls, decorated with stamped palmettes and rouletting. Vessels in red fabric are rare, and small mold-made flasks are rare. The common

and widely distributed Ptolemaic Black ware (PBW)<sup>2</sup> has the following main characteristics, as described by Gill: “black- or gray-fired fabric; generally some form of polish or burnish (across all or part of the vessel); local Egyptian fabric (marl, silt or oasis clay); standard forms particularly small bowls and plates” (Gill 2012: 16; for distribution in Egypt see also Map 1 and Table 1). The fabric color was achieved by firing the vessels in a reduction atmosphere, and often the result is black/gray zoned firing (Gill 2016: 49). A slip was applied before firing, which after firing was then polished or burnished. In addition to highly polished surfaces, vessels can also have a few burnished bands. Some vessels are poorly formed and fired, indicating that high-quality production was not intended (Gill 2012: 16).

While large quantities of PBW were found at Alexandria, no evidence for a production center has been identified there to date. Definite evidence for workshops was uncovered in the Nile Delta at Tel el-Farâ'in/Buto and Tell Atrib/Athribis, and considering

1 As both fabrics are homogeneous, only divergent details will be noted in the figures.

2 In excavation reports the definitions and terms differ. Gill (2012) uses Ptolemaic Black Ware, while Berlin suggested *terra nigra* (2001: 28). Bailey points out that this term was devised for first-century CE Gallo-Belgic wares and should be confined to these; he prefers the terms Egyptian Black Glaze Ware and Egyptian Red Glaze Ware (2004: 301 note 3). When discussing the black fabric Gill concludes that glaze is not an appropriate term, considering the technical process involved in achieving a shiny surface (2012: 16 note 7). At Paphos Egyptian imports are listed as “Egyptian Grey Ware” (Hayes 1991: 125–126), Egyptian Black-Slipped Ware and Black-Gloss Ware (1991: 132, Fig. V top).

the quantities of PBW recorded at sites in Upper Egypt, Gill posits that there may have been one or more production centers in the region (Gill 2012: 15, 19). PBW was also made in the oases; the difference between oases and Nile Valley products is the presence of mica in the latter (Gill 2012: 15, 17; 2016: 51). At Tebtynis in the Fayum, dark gray-brown/black fabric is attested from the first half of the third century BCE onward, copying Greek prototypes (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 12, fabric F IV). The texture of the Ptolemaic Red ware (PRW) is no different from that of the black fabric. In the local production at Tebtynis several red fabrics with or without mica inclusions occur (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 11–13, fabrics F I, II; F V, VI; the last two fabrics can be micaceous).

In contexts at Egyptian sites, PBW occurs consistently with imported black-glazed ware, and could be considered a cheap imitation of the Greek high-quality tableware, though the question whether it was acquired by the local Greek population or by Hellenized Egyptians cannot be answered at present (Gill 2012: 19). At Tebtynis the red micaceous fabric of forms typical of the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century BCE is most likely an imitation of Eastern Sigillata A; a characteristic feature is the polishing of the slip, creating striation/strips (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 11 fabric F I).

The SC169 assemblage documents substantial imports of other black-gloss ceramics besides PBW and fewer imports of PRW and ESA. The much smaller quantity of the latter might be due to Maresha's conquest and abandonment at a time when this ware was not yet dominant. The long-distance trade appears to be the result of connections between merchants in Attica, the Aegean and western Asia Minor, Maresha and Egypt, including Cyprus where both Greek and Egyptian imports are recorded (Hayes 1991: 126–126; 2003: 455, No. 28; 457, Nos. 39–40; 475, No. 158). While Egyptian pottery is rare at sites in the southern Levant (for Akko-Ptolemais see Berlin and Stone 2016: 149, Fig. 9.25:8) it is tempting to associate the contacts between Egypt and Idumea with historical evidence. At Memphis, Idumeans are recorded as members of a military detachment, *machairophoroi*, in the late second century BCE (Thompson 1988:

86, 99–103; Honigman 2003: 66, 86). Yet the time of their arrival is disputed, and of the two possibilities, as prisoners of war under Ptolemy I Soter, following his Syrian campaigns in the late fourth century, or as refugees in the wake of the Hasmonean activities in Idumea between 114 and 107 BCE; the latter date is now considered plausible (Honigman 2003: 66, note 22). Consequently, the trade contacts must have predated the population movement.

The vessels imported to Maresha include very fine flecks of mica, and it is most likely that they were produced in Nile Delta workshops. However, without archaeometric analyses the present classification is according to black and red fabrics, as there can be no attribution to specific workshops.

### *Ptolemaic Black Ware*

Beginning in the second century BCE, gray-black, reduction-fired ceramics make their appearance in Egypt. In the SC169 assemblage a fair amount of medium-sized and small saucers or bowls came to light. With a paste fired gray-black or more rarely, grayish-brown the micaceous fabric has a mostly dull, dark gray to black, often banded slip. A lustrous slip is rare (see Fig. 3.4:14, 19).

*Projecting Rim Saucers* (Fig. 3.4:1–7). The dominant shape are saucers with projecting rim, generally fairly heavy-walled and decorated with four stamped palmettes. Two versions occur. The first has a curved rim, often undercut on both exterior and interior and a high ring foot (Fig. 3.4:1–4). It is the most common form with at least 50 more vessels recorded. The second has a flat or nearly flat rim (Fig. 3.4:5–7) and is less common.

Berlin 2001: 29, Fig. 2.4:8–15, drooping rim saucer.

*Saucers with Thickened Rim* (Fig. 3.4:8–9). These saucers are shallow with a low ring foot. Less common than those with projecting rim, the saucer with a rounded rim and a gently curving wall (Fig. 3.4:8) is represented by nine additional vessels. The saucer with an outward beveled rim and an oblique wall is represented by four additional vessels.

For similar vessels see Berlin 2001: Figs. 2.3 (PBW); 2.5:1–4 (Delta silt Fabric II) and the rolled rim plate from Akko-Ptolemais, Berlin and Stone 2016: 149, Fig. 9.25:8.

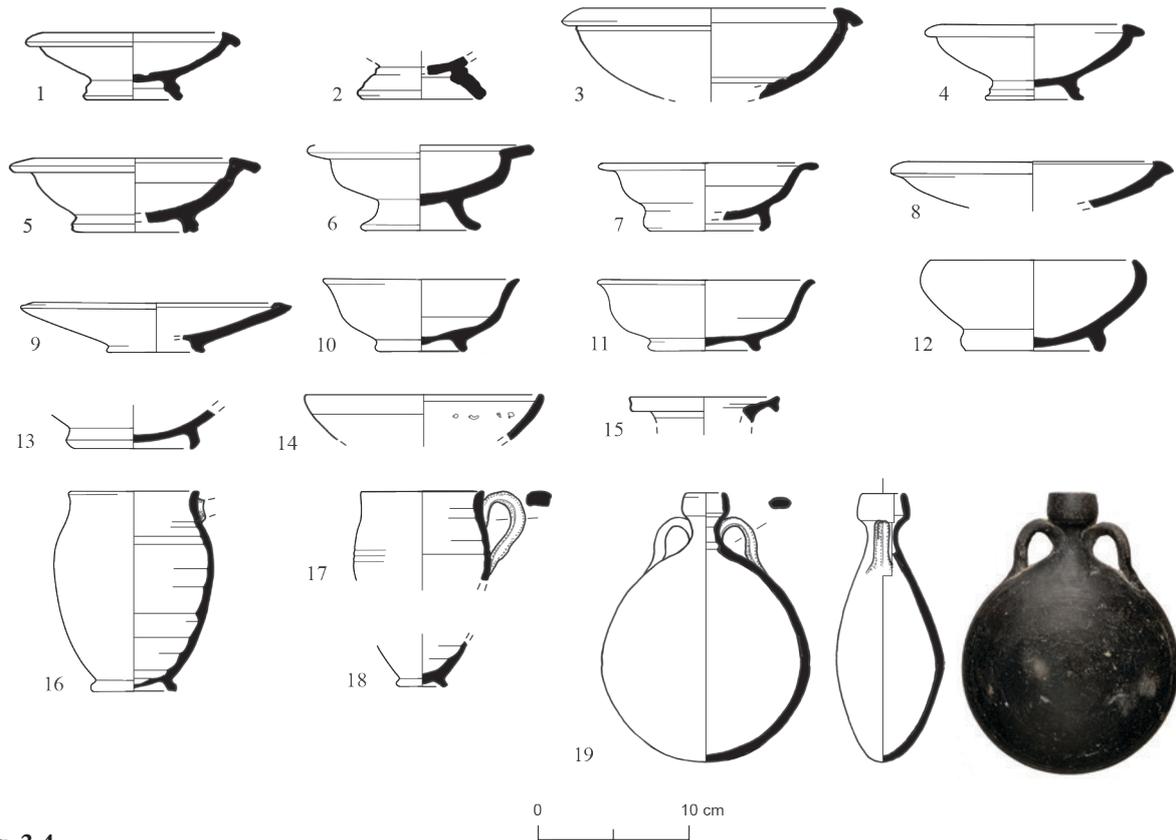


Fig. 3.4.

*Bowls with Outturned Rim* (Fig. 3.4:10–11). These bowls, which have a slight wall carination and a low ring foot, are represented in small numbers.

Berlin 2001: Fig. 2.11, everted rim bowls, probably from the Tell el Farâ'in/Buto workshops; at Tebtynis the bowls are recorded from the second half of the third until the first centuries BCE in different tableware fabrics with stamped palmettes, among them products of the Tell el Farâ'in/Buto workshops (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 58–60, Pls. 13:167–184, 14:185–190).

*Echinus Bowls* (Fig. 3.4:12–13). The very common and widespread shape of these bowls is represented in PBW in small numbers only.

Berlin 2001: Fig. 2.9, incurved-rim bowls, probably from the Tell el Farâ'in/Buto workshops; Harlaut 2002: 270, Fig. 8c; at Tebtynis the bowls with stamped palmettes occur in black and red fabrics with a date range in the third to the beginning of second centuries BCE (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 24–27, 33–34, Pl. 3:42–46).

*Bowl with rounded rim* (Fig. 3.4:14). Only one deep bowl with a rounded rim came to light in SC169, its shape recalling bowls in the West Slope technique (Fig. 3.9:8–10). See also two plates from Tebtynis, no foot preserved, in different fabric (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 57, Pl. 12:160–161, dated to the third and first centuries BCE).

*Jugs* (Fig. 3.4:15–18). Only a few closed vessels came to light in the assemblage. No parallels were found. The flaring triangular rim probably belonged to a tableware jug. The three wide-mouthed jugs (and two more that were not illustrated), could have held oils or precious substances (see also the differently shaped jugs in PRW, Fig. 3.5:5–6).

*Canteen/Flask* (Fig. 3.4:19). One intact flask and the handle of a second flask came to light. The vessel was made by luting together two separately made bowls, producing an elliptical shape. The neck is short and narrow. It is interesting to note that in the case of the Maresha canteen, the two halves are not symmetrical; one of them has a rounded wall curvature, the

Fig. 3.4. Ptolemaic Black Ware (PBW)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
1.	Saucer: projecting rim	5574/09-169-134-2095	Small module. Undercut high ring foot.	Diam. 13.5, base diam. 6.5
2.	Saucer: projecting rim	4361/05-169-67-989	Undercut high ring foot.	Base diam. 7.5
3.	Saucer: projecting rim	4687/06-169-94-1428	Banded slip close to rim on interior. Wheel-ridging in/out.	Diam. 19.5
4.	Saucer: projecting rim	4687/06 + 4361/05-169-93-1409	Two joining fragments. Slight wheel-ridging on exterior.	Diam. 14, base diam. 6
5.	Saucer: projecting rim	4361/05-169-50-901	Heavy-walled.	Diam. 16.5, base diam. 8
6.	Saucer: projecting rim	2/16-169-205a-2817	Three joining fragments. Nearly flat rim. High foot. Not common.	Diam. 15 4, base diam. 7
7.	Saucer: projecting rim	4361/05-169-39-898	Five joining fragments. Dark brown banded slip in/out.	Diam. 14, base diam. 7
8.	Saucer: thickened rim	3941/03 + 4361/05 + 5808/10-169-37-547	Four joining fragments.	Diam. 19
9.	Saucer: thickened rim	3941/03-169-65-1058	Two joining fragments.	Diam. 18
10.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	52/01 + 3567/02-169-06-188	Three joining fragments. Banded slip.	Diam. 13, base diam. 6
11.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	4099/04 + 52/01 + 4099/04-169-47-720	Five joining fragments. Banded slip.	Diam. 14, base diam. 7
12.	Echinus bowl	4631/05-169-47-1007	Heavy-walled. Banded slip on upper exterior wall. Four palmettes within grooved circle.	Diam. 15, base diam. 9
13.	Echinus bowl	3567/02-169-15-464	Two stamped leaves within grooved circle.	Base diam. 8
14.	Bowl: rounded rim	7015/14-169-189-2617	Lustrous slip. Row of faint white dots on interior. Groove below rim on interior, another on exterior wall.	Diam. 16
15.	Jug with flaring molded rim	4997/07-169-115a-770	Uncommon.	Rim diam. 9.5.
16.	Jug	5343/08-169-124-1981 + 66-1103	Four joining and three non-joining fragments. Wheel-ridging on interior.	Rim diam. 8, max. W 10
17.	Jug	4687/06 + 4687/06 + 4099/04-169-93-1528	Blotchy slip. Wheel-ridging on interior. Single loop handle (more than half of the rim preserved).	Rim diam. 8, PH 6
18.	Jug: base	4099/04-169-50-706	Wheel-ridging on interior.	Base diam. 3
19.	Flask/canteen	4099/04-169-50-776-S1	Lustrous slip.	H 18, rim diam. 2.5, max. W 14

other slightly pointed. As a result, the latter is wider than the former. In form the vessel resembles a canteen from the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 2006: 122–123, Fig. 57:347, from a context of ca. 115–86 BCE), included in household-ware vessels.

The parallel has a flaring rim, an exterior flange on neck where handles begin and three painted circles in dull orange gloss, otherwise the features are the same. Rotroff notes that the Athenian vessels are remarkably similar to Bronze Age and Iron Age flasks in Palestine, indicating the longevity of the type in different

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

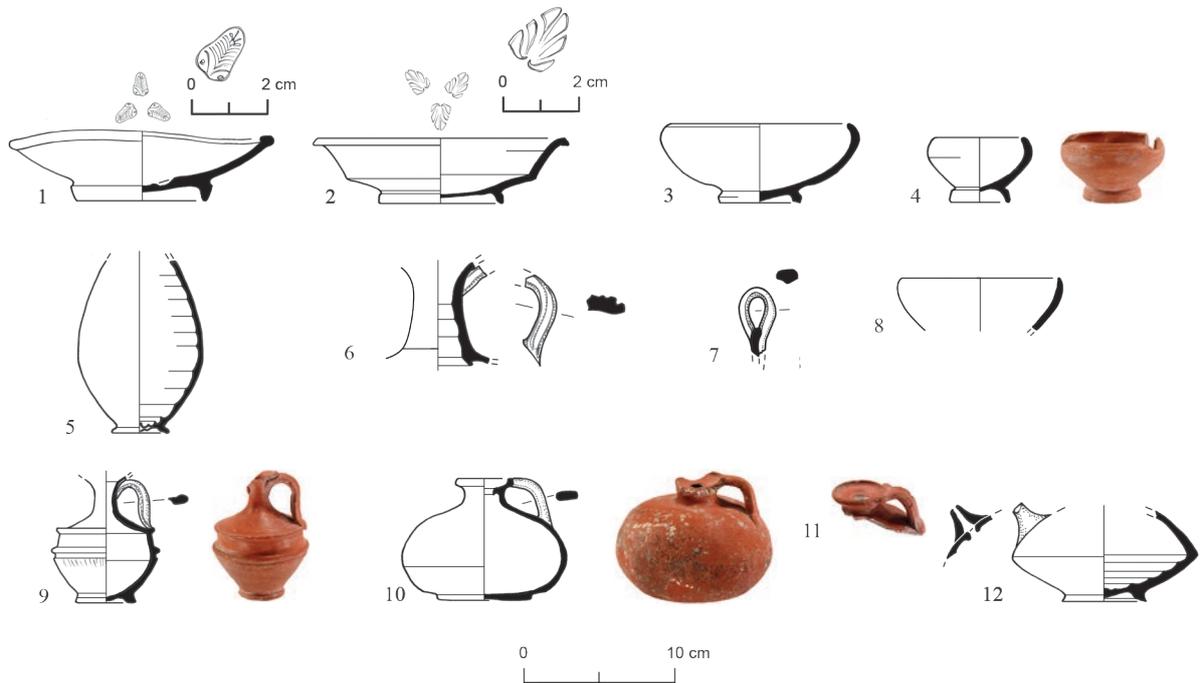


Fig. 3.5. Ptolemaic Red Ware (PRW)

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
1.	Plate: rolled rim	4361/05-169-50-976	Patchy lustrous slip. Three stamped palmettes in centre.	Diam. 17.5, base diam. 8.5
2.	Bowl: carinated	4361/05-169-67-1215	Three stamped palmettes in centre.	Diam. 16.5, base diam. 8
3.	Echinus bowl	4361/05-169-65-1198	On exterior close to rim banded slip.	Diam. 12.5, base diam. 5.2
4.	Echinus bowl	4361/05-169-67-1228-S1	Three joining fragments. Small module with high ring foot.	Diam. 6, base diam. 4.4
5.	Jug	37/15 + 7015/14-169-197-2769 + 187-2631 + 187-2579	Twelve joining fragments. Wheel-riding on interior.	PH 11.5, base diam. 3.7
6.	Jug	4687/06-169-93-1456	Triple-grooved handle not slipped. Wheel-riding on interior. Several non-joining body fragments.	
7.	Kyathos, handle	4361/05-169-59-901	Not slipped.	
8.	Kyathos(?), cup	4687/06-169-68-1321	Not slipped.	Diam. 10
9.	Juglet	4687/06-169-67-1267	Lustrous slip on neck, shoulder and between ridges. Grooved strap handle.	PH 8, max. W 7
10.	Aryballos	4361/05-169-67-1042-S1	Strap handle. Disk base.	H 8, max. W 10.5
11.	Aryballos	3567/02-169-18-476	Strap handle.	
12.	Guttus	4361/05-169-67-1162	Two non-joining fragments. Spout. Wheel-riding on interior below carination.	PH 6.5, max. W 12

cultural settings. At Sardis, the shape occurs in an assemblage of smashed and abandoned ceramics, very possibly resulting from the attack of Antiochus III on the city in 213 BCE; the vessel is assigned to pottery in the Lydian tradition (Rotroff and Oliver 2003: 60–61, 66, Pl. 40:240).

In Egypt, flasks are common and long-lived. The specimens retrieved in the Dakhleh oasis dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been studied by Hope. The Maresha specimen is related to the small and medium-handled flasks with elliptical bodies, in the fabric of the “grey-fired” and “red-coated” variants of the common Dakhleh A1 fabric (Hope 2000: 196–197, Figs. 1, 2a–c; Eccleston 2000: 216–217; Gill 2016: 90–91, Forms 91–93; for the Theban region see Consonni 2016: 197, 204, 212, Fig. 9:23, H 21, rim diam. 5cm; Masson 2016: 155, Fig. 13). Morphological differences are noticeable between the oases flasks and the Maresha flask, the former are more round-bodied and symmetrical with a straight neck and the latter is elliptical and has a distinctly cup-shaped neck. Gill notes that the vessel type occurs mainly in funerary contexts and suggests that they were used for holding oil or resin used in embalming (2016: 91); however, for the Maresha example such a use can be ruled out.

### *Ptolemaic Red Ware (PRW)*

In the SC147 assemblage, located ca. 200m north-east of SC169, the second category of Egyptian ceramics is represented by fewer vessels than the PBW. However, it is much more appealing to the eye, and several unusual shapes occur. The Nile silt fabric is micaceous; the paste is fired red or reddish-brown and gray in closed vessels, on many vessels zoning can be observed; plates can have a gray core. Lustrous red slip, often burnished, is applied to parts of the vessels and can be banded.

*Plate with Rolled Rim* (Fig. 3.5:1). The complete plate was restored from seven fragments.

Berlin 2001: Figs. 2.1:13; 2.3:9, 12–13, 16, 21, 23, thickened rim saucer (PBW); Hayes 2003: 475, No. 58, Fig. 16:158 on p. 476, thick-walled plate.

*Bowl with Outturned Rim and Carinated Wall* (Fig. 3.5:2). Half of the bowl was preserved. Five more bowls were found. At Tebtynis the shape occurs in red and black fabrics in contexts from the second half of

the third to the beginning of the second centuries BCE (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 45–48, Pls. 8:100–109; 9:110–121; in the Theban region PBW bowls are particularly typical of the third–second centuries BCE (Masson 2016: 152, Fig.6:1).

*Echinus Bowls* (Fig. 3.5:3–4). Ten more of the medium-sized bowls with diameters ranging from 10 to 13cm and three small bowls with a diameter of 5–6cm were found.

*Jugs* (Fig. 3.5:5–6). These vessels, with footed base and unknown rim type resemble a complete jug from Tebtynis with a slightly everted rim (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 111–112, Pl. 52:468, dated to the end of the third century BCE).

*Kyathoi* (Fig. 3.5:7–8). These two loop-handled dippers are not slipped. At Paphos, two unslipped kyathoi in orange fabric were recorded, the first with pottery finds predominantly of the early first century BCE, the second from Well 11 with an estimated date to the mid-second century BCE or slightly later, ca. 150–140/30 (Hayes 1991: 122, No. 5; 159, No. 46). In the excavations at the hill of Agios Georgios, Nicosia kyathoi the suggested date range is from the early third through the mid-second centuries BCE (Berlin and Pilacinski 2003: 219–220, Fig. 6:100–101; see p. 201 for the date). In the Athenian production they are fairly common in the second century BCE, though with different profiles, and are rarely attested elsewhere. All specimens are glazed. The cups are 3–5cm high (Rotroff 1997: 134–135, Nos. 556–568).

*Juglet* (Fig. 3.5:9). This tiny, elegantly shaped juglet is unique; the handle of a second specimen of the same size came to light.

*Aryballoi* (Fig. 3.5:10–11). In addition to one intact aryballos, the tops of two more were found. In the Athenian Agora publication, it is suggested that the vessels were used for storing and pouring oil (Rotroff 1997: 171), while in the Tebtynis report, a use for precious liquids is assumed (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 114).

At Athribis an aryballos came to light in a stratum dated to the second half of second century BCE; the vessel is covered with a polished self-slip imitating a lustrous glaze (Południkiewicz 1992: 98, Fig. 5; Wodzińska 2010: 40 “Ptolemaic 38”). At Tebtynis one of the two aryballoi recorded might have been

produced in a Tell el Farâ'in/Buto workshop (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 114, Pl. 53:476–477). In the southern Levant a single specimen was identified at Ashkelon, attributed by visual examination to Nile Delta clay (Johnson 2008: 99, 103, No. 317).

*Guttus* (Fig. 3.5:12). This interesting vessel combines the body shape of a guttus and the spout of a filter jug or feeder. Analogy to Athenian prototypes indicates that the specimen had a high, narrow neck with a flaring mouth (Rotroff 1997: 172–174, resembling Nos. 1148, 1150, with squat body).

*Angled-rim Cooking Pot* (Fig. 3.6:1–2). The common Egyptian angled-rim cooking pots are specifically Hellenistic, with the earliest parallels from third-century BCE Coptos (Berlin 2001: 32–33). The two pots from SC169 differ in morphological features and size. The first, restored from several fragments, has a straight high neck and a flanged rim (rim and neck fragments of a second pot were also retrieved). Unusual are the high and broad rectangular handles, flat on top and decorated; they are placed in the middle of the upper body. The capacious body has its maximum width at half-height, marked by a carination. The second, smaller pot has a slightly everted rim and inner recess at the junction of neck and shoulder, formed by an interior flange. The two missing handles were probably coil handles. The wall carination is set at the lower third of the body. At Alexandria a parallel is dated to the second century BCE (Harlaut 2002: 268, Fig. 5e). The vessels retrieved at Naukratis/Kom Hadid, none of which were complete, were all made of Delta silt and mostly slipped (Naukratis: Berlin 2001: 80–81, Fig. 2.16:1–8 + 9–17). The complete pot with two horizontal handles from Athribis, dated to the third or beginning of the second century BCE, is assigned to the imitation ceramics of the Hellenistic koine (1996: 61, Pl. X:1). At Tebtynis a great variety of pots was unearthed imitating Greek prototypes, attested throughout the Hellenistic period into the first century CE (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 76–78, Pls. 23–24, Nos. 250–263. The shape is also recorded in the Theban region (Consonni 2016: Fig. 8:21).

*Reversible Lids* (Fig. 3.6:3–4). For the two reversible lids, shaped differently, I could not find parallels

in Egypt, yet the distinct fabric is undoubtedly PRW. Reversible lids were popular in the Athenian Agora, particularly in the late Hellenistic period (Rotroff 1997: 192–197). Often painted in West Slope technique, their function was multi-purpose; as toiletry articles they were used to cover pyxides, others probably served as covers for lekanides or could have been used in the cult of Isis. While the two lids would have fitted the two cooking pots, it is not certain that they are cooking ware as there are no signs of soot (the bottom of the pot in Fig. 3.6:1 had turned gray from soot). At Tebtynis many of the cooking pots in red fabric turned brown after having been exposed to fire (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 12–13, cookware fabric F Va–b).

#### *Ptolemaic Painted Ware* (Fig. 3.6:5)

The neck and shoulder of a jug with black paint recalls the shape of a jug from Paphos, attributed to the Ivy Platter Group (Rotroff 2002: Fig. 4:5). Due to the large number of plates of Type 1 found in Alexandria, Morel suggested the existence of a workshop there (Morel 1995: 372), theory rejected by Rotroff on the basis of differences in fabric (2002: 101). The ivy garlands, common on kraters and platters, indicate an interrelation between production centers in West Slope-style ceramics.

This fine-ware oinochoe, painted with ivy garlands in black on neck and shoulder, is singular. Its decoration is the same as that of a pot from the Athribis kilns in Szymańska and Babraj 2004: 37, Fig. 15 on p. 37, open vessel with flat rim (height 29.3cm) decorated with a scroll of ivy leaves on upper half; for shape see Południkiewicz 1992: 97, Fig. 3; Wodzińska 2010: 39 “Ptolemaic 33”; Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 101, Nos. 391–392, Pl. 43, 391 second half of third century and beginning of second century BCE, 392 third century BCE, both fabric F XI 2; pp. 15–16, light brown clay, surfaces of the same color surfaces, slip rare, form resembling hydria, painted and also in fabric F XI (Pl. 45:398–401 on p. 283), No. 398 has a rim diameter of 15cm. Rotroff 2002: Fig. 4:5 for same shape of vessel from Paphos (Hayes 1991: 6–7, Pl. 3:5, with white ivy scrolls), the vessel is attributed to the Ivy Platter Group by Rotroff (2002: 101)

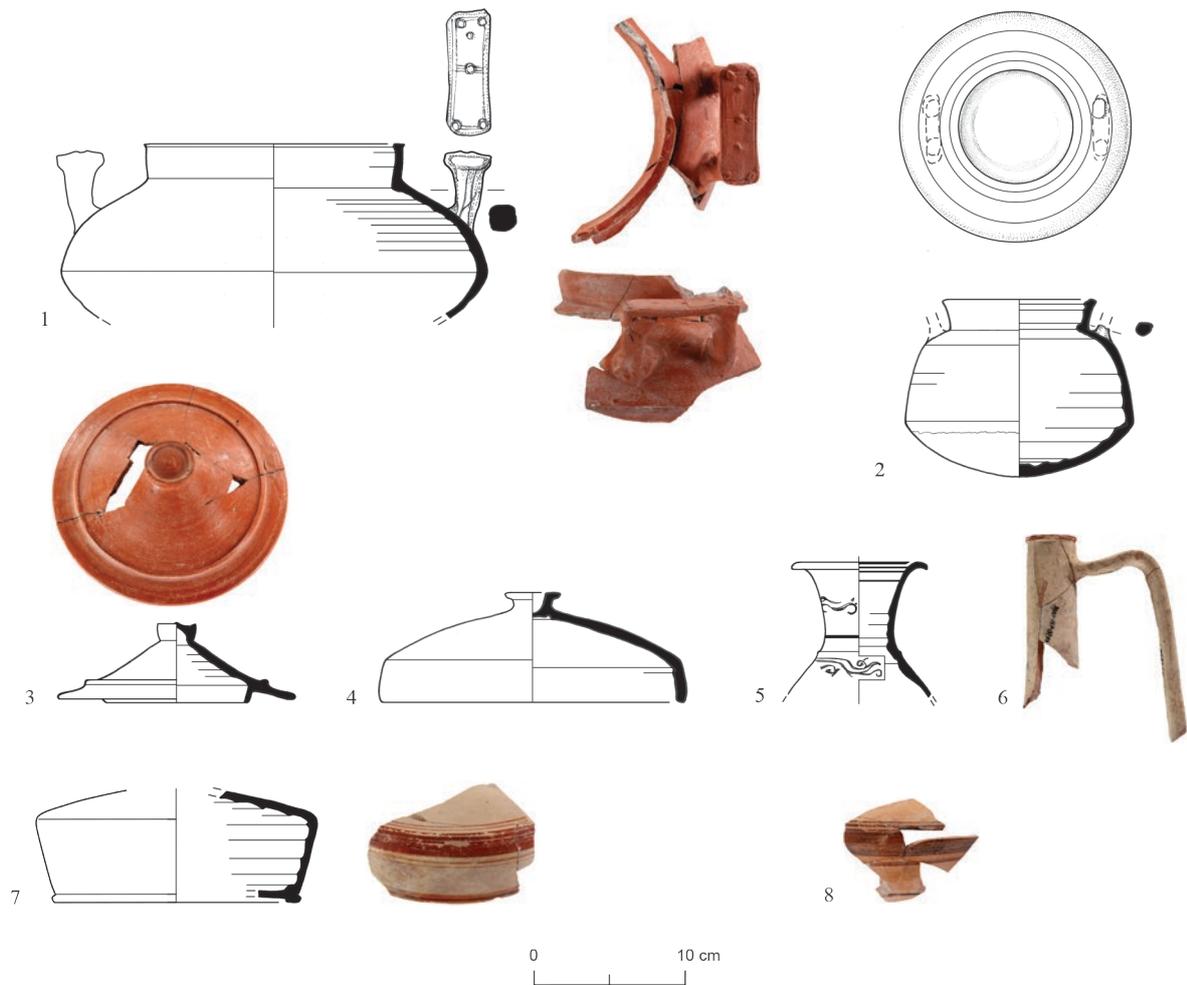


Fig. 3.6. Ptolemaic Red Ware (PRW), Ptolemaic Painted Ware and Lagynoi

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
1.	Cooking pot: angled rim	4361/05-169-39-946	Two broad rectangular handles, decorated with raised circles. Wheel-ridging on interior upper wall. Soot on bottom.	PH 11.5, rim diam. 17, max. W 28
2.	Cooking pot: angled rim	4099/04-169-36-668-S1	Complete except for damage on rim and two missing handles (preserved is the stump of one and the imprint of the other).	H 12, rim diam. 10, max. W 15
3.	Reversible lid	3567/02-169-20-442	Restored from five fragments. Wheel-ridging on interior.	H 5.5, diam. 15.5
4.	Reversible lid	4099/04-169-31-614-S1	Restored from three fragments.	PH 7.5, diam. 20
5.	Jug/oinochoe	4361/05-169-51-933	Red, interior reddish brown, gray core, red slip, black paint.	PH 8.5
6.	Lagynos: Fabric 1	6092/11 + 6092/11 + 3/00-169-159-2281 + 179-2562 + 189-2643	Light brown, yellowish light brown slip, red paint. Wheel-ridging on inner neck. Restored from five fragments.	PH neck 11.5, PH handle 13
7.	Lagynos: Fabric 1	6701/13 + 5808/10-169-179-2522 + 150-2231	Light brown, yellowish light brown slip, red paint. Wheel-ridging on interior.	Diam. 16, diam. of resting surface 0.9
8.	Lagynos: Fabric 2	6380/12 + 6701/13 + 7015/14-169-169-2415 + 179-2562 + 189-2643	Light brown with sepia paint banding. Four joining fragments. Non-joining ring foot (five fragments). Slight wheel-ridging on interior.	PH 7, PW 9, foot diam. 11.5

## LAGYNOI (FIG. 3.6:6–8)

At least a dozen fragmentary lagynoi were noted in the SC169 assemblage, all of which appear to be imports, possibly from Cyprus. In the southern Levant, lagynoi are not as common as on Cyprus (Lund 2015: 68–95), yet they occur at a fair number of sites. Some of the vessels were banded and some were the plain version; none were found with finely painted designs on the shoulder (for general discussions, find-spots, regional and local production centers and trade patterns see Hayes 1991: 18–21, mostly from contexts of the late second or early first centuries BCE; Levine 2003: 106–108; Lund 2003; Regev 2003: 169–170, Forms 31–32; Rotroff 2006: 82–84; Regev 2009–2010: 135–137; Berlin 2015: 635; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: 677–678). It is assumed that the vessels imitate wine flasks used in the Ptolemaic drinking festivals, the lagynophoria, celebrated in honor of Dionysos at Alexandria (Rotroff 2006: 83).

The lagynoi from SC169 are of two fabrics: slipped Fabric 1, corresponding to the Cypriot cream-buff ware with red-painted banding (Hayes 1991: 20–21; Lund 2015: 68 remarks that some of the examples assigned by Hayes to this ware are made in other fabrics), and the thin-walled unslipped, Fabric 2, also decorated with painted banding. By shape the fragments in

Fig. 3.6:6–7 can be attributed to Lund's Form II.5 — near-cylindrical body, everted rim and band handle, dated between the end of the second century and the first decades of the first centuries BCE (2015: 80).

*Fig. 3.6:6.* The slip on this vessel covers the exterior and the interior of the upper neck. There is a band of red paint along the rim exterior and on top. The handle is double-grooved. The fragment belongs to Westholm Type 2 with a long neck tapering upward and a narrow, annular rim (Lund 2013: Pl. 1:2; 2015: Figs. 49–50; see also Hayes 1991: Fig. 10:1).

*Fig. 3.6:7.* The exterior slipped surface is carefully smoothed. The banding in red paint covers the lower shoulder and the upper body below the carination; another band runs along the outer face of the foot. The fragment belongs to Westholm Type 1, its characteristic feature is the almost horizontal shoulder and the fairly well-marked shoulder line (Lund 2013: Pl. 2:1; 2015: Fig. 49; Hayes 1991: Figs. 10:17; 11:15–16).

*Fig. 3.6:8.* The painted banding runs along the carination and on the wall below the carination, above the junction of body and foot and along the outer face of the foot. With neither neck nor handle preserved the fragment most likely belongs to the small version of the carinated lagynos, the widest part of the body marked by a sharp angle (Lund 2015: 68).

## EASTERN SIGILLATA A (ESA) AND RED-SLIPPED WARES (FIG. 3.7)

The relatively scarce imports of ESA and red-slipped wares are classified according to Hayes' forms in *Atlante*, according to the Tel Anafa excavation report (Slane 1997) and the recent study by Élaigne (2013). Based on the stratigraphic evidence from excavations in Beirut and on physicochemical analyses at Lyon, Élaigne documented the existence of a Red-Slip Predecessor (RSP), predating ESA ware with a homogenous, mainly lustrous slip (*verniss grésé*, *Glanztonfilm*), its production commencing around 125 BCE (Élaigne 2013: 217).

Manufactured in workshops along the Gulf of Iskenderun RSP appears in Beirut contexts in the course of the second half of the third century BCE (2013: 216). The repertoire consisted of four basic shapes with a dull red slip of mediocre quality (2013:

Fig. 4), inspired by regional forms prevalent in the Levant and on Rhodes and Cyprus, while only remotely recalling Classical Attic types. Two fish plates are assigned to RSP: for Fig. 3.7:1 see Élaigne 2013: Fig. 4: Beirut 637–2 and 507–49; for Fig. 3.7:2 see *ibid.* Fig. 4: Beirut 98–113 and 98–54. Both shapes are also represented in the color-coated wares, compare Fig. 3.7:1 with Fig. 3.8:9–10 and Fig. 3.7:2 with Fig. 3.8:2. Élaigne further concludes that the production of BSP was limited to the third quarter of the second century BCE, thus postdating RSP, and that the BSP repertoire with a greater shape variety imitates Attic prototypes (2013: 217–218, Fig. 5). The two cups Fig. 3.7:10–11 are BSP (see Élaigne 2013: Fig. 5: Beirut 98–400). Based on the visual

examination of the fabric the definitely ESA vessels (Fig. 3.7:3–8; 12–13) are to be attributed to the latest phase of Maresha's settlement.

Three additional red-slipped vessels of good quality are included. In spite of the fabric quality of the juglet Fig. 3.7:14 a local production cannot be excluded; for Levantine parallels from Dora and Bet-Yerah see Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 308, Fig. 6.29:17 and Tal 2017: 62, Type JG3, Figs. 4.1: JG3. The ring foot in Fig. 3.7:15 is assigned to the Cypriot Form P21 (Eastern Sigillata D/ESD), a thin-walled bowl with incurved wall and small foot, finely finished, not common, dated early to mid-first century BCE (Hayes 1991: 42). On Cyprus the ware remains uncommon during the late Hellenistic period (Hayes 1991: 38), and it should be noted that most imports to the Levant date from the late first century BCE and onward (Młynarczyk 2009: 105; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014b: 390). The micaceous bowl Fig. 3.7:16 was most likely manufactured in a workshop in western Asia Minor.

#### **Color-coated / Slip-Coated Wares** (Fig. 3.8)

Under this heading plates/saucers and bowls are discussed that by shape are derivatives of Attic

prototypes and by visual fabric inspection are to be assigned to regional workshops in the Aegean or on Rhodes or Cyprus or in the Rhodian periphery (Élaigne 2000: 100–101). Color-coated wares are described by Hayes as lacking “a true gloss-coating, but bear a matt or semi-lustrous slip of variable colour” (1991: 23). Based on visual identification the fabric of Nos. 9–10, 14–15 appears to be identical, tentatively attributed to the color-coated ware, probably from Cyprus (Młynarczyk 2009: 103) and Gray Brown Cypriot ware (Berlin and Stone 2016: 140). Alternatively, a northern Levantine (Phoenician) source cannot be excluded, see Tal 2017: 60, Fig. 4.1: PL1 for our Fig. 3.8: 9–10; *ibid.* Fig. 4.1: BL1 for our Fig. 3.8:16; *ibid.* Fig. 4.1: BL2 for our 8:14–15. Some vessels in the SC169 assemblage are completely slipped (Fig. 3.8:1, 8, 11–13) and others semi-slipped (Fig. 3.8:2–4, 9–10, 14–15). The profile of the plate in Fig. 3.8:6 recalls that of the Ivy Platter Group, Plate Type 2 with the grooved knob rim (see Fig. 11:2–3; Rotroff 2002: Fig. 3, 5–7). The dating to the second century BCE is tentative, considering that the import of Attic ceramics came to an end and eastern products took their place.

#### **WEST-SLOPE TECHNIQUE WARES** (Figs. 3.9–3.11:1–5)

In the eastern Mediterranean Susan Rotroff defines three categories of sites where West Slope-style pottery was found: great centers, minor centers, and consumers (2002: 98). With great centers at Athens, Knossos and Pergamon and minor centers including Rhodes, Sardis, Ephesos and Knidos, most people who lived at sites in the East were consumers of this pottery. Besides the products of Athens and Pergamon a third great center of an unknown Eastern location has been identified, described by Rotroff as the “Ivy Platter Group” (2002: 100–101). Recorded at sites from Ephesos to Alexandria and in Cyprus (see the comprehensive list of sites in Rotroff 2002: 107–108), there is a concentration in the southern Levant, in particular at Samaria and Dora. Hence, a possible production center in southern Phoenicia should not be excluded (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: 677). Imports at Bet Yerah, a kantharos and a

table amphora, were identified as semi-fine products of an Eastern workshop (Tal 2017: 60–62, Fig. 4.1: KA1 and TA1), in the northern Levant for the fabric.

#### ***Pergamene Kantharoi*** (Fig. 3.9:1–7) **and *Drinking Bowls*** (Fig. 3.9:8–11)

Two categories of drinking vessels were imported to Maresha, manufactured at Pergamon. The first category is the popular kantharos. According to shape three versions occur, attributed to three chronological phases. The characteristic feature of the Phase 3 kantharos (the *bauchiger Becher*) is its body, protruding like a balloon from a narrow constricted neck, with a date range from the late second until the mid-first centuries BCE (Behr 1988: 113–125, Nos. 1–20). Phase 2, dated from the late third until the end of the second quarter of the first centuries, runs partially parallel to Phase 3. As most vessels from SC169 are

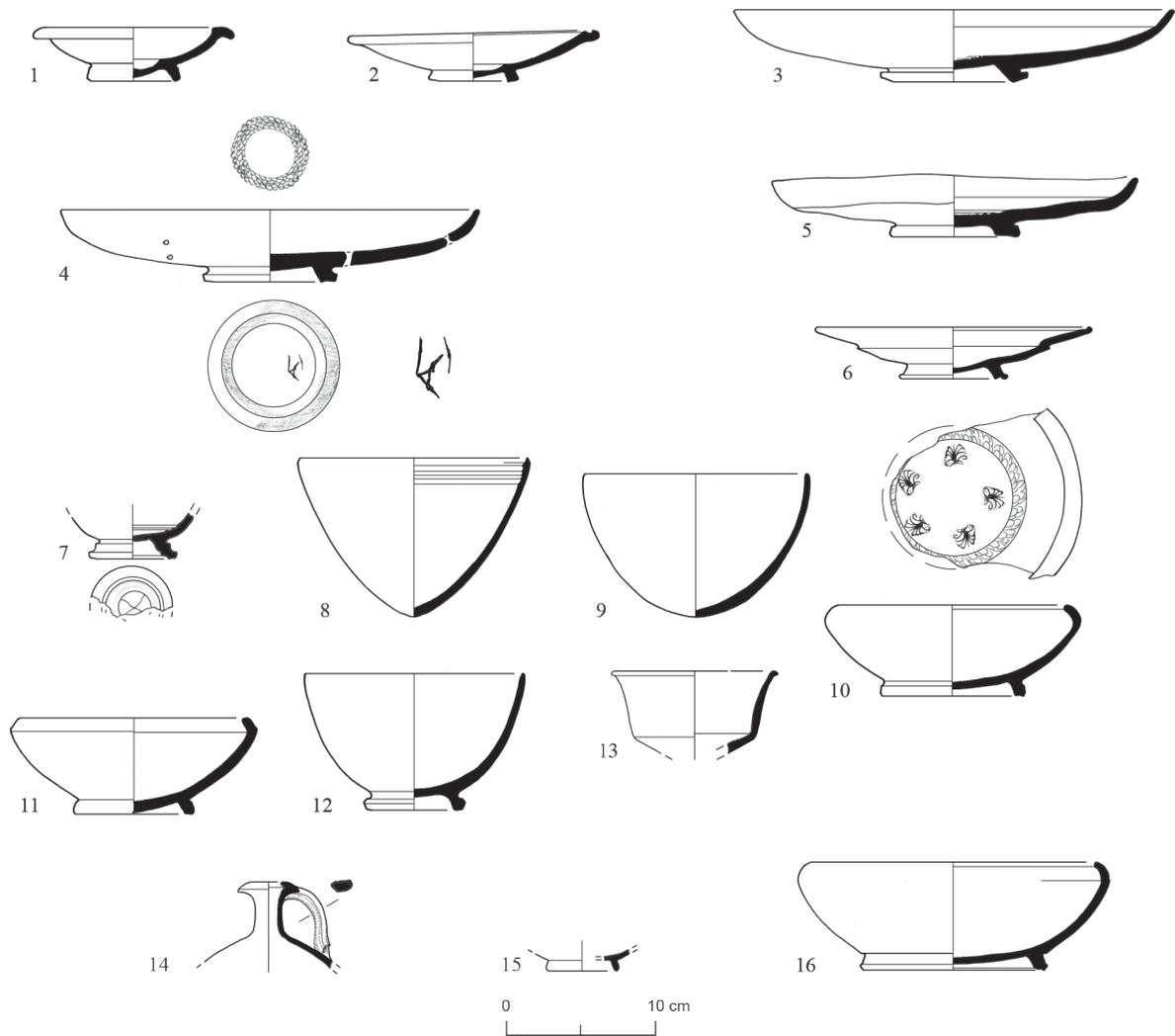


Fig. 3.7. ESA and Red-Slipped Wares

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Elaigne 2013 / Atlante / TA (Tel Anafa)	Description	Size (cm)
1	Fish plate	4099/04-169-31-632	Red-Slip Predecessor (RSP) --- / ---	Dull worn red slip. Ring foot. On underside, inner face of foot and resting surface only spots of slip.	Diam. 13
2	Fish plate	4361/05-169-39-880	Red-Slip Predecessor (RSP) --- / ---	Dull red slip in/out, darker dripping lines on exterior. Flat ring foot.	Diam. 16.5
3	Plate	4687/06-169-97-1377	Form 2A / TA Type 13a	Worn slip.	Diam. 29

Fig. 3.7. Cont.

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Elaigne 2013 / Atlante / TA (Tel Anafa)	Description	Size (cm)
4	Plate	4687/06-169-68-1311	Form 2B / Type 13a	Rouletting on interior. On exterior foot three grooves and incised AF in ligature. Two mending holes.	Diam. 27.5
5	Plate	5808/10-169-150-2165	Form 3 / Type 13a	Red slip with double dipping line on interior. Dull brown slip on most of exterior except for small section of red slip.	Diam. 22.5
6	Plate	4687/06-169-68-1315	Form 6 / Type 12	Dull slip. Foot grooved. Four marks of circular kiln pads.	Diam. 18
7	Krater	4361/05-169-76-965	Form 15B / Type 29	Well-slipped on interior, blotchy on exterior. Slight groove on resting surface. Incised x on underside.	Base diam. 4.5
8	Mastos	4997/07 + 4361/05-169-115-1568 + 68-1192	Form 17B	Red slip, on interior and exterior double dipping line (1–3cm wide). Internal ridges.	Diam. 15
9	Cup: hemi-spherical	4997/07 169-114-1606	Form 19B / Type 27	Shiny finely finished red slip on exterior; dull brown slip on interior. Two marks of circular kiln pad.	Diam. 15
10	Cup	52/01-169-10-227	Form 20 / Type 4 Black-Slip Predecessor (BSP)	Dull red slip on interior, dark gray to brown slip on exterior. Inner face of foot, underside and resting surface red.	Diam. 16
11	Cup	6701/13-169-179-2479-S1	Form 20 / Type 4 Black-Slip Predecessor (BSP)	Interior and exterior slip red except for band of dark gray slip along rim (2.5cm wide). Underside slipped.	Diam. 16
12	Cup	4687/06-169-68-1320	Form 22B / Type 25	Red slip all over, some dark spots on interior and light blotches on exterior.	Diam. 14.5
13	Cup	5574/09-169-135a-2010	Form 23 / Type 29	Lustrous red slip.	Diam. 10
14	Juglet	5574/09-169-135a-2062	Wide triangular rim	Red slip on exterior and on handle.	
15	Bowl, ring foot	4997/07-169-115-1570	ESD		
16	Echinus bowl	52/01-169-09-242	Not ESA, corresponds to ESA Form 20; micaceous	Reddish brown, dull dark red slip in/out except for band of patchy dark gray to brown slip along rim (3cm wide). Rouletting on interior along ring foot. No slip on underside, inner face of foot and resting surface.	Diam. 19

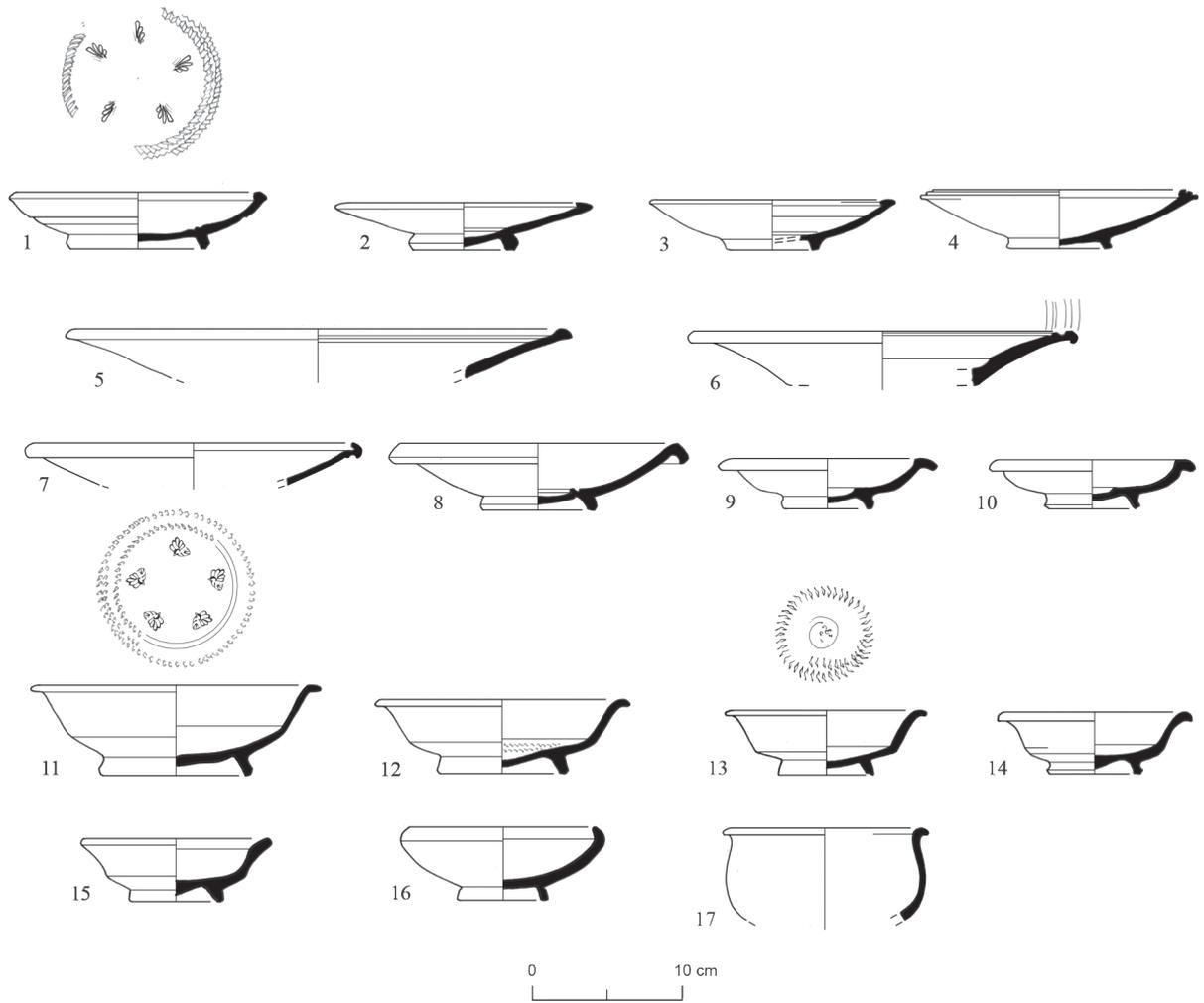


Fig. 3.8. Colour-Coated / Slip-Coated Wares

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
1.	Plate: rolled rim	6780/12-169-169-2446	Light brown. Grayish dark brown slip. Resting surface reserved. Two grooves with partial rouletting. Within rouletting and foot reddish brown slip. Five palmettes. Scraped groove at the junction of body and foot.	Diam. 17, base diam. 9
2.	Plate: rolled rim, undercut, the central depression reminiscent of a fish plate	2/16-169-206-2875-S1	Light brown. Semi-slipped. In centre brown slip, surrounded by band of reddish brown slip. Patchy slip in/out: dark gray, brown, reddish brown hues. Ring foot and lower exterior wall reserved.	Diam. 17, base diam. 7
3.	Plate: rolled rim, undercut	6701/13 + 6701/13 + 4997/07-169-173-2523 + 173-2458 + 113-1563	Brown. Semi-slipped. Dull dark gray slip in/out, on upper surface of rim partly dark brown. On exterior slip only on upper third. On interior several grooves.	Diam. 16, base diam. 6.3
4.	Plate: rilled rim, undercut and grooved	4687/05-169-96-1449-S1	Brown. Semi-slipped. Dark brown/light brown slip. On exterior slip only on upper third with some drips.	Diam. 19, base diam. 6.2

Fig. 3.8. Cont.

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
5.	Plate: rolled rim	4361/05-169-77-978	Light gray. Dark gray slip on interior and below rim on exterior. Two grooves on exterior below rim. On upper surface of three circles of banded dark gray slip.	Diam. 33.5
6.	Plate: rolled rim	5808/10-169-150-2230	Yellowish light brown. Dark gray slip in/out. Two grooves on interior close to rim.	Diam. 26
7.	Plate: rolled rim, undercut	4361/05-169-75-972	Reddish brown. Patchy dark gray to reddish brown slip.	Diam. 22
8.	Fish plate	5808/10-169-145a-2123-S1	Yellowish light brown. Grayish dark brown slip on interior, with reddish brown patches around and in depression. Dark brown to reddish slip, blotchy on lower exterior wall and ring foot. Ridge around depression.	Diam. 20, base diam. 7.6, diam. of depression 4.2
9.	Fish plate	7015/14-169-183-2690	Light reddish brown. Patchy dark brown slip with light brown and grayish blotches in/out, lower exterior wall partly slipped. No slip on ring foot.	Diam. 15, base diam. 6.2, diam. of depression 3.6
10.	Fish plate	4099/04-169-50-806	Light brown. Dark gray slip, not well adhered on interior. Lower exterior wall partly slipped. No slip on ring foot.	Diam. 13.5, base diam. 6.2, diam. of depression 2.8
11.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	2/16 + 6099/11 + 6380/12-169-203-2828-S1 + 157-2293 + 163-2452	Light reddish brown. Patchy dark brown and reddish brown slip in/out. Reddish brown slip on interior, matching foot diameter, and on underside, inner and outer faces of foot. Rouletting and five stamped palmettes.	Diam. 19, base diam. 10
12.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	5808/10-169-145a-2101-S1	Light brown. Brown/dark gray slip in/out. Reddish brown slip on interior, matching foot diameter, and on underside and inner face of foot. Two circles of rouletting.	Diam. 16.5, base diam. 7.6
13.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	6380/12-169-169-2443-S1	Light brown. Irregular reddish brown to dark brown slip, lighter blotches on exterior, rouletting (circle 6cm).	Diam. 13.5, base diam. 5.8
14.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	7015/14-169-181-2629	Light reddish brown. Dark brown slip on interior, dark gray slip until carination on exterior. No slip on lower exterior wall and ring foot.	Diam. 13, base diam. 6
15.	Bowl: outturned rim and carinated wall	4361/05-169-67-1200	Light reddish brown. Blotchy brown and reddish brown slip on interior and until carination on exterior. No slip on lower exterior wall and ring foot. Rouletting.	Diam. 13, base diam. 6
16.	Echinus bowl	6701/13-169-173-2543	Light brown, dark gray slip. Underside, resting surface and inner face of foot reserved.	Diam. 14, base diam. 6.3
17.	Skyphos	4997/07-169-115-1598	Reddish brown, dark gray to brown slip.	Diam. 13.5

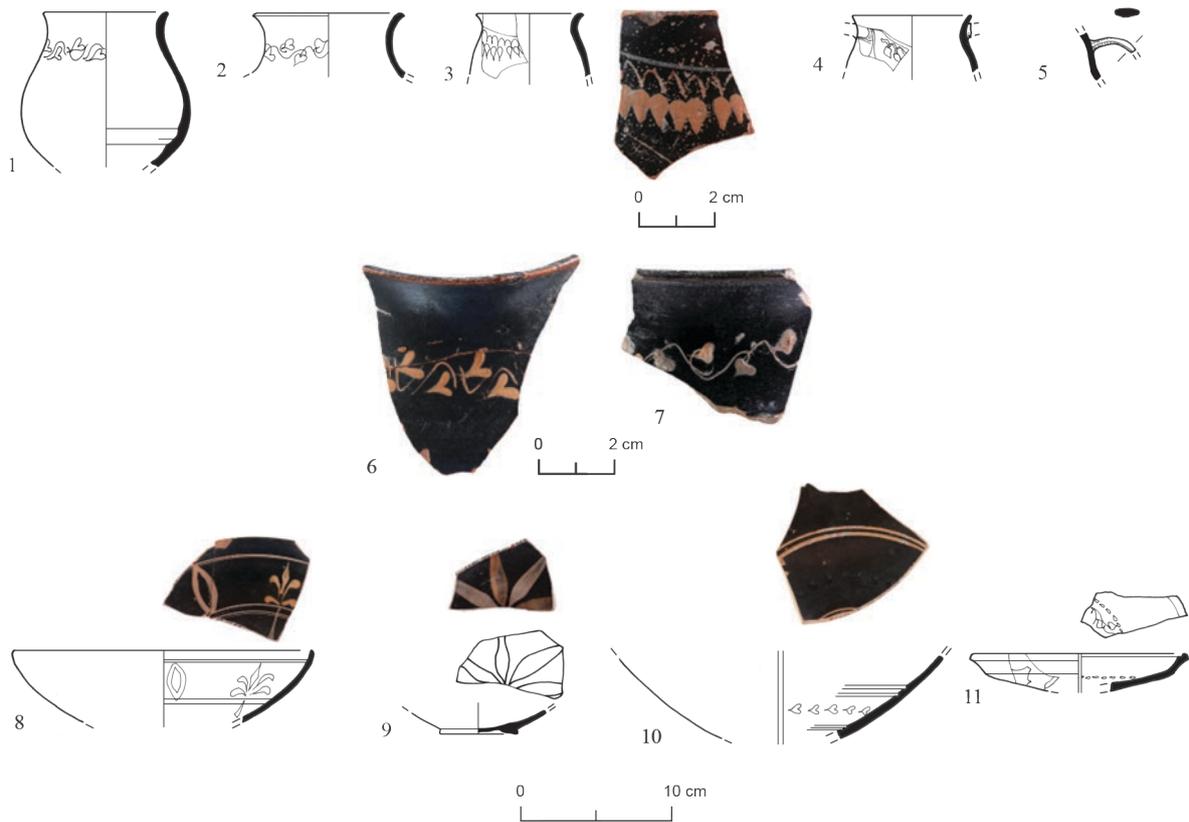


Fig. 3.9. West Slope Technique (WST): Pergamene Imports: Kantharoi and Drinking Bowls

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)	Parallels
1.	Kantharos	4997/07-169-115-1577	Reddish brown. Shiny black slip. Leaves painted in clay.	PH 10, rim diam. 8	Behr 1988: Fig. 4:14
2.	Kantharos	6092/11-169-151-2270-S1	Light gray. Dark gray slip. Ivy leaves in whitish clay and incised stem.	PH 4, rim diam. 9.5	
3.	Kantharos	2/16-169-203-2863	Reddish light brown. Dark brown slip. Spearhead necklace incised and painted in clay, suspended from white tainia.	PH 5, rim diam. 7	
4.	Kantharos	6092/11-169-151-2270/3	Reddish light brown. Blotchy dark brown to reddish brown slip. White tainia and spearhead necklace incised and clay drops.	PH 4.5, rim diam. 8.5	
5.	Kantharos: Handle	6092/11-169-151-2270/2	Same fabric, probably second handle of same vessel.		
6.	Kantharos	6092/11-169-151-2270/4	Reddish brown. Shiny black slip. Ivy leaves painted in clay and incised stem.		
7.	Kantharos	6092/11-169-151-2270/5	Light brown. Shiny black slip. Ivy leaves and stem painted in clay.		Behr 1988: Fig. 6:20

Fig. 3.9. Cont.

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)	Parallels
8.	Bowl with interior decoration	5574/09-169-134-2073	Light brown. Dark gray to brown slip, palmettes alternating with lanceolate leaves painted in clay between scraped grooves.	PH 5, rim diam. 20	Behr 1988: Fig. 12:49 for palmette
9.	Bowl with interior decoration	52/01-169-06-322	Light brown. Dark gray to brown slip. In centre rosette (probably eight-petaled) painted in clay. Nearly flat ring foot, slightly beveled to interior.	Base diam. 5	Behr 1988: Figs. 12:52; 13:53-54
10.	Bowl with interior decoration	5574/09-169-134-2073	Light brown. Dark gray to brown slip. Imprint of row of ivy-shaped leaves between two scraped grooves at mid-body and two close to base.	PH 6, est. max. W 22	Behr 1988: Fig. 12:51
11.	Bowl with interior decoration	4687/06-169-97-1378	Light brown. Dark gray slip on interior, on exterior: dark gray line (2.5cm wide) along rim, dark brown blotch on wall. Broken white line and wreath of white oval leaves with incised stem below.	PH 2.5, est. diam. 14	Behr 1988: Fig. 12:50

fragmentary it is only Fig. 3.9:1 that can be attributed to Phase 3. The kantharoi are decorated with tendrils of leaves and spearhead necklaces in white paint and diluted clay on the constricted neck section.

The second category is the hemispherical bowl (Berlin and Pilacinski 2003: 205) or mastoid bowl (Lund 2015: 97), used as drinking cup, and decorated on the inside with floral motifs alternating in paint and clay. At Pergamon the vessels began to be produced in the late third or early second centuries BCE; the end of manufacture is not clear, yet Athenian and Corinthian parallels suggest a final production date around mid-second century BCE (Behr 1988: 145–147, Nos. 49–54).

The attribution of the bowls from SC169 to the Pergamene workshop(s) is based on visual fabric inspection and parallels in shape and decoration. However, there is evidence that in the East Vessels in West Slope technique were manufactured on Cyprus in addition to Pergamon and the workshop of the Ivy Platter Group (Lund 2015: 96). Hence, a Cypriot origin of the bowls cannot be excluded (Berlin and Pilacinski 2003: 218, Fig. 5:73–85; Lund 2015: 296, Fig. 92).

With the dating of the two different drinking vessels in mind the question arises whether the mastoid bowls represent an earlier group of imports,

which, when no longer produced after the mid-second century BCE, was replaced by kantharoi. However, such a sequence is highly unlikely in view of the popularity of the kantharos all over the Hellenistic world.

#### *Table Amphoras* (Fig. 3.10:1–11)

Most of the table amphoras are imports from Pergamon. Behr dates the introduction to the late third century BCE (1988: 170–171), while Rotroff notes that the manufacture was well established by the early second century BCE (Rotroff 2002: 100). At Paphos, Pergamene tableware arrived mainly between the late third and the mid-second centuries BCE but never in any significant quantities (Hayes 1991: 5–6). For two table amphoras with the characteristic features of Pergamene products (shape, fluted wall and rotelles) a different origin was suggested: A vessel found at Sha'ar Ha-amakim is tentatively attributed to the Cypriot color-coated ware (Młynarczyk 2009: 103, Fig. 5:1) and another in semi-fine fabric from Bet Yerah is assigned to an eastern workshop (Tal 2017: 60–62, Fig. 4.1: TA1), with the fabric indicating a workshop in the northern Levant. The first was retrieved in a one-time fill of an underground rock-cut silo in a house destroyed in the mid-second century BCE, setting a terminus

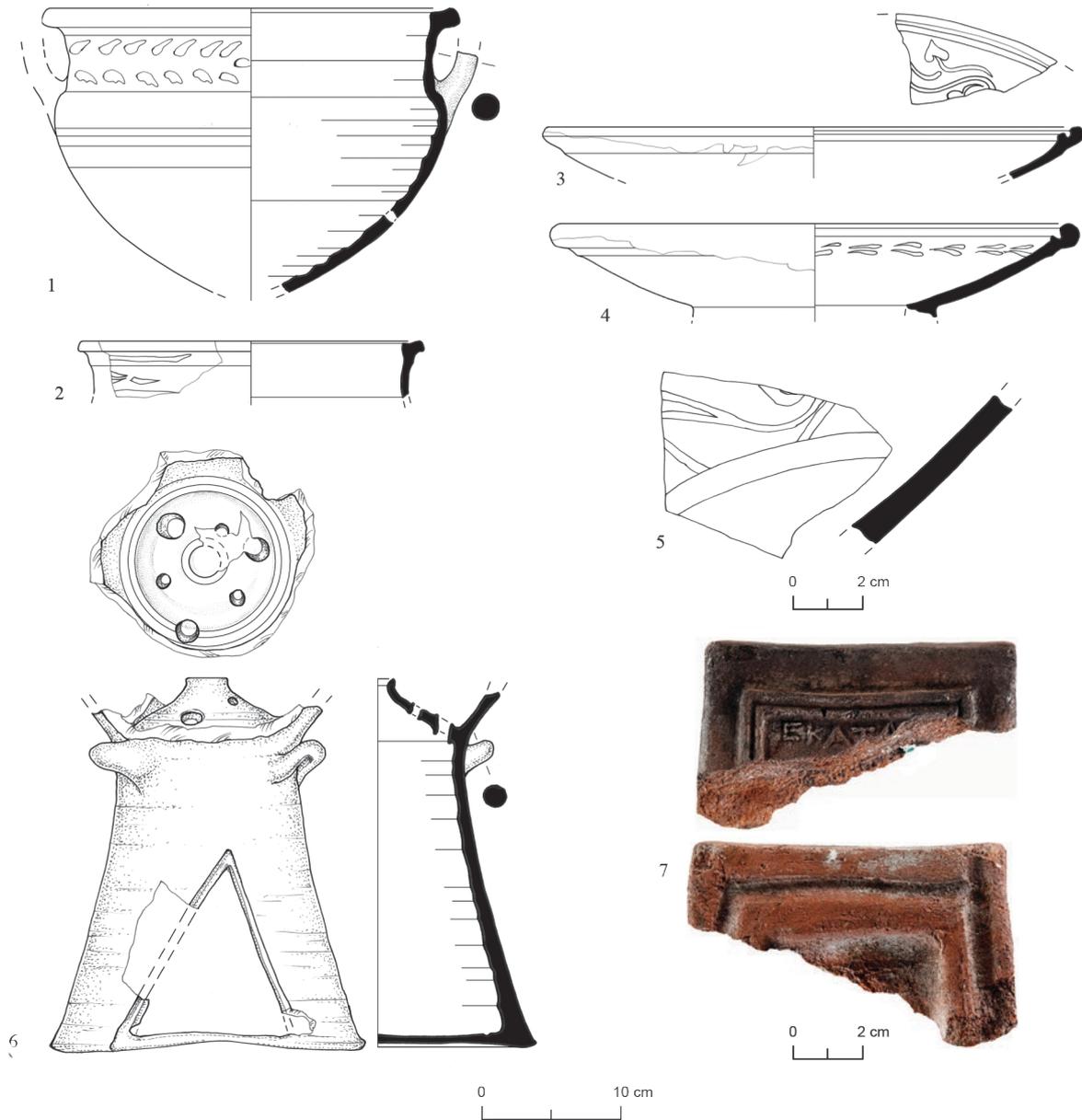


Fig. 3.10. West Slope Technique (WST): Pergamene and Local Amphoras

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)	Parallels
1.	Amphora: Pergamon	4099/04 + 4099/04- 169-47-764 + 39-764	Light brown. Shiny dark brown slip in/ out. Decoration on neck: spearhead necklace incised and clay, on shoulder incised wave.	Rim diam. 13.5, height of neck 7.5	Behr 1988: 170-171; Rotroff 2002: Fig. 1:2
2.	Amphora: Pergamon	4361/05 + 4099/04 + 4099/04 + 7015/14- 169-39-897 + 40-649 + 47-838 + 189-2706	Light brown. On exterior dull dark gray slip, on interior reddish brown slip. On shoulder band of ivy leaves in clay and incised stem; white paint on rotelles. Along shoulder edge two scraped grooves.	Base diam. 11.6	

Fig. 3.10. Cont.

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)	Parallels
3.	Amphora: Pergamon	4099/04-169-39-813	Reddish brown. Dark gray slip in/out, on neck interior with brown blotches. Spearhead necklace incised and painted in clay, suspended from garland in white paint, above it scraped groove.	Diam. 16	
4.	Amphora: Pergamon	3941/03 + 3941/03-169-36-616 + 36-598	Same vessel as No. 3. On shoulder band of incised triangles filled with white dots, below in between triangle tips clay dots. Scraped groove at the junction of neck and shoulder and two scrapes grooves below handle and joint of shoulder and wall, between them a line of white dots; white paint on rotelles.		
5.	Amphora: Pergamon	4099/04-169-50-787	Reddish brown. Dark gray slip in/out. Similar to Nos. 3–4. Band of scraped triangles filled with white dots. Along shoulder edge two scraped grooves with line of white dots in between.		
6.	Amphora: Pergamon	4997/07-169-115-1601	Light brown. On exterior dull gray slip, on interior shiny brown slip. Ivy leaves painted in clay, incised thin stem.		
7.	Amphora: Pergamon	5343/08-169-125a-1847	Light brown. Dark brown slip. Spearhead necklace incised and painted in clay.	Diam. 14	
8.	Amphora: local	4997/07-169-115-1570-S2	Light brown. Dull thin brown slip, rim and neck interior partly slipped, on shoulder and neck exterior unslipped section, no slip on underside. Tainia in thin white paint on neck, shoulder decoration incised with white dots.	H 21, rim diam. 14.5, H of neck 9.7, base diam. 11, max. width 20	
9.	Amphora: local	4099/04-169-47-786	Light brown and reddish brown. Gray core. Dull thin patchy slip, brown on exterior and interior neck, reddish brown on body. On neck garland in white paint, on shoulder wreath of incised strokes with two dots of clay at end.	PH 27, inner rim diam. 16	
10.	Amphora: handle with thumb rest and rotelles: local	3567/02-169-19-420	Light brown. On exterior dark brown slip, on interior red slip.		
11.	Amphora: triple-grooved handle: local	3/00-169-01-76	Yellowish light brown. Red slip.	W 2.5	



**Fig. 3.11.** West Slope Technique (WST): The Ivy Platter Group / Thymiaterion / Brazier

ante quem (Młynarczyk 2009: 99); for the second a chronological range between the mid-third century BCE (the 260s/250s) and the early first century BCE (the 90s) is given (Tal 2017: 60).

The table amphoras with a dull brown slip (Fig. 3.10:8–9) appear to be local products, with the broadly spreading rim typical of the Pergamon amphoras (Rotroff 2002: 99). Uncommon are red-slipped amphoras, most likely imports, painted (Fig. 3.10:7) and with vertical fluting (Levine 2003: 90, No. 60; Regev 2003: 165, Form 10). Note that Levine identified the

vessel as an ESA krater and Regev suggested “imported imitation of the Attic West Slope table amphora.”

In the SC169 assemblage imported amphoras with at least a dozen specimens are more frequent than local ones, with four more recorded. The existence of a local amphora production in West Slope technique, imitating Pergamene prototypes, production, is not in question, several amphoras have been published: painted with a thin dull slip (see Fig. 3.10:8 and Stern and Alpert 2014b: Fig. 6:9 from SC1), unslipped with painted bands (Stern, Alpert and Kloner 2016: 44–46,

**Fig. 3.11.** West Slope Technique (WST): The Ivy Platter Group / Thymiaterion / Brazier

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
1.	Krater	4687/06-169-76-1290	Light gray. Brown slip in/out, inside only along neck. Possibly rope handle. Decoration in white paint.	PH 21, diam. 29.5
2.	Krater	5343/08-169-126-1772	Light brown. Black slip in/out, worn on rim. Faint marks of white paint.	Diam. 25
3.	Plate Type 1	52/01-169-07-313	Light gray. Black slip in/out with blotches. Decoration in white paint.	Diam. 38.5
4.	Plate Type 1	6701/13-169-179-2537	Brown. Black slip with blotches. Faint marks of white paint.	Diam. 37.5
5.	Plate	4997/07-169-116-1553	Light brown. Black slip. Decoration in white paint.	
6.	Thymiaterion(?)	4361/05-169-39-985-S3	Brown. Plenty of mica inclusions. Above pierced floor gray/black soot.	PH 27.5, max. diam. 23, triangular opening W 11, H 12
7.	Brazier lug	4997/07-169-114-1729-S7	Reddish brown. Plenty of mica inclusions. Front gray/black from soot. Inscribed.	PW 9.5, PH 5.5, PW 2-3

Fig. 4:12 with reddish-brown bands at junction of neck and body and on the body above the maximum width, from Complex 147) and plain ware (Levine 2003: 99–100, Nos. 87–88; Regev 2003: 165, Forms 6–7). The creativity of local potters is attested by the find of an almost complete vessel with double-barreled handles; most likely a local product, it is related to the West Slope technique amphoras and decorated with bands painted pinkish beige and two parallel lines of dots on the shoulder. Its narrow toe is pierced with a narrow hole which is not secondary, suggesting a use as funnel or libation vessel (Ariel and Finkielsztejn 2003: 144–145, PWS1; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: 677).

#### *The Ivy Platter Group* (Fig. 3.11:1–5)

The Ivy Platter Group represents the third group in the West Slope technique, identified as the third great production center besides Athens and Pergamon (Rotroff 2002: 100–101). The most common shape are platters (Rotroff 2002: Figs. 2–3); there are also kraters (Rotroff 2002: Fig. 4:3–4) and jugs (Rotroff 2002: Fig. 4:5), the latter not recorded at Maresha. Context evidence suggests a third-century BCE date, with finds in second-century BCE contexts probably residual (Rotroff 2002: 101). At Sha'ar Ha-amakim two kraters came to light in a one-time fill of an

underground rock-cut silo in a house destroyed in the mid-second century BCE, which is merely a terminus ante quem (Młynarczyk 2009: 99, 103, Fig. 4:18–19). Even though the evidence from SC169 at Maresha with mostly second-century ceramics might indicate a continuation into the second century, Rotroff's assessment is supported by finds from Dora, though a continuation into the early second century or even until the mid-second century BCE is plausible (see below).

For the Type 1 plate the ceramic assemblage of the following loci is relevant: Area C1, Phase 4a?/3c??, L4353 with a date in the second half of the third century BCE (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 329, Fig. 6.55:6); Area C2, Phase 3b, L4535 dated ca. 250–200 (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 335, Fig. 6.62:1); Area C2, Phase 4a?/5a, L4566 dated ca. 300–225 (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 329, Fig. 6.65:1); Area C2, Phase 3(a?), L4520 dated to the first half of the second century BCE (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 333, Fig. 6.60:2); Area C0, Phase 4b, L616 dated ca. 275–175 BCE (Guz-Zilberstein 1995: 329, Fig. 6.47:1). In the tableware repertoire these large plates/platters were particularly popular at Dora, and I do not concur with the assessment that “they are apparently a misleading indicator of quantity as they were disproportionately selected for publication” (Berlin and Stone 2016: 198,

note 7). Rather, the quantity might indicate a local or close-by regional workshop.

The Ivy Platter Group in SC169 consists of kraters and platters. For a complete krater with a wreath composed of a pair of leaves from Dora see Rotroff 2002: Fig. 4:3; for the shape in probably Cypriot color-coated ware see Młynarczyk 2009: Fig. 4:19). The krater from Dora and two additional fragmentary kraters are red-slipped with floral and geometric decoration in flesh ochre and white paint (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 228–229, Nos. 58, 61–62, Fig. 5.11:3, 5–6). The SC169 platters or plates belong to Type 1 of the Ivy Platter Group (Rotroff 2002: 100–101). They are heavy with convex or straight outer wall, a grooved knob rim, a wide ring foot with a diameter of 21.0–39.5cm, and generally black-slipped with white paint (for a rare red-slipped plate from Dora see Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995a: 227, No. 49, Fig. 5.10:10). A Type 1 plate from Maresha SC147 is decorated with ivy garland, rouletting and stamped palmettes (Stern, Alpert and Kloner 2016: Fig. 4:1 on p. 44).

To sum up: For the three categories in West Slope technique, Pergamene imports, locally manufactured table amphoras in Pergamene style and the Ivy Platter Group, dating evidence is not unambiguous. Manufacture at Pergamon started in the third century BCE and was well established by the early second when imports to Maresha could have begun. The conical drinking cups were produced until the mid-second century and kantharoi until the mid-first century BCE.

For the local amphora production, a second-century BCE date is most likely. In evaluating the evidence for the Ivy Platter Group no clear-cut result emerges. Do the reliable third-century dates and the less certain second-century dates signal the end of production around 200, as suggested by Rotroff? Also, the fabric examination is crucial for determining origin and date. For a BSP kantharos from Beirut, a date in the third quarter of the second century BCE is given (Élaigne 2013: 217, Fig. 5: 438–30). A table amphora fragment from Akko-Ptolemais is tentatively attributed to BSP? Aegean/Asia Minor? (Berlin and Stone 2016: 194, Fig. 9.27:11). The fabric of a kantharos and a table amphora from Bet Yerah is defined semi-fine, originating from the northern Levant (Tal 2017: 60–62, Fig. 4.1: KA1, TA1).

Looking at the shape and motif repertoire of the three categories it can be concluded that Attic prototypes no longer set the style, and local workshops like those at Pergamon and Ephesos and non-Attic manufacture centers like that of the Ivy Platter Group were creative and innovative (see Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 32–33). At Ephesos a few vessels date from the early third century BCE; however, for the majority, a time range from the late third century into the first half of the second century is reliable (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 44). It is this time span I suggest for the SC169 finds. Yet, compared to the popularity of West Slope-style tableware at Pergamon and Ephesos, Maresha's inhabitants were negligible customers and consumers.

### THYMIATERION(?) (FIG. 3.11:6)

Fabric, shape and size of this vessel suggest a Knidian or southeastern Aegean origin (Şahin 2003; Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: 683, Pl. 6.2.9:1–4). However, it is not one of the ubiquitous braziers. The conical stand has a dome-shaped top with a central opening and six pierced holes, three large and three small. Unfortunately, the outer upper wall is broken, hence the shape cannot be restored confidently. The dome-shaped top recalls the bell-shaped lids from the Athenian Agora (Rotroff 1997: 212, 382, Cat. No. 1435; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2000: 321–322, No. 75). Placed over a bowl on a hollow stand closed underneath, the open-work lid served as outlet for the fragrant smoke of the

burning incense. The Athenian thymiateria consists of a stand with a bowl and a separately made lid. In analogy to these the vessel from SC169 could be a single-piece vessel with the same function. However, I could find no parallels for the dome-shaped top attached to the stand, and the height of the outer wall surrounding the pierced top is not clear as the upper section is broken. Assuming that charcoal and incense pellets were placed in the stand through the vent hole, the smoke escaped through the pierced top. The triangular vent hole has a parallel on a miniature brazier from Knidos (Şahin 2005: Fig. 11 on p. 96).

**BRAZIER** (FIG. 3.11:7)

This fragmentary brazier lug is inscribed EKATA[IOY], “of Hekataios.” He was presumably the potter who made the braziers or the owner of the workshops in which they were produced (Şahin 2003: 77–81; Rotroff 2006: 212). The production period and hence the time span of use of this particular type of stove was quite limited. Braziers had a triple function as portable hearth, cooking stand for supporting a pot over the fire and altar, and were found in domestic and in cultic contexts. On the Knidian peninsula five workshops were located and partially excavated, dated after 200 until the mid-first century BCE. On the basis of the finds from the sanctuary of Apollo Karneios at Knidos, Şahin posits a religious function for the ovens, for libations and as incense altars, as well as for preparing and

consuming meat as part of ritual community and family feasts and celebrations (2003: 119–121; 2005: 95–96). The author’s interpretation is corroborated by the find of a miniature brazier, 4.5cm high, in the fills of a drain on the Terrace of Dionysos, together with animal bones, the skull of a horned animal and fine ware, representing sanctuary debris (Şahin 2005: 95 and Fig. 11 on p. 96).

In the southern Levant braziers are particularly common at coastal sites (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2015: 683). At Maresha a handle with a bearded head came to light in SC57 (Stern and Alpert 2014a: 14, Fig. 3.21 on p. 15). The fragmentary brazier from SC21, of different shape and decoration, is ascribed to a local workshop (Levine 2003: 122, No. 175).

**LOCAL IMITATIONS OF HELLENISTIC PROTOTYPES** (FIG. 3.12)

Based on previous research and visual fabric inspection, a number of vessels were most likely manufactured in local workshops at Maresha or in the vicinity, imitating shapes prominent in the Hellenistic koine like the Knidian cup and filter jugs. There are small flasks copying Egyptian prototypes and inkwells in a Greco-Roman tradition.

**Cup with  $\pi$ -Shaped Handles** (Fig. 3.12:1)

A popular Knidian mass-produced vessel (Kögler 2010: Form I, Type A) wide-mouthed drinking vessels were widely exported all over the eastern Mediterranean, with copies made in several centers. Sporadically imported into the southern Levant and imitated locally, finds of this vessel are recorded at coastal and inland sites in late Hellenistic and Augustan-Herodian contexts (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2003: 207–208; 2014b: 384–385; 2015: 679–680, Pl. 6.2.4:9–10). The cup from SC169 is most likely a local imitation.<sup>3</sup> According to its profile it can be assigned to “Find Complex D” from the first half and middle of the second century BCE and “Find Complex E,” dated to the late second and the first

half of the first century BCE (Kögler 2010: 83–103, Fig. 70 for the typological development from c. 200 BCE to 150 CE). Its predominance at Knidos must be of a particular significance. While the use in domestic contexts is attested, the number in the destruction levels of the Temple of Apollo is much greater, a fact that might be explained by its role in symposia and votive offerings for Apollo Karneios (Kögler 2010: 89–91). However, the single vessel from the SC169 assemblage cannot be contextualized.

**Filter Jugs** (Fig. 3.12:2–3)

In the Athenian production, filter jugs are a Hellenistic invention, related to earlier shapes and not appearing before the mid-third century BCE. They are small pitchers (diam. ca. 9–14cm) with a ring foot and a pear-shaped body, a strainer in the neck, a funnel-like mouth, usually with an incurved rim, a strap handle and a tube-shaped spout (Rotroff 1997: 180–182). According to Rotroff and Kögler (2010: 238–240) their function remains a mystery: The jug and tube are too large to have been a baby feeder, although appropriate for an adult invalid. Most likely

<sup>3</sup> I warmly thank Patricia Kögler for inspecting a fragment of the cup and defining it as a non-Knidian fabric.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



Fig. 3.12.

Fig. 3.12. Local Imitations of Hellenistic Prototypes

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Description	Size (cm)
1.	Cup with $\pi$ -shaped handles	3/00 + 6092/11 + 6380/12-169-03-16 + 159-2296 + 169-2405	More than a dozen fragments, some of them joining. Light brown. Dark brown slip in/shiny red out.	Diam. 17
2.	Filter jug	6701/13-169-179-2522-S3	Yellowish light brown. Dark brown slip out.	PH 6
3.	Filter jug	52/01-169-10-329	Light brown. Dark brown slip out. On sieve reddish brown slip.	PH 4
4.	Intact flask	5/97-147-09-1925-S1	From SC147. Grayish light brown. Dark gray slip out (Published in Stern, Alpert and Klöner 2016: Fig. 4:14).	H 8.1, L 6.8
5.	Flask	37/15-169-197-2807	Made from same mold as No. 4. Light gray. Dark gray slip out.	PH 3.2
6.	Flask	5574/09-169-134-2013-S2	Made from same mold as No. 4. Same fabric.	PH 3.3
7.	Flask	4361/05-169-51-198	Fabric like No. 4.	PH 3.6
8.	Flask	4099/04-169-35-609-S1	Two joining fragments. Light brown. Red slip out.	PH 8, PW 4
9.	Flask	52/01-169-09-212	Fabric like No. 8.	PH 3
10.	Flask	52/01-169-09-180-S2	Fabric like No. 8.	PH 3
11.	Flask	3567/02-169-18-419-S6	Fabric like No. 8.	PH 3.2
12.	Inkwell	3/00-169-09-40-S1	Intact. Light brown. Red slip out (patchy and blotchy). Base and third of lower body reserved.	Diam. 6.5
13.	Closed vessel	4099/04-169-44-821	Light brown. Dull red slip out, blotches in. Local?	PH 5, base diam. 5.3, diam. of rosette 2.6
14.	Jug / flask?	4361/05 + 4361/05 + 4099/04 + 4099/04-169-42-970 + 43-936 + 50-819 + 50-805	Four joining fragments. Light brown, burnished exterior surface. Lustrous red paint. Local?	PH 6.5, PW 13.5

it had a multi-functional use that is implied by their various find-spots in habitation levels, shops and temple areas at Knidos, and by the different sizes of the pierced holes. Hence, a use for expensive liquids, possibly oil, perfume and medicine, is likely. Rotroff states that by placing a cloth inside the funnel, the strainer and the narrow tube, the contents would be protected from dirt, insects and other impurities. This would be important in filtering out the dregs of wine at the table, or facilitating the preparation of infusions, especially for administration to invalids. Kögler concludes that the vessels were employed to separate larger particles in liquids such as spices and herbs used in the preparation of teas and stock, and to filter syrupy products like oil and honey. The context evidence from SC169 suggests that the jugs were intended for the table and not for the sick room.

Filter jugs appear in small numbers on several sites in the southern Levant, consisting of imported and local versions (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2014a: 191). At Maresha locally produced vessels were recorded (Stern and Alpert 2014a: 15–16, Fig. 3.25 BSP filter juglet, late second century BCE; Levine 2003: 113, Fig. 6.13:142 on p. 111; Regev 2003: 169, Form 30; their shape resembles the Athenian prototypes (Rotroff 1997: 357, No. 1185 dated 200–175 BCE).

#### *Flasks* (Fig. 3.12:4–11)

In SC147 at Maresha an intact, small mold-made flask in gray ware with a dark gray slip came to light (Stern, Alpert and Klöner 2016: 44, Fig. 4:14). The authors compare it to flasks manufactured at Tell Atrib (Myśliwiec and Abu Senna 1995: Fig. 8; Południkiewicz 2000: Pl. 133). Yet the flask from

SC147 lacks the two small, foot-like protrusions at the bottom and the two applied nodules below the ring handles, which are common features of the Egyptian flasks (Seif el-Din 1992: 121–123; see glass flask No. 169–115–1600G/1 with two protrusions, Jackson-Tal, this volume Fig. 1:3).

Seif el-Din refers to the flask with the Greek inscription “Dionysaikon lagyni(on),” suggesting that such flasks were used or bought during the Dionysian festivals held in Ptolemaic Egypt. Jackson-Tal mentions production centers at Memphis (black or gray ware, micaceous, fine walls, hard-fired with semi-lustrous black slip) and El-Fayyum (red-brown or orange-red with traces of gold mica, brown-red with slightly lustrous slip).

The flasks produced in the Tell Atrib workshops are made from well-levigated Nile silt fired red or black in a reduction environment; they were found in layers from the end of the third through the first centuries BCE (Południkiewicz 2000: 263–264). They represent an innovation in the Egyptian ceramic repertoire (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 134–135). Other workshops are also documented. Two surface finds from Tebtynis in fabric F IVa (gray clay and slip) are attributed to workshops at Memphis or Buto, and this fabric is characteristic of fine ware such as some hemispherical bowls, the majority of carinated bowls, some plates/bowls with incurved rim, fish plates and some small closed vessels (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 12, 135 Nos. 588–589). The manufacture of both Egyptian vessels and tableware imitating dominant shapes of the Hellenistic koine is a feature of production sites in the periphery of the Greco-Roman world, and also applies to the ceramic ensemble from Maresha.

In SC169 several gray- and red-slipped flasks came to light, resembling flasks from sites in Egypt. The fragments Fig. 3.12:5–6 were most likely made from the same mold as the intact flask Fig. 3.12:4. The four tiny leaves on the lower neck between the pierced handles of Fig. 3.12:4 are only on the front side, so that the neck fragment Fig. 3.12:5 lacking the leaves belongs to the rear side. The band of triangles framing the central elaborate rosette of Fig. 3.12:4 occurs also on Fig. 3.12:6; Fig. 3.12:7 is decorated with a different star-shaped rosette than Fig. 3.12:4. The decoration on Fig. 3.12:8 comprises an outer band of circles with

central dot, a central eight-petaled rosette surrounded by a flower of eight raised oval petals alternating with triple leaves; the neck side preserved is plain except for the ridge above the handles. The flask is slightly larger than Fig. 3.12:4. The neck of Fig. 3.12:9 is the same size as Fig. 3.12:8 and is decorated with a triple leaf on one side of the neck. Figs. 3.12:10–11 are two non-joining wall fragments of the same vessel, decorated with a band of triangles. Based on visual inspection of the fabric, the gray- and red-slipped flasks appear to be locally manufactured. While in size and production technique they closely follow the Egyptian prototypes, the style of simple decorative elements can be assigned to local artisans. The flasks produced at Tell Atrib are between 6 and 12cm high; the two mold-made halves are joined together (see the distinct seam on Fig. 3.12:4); and the geometrical and floral decorations are more elaborate than those created by the Maresha artisans. At Tell Atrib Południkiewicz classifies the flasks as a “local syncretic form” (2000: 263), implying their ritual significance and use.

#### *Inkwell* (Fig. 3.12:12)

This intact inkwell has a raised disc base with a small central omphalos, suggesting that it was placed on a wooden(?) tray for stability. The top is sunken and on each side of the reservoir edge there are small, pierced suspension brackets with two holes each. The upper third of the vessel is mold-made, the lower two thirds are wheel-made; the joint is clearly visible. The top is decorated with a, egg-and-dart band around edge. Three joining fragments of the top of an inkwell of the same size and fabric (see Table 2:8) shows a black coloring on the interior, probably ink residue. Of a third, slightly larger inkwell of the same fabric (diam. 9cm) three joining and two non-joining fragments are preserved (see Table 2:9) are preserved. The red slip covers the rim and the two broken suspension brackets, while the sunken top is reserved.

An inkwell from SC169 has recently been published together with three additional inkwells from elsewhere at Maresha (Erlich 2017: 48–50, Fig. 10 center bottom). The author presents a short overview of inkwells from the Hellenistic and Roman period, pointing out that the Hellenistic specimens are bowl-shaped, while the Roman specimens tend to be cylindrical.

*Closed Vessels* (Fig. 3.12:13–14)

As no parallels are known to me it is difficult to identify the origin and shape of these two closed vessels, with only their lower sections preserved. The fabric is light brown and recalls that of the red-slipped small flasks and of the inkwells, hence a local production is assumed.

The first vessel has a wide ring foot with a stamped, eight-petaled rosette on the underside. There is a deep groove at the junction of body and foot, and another

higher up, where the stump of a handle or a relief design is noted. A small mold-made bottle from Tebtynis, dated to the second century BCE, bears an eight-petaled rosette on the exterior ring foot; little is preserved of the additional decoration on the lower exterior wall (Ballet and Południkiewicz 2012: 139, Pl. 62:607).

The second fragment is probably part of a flask with a small, horizontal, pierced coil handle. The surface is decorated with banding in shiny red paint. On the bottom interior there is a small knob created by being turned on the wheel.

## MOLD-MADE BOWLS (FIGS. 3.13–3.16)

This chapter includes only a few representative mold-made bowls (MMB), as the reconstruction of the fairly large number of vessels retrieved in SC169 has not yet been completed.<sup>4</sup> Hence, the presentation is preliminary, and references are sparse, including the M.A. thesis on the Maresha bowls by S. Yogev-Neuman (2008). A single Ionian bowl was recorded (Fig. 3.13:1). Other imported vessels consist of a base stamped EMAXOY from the Menemachos workshop at Ephesos (Yogev-Neuman 2008: 121, 125, No. 490; Laumonier 1977: 21–22, see Cat. No. 1981 on p. 26 and Pl. 113) and a bowl from the workshops of the Group Kirbeis and his associates, representing the local Black Sea production (Yogev-Neuman 2008: Cat. No. 489; Stern and Alpert 2014a: 21, Fig. 343; for Kirbeis see Guldager Bilde 2010: 285–287).

The bulk of MMBs are hemispherical with a slightly flaring rim and a nearly flat bottom, with the medallion providing a resting surface, marked by ridges or beading. Their size is quite uniform with a diameter of ca. 14–15cm and a height of ca. 10cm; differences are noticeable in shapes, fabrics and slips. For many of these bowls local or regional manufacture is most likely, an assertion congruent with Guldager Bilde's prognosis of more than two decades ago that "coming years will probably reveal that more or less all cities of some importance had their own production of mold-made bowls (1993: 197; see also the discussion in Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016: 118–122). Although so far no molds have been discovered at Maresha, the

identification of local workshops is based on visual fabric examination and on the study of the imagery repertoire. The goal of the forthcoming publication of all bowls from SC169 and a thorough evaluation of the Maresha corpus published by Yogev-Neuman will be to identify a distinctly local style.

The vessels presented here include imbricate bowls, a net-pattern bowl and figured and floral bowls; their subjects, motifs and some features are summarized in Table 1. The compositional designs are characterized by a repetitive style, in which single stamps or a group are repeated in sequence (see Figs. 14; 15:1; 16:1, 6; for rare narrative compositions see Yogev-Neuman 2008: Pls. 15:5; 16:4–6). While the same motifs occur, identical stamps on different bowls are rare (see Fig. 3.16:6).

*Fig. 3.13:1*

Ionian import. Reddish-brown, dark brown to dark gray slip on upper half of exterior wall, reddish-brown slip on lower half; dark brown slip with reddish-brown blotches on interior, micaceous.

Entire profile preserved; three joining fragments.

Imbricate bowl. Medallion: plain surrounded by two ridges. Wall: ten rows of small ferns. Rim: egg and dart.

Laumonier 1977: 180, Pl. 39:5074, nine rows, rim with meander, from the workshop of the Square-Monogram potter. He was probably the most prolific Aegean potter, operating in Ephesos towards the

<sup>4</sup> The full assemblage of MMBs will be published in the Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture.

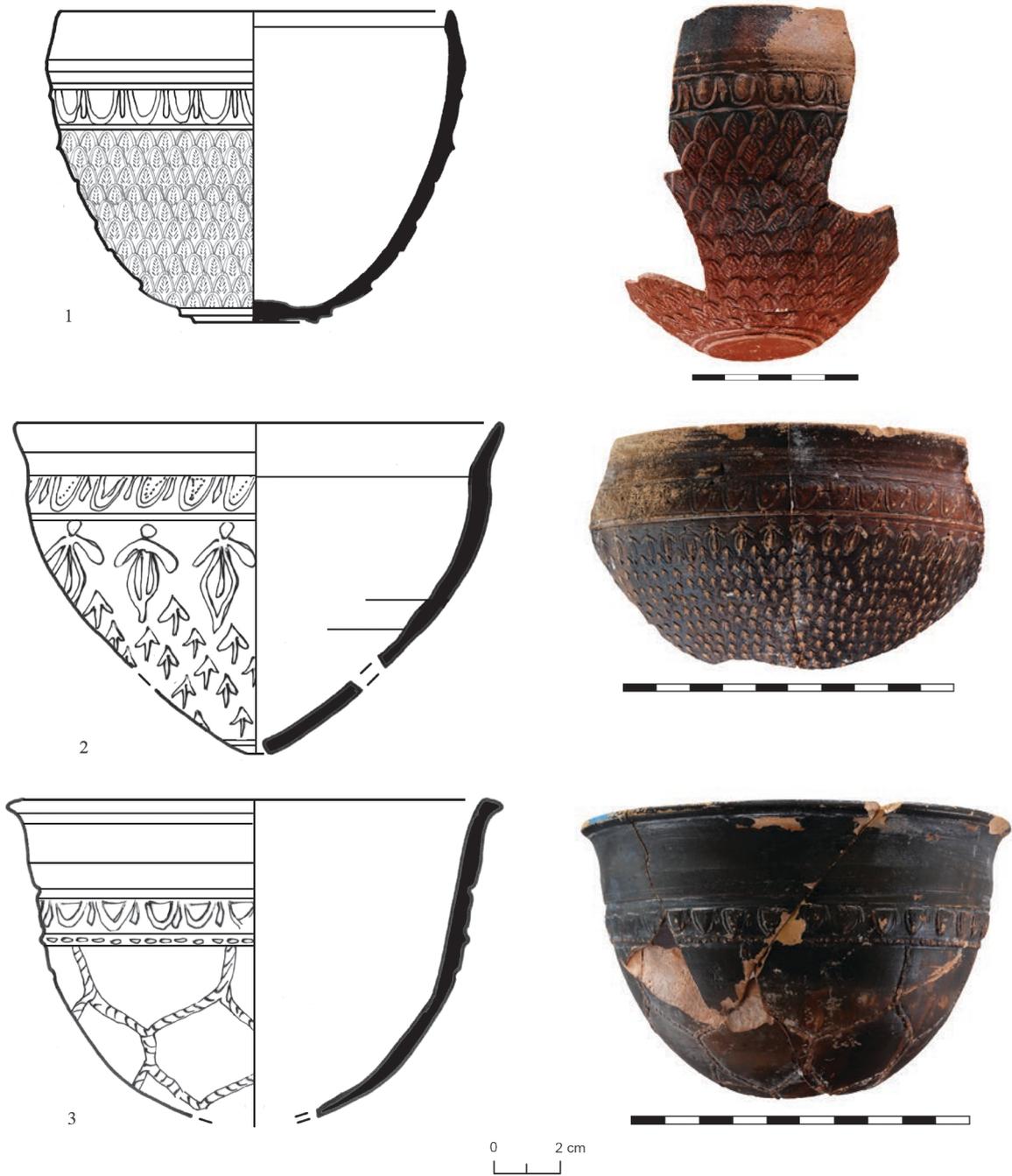


Fig. 3.13. Moldmade Bowls

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Imbricate bowl	4361/05-169-42-903-S1	Diam. 13, H 9.5
2	Imbricate bowl	7015/14-169-185a-2675-S1	Diam. 15, H 10.5
3	Net-pattern bowl	6092/11-169-150-2249S13	Diam. 15, PH 10



Fig. 3.14. Moldmade Bowl

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Figured bowl	6092/11-169-150-2265	Diam. 14, H 9.5

end of the second century BCE (Laumonier 1977: 129–133). With the discovery of molds at Ephesos Laumonier's suggestion was confirmed (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 69; Rogl 2001: 99). A fair amount of vessels of the potter was imported to Dora (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995b: 367).

**Fig. 3.13:2**

Light brown, irregular dark brown to dark gray slip on exterior and interior.

Entire profile preserved; two joining wall fragments and two non-joining base fragments.

Imbricate bowl. Medallion: only the ridge is preserved. Wall: closely set rows of small ferns. Rim: lower row of buds, upper row of egg and dart.

The shape is unusual; the rim is outturned with a constriction above the egg-and-dart band, and the base is pointed.

**Fig. 3.13:3**

Light brown, irregular, dark gray to dark brown slip with light brown patches.

Most of bowl restored from several fragments. Diam. 15cm, PH 10cm.

Net-pattern bowl. Wall: two rows of polygons and half-polygons. Rim: egg and dart. A line of beading separates the wall and the rim pattern.

At Athens, net-pattern bowls are not common (Rotroff 1982: 39).

**Fig. 3.14**

Light brown, irregular slip, reddish-brown to brown slip on exterior, along rim and third of vertical wall dark gray to dark brown, red slip on interior except for narrow dark gray to dark brown band along rim.

Most of bowl restored from several fragments.

Figured bowl. Medallion: rosette within ridge. Calyx: Victory holding a wreath standing above two splayed small ferns, alternating with altars. Between them inward curling tendrils. Wall: Eros the Hunter with drawn bow to right, facing leaping lion. Rim: egg and dart. Two lines of beading separate calyx and wall as well as wall and rim pattern.

Bowl from Athens: Eros with bow facing right and pursuing large animal (Rotroff 1982: 77, No. 264,

Pl. 53); from Akko-Ptolemais: altar (Berlin and Stone 2016: 175, Fig. 9.18:9–10).

**Fig. 3.15**

Several of these bowls are fired reddish-brown with a red slip are illustrated; Fig. 3.15:4 is fired light brown and micaceous.

*Fig. 3.15:1.* The slip on part of the rim section is fired gray-brown.

About half of the bowl restored from several fragments.

Figured bowl. Medallion: row of small ferns in star pattern, surrounded by line of beading (inner section missing). Calyx: heart-shaped leaves alternating with acanthus. Wall: bulls' heads alternating with garlands with bows. Rim: row of ovules framed by beading. Calyx and wall are separated by line of beading. Four lines of beading are not common.

*Fig. 3.15:2.* Fragment. PH 5cm. Calyx: heart-shaped leaves alternating with palm fronds. Between them palm tree. To the right of the frond a bird. Beading surrounded the medallion and separated calyx and wall. The entire composition cannot be ascertained. The single preserved heart-shaped leaf was stamped twice.

*Fig. 3.15:3.* Fragment. Medallion: line of beading and ridge. Calyx: broad leaves, probably acanthus, with two half volutes at the bottom alternate with tendrils(?).

*Fig. 3.15:4.* Fragment. Medallion: rosette of small ferns alternating with small lanceolate ribbed leaves in star pattern, surrounded by ridge. Calyx: fronds alternating with leaves (heart-shaped?), their outline and central rib marked by beading.

**Fig. 3.16**

These bowls are fired light brown with black / dark gray / reddish-brown slips.

*Fig. 3.16:1.* Light brown, black slip, micaceous. About half of the bowl restored from several fragments, upper two thirds preserved.

Floral bowl. Calyx: tall *nymphaea caerulea* petals alternating with fronds. Between them are inward curling tendrils. Wall: scrolls with vine leaves and clusters of grapes. Rim: lower row of heart-shaped florets,



Fig. 3.15. Moldmade Bowls

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Figured bowl	6092/11-169-15-2230	Diam. 15, H 10
2	Calyx of bowl	7015/14-169-185a-2647-S1	PH 5
3	Medallion, calyx	3567/02-169-21-387-S1	PH 4
4	Medallion, calyx	52/01-169-10-307-S2	PH 35



Fig. 3.16. Moldmade Bowls

**Fig. 3.16.** Moldmade Bowls

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)
1	Floral bowl	6701/13-169-179-240-S2	Diam. 14, PH 10
2	Figured bowl	3/00-169-002-55-S1	PH 6.5
3	Figured bowl	6092/11-169-159-2289-S3	PH 3.5
4	Figured bowl	5574/09 + 6092/11-169-139-2052-S1 + 159-2343-S1	Same mold as No. 3
5	Floral bowl	5808/10-169-150-2258-S1	PH 4.5
6	Figured bowl	5343/08-169-125a-1789S4	Diam. 15
7	Floral bowl	6701/13-169-175a-2519-S1	
8	Rouletted bowl	4687/07-169-68-1330- S2	PH 7.5

upper row of indistinct double spirals. Two lines of beading separate calyx and wall and wall and rim pattern. The wheel-made upper rim is carelessly made.

For a similar calyx composition see (Rotroff 1982: 51, No. 59, Pl. 10. The heart-shaped floret pattern of bowls Fig. 3.16:1–2 is particularly frequent in the Levant, Asia Minor and the Black Sea region (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016: 128 and note 67; in the Olbia excavation report the pattern is described as heart bud, see Guldager Bilde 2010: 286, No. F 100); it might be a poor replica of the heart-shaped leaves used in the IIAP-workshop at Ephesos (Rogl 2014: Fig. 3.13:13). The double spirals are found in the same workshop (Rogl 2014: Fig. 3.13:11).

*Fig. 3.16:2.* Light brown, dark gray to black slip on exterior, red slip on interior.

Rim and upper wall, two joining fragments.

Figured bowl. Wall: to left snake with head turned back, to right helmeted figure, probably an Amazon. Rim: heart-shaped florets.

For the Amazon see Stern and Alpert 2014a: Fig. 3.44 = Yogevev-Neuman 2008: Pl. 15:5.

*Fig. 3.16:3.* Light brown, dark gray slip on exterior, reddish-brown slip on interior.

Upper wall, two joining fragments. PH 3.5cm.

Figured bowl. Wall: female carrying sacrificial animal. To right cluster of grapes and another figure.

*Fig. 3.16:4.* Light brown, silvery dark gray to dark brown slip on exterior and interior, same mold as No. 3.

Rim and upper wall, two non-joining fragments.

Figured bowl. Wall: female carrying sacrificial animal and second female figure with outstretched right arm. Between them unidentified object.

*Fig. 3.16:5.* Light brown, dark brown slip on exterior, dark gray to dark brown slip on interior. Fragment. Floral bowl. Medallion: line of beading. Calyx: heart-shaped leaves alternating with frond. Between them inward curling tendrils.

*Fig. 3.16:6.* Light brown, on upper half of bowl dark brown slip, on lower purplish-brown.

Several joining and non-joining fragments of the same bowl.

Figured bowl. Wall: frieze of musical centaurs playing auloi. Rim: row of ovules.

For a bowl with musical centaurs from Sardis see Rotroff and Oliver 2003: 119, No. 493; from Athens Rotroff 1982: 70, No. 212, Pls. 41, 82.

*Fig. 3.16:7.* Light brown, purplish-brown slip. Fabric close to that of Fig. 3.16:6a–b.

Floral bowl. Medallion: plain surrounded by beading between two ridges. Calyx: broad leaves alternating with *nymphaea lotus* petals.

#### ***Rouletted Bowl with Ridged Rim***

Fig. 3.16:8. Gray, dark gray/black slip on exterior and interior, reddish-brown band on exterior rim, micaceous.

Rim and upper wall.

Though not a common shape, hemispherical rouletted bowls with different profiles came to light at Akko-Ptolemais (Regev 2009/10: 167, Fig. 37:244), Paphos (Hayes 1991: 15, Fig. 6:3–4, dated ca. 125–100) and Athribis (Południkiewicz 2011: 426, 435–436, Nos. 15–16; an Ionian provenance is suggested).

**Table 1.** Characteristic subjects, motifs and features of the MMBs (except for a single Ionian import, Fig. 3.13.1, all others from SC169 originate from local /regional workshops).

Subjects/ Motifs/Features	Fig. No.	Yogev-Neuman 2008
Imbricate	13:1–2	Pl. 3:5–6
Net-pattern	13:3	Pl. 7:5
Figured: Victory	14	
Figured: Eros the Hunter and leaping lion	14	Pl. 15:2 (leaping feline)
Figured: Amazon?, snake	16:2	Pl. 15:5 (Amazon)
Figured: musical centaur	16:6	
Figured: sacrificial animal carried	16:3–4	
Figured: standing female	16:3–4	
Floral	16:1	
Wall: altar	14	
Wall: bulls' heads	15:1	Pls. 17:5; 23: RZ15
Wall: garlands with bows	15:1	
Wall: grape vine scrolls	16:1	
Wall: beading	13:3, 14; 16:1, 3, 6	Pl. 23: RZ19
Calyx: bird	15:2	Pl. 23: RZ14 (ducks)
Floral, calyx: <i>nymphaea lotus</i> petals	16:1	Pl. 23: W5
Floral, calyx: <i>nymphaea caerulea</i> petals	16:7	
Floral, calyx: broad leaves	16:7	
Floral, calyx: acanthus	15:1, 3	Pl. 25: W4
Floral, calyx: palm fronds	15:2, 4; 16:1, 5	Pl. 26: W7
Floral, calyx: heart-shaped leaves	15:1–2; 16:5	Pl. 26: W6
Floral, calyx: inward curling tendrils	14; 16:1, 5	Pl. 10:3
Rim: egg and dart	13:1–3; 16:1	Pl. 20: RZ1
Rim: ovules	16:6	Pl. 20: RZ2
Rim: floret pattern	16:1–2	Pl. 20: RZ3e, h
Rim: row of buds	13:2	Pl. 21: RZ4c, d
Rim: double spirals	16:1	Pl. 22: Rz8c
Two bands of rim decoration	13:2; 16:1	
Two registers, separated by beading	14	
Medallion: rosette	15:1, 4	Pl. 29: M1
Medallion: beading	15:1, 3	Pl. 29: M1, M3, M5–6, M9a, M12
Medallion: plain	13:1	

**Table 2.** List of Additional Vessels Mentioned in Text, but not Illustrated

No.	Type	Reg. No.	Size (cm)	Reference
1	Plate: rolled rim	A5574/09-169-140-2067	Diam. 34	Fig. 1:6
2	Plate: rolled rim	G-3/00-169-03-292	Diam. 34	Fig. 1:6
3	Saucer: projecting rim	G-2/16-169-205a-2817	Diam. 16	Fig. 2:1
4	Saucer: Projecting rim	A-7015/14-169-185a-2675	Diam. 16	Fig. 2:1
5	Plate: upturned rim	3561/02-169-16-414	Diam. 18	Fig. 2:3
6	Plate: upturned rim	A-5808/10-169-150-2204	Diam. 32	Fig. 2:3
7	Rope handle	A-4631/05-169-67-1011	---	after Fig. 2:15
8	Inkwell	G-37/15-169-199-2763-S2 + 209-1832-S1 + 209-2842-S2	Diam. 6.5	Fig. 12:12
9	Inkwell	A-6701/13-169-175-1982-S2 + 119-1638-S4 + 119-1685	Diam. 9	Fig. 12:12

In the SC169 ceramic repertoire the mold-made bowls represent the dominant drinking vessels of the second century BCE; they are much more common than kantharoi and drinking bowls in West Slope style. By shape, fabric, surface treatment and imagery they do not form a homogenous assemblage. Rare imports from workshops at Ephesos and the Black Sea region

are the exception. It is postulated here that the bulk of MMBs with flaring rim, relatively thick walls and diversified composition schemes represent a local and regional development within the Hellenistic koine, to be analyzed and discussed in the publication of the entire corpus.

## DISCUSSION

The SC169 assemblage of imported ceramics provides further evidence of the already established fact that the residents of Maresha were living comfortably enough to participate in long-distance trade networks in order to acquire and use valuable tableware, the standard of which was set by Athenian manufacturers and taken over by various Mediterranean producers. Located on the periphery of the Classical realm the Maresha community was able to import diverse and qualitative table vessels for serving food and for individual drinking and eating, mostly plates, saucers, bowls, drinking vessels, table amphoras and lagynoi. Kraters, closed vessels (juglet, aryballos, guttus), pyxides and cooking pots were few. Vessels for serving liquids and containers for oils, sauces, seasonings and relish were needed for table service, and these were largely supplied by local producers. Many of the vessels could be restored, suggesting that they had been deposited in the cave still intact or after having

been broken intentionally. It is possible, though not certain, that some vessels were used mainly on special or festive occasions like symposia (Mitsopoulos-Leon 1991: 33 for the vessels in West Slope technique). However, the use and function of the imported tableware will need to be defined in conjunction with other categories of finds in the cave assemblage.

The ceramics date from the third and second centuries BCE and originate from Athenian, Aegean/Asia Minor, Cypriot, Egyptian and Italian workshops (see the map in Élaigne 2013: 227, Fig. 13, where the major second-century BCE production centers together with long-distance trade connections and regional distribution are indicated; amazingly, in this publication the southern Levant is a blind spot). While it cannot be ruled out that some vessels were heirlooms, the general picture indicates that in the third century BCE, Attic imports were dominant. Yet, from the early Hellenistic period new workshops, producing

Attic-style ceramics and also creating their own repertoire, had been set up in the eastern Mediterranean, and by the late third–early second centuries BCE the direction of imports to Maresha had shifted. Imports from the Aegean, Asia Minor and the Levant included Color-coated wares, Pergamene West Slope-style ware and the Ivy Platter Group. In the second half of the second century BCE Italian Campana A ware, ESA ware and its Red and Black Slip Predecessors

from workshops in the Gulf of Iskenderun and the Ptolemaic Black and Red wares were imported to Maresha. In the local ceramic production some new vessels were added to the repertoire such as Knidian cup, Egyptian small flasks, filter jugs, and mold-made bowls. It should however be remembered that all identifications are based solely on visual fabric examination and shape study, hence some uncertainty must be taken into account.

### ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology	JHP	Journal of Hellenistic Pottery and Material Culture
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	NGSBA	Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology
BSA	The Annual of the British School of Athens	JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
BSS	Black Sea Studies	IstMit	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
CCE	Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne. Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo)	OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta. Département d'études orientales, Université catholique de Louvain
EllKer 5	Ε΄ Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χρονολικά πηροβλήματα, κλεστά σύνολα, εργαστηρια (Acts of the Symposium, Chania 6–13. IV.1997) (Athens 2000)	RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus
		TOM	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen
		ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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## CHAPTER 4 INCENSE ALTARS

*Ian Stern*

### INTRODUCTION

The discovery of small portable incense altars (*arulae*) is a clear indication of cultic activity. Such activity involved the burning of incense or small dry offerings of fruits and bread, as well as libations (Albertz and Schmitt, 2012: 70). Altars were used as ritual objects in both public and private areas as well as in burial contexts. The use of domestic altars, the majority of which are small and mobile, reflects their role in the popular religion of the region. The earliest known incense altar found in the Land of Israel to date is from a *favissa* in Philistine Yavne, dated to the ninth century BCE (Zwickel 2010: 106–109). Until the end of the seventh century BCE, large, four-horned altars were found throughout the Southern Levant (for a full distribution list see Szanton 2014: 62). These four-horned temple altars began to be replaced by smaller, cube-shaped alters (Stern 2001: 212, 510–513). The discovery of these smaller altars in most of the homes in the seventh century BCE stratum at Ekron led Seymour Gitin (1992: 43–49; 2002: 107–108) to suggest that the cult was less centralized, and not carried out exclusively by a priestly class. Their wide distribution suggests that incense had become less expensive and thus more accessible. It may also reflect a general commonality of ritual by the various peoples residing in the region.

Most of the cuboid altars were discovered along the caravan routes in the Negev and Southern Judah (Szanton 2014: 65). They were probably introduced by the Assyrians when trade in frankincense and myrrh, native to South Arabia and Somalia, began to flourish (Stern 2001: 211–212). Arab tribes in these regions developed a system of production and distribution of incense, including the development of trade

routes that crossed the Negev to the Mediterranean Sea. These portable altars were too small for animal sacrifice.

The cuboid altar appears to be the continuation of the four-horned altar, albeit much smaller and used in private rather than communal/temple contexts. It is usually in the shape of a small chest standing on four legs, or with a flat base, and is made of clay or stone. They were the dominant incense burner in the Persian period (see Szanton, 2014: 72 for a distribution table). Stern (1973: 52–53) dates the proliferation of the cuboid altars to the sixth to fourth centuries BCE, with Phoenician workshops being the source of production. Hassell (2005: 133–163) suggests that these portable altars may have been connected to nomadic Arabs who used them to seal contracts or oaths. Cuboid altars were also found in central and southern Mesopotamia dated from the seventh to fourth centuries BCE (Szanton 2014: 64; Singer-Avitz 1999: 44). According to Shea (1983: 88) the style and form of the altars may have resulted from Babylonian influence while according to Stern (1982: 194) they reflect South Arabian and Phoenician influence. Given the diverse ethnic makeup of Maresha (Stern 2012: 57–87) none of these theories are mutually exclusive.

Two hundred cuboid altars were discovered in Persian-period Lachish, suggesting that by the sixth–fourth centuries BCE the practice had become widespread among the general population, beyond the upper class (Stern 1982: 185). The understanding of the ritual use of cuboid altars was reinforced by the discovery of such an altar with the Aramaic inscription לבונהתא (“incense”) from Lachish as well as the discovery of other altars with inscriptions from sites

in South Arabia (Szanton 2014: 65, Hassell 2005: 157–192).

Cuboid altars continued in use into the Hellenistic period (Stern 1992: 131–132, Fig. 172) alongside other types of small altars, all referred to as *arulae*. The *arula* is a small, simplified copy of a full-size, classic monolithic altar. Most are square or rectangular, others are concave or hourglass-shaped (Salapata 2001: 25–50). During the Hellenistic period the cylindrical shape also became popular (Ricciotti 1978: 7). These *arulae* were utilized in homes, cemeteries, and as votive objects in temples. They began to appear in Greece and Magna Graecia in the sixth century BCE at sites such as Delos, Corinth, Olynthus, Thera, Ptolemaic Egypt as well as in Phoenician and Punic colonies (Yavis 1949: 171–175). One fragmented terracotta box-shaped *arula* was found in Maresha Area 100 (Kloner and Erlich 2008: 59, Pl. 35). Miniature stone altars are also known from South Arabia, dated to the fourth–first centuries BCE (See Prichard 2016, items 579 and 581: two South Arabian altars dated between the third and the first centuries BCE, 9cm and 8cm high, respectively. Both are square troughs on four legs.) The small size of these altars indicates that they were made for domestic use or as votives.

The 81 altars in this assemblage vary in size and shape and have been categorized as follows: cylindrical *arulae*, four-horned *arulae*, square or rectangular *arulae* that can be considered a continuation of the cuboid style, miniature *arulae* and *thymiateria*. In addition, we have included a number of small, trough-shaped chalk vessels that could also be considered *arulae*.

These trough-shaped objects resemble small grinding stones, but the fact that they are made of soft chalk make it unlikely that they were used for grinding. Moreover, a few showed signs of burning in the center of the trough, and most of the actual grinding stones discovered at Maresha were of harder material, either basalt or hard limestone (see Chapter 20).

The dimensions and descriptions of each of the altars are given in the catalog. Those that have been photographed are marked with an asterisk. Most of these altars were discovered partially broken. All can be considered *arulae*.

Most of the altars, with 20 ceramic exceptions (including 14 fragments of altars, Nos. 61–64, 67–81 and two altar stands, Nos. 65–66) were made of *kirton* (chalk). Our assemblage includes 11 rectangular or square *arulae* that we categorized as a continuation of cuboid altars (Nos. 25, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 44, 57, 58). They resemble rectangular limestone altars recently discovered in Tell Halif dated by the excavators there to the end of the eighth century BCE (Bang and Borowsky 2017: 49–67). The excavators believe that these were locally produced for domestic purposes and possibly reflect Arabian influence. One cuboid altar was discovered in an Iron Age II level in Maresha SC75 (Kloner 1989: 68). Its discovery is consistent with the known international trade routes that passed through the northern Negev and the Shephelah at the end of the Iron Age II. Cuboid *arulae* are known to have been in continual use into the Hellenistic period (Stern 1992: 131–132, fig. 172; Salapata 2001: 25–50).

Sixteen of the chalk *arulae* (Nos. 1–14, 55, 59) and twelve of the terracottas (Nos. 61, 62, 65, 66, 69–75, 79–81) are cylindrical. A number of these altars are decorated or fluted (Nos. 7, 10, 69). In some cases only one side is decorated suggesting that their placement was in a niche that made the altar visible only from a frontal position (Nos. 14, 16, 49, 59). Nineteen are quite small, less than 8.0cm tall and have been designated “miniature” altars (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 35, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 59). Four of the *arulae* can be considered small, “four-horned” altars (Nos. 20, 22, 26 and 60) and fifteen are heavy and trough-shaped (Nos. 17, 18, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32, 36, 38, 39, 40, 43, 50, 53, 56). Traces of burning could be discerned on only three (Nos. 13, 15, 56) of the eighty-one altars, suggesting that most may have been votive.

Altar No. 60 is the most informative of the altars. The inscriptions on the sides of this altar clearly state that it was a votive offering to Artemis. The horns as well as the cup-like depression on top are very well preserved. An incised garland (or possibly a boat) stretches across all four sides of the altar beneath the inscriptions. This miniature altar has three lines of text written on the body. All four sides of the altar were inscribed. The cursive Greek inscription unambiguously relates to the votive nature of this altar (thanks



Fig. 4.1. Altar No. 60.

to Avner Ecker for the reading, translating and analysis of the inscription):

The letters are ca. 0.5cm tall, apparently inscribed in the same hand on all sides.

The text is clear and complete:

Side A:

ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟC  
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ  
 ΕΥΧΗΝ  
 Θεοδόσιος | Ἀρτέμιδι | εὐχήν



Fig. 4.2. Theodosius (dedicated) to Artemis (in payment of) a vow.

Side B:

[...]+ΜΝ+Ε[.]ΔΟCΙΟC  
 ΕΥΧΗΝ  
 [...]+ΜΝ Θε[ο]δόσιος | εὐχήν



Fig. 4.3. (to Artemis?), Theodosios (dedicated in payment of) a vow.

What looks like MN in the beginning of the line may have been a failed attempt to write ΜΙΔΙ. Accordingly, one may suggest [Ἀρτέ]μ<ίδι> Θε[ο]δόσιος | εὐχήν, as reflected in the translation.

Side C:

ΘΕΟΔΟ[...]  
 [...]Μ[...?]  
 [...]Ν  
 Θεοδό[σιος] | [Ἀρτέ]μ[ίδι] | [εὐχή]ν



Fig. 4.4. Theodosius (dedicated) to Artemis (in payment of) a vow.

Side D:



Fig. 4.5. Traces of three letters.

The stone is too worn to read anything clearly, although there seem to be traces of at least one line of text on the top part of the body of the altar. There are traces of three letters on the top left-hand side of the field. Possibly  $\text{KOC}[-]$ , however, no conclusions may be drawn from this.

A number of the altars are decorated with horizontal, black zigzag lines or cross-hatching patterns (Nos. 26, 49). The designs on two of the altars bear residue of red pigment (Nos. 23, 46, 23), and on two others, traces of black pigment were discerned (Nos. 55, 59). No. 19 has an inscription with the Greek letter *mu* on all four sides. Parallels to this altar have been noted both in Gezer (Macalister 1911–1912, Fig. 524) and Ashdod (Dothan 1971: 66). Dothan interpreted it as “[M]arnas,” who was associated with the principle deity of Gaza. Gerald Finkielsztejn (pers. comm.) has suggested that *mu* may have stood for Minos, the legendary son of Zeus who later served as a judge in the underworld. No. 23 bears a schematic drawing of grapes and a palm branch. The parallel to the above altar from Hellenistic-period Ashdod (Dothan 1971: 66), which bears the letter *mu*, also bears an image of a palm branch. It was interpreted as representing a “sacred tree” (see explanatory note in Dothan, 1971: 66).

No. 48 is a miniature votive offering table, while No. 16 bears a vertical “nose” on its side, possibly representing an aniconic image. Erlich (2009: 14–22) has described a number of chalk Hermes as well as schematic reliefs resembling Hermes, on walls of subterranean complexes at Maresha. This image bears a resemblance to Nabatean portable stelae or eye idols (Patrich 1990: 83–85).

The Sidonians (Phoenicians) who resided in Maresha at the end of the Persian period, and were familiar with arula-type altars, may have served as their conduit to the city. Phoenician influence manifests itself most prominently in the Sidonian inscriptions, (Berlin 2002: 139–141; Eshel 2010: 76) and architecture in the Apollophanes tomb, the use of which is dated to the third to second centuries BCE.<sup>1</sup> Precisely there, a specific arula type called a thymiaterion (Nos. 63–65), is depicted on one of the walls (Peters and Thiersch 1905: 60 Pl. III). No. 59 is an

oval altar with a design on only one side that depicts a face with flat, sunken cheeks carved beneath its brow. The eyes are painted schematically in black and the partially broken nose protrudes straight down. The mouth is a thin horizontal line. This image resembles previous published chalk heads with owl-like facial features from Maresha, one of them from SC169 (Erlich, 2009: 15–16).

Two of the terracotta altars (No. 61) are well fashioned, cylinder arulae. One is almost complete, missing only part of its base. It bears a relief of a swan on its side. The clay includes many white grits and appears to be local material. The workmanship is far superior to that of most of the stone altars in this complex.

Aslan (2009: 56–57) has shown that in Greek mythology, swans have been connected with Apollo, Zeus and Aphrodite. Probably the best-known myth is that of Zeus transforming himself into a swan to seduce Leda. Due to their large size, swans are often depicted as a means of transportation, pulling Apollo’s chariot to the land of the Hyperboreans, which may have been symbolic of transportation to the afterlife (Bevin 1989: 163–169; Aslan 2009: 56–60). Turner’s study (2005: 57–96) of lekythoi from the fourth and third centuries BCE depicting Aphrodite and swans led him to conclude that there was a connection between these symbols, the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis, to the concept of death and afterlife. The second cylindrical arula is reconstructed and is without images.

Two terracotta altars are thymiateria, one is undecorated (No. 63) and the other is decorated (No. 64). Hayes suggested that a metal, stemmed version in the Royal Ontario Museum (1984: 67, No. 109) was a bronze version of a Hellenistic footed clay thymiaterion, with possible Egyptian parallels. These two altars resemble the shape of two chalices from Shiqmona (Stern 1982: 129–130) dated to the late fourth century BCE (thanks to N. Zachson for pointing this out). There are also two decorated altar stands. One contains remnants of what may be an image of an animal (No. 65), possibly a horse, attached to its side. The second has images of the heads of bulls attached to its side (No. 66). The other terracotta remains are fragments of bases of arulae.

<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed account of Phoenician influence at Maresha see Stern, Wolff, and Erlich 2018.

A great many of the altars in SC169 can be classified as cuboid altars, which were ubiquitous particularly in the Persian period in southern Judah/the Shephelah and continued to be used throughout the Hellenistic period. Szanton (2014: 73) has shown that during the Persian period these altars were discovered primarily at non-Yawistic sites, with almost no representation at Yahwistic sites such as Judah (Yehud) or Samaria.<sup>2</sup> This may reflect a Judahite “withdrawal” from the Negev and the southern Shephelah and hill country, including towns as far north as Hebron and Maresha at this time.

Small domestic altars have been found in almost all of the subterranean complexes and buildings excavated to date in Maresha (Peshin 2001: 21–65). The altars usually reflect individual/family cultic activity. Nevertheless, the concentration of 81 altars in SC169, in conjunction with so many other cultic items, suggests that despite their small size they were not exclusively used in domestic contexts. They belong to a comparanda of cultic material whose sheer numbers also reflect the possibility of both communal/temple usage (as votives) as well as domestic practice. The explicit text in altar No. 60 removes any doubt as to its purpose.

During the Hellenistic period, Maresha was the meeting point of many cultures; Phoenician traders may have served as one of the main conduits for this diversity. The different types of arulae that were introduced to Maresha during the Hellenistic period did not replace cuboid altars, but rather coexisted with them. Peshin (2001: 131–136, 133) has shown that the distribution of arulae varies in different excavated areas around Maresha. Since the finds all originated

in unstratified fills, the question remains open as to whether this has chronological and/or cultural implications for the various find spots.

The continued use of the cuboid altar into the Hellenistic period, alongside the other types of altars, may also reflect the persistence of tradition within certain segments of the population at that time. This conservatism is evident both in the prevalence and continued use of aniconic kernos lamps as well as in the dominance of Aramaic ostraca as opposed to Greek in SC169. This is most probably connected to the population residing above this subterranean complex. That lifestyle would have been natural for people who may have been connected to the nearby temple. Given the large number of other cultic items discovered in SC169 such as astragals, Aramaic divination texts, chalk phalli and aniconic kernos lamps, the discovery of 81 altars is not out of place. The discovery of these finds not far from a temple (Area 800) suggests a common cultic purpose. The fact that very few of the altars have signs of burning may indicate that the majority of the altars were utilized as *ex-voto*.

The commercial or economic dimension of cultic items such as altars should also be taken into consideration. This large number of altars could also reflect a “temple industry,” which created votive altars for sale to pilgrims visiting the nearby shrine. Finally, there was a possible medicinal or cosmetic function for these types of altars (Fowler, 1985: 25–27; Nielsen 1986: 89–94). The burning of incense as perfume to overcome noxious odors emanating from the putrefaction of waste, as well as their possible use as an insecticide against pestilential insects should also be considered.

## CATALOG

No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
1	6380/12-169-164-2364-S1	7	164	D: 8.2cm, H: 5.4cm, indentation: 0.5cm.	Miniature, cylindrical with indentation on top.
2	5808/10-169-148-2263-S4	4	148	L: 7.7cm, W: 11cm, H: 7.2cm, indentation: 2.5cm.	Broken, cylindrical drum, indentation in center.

<sup>2</sup> This corresponds well, albeit *ex silentio*, to the total lack of Yehud stamp impressions and Persian-period coins at Maresha. In short, during the Persian period there is a correlation between areas yielding Yehud stamp impressions and coins and areas that also revealed few altars and figurines.

No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
3	5574/09-169-138-2081-S5	4	138	L: 1.7cm x 2.9cm, H: 4.8cm, indentation: 0.5cm.	Miniature, cylindrical, vertical groove on side, damaged on bottom, indentation on top.
4	4687/06-169-96-1356-S1	6	96	D: 9.5cm, remaining H: 20.8cm.	Cylindrical, flares out on one side on top and slightly broken at base.
5*	4687/06-169-94-1434-S2	7	94	L: 3.1cm, D: 2.4cm, H: 4.7cm, indentation: 0.5cm.	Miniature, cylindrical, two horizontal grooves 2.2cm from base, 0.8cm from each other, indentation on top.
6	4687/06-169-94-1452-S7	7	94	D: 4.7cm, H: 2.6cm.	Miniature, cylindrical, partially damaged on side.
7	4687/06-169-94-1523-S8	7	94	D: 6.3cm, H: 8.5cm, indentation: 0.5cm.	Cylindrical, vertical grooves around bottom, fluted all around top, indentation on top
8*	4361/05-169-67-1095-S3	10	67	D: 13cm, H: 5.2cm, indentation: 1.1cm.	Cylindrical, circular indentation in center, partially damaged on side.
9*	4361/05-169-66-1197-S2	11	66	Base D: 5.8cm, top D: 4.7cm, D: 4.1cm, H: 7.2cm, indentation: 2cm.	Miniature, cylindrical, horizontal groove 3.4cm from base, damaged rim.
10*	4361/05-169-51-955-S4	11	51	D: 2.8cm, lowest point H: 4cm, highest point H: 5.3cm, bottom indentation: 1.1cm, top indentation: 1.5cm.	Miniature, cylindrical, fluted column, Indentation on top and bottom.
11	4099/04-169-44-858-S3	3	44	L: 7.2cm, W: 4.7cm, H: 8.4cm, indentation: 0.8cm.	Miniature, cylindrical, fluted, indentation on top that flares out, cube on top.
12	3941/03-169-36-561-S1	10	36	D: 14.3cm, H: 7.1cm, indentation: 0.9cm.	Cylindrical, circular indentation in center.
13	3941/03-169-27-509-S1	9	27	D: 9.1cm, H: 5.1cm, indentation: 0.4cm.	Cylindrical, circular indentation in center, partially damaged on side, signs of burning.
14*	52/01-169-03-340-S1	8	3	D with ledge: 8.2cm, D without ledge: 6.3cm H 14.4cm.	Cylindrical, slightly damaged ledges on top and base, five vertical grooves cut into only one side.
15*	37/15-169-197-2754-S4	4	197	L: 5.3cm, D: 3.9cm, H: 5.3cm, indentation: 1.5cm.	Miniature, horizontal groove in middle, indentation on top, damaged on bottom, signs of burning.
16*	37/15-169-197-2724-S6	4	197	L: 5.2cm, D: 2.7cm, H: 5cm, indentation: 0.7cm.	Miniature, horizontal ledges on top and bottom only on one side, with a vertical ledge 2.7cm long on side that resembles aniconic image, slightly damaged base.
17	37/15-169-197-2731-S8	4	197	L: 17.2cm, W: 10.8cm, H: 7.4cm.	Trough-shaped, flat base, elongated body.
18	7015/14-169-189-2604-S4	1	189	L: 6.4cm, D: 4.6cm, H: 4cm, indentation: 1.3cm.	Trough-shaped, indentation on top,
19*	7015/14-169-183-2709-S4	10	183	L: 3.9cm, W: 3.5cm, H: 4.5cm.	Miniature, large 'M' inscription on each of the four sides within frames.
20*	6701/13-169-179-2495-S1	1	179	L: with ledges: 4.7cm, D: 3.6cm, H: 6.3cm, indentation: 1.3cm.	Miniature, rectangular shape, four slightly damaged horns on top, upper ledge 2.3cm from lower ledge, slightly damaged base.
21*	6380/12-169-169-2378-S8	1	169	L: 4cm, D: 3.3cm, H: 3.9cm, top indentation: 0.8cm.	Miniature, two legs, two vertical grooves on each side, on two sides grooves flank a hole, on another side grooves flank an indentation, indentation on top and hole in center of the bottom.

\* Indicates that the altar was photographed and appears in Figs. 4.5 and 4.6 in consecutive order according to its catalog number.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



Fig. 4.6.

No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
22	5343/08-169-124-1945-S3	7	124	Remaining L: 10cm, W: 11.1cm, H: 10.6cm.	Four-horned altar, square bottom with ledge, cube top, four horns on top, partially broken.
23*	5343/08-169-124-1952-S2	7	124	L: 3cm, D: 3.6cm, H: 4.5cm.	Miniature, decorated with faint black dots, possibly grapes and a red palm branch on one side, residue of red pigment on other three sides. Parallels: Ashdod 1971, Area A, Stratum 4 and 3, Fig. 27:3, Pl. XXII: 8; Gezer II (Macalister), Fig. 524, described as a sacred tree or branch.

\* Indicates that the altar was photographed and appears in Figs. 4.5 and 4.6 in consecutive order according to its catalog number.

No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
24	5343/08-169-123-1915-S1	10	123	L: 12.6cm, D: 11.6cm, H: 9.0, indentation: 1.2	Trough-shaped, circular indentation in center.
25	4687/06-169-97-1427-S4	9	97	L: 6.6cm, D: 6.6cm, H: 8.8cm.	Cuboid, four legs on bottom three remaining), four slits up sides, multiple small indentations on top, square cut on top.
26*	4687/06-169-67-1282-S1	10	67	L: 5.4cm, D: 5cm, H: 7.8cm, B, top indentation: 2.5cm.	Four-horned, horns on top (1.5 remaining), black horizontal zigzag pattern around three sides, square indentation on bottom and top.
27	4099/04-169-44-814-S1	3	44	L: 7.9cm, W: 6.8cm, H: 9.6cm, indentation: 4.1cm.	Trough-shaped, deep hole on side.
28	4687/06-169-E2-1479-S1	1	E2	L: 8.9cm, W: 9.1cm, H: 5.9cm, indentation: 1.8cm.	Trough-shaped, slightly broken on top on one side, indentation in center, flat bottom.
29*	37/15-169-195a-2792-S4	9	195a	L: 9.2cm, W: 8.1cm, H: 5cm, bottom indentation: 0.7cm, top indentation: 1.6cm.	Cuboid, badly damaged on all sides, indentation on top and shallow, trough-like indentation in base.
30	4997/07-169-115b-1716-S4	9	115b	Smallest L 10.4cm, largest L: 12.3cm, smallest W: 7.8cm, largest W: 9.3cm, H: 4.2cm, indentation: 2.9cm.	Cuboid, damaged on all sides, oval indentation in the center.
31	4099/04-169-707-S1	?	707	L: 18.9cm, W: 15.2cm, H: 6.2cm, indentation: 3.1cm.	Trough-shaped, indentation in top.
32	37/15-169-197-2725-S5	4	197	L: 8.9cm, W: 4.2cm, H: 6.8cm, indentation: 2.9cm.	Trough-shaped, broken bottom, indentation in center.
33	7015/14-169-187-2578-S3	4	187	L: 13.1cm, W: 12.1cm, H: 6.3cm, indentation: 2.1cm.	Cuboid, broken sides, indentation on center, flat base.
34	5808/10-169-150-2115-S1	1	150	L: 8.3cm, W: 8.4cm, H: 6.1cm, indentation: 3.1cm.	Cuboid, partially broken top, square indentation in center, flat, uneven base.
35	5343/08-169-124-1779-S5	7	124	L: 4.5cm, W: 2.2cm, H: 5.9cm, indentation: 1.2cm.	Miniature, partially broken top, indentation in center, uneven base.
36	5343/08-169-124-1981-S4	7	124	L: 11.8cm, Remaining W: 12.1cm, H: 5.2cm, indentation: 2.2cm.	Trough-shaped, broken on one side, indentation in center.
37*	4687/06-169-97-1427-S4	9	97	L: 7.1cm, Remaining W: 5.2cm, H: 8.5cm.	Cuboid, partially broken on one side, three of four legs intact, square outline of indentation on top.
38	4687/06-169-90-1502-S2	13	90	L: 19.2cm, Remaining W: 14.5cm, H: 6cm, indentation: 3.2cm.	Trough-shaped, half of a square, broken on side, indentation in center.
39	4687/06-169-67-1343-S2	10	67	L: 12.7cm, W: 10.6cm, H: 8.9cm, indentation: 1.5cm.	Trough-shaped, square indentation in top, flat base.
40	4099/04-169-47-781-S5	2	47	L: 20.3cm, W: 15.1cm, H: 8.3cm, indentation: 3cm.	Trough-shaped, broken on sides, indentation in center, flat base.
41*	4099/04-169-47-786-S4	2	47	L: 16.4cm, W: 13.5cm, H: 6.9cm, indentation: 3.4cm.	Cuboid, partially broken top, square trough like indentation in center, uneven base.
42	4099/04-169-44-772-S8	3	44	L: 10.5cm, W: 8.7cm, H: 6.7cm, indentation: 2.8cm.	Cuboid, broken sides, square indentation in center.

\* Indicates that the altar was photographed and appears in Figs. 4.5 and 4.6 in consecutive order according to its catalog number.



No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
43	3567/02-169-23-411-S1	12	23	L: 15.9cm, W: 15.2cm, H: 6.3cm, indentation: 2.4cm.	Trough-shaped, broken on side, indentation in center.
44	3567/02-169-20-42-S1	10	20	L: 14.1cm, W: 12.6cm, H: 10.6cm, indentation: 1.3cm.	Cuboid, square, hole in center.
45*	52/01-169-10-230-S1	10	10	L: 7.1cm, W: 6.7cm, H: Uppermost: 6.1cm, indentation: 5cm.	Miniature, square shape, broken on top, deep indentation in center.
46*	4099/04-169-44-711-S4	3	44	Remaining longest L: 7.8cm, Remaining shortest L: 4.6cm, Remaining shortest W: 3.4cm. Remaining longest W: 5.9cm, Remaining height: 10.5cm.	Thymiaterion?, damaged, cylindrical top, multiple red horizontal grooves with red bands near base, larger red band in the center, shaped like drooping flower petals, upper ledge partially damaged, circular base.
47	2/16-169-205a-2874-S3	9	205a	L: 7.6cm, W: 8.1cm, H: 5.6cm, indentation: 0.8cm.	Miniature, hatchings on side, broken on bottom with two horizontal legs, indentation in center.
48*	7015/14-169-185a-2687-S7	9	185a	L: 3.7cm, W: 3.4cm, H: 1.5cm, Leg height: 0.9cm.	Miniature offering table, flat, square, four legs.
49*	6092/11-169-155a-2302-S5	9	155a	L: 7.8cm, W: 3.3cm, H: 6cm, side indentation: 0.5cm.	Cuboid?, damaged top, indentation with cross-hatching pattern on only one side, damaged base.
50	6092/11-169-157-2311-S5	4	157	L: 3.6cm, W: 10cm, H: 6.6cm, indentation: 4.3cm.	Trough-shaped, corner of altar, damaged, indentation in middle.
51	4907/07-169-114-1504-S1	7	114	L: 3.6cm, W: 4.5cm, H: 2.6cm, indentation: 1cm.	Miniature, corner of altar, damaged, indentation in middle.
52	4997/07-169-114-1740-S2	7	114	Remaining L: 3.3cm, W: 3.5cm, H: 4.7cm.	Miniature, broken in half, hatch design on one side, two horizontal grooves in top.
53	4687/06-169-97-1476-S3	9	97	L: 17.3cm, W: 13.5cm, H: 7.1cm, indentation: 4.9cm.	Trough-shaped, indentation in center, signs of burning.
54	4997/07-169-93-1546-S1	10	93	L: 4.5cm, W: 3.5cm, H: 2.3cm, indentation: 1.1cm.	Miniature, damaged, indentation on top, groove on bottom.
55*	4687/06-169-68-1336-S3	7	68	Remaining L: 7.8cm, W: 5.4cm, H: 2.8cm.	Cylindrical?, damaged column, black, horizontal plant on side.
56	4361/05-169-51-919-S3	11	51	D: 10.1cm, H: 4.6cm, indentation: 1.7cm.	Trough-shaped, indentation in center with signs of burning.
57	3941/03-169-36-596-S8	9	36	L: 10.4cm, W: 9.2cm, H: 11.8cm	Cuboid, damaged, square.
58	52/01-169-03-340-S2	8	3	L: 6.2cm, W: 5.3cm, H: 6.1cm.	Cuboid, square base, large square top.
59*	5574/09-169-138-2074-S1	4	138	L: 6.4cm, W 4.7cm, H: 8.0cm, indentation on top: 2.0 x 3.0cm, base: 3.0cm x 4.0cm.	Cylindrical(?) carved indentation for eyes, nose, and mouth. Somewhat schematic, with black pigment emphasizing the eyes, slightly damaged, oval indentation in the head.
60*	G-1/18 169-405-2923-S2	9	405	H: 15.0cm; D rim: 8.5cm; base: 10.0 x 10.5cm; H base: 4.0cm	Four horned altar with cup like indentation on top, cursive Greek inscription on four sides. The inscription sits above a graffito of a garland or possibly a boat. (While this report includes seasons 2000–2016, due to the exceptional nature of this altar discovered in early 2018, it is included here.)

\* Indicates that the altar was photographed and appears in Figs. 4.5 and 4.6 in consecutive order according to its catalog number.

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No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
61*	4687/06-169-97-1404-S1	9	97	H: 8.0cm, D: 6.5cm, indentation on top 1.5cm.	Cylindrical terracotta arula, with horizontal band at base as well as near the rim.
62*	3941/03-169-36-519-S1	9	36	H: 10.3cm, D rim: 7.6cm, D body: 6.6cm, D ledge: 9.1cm.	Cylindrical terracotta arula, with image of swan on its side. Missing part of its base.
63*	5343/80-169-128-1947-S2	4	128	PH: 8.0cm, D base: 11.0cm.	Terracotta undecorated thymiaterion, reconstructed profile preserved from hollowed projecting relatively short ring foot to lower part of rim. Yellow clay, many white grits.
64*	3941/03-169-27-499-S4	1	27	H: 11.5cm, D rim: 7.5cm, D base: 11.3cm.	Terracotta decorated thymiaterion, entire reconstructed profile preserved from hollowed projecting relatively short ring foot to vertical rim above wide ledge. Reddish-brown clay, red painted bands around rim and wall, grooved decoration around foot, white grits.
65*	4099/04-169-47-800-S1	2	47	PH: 37.0cm, D body: 9.0cm, D rim: 14.5cm, D body: with external parts: 16.5cm.	Terracotta cylindrical decorated altar stand, with animal figure (horse?) extending out. Missing the bottom portion, yellow clay, brown core with white grits.
66*	6380/12-169-167-2420-S2	4	167	PH: 42.0cm, D body: 11.0cm, D with external parts: 15.0cm.	Terracotta cylindrical, decorated altar stand, with horizontal bands and figures of bull heads extending out. Missing the base and the upper portion, reddish-brown clay.
67	52/01-169-04-263 -S5	6	4	PH: 10.0cm, D base: 12.0cm, D body: 7.9cm.	Lower portion of a terracotta altar with vertical stripes and a red band at the base, yellow clay.
68	4099/04-169-47-859	2	47	PH: 15.0cm, D base: 13.0cm, D body: 7.0cm	Lower portion of a terracotta altar with red decorative vertical stripes and part of the body, yellow clay, white grits.
69	4687/06-169-96-1423-S3	6	96	PH: 10.8cm, PW: 10.8cm.	Terracotta cylindrical, fluted, lower portion of altar almost to the base, yellow clay. Remnants of red pigment.
70	4099/04-169-50-799 -S3	10	50	PH: 5.0cm, PW: 8.2cm.	Lower portion of a cylindrical terracotta altar including part of the base and body, reddish-brown clay.
71	6703/13 169-177-2469-S5	4	177	PH: 7.8cm, PW: 5.0cm.	Lower portion of a cylindrical terracotta altar including part of the base and body, yellow clay with white grits.
72	4099/04-169-36-695 -S2	10	36	PH: 5.2cm, PW: 4.4cm.	Lower portion of cylindrical terracotta altar including part of its square base, brown clay with gold mica grits.
73	4099/04-169-39-732-S1	13	39	PH: 3.8cm, PW: 4.9cm.	Terracotta cylindrical altar fragment with a square base, brown clay.
74	4361/05 169-66-1156-S2	11	66	PH: 6.1cm, PW: 8.0cm.	Terracotta cylindrical altar partially preserved from upper portion to part of the base, reddish clay with small white grits.
75	4099/04-169-50-798 -S1	10	50	PH: 4.6cm, PW: 4.1cm.	Terracotta cylindrical altar partially preserved from upper portion to part of the base, brown clay.

\* Indicates that the altar was photographed and appears in Figs. 4.5 and 4.6 in consecutive order according to its catalog number.

No.	Reg.	Room No.	Locus	Dimensions	Description
76	4099/04-169-50-840-S1	10	50	PH: 2.2cm, PW: 3.1cm.	Terracotta altar with part of a square base, reddish-brown clay, small white grits.
77	4361/05-169-68-1273-S1	7	68	PH: 2.7cm, PW: 6.7cm.	Terracotta altar with part of a square base, bright brown clay.
78	4361/05-169-67-1014 -S1	10	67	PH: 3.1cm, PW: 4.0cm.	Terracotta altar with part of a square base, bright brown clay.
79	6701/13-169-177-2471 -S5	4	177	PH: 5.2cm, PW: 6.0cm.	Terracotta cylindrical altar, lower portion of body and part of base preserved, reddish-brown clay.
80	3/00-69-01-12 -S1	1	1	PH: 3.6cm, PW: 6.7cm.	Terracotta cylindrical altar, lower portion of body and part of base preserved, reddish-brown clay.
81	4099/04-169-44-748-S7	3	44	PH: 5.2cm, D base: 10.2cm.	Terracotta cylindrical altar, lower portion of body and part of base preserved, reddish-brown clay.

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## CHAPTER 5 CHALK PHALLI

*Ian Stern*

### INTRODUCTION

Seventeen phalli were discovered in the fill of Subterranean Complex 169 along with many other cultic items that are described in other chapters in this volume. Most of these phalli are life-size, ithyphallic, and partially broken. The upper portion of most of the phalli is separated by a circular incision

that creates the impression of a circumcised phallus. Others are only fragments of stone phalli. The 17 phalli presented here can be added to 4 chalk models of phalli discovered in other subterranean complexes of Maresha.

### CATALOG

1. Reg. No. 5343/08 169-129-1864-S4 (Fig. 5.1:1)  
*Dimensions:* 5.1 x 2.0cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus, almost complete with circular incision on upper portion suggesting it represents a circumcised phallus.
2. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-103-1424-S1 (Fig. 5.1:2)  
*Dimensions:* 10.4 x 3.6cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus, missing part of the glans, with traces of black pigment.
3. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-103-1432-S2 (Fig. 5.1:3)  
*Dimensions:* 6.8 x 3.1cm  
*Description:* Base of phallus, traces of red pigment.
4. Reg. No. 4099/04 169-44-753-S9 (Fig. 5.1:4)  
*Dimensions:* 5.0 x 3.4cm  
*Description:* Base of phallus with red slip.
5. Reg. No. 4099/04 169-44-773-S3 (Fig. 5.1:5)  
*Dimensions:* 4.7 x 2.4cm  
*Description:* Base of phallus with faded red stripes.
6. Reg. No. 3567/02 169-18-446-S7 (Fig. 5.1:6)  
*Dimensions:* 7.7 x 4.1cm  
*Description:* Both sides realistically depicted, circumcised, with the glans clearly exposed, with traces of red pigment.
7. Reg. No. 3941/03 169-35-568-S2 (Fig. 5.1:7)  
*Description:* 5.5 x 3.1cm  
*Description:* Base of phallus with slight traces of red pigment.
8. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-96-1433-S3 (Fig. 5.1:8)  
*Dimensions:* 2.6 x 2.9cm  
*Description:* Base of phallus with traces of black pigment.
9. Reg. No. 5343/08 169-124-1900-S2 (Fig. 5.1:9)  
*Dimensions:* 6.4 x 3.0cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus, the glans delineated by a groove, underside has a horizontal groove in the center from the base to the glans.
10. Reg. No. 5343/08 169-124-1934-S2 (Fig. 5.1:10)  
*Dimensions:* 5.4 x 3.1cm

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- Description:* Schematic phallus with groove delineating the glans.
11. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-97-1404-S4 (Fig. 5.1:11)  
*Dimensions:* 6.0 x 3.6cm  
*Description:* Base of phallus.
12. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-93-1513-S1 (Fig. 5.1:12)  
*Dimensions:* 6.5 x 3.6cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus with broken head.
13. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-93-1451-S3 (Fig. 5.1:13)  
*Dimensions:* 3.4 x 2.3cm  
*Description:* Base or center part of phallus with traces of red pigment.
14. Reg. No. 3567/02 169-13-375-S2 (Fig. 5.1:14)  
*Dimensions:* 6.9 x 3.6cm
- Description:* Schematic phallus with groove delineating the glans barely visible.
15. Reg. No. 7015/14 169-187-2598-S8 (Fig. 5.1:15)  
*Dimensions:* 6.5 x 2.2cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus with a black line near the glans.
16. Reg. No. 6701/13 169-177 2453-S3 (Fig. 5.1:16)  
*Dimensions:* 3.7 x 1.7cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus with red lines painted on sides. The base is incised with a red circle and a tiny hole in the middle.
17. Reg. No. 6701/13 169-177 2483-S2 (Fig. 5.1:17)  
*Dimensions:* 5.0 x 2.8cm  
*Description:* Schematic phallus with a groove around the glans. Two small parallel holes drilled into the side. Perhaps attached to a Hermes.

### PHALLIC MODELS

Depictions of phalli are quite rare in the pre-Hellenistic-period Levant. The most notable exceptions to this can be found in Egyptian tomb reliefs such as the bas-relief from the temple of Ankhama-Hor in Saqqara showing the technique of circumcision as well as a fragment of a relief discovered in the funerary temple of Djedkare (Megahed and Vymazalová 2011: 155–161). Faience and stone phalli were discovered in royal Egyptian tombs such as that of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV of the 18th Dynasty as well as the royal tomb at el-Amarna of the 19th Dynasty (Regev 2013: 103). A relief that depicts the god Min or Amen-Re with an erect phallus was discovered in an Egyptian seventh-century BCE context in Ashkelon (Stager, Schloen and Master 2008: 281 Figs. 15:56–57, reference in Ben-Shlomo 2010: 96).

A small number of phalli were also discovered in Phoenician contexts. A limestone phallus from a twelfth-century BCE context at Ekron (Regev 2013: 103; Dothan and Regev 2016: 469–470, Fig. 7C.1) closely resembles the phalli in our assemblage. Similarities exist both in their schematic style and in

the traces of red pigment that many bear. Small Iron Age II phallus pendants (usually 2–3cm long), most of them circumcised, were discovered in the Phoenician necropolis in Puig des Molins at Ibiza (Dothan and Regev 2016: 469–470) as well as in other Phoenician and Punic sites such as Carthage, Sardinia and Malta. Fernández et al. (2009: 29–33, 129–141, 281; Regev 2013: 105, 110; Fig. 5) suggests that they are Egyptian-inspired votives. Maeir (2007: 25–29, Figs. 3 and 7; Ben-Shlomo 2010: 58–59) contends that certain elongated ceramic vessels, discovered within a ninth-century BCE cultic context in Gath as well as certain situ-lae bottles from Ashkelon, are depictions of phalli.

A number of Hellenistic-period examples, usually connected to Phoenician material culture, have also been discovered. These include a small glass phallus pendant in a second-century BCE context at Tel Anafa (Spaer 2001: 186–187; Larson 2018: 116–117) as well as a life-size terracotta, uncircumcised phallus in a shipwreck off of Pisa (Dothan and Regev 2016: 469–470; Spaer 2001: 186–187) from the first century CE. These are believed to possibly represent cultic items associated with apotropaic powers.

Excavations in Ptolemaic Athrib revealed examples of phallic figurines. These included many terracotta representations of Egyptian gods such as Bes and the juvenile Harpocrates (see an example from SC169 in Chapter 13) as well as a small faience amulet representing ithyphallic Amon-Min (Mysliwiec 1997: 123–124).

Herodotus (*Histories* 2.49) mentions that it was Cadmus of Tyre and the Phoenicians who introduced to the Greeks the Egyptian tradition of phallic processions during religious festivals (Regev 2013: 105). In the Hellenistic period phallic symbols are known to have played a key role in Dionysian festivals (Mysliwiec 1997: 126). In Athrib, for example, a vast array of terracotta phalli, some referred to as “mega-phallic” were discovered (see Mysliwiec 1997: 119–136 for detailed account). Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists* 5.201) describes the Egyptian custom of carrying statues of giant phalli as part of the Dionysian procession connected to Osiris. Dionysus was also associated with the bull, a clear symbol of sexual potency. Greek gods with large phalli are primarily part of the Dionysian thiasos that includes figures of Pan, Silenus and Priapus. Priapus is usually represented with a very large, uncircumcised ithyphallic, characteristics connected to fertility as well as good fortune. Erlich and Kloner (2008: 61) make the case that the phalli may have been connected not only to the cult of Dionysius but to Hermes, and have had apotropaic as well as magical values (see also Goldman 1942: 58–68).

Many votive phalli were discovered in the Asklepieion in Corinth (Roebuck, 1951: 123, Pls. 35–37). These were all life-size terracottas made in a formalistic manner. All of them however were flaccid, had foreskins and testicles, and were mounted on plaques. They represented, according to the author, thanksgiving offerings of body parts that had been cured (Roebuck 1951: 111). In the Gabinetto Segreto, many phallic votives are on display from Cales dating from the middle of the fourth to the second centuries BCE (inv. 27768–27791; Johns 1982: 57).

In contrast, most of the phalli from Maresha, the vast majority of which were discovered in SC169, do not appear to have been part of a larger figurine or statue. No figurines, statues, or fragments thereof, of proportionate sizes to which these phalli could have been originally connected have been discovered. They may have represented apotropaic votive appendages in need of healing or that had already been cured. However, no other votive body parts were discovered in SC169. While clearly an argument from silence, the lack of other votive parts theoretically negates the notion that these phalli functioned as votives. It is unlikely that the only votive parts displayed were phalli.

Slane and Dickie (1993: 483, 486) make a case that the phalli were connected to protection; hung in homes or rooms, against the “Evil Eye of Envy.” They cite examples of two phallic Knidian vases, a small phallic amulet and a phallic lamp from Corinth.

Only Delos, where large stone statues of phalli were discovered (Deonna 1938: Pl. XCVIII; Laumonier 1956: Pl. XXIII: 1214, 1215) was identified as a site that contains a larger collection of phalli that were utilized, in their opinion, for the same protective purpose. All the examples that Slane and Dickie (1993: 487–488) cite are disproportionately large, erect or both. In all these cases the foreskin appears to have been either pulled back or circumcised. They believed that the phalli represent a threat to the envious and had an apotropaic function. These are characteristics, as mentioned above, that are connected to the god Priapus.

In the Hellenistic world great importance was attached to physical beauty. Many iconographic representations of male beauty can be found from this period of time with special value accorded to the foreskin of the penis. Hodges (2001: 375–405) in his seminal work on the subject provides both iconographic as well as literary examples of this.

The 21 phalli discovered in recent excavations at Maresha were all apparently circumcised.<sup>1</sup> How does

1 For an in-depth look at the Hellenistic perspective of the male phallus, its depiction in art and literature, and how this relates to the Hellenistic perspective on circumcision see Hodges 2001: 375–405. For further discussion on how this impacts on our understanding of the inhabitants of Maresha and Josephus’ version of the conversion of the Idumeans (*Ant.* 13.257–258) by Hyrcanus II see Stern 2007: 205–238; Stern 2012: 57–87.

this discovery inform our understanding of the inhabitants of Maresha at this time?<sup>2</sup>

From the writings of Herodotus (Histories 2:104), it seems that the Edomites/Idumeans, along with many other peoples in the region, practiced circumcision, an idea also supported by references in Jeremiah 9:24–25. This practice certainly distinguished Levantine ethnai from the Greeks, for whom the practice of circumcision was associated with genital mutilation and by extension, primitiveness, barbarity and superstition. Herodotus (2:104) related that when the Phoenicians, whom he believed practiced circumcision, encountered the “enlightened” Greek attitude it caused them to abandon the practice.

The discovery of the 17 circumcised phalli in SC169 does not represent a ubiquitous phenomenon in Hellenistic-period Maresha. As shown, early literary sources indicate that the practice of circumcision in the region, which may have included Maresha, predated the conquest by Hyrcanus II. It is possible that the behavior of most of the Idumeans was no different than that of the other nations (like the Phoenicians as related by Herodotus 2.104) who, once exposed to Hellenistic culture and its negative attitude towards this act, ceased the practice of circumcision. Nevertheless, it seems that at least part of the population, like their Judean and Egyptians neighbors,

continued this practice despite the prevailing negative attitude in the Hellenistic world.

More specifically, the phalli discovered in SC169 should be understood in the context in which they were discovered. Leaving the issue of circumcision aside, these phalli were found, as noted, together with many other cultic items. One phallus (Fig. 17) from SC169 has two holes drilled into its inner side that may have been used to attach it to a Herm statue or relief. Some of the other phalli may have been suspended from a Herm statue. Similar chalk phalli pierced with a hole were discovered in Maresha SC128 as well as in Area 940 (Erlich 2009: 18–20, Fig. 19).

Based on contemporary parallels and the diverse assemblage at our site it is reasonable to state that the Maresha phalli, like many of our other finds, reflect the mixture of influences from the surrounding cultures. Contemporaneous examples of models of phalli, during the Hellenistic period abound (Cape 1985: 312–313, 315–316) and religious communication at this time between Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia and mainland Greece flourished. As posited above, it is unlikely that the phalli were used as votives since no other body representations were discovered. The function of the Maresha phalli most likely resembled some of the ritualistic/cultic practices of these nearby civilizations.

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2 For a closer look at the ethnic makeup of Maresha see Stern 2007: 205–238.

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## CHAPTER 6

# SIX STAMPS FROM MARESHA SC169: RITUAL ARTIFACTS ALL?

*Ian Stern*

### INTRODUCTION

Six stamps, all hand-carved from local chalk, were discovered in Subterranean Complex 169. Five have a very shallow intaglio and one contains deeper indentations. One stamp, with deeper grooves than the others, may be cautiously termed a bread stamp (Fig. 6.1:1). Stamps resembling this one have been found in other areas in the Hellenistic East as well as elsewhere in

Maresha (Peshin 2001: 96–99) and a number of possible functions have been attributed to them: to identify the bakery, or, in communities where the oven was communal, to identify the owner of the bread. But if the bread had a cultic purpose, the stamp may have identified it as a votive offering.

### CATALOG

#### **Bread Stamp(?)** (Fig. 6.1:1)

1. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1612-S7

*Dimensions:* H 1.7, 5.0 x 7.5cm, handle: D 5.0.

*Description:* A hand-carved, circular chalk stamp with a circular handle. The handle was polished more carefully than the stamp, which was crudely fashioned. An unsophisticated, schematic image of the face and upper torso of a man/deity(?) are all that have survived. The eyes, brows and nose are distinctive, possibly a representation of a deity or a worshiper. The grooves in this stamp (similar to others discovered elsewhere at Maresha; see Peshin 2001: 96–99) are deep enough to leave an impression on cakes or bread after the dough had risen.

#### **Stamps for Votive Plaques/Pinax** (Figs. 6.1:2–6)

While the shape of these stamps, including the stamps on some of their handles, resemble bread stamps (as that in Fig. 6.1:1), their shallow intaglio precludes their use on bread since the rising dough would have rendered the images illegible. However

these stamps could have made an impression on clay as evidenced by the positives that we created in our study (Figs. 4c, 5c, 6c).

2. Reg. No. 3/00-169-06-30-S4 (Fig. 6.1:2)

*Dimensions:* H 2.2cm, D 5.9cm.

Small, round chalk stamp with a 10-petal rosette design partially disfigured on one side and in the center. Only four of the petals are clear; the others are barely visible or completely worn. No handle. This design is ubiquitous throughout the Hellenistic world (Cahill 1995: 230–252; Rainer 1990: 301–323).

3. Reg. No. 52/01 169-04-246-S1 (Fig. 6.1:3)

*Dimensions:* H 2.0cm, D 5.7 x 5.9cm

A small, rectangular chalk stamp, without a handle, featuring a schematic image of a running quadruped within a rectangular frame. The face is slightly worn away and part of the left side of the stamp is missing. The figure may be a horse or a gazelle with a curled tail.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



Fig. 6.1.

4. Reg. No. 4687/06 169 93-1439-S5 (Fig. 6.1:4)

*Dimensions:* H 2.6, PD 8.6 x 9.9cm; handle: H 2.4cm, D 3.5 x 5.0cm; total H 5.0cm.

This is a rectangular stamp with a rectangular handle on the reverse. One corner is broken and portions of the sides are worn away. The stamp is partially damaged. A vine with clusters of grapes almost completely frames a horned altar. Above the altar is the head of a horned animal, perhaps a bull, possibly representing a sacrificial animal. A hand from the side appears to be holding one of its horns.

Fig. 6.1:4a is the actual stamp, Fig. 6.1:4b an RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging), Fig. 6.1:4c a clay impression made of the stamp and Fig. 6.1:4d the handle.

5. Reg No. 4099/04 169-50-808-S1 (Fig. 6.1:5)

*Dimensions:* H 3.0cm, D 11.5cm.

*Description:* This stamp is round and almost complete. No remains of its handle survived. It contains a number of images. In the center is an eagle in partial profile. Along the bottom, flank the eagle's claws, and protrusions, apparently thunderbolts, as if grasped in its talons. To the left of the eagle is a round object with internal lines, possibly a wheel. On the right is a small, smooth, raised circle. The eagle on thunderbolt is a very common symbol on many types of coins in the Ptolemaic period. A comparandum is the Alexander II Zebinas coin with a Ptolemaic spread-winged eagle clutching a thunderbolt in its claws. Copies of Ptolemaic eagles are also found in non-Ptolemaic and non-Seleucid issues in the nearby region and are even the reverse type of the autonomous Maresha large-denomination coins from 57/6 or 56/5 BCE (Ariel and Hoover 2011: e. g. p. 62, Type 2).

These eagles are schematic, as is the eagle on the stamp, but their design varies; consequently they are not identical to the eagle on our

stamp. Nevertheless both are copies of Ptolemaic eagles — that is the world from which they came. And the detail that clinches the association is the thunderbolt in the eagle's claws. (I wish to thank D. Ariel for this numismatic information).

Fig. 6.1:5a is the actual stamp, Fig. 6.1:5b is an RTI, and Fig. 6.1:5c is a clay impression of the stamp.

6. Reg. No. S2/01 169-09-303-S1 (Fig. 6.1:6-7)

*Dimensions:* PD 6.8cm, total H 4.8cm; handle: D 5.0cm, H 3.0cm.

The figure is a youthful winged Eros. It appears to have a phallus, although this is not absolutely clear; if so, this would preclude an identification of Nike, our first impression (thanks to G. Bijovsky for noticing this). The figure's head is tilted down; arms are raised, and the left leg is also raised, as if the figure is dancing. In keeping with the youthful appearance of this figure, Eros is frequently depicted as a child in Hellenistic iconography (see Chapter 13). He is also the most common male deity depicted at Maresha (Erlich 2009: 52). At the bottom is a short ground line with plants growing up, and the Eros is jumping or dancing above it. He appears to be holding something in his left hand, possibly an inverted torch. His head is partially damaged. On the right a wreath, crudely sketched, features two ties at the bottom, a motif also common on coins (thanks to D. Ariel for pointing this out). On the left is an ambiguous image that resembles a standard.

Fig. 6.1:6a is the actual stamp, Fig. 6.1:6b is an RTI, and Fig. 6.1:6c is a clay impression of the stamp. This stamp has a round, broken handle on which a branching plant is incised, or a flower with petals emanating from its center. The stamp on this side is quite worn and most of the handle is damaged. (Fig. 6.1:7a is the actual stamp and Fig. 6.1:7b is the clay impression of the stamp.)

## CONCLUSIONS

These stamps fall into two distinct groups. One (Fig. 6.1:1) has grooves that are deep enough to make

a visible impression on bread or possibly some other pliable material, such as clay — whether on pottery,

bricks, amphora stopper discs<sup>1</sup> — or very possibly on dough for cakes. Such stamps often contained religious messages designed to magically protect either the owner or the object itself (Caseau 2012: 115). Duistermaat (2012: 10–13) mentions that such seals were used as “highly personal amulets with strong protective properties.” They had an apotropaic function at times, could be used in certain rituals, and sometimes had an administrative purpose.

Bread stamps like the one shown in Fig. 6.1:1 could have had a cultic purpose such as a votive offering. Conversely, such stamps might have had no connection to cult but rather, have functioned as a means of identifying the bakery or owner of the bread. The shape on the stamp in Fig. 6.1:1 could in fact have symbolically represented the individual offering the *ex-voto*. In a district of Ptolemaic-period Athribis, in areas identified as workshops containing ovens for baking bread, a number of clay stamps were discovered. Two of these stamps, featuring rosette designs, were discovered next to ovens that were dated to the mid-second century BCE stratum (Szczepkowska, 2000: 262; 1995: 309–318). The stamp was pressed into the leavened bread before it began to rise. Classical sources such as Athenaus of Naukrates (Szczepkowska 2000: 262) and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride* 30), mention the use of bread stamps during this period. Kakish (2014: 21) notes that bread was marked and brought to sanctuaries of Asklepios by those seeking cures. Caseau (2012: 120) relates that bread was sometimes stamped with magic symbols. Szczepkowska (2000: 317) suggests that the function of these stamps was either to take the place of an offering, or to symbolize a general cultic act connected to a shrine.

### *Where are the Plaques?*

The intaglios on the stamps shown in Figs. 6.1:2–6 are too shallow to have left behind some other visible impression on bread. This raises the question of the purpose of these objects and why no positives of any of the images have been found at Maresha. This conundrum is not so different from what

C. Grandjouan brought up in her analysis of clay relief molds in the Athenian Agora (Grandjouan, Markson and Rotrtoff 1989: 41). More than 100 molds were discovered there for relief plaques — but not a single positive of such plaques was found, when in fact the positives should outnumber the stamps or molds.

There are a number of possible explanations for the absence of plaques. One explanation is that the votive plaques that would have been impressed with our stamps were made of a less durable substance that did not survive. The mold or stamp may have even been impressed on an edible substance like a cake made from close-grained dough.

Another possibility, as we have shown (Figs. 4c, 5c, 6c) in the positives that we made with our stamps, is that while the grooves in these five stamps are too shallow to leave their mark on bread, they are deep enough to make an impression on clay. Raw clay plaques were abundant and in common use in the Greek world. The raw clay, once whitewashed or lightly stuccoed, would resemble baked clay. These inexpensive plaques, while perishable, could last one or two generations if protected from rainfall. Such plaques could have been mass produced and thus affordable, and available to meet the votive needs of the average person, imitating the more elaborate votives of the wealthy (Grandjouan, Markson and Rotrtoff 1989: 41).

While votive plaques were also made of wood, stone and metal, ceramic plaques were the favorite of common people for centuries. Most were found in sanctuaries or votive dumps. Such plaques usually contain round or square holes in the center to connect them to a wall or trees. Those without a hole could have been placed on a shelf, table or floor, next to an altar or cult statue, or in sacrificial pits (Salapata 2005: 19–42). In a temple in Koukounaries on Paros (Salapata 2005: 27) a plaque was discovered on the floor alongside remains of other offerings, suggesting that these plaques were displayed inside the temple.

Salapata (2009: 325–340) mentions that terracotta relief plaques were discovered in sanctuary deposits in Laconia: “Plaques representing worshippers were

1 Thomas 2018: 7–8. Similar stamps, described as terracotta stopper discs, were discovered in Naukratus. Note 54 in Thomas: Zenon (P. Cair. Zen. III 59481) mentions an order of 2,000 mold-made amphora stoppers.

generic offerings that could be dedicated at different sanctuaries with the intention of ensuring the repetition of the dedicator's prayer or celebration in perpetuity." In Athens they may have been used in funerary contexts (Grandjouan, Markson and Rotrtoff 1989: 41). Hansen (1963: 145–166) also suggests that such plaques were pegged to temple walls. Boardman (1954: 183–201), in his description of painted votive plaques, also states that they would have been hung or attached to walls of a temenos or temple. He points to artistic examples on various vases such as those created by the Foundry Painter, who depicted four plaques serving as votives in various scenes. Vase scenes depicting

worshippers praying and sacrificing near votive plaques underlines the notion that dedicating a pinax was an act of piety. In the words of Karoglou (2010: 62) "In essence they (pinax) are material prayers in clay that often accompany a sacrifice."

Since no positives have been discovered at Maresha, it is thus probable that the material that was stamped was indeed perishable — either a food item or sun-dried clay. Given the other cultic oriented contents of SC169, and the context of parallels from other sites, it can be cautiously suggested that these stamps were votive in nature.

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## CHAPTER 7

### AMULETS

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Fragments of two Egyptian amulets were found among the remains in SC169: a Shu amulet and an Isis *lactans* statuette. Both items were made of white faience and were likely imported from Egypt.

While both amulets may be associated with funerary contexts, Isis statuettes in Egypt were also used in other cultic contexts.

#### CATALOG

##### **Amulet** (Fig. 7.1:1)

1. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1670-S7

*Preserved dimensions:* 42 x 19 x 10mm.

*Description:* Fragment, upper torso and head, nose and chin partially chipped off, mold-made, white faience, greenish-blue glaze. Human torso and head adorned with a tripartite wig, beard and sun disc. A stabilizing back pillar was left uninscribed and drilled horizontally at chest level to allow stringing. Enough remains of the left arm to indicate that it was stretched out to the side at a right angle to the torso. The beard, sun disc and the position of the arms identify the image as the representation of the god Shu, one of the primordial deities of Egyptian mythology.

*Date:* Late Period, likely 26th Dynasty (664–525 BCE).

*Discussion:* Kneeling Shu amulets with arms raised in the form of the Egyptian *k3* hieroglyphic sign were very popular during the Late Period in Egypt (Petrie 1914: 37, No. 167) as well as in the Levant and the Mediterranean basin (Herrmann 1994: 231–235; 2006: 88–92; 2016: 90–95; Sidi 2011). To date, all Shu amulets published from the Levant are smaller than our object and represent

a different design, wherein the fill between the raised arms and the sun disc encompasses the entire perimeter of the disc. In the Maresha amulet the main part of the sun disc was not attached to the hands. It therefore created an upper contour reminiscent of the hieroglyphic sign for the horizon, comprised of the setting sun between two hills. A closer parallel from a private collection, originating in Egypt (Andrews and van Dijk 2006, No. 3.40) attests to the likely importation of this object to Maresha.

##### **Statuette** (Fig. 7.1:2)

2. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-119-1750-S1

*Preserved dimensions:* 50 x 24 x 40mm.

*Description:* Fragment, bottom of throne, front side chipped off, white faience, greenish-blue glaze. The cube-shaped fragment represents the lower part of a throne, adorned on its sides with a feathered pattern, the corner of which was inscribed with the Egyptian sign of unification. The combined feathered pattern and the *sm3 t3.wjj* leave no doubt that the enthroned figure represents Isis suckling the baby Horus.

*Date:* Late Period–Ptolemaic, ca. 664–200 BCE.



1



2

*Discussion:* Statuettes of Isis suckling the baby Horus on a throne became popular during the Late Period in Egypt and the Roman period (see for example in Petrie 1914: 35, No. 148). In Egypt, they were considered *ex-voto* objects, found in great numbers especially after 700 BCE (Tinh and Labrecque 1973: 8). As a result of their popularity in Egypt, these figurines were introduced to the eastern Mediterranean even before the Hellenistic period (Petrie 1914: 9-10).

The few examples from Israel include those from Dor and Ashkelon (Dor: Herrmann 2006: 62, No. 19; Ashkelon: Herrmann 1994: 119, No. 26). A

very close parallel to our statuette is on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (26.7.866); its Egyptian origin, probably Memphite, suggests a similar origin and date for the Maresha fragment.

Much smaller, mold-made amulets of Isis and Horus were also frequent in Egyptian burials from the Third Intermediate Period and later (Andrews 1994: 48) and appear across the Levant at the same time (Herrmann 1994: 114–123; 2006: 54–62). The amulet was considered a protective object for both the living and the dead. The image of Isis and Horus represented the protective motherly powers of Isis and was included among the funerary amulets listed in the MacGregor Papyrus (Andrews 1994: 48).

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## CHAPTER 8 SEALS AND SEALINGS

*Lisa Ayla Çakmak*

### INTRODUCTION

This group is comprised of five objects: a plaque amulet; a pyramidal stamp seal; an oval stone seal; and two clay seal impressions.<sup>1</sup> Although there is no stratigraphy of the fill of Subterranean Complex 169, we do have a reliable terminus ante quem of 107 BCE. Therefore the dating of these objects is based solely on stylistic comparisons constrained by our terminus ante quem. On first impression, however, these five objects appear to mirror the history of the region at a very basic level: Egyptian, Persian, and Hellenistic Greek (i. e. Seleucid) phases of influence. However, because we lack any stratigraphy, few precise conclusions can be drawn from this material. It is possible to make some inferences, more generally, about the site of Maresha and its inhabitants from these objects. The observations presented in this chapter, therefore, are based on contextualization of these objects within the larger glyptic corpora of the region and what follows is largely an art historical analysis of seal type and style.

The primary source of comparison for any glyptic find of the Hellenistic period in the Levant is the site of Tel Kedesh with its 2,043 seal impressions from a secure, dated context (Herbert and Berlin 2003; Ariel and Naveh 2003). Located in the Upper Galilee, Tel Kedesh, while very different from Maresha in its physical characteristics, was the location of a large regional administrative building at which a cache of seal impressions was discovered in 1999 and 2000. Securely dated to the Hellenistic period, the Kedesh corpus serves as an important touchstone for the study of any seals and seal impressions in the Levant. In addition to the sealings found in the archive room, the site has also offered up Persian and Egyptian seals from other contexts (i. e. areas of the building) and its dates of occupation (Bronze Age to late Hellenistic) mirror those of Maresha. Where no comparisons can be found at Kedesh, one must look further afield to sources of Egyptian, Persian, and Hellenistic glyptic.

### CATALOG

#### **Plaque Amulet** (Fig. 8.1:1)

1. Reg. No. 5808/10 169-150-2230-S5

*Dimensions:* H 1.9cm, L 1.1cm, W 0.7cm

*Description:* Glazed steatite or faience rectangular plaque, longitudinally pierced, with intaglio

designs on the two largest sides oriented horizontally. Side A features the catouche of Thutmose III at the left and a feather of Maat on the right; Side B features a scarab flanked by Maat feathers and reed leaves.<sup>2</sup>

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1 I am grateful to Ian Stern for asking me to work on this material. I have not had the opportunity to examine the seals and impressions in person; this study is based solely upon the use of photographs of the objects, and where appropriate photographs of impressions taken from the seals.

2 Thanks to Emily Teeter, research associate and special exhibits coordinator at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for her help in deciphering this seal.



1



2



3



4



5

Fig. 8.1.

*Parallels:* This type of object has been found throughout the Levant and well published through the efforts of Othmar Keel, whose four volumes on stamp seal amulets are the primary source for comparanda (Keel 1997, Keel et al. 2010a, 2010b, 2013). Although no exact parallel exists, a total of seven plaques from the region of the southern Levant include the same motif as side A of the Maresha plaque: the cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by one or more Maat feathers.<sup>3</sup> Only a single plaque from Gezer has been identified with a similar motif as Side B of the Maresha plaque but without the reed leaves.<sup>4</sup>

*Date:* New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III, 1479–1425 BCE or Third Intermediate Period to Late Period imitation.

*Discussion:* As a rectangular plaque amulet this form of seal is far less common than the scarab seal, which was the pre-eminent form long used by the Egyptians. The plaque amulet gained popularity during the New Kingdom period with increasing usage up to the Ramesside period. Rectangular plaque amulets are typically carved on both sides and the motifs rarely depart from those appearing on scarabs and scaraboid seals, though it is common for a cartouche to appear on one of the two carved sides (Staehelin and Hornung 1976: 37). Occasionally, the narrow sides are also carved, although that is not the case here. Like scarabs, plaque amulets could be pierced for stringing onto a piece of cord or leather (as the Maresha plaque was) or, as in one

case, the entire plaque could be set within a gold setting to be worn as a ring (see Keel 2010a: 461, No. 139).

It is no accident that many of the plaque amulets bear the cartouche of Thutmose III since as pharaoh he was responsible for establishing Egyptian hegemony over the Levant. After gaining sole kingship after a period of co-rule with his aunt, Hatshepsut, Thutmose began a period of military campaigns to exert hegemony over the Levant and Syria, with the goal of gaining control over trade routes. While there is no overt connection between the plaque amulets and Thutmose III *per se*, the frequent appearance of his name in the Levant may have been connected to these political circumstances. It is interesting to note that all of the parallels identified above come from sites in the southern Levant, including one from Aseka/Azeqa which is only 10 km away from Maresha. These plaque amulets, then, could be vestiges of Thutmose's attempts to take control over the Levant.

It is important, however, to remember that Maresha is mainly a Hellenistic-period site and that over a millenium separated the reign of Thutmose III from the Hellenistic period in the Levant. What, then, is a plaque amulet of Thutmose III doing at Maresha? When studying glyptic, the possibility of heirlooms is often raised because of the size, symbolism and portability of seals. However, this explanation does not fit in this particular context due to the historical events

3 From Keel (1997): **p. 201, No. 295**: light yellow steatite rectangular plaque from Tell el-'Ağul. Side A: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked on both sides by Maat feather and reed leaves. Date: Thutmose III–Ramesses II; **p. 203, No. 296** light yellow steatite rectangular plaque from Tell el-'Ağul. Side A: two registers of intaglio oriented vertically. Top register: good god, Lord of the Two Lands; bottom register: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat feathers. Date: Thutmose III–19th Dynasty; **p. 747, No. 30**, steatite(?) rectangular plaque from Aseka/Azeqa. Side A: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat feathers; design oriented vertically. Date: end of 18th–19th Dynasty. From Keel (2010a) **p. 461, No. 139**, steatite rectangular plaque in gold bezel setting from Deir el-Balah. Side A: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat feathers; design oriented vertically. Date: 19th–20th Dynasty. From Keel (2010b): **p. 83, No. 129**, steatite with white coating rectangular plaque from Tell el Fara'-a'Süd. Side A: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat features and additional signs above; design oriented vertically. Date: 19th–20th Dynasty; **p. 131, No. 237**, gray steatite with yellow-white coating rectangular plaque from Tell el Fara'-a'Süd. Side A: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat feathers; design in high relief and oriented vertically. Date: 19th–20th Dynasty; **p. 251, No. 519**, green glazed steatite rectangular plaque from Tell el Fara'-a'Süd. Side A: cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat; design in high relief and oriented vertically. Date: Ramesses II.

4 From Keel 33 (2013): **p. 355, No. 430**, steatite rectangular plaque from Gezer. Side A: scarab flanked by Maat feathers; design oriented horizontally. Date: 21st Dynasty.

of the intervening time periods.<sup>5</sup> A more plausible explanation is that the scarabs of Thutmose III had a long life after the pharaoh's death. It seems that even in antiquity, there was recognition on the part of successive pharaohs of the importance of the reign of Thutmose III. These subsequent pharaohs thus appropriated his name and cartouche, and imitation Thutmose III scarabs continued into the Late Period (Jaeger 1982: 1–2; on p. 241 Jaeger cites the same plaque amulet from Gezer that is mentioned in Keel 2013: 355, number 430).

Given the lack of archaeological context for the Maresha plaque, it is perhaps helpful to cite another example of a Thutmose III seal far from the Egyptian heartland. A bulla from Carthage bears the impression of an ovoid seal with the cartouche of Thutmose III flanked by Maat feathers. Given that the temple in which the Carthage bullae were discovered dates to the seventh century BCE and the earliest Greek seal impressions date stylistically to the late sixth and early fifth centuries, Berges has concluded that the Thutmose III impression at Carthage is likely a Saite-period (26th Dynasty, 664–525 BCE) imitation (Berges 1993: 249). Though we cannot simply assume that the presence of an imitation Thutmose III scarab at Carthage is proof that the Maresha plaque is also a later imitation, it does serve to show the longevity of Thutmose III cartouches as glyptic devices into the Persian period.

### Pyramidal Stamp Seal (Fig. 8.1:2)

2. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-60-1073-S1

*Dimensions:* H 2.5cm, L 2.0cm, W 1.1cm

*Description:* Pyramidal stamp seal with rounded top, perforated lengthwise and a slightly convex eight-sided base. Brownish, cloudy agate. Seal surface slightly abraded. The seal face depicts a horned quadruped, probably a goat, walking to the left. At the far left is a vertical line topped with a circle. There are two horizontal lines in the field. The first and longer of the two begins at the

end of the horn, extending to the right almost to the edge of the picture field; along the way it intersects perpendicularly with the goat's upright, stubby tail. The second, shorter line, extends from the goat's hindquarters to the right.

*Parallels:* Boardman 1970, No. 71 shows a goat grazing and No. 73 has a similarly stylized tree — a line with circle at the top — in the left field. Boardman attributes both to the Orientalizing style, though neither is an exact parallel. At this time, no parallels from the Levant have been identified.

*Date:* Achaemenid, late sixth–fourth century BCE

*Discussion:* Pyramidal stamp seals appear to have originated in Babylonia during the Neo-Babylonian period, where blue chalcedony was a particularly popular choice of material; other stones used include white and cloudy chalcedony, cornelian, agate, rock crystal and haematite (Boardman 1970: 20). The form represented a departure from the cylinder seal, which for over two and half millennia had been the primary seal type in the Near East. These early pyramidal seals appear to have borrowed from traditional Old Babylonian iconography with scenes of worship oriented along the vertical axis of the seal face. At some point toward the end of the sixth century, the form was adopted by the Achaemenid Persians who departed from traditional Babylonian iconography. This Persian adoption of the Babylonian form served as “the chronological sequel to the conventional Babylonian worship seals” (Root 1998: 259). From this point, the center of pyramidal stamp seal production appears to have shifted from Babylon to Sardis, in Lydia, western Asia Minor. The iconography of these western Asiatic seals was described in a seminal article by John Boardman from 1970, in which he outlined three primary styles: Greek, Orientalizing and Court styles (see Boardman 1970: 26 ff. for his fuller descriptions of the different styles and Root 1998: 264 for the distinction between Boardman's use of “Court Style” and the Achaemenid Court Style of the Persepolis Fortification tablets).

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Adi Erlich for pointing this out.

“Court Style” is essentially Boardman’s shorthand for Persian. The subjects are adopted from the repertory of Persian court art and often involved supernatural beasts or group scenes of a type that appear on Achaemenid cylinder seals. “Court Style” is characterized by heavy use of a drill for paws, joints, manes of animals and very linear patterns of folds for clothing with little other modeling for the forms both human and animal. Boardman characterized “Greek Style” as seals of Persian form (either conoid or pyramidal) with iconography that is either a close match to that appearing on late archaic and classical Greek gems or with iconography with some kind of association with the East. This is to be distinguished from “Orientalizing Style,” which Boardman defines as a combination of the “Greek” and “Court” styles though the motifs and style of carving tend more towards Greek gems with simple antithetic groups or single animals — in contrast to the more complicated assemblages on earlier eastern seals. The Maresha seal falls into one of the two latter categories. The motif of a single animal is popular on Greek intaglio stones and Boardman attributed the parallels cited above to the “Orientalizing Style.” That said, the carving of the Maresha stamp seal is very cursory and with little detail, making it difficult to clearly place it in one or the other category. The legs terminate to nothing; no hooves or tufts are visible at the ankles; nor is there any musculature defined at the haunch or shoulder. The poor goat does not even have an eye. The linear device at left on the seal’s surface may be a stylized tree, as can be seen on other gems of Boardman’s “Orientalizing Style” including one cited above as a parallel to the Maresha seal. Although no exact parallel from the Levant has been identified, it bears mentioning that there are two glass stamp seals from Tel Kedesh with the “Master of Animals” motif (Berlin and Herbert 2012: 24–29). Both seals were found in a separate part of the Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building from the seal impression corpus mentioned above. Along with a handful of other small finds, Persian-period ceramics and a monumental stylobate with setting marks for the placement of columns have led the excavators to

believe that there was a significant Persian phase at Tel Kedesh during which the building served as an agricultural depot and territorial marker of the city of Tyre (Berlin and Herbert 2012: 28). While the pyramidal stamp seal from Maresha alone is certainly not a sign of a similarly robust Persian phase at Maresha, its discovery in a secondary deposition fill level does hint at some sort of Persian presence and diversity of the population of Maresha. Whether the presence of the pyramidal stamp seals attests to administrative activities or was a personal artifact lost here is impossible to say.

### Eros Seal (Fig. 8.1:3)

3. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-39-930-S2

*Dimensions:* H 1.8cm, L 1.3cm

*Description:* Oval intaglio with slightly convex front, flat back and inward back bevel. Surface is abraded with multiple scratches and some breaks and gouges that mar the intaglio carving at the head and the arm. The image is oriented vertically with Eros standing in profile, facing right. He stands on a short ground line, has a pudgy belly and appears to be raising his left arm, possibly holding a tray or plate. Legs are straight and parallel and terminate just before the ground line; no feet are visible. Carnelian.

*Parallels:* The defining features of the Eros seal are short wings, a pudgy belly and straight legs with no discernable distinction between them. The god is clearly not meant to be in motion, but rather is firmly planted on the ground. The seal also shows the god raising his left hand, although what he holds is marred by damage to the surface of the seal. Eros was one of the more popular motifs in Hellenistic glyptic, and there are many different variations of the god in a standing pose.

At Seleucia, Eros appears on 457 impressions (351 figures and 106 heads), making him the most popular deity in the Seleucia corpus (Messina 2004a: 88ff.). There are 14 examples of Eros standing alone (**ER1–14**), but among these there is great variation of pose, wing style and additional attributes. Throughout the other categories of Eros, there are several that present

a generic similarity including those with Eros holding a Lyre (**ER275**) and Eros holding a bow and arrow described (**ER258**). The closest parallel from Seleucia (**ER258: S-7707**) depicts Eros as pudgy and short-winged, standing with straight legs that terminate rather abruptly around mid-shin (Messina 2004a: 101; illustrated on Pl. 45). Though the stance, wings and paunch of the Maresha and Seleucia Eros images are similar, there are some significant differences. Most notably, on the Seleucia impression Eros holds a bow and arrow (which are difficult to make out in the photograph) in his upraised left arm. His arm is raised higher than on the Maresha seal to the point that it gives Eros the appearance of leaning slightly backward. Additionally, the Seleucia example does not show a full profile view of the god; instead he is shown in  $\frac{3}{4}$  view from the back. Additional seal impressions from Kedesh and Delos also share some of the physical and stylistic characteristics of the Maresha Eros seal though neither site provides as close a parallel as Seleucia. At Kedesh, Eros appears on nearly 100 impressions (~60 figures and 40 heads) (Herbert, forthcoming). Of the nearly 60 figural impressions, 31 are of standing Eros. The iconography is wide-ranging and there are only two impressions that recall the Eros as he appears on the Maresha seal: **K00625** which shows a short-winged Eros standing on a ground line and holding a lyre; and **K00053**, which shows Eros holding a tray, which seems most similar to what Eros may be holding on the Maresha seal. The Kedesh impression has the addition of a helmet or pilos worn by Eros as his body is tilted forward as if he about to fly.

At Delos a total of 942 impressions with Eros were revealed, none of which is an exact parallel for the Maresha seal (Stampolidis 1992: 41ff). I mention only the most pertinent ones here: **M4 (64) Delos: 74/4801alpha (8); 74/4801gamma (9); M5 (65) 74/6057alpha (10); M6 (66) 75/815alpha (11)** all show a pudgy Eros with parallel straight legs but he has both arms raised and is clearly looking upward. **M5 (89) 74/8513gamma (15); M1 (90) 75/2429delta (16); M1 (90) 75/2483gamma (17)** also depict a pudgy Eros standing facing

right, but his torso and belly are in  $\frac{3}{4}$  view and there is a clearly visible line that separates the thighs, even though he is standing with his legs together. **M3 (263) 74/1968+2148alpha (7)** and **M4 (264) 74/6681alpha (8)** show Eros standing facing right with right arm bent but here it is raised over his head. **M1 (868) 74/1393gamma (11), M2 (869) 74/1169delta (12); 74/2780alpha (13)** show Eros standing right with both arms bent and raised holding/supporting a tray from underneath. In **2780alpha** he is on a ground line. Though the legs are straight and parallel, there is a slight separation and a  $\frac{3}{4}$  view.

*Date:* Hellenistic.

*Discussion:* Eros is extremely popular in Hellenistic glyptic as seen above. Based on the sheer numbers of impressions from these three abovementioned archives alone, the variation seen among the different seal impressions is to be expected. The depiction of Eros in the beginning of the Hellenistic period departs from early Classical precedents, where he is shown as a slender youth. In keeping with the new-found interest in depictions of babies and children in the Hellenistic period, Eros was more often depicted as a chubby child with short, stubby wings. This iconography seems to emphasize the god's mischievous behavior and is in stark contrast to the lithe youth of the previous period or the full-length winged Nikes that appear on Seleucid coinage of the Hellenistic period.

Thus, the Eros seal from Maresha is clearly part of a larger trend in Hellenistic glyptic. It also bears mentioning that in addition to the Eros seal, a stamp made of local chalk, possibly for the production of votive plaques, was found in the fill of SC169 (see Chapter 6, Figs. 6.1:6a, b, c). Its iconography is consistent with the Maresha seal in its depiction of Eros as a chubby, short-winged child. The stamp depicts Eros moving (flying?) to the left, his two little wings clearly visible, extending out from his shoulders. His head is illegible. Behind him, in the right of the field, is a wreath, similar to those occasionally found on Seleucid coinage. Though the exact function of the stamp is still unclear, its presence at Maresha

further illustrates the popularity of Eros as a motif on a variety of objects.

The plethora of Eros seals and seal impressions and the Maresha Eros seal appears to be connected to a sequence of small convex garnets that Dimitis Plantzos has dated to the first century BCE. (Plantzos 1999: 90). However, the terminus ante quem of 107 BCE for SC169 as well as the dating of the Kedesh and Seleucia corpora suggests that this phenomenon was well underway by the second century BCE. The overall style of these intaglios seems to favor a solitary figure centered in the field of the stone, which is typically circular or rounded oval rather than a more elongated oval, which is precisely what we see on the Maresha Eros seal. Plantzos illustrates one gem from the Berlin Staatlich Museen that, while unprovenanced, is quite a close parallel to the Maresha seal (Plantzos 1999, Pl. 69, No. 525). But here we see a more skillful carver at work, with more legible detail of the wings, hair (with diadem) and physique, although the legs again taper to termination with no feet visible.<sup>6</sup> The popularity of Eros in Hellenistic glyptic segues into the early Roman period, particularly on late Republican coinage and eventually into the Imperial period with the decision of the Julio-Claudians to claim descent from Venus, Cupid's mother.

#### Athena(?) Seal Impression (Fig. 8.1:4)

4. Reg. No. 5343/08 169-S12

*Dimensions:* H 2.7cm, L 2.1cm

*Description:* Oval seal impression with motif oriented vertically. A figure rides a horse side-saddle, with lower body obscured by the body of the horse. The figure holds a lightning bolt in her(?) right hand and the left arm is bent, leaning on something not readily visible. Torso faces left in  $\frac{3}{4}$  view and the face, lacking all detail, is frontal. Forepart of the horse faces left. Muzzle, mane and chest visible; hind quarters and legs not pictured.

At bottom and bottom right of field, a basket(?) and a shield, respectively.

*Parallels:* Impressions of two different seals from Seleucia depicting Athena seated and leaning are the closest parallels to this seal impression. The first, **At 1: S9–422**, shows the goddess leaning on a lance held in her bent left arm (Messina et al. 2004a: 14; illustrated on Pl. 2) Her lower body is not present on the impression, as if the seal was too long for the clay bulla. The second impression, **At 4: S6–2051**, preserves more of the figure. Again Athena is shown leaning on her left arm (Messina et al. 2004a: 14). This time, however, she is clearly leaning on a shield, much like the figure on the Maresha impression. She wears a chiton belted at the waist. In her right hand, she holds a small Nike.

*Date:* Hellenistic.

*Discussion:* The iconography of this impression is difficult to parse because it seems to combine elements from different mythological characters and may be an incomplete impression. What appears to be certain: The figure leans on his/her right arm, which is bent at the elbow; s/he holds a lightning bolt in his/her left hand; and there is a shield. Other details are either illegible or difficult to confirm from photographs. Among these, the figure appears to be riding a horse, whose long muzzle tapers to a rather pointed nose and whose mane seems to be visible below the lightning bolt. The attire of the figure is also illegible, as is the headgear (is there a helmet?). Finally, there is something at the bottom of the impression, perhaps the horse's leg or a basket.

Because the impression is difficult to read, it is impossible to make a conclusive identification, with several Greek mythological characters within the realm of possibility. The first, on the basis of the parallels from Seleucia, is Athena (*LIMC* s. v. Athena, p. 951ff.). Seated Athena Nikephoros is a common motif in the Hellenistic Levant, as the goddess is a popular reverse device on Seleucid coinage (Messina et al. 2004a: 12). The coin

<sup>6</sup> Plantzos No. 525, Pl. 69 from the Berlin Staatliche Museen 1110 shows Eros with a bow. Oval garnet with convex face. For another image see Furtwängler, 1896, Pl. 14, No. 1110. The description states that Eros on the Berlin garnet is holding a bow, though it is barely discernable from either Plantzos or Furtwängler's illustrations.

device is also the closest parallel to the Maresha seal impression simply on the basis of the general form of the figures as they appear on coinage and on the Maresha seal impression: seated, leaning on the left arm, holding an object in the right hand, accompanied by a shield (a common attribute of Athena in her role as goddess of war). Furthermore, as the daughter of Zeus, it is not impossible to connect Athena to the lightning bolt — there is even one incomplete impression from Seleucia of Athena holding her father's weapon (*At 54*).

The lightning bolt naturally recalls Zeus himself, and an examination of his iconography in glyptic also shows Zeus seated (*LIMC s. v. Zeus*, p.310 ff.). But as befits the king of the gods, Zeus is always depicted sitting erect while holding a lance in one hand and the lightning bolt in the other. None of the examples capture the languidness of the pose of the figure on the Maresha impression.

Another candidate worth exploring is another child of Zeus: Pollux, one of the Dioskouroi (*LIMC s. v. Dioscouroi*, p. 567ff.). Along with his twin brother, Castor, Pollux was an excellent horseman, and the iconography of the Dioskouroi frequently shows them either riding horses or standing before horses. Given their affinity for horses and their lineage from Zeus, this figure on the Maresha impression could have been meant to represent one of the brothers. However, in glyptic the Dioskouroi rarely appear singly and never in quite this exact pose. Nor is their link to Zeus seemingly ever represented by a lightning bolt; their most common accessories are typically the pilos (a soft, point cap) and a star.

A final possibility for the identity of the Maresha figure comes from an unprovenanced carnelian gem in Hannover, Germany, which depicts a Nereid riding sidesaddle on a hippocamp while holding a lance and shield (*Zazoff 1983*, Pl. 102: 5). This is one of few iconographic examples that combine the key components of the Maresha impression: forepart of a horse, the rider and the shield. There are, however, some key differences. The motif on the Hannover gem is oriented horizontally, allowing ample space for the hippocamp's curling, fish-like tail, which

is completely absent from the Maresha gem. Additionally, the Nereid is riding the hippocamp with her lower body visible to the viewer. On the Maresha impression, the lower body of the rider is obscured, presumably because s/he is riding side-saddle with the lower body oriented behind the horse's body. And finally, the lightning bolt is absent on the Hannover gem.

Of the four possible attributions suggested above, none is an obvious fit. That said, considering the most striking visual elements of the seal impression, notably the contrapposto posture of the seated figure, seated Athena is perhaps the most likely candidate. As a common iconographic trope of the Hellenistic East, it seems more likely that a gem cutter familiar with the seated Athena Nikephoros of Seleucid coinage could have adapted that motif for a signet ring rather than creating an entirely new iconography for Zeus or the Dioskouroi.

Finally, it should be noted that the attribution of Athena is based solely on the overall posture of the figure and that the gender of the figure is difficult to discern. The torso of the figure on the Maresha seal could easily be read as a naked, muscular male torso, features which can be seen on the seal impressions of Apollo from Kedesh and Seleucia, or as a chiton-wearing female torso as Athena appears in the Seleucia corpus. Further examination of the seal is needed, although though we may never be able to make a solid identification.

### Vessel Seal Impression (Fig. 8.1:5)

5. Reg. No. 4361/05 169-66-1123-S4

*Dimensions:* H 1.8cm, L 2.2cm

*Description:* Globular seal impression with vertically oriented seal impression of an oval-bodied vessel, possibly an amphora(?) situated in the center of an open oval field, encircled. A hole in the impression obscures the bottom right portion of the vase. On the back there are clear signs of the cord that once attached the bulla to something; and on the sides, remnants of fingerprints are discernable.

*Parallels:* There are 51 impressions of vases at Seleucia; of those, the form of vase on 14 impressions is described as ovoid and 8 are described as amphorae. From Kedesh there are five sealings illustrating three different types of vessel. With the details of the Maresha seal difficult to discern, the roundness of the body is closest to the ovoid vases in the Seleucia corpus (OG 53–67). The Kedesh impression closest in shape to the Maresha impression is K00584, which illustrates a Panathenaic vase and palm branch.

*Date:* Hellenistic.

*Discussion:* Vessels as iconographic motifs appear on Greek coinage and gems as far back as the sixth century BCE, and they are a common

occurrence on Hellenistic glyptic (Lesperance 2010: 320; Messina et al. 2004b:190). These single-motif intaglios can be difficult to interpret since the elements of their iconography are so few (Plantzos 1999: 98). Any significant analysis of the Maresha sealing is made additionally difficult due to the quality of the impression itself; either the seal used to make the impression was worn, or the impression was poorly made. Though the central ovoid body is clearly visible, the neck, handles and rim are more difficult to discern, and so the attribution of the motif as an amphora is tenuous. While it seems clear that the object depicted is a vessel, exactly what type of vessel is not clear. Thus we can only assume that the motif had some sort of political, economic, or religious significance and was not selected for its aesthetics.

## CONCLUSIONS

Seals and their by-products, seal impressions, are by their very nature small and portable. Therefore they can travel widely and be easily lost. The presence of these five seals and impressions in the fill of one of the subterranean complexes at Maresha thus speaks to the important role of glyptic despite their lack of stratigraphic context. In all likelihood, these five artifacts reflect the presence of five different individuals who either lived at or passed through Maresha over the course of several hundred years. The shapes of the five objects reflect three different cultural influences in the Levant: Egypt, Persia and Greece. The iconography echoes these same geographical regions while at the same time adhering to expected glyptic conventions. The iconography of Eros, for example, is perhaps one of the most popular figures of Hellenistic glyptic, whereas the questionable Athena riding a horse while holding a lightning bolt is on the one hand an unusual combination of features but also fits Hellenistic-period aesthetics of hybridity and the creation of new iconographic motifs.

The SC169 corpus from Maresha seems to mirror the glyptic corpus from Kedesh. Indeed, the same can be said of the ceramic corpus of Maresha, which also contains many parallels to the Kedesh ceramic

assemblage (Ian Stern, pers. comm.). At both sites we find a vestige of an Egyptian phase: a plaque amulet from Maresha and a scarab from Kedesh, both likely dating to the Late Period. While a single object at a site is not evidence for significant historical phase, Egyptians were certainly traversing the Levant at the time of Seti I and Ramesses II during their battles with the Hittites in the thirteenth century BCE. In the Hellenistic period, the southern Levant served as a border zone between the Ptolemaic and Seleucia kingdoms and Ptolemaic officials are known to have traveled in the region, as shown by the Zenon papyrus, in which Kedesh is mentioned twice (Herbert and Berlin 2003: 13–14) as well as Maresha.

Both corpora offered up at least one example of Persian glyptic, the pyramidal stamp seal at Maresha and two conoid glass stamp seals from Kedesh. The Persian period at Kedesh, though underrepresented in the stratigraphy and ceramic remains, was significant. It is believed that the administrative building there was first built during the Persian period, as evidenced by a course of large ashlar blocks with faint traces of column fittings — an architectural hallmark of Persian buildings. While the Persian period is not as well demarcated in the architectural remains at

Maresha, the pyramidal stamp seals may be a vestige of Persian administrative activity at the site.

Finally, we arrive at the Hellenistic period. At Kedesh, the archive of seal impressions runs the gamut from ruler portraits to Greek mythological characters, Phoenician cultural symbols and general flora and fauna. But despite the presence of over 2,000 seal impressions, not a single ring or seal stone of Hellenistic date has been discovered at Kedesh. While the numbers of seals and seal impressions are far fewer

in SC169, the iconography is a similarly interesting cross-section of Hellenistic art: a simple vessel floating in the center of an open field, an unusual and not securely identifiable side-saddle rider, and Eros, one of the most commonly depicted Greek deities in all of Hellenistic glyptics. The variety of motifs reflects a range of individual tastes and preferences of the populations/occupants at both sites during their most active historical period.

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## CHAPTER 9 “GAME BOARDS”

*Ian Stern*

### INTRODUCTION

Board games are among the most ubiquitous of ancient games discovered. Assemblages of such games, dating to Neolithic times have been found throughout the Ancient Near East from Egypt through Mesopotamia, indicating that board games have been played since the seventh millennium BCE (Sebanne 2000: 226, 229–230; 2001: 224). Sebanne (2001: 213–230), published a very large assemblage

of game boards from the Early Bronze Age II–III that was discovered in Arad, along with game boards discovered at a number of other sites in the Levant. Our understanding of game boards, which were often made out of worked blocks of local stone, is limited even when they are preserved in their entirety. Their interpretation is even more difficult when they are poorly preserved or simply fragments.

### THE ASSEMBLAGE

The five stone fragments in our assemblage resemble portable game boards. The squares were carelessly incised into slabs of soft chalk with little effort made regarding symmetry or precision. The rows are not necessarily the same size or shape, nor are they always parallel. One of the fragments in our assemblage contains crude, cup-like depressions

(Fig. 9.1:1) and another contains a series of five tiny holes large enough for marbles or pegs (Fig. 9.1:5). Due to the broken or poorly preserved nature of these stone slabs it is difficult to determine the exact number of squares or depressions and therefore the character of these game boards remains enigmatic.

### CATALOG

1. Reg. No. 52/02-169-06-322-S1 (Fig. 9.1:1)  
*Dimensions:* H 3.7cm; L 14.5cm; W 11.0cm  
*Description:* A small piece of local chalk containing a round, cup-like depression with part of a second depression. This fragment is too small to clearly identify the type of game board, or for that matter if it was indeed a game board at all.
2. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-189-2681-S2 (Fig. Fig. 9.1:2)  
*Dimensions:* H 4.7cm; L 14.8cm; W 8.5cm  
*Description:* A broken, possibly rectangular game board made of local chalk with uneven squares
3. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-111-1605-S1 (Fig. 9.1:3)  
*Dimensions:* H 4.6cm; L 17.0cm; W 6.0cm  
*Description:* Two-sided board.  
**Side A:** rectangular piece of local chalk, with two rows of five or more incised squares. At the end of the row the board is damaged leaving an

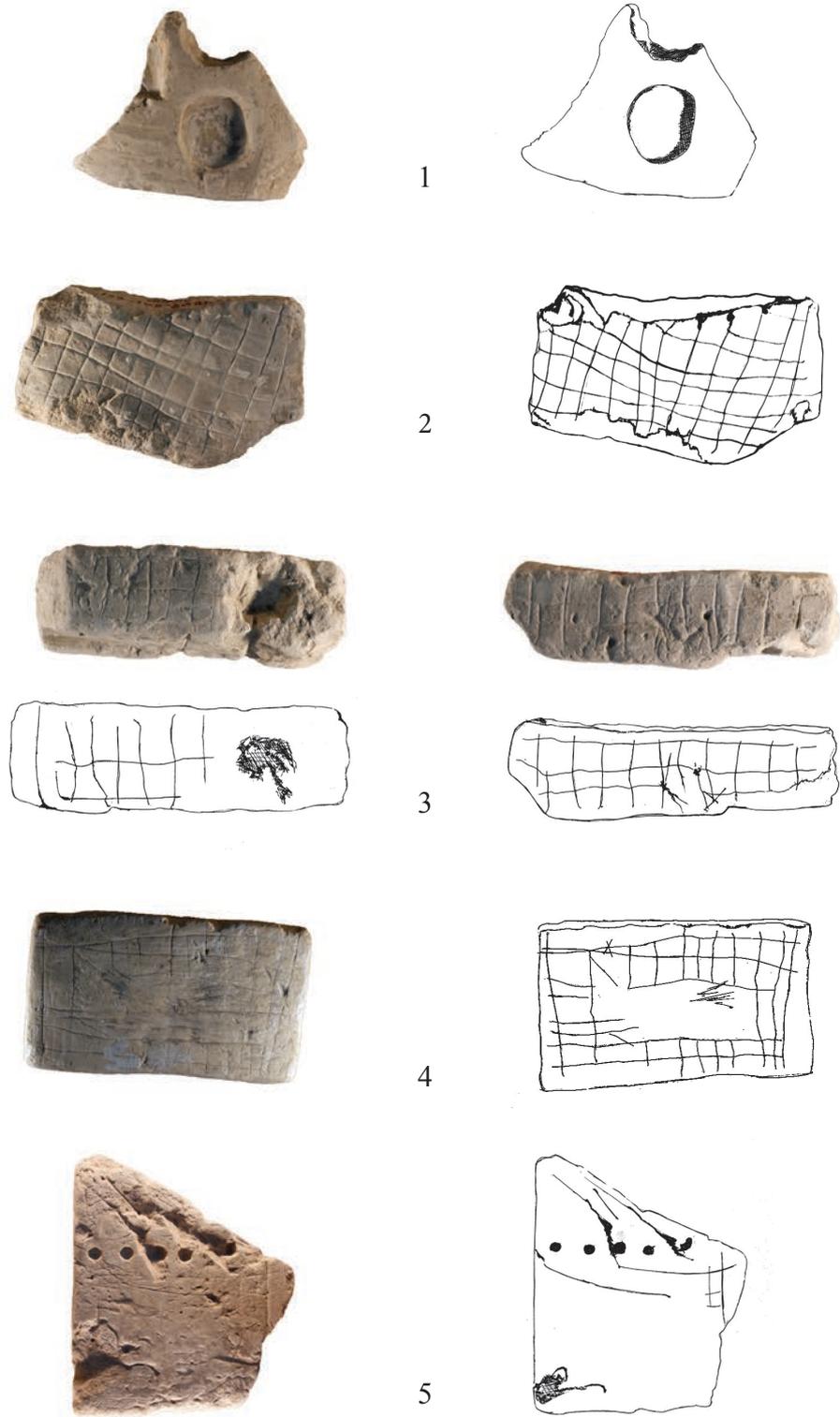


Fig. 9.1.

irregular hole that may or may not have been functional. Due to the damage it is difficult to determine the exact number of squares. There were probably more squares in the area where the slab is damaged.

**Side B:** Three rows of what may have been 10 squares each. Due to the poor state of the board it is difficult to determine the exact number of original squares but it appears to have possibly contained 30 squares.

4. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-142-2200-S2 (Fig. 9.1:4)  
*Dimensions:* H 10.5cm; L 23.0cm; W 13.5cm  
*Description:* Rectangular slab of local chalk divided by approximately five rows of ten squares.

This board was lightly incised with little regard for precision or symmetry. The rows are not parallel nor are the squares the same size or shape. The center of the board appears to have been deliberately scratched or blurred.

5. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125a-1976-S2 (Fig. 9.1:5)  
*Dimensions:* H 12.0cm; L 32.0cm; W 26.5cm  
*Description:* Corner of a board made of local chalk, with five small, round indentations, large enough for small marble-shaped objects or pegs. On the right side there appears to be a remnant of a frame of the board or possibly a section of a second game on the same board.

## DISCUSSION

The five game board fragments vary, and represent a diverse arrangement of squares and depressions that belong to different games. They were carelessly made of local chalk with little attention given to precision or symmetry. While their poor state of preservation and fragmentary nature prevents conclusive identification it is still possible to explore tentative connections.

Only a few of the game boards can be tentatively identified. Fig. 9.1:1, with remains of two cuplike depressions, bears a very slight resemblance to mancala. While there is no literary or archaeological record of mancala boards this early in history Schädler (1998: 10–25) raises the very tentative possibility that a predecessor or early variant of mancala may have existed in the Greco-Roman period. The fragment in Fig. 9.1:1 may be the board of such a variant, a game known as *penta grammai* or “five lines” (Schädler 1998: 10–25; also Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt 2016a: 131; Kurke 1999: 256–258) although no sign of a center line or “sacred space” a normative element in the game, is visible. Nevertheless, after viewing this fragment Schädler (personal communication) stated that our fragment is too small to even categorize as a game board, no less to define what type. Another possible parallel to this fragment, albeit not a game board, is the stone libation vessels with cup-like holes,

described as stone kernos tables, discovered in the Juktas Peak Sanctuary (Karetsou 2012: 93, Fig. 10.16). Many of the finds in this sanctuary are categorized as votive items or ritual equipment. It has been suggested that the holes may have been utilized for offerings of agricultural goods possibly linking the activity to ceremonies of the Eleusinian Mysteries. These finds may have been connected to either gaming, cultic use (Karetsou 2012: 90–94) or both, since the two activities were not mutually exclusive. The use of game boards simply for entertainment purposes was widespread and is especially evident in the many public game boards discovered on street pavements and other public areas throughout the Levant (Sebanne 2012: 50–64). “Public” boards however are more difficult to date. While the actual usage of the vessels at Juktas Peak is debated (Karetsou 2012: 90–94), their discovery within a sanctuary strongly suggests a cultic purpose.

Board games were also tools that facilitated social interaction across borders (Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt 2016b: 179). Given the close cultural and economic ties between Egypt and Maresha, it may be inferred that board games would have been directly or indirectly influenced as well. Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt (2016b:179–181) suggest that the familiarity with board games with incised squares in the Levant

may in some cases reflect an indirect local adaptation of Egyptian games, possibly via non Egyptian Levantine sources.

Figs. 9.1:2 and 9.1:4 bear a resemblance to boards for *latrunculi*. Three such boards were discovered by Bliss and Macalister (1902: 144, Fig. 56) and one in nearby SC57. The other game board that can be tentatively identified appears in Fig. 9.1:3, Side B. It resembles the Egyptian game *Senet* also referred to as the game of “thirty squares” (Sebanne 2001: 213–230). This was the most popular Egyptian game, known from 1st Dynasty (ca. 3050 BCE) to the Roman period. Our game board is two-sided with Side B containing three rows of ten squares. Such a two-sided *Senet* board was discovered in Hazor, albeit from the ninth century BCE, with the other side containing the “Game of Twenty Squares” (Yadin 1960: 34, Pl. 78:6; Sebanne 2012: 56). A *Senet* board was also discovered (Sebbane 2004: 690–694) in Level III Lachish. The “thirty squares” board has been associated with the days of the month. This association with the calendar was also noted by Petrie (Martinez 2014: 266) in relation to a board discovered in a tomb in Beth Pelet (Tel Far‘a) that contained Egyptian finds from the period of the 12th Dynasty.

Games appear in religious literature of ancient Egypt including Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead (Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt 2016a: 2; Piccione 1990: 43–52). There was no distinction between ritual and recreation in ancient Egypt where religious celebration and worship could take the form of sports, games and play. The religious nature of *Senet* is also evident in the Great Game Text (Piccione 2007: 60). Martinez (2014: 267) believes that *Senet* contained astronomical symbolism and the board was utilized for travel in the afterlife. It should be noted that some of our Aramaic ostraca contain astrological references (see chap 12). Crist, Dunn-Vaturi and de Voogt (2016a: 2) put it succinctly: “As with most aspects of Egyptian life, board games were imbued with meaning connected with journey into the afterlife.”

Cultic usage of game boards was not limited to Egypt. The game boards discovered at the Hill of Agios Georgios in Nicosia for example, are believed to reflect cultic practice (Piledes 2009: 55). Elsewhere,

a Babylonian cuneiform tablet, dated to the second century BCE, was discovered in 1880 containing rules as well as a playing grid on one side that related to a board game (Finkel 2007: 22–32). The rules related to a game now referred to as the Royal Game of Ur or “the Game of Twenty Squares.” These tablets also mention that the playing grid was sometimes used in divination exercises. Years later, in the 1920s, Sir Leonard Wooley discovered, in the Royal Cemetery of Ur, the first examples of such board games, dated to the mid-third millennium BCE. Finkel (2007: 26) also refers to a fragment of a Greek papyrus discovered in Oxyrhynchus dated from the third to late second century BCE that comments on a 30-square board game that may have been a late form of the Egyptian game *Senet*. He relates the 30 squares, also referred to as “houses,” to 30 days of the lunar month. Among his observations was that astrological interpretations were applied to traditional Egyptian board games, as they were in the Royal Game of Ur.

Our game boards do not resemble the Royal Game of Ur nor is it possible, due to their poor state of preservation, to make absolute connections to other specific games. However, the examples cited above may further our understanding of the many other cultic finds discovered with the Maresha game boards.

What was the function of the Maresha “game boards”? Murray clearly expressed the general conundrum regarding the use of these boards: “Implements of chance by themselves establish nothing, since they have been used from the earliest times for divination or simple gambling” (Murray 1951: 2). Or, to put it differently, “game boards” could certainly be used for entertainment purposes but their actual use in any particular situation can be better understood from their context.

As for the archaeological context of the Maresha “game boards,” in addition to the actual game boards, various items that can be associated with cult and divination were discovered in SC169. Seven glass, bead-shaped pieces called *pestoi* as well as numerous small sea shells that all could have been utilized as counters were discovered along with over 361 astragals (see Chapter 11 for a summary of astragals in antiquity; for divination see Erlich 2017: 44, notes 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 34), throw sticks and cubes. While these items do not

necessarily imply a cultic association, the fact that 63 were modified, 11 of the astragals were inscribed, one with the name of the Greek goddess Nike (goddess of victory) and one made of glass, certainly reinforces the possibility of their use in divination by cleromancy. According to Grieves, the three criteria used to suggest divinatory use of astragals are context, inscriptions, or their modification or production in other materials. (Grieves 2012: 177–206). This argument is supported by the discovery of an extraordinary number of other cultic finds such as altars, stone phalli, votive stamps,

kernos lamps and figurines. In addition, SC169 is only a few dozen meters from what has been identified as a temple. While it is too early to reach absolute conclusions, a tentative connection can also be made between the game boards, astragals and pessos and the many Aramaic divination texts discovered there (see Chapter 12). Further investigation of those divination ostraca may shed more light on the function of these game boards and their potential connection to the other cultic items.

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## CHAPTER 10

### OIL LAMPS

*Einat Ambar-Armon*

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the oil lamps found in Subterranean Complex 169 in Maresha. The excavations in this area lasted over 16 seasons since the year 2000 and have produced unusual material, even compared to other areas in Maresha. A total of 780 intact lamps were discovered in SC169 and another 2,245 fragments, some of which may belong to the same lamps.<sup>1</sup> They were part of the rich deposits filling SC169, some originally used in the dark underground spaces and the others originating from dwellings above or from nearby structures. These oil lamps represent the various phases of occupation in SC169: the Iron Age, the Persian and the Hellenistic periods. Lamps from the Hellenistic period are the most prominent in their numbers and range of types. For easier reference all the lamps referred to in the text have running catalog numbers. Some of the lamps that demonstrate the various types were photographed or drawn — those are demonstrated in the plates which are located throughout the article and marked with an asterisk in the catalog.

Four groups of oil lamps can be distinguished: open lamps (15), oil lamps on kernos vessels (385), wheel-made closed lamps (267) and mold-made lamps (113). Each group comprised subtypes and sub-subtypes. The open lamps will be presented first, reflecting chronological considerations and production method. The closed lamps will then be presented, by chronological and morphological considerations: They feature knobs (three knobs, two or one and lamps with no knobs), which are unique to Hellenistic-period lamps. These will be followed by oil lamps with unique features.

After an introduction on the typology, the catalog will present the intact lamps as well as fragments of lamps from types not otherwise preserved.

It is important to note that the lamps found in this large complex are only a small portion of the thousands of lamps found in Maresha.<sup>2</sup> This report includes only part of the relevant types which were found in this site, on which only general information is provided.

#### WHEEL-MADE OIL LAMPS

##### *Open Lamps from the Iron Age*

A base of one Iron Age lamp was found in SC169, dated to the eighth–seventh centuries BCE (Cat.

No. 1). Most of the lamps of this type have the shape of a round bowl, of which one side was pinched. They are characterized by a wide and significantly

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1 I am deeply grateful to the late Prof. Amos Kloner for introducing me to the Maresha oil lamps domain. I would like to extend my gratitude to Ian Stern for allowing me to work on these special oil lamps and for the great help throughout the study. In addition, I would also like to thank Sonia Shahrit (technical treatment); Clara Amit and Asaf Stern (photography); Carmen Hersch (drawing); Yosef Bukengolts (restoration); Noga Zevi (plate); Miriam Feinberg Vamosh (editing).

2 Some of the oil lamps were already published in my Ph.D. dissertation: *Oil Lamps in the Land of Israel during the Hellenistic Period in Light of the Finds from the Maresha Excavations*, supervised by Prof. Amos Kloner, Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan (Ambar-Armon 2007). The oil lamps from Subterranean Complexes 57 and 90 were also published separately (Ambar-Armon 2014; 2015).

high disc base. This latter feature is sufficient to date the lamp to the Iron Age. These lamps include only the high disc base, and it most probably looked like other examples that were found in sites of southern Israel, such as Lachish (Tufnell 1953: 282–286, Pl. 83:152, 153) and Tell en-Nasbeh (Wampler 1947: 46, Pl. 71:1633–1642).

### *Open Lamps from the Persian Period*

Eleven lamps and many additional pieces (36 profiles, 78 lip fragments and another 37 parts of bases) belonging to types representative of the Persian period were found in SC169 (Cat. Nos. 2–11). Those oil lamps are also called saucer lamps. They are wheel-made, and most of them have the shape of a round bowl, one side of which was pinched. Their bottom was knife-shaved. Typically, they are fairly large: average length 10.85cm, ranging from 10.4 to 11.3cm; average width 10cm, ranging from 9.8 to 10.2cm; average height 3.4cm, ranging from 2.1 to 4.3cm.

Most of the lamps from SC169 have down-curved rims (Cat. Nos. 3–11, Fig. 10.1:3–5), unlike ordinary oil lamps from the Persian period in the coastal area, which have a shelf-rim. Only one fragment was found of the typical, shelf-rim lamp (Fig. 10.1:2).

The clay from which the lamps were made is yellow to reddish-brown, occasionally with dark core, and quite often with many white inclusions. At least some of the lamps were made in Maresha, as we can understand from the industrial waste found in the excavation in SC75.

These lamps have been found virtually in all the Persian-period strata excavated in Israel (Stern 1982: 127–129; 1995: 51–92; Sussman 2007: 82–87).

Based on the characteristics of the clay, the small size of the lamps and other data (Ambar-Armon 2007: 52–54), I would suggest that these lamps were also in use during the third century BCE.

### *Incurved Bowls Used as Oil Lamps*

Two bowls, typical of the Hellenistic period, were found, both with soot marks (Cat. Nos. 12–13; Fig. 10.1:12–13). They are deep and have a disc base. A graffito from Burial Cave 551 at Maresha, documented by Peters and Thiersch, might reveal the use of such bowls. It shows an altar on which is a hemispherical bowl with a flame emerging in the center (Peters and Thiersch 1905: 19). Other bowls at the site may also have been used as oil lamps; however, no other bowls were found with the telltale soot, as the wick would have usually floated in oil.

### *“Folded,” “Pinched” or “Hasmonean” Oil Lamps*

Two lamps of this type were found (Fig. 10.1:14–15). Part of a well-known and significant group of lamps, they are usually simple, undecorated and continue the form of lamps from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. They are made from a small bowl, folded in the middle and pinched to form two holes, one for the wick and the other to fill the oil.

The two lamps of this type found in Maresha are slightly bigger than the other oil lamps from this type. They are important because they help us understand the distribution of the type, which was particularly common in Judea. Noteworthy also is another oil lamp of this type, also found in Maresha, which was made of lead rather than clay like all the others.

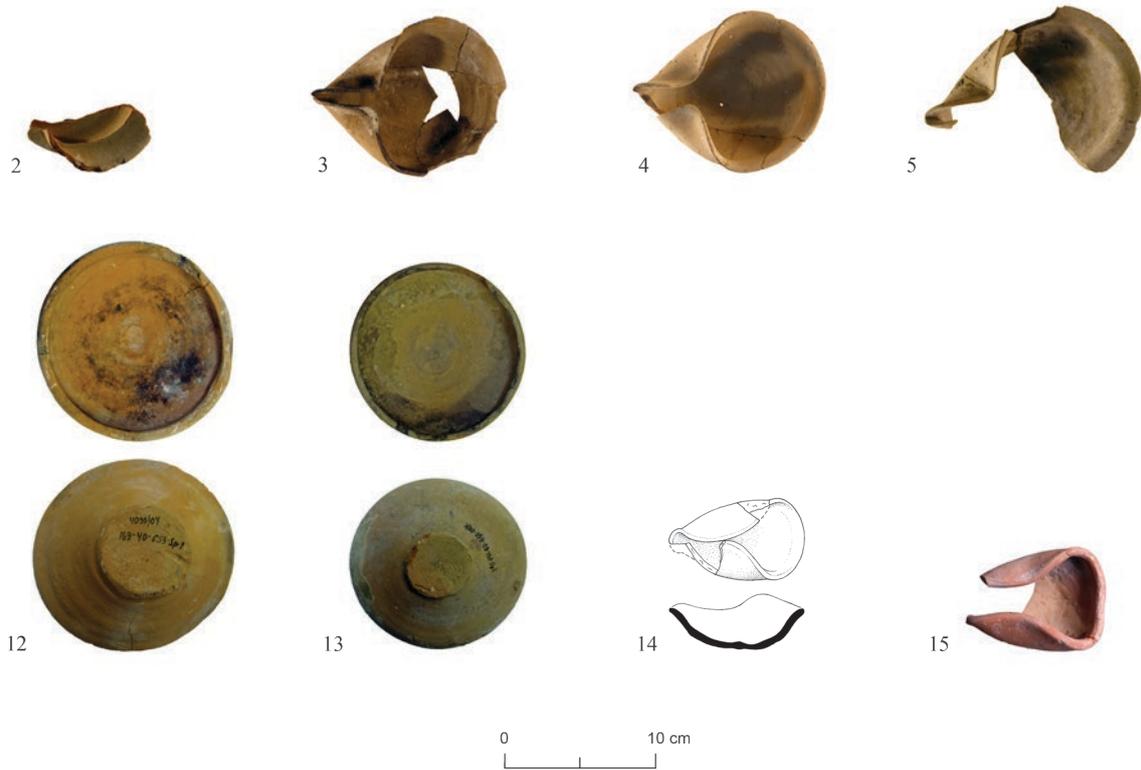
Folded lamps are almost exclusive to Judea, with some found outside the region, for example at Ashdod (Dothan and Freedman 1967: 23, Fig. 4, No. 11), and at Samaria (Reisner, Fischer and Lyon 1924: 318 Fig. 187, No. 5a). Recently, an oil lamp of this type was found as far north as Shihin (Strange and Aviam 2017).

Such lamps are characteristic of the second and first centuries BCE (Sussman 2007: 90–93). However, in Maresha, as well as other sites in the Shephelah, earlier examples have been found at least from the second century BCE (Ambar-Armon 2017: 60–61).

## OIL LAMPS ON KERNOS VESSELS

The largest group of oil lamps found in SC169 is of kernos lamps. This group includes 385 items — a few are complete vessels and most contain lamps that

had been connected to them in several ways. They are among the most fascinating finds uncovered in the Maresha excavations, especially because they are



**Fig. 10.1.** Open lamps.

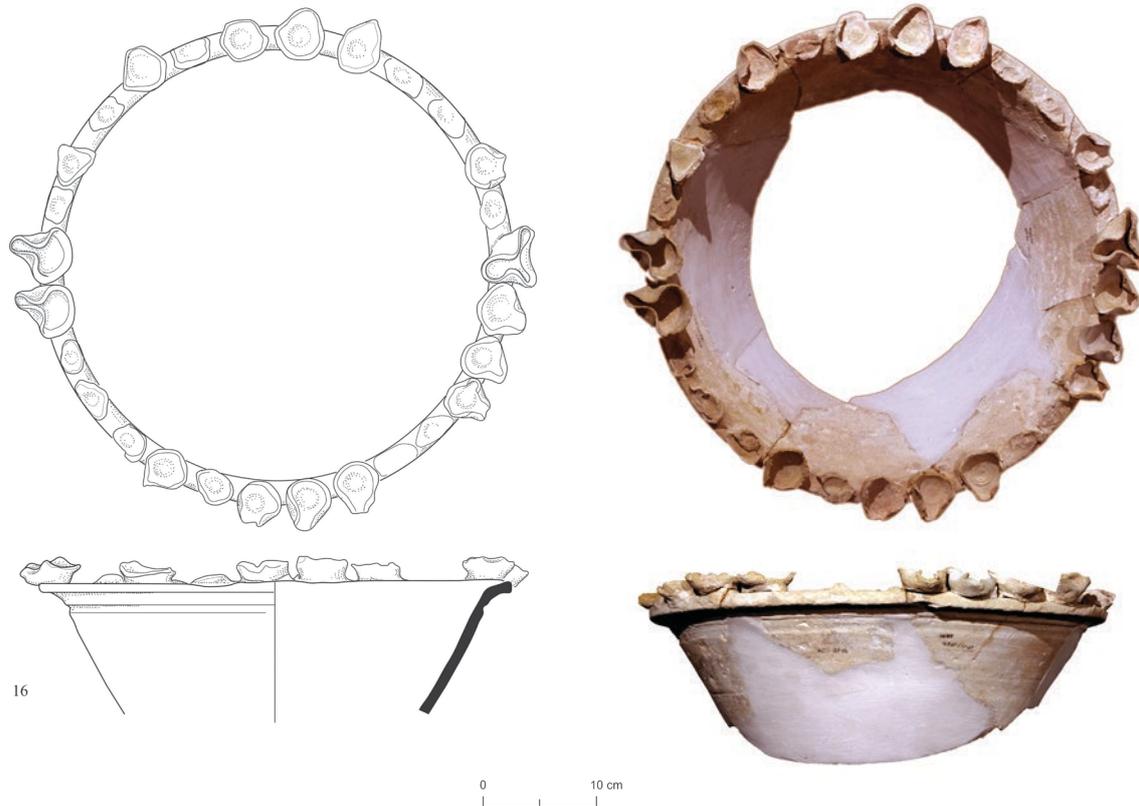
unique to Maresha and because they were produced on the site. The term “kernoï” for describing these early vessels first came into use in the Classical period, as in the writings of Athenaeus of Naucratis, who quotes Polemon from the fifth century BCE: “Kernos — an earthenware vessel, holding within it many small cups cemented together.” In these, Polemon says, are “white poppy-heads, grains of wheat and barley, peas, vetches, okra-seeds and lentils. The man who carries it, resembling the bearer of the sacred winnowing-fan, tastes these articles” (The Deipnosophists 11, 478d).

The kernoï found in Maresha are unique compared to earlier such vessels in that none of them have anthropomorphic or zoomorphic elements. Another significant difference between earlier kernoï and the kernos vessels with lamps is that those found in Maresha only rarely have an open passage for oil between the cups. While the vessels themselves have rarely been discovered in their entirety, the

lamps associated with them have in many cases been preserved completely.

Although an important article on the subject was published as early as 2010 (Ambar-Armon, Kloner and Stern 2010), the extensive excavations of SC169 reveal additional new finds. As mentioned earlier, the catalog contains 385 items of this type. Only vessels that were preserved in good condition, i.e., the entire profile, or a large piece with lamps attached, were cataloged. Poorly preserved unique lamps were cataloged only if they contributed to the understanding of the assemblage. In any case, the small number of these unusual oil lamps does not impact the overall statistics.

In most cases, the kernos lamps were small and of various forms, connected only by the rim of the vessel on which they were mounted (Cat. Nos. 16–381). In certain cases, the lamps were mounted on a ring (Cat. Nos. 382–393). Others were single lamps possessing distinctive characteristics, and are defined as separate types (Cat. Nos. 394–400).



**Fig. 10.2.** Kernos vessel with pinched lamps.

### *Pinched-lamp Kernos Vessels*

Kernos vessels on which pinched lamps were mounted were the most common vessels in the assemblage. These bowl-shaped vessels had a diameter at least twice the diameter of their base. Unlike regular bowls, the base of these bowls was cut (by a knife/rope); they are essentially baseless. There is probably a functional explanation for this variation, perhaps related to the way they were carried and transferred from place to place or where they were placed as part of the ceremony in which they were used.

To date, ca. 54 pinched-lamp kernos vessels have been found. The many pinched lamps that were originally attached to these vessels, as well as their fragments, may indicate that the number of such vessels was much greater. It is difficult to estimate how many such vessels there were originally, because the preserved finds show that the number of lamps attached to vessels differed from one vessel to the

next — for example, 30 lamps (Fig. 10.2:16), 16 lamps (Fig. 10.3:17), 7 lamps (Fig. 10.3:18–19, 10.4: 20–22) and 5 lamps (Fig. 10.4:23–24). It can be concluded that most of the vessels had seven lamps. It is no wonder that the vessels with seven oil lamps are prominent. The number 7 has special symbolic and religious significance, reflected in oil lamps throughout the ages and found at a very broad range of sites in different regions (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2009: 203–204).

In addition, most of the oil lamps attached to kernos vessels were uniform in shape — they had one pinched spout; however, occasionally, they varied in the number of pinched spouts — some containing two and even three. The lamps were usually arranged at regular intervals, but some were attached to each other and even atop one another.

SC169 revealed 267 pinched lamps attached to kernos vessels. They are open and very small (Cat. Nos. 16–281; Fig. 10.6:70–72). Both sides were pinched and often folded to the other side, creating an oil reservoir



Fig. 10.3. Kernos vessel with pinched lamps.



Fig. 10.4. Kernos vessel with pinched lamps.



Fig. 10.5. Kernos vessel with pinched lamps.



**Fig. 10.6.** Kernos vessel with pinched lamps.

and a spout. The pinching sometimes hermetically sealed the reservoir from the spout, and sometimes was partially or almost completely open. The pinching produced pipe-shaped spouts of various shapes and sizes, depending on the strength and direction of the pinch. Some lamps of this type were not pinched, but rather folded inward. This method also formed two openings, a large one for filling the oil reservoir, and a smaller one for the wick. These lamps resemble the folded lamps discussed above. They originally had a disc-shaped base, but they were attached to the rim stand by a piece of clay, so the base is often not distinguishable. The pinch lamps are placed on vessels 7.5 to 13cm high, with a diameter ranging from 15 to 23cm at the rim, and from 6 to 10cm at the base. The diameter of the hole in the base of the bowls varies in size from 2 to 5cm. The average length of pinched kernos-vessel lamps is 5.9cm, ranging from 3.9 to 7.2cm; average width 4.5cm, ranging from 3.1 to 6.1cm.

One vessel had characteristics different from the rest, although the lamps on it were of exactly the same type (Fig. 10.5:69). In this vessel, the diameter at the top and bottom is very similar. In addition, the lower part is decorated by a series of indentations that appear to have been gently pinched into the clay, one next to the other. Thirteen oil lamps were attached to this vessel. Fortunately, thanks to reconstruction of the kernos by Yosef Bukengolts, we were able, at the end of the study, to connect one of the pinched lamps found in the complex to this special vessel.

We do not know about lamps of this type outside Maresha, except for lamps from robberies and one lamp that was found in the excavation in Tell Halif (Borowski 2008: Fig. 6).

### *Pinched lamps from Kernos Vessels — Varia*

Lamps that differ in the number of spouts and in the design of the base were also discovered.

*Pinched lamp with disc bases.* This group of lamps consists of 35 items. They differ from the previous oil lamps in the fact that they have disc bases (Cat. Nos. 282–317; Fig. 10.7:283–282). These lamps appear to have been placed on stands. For example, a complete vessel with seven flat surfaces on which disc-based lamps would fit was found in SC1 (Ambar-Armon, Kloner and Stern 2010: 113).

*Pinched lamps with two spouts.* Two such lamps were found. One of them has local characteristics (Fig. 10.7:317) and the other was imported (Fig. 10.7:318). In contrast to the other local lamps found in Maresha, the imported lamp was of especially high quality, relatively thin, well-prepared clay, and was finished with a very shiny, high-quality slip. The other lamp was made of local clay.

*Pinched lamp with three spouts.* This group of lamps consists of three items. Their rim was inward in three places, producing a tri-corner shape (Fig. 10.7:319–321). Vessel No. 16 (Fig. 10.2) is an example of a kernos vessel that contained lamps with one spout and lamps with three spouts on the same vessel lip.

### *Kernos Vessels with Small, Bowl-Shaped Lamps*

Only two almost complete kernos vessels of this type were preserved in SC169 (Fig. 10.9:322, 10.10:323). They, together with the fragments of other vessels of this type with the lamps that were attached to them, help us understand both the type and its general characteristics as well as the shape of the vessels and their lamps.



Fig. 10.7. Pinched lamps.



Fig. 10.8. Pinched and bowl lamps.

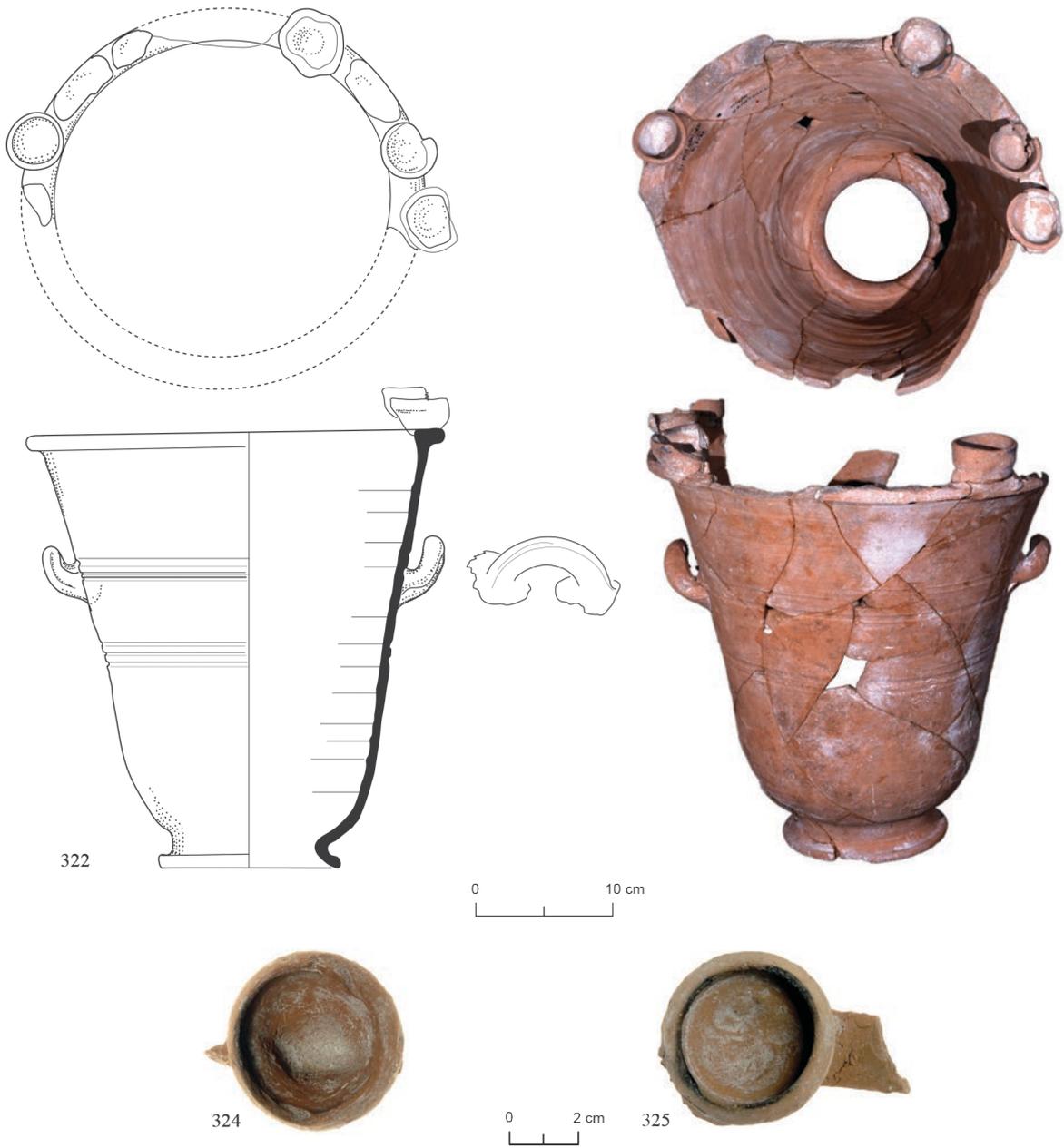
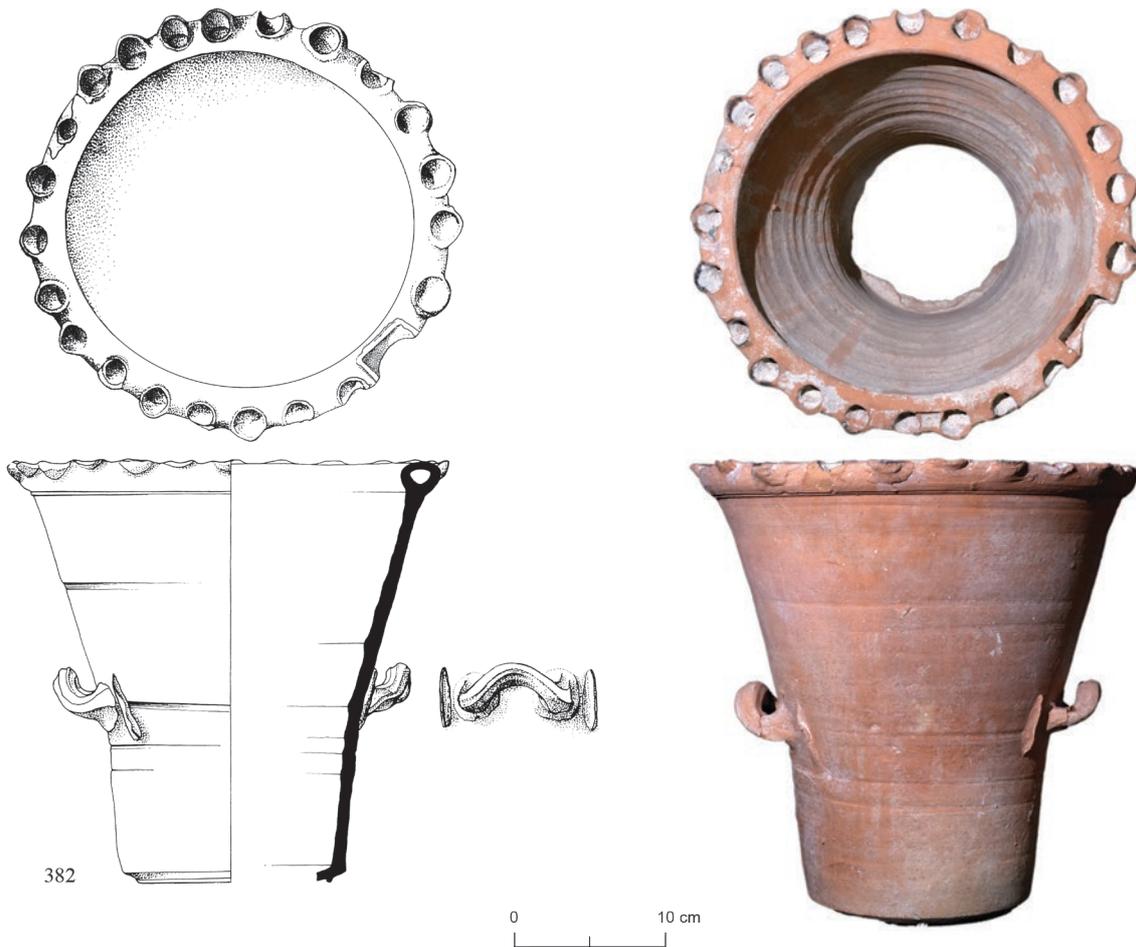


Fig. 10.9. Kernos vessel with small bowl lamps.



Fig. 10.10. Kernos vessel with small bowl lamps.

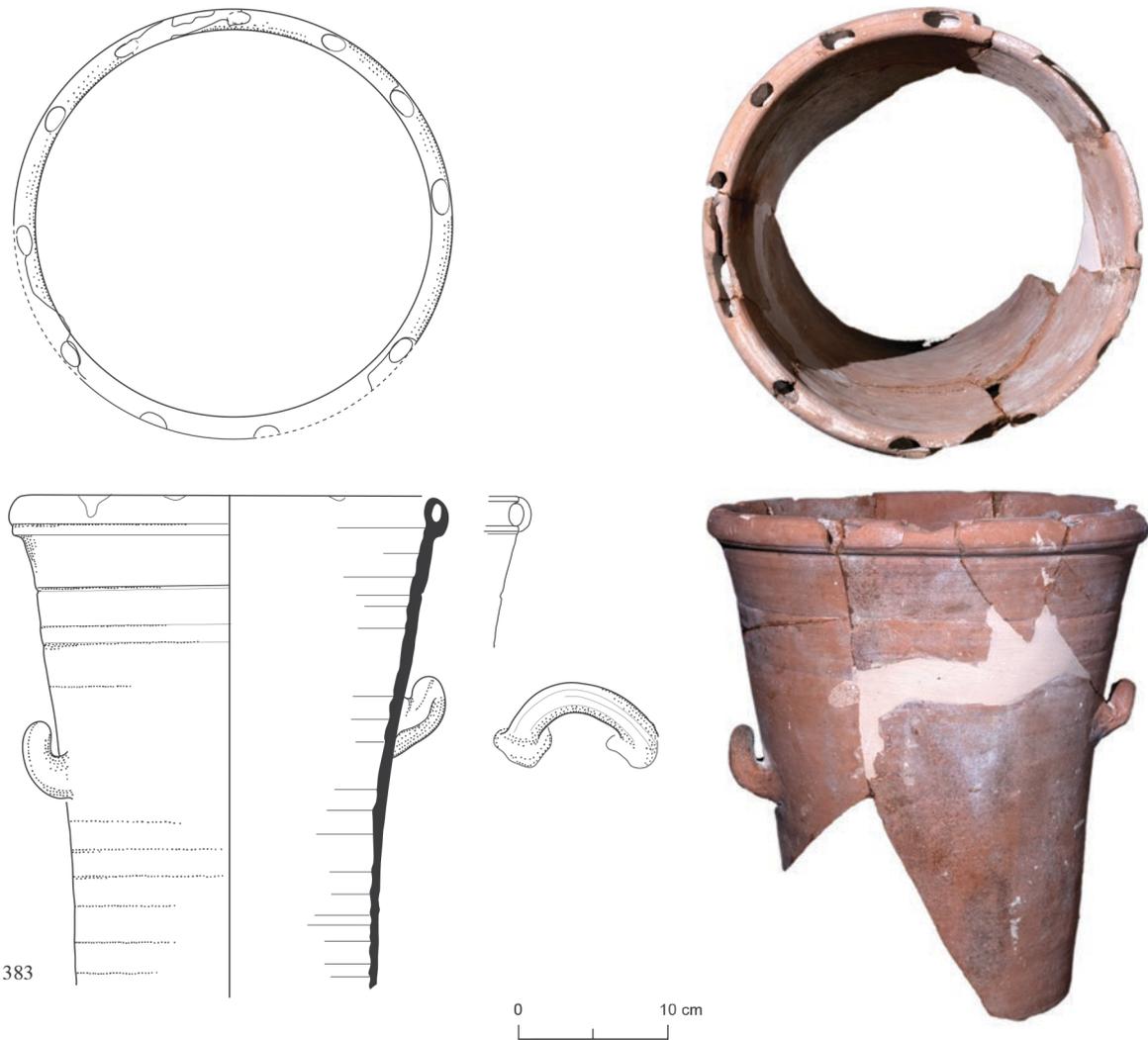


**Fig. 10.11.** Perforated hollow ring.

These kernos vessels were at least 30cm high, which is much taller than the earlier type discussed — kernos vessels with pinched lamps. They had two horizontal handles. They are more impressive in their size, decorations, and overall appearance than the vessels discussed earlier. These vessels are decorated, in some cases, with brush strokes or engraving of brown color (Fig. 10.10:326). Although the kernos vessels were sometimes decorated, the lamps themselves were not.

The bases of these vessels are chalice-shaped, exactly like vessel No. 400 (Fig. 10.13:400). Vessel No. 400 is unusual in the assemblage, without the rim or the lamps, and featured an applied decoration. We cannot know for sure what type of lamps were attached to it, but from the vessel's general shape we can assume that they were small and bowl-shaped.

The attachment of the small bowl-shaped lamps to the wide lip of these vessels is indicated by traces of clay usually found on them. Sixty-eight small, bowl-shaped lamps that were attached to vessels of this type survived (Cat. Nos. 324–381; Fig. 10.9, 10.10). The preservation of several vessels of this type allows us to conclude that they had a larger number of bowls on each stand than the pinched lamp on other kernos vessels, and that they were placed closer together. In contrast to the pinched lamps, these lamps do not have a designated place for the wick (Fig. 10.8). Some reveal that the wick rested on the side of the bowl but in other cases it may have floated in the center. The inside height of these bowls ranged from 1.3 to 2.3cm, the inside diameter from 2.9 to 4.8cm, and the external diameter ranged from 4.1 to 5.5cm.



**Fig. 10.12.** Perforated hollow ring.

Three of these lamps had a hole in their base (Fig. 10.25:328, 363–364), which seems to have had no practical purpose. These lamps are one of a variety of ceramic vessels discovered in Hellenistic Maresha, dubbed “holey” vessels by Stern and Noam. Punctured after firing, these enigmatic “holey” vessels may represent the continuation of part of some ancient ritual (Stern and Noam 2015).

### *Kernos Rings*

Thirteen kernos rings were also found in SC169. They belong to deep, wide vessels with two horizontal handles. These hollow rings, attached to the rim of the vessel, had holes that were used as lamps (Cat. Nos. 382–393; Fig. 10.11:382, 10.12:383). The

holes, which were made using a sharp object were spaced 2–5cm apart, sometimes equally spaced, and sometimes unequally. They were designed differently on different vessels. Some are round, pointing outward, projecting slightly beyond the rim of the vessel (Fig. 10.11:382), while others are oval (Fig. 10.12:383). It can be assumed that in each kernos ring one hole, larger than the rest, was used for filling oil, as can be seen in Fig. 10.11:382. In all the vessels of this type the ring was attached to the vessel by a flat base. These vessels are relatively deep and contain decorative grooves around their sides. Two vessels were well preserved, with a complete “rim ring,” and these two examples contained only a few of the holes that bore traces of soot. Even in the

case of these vessels, we do not know what the base shape of the vessel was, and it may have been similar to the base of vessel No. 400.

These vessels are 28 to 35cm high, with a diameter ranging from 20 to 36cm. The rings are about 2cm high and 2.0–2.5cm wide. The height of the space inside the ring ranges from 1.2 to 1.5cm.

### *Closed Lamps Attached to a Vessel*

Only two closed lamps attached to a vessel were found in SC169 (Cat. Nos. 394–395; Fig. 10.13:394). Remains of clay adhering to the bases of the lamps appear to have been the means by which they were attached to the vessel, which did not survive. Lamps similar to these, albeit without remains of clay on their bases, have been found in large quantities in excavations in the Judean Shephelah, especially in Maresha (see discussion below). Their main characteristic is a high ridge around the wide filling hole. These lamps usually have a string-cut, disc-shaped base.

### *Bowls with Closed Spouts Attached to their Rims*

Four sherds of closed-spout bowls were found in SC169 (Cat. Nos. 396–399; Fig. 10.13:396–397). One of them is well preserved — about half of the vessel. It has a shallow bowl with four spouts attached to the rim. Another three spouts, from different vessels, survived. Each of them is of different color, dimension and thickness.

The clay from which the kernos vessels that were discussed so far were made has characteristics similar to those of other vessels and lamps in Maresha, especially the open lamps and the wheel-made closed lamps from the Hellenistic era. The color of the lamps is mainly a shade of reddish-brown, but light yellow-beige and brown lamps are also common. Only rarely have greenish or gray lamps been found. The clay is coarse and rich in grits, which can sometimes be very large. In at least 95% of the lamps the grits are

white; the remainder contained grits of other colors, including black. The lamps and the vessels to which they were attached are usually not slipped, and their bases show wheel-marks and indications that they had been string-cut. Their side walls vary from thin to thick. Despite the carelessness in manufacture, the clay seems to have been fairly well levigated, as only a few of the broken lamps have a core of a different color. Petrographic analyses of a number of lamps show that they were made of local clay found relatively close to Maresha (Ambar-Armon, Kloner and Stern 2010: 129).

The kernos vessels found in Maresha were probably in use toward the end of the Persian period, and throughout the Hellenistic period until the end of the second century BCE. This time frame is based on their having been found in dated assemblages and on morphological characteristics (for the full discussion about the date and the parallelism see Ambar-Armon, Kloner and Stern 2010: 122–126).

Various factors discussed extensively in previous studies lead to the conclusion that the local population used the kernos vessels with lamps attached for ritual purposes. The reasons for this conclusion are: multiple spouts, similarity to Iron Age vessels that are usually considered ritual-related, absence of soot-marks in many of the lamps, the small capacity (an hour's burning time), the resemblance to vessels with similar characteristics from other sites, and the existence of figurines carrying lamps on their heads from earlier periods.

We hope that in later stages of the study we will be able to understand more precisely the function of the kernos vessels in these rituals. Among the questions for further research are why, relative to other types of oil lamps, do many bear few or no soot marks;<sup>3</sup> how these vessels were used; what were they placed on; and were some (the smaller ones) carried on the heads of celebrants during a ceremony; why do the holes in the bases of the vessels vary in size; and were these holes in the bases meant to attach them to other objects, like a torch.

3 A unique characteristic of the Maresha kernos lamps is traces of burning on them, or lack thereof. Of these kernos lamps, 25% had not been used and 15% showed very little usage. Similar results were observed in other lamps attached to kernos vessels in the other areas at Maresha. These lamps, which had multiple spouts, could have given bright light. Thus, theoretically they could have been reused, but nevertheless, only a few kernos lamps were actually used. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that only 2% of the closed lamps from SC169 had no soot marks. Soot marks indicate that lamps were used continuously or repeatedly, while the lamps with few soot marks may indicate a single use, and of course there could be situations in between.



Fig. 10.13. Various Kernos oil lamps.

### WHEEL-MADE CLOSED LAMPS

SC169 yielded 267 wheel-made closed lamps. They can be subdivided into three types: globular (Attic) lamps, biconical (Rhodian) lamps and Shephelah lamps. The first two types were also local imitations. Below we discuss them from the earliest to the latest types.

#### *Globular (Attic) Lamps and Local Imitations*

Seven globular Attic lamps and their fragments (Cat. Nos. 401–407; Fig. 10.14:401–402) were found in SC169. These are the earliest of the closed lamps found in this complex. They feature a deep body, with a profile that is either straight or convex to slightly globular walls. The top of the nozzle is

flat and the bottom is rounded. They have a heavy concave disc base, creating a central conical protrusion inside the body, which may be described as an *omphalos*. Howland (1958: 72) describes this protrusion as a “hump.”

Globular (Attic) lamps are easily recognizable by their fabric and high-quality black glaze, as well as by their similarity to the numerous lamps excavated in the Athenian Agora (Howland 1958). The clay of the lamps is well levigated and contains mica. Black glaze is the hallmark of the pottery made in Athenian workshops that became known as Attic Ware. However, in the small assemblage shown here, only a few of the

lamps were made of Attic Ware and black glaze; all the others were made of different clays from various locations. These lamps are found in large numbers in the Hellenistic world, including the southern Levant (Ambar-Armon 2007: 76). The highest concentration, however, is in the area of Athens where they were produced, hence their name.

The lamps were dated by Howland to 350–290 BCE (Howland 1958: 72). Rotroff, who revised the dating of lamps from the Athenian Agora, believes that they were in use down to 275 BCE (Rotroff 1997: 494).

There are another three oil lamps (Cat. Nos. 408–410; Fig. 10.14:408–409) that are very similar to the globular lamps and can be easily identified as local imitations of the globular lamps. They are of lower quality than the original, very similar to other local lamps, and were most likely also made at Maresha, as seen by wasters discovered there. Their appearance is often sloppy, including prominent wheel marks and signs of a detachment tool on their disc base. Such oil lamps were also found in various locations in Israel, such as Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 234, 272, Fig. 5.13, No. 5).

Oil lamps that were found in a dated context elsewhere in Maresha show us that they were in use during the early Hellenistic period (Ambar-Armon 2007: 83–85). Some of the lamps that imitate the Attic lamp represent various transitions. They are also dated to the third century BCE, and probably to the first half of the second century BCE.

### *Biconical (“Rhodian”) Lamps and their Imitations*

Fourteen biconical (“Rhodian”) lamps and another 30 fragments (Cat. Nos. 411–424; Fig. 10.14:411–413) were found in SC169. They typically feature a biconical profile, i. e. two upper and lower convex halves joined at a blunt angle. These lamps are similar in their biconical profile to those of the lagynos. They have a sunken rim with a low frame surrounded by a groove. There is a knob on the side of the body. On most of the lamps the knob is pierced and elongated downward and toward the nozzle. They have a concave disc base and an omphalos protrudes from the inside of the body. These lamps often appear circular when viewed from above.

The average length of this type of lamp is 9.1cm, ranging from 7.8 to 10cm; average width 6.9cm, ranging from 6 to 8.6cm; average height 3.3cm, ranging from 3 to 3.8cm.

The clay of the imported biconical lamps is well levigated, the color is light brown to dark brown and the slip covers the outer and inner surfaces.

These lamps are similar to Howland’s types 29 and 32 (1958: 94–96, 99–101, Pls. 15, 41). As they were found in quantities in Rhodes (Bailey 1975:172–178), the term “Rhodian lamps” (Mlynarczyk 1997: 17) seems reasonable. However, the descriptive name “bi-conical,” being a neutral term referring only to its profile, seems more appropriate, given that these lamps were produced in various centers, and considering that their initial place of manufacture is not yet known.

Fourteen examples of imitation biconical (“Rhodian”) lamps were found in SC169 (Cat. Nos. 425–438; Fig. 10.14:426–428). The local imitations have a similar feature, but their base was string cut and there was no *omphalos*. There was also another type of imitation, mold-made (to be discussed below). The dimensions of this type were as follows: average length 8.2cm, ranging from 7.9 to 8.6cm; average width 5.8cm, ranging from 5.4 to 6.5cm; average height 2.8cm, ranging from 2.6 to 3cm.

The fabric of the imitations is in various colors, from pink to red and even gray and brown. They are cruder, with the slip covering only the top of the lamp, mostly in a darker color, as is the also case for the mold-made ones.

Biconical lamps have been found in many sites in Israel, for example in Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 366–367), Tirat Yehuda (Yeivin and Edelstein 1970: 61, Fig. 10:4) and Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 236–237). The local imitations are less common than the imported ones, and were found at Dor among other places (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 236–237).

The earliest suggested date for the biconical lamps is 325 BCE (Howland 1958: 425–430) and the latest around 180 BCE (Rotroff 1997: 501). Those from Rhodes were dated to the first half of the third century BCE or slightly later (Bailey 1975: 172–178). In Maresha they were used at least until the third century. The imitations, both wheel-made and mold-made, appeared to have been in use even later.



Fig. 10.14. Closed oil lamps.

*“Shephelah” Lamps*

The bulk of the closed oil lamps that were found in SC169 were wheel-made, and are known as local wheel-made “Shephelah” lamps (Cat. Nos. 439–667). They include 229 intact and complete lamps, another 275 lamps in good condition (meaning only about one third of the lamp is missing) and another 600 fragments.

These lamps feature a large filling hole surrounded by a high shelf and flat, outward-slanting rim. The nozzle tapers toward the end and a string-cut disc base. Two sub-types may be distinguished by the profile of the body. One has a convex wall, displaying a profile recalling that of the globular (Attic) type. They include 130 oil lamps (Cat. Nos. 439–568; Fig. 10.15:439–442). The middle of the body of the other sub-type features a straight wall. This sub-type includes 91 lamps (Cat. Nos. 568–658; Fig. 10.15:568–572). Nine of the “Shephelah” oil lamps have different features (Cat. Nos. 659–667; 10.16:659–664). They are very large compared to the usual oil lamps or have standard dimensions but with additional characteristics such as side knobs, which are sometimes even pierced (Fig. 10.16:659), loop handles (Fig. 10.16:661–664); or two nozzles (Fig. 10.16:664).

These lamps were found particularly in the Judean Shephelah and were very common in Maresha. This type was first published by Bliss and Macalister from Tel Maresha (1902: 129, Pl. 61:1) and later by Oren and Rappaport from the Maresha Necropolis (Oren and Rappaport 1984: 125, Pl. 13: III). The lamps were found also in the Shephelah at Gezer (Macalister 1912:

Pl. CLXXXIII: No. 4), Lachish (Tufnell 1953: 286–287, Pl. 82, No. 138), Kirbet er-Rasem (Ambar-Armon, 2011: 131–133) and Tirat Yehuda (Yevin and Edelstein 1970: 66, Fig. 11:5–6 Pl. 7).

Rosenthal and Sivan dated these lamps to the second and first centuries BCE (1978: 78). In Maresha, these lamps were in use until the end of the second century BCE, at the time of the conquest of John Hyrcanus I. The earliest dating of these lamps is still an open question, but most of them were in use during the second century BCE. I am not aware of any site from the first century BCE where lamps of this type were found.

The dimensions of this type: average length 8.3cm, ranging from 7 to 9.6cm; average width 5.2cm, ranging from 4.3 to 6cm; average height 3.5cm, ranging from 2.7 to 4.6cm.

The dimensions of the special lamps of this type: average length 10cm, ranging from 7.6 to 15cm; average width 6.5cm, ranging from 5.3 to 8.5cm; average height 4.1cm, ranging from 3 to 5.6cm.

The clay from which these lamps were made is similar to those of other vessels and lamps at Maresha. Their color is mainly a shade of reddish-brown, but light yellow-beige and brown lamps are also common. Only rarely have greenish or gray lamps been found. The clay is coarse and rich in grits, which can sometimes be very large. The lamps were not slipped, and their bases show wheel-marks and indications that they have been string-cut. We may conclude from the industrial waste found in the excavation (Ambar-Armon 2007: 96–97) that these oil lamps were made in Maresha.

## MOLD-MADE LAMPS

Of the 740 lamps found in SC169, 113 were mold-made (Cat. Nos. 668–780). In addition, 636 fragments of such lamps were found (406 fragments from gray clay and 230 from red clay). The enormous number of fragments is due to the fact that lamps made in a mold are more delicate and brittle.

The small number of mold-made oil lamps in this complex is surprising in relation to some of the other areas in Maresha. For example, in SC90 mostly

mold-made lamps were found (Ambar-Armon 2015). But there are also areas where most of the lamps were wheel-made, such as SC147. The technique of molds to create oil lamps came into use as early as the third century BCE. The change in the production technique from wheel-made to mold-made led to great variation in decoration and forms.

The wide variety of decorative elements in these lamps includes rosettes, palmettes, petals, imbricated



Fig. 10.15. Shephela oil lamps.



Fig. 10.16. Varius Shephela oil lamps.

leaves and rays. Ordinarily the decorations are radially arranged around the filling hole. Only rarely were the lamps not decorated or decorated only in a limited area.

Some of these lamps have handles, which can be divided to two distinct types — loop handles with a hole in the center (Cat. Nos. 722–724; Fig. 10.20:722) and leaf handles (Figs. 10.24:770, 779–780). The first type of handle is always gray. The second type, the leaf-shaped handles range from simple to very complex. In most cases, the leaf is attached to the lamp with a ribbon and a loop decoration. All of the leaf-handled lamps are pink. The base of most of the mold-made lamps have either a very low disc, or are flat, round and marked by a groove. Some have a ring base. The base is rarely decorated, for example, with a rosette (Figs. 10.18:687; 10.24:778).

Some of these lamps are made of various kinds of gray fabrics, covered with a dark slip, from light gray to black. Others are made of various kinds of pink fabric, covered with a red to very dark red slip.

Among the lamps of this group some have three knobs, some two and some had one or none. The most common are those with one knob.

### *Lamps with Three Knobs*

Three lamps with three knobs were found in SC169 (Fig. 10.17:668–670).

The three knobs are neither identical nor symmetrical. When the nozzle faces left, the pointed projection is on the back of the lamp (where the handle is placed) and on the underside. The third projection is not pointed, but with a shape of combined S-coil. Another characteristic of this lamp is the terraced ridge that stands out from profile. On the top, a radial decoration of the lamps is visible surrounded by a circle-shaped ridge. The nozzles have a flat or round top.

Dimensions of this type: average length 9.2cm, ranging from 8.8 to 9.7cm; average width 6.8cm, ranging from 6.4 to 7.2cm; average height 2.6cm, ranging from 2.5 to 2.8cm.

Those lamps were found in a few sites, among them are Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 240, Fig. 5.18: 5) and Gezer (Macalister 1912: 218–219, Pl. CLXXXIII: 10, 13).

An examination of such oil lamps found elsewhere in Maresha, together with a comparison with other

sites in the Hellenistic region, including the Agora in Athens and various other sites in Israel, suggests that these lamps are relatively early and were even used during the third century BCE (Ambar-Armon 2007: 104–105).

Thirteen lamps belong to the Eroles type (Cat. Nos. 671–683; Fig. 10.17:671–672; 675–676). They are typically almost complete double-convex lamps with a rounded back and long nozzle featuring a row of chevrons between grooves. Most of them were kite-shaped. Some have three knobs (Fig. 10.17:671–672), like the lamps described above. In this assemblage of 13 lamps, the Eroles decoration is also known on lamps with two knobs, one knob or even rounded oil lamps (Fig. 10.17:676), with Eroles figures appearing on both sides of the filling hole. Two-winged Eroles with a mask or palmette between their heads flank the ridged central filling hole.

As noted, most of the lamps in the Hellenistic period are decorated with geometric patterns and therefore the Eroles figures are exceptional, and thus have earned their own name. Eroles lamps are prevalent at many sites in most of the regions of the Land of Israel, apart from Judea; for example, at Tell Anafa (Weinberg 1971, pl. 18: A); Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 237–238 Fig. 5.16: 5–7, 10) and at Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 369 Fig. 87:7).

Their wide distribution is also related to the fact that they were in use for a long period. Rosenthal-Heginbottom dated these lamps from the early second century BCE until the middle of the first century BCE at Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 237). The lamps from Maresha were dated even earlier and were in use until the end of the second century BCE (Ambar-Armon 2007: 112–113).

### *Lamps with Two Knobs*

Three lamps with two pointed knobs in the assemblage (Fig. 10.18:684–686) appear to be Egyptian imitations or under Egyptian influence (Mlynarczyk 1997: 48–53). They feature two substantial knobs situated symmetrically on the sides of the body, projecting from both the upper and lower halves. They are also characterized by the small diameter of the wick hole.



**Fig. 10.17.** Lamps with three knobs.

The decoration on these oil lamps is very worn. It is still noticeable that the lengthwise pattern depicted on the nozzles contains parallel lines flanking an elongated decoration on the nozzle, possibly a schematic figure (Fig. 10.18:684) and amphora (Fig. 10.18:685). Egyptian lamps are not common in Land of Israel in the period under discussion, however, a large number were found at least relative to other places, in Maresha. Many of these Egyptian lamps, which were made of brown clay with mica, were found in Alexandria — apparently their source.

The assemblage contained another six lamps with two knobs, known as turtle-shaped lamps (Cat. Nos. 687–691; Fig. 10.18:687–689). The two large projections from the sides of these mold-made lamps made them wider. Sussman described these side projections, when the lamp is viewed from above, as resembling a swimming turtle (Sussman 2009: 32). The wick hole is circular, and is surrounded by a narrow, flat rim. The entire surface of these lamps is covered with decoration. In most cases, the shoulders are decorated with deeply grooved, radiating strokes. These lamps have low, concave disc bases, nearly a ring base. Most of the nozzles were straight-sided with a flat or rounded top, with decorations between two lines (Fig. 10.18:689)

or with a palmette (Fig. 10.18:687–688). Three of the lamps were of the usual routine size and two are extremely small, but all of them have the same shape. The clay is light pink with brown-red slip.

Such lamps were found mostly in southern Israel, for example in Khirbet er-Rasem (Ambar-Armon 2011: 133, No. 20) and in Gezer (Macalister 1912, Pl. CLXXXIII: 11, 14).

#### *Lamps with One Knob*

Most of the mold-made lamps have one knob (67 out of 114), usually situated on the top side when the nozzle appears on the left side (Cat. Nos. 692–759). The earliest of these are imitation mold-made biconical (Rhodian) lamps (Cat. Nos. 692–699; Fig. 10.19:692–693, 695). These were mentioned briefly above with other, wheel-made biconical (“Rhodian”) lamps. The eight lamps of this type found in SC169 help us to understand how mold-made oil lamps developed directly from wheel-made lamps.

The main difference between the biconical mold-made lamps and the wheel-made lamps of this type is the production method; other differences are a result of the production method. The main morphological difference is the mold-made lamp’s characteristic ring



**Fig. 10.18.** Lamps with two knobs.

base, while, as noted above, the wheel-made lamps have either an *omphalos* base or a disc base. Its filling hole is sunken and surrounded by two small ridges. A solid knob appears on the shoulder and the nozzle is short.

Dimensions: average length 8.6cm, ranging from 8.1 to 9.6cm; average width, 6cm, ranging from 5.4 to 6.7cm; average height 2.8cm, ranging from 2.5 to 3.3cm.

Most of these lamps are made of reddish-brown clay and covered with red slip. This lamp preceded the dolphiniiform lamps discussed below. According to its morphological characteristics and the large quantity found in the Maresha excavation, they can be dated to the second half of the third century and to the beginning of the second century BCE.

Seven more lamps with one knob that predate the dolphiniiform lamps discussed below are lamps with flat topped elongated nozzles (Cat. Nos. 700–706; Fig. 10.19:700–703). These lamps also represent a

transition phase between wheel-made and mold-made lamps. They still have the shape of the wheel-made lamps, but they also have a small knob and decoration made by stamping the mold. They stand on a concave disc base, and the filling hole is surrounded by a wide, sloping flange. But the most dominant feature is the flat nozzle, decorated with a pattern along it. The patterns are mostly geometric, for example a column made of triangles.

Dimensions: average length 8.9cm, ranging from 8.5 to 9.6cm; average width 5.9cm, ranging from 5.7 to 6.1cm; average height 2.7cm, ranging from 2.5 to 2.9cm.

Like the imitation biconical (“Rhodian”) lamps discussed above, these lamps can also be dated from the second half of the third century to the beginning of the second century BCE, based on lamps from other areas in Maresha, and at Ramat Rachel (Aharoni 1964: pl. 15:2).



Fig. 10.19. Lamps with one knob.

The most common type of mold-made lamps are dolphiniiform lamps (Cat. Nos. 707–755), 49 of which were found in the assemblage in SC169. Their name was given to them by Walters (1914) because of their decoration (1914: 42–44). They belong to one of the most common types in the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean. Lamps of this type were found in almost all areas of Maresha, sometimes in large quantities relative to other types, for example in SC90 (Ambar-Armon 2015: 207–208).

Within this type there are typical lamps with common characteristics (Cat. Nos. 707–721; Fig. 10.20:707–709): uniform decorations and a striking resemblance in their color and fabric — gray fabrics, covered with a dark slip, from light gray to black. They have a low, pear-shaped body and a wide filling hole surrounded by a rounded ridge. There is a

knob on the side of the lamp with an ornament in the form of a scroll (S-coil), which was cast in the upper mold. The dolphiniiform lamps also feature decorations (lines or braches) marking the border between the nozzle and the rest of the lamp. They have round tops and a round-tipped nozzle. The base has either a very low disc, or is flat, round and marked by a groove. These lamps are very similar not only in their shape and decoration but also in their measurements: average length 8.8cm, ranging from 8.5 to 9.5cm; average width 5.4cm, ranging from 4.9 to 6cm; and average height 2.5cm, ranging from 2.2 to 2.7cm.

SC169 revealed three additional lamps with characteristics similar to the dolphiniiform lamps, the main difference being the handles, which are pierced loop handles (Cat. Nos. 722–724; Fig. 10.20:722).

In contrast to the very uniform dolphinform lamps are another 33 varied lamps. The differences are reflected mainly in the decorations on the upper part, such as dotted semicircles alternating with radial rays (Fig. 10.20:725), a radial strip alternating with branches or sheaves (Fig. 10.20:726) or pointed triangular leaves (Fig. 10.20:752) on the shoulder patterns (see Sussman 2009: 52–53). In most cases, their nozzles are not decorated. The pear shape and the S-coil on the shoulder are common to most the lamps of this type; they rarely feature decoration other than these (Fig. 10.20:749).

These 33 lamps differ from each other not only in decoration but also in their general form (Cat. Nos. 735–755). Their shape ranges from very precise and rounded to degenerated. Some appear bloated (Fig. 10.20:751), while others are quite elegant (Fig. 10.20:735).

The difference also manifests itself in the variety of the nozzles, most of them convex when viewed from above, or straight and featuring a long, column-like decoration (Fig. 10.20:752). In some lamps the knob is only on the top mold and in others it also appears on the bottom mold.

Dimensions: average length 7.9cm, ranging from 5.9 to 10.2cm; average width 5.1cm, ranging from 4.1 to 6cm; average height 2.6cm, ranging from 2 to 3.7cm.

Some of these lamps are made of various kinds of gray fabric, covered with a dark slip, from light gray to black. Others are made of various kinds of pink fabric, covered with a red to very dark red slip. One can make the distinction that the gray lamps are usually more uniform in shape and the red ones are more varied in shape.

These lamps were prevalent in many sites and found in most of the regions of Land of Israel; for example, in Tirat Yehuda (Yeivin and Edelstein 1970: 61, Fig. 10: 1, 3) and in Beer-Sheva (Derfler 1993: 135–137, Fig. 10: 4, 5, 6).

The dolphinform lamps are dated to the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century BCE (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 238). In Maresha, they were in use until the conquest by John Hyrcanus I.

There are three examples of Egyptian oil lamps with one knob (Fig. 10.21:756–758). They are all made of a dark brown clay with a sandy texture and can be considered Alexandrian products based on their fabrics. From No. 757 only the upper part of the lamp survived, and the nozzle tip is missing. They resemble type E and E Prime of Mlynarczyk (1997: 132: Nos. 30–33), dating to the first half of the second century BCE. From No. 758 only half of the upper side survived, and we cannot be sure if it had one knob (Type E and E prime of Mlynarczyk 1997: 132: Nos. 30–33) or with two (type G, Mlynarczyk 1997: 136). I could find no parallel for the third type, No. 756, which has Egyptian characteristics and brown fabric.

### *Round Lamps with no Knobs*

There are only four lamps with no knobs in the assemblage (Fig. 10.22:759–762). Two of them, (Fig. 10.22:759–760), were made in the same mold. Two lamps identical to these were previously found at the site (Ambar-Armon 2007: 155, Nos. 2566, 2572). In the Hellenistic period, round lamps (devoid of knob) were rare compared to lamps with knobs. This is an interesting phenomenon especially because most of the lamps from other periods were usually round and symmetrical.

Despite the small number of round oil lamps, they have been found in all regions of the Land of Israel, for example at Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 369, Fig. 87:1) and at Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 238–239, Fig. 5.17: 7).

The clay characteristics of these lamps and the similarity in the decorations enable us to assume that they were manufactured together with other mold-made lamps, at least the Dolphinform lamps. They are also parallel chronologically to the latter.

Two more lamps belonging to the class of Egyptian oil lamps (Fig. 10.22:761–762) apparently belong Mlynarczyk's Type O (1996: 86–89). Their body is circular, the nozzle flat-topped, long but rather more broad than slender, with splayed end. The nozzle of these lamps is separated from the rim by volute, resembling an Ionic column.



Fig. 10.20. Lamps with one knob.



Fig. 10.21. Egyptian lamp with one knob.



Fig. 10.22. Egyptian round lamp.

### *Lamps Decorated with Figures*

A small but significant group of only seven lamps were decorated with human or animal figures (Fig. 10.23:763-768). They are part of a larger group of several dozen figurative lamps found in Maresha (Ambar-Armon and Kloner 2014). Four of them are very similar to what has been found in the site. Three of these lamps have never before been found elsewhere in Maresha, and they constitute an innovation for the repertoire of lamps decorated with figures.

The figurative lamps are divided into two types: one type is decorated with a human or animal figure in a specific area (Fig. 10.23:763-768); and the second type is entirely in the shape of a plastic figure (Fig. 10.23:769).

Most of the oil lamps in the assemblage include only small areas that were decorated with a figure. These oil lamps belong to distinct mold-made types, which, as discussed earlier, cannot always be defined because of their state of preservation. They are special in that a figure has been molded on them. One of the interesting lamps found in SC169 is No. 763, which depicts a young man or woman in frontal view with long curly hair. Perhaps the design of the “venus ring” around the figure’s neck indicates that it is a woman. At least four other lamps with very similar decoration were also found at Maresha (Ambar-Armon 2007: 175).

An interesting group of lamps decorated with figures from the world of the theater was found in SC169. Theatrical themes were popular among



**Fig. 10.23.** Lamps decorated with figures.

Hellenistic oil lamps: a mask on the knob lamp (Fig. 10.23:764) and a mask on the nozzle lamp, identical to a lamp from SC147 (Ambar-Armon 2007:519, No. 2621) on lamp No. 765. Figures of Satyrs, Pan or Silenos were also popular (Fig. 10.23:766–767). Lamp No. 766, has a decoration of a figure with horns on its nozzle — a common motif in the site, of which there are another four examples (Ambar-Armon 2007: 519). Above the forehead of this figure there are two protrusions, which are probably the horns of the figure (Pan?). The other lamps with the same decoration all seem to have been made in the same mold. The other

lamp preserved contains a nozzle (Fig. 10.23:767) with an image of a bearded figure, possibly a Satyr? They are similar to lamps published in the past but more weathered (Ambar-Armon 2007: 519).

It is noteworthy that theatrical themes were popular also in the Hellenistic terracottas in Maresha (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 56–57).

Although most of the oil lamps were decorated with human figures, animal figures were also found, albeit rarely. On top of the knob of one oil lamp was the realistic figure of a realistic lion head (Fig. 10.23:768).

Plastic lamps, in the shape of heads of Satyrs, Silenos and Africans, were popular not only in the late Hellenistic period (Rosenthal-Heginbottom, 1995: 241), but also in the second century BCE as we can see from the plastic lamps found in Maresha.

Only one of the two plastic oil lamps discovered here is presented in this chapter. The fully formed face of a man appears on the central part of this lamp, which seems to belong to the group of theatrical-themed lamps. The figure has thick lips and coarse triangular eyebrows. The rim of the lamp is flat and positioned above the forehead (Fig. 10.23:769). Another oil lamp of this type found in SC169 depicts a naturalistic woman. This lamp will be discussed later in a separate article.

The decorated oil lamps from Maresha are especially important because they show that figures began to appear on oil lamps in the second century BCE, in the Hellenistic era, and persisted for centuries, showing how the Hellenistic tradition of plastic oil lamps influenced the various types of such lamps in subsequent periods.

### *Multiple-nozzle Lamps*

Eight multiple-nozzle lamps have been discovered in SC169 (Cat. Nos. 770–777; Fig. 10.24:770–772, 776, 778). All these lamps were mold-made.

Only part of one lamp with two nozzles was found (Fig. 10.24:770). Its large size, excellent quality and handle makes it remarkable. The handle is decorated with an impressive palmette attached to the lamp with a ribbon and a loop. This type of handle is known from the Roman period. However, the find in SC169 shows that this type of handle was already in use in

the Hellenistic period. As mentioned earlier, handles of this type were familiar and found on various types of mold-made lamps.

Six lamps belonging to the sun-shaped type were found in SC169 (Cat. Nos. 771–776; Figs. 10.24:771–772, 776). Their name derives from their multiple, radiating nozzles, their decorations and general shape. Those oil lamps typically had a circular reservoir with projecting nozzles. The central filling hole is wide and surrounded by one, two or three ridges. The lamps feature either three or seven nozzles. The nozzles have flat or round tops. In the flat-topped nozzles, each one is surrounded by two ridges and some decoration. Between the nozzles is a curved and grooved projection. They all have a ring base. Two of the three-nozzle lamps were made in the same mold. Similar oil lamps were found at Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: Fig. 87:9) and Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 24). For further details see Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2009: 194–208.

One fragment of a box-shaped multi-nozzled type was found in SC169 (Fig. 10.24:777). It can be assumed, by the appearance of other box-shaped lamps, that the box was formed by seven small, connected lamps. In the case of No. 777, only two lamps survived together with the triangular edge of the box. The concave tops of the filling holes are surrounded by a ridge and groove. A ridge surrounds the box on all sides, excluding the nozzle. The decoration of the two lamps differ. One has a radial line and the other features pointed triangular leaves. Their flat nozzle is decorated with two lines framing a decoration — all elements typical of Hellenistic oil lamps. Similar lamps were also found in Dor (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 1995: 240) and Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: Fig. 87:8).

## CONCLUSIONS

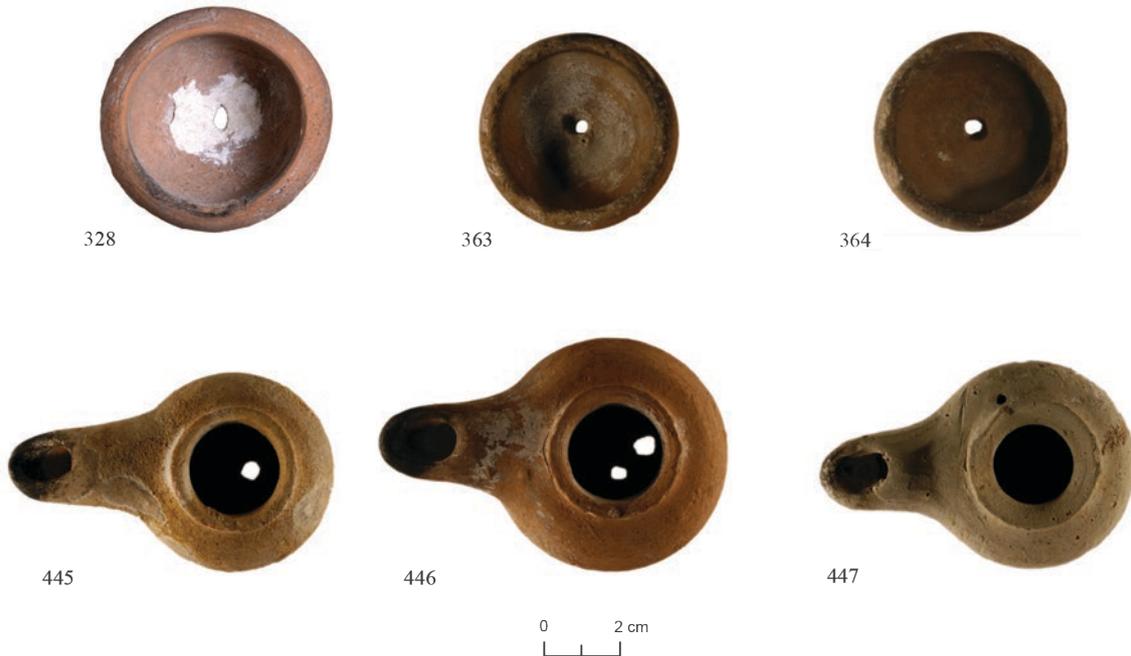
The repertoire from SC169 consists of lamps of three periods. One poorly preserved base survived from the Iron Age while only a few lamps from the Persian period were found. On the other hand, the Hellenistic period, especially in the second century BCE — the last significant period of occupation in Maresha — the lamp finds are rich and well

preserved. Not one lamp of the first century BCE or later was found in SC169.

The lamps in this assemblage were manufactured using various techniques. The collection includes open lamps, closed wheel-made lamps and closed mold-made lamps, representing the three main stages of development of oil lamps in antiquity.



Fig. 10.24. Multiple nozzle lamp and Fragments of special Lamps.



**Fig. 10.25.** Lamps with perforated hole in the base

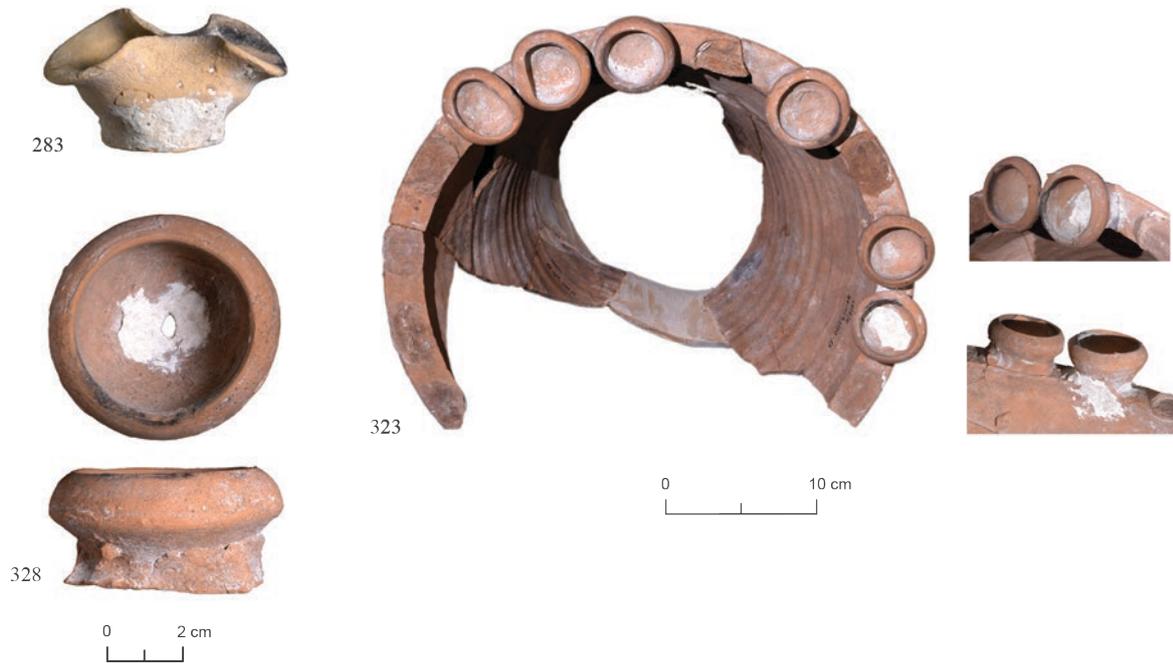
In SC169 close to 50% of the oil lamps belong to the Kernos type, 34% were wheel-made, 15% mold-made and less than 2% were open lamps from earlier periods.

One of the most significant contributions from the assemblage in SC169 are the kernos lamps from the late Persian and Hellenistic periods discovered in significant quantities in this subterranean complex. The uniqueness of the kernoi is that they have oil lamps attached to them, rather than animals or plants, as in the Iron Age. The discovery of hundreds of pinched oil lamps attached to kernos vessels, as well as the variety of kernos types, reflects the uniqueness of SC169. This corpus of kernos lamps is not only unique in comparison to other regions, some are even unknown in other areas at Maresha. The relatively large quantity of kernos lamps is surprising and impressive and reflects the uniqueness of the activity carried out there or nearby. The fact that these lamps may be associated with cultic activity and found in a subterranean complex close to Maresha's Area 800, tentatively identified as a shrine, is also significant. Various factors, including other cultic finds from SC169, discussed extensively in this report, lead to the possible conclusion that the kernos vessels may have been used for some local rituals, perhaps mystery rites.

Wheel-made closed lamps are the second most frequent lamps found in SC169. Most of them belong to one type characterized primarily by the high, flat rim around the filling hole. These lamps mostly date to the second century BCE. The rest of the wheel-made closed lamps are earlier and include the globular (Attic) and biconical (Rhodian) lamps, and imitations of both types, thus also demonstrating the economic relationship between the Shephelah and other Hellenistic regions in the early Hellenistic period.

My previous study (Ambar-Armon 2017) showed that the lamps appear to reflect the ethnic complexity of a population that partially adhered to conservatism and ancient traditions and partially to more innovative and creative tendencies. The high percentage of wheel-made lamps — closed lamps and kernos types — and the low percentage of the mold-made lamps in this area may be related to this. This data may signify a more conservative approach by the people who made and used them in this area.

In this context six oil lamps, all of them wheel-made, are noteworthy — three small bowl lamps that were part of kernoi and three “Shephelah” lamps (Fig. 10:25: 328, 363, 364 and 445–447). Each was punctured deliberately after firing. These lamps, part of a variety of ceramic vessels discovered at Maresha



**Fig. 10.26.** Signs of repair.

and called by Stern and Noam “holey” vessels, may represent the continuation of an ancient ritual. They may be helpful in our understanding of Idumean rituals (Stern and Noam 2015).

It should also be mentioned that some Shephelah and kernos lamps contained signs of repair on them (Fig. 10.26:283, 323, 328). In other words, although these vessels were mass produced, there were still those who chose to reuse or restore some of those vessels that had been broken or cracked. These small testimonies may be great clues to the customs, beliefs and lifestyle of the people who lived in Maresha in ancient times.

Mold-made lamps were less ubiquitous than other types of lamps. Their production became common in Maresha in the end of the third or the beginning

of the second century BCE. Here, as in other area in Maresha, most examples are of lamps with one knob (some belonging to the dolphiniform type). Lamps were also found with three knobs, two knobs and without knobs. Among these is a group originating in Alexandria, Egypt, as well as lamps that were influenced by this production center. The mold-made lamps also include lamps decorated with human or animal figures, and lamps with multiple nozzles. This group of mold-made lamps, even if it is small in proportion to the other types, is still diverse, includes most of the types found on the site, and reflects the connections between the regions, the abilities and possibilities that were available to the people as well as the choices they made.

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Table 1.

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
1	4997/07 169-115a-1653-S1	Iron Age open lamp	Base		Brown
2*	4361/05 169-68-1076-S7	Persian-period open lamp	Part of the body		Buff
3*	7015/14 169-185b-2576-S5	Persian-period open lamp	Complete	TB	brown
4*	2/16 169-205a-2818-S1	Persian-period open lamp	Complete	TB	Light brown
5*	4687/06 169-94-1369-S2	Persian-period open lamp	Complete	No TB	Buff
6	4361/05 169-76-968-S3	Persian-period open lamp	Base with part of the lip		Reddish-brown
7	40997/07 169-115-1730-S3	Persian-period open lamp	Complete	TB	Gray
8	2/16 169-204-2868-S1	Persian-period open lamp	Complete	TB	Reddish
9	5343/08 169-125b-1840-S2	Persian-period open lamp	Part of the body		Buff
10	37/15 169-194-2727-S2	Persian-period open lamp	Part of the body		Buff
11	6092/11 169-155b-2327-S2	Persian-period open lamp	Part of the body		Buff to reddish-brown

\* Next to Cat. No. indicates it is photographed and appears on plates consecutively with the same numbers.  
TB=traces of burning, I+O = (inside and outside)

CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
12*	4099/04 169-40-653-S1	Incurved bowl	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
13*	3/00 169-09-153-S1	Incurved bowl	Intact	TB	Buff
14*	3567/02 169-18-485-S4	Pinched lamp	Complete	TB	Pinkish
15*	4361/05 169-68-1076-S8	Pinched lamp	Complete		Pinkish
16*	4099/04 169-35-672-S6	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Only the upper portion of a large vessel preserved upon which sat a ring of at least 30 pinched lamps.		Greenish
17*	2/16 169-207-2846-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Whole vessel, only 7 of 16 lamps are partially preserved	Few TB	Reddish-brown
18*	3567/02 169-18-489-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Whole vessel, 1 of 7 lamps preserved completely	No TB	Reddish-brown
19*	37/15 169-197-2779-S3	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile of a complete vessel with 2 lamps, possibly of 7, preserved on the rim.	TB	Reddish-brown
20*	4687/06 169-68-1324-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Whole vessel, 2 of 7 lamps preserved completely	No TB	Reddish-brown
21*	52/01 169-06-323-S4	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile, 1 complete lamp preserved of 7	No TB	Reddish-brown
22*	3/00 169-06-131-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile, 3 of 7 lamps preserved completely	No TB	Pinkish
23*	52/01 169-06-366-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Vessel with 1 complete lamp preserved of 5	No TB	Greenish
24*	4687/06 169-97-1466-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Whole vessel with 1 of 5 lamps preserved on the rim	Few TB	Reddish-brown
25*	52/01 169-03-342-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 1 complete lamp preserved	Few TB	Reddish-brown
26*	4099/04 169-44-753-S7	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 1 complete lamp preserved	Few TB	Pinkish
27*	4687/06 169-93-1492-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 2 complete lamps preserved	Few TB	Reddish-brown
28*	4997/07 169-114-1589-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 1 complete lamp preserved	TB	Reddish-brown
29*	5343/08 169-124-1883-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 1 complete lamp preserved	TB	Reddish-brown
30*	5574/09 169-134-2097-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 2 complete lamps preserved	TB	Reddish-brown
31	3/00 169-06-131-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 3 complete lamps preserved	No TB	Brown
32	5343/08 169-124-1883-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 1 complete lamp preserved	TB	Buff

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 TB=traces of burning, I+O = (inside and outside)

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
33	5574/2009 169-134-2097-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 2 complete lamps preserved	Few TB	Reddish-brown
34	4687/06 169-68-1333-S3	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with 1 complete lamp preserved	TB	Reddish-brown
35	4361/05 169-67-1109-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Profile with bases of 3 lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
36	5574/09 169-138-2064-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	No TB	Buff
37	5574/09 169-136-2005-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	No TB	Brown
38	7015/14 169-187-2589-S7	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Fragment of the base connected to the vessel		Brown
39	5574/09 169-134-2048-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 3 lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
40	5574/09 169-134-2012-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	TB	Reddish-brown
41	5574/09 169-134-1990-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	TB	Reddish-brown
42	7015/14 169-187-2599-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	TB	Reddish-brown
43	6701/13 169-177-2502-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 3 lamps	TB	Buff
44	5574/09 169-139-2015-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	TB	Brown
45	5343/08 169-124-1855-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	TB	Brown
46	5343/08 169-128-1956-S5	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with 2 lamps on rim, 1 complete and base	No TB	Reddish-brown
47	5343/08 169-126-1815-S5	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 2 lamps	TB	Brown
48	5343/08 169-125a-1764-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 1 lamp	TB	Buff
49	5343/08 169-124-1831-S6	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 2 lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
50	52/01 169-06-325-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel, including the rim, with 5 lamps, 1 whole	TB	Reddish-brown
51	4997/07 169-116-1553-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with 1 lamp preserved with evidence of 1 more lamp	TB	Reddish-brown
52	4997/07 169-115a-1607-S8	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Fragment of a vessel with 4 lamps, 1 whole	Few TB	Reddish-brown
53	4997/07 169-114-1740-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with 1 lamp preserved with evidence of 2 more lamp	TB	Reddish-brown

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TB=traces of burning, I+O = (inside and outside)

CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
54	4997/07 169-114-1713-S9	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with 1 complete lamp	TB	Brown
55	4687/06 169-96-1438-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with rim and 3 lamps	TB	Brown
56	4687/06 169-94-1511-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with 2 complete lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
57	4687/06 169-68-1342-S8	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Part of vessel with 2 different sized lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
58	4099/04169-50-776-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Rim with the base of 1 pinched lamp preserved	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
59	37/15 169-197-2773-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Fragment of vessel with 3 lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
60	37/15 169-197-2773-1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Fragment of vessel with rim and 3 lamps	No TB	Reddish-brown
61	37/15 169-197-2725-S6	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Fragment of vessel with 1 lamp	TB	Reddish-brown
62	3567/02169-18-488-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Rim of kernos with 1 lamp and 1 base of lamp preserved	TB	Reddish-brown
63	3567/02 169-18-385-S1	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Fragment of vessel with 1 lamp	Few TB	Reddish-brown
64*	4361/05 169-68-1171-S1	Kernos vessel	Complete vessel preserved without lamps. There were 12 lamps.		Reddish-brown
65*	52/2001 169-7-346-S7	Kernos vessel	Complete vessel, 16 base lamps are partially preserved		Reddish-brown
66*	4099/04 169-47-720-S1	Kernos vessel	Vessel with evidence of remains of 3 of 7 lamps		Reddish-brown
67*	4687/06 169-96-1380-S2	Kernos vessel	Complete vessel, Evidence of 7 lamps		Reddish-brown
68	4099/2004 169-35-648-S4	kernos vessel	Complete vessel, Evidence of 5 lamps		Reddish-brown
69*	5343/08 169-128-1960-S2	Kernos vessel with pinched lamps	Vessel with only 1 preserved lamp. There were 13 lamps	TB	Reddish-brown
70*	4099/04 169-44-772-S1	Pinched lamp part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
71*	7015/14169-185a-2648-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
72*	4361/05 169-67-1094-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
73	4099/04 169-47-756-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
74	5574/09 169-139-2015-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
75	5574/09 169-138-2054-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Buff to reddish-brown
76	5574/09 169-135a-2041-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
77	5574/09 169-135a-2041-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
78	5574/09 169-135a-2024-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
79	5574/09 169-134-2097-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
80	5574/09 169-134-2076-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
81	5574/09 169-134-2072-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
82	5574/09 169-134-2040-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
83	5574/09 169-134-2040-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
84	5574/09 169-134-2037-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
85	5574/09 169-134-2013-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
86	5574/09 169-134-1995-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
87	5574/09 169-134-1990-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
88	5574/09 169-134-1990-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
89	7015/14 169-187-2611-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
90	7015/14 169-189-2661-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
91	6701/13 169-179-2505-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
92	6701/13 169-178-2537-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
93	6701/13 169-177-2513-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Buff
94	6701/13 169-177-2502-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
95	6701/13 169-177-2498-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
96	6701/13 169-177-2483-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
97	6701/13 169-177-2483-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown

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## CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
98	6701/13 169-177-2469-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
99	6701/13 169-175a-2459-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
100	6701/13 169-174-2509-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
101	6380/12 169-169-2348-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
102	6380/12 169-169-2348-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
103	6380/12 169-169-2347-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Brown
104	6380/12 169-167-2419-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Gray
105	6092/11 169-159-2309-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
106	6092/11 169-155a-2330-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
107	5808/10169-150-2207-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
108	5808/10169-148-2195-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
109	5808/10 169-148-2195-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
110	5808/10 169-148-2178-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Buff to reddish-brown
111	5808/10 169-148-2169-S7	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
112	5808/10 169-145a-2226-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
113	5808/10 169-144-2156-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
114	5808/10 169-144-2156-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
115	5808/10 169-144-2156-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Brown
116	5808/10 169-144-2128-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
117	5808/10 169-150-2240-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
118	5574/09 169-134-2037-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
119	5343/08 169-124-1909-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
120	5343/08 169-124-1850-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
121	5343/08 169-124-1839-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
122	5343/08 169-124-1817-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
123	5343/08 169-131-1868-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
124	5343/08 169-129-1864-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
125	5343/08 169-129-1864-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
126	5343/08 169-125a-1907-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
127	5343/08 169-125a-1799-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
128	5343/08 169-124-1946-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
129	5343/08 169-124-1922-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
130	5343/08 169-124-1909-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
131	5343/08 169-124-1899-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
132	5343/08 169-124-1883-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Brown
133	5343/08 169-124-1786-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
134	5343/08 169 129-1962-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
135	5343/08 169 129-1912-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
136	5343/08 169 129-1864-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
137	5343/08 169 129-1864-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
138	5343/08 169 128-1948-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
139	5343/08 169 124-1951-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
140	5343/08 169 124-1950-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
141	5343/08 169 124-1946-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
142	5343/08 169 124-1933-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
143	5343/08 169 124-1855-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown

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## CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
144	5343/08 169 124-1785-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
145	5343/08 169 124-1768-S7	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
146	5343/08 169 123-1975-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
147	52/01 169-10-232-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
148	52/01 169-07-348-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
149	52/01 169-073-47-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
150	52/01 169-07-347-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
151	52/01 169-07-316-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
152	52/01 169-07-316-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
153	52/01 169-07-316-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
154	52/01 169-07-180-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
155	52/01 169-07-177-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
156	52/01 169-06-365-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
157	52/01 169-06-326-S12	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
158	52/01 169-06-326-13	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
159	52/01 169-06-325-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
160	52/01 169-06-323-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
161	52/01 169-06-323-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
162	52/01 169-06-323-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
163	52/01 169-06-323-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
164	52/01 169-06-312-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
165	52/01 169-06-312-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
166	52/01 169-06-275-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
167	52/01 169-06-271-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Brown
168	52/01 169-06-271-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
169	52/01 169-06-271-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
170	52/01 169-06-271-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
171	52/01 169-06-267-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
172	52/01 169-03-342-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
173	52/01 169-03-342-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
174	52/01 169-03-342-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
175	4997/07 169-116-1718-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
176	4997/07 169-117-1646-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
177	4997/07 169-116-1554-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Greenish
178	4997/07 169-115b-1731-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
179	4997/07 169-115a-1691-S8	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
180	4997/07 169-114-1759-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
181	4997/07 169-114-1737-S10	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
182	4997/07 169-114-1720-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
183	4997/07 169-114-1714-S9	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
184	4997/07 169-114-1560-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Brown
185	4997/07 169-114-1555-S8	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
186	4997/07 169-114-1553-S7	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
187	4997/07 169-113-1563-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
188	4687/06 169-96-1365-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
189	4687/06 169-94-1522-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown

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## CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
190	4687/06 169-94-1514-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
191	4687/06 169-93-1432-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
192	4687/06 169-93-1393-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
193	4687/06 169-93-1393-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
194	4687/06 169-76-1290-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
195	4687/06 169-68-1304-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
196	4687/06 169-68-1285-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
197	4361/05 169-68-1239-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
198	4361/05 169-76-973-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
199	4361/05 169-70-1067-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
200	4361/05 169-70-1067-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
201	4361/05 169-69-1142-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
202	4361/05 169-68-1232-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
203	4361/05 169-68-1143-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
204	4361/05 169-68-1143-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
205	4361/05 169-68-1106-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
206	4361/05 169-68-1106-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
207	4361/05 169-68-1106-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
208	4361/05 169-68-1076-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
209	4361/05 169-68-1073-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
210	4361/05 169-68-1047-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
211	4361/05 169-67-1268-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
212	4361/05 169-67-1263-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
213	4361/05 169-67-1084-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
214	4361/05 169-67-1014-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
215	4361/05 169-65-1216-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
216	4361/05 169-50-954-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
217	4361/05 169-50-914-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
218	4099/04 169-50-832-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
219	4099/04 169-47-853-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
220	4099/04 169-47-838-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Brown
221	4099/04 169-44-821-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Gray
222	4099/04 169-44-772-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
223	4099/04 169-44-762-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
224	4099/04 169-44-725-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
225	4099/04 169-44-722-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
226	4099/04 169-36-687-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
227	4099/04 169-35-688-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
228	4099/04 169-35-689-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
229	4099/04 169-35-671-S7	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Buff
230	4099/04 169-35-671-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
231	4099/04 169-35-617-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
232	4099/04 169-35-609-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
233	4099/04 169-31-624-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
234	3941/03 169-35-587-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
235	3941/03 169-35-559-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown

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CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
236	3941/03 169-35-555-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
237	3941/03 169-35-544-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
238	3941/03 169-35-515-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
239	3941/03 169-35-493-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
240	37/15 169-199-2742-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
241	37/15 169-199-2721-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
242	37/15 169-197-2790-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
243	37/15 169-197-2790-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
244	37/15 169-197-2790-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
245	37/15 169-197-2781-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
246	37/15 169-197-2780-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
247	37/15 169-197-2779-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Buff to reddish-brown
248	37/15 169-197-2769-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
249	37/15 169-197-2754-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
250	37/15 169-197-2753-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Brown
251	37/15 169-197-2747-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
252	37/15 169-197-2731-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
253	37/15 169-197-2725-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
254	37/15 169-197-2725-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
255	37/15 169-197-2725-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
256	37/15 169-197-2724-S8	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
257	3567/02 169-18-417-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
258	3567/02 169-18-417-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
259	3567/02 169-18-385-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
260	3567/02 169-18-378-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
261	3567/02 169-18-378-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
262	3567/02 169-13-375-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
263	3567/02 169-02-416-S4	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
264	3/00 169-06-28-S5	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
265	3/00 169-06-131-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Buff
266	3/00 169-01-05-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
267	3/00 169-01-03-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Brown
268	2/16 169-207-2865-S9	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Gray
269	2/16 169-207-2865-S8	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
270	2/16 169-207-2861-S8	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
271	2/16 169-207-2848-S2	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
272	2/16 169-207-2840-S3	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
273	2/16 169-207-2839-S10	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
274	2/16 169-207-2826-S9	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
275	2/16 169-207-2826-S8	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
276	2/16 169-205-2850-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
277	2/16 169 207-2864-S6	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Fragment of vessel with 1 lamp preserved	No TB	Reddish-brown
278	5808/10 169-145a-2108-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
279	5574/09 169-139-2051-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
280	5574/09 169-139-2033-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Gray
281	5574/09 169-139-2016-S1	Pinched lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff

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CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
282*	4687/06 169-91-1410-S6	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
283*	5808/10 169-148-2229-S3	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Buff
284	37/15 169-197-2768-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	No TB	Buff
285	37/15 169-197-2725-S4	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
286	6701/13 169-177-2560-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Brown
287	6701/13 169-176-2548-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Buff
288	5808/10 169-144-2164-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Brown
289	5574/09 169-139-2030-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	No TB	Greenish
290	5343/08 169-124-1899-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Gray
291	5343/08 169-124-1811-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Gray
292	52/01 169-06-06-217-S5	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete		Reddish-brown
293	4997/07 169-116-1552-S6	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Brown
294	4997/07 169-114-1755-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
295	4687/06 169-94-1515-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Buff
296	4687/06 169-93-1444-S4	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
297	4687/06 169-93-1421-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
298	4687/06 169-92-1487-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
299	4687/06 169-91-1491-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
300	4361/05 169-69-1113-S4	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
301	4361/05 169-68-1170-S6	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
302	4361/05 169-68-1121-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
303	4361/05 169-67-1148-S3	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	TB	Buff
304	4361/05 169-67-1120-S4	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	No TB	Brown
305	4361/05 169-67-1072-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	Few TB	Buff
306	4361/05 169-51-951-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Buff
307	4099/04 169-50-810-S3	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
308	4099/04 169-50-810-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	No TB	Brown
309	4099/04 169-47-800-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Buff
310	4099/04 169-44-762-S5	Pinched lamp, disc base	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
311	3941/03 169-35-567-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
312	3941/03 169-35-515-S3	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Brown
313	3941/03 169-35-493-S2	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
314	3567/02 169-18-481-S1	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	Few TB	Reddish-brown
315	2/16 169-207-2864-S3	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
316	2/16 169-207-2826-S11	Pinched lamp, disc base	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
317*	4099/04 169-47-781-S1	Pinched lamp with 2 spouts	Complete		Buff
318*	4361/05 169-50-987-S4	Pinched lamp with 2 spouts	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
319*	3/00 169-09-40-S2	Pinched lamp with 3 spouts	Complete		Reddish-brown
320*	6701/13 169-174-2509-S4	Pinched lamp with 3 spouts	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
321*	6380/12 169-167-2421-S1	Pinched lamp with 3 spouts	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
322*	5808/10 169-145a-2137-S5	Kernos vessel with small bowl	Tall kernos vessel with open base (stand) with 2 horizontal handles. 4 bowl-shaped lamps are preserved on the rim. The vessel originally had 20 lamps.	Few TB	Reddish-brown, the vessel is decorated on the outside with 3 stripes
323*	5808/10 162-145a-2262-S4	Kernos vessel with small bowl	Tall kernos vessel with open base (stand) with 2 horizontal handles. 6 bowl-shaped lamps are preserved on the rim. The vessel originally had 20 lamps. Base is missing.	Few TB	Reddish-brown, the vessel is decorated on the outside with 4 stripes
324*	4361/05 169-68-1046-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	Few TB	Reddish-brown
325*	4361/05 169-42-903-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
326*	3/00 169-01-04-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Part of a kernos vessel with 2 lamps preserved on its rim.	TB	Reddish-brown, the fragment is decorated on the outside with 2 stripes
327*	3/00 169-09-50-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Part of a kernos vessel with 2 lamps preserved on its rim	No TB	Buff
328*	2/16 169-205-2820-S6	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact, center of lamp has signs of a repaired perforated hole	TB	Reddish-brown
329	2/16 169-205a-2815-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
330	4099/04 169-44-722-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
331	3/00 169-01-07-S4	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
332	3/00 169-01-07-S5	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
333	3/00 169-01-16-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown

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## CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
334	3/00 169-03-19-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
335	3/00 169-04-27-S6	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
336	3/00 169-06-28-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
337	3/00 169-07-36-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
338	3/00 169-07-59-S10	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Buff
339	37/15 169-195a-2774-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Buff
340	37/15 169-195a-2793-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
341	37/15 169-199-2745-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
342	3941/03 169-36-586-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Base	Few TB	Reddish-brown
343	4361/05 169-42-970-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	Few TB	Buff
344	4687/06 169-94-1474-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
345	4687/06 169-95-1435-S7	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown
346	4997/07 169-114-1550-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
347	4997/07 169-114-1550-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
348	4997/07 169-114-1714-S8	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
349	4997/07 169-114-1739-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
350	4997/07 169-115-1570-S7	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
351	4997/07 169-115-1570-S8	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
352	4997/07 169-115-1597-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
353	4997/07 169-115a-1652-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
354	4997/07 169-115a-1652-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
355	4997/07 169-115a-1679-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
356	4997/07 169-115a-1717-S4	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
357	4997/07 169-115b-1722-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
358	4997/07169-114-1564-S7	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
359	52/01 169-03-290-S4	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Buff
360	52/01 169-10-331-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
361	5343/08 169-124-1785-S4	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Brown
362	5343/08 169-124-1855-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
363*	5343/08 169-125a-1789-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
364*	5343/08 169-125a-1815-S6	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
365	5343/08 169-125a-1824-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
366	5343/08 169-125a-1832-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
367	5343/08 169-125a-1843-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
368	5343/08 169-125a-1887-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
369	5343/08 169-125a-1905	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
370	5343/08 169-125a-1905-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
371	5343/08 169-125a-1920-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
372	5343/08 169-125a-1920-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
373	5343/08 169-125a-1825-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
374	5343/08 169-125a-1857-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
375	5343/08 169-125a-1906-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
376	5343/08 169-131-1866-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
377	5808/10 169-145a-2227-S3	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
378	6380/12 169-165a-2358-S2	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
379	6701/13 169-175-2459-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Complete	TB	Brown

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## CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
380	5574/09 169-135a-2062-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
381	5574/09 169-135a-2087-S1	Small bowl lamp, part of kernos	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
382*	3/00 169-02-54-S1	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Tall kernos vessel with perforated hollow ring containing 24 holes. Missing base.	Few TB	Reddish-brown
383*	3/00 169-02-54-S3	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Tall kernos vessel with perforated hollow ring containing 12 holes. Missing base.	Few TB	Reddish-brown
384	3/00 169-01-08-S3	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
385	3/00 169-01-11-S1	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
386	3/00 169-07-32-S3	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
387	3/00 169-09-85-S1	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
388	37/15 169-195a-2798-S2	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
389	4099/04 169-50-864-S2	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary		Reddish-brown
390	5343/08 169-125a-1904-S6	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
391	5343/08 169-125b-1773-S5	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	TB	Reddish-brown
392	5574/09 169-135a-1996-S1	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
393	5574/09 169-135a-1997-S1	Perforated hollow ring kernos	Fragmentary	No TB	Reddish-brown
394*	52/01 169-06-311-S3	Closed lamp on vessel	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
395	37/15 169-195-2784-S1	Closed lamp on vessel	Fragmentary	TB	Reddish-brown
396*	2/16 169-207-2865-S2	Bowls with spouts in rims	Half of the vessel including the base and 2 spouts.	TB	Buff
397*	4687/06 169-94-1452-S3	Bowls with spouts in rims	Spout with a small Part of the vessel	No TB	Reddish-brown
398	4687/06 169 94-1384-S7	Bowls with spouts in rims	Spout with a small part of the vessel	No TB	Reddish-brown
399	7015/14 169-164-2535-S4	Bowls with spouts in rims	Spout with a small part of the vessel	No TB	Reddish-brown
400*	5343/2008 169-125a-1925	Kernos vessel?	Tall vessel without rim or lamps. The vessel had a handle or application.		Reddish-brown
401*	4997/07 169-115-1585-S1	Globular (attic) lamp	Part of the body	TB	Pinkish with red slip (I+O)

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
402*	7015/14 169-185a-2687-S2	Globular (attic) lamp	Nozzle missing		Pinkish with black slip inside
403	5343/08 169-125a-1835-S1	Globular (attic) lamp	Nozzle and part of the body	TB	Pinkish with black glaze
404	4099/04 169-36-685-S2	Globular (attic) lamp	Part of the body		Pinkish with gray slip (I+O)
405	4361/05 169-67-1068-S4	Globular (attic) lamp	Complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip (I+O)
406	4687/06 169-96-1519-S5	Globular (attic) lamp	Complete	TB	Pinkish
407	6701/13 169-173-2547-S2	Globular (attic) lamp	Part of the body	TB	Pinkish with red slip (I+O)
408*	6380/12 169-164-2346-S2	Globular (attic) lamps — imitation	Intact	TB	Pinkish
409*	7015/14 169-183-2616-S1	Globular (attic) lamps — imitation	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
410	4687/06 169-95-1435-S1	Globular (attic) lamps — imitation	Complete	No TB	Pinkish
411*	5574/09 169-138-2042-S1	Biconical lamp imported	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
412*	37/15 169-199-2741-S2	Biconical lamp imported	Intact	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
413*	3941/03 169-34-574-S1	Biconical lamp imported	Intact	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
414	5343/08 169-125B-1810-S1	Biconical lamp imported	Intact	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
415	3941/03 169-35-516-S2	Biconical lamp imported	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
416	3941/03 169-29-496-S1	Biconical lamp imported	Intact	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
417	4361/05 169-39-898-S4	Biconical lamp imported	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
418	4099/04 169-46-84-S1	Biconical lamp imported	Complete	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
419	5574/09 169-134-2073-S7	Biconical lamp imported	Nozzle missing	TB	Light brown with glossy brown slip (I+O)
420	3941/03 169-36-540-S2	Biconical lamp imported	Complete	TB	Brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
421	3267/02 169-21-466-S1	Biconical lamp imported	Nozzle missing		Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
422	4687/06 169-68-1332-S3	Biconical lamp imported	Complete	TB	Brown with glossy black slip
423	4687/06 169-93-1483-S5	Biconical lamp imported	Nozzle missing	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip
424	4687/06 169-94-1571-S2	Biconical lamp imported	Nozzle missing	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip

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CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
425	4361/05 169-65-1153-S2	Biconical lamp, local	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Light brown with glossy black slip (I+O)
426*	4361/05 169-65-1153-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Intact	TB	Brown with brown slip
427*	4997/07 169-116-1688-S7	Biconical lamp, local	Complete	TB	Reddish with brown slip
428*	4997/07 169-114-1670-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Complete	TB	Dark brown with red slip
429	6701/13 169-177-2529-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Pinkish with brown slip
430	7015/14 169-187-2663-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Intact	TB	Dark brown with red slip
431	2/16 169-207-2840-S11	Biconical lamp, local	Intact	TB	Dark brown with red slip
432	3941/03 169-36-539-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Complete	TB	Light brown with brown slip
433	4099/04 169-411-725-S4	Biconical lamp, local	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Light brown with brown slip
434	3941/03 169-35-588-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Nearly complete	TB	Gray with gray to black slip
435	5574/09 169-134-2060-S1	Biconical lamp, local	Nozzle missing		Buff with brown slip
436	4361/05 169-69-1142-S2	Biconical lamp, local	Complete	TB	Dark brown with red slip on top of lamp
437	4997/07 169-112-1573-S3	Biconical lamp, local	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip
438	5343/08 169 124-1811-S5	Biconical lamp, local	Complete	TB	Pinkish with black slip
439*	6701/13 169-177-2507-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
440*	2/16 169-207-2861-S6	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
441*	4361/05 169-67-1119-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
442*	4099/04 169-50-784-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
443	4361/05 169-67-1119-S2	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
444	4361/05 169-68-1227-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Brown
445*	4997/07 169-114-1720-S4	Shephelah	Intact, base deliberately punctured	TB	Reddish-brown
446*	5343/08 169 124-1898-S2	Shephelah	Intact, base deliberately punctured in 2 places	TB	Reddish-brown
447*	7015/14 169-187-2599-S3	Shephelah	Intact, base deliberately punctured	TB	Greenish
448	4687/06 169-69-1296-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
449	4687/06 169-69-1339-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
450	4687/06 169-94-1367-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
451	4687/06 169-69-1296-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown

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Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
452	4687/06 169-92-1539-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
453	4687/06 169-94-1363-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
454	4687/06 169-97-1499-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
455	4687/06 169-97-1396-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
456	4687/06 169-94-1514-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
457	4687/06 169-94-1428-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
458	4687/06 169-92-1531-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
459	4687/06 169-90-1504-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
460	361/05 169-39-887-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Reddish-brown
461	4997/07 169-114-1696-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
462	4997/07 169-110-1678-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
463	4997/07 169-114-1555-S6	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
464	4687/06 169-93-1494-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Greenish
465	4997/07 169-114-1689-S5	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Brown
466	4997/07 169-114-1665-S6	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
467	4997/07 169-118-1758-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Brown
468	4997/07 169-112-1673-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
469	5343/08 169-124-1926-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
470	5343/08 169-124-1781-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
471	5343/08 169-124-1893-S1	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Reddish-brown
472	4687/06 169-90-1501-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
473	5343/08 169 124-1934-S1	Shephelah	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
474	5343/08 169 124-1975-S2	Shephelah	Complete	No TB	Reddish-brown
475	5343/08 169 124-1949-S3	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
476	5574/09 169-138-2026-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
477	5574/09 169-138-2019-S1	Shephelah	Intact	No TB	Brown
478	5574/09 169-134-2095-S2	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
479	5574/09 169-138-2019-S2	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Greenish
480	5574/09 169-134-2047-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
481	5574/09 169-131-1993-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
482	6380/12 169-169-2373-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
483	6380/12 169-164-2367-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
484	6380/12 169-169-2393-S6	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Brown
485	6380/12 169-164-2368-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
486	6701/13 169-174-2509-S6	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
487	6701/13 169-173-2545-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
488	7015/14 169-183-2573-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown

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CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
489	7015/14 169-187-2658-S3	Shephelah	Complete, with signs of repair	TB	Buff
490	7015/14 169-187-2599-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
491	7015/14 169-187-2658-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
492	4687/06 169-90-1490-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
493	37/15 169-197-2772-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
494	37/15 169-196-2733-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
495	37/15 169-197-2754-S5	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Reddish-brown
496	2/16 169-207-2826-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
497	3567/02 169-18-378-S7	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
498	3/00 169-01-14-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
499	3/00 169-09-156-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
500	4351/05 169-67-1007-S2	Shephelah	Nearly complete		Reddish-brown
501	4351/05 169-39-938-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete		Reddish-brown
502	3/00 169-09-160-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
503	4099/04 169-50-828-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
504	4099/04 169-36-634-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
505	4099/04 169-50-828	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Brown
506	4099/04 169-50-755-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
507	4361/05 169-39-830-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
508	4099/04 169-51-716-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
509	4099/04 169-50-789-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
510	4361/05 169-51-917-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Buff
511	4099/04 169-39-664-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Buff
512	4099/04 169-47-730-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
513	4099/04 169-39-779-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
514	4099/04 169-36-616-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
515	4099/04 169-51-726-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
516	4099/04 169-44-858-S9	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
517	4361/05 169-39-897-S1	Shephelah	Intact	No TB	Buff
518	4099/04 169-36-616-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
519	4099/04 169-36-600-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
520	4099/04 169-44-747-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
521	52/01 169-06-365-S5	Shephelah	Intact	No TB	Reddish-brown
522	3/00 169-09-158-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
523	3/00 169-06-89-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff

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## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
524	3941/03 169-27-505-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
525	4361/05 169-50-899-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
526	4099/04 169-39-899-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
527	3941/03 169-36-541-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
528	3941/03 169-35-544-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
529	4361/05 169-39-950-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
530	4099/04 169-44-846-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
531	4099/04 169-39-866-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
532	3941/03 169-36-535-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
533	3941/03 169-27-502-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
534	4099/04 169-36-635-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
535	3567/02 169-18-479-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
536	4099/04 169-40-628-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
537	4099/04 169-35-608-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
538	3941/03 169-35-556-S5	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
539	4099/04 169-50-789-S2	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
540	4361/05 169-51-920-S3	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
541	4099/04 169-31-629-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
542	4361/05 169-39-887-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
543	52/01 169-04-269-S2	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
544	3/00 169-01-10-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
545	4099/04 169-36-600-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
546	4099/04 169-31-699-S5	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
547	4099/04 169-31-610-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
548	4099/04 169-36-667-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
549	3567/02 169-18-481-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
550	4099/04 169-36-612-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
551	4099/04 169-44-773-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
552	3/00 169-02-56-S3	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
553	4099/04 169-50-823-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
554	4361/05 169-66-1041-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
555	4361/05 169-67-1046-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
556	4361/05 169-67-1084-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
557	4361/05 169-69-1085-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
558	4361/05 169-69-1189-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
559	4361/05 169-68-1142-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
560	4361/05 169-66-1211-S2	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
561	4361/05 169-68-1122-S3	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown

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CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
562	4361/05 169-69-1169-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
563	4361/05 169-69-1085-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
564	4361/05 169-68-1260-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
565	4361/05 169-69-1132-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
566	4099/04 169-16-621-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
567	4361/05 169-65-1038-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
568*	4997/07 169-115a-1691-S7	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
569*	5343/08 169 128-1971-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
570*	3941/03 169-36-531-S1	Shephelah	Intact	No TB	Gray
571*	6701/13 169-175a-2455-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
572*	4099/04 169-36-620-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
573	3567/02 169-20-739-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
574	4099/04 169-44-747-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
575	3941/03 169-36-530-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
576	4099/04 169-39-666-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
577	4361/05 169-50-899-S3	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
578	3941/03 169-36-572-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
579	4099/04 169-39-817-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
580	4099/04 169-50-877-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
581	3941/03 169-31-512-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
582	3/00 169-10-127-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
583	3567/02 169-20-434-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
584	52/01 169-03-341-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
585	52/01 169-03-343-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
586	3/00 169-09-71-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
587	3567/02 169-21-386-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
588	4099/04 169-39-829-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
589	4099/04 169-31-623-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
590	4361/05 169-51-901-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
591	52/01 169-03-257-S5	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
592	3567/02 169-18-480-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
593	52/01 169-07-316-S5	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
594	4099/04 169-35-603-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
595	3941/03 169-36-535-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
596	52/01 169-07-344-S3	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
597	4099/04 169-16-622-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Reddish-brown
598	4099/04 169-44-774-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff

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Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
599	52/01 169-06-274-S3	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
600	4687/06 169-93-1421-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
601	3/00 169-06-30-S5	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
602	4687/06 169-92-1509-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
603	4687/06 169-103-1422-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
604	4687/06 169-80-1300-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
605	4687/06 169-92-1429-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
606	4687/06 169-94-1521-S2	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
607	5574/09 169-134-2047-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
608	7015/14 169-189-2635-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Brown
609	4997/07 169-114-1700-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
610	4997/07 169-12-1728-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
611	4997/07 169-114-1697-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Brown
612	4997/07 169-118-1683-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
613	5574/09 169-138-2064-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
614	5574/09 169-138-2074-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Gray
615	5574/09 169-138-2019-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
616	5808/10 169-148-2163-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
617	5808/10 169-150-2129-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
618	5808/10 169-148-2185-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
619	5808/10 169-148-2246-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
620	5808/10 169-148-2213-S5	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
621	6092/11 169-159-2326-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
622	6092/11 169-157-2273-S7	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
623	6092/11 169-157-2273-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
624	6092/11 169-157-2311-S1	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Reddish-brown
625	6092/11 169-157-2334-S6	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
626	6380/12 169-167-2379-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
627	6380/12 169-169-2345-S5	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff
628	6701/13 169-177-2499-S5	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
629	6701/13 169-177-2498-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
630	6701/13 169-177-2499-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
631	6701/13 169-177-2499-S4	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
632	6701/13 169-177-2453-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
633	6701/13 169-177-2498-S5	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
634	6701/13 169-177-2453-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
635	6701/13 169-177-2528-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
636	6701/13 169-175a-2456-S6	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown

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CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
637	7015/14 169-189-2621-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Greenish
638	7015/14 169-187-2588-S5	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
639	7015/14 169-189-2583-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
640	7015/14 169-187-2578-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
641	7015/14 169-189-2668-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Greenish
642	7015/14 169-187-2599-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
643	37/15 169-199-2719-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Brown
644	37/15 169-197-2762-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
645	37/15 169-197-2724-S1	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Buff to reddish-brown
646	2/16 169-207-2826-S10	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Buff
647	2/16 169-209-2841-S1	Shephelah	Nozzle missing	TB	Buff
648	4361/05 169-69-1274-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
649	3567/02 169-20-434-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
650	3/00 169-09-160-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
651	3567/02 169-22-402-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
652	52/01 169-10-310-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Buff
653	4099/04 169-39-664-S2	Shephelah	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Reddish-brown
654	3/00 169-09-158-S2	Shephelah	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
655	4361/05 169-39-950-S2	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
656	3/00 169-09-146-S1	Shephelah	Nearly complete	TB	Reddish-brown
657	3941/03 169-35-516-S1	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
658	4361/05 169-69-1061-S3	Shephelah	Intact	TB	Reddish-brown
659*	5574/09 169-139-2030-S3	Shephelah lamp with nozzle and pierced knob	Nozzle and part of the body	TB	Reddish-brown
660*	4361/05 169-69-1086-S5	Shephelah lamp — with a knob	Intact	TB	Buff
661*	6092/11 169-159-2343-S1	Shephelah lamp — with a handle	Nozzle missing	TB	Reddish-brown
662*	37/15 169-197-2780-S4	Shephelah lamp — with two nozzle and handle	Complete	TB	Reddish-brown
663*	4099/04 169-44-846-S1	Shephelah lamp — two nozzle and a pierced knob	Complete	TB	Buff
664*	4687/06 169-103-1422-S5	Shephelah lamp — with two knobs and a vertical handle	Complete, except the handle	TB	Reddish
665	4361/05 169-1163-S4	Shephelah lamp — with a handle	Complete, except the handle	TB	Reddish-brown
666	4361/05 169-66-1242-S4	Shephelah lamp — with a handle	Complete, except the handle	TB	Buff

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Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
667	4099/04 169-47-781-S4	Shephelah lamp — with a handle	Nearly complete	TB	Buff
668*	5343/08 169-124-1802-S1	Lamps with three angular knobs	Tip of the nozzle missing		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
669*	4099/04 169-46-717-S1	Lamps with three angular knobs	Complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
670*	6701/13 169-177-2527-S1	Lamps with three angular knobs	Intact	TB	Brown with red slip on top
671*	4099/04 169-36-687-S2	Erotes lamp with three angular knobs	Intact	TB	Pinkish with black slip on top of lamp
672*	4099/04 169-16-622-S2	Erotes lamp with three angular knobs	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
673	4099/04 169-39-713-S2	Erotes lamp — 3 knobs	Part of the body		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
674	3/00 169-01-13-S1	Erotes lamp — 3 knobs	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
675*	3941/03 169-27-506	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Gray with red slip on top
676*	3/00 169-03-21-S5	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
677	3/00 169-03-21-S4	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
678	4361/05 169-68-1172-S3	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Gray with black slip on top of lamp on top of lamp
679	4361/05 169-68-007-S2	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
680	4361/05 169-68-1138-S1	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
681	3/00 169-05-26-S3	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
682	4687/06 169-93-1535-S1	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
683	4687/06 169-68-1342-S1	Erotes lamp	Part of the body		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
684*	4687/06 169-93-1414-S1	Imitation of Egyptian lamp	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip
685*	5574/09 169-138-2043-S1	Tip of nozzle missing.	Nozzle missing	TB	Gray with brown slip on top of lamp
686*	3/00 169-02-57-S1	Imitation of Egyptian lamp	Nearly complete	TB	brown
687*	4687/06 169-93-1485-S5	Lamp with two knobs, turtle shaped	Intact, the base was deliberately punctured or broken	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
688*	4099/04 169-36-634-S1	Lamp with two knobs, turtle shaped	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp

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689*	4099/04 169-44-774-S2	Lamp with two knobs, turtle shaped	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
690	3567/02 169-18-490-S1	Lamp with two knobs, turtle shaped	Part of the body		Pinkish with red slip
691	5574/09 169-134-2023-S2	Lamp with two knobs, turtle shaped	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip
692*	6092/11 169-157-2271-S4	Biconical lamp, mold-made	Intact	TB	Yellowish
693*	4099/04 169-51-701-S1	Biconical lamp, mold-made	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
694	6701/13 169-171-2454-S1	Biconical lamp, mold-made	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
695*	5343/08 169-124-1874-S1	Biconical lamp, mold-made	Complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip
696	3267/02 169-20-441-S5	Biconical lamp, mold-made	Nearly complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
697	3941/03 169-36-595-S2	Biconical lamp, mold-made	complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
698	4361/05 169-51-902-S2	Biconical lamp, mold-made	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
699	6092/11 169-156-2305-S3	Biconical lamp, mold-made	complete, except the handle	TB	Pinkish with brown slip
700*	7015/14 169-187-2658-S5	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip
701*	37/15 169-197-2759-S1	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Pinkish with red slip
702*	3941/03 169-36-572-S2	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
703*	4099/04 169-39-723-S1	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
704	3567/02 169-18-385-S8	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Gray with black slip on top of lamp on both side (up and down)
705	3/00 169-07-81-S1	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
706	4361/05 169-51-832-S1	Mold-made lamp with one knob and flat nozzle	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
707*	4997/07 169-114-1743-S1	Dolphiniform lamp	Intact	No TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
708*	4997/07 169-115-1585-S2	Dolphiniform lamp	Complete		Gray with dark gray slip

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Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
709*	4361/05 169-76-968-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	Few TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
710	4997/07 169-115a-1731-S4	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip
711	5343/08 169-125a-1902-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Gray with dark gray slip
712	5808/10 169-145a-2135-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Gray with dark gray slip
713	2/16 169-206-2873-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Gray with gray slip
714	52/01 169-06-321-S2	Dolphinsiform lamp	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
715	3/00 169-03-20-S4	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
716	52/01 169-03-342-S5	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Gray with black slip
717	3/00 169-02-935-1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Nozzle missing		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
718	4099/04 169-31-624-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
719	4361/05 169-894-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Intact	TB	Pinkish
720	3/00 169-01-08-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Nozzle missing		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
721	4361/05 169-68-1236-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp	Nearly complete	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
722*	4097/07 169-115-1596-S3	Dolphinsiform lamp with handle	Part of the body with loop handle		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
723	5808/10 169-150-2143-S3	Dolphinsiform lamp with handle	Part of the body with loop handle		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
724	4097/07 169-129-1870-S2	Dolphinsiform lamp with handle	Part of the body with loop handle		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
725*	5343/08 169-124-1897-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip
726*	4099/04 169-42-721-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Gray with metallic gray slip on top
727	2/16 169-207-2844-S6	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Complete	TB	yellowish with brown slip
728	5574/09 169-135a-2091-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Complete	TB	Pinkish with red slip
729	6380/12 169-169-2414-S2	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Nozzle missing		Pinkish with red slip
730	52/01 169-06-274-S2	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
731	3/00 169-09-40-S1	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Intact	TB	Pinkish with brown slip on top of lamp
732	52/01 169-03-341-S2	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
733	3/00 169-03-19-S8	Dolphinsiform lamp — variety of decorations	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	No TB	Pinkish with red to black slip on top of lamp

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## CHAPTER 10: OIL LAMPS

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
734	52/01 169-06-277-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — variety of decorations	Nearly complete		Gray with metallic gray slip on top
735*	5343/08 169-125a-1847-S4	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing		Pinkish with red slip
736	6380/12 169-169-2442-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing		Gray with gray slip
737	3267/02 169-23-401-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
738	6380/12 169-169-2415-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing	TB	Gray with gray to red slip
739*	3/00 169-06-129-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
740	3941/03 169-36-539-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
741	5343/08 169-125a-1796-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
742	52/01 169-06-319-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
743	6380/12 169-165a-2350-S3	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
744	7015/14 169-189-2633-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Brown with red slip
745	3567/02 169-23-396-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
746	3267/02 169-2406-S12	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nozzle missing		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
747	4687/06 169-68-1327-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Gray with dark gray slip
748	3941/03 169-34-578-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete		Pinkish
749*	5343/08 169-124-1954-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Complete	TB	Pinkish with red to black slip
750	4997/07 169-115a-1687-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Intact	TB	Pinkish with black slip
751*	5808/10 169-144-2103-S1	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Intact	TB	Pinkish with brown slip
752*	3/00 169-70-127-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Intact	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
753	6092/11 169-155a-2330-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Intact	TB	Gray with metallic gray slip on top
754	52/01 169-96-811-S2	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
755	3/00 169-06-31-S3	Dolphiniform lamp — different feature	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Pinkish with black slip on top of lamp
756*	5808/10 169-150-2130-S1	Egyptian lamp	Intact	TB	brown
757*	4997/07 169-114-1606-S1	Egyptian lamp	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Brown with red slip

\* Next to Cat. No. indicates it is photographed and appears on plates consecutively with the same numbers.

TB=traces of burning, I+O = (inside and outside)

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat No.	License / Permit No.	Type	Fragment	Soot	Fabric
758*	3267/02 169-16-419-S3	Egyptian lamp	Base of the lamp missing	TB	Brown with red slip on top
759*	4361/05 169-67-1083-S6	Round lamp with handle	Nozzle missing		Gray with black slip
760*	5574/09 169-138-2056-S4	Round lamp with handle	Nozzle missing		Gray with black slip
761*	6701/13 169-135a-2459-S5	Egyptian lamp	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
762*	3567/02 169-13-374-S1	Egyptian lamp	Intact	Few TB	Pinkish
763*	6701/13 169-179-2563-S4	Lamps decorated with figures	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing		Gray with brown slip
764*	5574/09 169-135a-1998-S1	Lamps decorated with figures	part of the knob		Pink with red slip
765*	37/15 169-197-2810-S3	Lamps decorated with figures	part of the nozzle		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
766*	3/00 169-09-41-S3	Lamps decorated with figures	Nearly complete, tip of nozzle missing	TB	Gray with black slip on top of lamp
767*	52/01 169-12-530	Lamps decorated with figures	Nozzle	TB	Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
768*	4099/04 169-50-847-S1	Lamps decorated with figures	Part of the body, include knob		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
769*	4099/04 169-35-670-S1	Plastic lamp	Nearly complete, nozzle missing		Pinkish with red slip on top of lamp
770*	6701/13 169-179-2493-S2	Lamp with two nozzles	Nearly complete, including most of the handle, nozzles missing		Brown with red slip
771*	6380/12 169-169-2441-S1	Multiple nozzle lamp — 3 nozzles	Nearly complete		Pink with red core and red slip
772*	5343/08 169 125a 1898-S1	Multiple nozzle lamp — 3 nozzles	Complete	TB	Gray with metallic gray slip on top
773	4361/05 169-43-926-S1	Multiple nozzle lamp — 3 nozzles	Part of the body	TB	Pinkish with red slip
774	3/00 169-06-135-S5	Multiple nozzle lamp — 3 nozzles	Part of the body		Brown with red slip
775	2/16 169-207-2848-S1	Multiple nozzle lamp — 7 nozzles	Part of the body including only part of the seven nozzles		Gray with metallic gray slip on top
776*	4997/07 169-114-1665-S4	Multiple nozzle lamp — 7 nozzles	Part of the body including three of seven nozzles		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
777	4687/06 169-66-1302-S2	Multiple nozzle lamp — box	Fragmentary		Gray with black slip on top of lamp
778*	4099/04 169-47-853-S4	Decorated with rosette	Base		Gray
779*	6701/13 169-177-2497-S3	Special part: handle	Handle		Pinkish with red slip
780*	6092/11 169-159-2324-S2	Special part: handle	Handle		Pinkish with red slip

\* Next to Cat. No. indicates it is photographed and appears on plates consecutively with the same numbers.  
TB=traces of burning, I+O = (inside and outside)

## CHAPTER 11

# FAUNAL REMAINS

*Lee Perry Gal*

### INTRODUCTION

The Hellenistic period in the southern Levant was known for its political stability (the Hellenistic koine), which brought possible prosperity and innovation to various aspects of life. This atmosphere promoted the intensification of trade routes, syncretism of languages, and assimilation of identities and ideas. The southern Levant was in particular a conglomerate of cultural identities, influencing each other while striving for self-determination or segregation. The unique economic mechanisms and lifestyle of this period are profoundly manifested by the animal remains in the site. However, contrary to ceramics, numismatic and other archaeological assemblages that have been extensively studied, the faunal record in Maresha has received no scientific attention.

The study of the faunal record at ancient sites in general (zooarchaeology) focus on the examination of frequency, spatial distribution and taphonomic criteria of animal bones. In so doing, it explores relationships between humans and animals and their broader implications in terms of diet, the economy, cultural traits, trade networks and exchange of goods. These parameters enable a reconstruction of the ancient economy and everyday life.

This study focuses on the faunal assemblage from Subterranean Complex 169 at Maresha. It is hoped it will contribute to zooarchaeological studies focusing on the Hellenistic Levant and encourage additional such research.

### MATERIALS AND METHODS

#### *Context and Preservation*

Hewn under the lower city of Maresha, SC169 had a cool, stable temperature, in effect acting as “refrigeration” for its faunal assemblage. The underground conditions prevented the entire assemblage from exposure to destructive climate and environmental disturbances that often damage the faunal record at above-ground sites. Consequently, the animal bones from this area were remarkably well preserved, with great potential for both zooarchaeological and bio-archaeological analysis. The faunal remains were collected by hand, by means of a systematic sieving protocol using a 0.5 x 0.5mm mesh.

#### *Identification*

The bones from SC169 were cleaned with warm water and diluted soap, and each basket of bones was weighed. The assemblage was divided to indicative and non-indicative bones according to the protocols of Davis (1992) and Stiner (2002), and the indicative specimens were marked according to locus and basket. Using the skeletal collection from the laboratory of zooarchaeology at the University of Haifa for comparison, the specimens were identified to the highest possible resolution in terms of taxonomic category, skeletal part, side of the body, level of fusion or porosity (for mammals) or ossification (for birds), and various taphonomic criteria were

documented. Whenever possible, the bones were measured (Von Den Driesch 1976) using an analog Vernier caliper.

### ***Differentiation between Morphologically Closed Species***

Differentiation between sheep (*Ovis aries*) and goat (*Capra hircus*) was based on morphological criteria (Boessneck 1969; Payne 1985, 1969; Zeder and Lapham 2010: Fig. 11.5) and particularly the morphometry of the metapods and the astragals. Identification among Equidae species was determined according to morphological differences (Hillson 1996; Johnstone 2004; Motro 2014 (and according to tooth eruption and the pattern on the upper surface of each tooth (Eisenmann et al. 1988; Motro 2014). To differentiate between domestic pig and wild boar I compared the metric data of the pig bones from SC169 to a standard value of female wild boar (following Hongo and Meadow 1998), while using a Log Size Index (see for instance: Marom and Bar-Oz 2013). This metric analysis is based on the principle that wild boars are larger than domestic pigs, which became smaller as a result of their domestication (Clutton-Brock 1999; Mayer et al. 1998; Reitz and Wing 1999). The camels were recognized as dromedary based on morphological variance of the first toe (Studer and Schneider 2008). domesticated rather than wild camels were distinguished based on the comparison between the metric data of Maresha's camels and standard camel values given by Uerpmann and Uerpmann (2002) and using a Log Size Index. The chicken bones were differentiated from the other avian remains by their morphology, following the criteria of Bocheński and Tomek (2009) and Serjeantson (2009).

### ***Taxonomic Abundance***

To determine relative taxonomic abundance, I summarized the number of identified specimens (NISP; Lyman 2008; Davis 1992) for each species. The minimum number of elements (MNE) was determined by calculating the percentage of completeness for each element (Dobney and Rielly 1988; Klein and Cruz-Urbe 1984). The highest MNE for each taxon (after

being standardized to accommodate the frequency of appearance of the element in the complete skeleton) was considered as the minimum number of individuals (MNI) for the respective taxon. The minimum number of animal units (MAU) is the MNE of each element divided by the number of elements in the particular taxon's skeleton. Following Stiner's (2002) protocol, I used the MAU values to compute the skeletal parts distribution for the main livestock.

### ***Skeletal Distribution and Nutritional Value***

Calculating the nutritional value of the main livestock species in SC169 relied on use of the Food Utility Index (FUI) (Metcalf and Jones 1988: Table 2) to assess the nutritional value of each skeletal part from the lowest (e. g. horns, no meat at all) to the highest (femur, valuable meaty part). An assemblage rich in meaty parts will indicate food leftovers, and can imply a high socioeconomic status of the consumers, while an assemblage that contains all types of skeletal parts and mostly those of low nutritional value, would indicate butchery remains, i. e. where the animal was butchered but not necessarily eaten (Hellwing and Gophna 1984). However, there is one codicil to this observation: Because teeth and phalanx are highly compressed, these parts tend to be better preserved than other body parts.

### ***Age at Death***

Age-at-death estimation for sheep, goat, cattle, pig, Equidae and chicken was based mainly on the fusion degree of the long bones (Bello 2013 — for camels; Greenfield 2006; O'Connor 2000; Silver 1969—for all other livestock). When both epiphyses were unfused the element was tagged as juvenile/neonatal. To determine the age at death of camels, I used the species' age of sexual maturity (year 4–5) which is followed by the fusion of its long bones (Pigiore et al. 2012; Studer 2008: 588). For camels, I also relied on the fusion stages of cattle long bones, since cattle and camel have very similar stages of final fusion of their long bones (Grant 1982; Studer 2008: Table 5). The second method I used to estimate age at death of mammals was to examine the level of mandibular DP4 and M3 tooth wear (Silver 1969; Haber 2001).

These teeth are not present at the same time in herbivore jaws, and examining them prevents bias. Age at death for chickens was based only on the long-bone ossification, particularly the tarsometatarsus (Searjenson 2009; Thomas 2016).

### *Sexing*

Sex ratios of sheep and goat were based on morphologies of the pelvis (Greenfield 2006: 71–73, Figs. 2–9 (and front limbs (Davis 1987: 37; Davis 2000) and by comparison to modern caprine bones from a known sex. The ratio of males to females in caprines, cattle and pig were (when possible) statistically defined, using mixture analysis (Monchot, Mashkour and Vigne 2004) and based on a few skeletal parts demonstrating high metric variability between the sexes. I based the sex ratio for camels on the presence of the large canine of the upper jaw, observed only in the male, and on a metric analysis of the long bones. Sexing of chickens was determined by a combination of three methods: (1) Osteometric analysis using mixture analysis statistics; (2) Presence/absence of medullary bone in the long bones of adult chickens; (3) Development stage of the leg spur in cocks: Except for a few rare cases, adult males have a developed spur on the tarsometatarsus bone while female have none (Serjeantson 2009).

### *Taphonomic Criteria*

Various taphonomic criteria such as butchery marks, carnivore gnawing and burning were noted whenever seen with the naked eye. The taphonomic terminology chosen for this study was based on Binford's protocol (1981) and more recent protocols (Greenfield 2004; Seetah 2006) and studies. The latter focus on Roman and medieval faunal records from Europe (Albarella and Davis 1994; Johnstone and Albarella 2002; Davis 2006; Albarella et al. 2009) and less fragmented bone assemblages, as in Maresha. The number of butchery marks, their anatomical location and direction were recorded (following Dobney and Rielly 1988), and the distinction between "professional" and "non-professional" butchery was determined through the classification of cut, chop and saw marks (Sykes 2014: 15–16). Chicken cut-marks were documented following Serjeantson (2009). Burn marks were detected and ascribed to five different degrees of exposure to fire, following Stiner et al. (1995). Carnivore and rodent gnawing marks were recorded by their shape and location (Binford 1981; Fisher 1995). Weathering marks were documented following (Behrensmeier 1978) to reach conclusions regarding environmental variables. Pathologies of mammals were recorded to evaluate the extent of animal labor/burden and to reconstruct the ancient environment (Bartosiewicz 2008; Davis 2005; O'Connor 2000; Sapir-Hen et al. 2008; for cattle see De Cupere et al. 2000; Markovic et al. 2014; for Equidae see Johnstone 2004; and for chicken see Gál 2013).

## RESULTS

### *Context and Preservation*

Due to its place of origin, the assemblage had minimal exposure (if any) to destructive weathering conditions (sunlight, roots, acid soil etc.). Destruction of the bones from carnivore and rodent gnawing activity was also very rare. As a result, the faunal assemblage is well preserved, archaeologically and molecularly. In addition, the entire faunal assemblage demonstrates a significantly high level of completeness (NISP/MNE = 1 or very close to it for all mammals and avians). It seems like most skeletal elements had barely been crushed, either

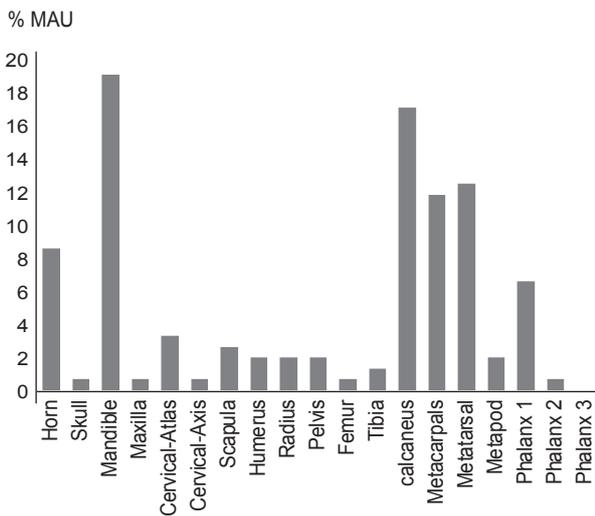
as part of the animal's consumption (when butchered, prepared for cooking, cooked and eaten) or by destruction at the site.

### *Occurrence and Relative Importance of Various Animals*

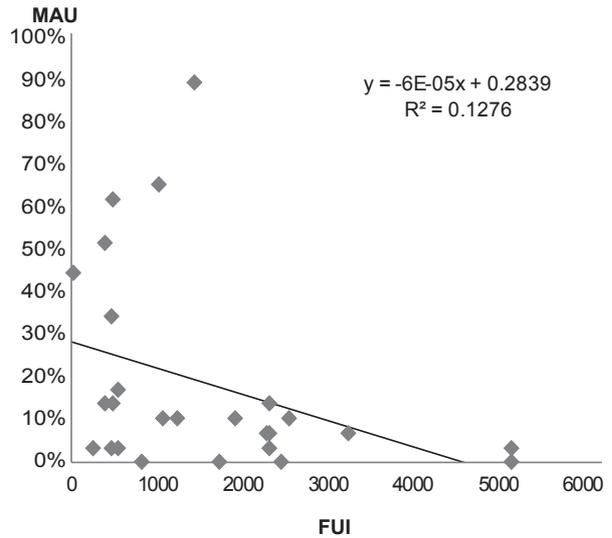
The faunal assemblage retrieved from SC169 consisted of 1,953 identified skeletal elements (NISP). Within this assemblage 83.8% were domesticated livestock and burden species (including sheep, goat, cattle, pig, Equidae, camel and chicken), 2% are

of wild mammals and reptiles, 3.2% are of wild birds and 11% are of sea and fresh-water fish (Table 1).

The morphometric analysis of certain skeletal parts, especially the metapodials of goat (*Capra hircus*) vs. sheep (*Ovis aries*) clearly favored goat. The latter constituted 41% of the caprine assemblage, while sheep composed only 26% (another 33% were of elements that could not be clearly identified as either sheep or goat). Skeletal distribution showed the presence of most caprine skeletal parts. The most commonly observed cranial body parts were teeth, jaws and horns, and for the post-cranial parts, limb edges such as metacarpals, metatarsals and phalanx were most common. Central body parts presented less frequently (Fig. 11.1). The pattern observed is affiliated with butchery remains characterized by both meaty (e. g. femur, humerus) and non-meaty parts (e. g. metapods, phalanx, horns) (Hellwing and Gophna 1984) (Fig. 11.2). Note that due to the bias caused by the large number of astragals, this element was excluded from the latter two analyses — the significant presence of astragals is related to practices other than solely as food leftovers and therefore will be discussed separately.



**Fig. 11.1.** Skeletal element profile for goat and sheep. Y-axis values are %MAU (minimum number of animal units). The astragal, a skeletal part disproportionately represented in SC169 (and in other locations in the site) is not included in this analysis to avoid from a bias.



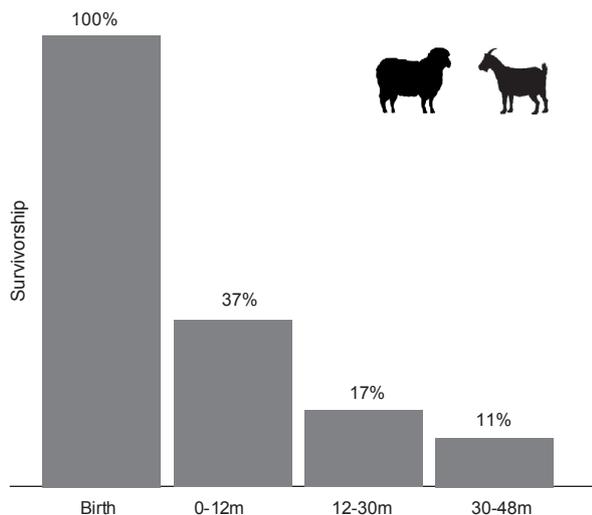
**Fig. 11.2.** Food Utility Index (FUI) vs. caprine's skeletal elements frequency (%MAU). The astragal, a skeletal part disproportionately represented in SC169 (and in other locations in the site) is not included in this analysis to avoid from a bias.

### Herd Management

Herd management of caprines and cattle reflects various characteristics of the local economy and daily life. Herd management is determined by two factor: Age — deciding butchery time, and sex — the composition of males and female in the herd. When we reconstruct the balance between age and sex in the herd, we reveal the backbone of the local diet (meat and animal by-products).

### Caprine

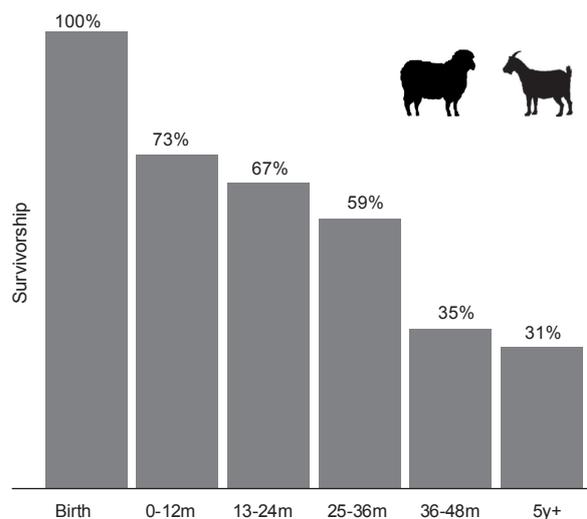
*Age at death.* This element was determined by epiphyseal fusion data for sheep and goats is displayed in Fig. 11.3. These observations are complemented by the tooth eruption and wear stage as presented in Fig. 11.4. According to epiphyseal fusion, SC169 presents quite a steep death curve for caprine, with most of the herd slaughtered by the end of its first year and only 15% surviving to their second year. Significantly, tooth analysis reveals a much more gradual death curve. The tooth curve portrays a pattern similar to modern herds, whereby males are slaughtered at a very early stage for meat and the rest of the herd



**Fig. 11.3.** Survivorship of sheep and goat determined by epiphyseal fusion data of post cranial bones. Age classes are given in month (m) and follow Zeder (2006).

(mostly females) are kept for milk and wool. Sexing of the caprines bolsters the age-at-death observation as indicated by the tooth curve. It indicates a majority of females, and therefore suggests that part of the herd was kept alive until its fourth year for milk and wool (Table 2).

**Butchery marks.** Such marks on skeletal parts are used to reconstruct butchery practices — the way the meat is cut up for consumption and ways of cooking and eating it. Of the total caprine bones in SC169, 13% (94 specimens) bore at least one butchery mark. Butchery marks were equally observed on both the adult (fused) and young (unfused) individuals. Most of these marks demonstrated the initial phase of the meat preparation — disarticulation of the body parts and skinning (85%). A smaller proportion showed evidence of portioning (7%) and sawing (8% — all of which were observed on caprine horns). A closer look at the question of what butchery tools would have been used on caprine carcasses in SC169 shows that most cut marks (total of 57 bones) were made by a knife (Fig. 11.5). This indicates non-professional butchery, whereas chopping marks, made by a cleaver (13 bones), reflect a professional butcher's work (Fig. 11.6). The highest number of butchery marks for



**Fig. 11.4.** Survivorship of sheep and goat based on mandibular dentition (2001). Age classes are given in month (m) and follow Haber 2001.

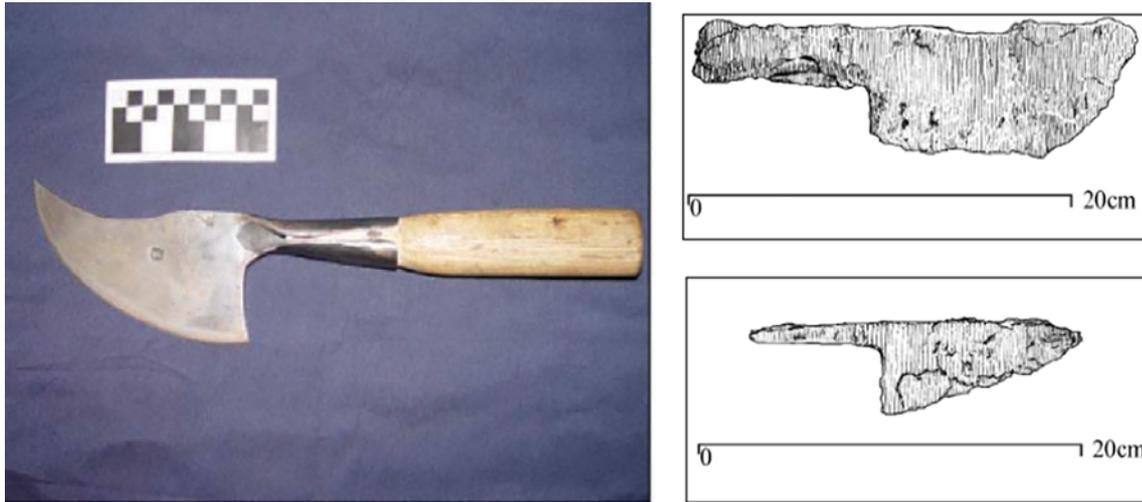
caprines were observed on metapods, metatarsals, astragals and horns.

**Burn marks.** Signs of burning can result either from food preparation or a destructive event at the site involving fire. The level of burning reflects whether the bone was exposed to a direct or non-direct source of fire. Only nine caprine bones in SC169 carry burn marks, most of them reflecting non-direct, mild exposure to fire (categorized as degree 1–2, according to Stiner et al. 1995) and therefore indicating food preparation rather than destruction at the site. The positive correlation between burnt caprine bones at the site and their nutrient value support this observation: The higher the nutrient value of a burnt bone is, the greater its presence in the record.

**Pathologies.** Signs of pathology in caprine bones in SC169 were observed in 0.3% (6 NISP) of the total caprine assemblage (Fig. 11.7). The scarcity of pathologies reflects the considerable health and labor conditions to which these animals were exposed.

### Cattle

Cattle (*Bos taurus*) remains in SC169 constituted only 7% (111 NISP) of the total livestock and burden/traction taxa, a relatively low ratio that could be related



**Fig. 11.5.** Cleaver (upper right: Romano-British, left: modern reconstruction) used for chopping activity; Knife (lower right) for skinning, filleting and portioning activities. Fig. 3.2a-b.



**Fig. 11.6.** Preparation marks on proximal epiphysis of caprine metapodials made by knife.

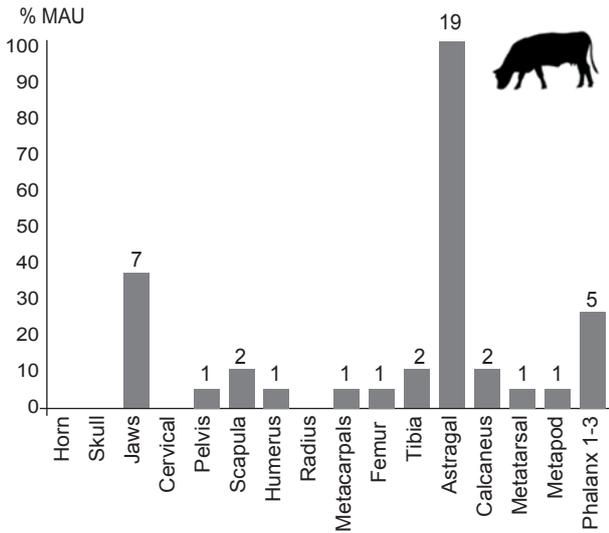


**Fig. 11.7.** Pathology on caprine's left tibia. Possibly a severe case of osteoporosis (following Baker and Brothwell 1980, Table 9).

to the altitude of the site's location (Perry Gal et al. 2015a). Comparative morphometric analysis identified the cattle in SC169 as a domestic breed. Body-part distribution for cattle (Fig. 11.8) shows a pattern similar to that observed for the caprines: cranial parts, and phalanx and tarsals (mainly astragals) were represented in higher percentages. The much higher percentage of astragals is probably related to their presumed non-food functions. Other body parts are fairly well represented and indicate on-site butchering of cattle instead of the import of meat.

*Age at death.* This profile for cattle in SC169 was based on the presence and wear of teeth (Fig. 11.9). The scarcity of long bones did not allow epiphyseal fusion-based analysis. It should be noted that the tooth sample was rather small (N=8). The outcomes indicate that more than 66% of the herd survived up to 3 to 4 years of age. We have no data regarding post-fourth-year culling. This pattern reveals rather balanced exploitation, where a fairly small portion of the herd is slaughtered early for meat and the rest is exploited for secondary products such as milking and plowing.

*Sexing.* This determination vis a vis cattle suggest that a large portion of the herd was exploited for labor. The metric results based on the first phalanx distinguish between two groups: 15% of the first phalanxes sampled were smaller than the mean and were

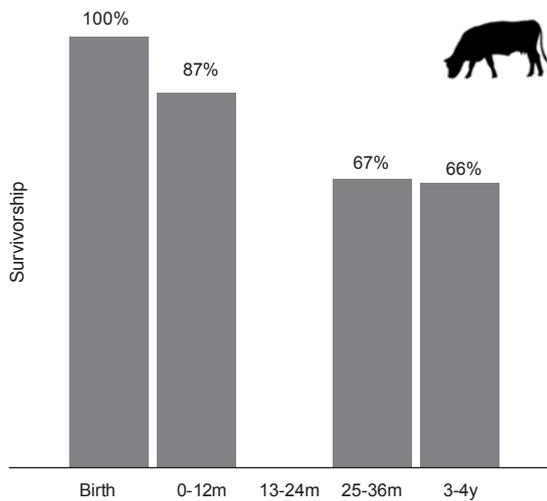


**Fig. 11.8.** Skeletal element profile for cattle. Y-axis values are %MAU (minimum number of animal units). Numbers above columns are counts of bones.

interpreted as female, while 85% of the sampling was larger than the mean, indicating males. The evidence for moderate culling, together with the fact that the majority of the first phalanx bones came from males, suggests that the cattle was exploited more for labor and less for milk products. And considering the high percentage of female caprines, it seems that the site’s inhabitants favored goat milk over cattle milk.

*Pathologies.* Signs of pathology were observed in a relatively low ratio on the cattle bones in AC169. Only two specimens (1.76% of the total cattle sampling) showed pathologies, both of them on the phalanx epiphysis, and are a reasonable indication of the labor stress to which these burden beasts were exposed.

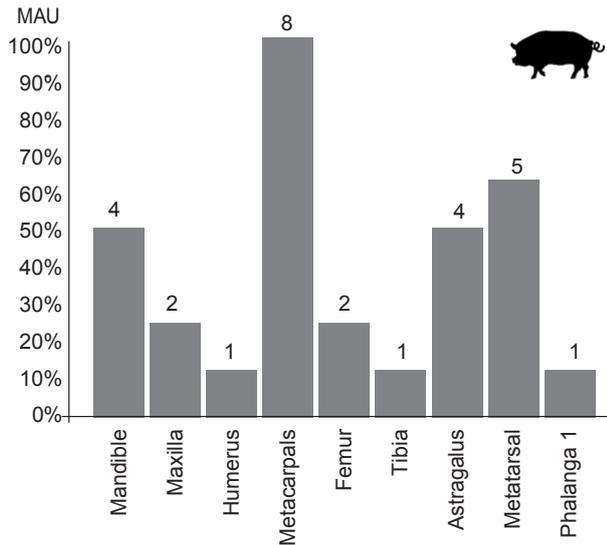
*Taphonomy.* Butchery marks (cutting, chopping and sawing marks) were observed on 9.6% of the total cattle sampling. As in the case of the caprines, most of the marks were identified as knife cut marks, which strengthens the observation of household rather than professional butchery. Other taphonomic evidence, such as gnaw and burn marks were rarely observed on cattle bones.



**Fig. 11.9.** Survivorship of cattle based on mandibular dentition, and the wear level of the permanent molars (Haber 2001). Age classes are given in month (m). The range between 13 and 24 months reveals no data due to lack of finds.

**Pig**

Pig (*Sus scrofa*) remains in SC169 constitute 4% (75 NISP) of the total livestock. As with cattle, the small percentage of pigs can be due to the geographical latitude, with its lack of precipitation. Having said this, the low percentage of pig can also reflect a cultural contributor, or even a dietary preference of cultures that avoid raising pigs, as pigs percentages in sites do not always correlate with geographical/ climate conditions. (Perry Gal 2015 Sapir-Hen *et al.* 2016, Table 1). The pigs in SC169 were clearly smaller than wild boars, and therefore were identified as domesticated pigs. This observation was based on a comparative metric analysis of pig bones and teeth (astragal, scapula, third mandibular teeth) from SC169 vs. several comparative sites. As with other livestock identified here the skeletal distribution of pig included both cranial and post-cranial parts (Fig. 11.10). The low number of pig long bones and teeth did not allow a survivorship curve to be calculated. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that 33% of the total pig bones were unfused, i. e. they represent young individuals and in some cases — even newborns



**Fig. 11.10.** Skeletal element profile for pig. skeletal distribution. Y-axis values are %MAU (minimum number of animal units). Numbers above columns are counts of bones.



**Fig. 11.11.** Newborn mandible (top) vs. adult pig's mandible (bottom).

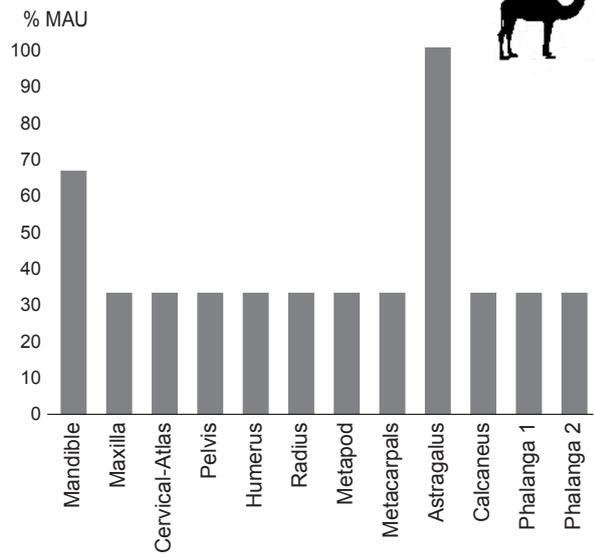
(Fig. 11.11). As pigs produced no by-products and were exploited solely for their meat, culling them at a young age (1–1.5 years maximum) conformed well to their economic role. Evidence of butchery was observed on two pig jaws and two astragals (5.3% of the total pig bones) and included cut marks, chop marks and sawing.

### *Equidae*

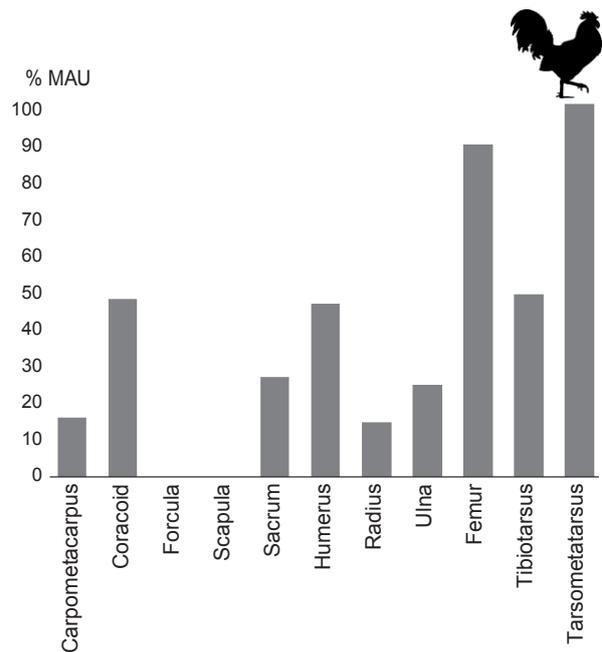
The Equidae taxa in SC169 constituted 2% (31 NISP) of the livestock species and includes horses, donkeys and specimens whose precise taxon could not be clearly determined and are therefore referred to here as Equidae. An analysis of metapod morphometrics and tooth patterns (Motro 2014:29) revealed that horses were present in a much higher ratio than donkeys (7:1). The high percentage of horses is irregular for that period and might reflect an increasing need for these animals a means of transportation. Skeletal-part distribution was found to be similar to the distribution observed for other livestock, with most skeletal parts present — a high percentage of teeth, a few different limbs, tarsals and toes. Age at death could not be computed for horses due to a lack of relevant teeth and long bones in the assemblage. However, most of the permanent teeth had undergone intensive wear (according to the ware stages protocol of Johnstone 2004, Table 2.2), which indicates a high ratio of adult individuals (more than 4 years old), probably exploited for labor and riding until a relatively advanced age. Nevertheless, the presence of butchery marks on fused bones of Equidae shows that adult horses and donkeys were also exploited for their meat. Other taphonomic evidence included three specimens with burning marks and one specimen with canine tooth marks. Two very light cases of “ring bone” pathologies, probably a result of carrying heavy burden (Bartosiewicz 2008) were detected on two second phalanx, reflecting exploitation of the animals for labor and as beasts of burden. However, as in the case of the cattle, the scarcity of pathologies on Equidae bones, particularly the phalanx, implies a moderate level of exploitation for labor and sufficient maintenance conditions of this taxa.

### *Camel*

As appose to the herd species discussed above, camel is not commonly found at most Hellenistic sites in the southern Levant and so its presence in Maresha is interesting in its own right. Camel bones in SC169 constituted 2% of the livestock remains in this area (31 NISP). Based on the first phalanx morphology



**Fig. 11.12.** Skeletal element profile for camel. Y-axis values are %MAU (minimum number of animal units).



**Fig. 11.13.** Skeletal element profile for chicken. Y-axis values are %MAU (minimum number of animal units).

and various morphological indicators (Studer 2008, Fig. 1; Pigière and Henrotay 2012) the species was identified as dromedary. Almost all camel skeletal parts were found in SC169 (Fig. 11.12), and they add up to a minimal value of three individuals (MNI).

Despite their morphological similarity, it is interesting to note the significant metric diversity among the camel bones, particularly phalanx. Metric variability is an interesting phenomenon that was also observed in the chicken population in SC169, and it requires further exploration. As far as the camels are concerned, differentiation between males and females based on the front canines, as noted, indicates two male front canines. Age at death according to epiphyseal fusion of the long bones indicates that 85% of the camel bones were completely fused, i. e. indicating an adult population, 4–5 years of age or more. The heavy wear observed in most of the camel permanent teeth, and the lack of milk teeth, support that observation.

Although most textual and archaeological evidence mentions camels in the context of riding *per se*, the high ratio of camel bones with butchery marks (25%,

NISP=8) in Maresha suggest a rather more varied use of camel — for meat and possibly for milk. Other taphonomic evidence, such as burning and gnawing marks were not observed on any of the camel bones, nor were pathologies discerned.

### Chicken

Chicken was the most abundant fowl found in SC169, and the second most common taxa there after caprines. This species constitutes 40% of the livestock species (650 NISP), a high ratio that has yet been observed in southern Levantine sites of the Hellenistic period (Perry Gal et al. 2015). The skeletal distribution for chicken included all post-cranial parts, but lacked cranial remains, vertebrae, forcula, scapula and phalanx.(fig. 11.13) The absence of the latter parts is likely due to their fragility and, in this case, not to excavation methods. The well-preserved record (NISP/MNE≤1 or very close to it) resembles not only the minimal destruction, but also the non-destructive ways of consuming this fowl, whereby the bones were not intentionally

cut or crushed during preparation or to extract bone marrow, but rather cooked by less destructive methods like boiling or roasting. Lack of marrow consumption also implies a high socioeconomic level and a diet nutritious enough not to crave bone marrow fat.

Sexing of chickens was based on three methods: morphometry, presence of the medullary bone, and presence/absence of the spur or spur scar on the tarsometatarsus (Sejeantson 2009). The morphometric statistical analysis of the ossified tarsometatarsi, distinguished between two groups; a large group with smaller values (females, 55%) and a small group with higher values (males, 44%). The spur-based analysis supported this conclusion and demonstrating a higher ratio of females (2:1) of bones with no spur at any stage of development, i. e. bones of females (total number of tarsometatarsi = 122). This preponderance of hens is further supported by the presence of the medullary bone, found two femurs. This evidence is the most solid, proving that some of the hens in SC169 had laid eggs. The greater percentage of hens relative to cocks is probably due to the added value of egg production, which required keeping the hens alive until sexual maturity and a bit later. Indeed, according to the tarsometatarsi epiphyseal ossification, 26% (44 specimens) are of young individuals and 74% (120 specimens) are of adult individuals.

Butchery marks were discerned on the chicken bones, but no burning or gnawing marks. Butchery marks were detected on 3% (22 specimens) of the total chicken record and included mainly dismemberment



**Fig. 11.14.** Knife cut marks on chicken's femur, proximal shaft.

marks, with a small percentage of filleting marks. Both types of marks were made by a knife (Fig. 11.14). This pattern conforms well to poultry consumption — a small meal that is easily butchered and disarticulated, in contrast to large mammals, whose thick bones had to be chopped and large muscles separated. Pathologies were observed on five chicken bones, indicating skeletal infection and osteoporosis.

### **Fish**

Fish constituted 20% (220 NISP) of the total faunal record in SC169. This significant percentage was deduced from the discovery of multiple vertebrae of fish skeletons. Naturally, fish cannot be considered livestock, but they were definitely an important part of the animal-based economy in this location. The fish taxa from SC169 included fresh-water and salt-water species as displayed in Table 1-D. The fresh-water fish included only two species — carp (*Cephalus*) and catfish (*Gariepinus*), with a majority of catfish, constituting no less than 60% of the total fish record. Grouper, (*Serranidae/Aeneus*), a saltwater species, was the second most common fish (21%).

### **Wild Species**

The wild species in SC169 consisted of carnivores, wild ungulates, microfauna and various birds and fowls (Tables 1B and 1C). The livestock economy at the site was supported by some game-related wild mammals and birds, which constituted 5% of the total faunal record at the site. Deer (*Gazella gazella*) was the most common wild mammal in SC169, constituting 64% of the wild species. Its presence, and some evidence of butchery on its bones, demonstrate the economic importance of deer-hunting. The second most common species is the canine family (dogs, wolves, jackals, dingoes) constituting 23% of the wild mammals. Canines are known to assist humans in herd management and are also kept for companionship. Among the wild birds, the most common species found in SC169 was partridge (*Alectoris chukar*), a meaty bird still hunted in this region. Pigeons (*Columba*) constituted only 11% (7 NISP) of the total wild bird assemblage, an unexpectedly small percentage considering the multiple columbaria at this site.

### Astragals

A remarkable amount of astragals was found in SC169. This makes SC169 a solid case study for understanding the role of astragals in this temporal and regional spot. Caprine astragals were found in disproportionate numbers compared to other caprine bones in SC169, as high as 43% (308 NISP) of the total caprine bones (Fig. 11.15). This abnormal ratio could not be related to economic activity *per se*; but appears to indicate intentional preservation of those bones, not evident in the case of any other skeletal remains. A significantly high percentage of cattle astragals were also observed, although the percentage was not as dramatic as in the caprine remains of this bone (Fig. 11.16).

Of the caprine astragals, 94% are complete and well preserved. The surface of the astragals shows butchery and burning marks. Butchery marks were detected on 13% (40 NISP) of the total caprine astragals (Binford 1981; Seetah 2006). The vast majority of those marks

indicate dismemberment of the carcass by knife or cleaver and saw, probably to disconnect the foot from the limb. Burning to a medium degree was observed in 7% (22 NISP) of the astragals in SC169 (Stiner et al. 1995). No gnawing marks were seen. The distribution of the caprine astragals in terms of body sides showed no preference for a particular side. Modification marks — taphonomic marks not necessarily related to economic activities but rather to various social and cultural activities — were discerned on 21% (65 bones) of the caprine astragals. The modified astragals include polished (N=40), drilled (N=12) and inscribed (N=11). Astragal-shaped glass objects (N=2) were also observed. One drilled sheep astragal had metal remains compressed on the sides of the drilled hole. Chemistry analysis identified the metal as lead.

Of the 11 inscribed astragals found in SC169, all were caprine. The inscriptions include the names of the goddess Nike (NIKH). Other objects bear Greek numbers and letters. There were no inscribed cattle astragals; however, two cattle astragals were drilled.

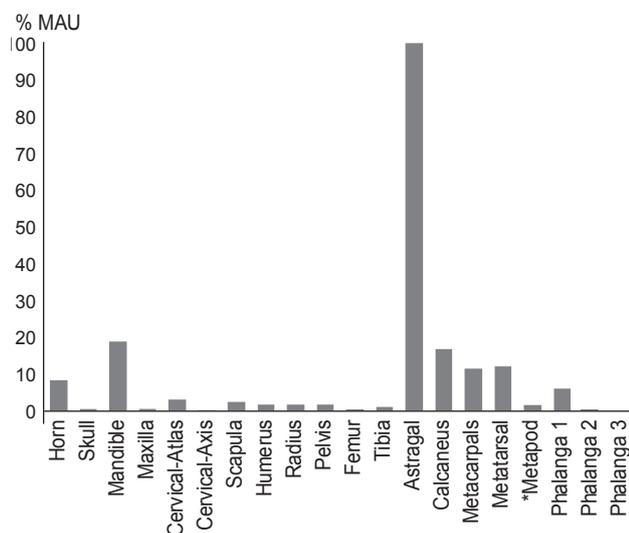


Fig. 11.15. Astragal vs. other skeletal elements for sheep and goat.

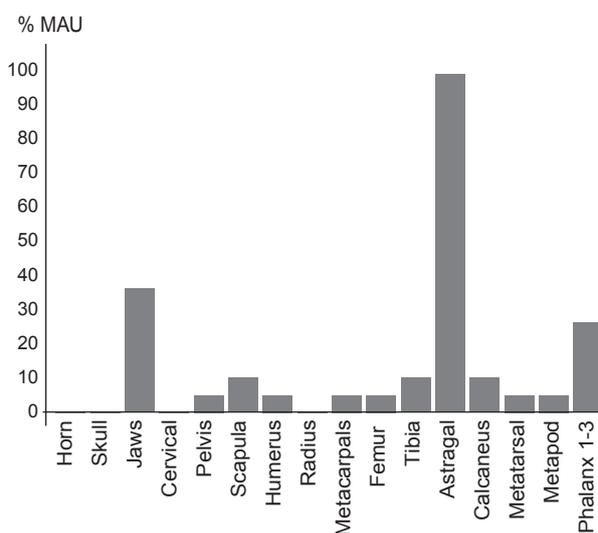


Fig. 11.16. Astragal vs. other skeletal elements for cattle.

## DISCUSSION

*Summary and Conclusions*

The fauna assemblage from SC169 presented helps reveal the animal-based economy of this location's inhabitants. The basic economy in SC169 consisted of herd management of large mammals, such as caprines and cattle, together with autarkic chicken raising and management. These species are not only a source of meat and poultry, but also suppliers of labor, dairy and wool products and eggs. This prime economy was supported by local and imported fish, a small percentage of domestic pigs, and a small amount of wild mammals and birds. Horses, donkeys and camels in particular were exploited mainly for transportation and labor but to a lesser extent, also for their meat and secondary products.

Based on the aging and sexing profiles of the livestock herds, the economy of SC169 can be defined as a productive economy, which was largely based on its own products rather than imported ones. The herding pattern revealed in SC169 indicates moderate slaughtering of young individuals for meat, while a substantial portion of the herds was kept for labor and secondary products as well as to maintain the continuity and productivity of the herds for the following years. Animal-product surpluses were probably traded with consumers at non-productive nearby sites — usually large urban centers. The ability to purchase a variety of local and imported fish revealed in the excavation, as with the purchase of any other imported product, indicates high socioeconomic status of at least part of the population.

A phenomenon that is well documented by the chicken and camel remains from SC169 is innovativeness and progress in economy and commerce by

the Hellenistic period. Chicken constituted no less than 40% of the livestock taxa in the complex. These data are currently the earliest evidence for the raising of chickens and eggs for economic purpose in the Western world (Perry Gal et al. 2015b). As for the camel remains, these reflect the intensification of commerce and the increasing role of this species in the Hellenistic Levant. This study indicates that in SC169, camels were used mainly for transportation and as beasts of burden, but also for their meat and secondary products, such as dairy items and leather.

The astragals are an interesting case study in its own right, reflecting another angle of this location's complex daily life and cultural customs. SC169 revealed both a remarkably high number of astragals (361), and a substantial ratio of inscribed astragal relative to other sites in the Hellenistic Levant. In the ancient Near East, astragals were largely associated with gaming and divination (Southern Levant: Gilmour 1997; Anatoly: Greaves 2012; Greece: Prummel 2005; Turkey: Young 1962). The inscriptions include multiple replications of the name “Nike,” and several other gods/goddesses related to love, marriage, relations and fertility — subjects considered feminine in the old world (Erlich 2017). The other attribution of astragals, to rituals and divination, is supported and echoed in the rich assemblage of Aramaic ostraca from SC169, which includes divination inscriptions. It would be somewhat forced to drawing a clear boundary between the use of astragals for gaming and for divination. It is very plausible that these activities were integrated, and carried out mostly by women. The astragals from Maresha will be further discussed in detail in future research.

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inscriptions on the caprine astragals; to Omri Lernau for his assistance in studying the fish assemblage; and to Tal Fried for her assistance in studying the micro-fauna assemblage.

Table 1.

Scientific name	Species	שם עברי	NISP	MNI	%NISP
<b>A-Domestic livestock</b>					
<i>Capra hircus/Ovis aries</i>	Sheep/goat	עז/כבש	740	153	45%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Cattle	בקר	111	19	7%
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig	חזיר	73	7	4%
Equidae	Horse, donkey, mule	סוס, חמור, פרד	31	2	2%
<i>Camelus dromedarius</i>	Dromedary camel	גמל	31	3	2%
<i>Gallus gallus domesticus</i>	Chicken	תרנגול	652	82	40%
<b>Total</b>			<b>1638</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>B-Wild species Mammals &amp; Reptiles</b>					
Canidae	Canis aureus, canis lupus, dog	כלב, זאב, תן	9	2	23%
<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	Red fox	שועל אדום	2	1	5%
<i>Gazella Gazella</i>	Gazelle	צבי ארץ ישראלי	25	6	64%
<i>Hystrix indica</i>	Indian crested porcupine	דרבן מצוי	1	1	3%
Spalax	Mole	חולד ארצישראלי	2	1	5%
<b>Total</b>			<b>39</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>C-Birds</b>					
Columba	Pegion	יונה	7	2	11%
<i>Anser anser domesticus</i>	Domestic goose	אווז הבית	2	1	3%
<i>Alectoris chukar</i>	Partridge	חגלה	33	6	52%
Aves	Birds	ממשפחת העופות	21	2	33%
<b>Total</b>			<b>63</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>D-Fish</b>					
Serranidae/Aeneus	Groupers, white grouper	דקריים, דקר המכמורת	46		22%
Sciaenidae/Regius	Drums, meagre	מוסריים, מוסר מלכותי	3		1%
Sciaenidae/Umbra	Brown meager	מוסריים, אוכם גדול קוץ	1		0%
Sparidae	Porgies	ספרוסיים	3		1%
Sparidae/Aurata	Porgies, gilthead sea bream	ספרוסיים, ספרוס זהוב	2		1%
Mugilidae	Mulletts	קיפוניים	16		8%
Mugilidae/Cephalus	Mulletts, flatheaded gray mullet	קיפוניים, קיפון גדול ראש	1		0%
Cyprinidae	Carps	קרפיוניים	1		0%
Clariidae/Gariepinus	North African catfish, Nile catfish	שפמוניים, שפמון מצוי, ברבוט	128		60%
Rays and Skates	Rays	חתולי ים	1		0%
Balistidae/Carolinensis	Trigger fishes, gray trigger fish	נצריים, נצרן ים תיכוני	5		2%
Sharks	-	כרישים	1		0%
Carangidae	Jacks	צניתיים	4		2%
Scombridae/Alleteratus	Little tunny	קוליאסיים, טונית אטלנטית	1		0%
<b>Total NISP</b>			<b>213</b>		<b>100%</b>

**Table 2.** Sexing of caprine based on comparison of archaeological specimens from unknown sex from SC169 to modern specimens from known sex, i.e. — male/female (Zeder 2001).

Specimen	Ref	Metacarpal Bd (Mean)	Standard deviation
Maresha (unknown sex)	This study	28.21	1.88
Modern (male)	Zeder 2001	33.18	1.72
Modern (Female)	Zeder 2001	26.92	1.20

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CHAPTER 12  
THE ARAMAIC DIVINATION TEXTS  
*Esther Eshel and Michael Langlois*

INTRODUCTION

The southern foothills of Maresha have yielded more than 1,200 Greek and Semitic — mainly Aramaic — inscriptions dated to the Hellenistic period (see Eshel 2010, 2014). Among them, 360 are from SC169. According to a preliminary survey, most of these ostraca and inscriptions bear names or tags. However, a group of ca. 127 Aramaic ostraca, paleographically dated to the third or second century BCE, stands out as a different literary genre. These inscriptions share a similar textual structure, characterized by two main elements.

One element is the frequent beginning of sentences with a conditional clause introduced by the Aramaic  $\eta$ , sometimes preceded by a conjunction  $\imath$ . In preliminary publications we translated it “(and) if” but, after further study, it appears that these  $\eta$  often function together as alternatives and sometimes as opposites with the addition of a negation  $\imath$ . They may therefore be more adequately translated as “either ... or”; while the  $\imath \eta$  means: “alternatively,” as suggested orally by Theodore Kwasman.

Another element is one of the more popular conditional clauses among these ostraca: the formula  $\eta \imath \imath \eta$ , which may be translated “either/or (it is) from  $\langle$ the $\rangle$  gods/Elahin.”

Most of the inscriptions in this group are fragmentary; some of them bear only a few words and have been identified on the sole basis of the occurrence of  $\eta$ . It is thus likely that more fragments may be added to this group, while some of the fragments that are

now treated as individual units may actually belong to the same inscription judging by the similarity of their script. As a result, the exact number of inscriptions in this group remains unknown.

Only a few of these ostraca are complete or almost complete; indeed, the pottery sherds chosen by the scribes were not always the most durable ones. At least one inscription was written on the upper part of a jar, including the rim. In another instance, the letters were inscribed on a bowl fragment, extending over the black stripe that decorated its upper part. In yet another case, several inscriptions seem to have been written in scattered columns across a single bowl. The study of this collection was first done by Esther Eshel jointly with Rivka Eltizur-Leiman. A series of multispectral photographs, with further computer-assisted enhancement, was taken by Michael Langlois. The corpus is now being prepared for publication by Esther Eshel and Michael Langlois.<sup>1</sup> All the technical equipment, including the camera, filters and computer and students’ assistance were sponsored by the Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History, to which we are very grateful. The future study of this corpus will mainly be supported by the Maïmonide-Israel Research Program, 2018–2020.

The group of  $\eta$  inscriptions from Maresha is a very distinctive and peculiar cluster of ostraca. Early attempts at reading some of them were confronted with numerous problems at all levels, from paleography to syntax. As often in such cases, these issues

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks are also due to Ada Yardeni and Shaul Shaked for their assistance in our first steps with some of these ostraca, and to Mark Geller and Theodore Kwasman for their great help reading some ostraca and helping to interpret them. The responsibility of this chapter is ours alone.



may be resolved by studying the corpus as a whole, rather than reading each inscription individually, and by beginning with the edition of complete inscriptions first. This is the case of ostracon No. 94–1532-S9,

which is almost complete, and will serve as basis for the study of the script, vocabulary, syntax and genre of these ostraca.

## SCRIPT

Ostraca are usually meant to be read by a small number of people — sometimes by a single person — and thus employ a careless, cursive script. Their decipherment often requires a broader understanding of their content. In the present case, both their script and their content challenge our ability to decipher them based on our experience with Aramaic inscriptions from the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Some letters were easy to recognize, especially  $\psi$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\beth$ , and final  $\daleth$ . But others were much more difficult to identify, especially since the words themselves were unidentified (and sometimes, as we later found out, not attested in Aramaic). Our work on one of the largest and most complete inscriptions has nonetheless enabled us to prepare the following paleographical chart (see Fig. 12.1).

This chart was not hand-drawn but prepared from multispectral imaging of the ostracon: a series of photographs was taken at various wavelengths, and the photograph showing the best contrast between ink and clay was selected. Our experiments have shown that no single wavelength works best for all ostraca; photographs must be selected on a case-by-case basis. In the present case, the best wavelength was 830 nm, an infrared wavelength invisible to the naked eye. Each letter was extracted using professional image editing software and enhanced in order to obtain a black-and-white image. Ligatures were intentionally left so that the chart better reflects the environment's influence on the ductus. Likewise, the table systematically distinguishes between initial, medial and final positions; the influence of such positions (or lack thereof) is reflected in the chart and will be discussed below. Letters that were too degraded or that were superfluous were removed from the chart, while those whose reading remains uncertain are indicated by a question mark. Indeed, several letters of the alphabet may easily be confused, as we will see now in the discussion of each letter:

- There are various types of initial  $\aleph$ : (1) the first ductus features a straight diagonal preceded by a right arm that crosses the diagonal and becomes a concave left leg; (2) In the second ductus, the left leg is straight and oblique, but still seems to follow the right arm; (3) In a third ductus, the left leg is almost flat and seems to follow the bottom of the diagonal rather than the right arm; (4) In a fourth ductus, the left leg still follows the bottom of the diagonal but is rounded, almost looped. When we turn to medial  $\aleph$ , yet another ductus is attested: the diagonal is followed by a straight vertical right arm and by a straight (or slightly concave) vertical left leg; each stroke is thus penned after lifting the pen. In final position, all of these types are attested, which seems to indicate that there is no typical final form. The width likewise varies significantly.
- $\beth$  is quite simple, with a vertical stroke followed by a horizontal base, perhaps wider in final position. The base sometimes protrudes to the right, which may indicate that it was penned from left to right.
- $\daleth$  is more angled than  $\beth$ , and the horizontal base joins the shaft at mid-height.
- There are few occurrences of  $\tau$  and their reading is uncertain; they seem to be composed of a simple shaft, whose head tends to disappear.
- $\eta$ , on the other hand, is well attested and quite easy to recognize with its protruding traverse. Some occurrences are more angular, while others are more cursive and reveal a tendency to simplify the ductus. By comparison, final  $\eta$  tends to be less cursive, with straight legs and a thick traverse.
- $\iota$  is a simple shaft, with no head, and of varying height. It is thus difficult to distinguish from  $\tau$  (see above) or from  $\daleth$  (see below).
- $\pi$  is quite easy to recognize, as is  $\upsilon$ .
- $\gamma$  sometimes uses a triangular shape, which makes it easier to recognize, but more often, it is a simple

- stroke, sometimes convex, sometimes straight, usually shorter than  $\iota$ , but not always.
- A single possible occurrence of  $\beth$  was found on the ostrakon, and like other letters it lacks a head or other features that might help distinguish it from  $\tau$ ,  $\iota$ , or  $\zeta$ .
- $\beth$  is easy to recognize with its ascender, but it sometimes loses its hook.
- $\mu$  is likewise quite easy to recognize, but note the tendency to replace the horned-head by a simple angular head.
- $\nu$  is a simple vertical stroke, sometimes a bit curved at the bottom, other times rounded to join the following letter. In final position, it features a descender of varying length, rarely curved at the bottom.
- A single possible occurrence of  $\sigma$  was found on this ostrakon; its ductus seems indeed more rounded than that of  $\mu$  or  $\kappa$ .
- $\varphi$  is difficult to distinguish from  $\psi$ , as it appears to be a simple concave stroke, sometimes thickened at the top or slightly angular.
- $\phi$  has a hooked head and a horizontal base, except in final position, where it features a tall descender.
- $\rho$  has almost no descender and could thus be confused with  $\sigma$ , except that its ductus seems more angular and its head tends to protrude to the left.
- $\gamma$  is a simple vertical stroke, which makes it difficult to distinguish from  $\tau$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\zeta$ , or  $\nu$ .
- $\psi$  is easy to recognize and features a simple, angular, V-shaped ductus.
- There are two ways in which  $\pi$  is drawn: The first ductus features a left leg slightly curved at its foot but drawn independently; according to the second ductus, the left leg is looped and followed, without lifting the pen, by the traverse and right leg. In any case,  $\pi$  is quite easy to recognize.

In conclusion, this short paleographic description reveals that many letters may easily be confused, notably  $\tau$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\mu$  and  $\gamma$ . This feature is not unique to this ostrakon; a number of inscriptions in this corpus exhibit a similar, and perhaps identical, script. Indeed, the variety of forms attested for a single letter (e. g.  $\alpha$ ) complicates the identification of scribal hands on these often fragmentary ostraca, but it is possible that several or many of them were penned by the same scribe.

On a wider geographical and chronological scale, similar confusions can be found in later Aramaic scripts, especially Nabataean and Syriac, as well as the classical Arabic scripts that derive from these cursive scripts. Given the contacts between Idumeans and Nabateans, one might say that the peculiar script attested on this corpus of ostraca from Maresha constitutes a missing link in the evolution of the Aramaic script in the third and second centuries BCE.

## CONTENT

The vocabulary and recurring themes found in the  $\eta$  inscriptions stand out in comparison with the other Aramaic ostraca found at Maresha. A



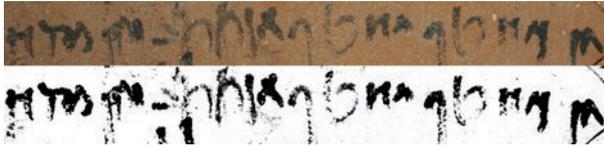
**Fig. 12.2.** Line 5. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (830 nm).

few examples will illustrate their peculiar content. Several of these ostraca are concerned with physical health and mention disease or death. Thus, one reads  $\text{והן מותא והן מחלא}$  “and either death and either illness” (Fig. 12.2) (Reg. No. 169-114-1749-S1, line 5) where  $\text{מחלא}$  which, if taken from the root  $\sqrt{\text{חלל}}$  means: “to be weak, soft, sick.” Likewise, another ostrakon features the plural  $\text{חמטיא}$  “pustules, sepses” (cp. Syriac  $\text{ܫܚܝܢܐ}$ , Sokoloff 2009: 462) and the plural  $\text{ܫܚܝܢܐ}$  “inflammations, ulcers” (Fig. 12.3, line 7) (Reg. No. 169-114-1720-S1;  $\sqrt{\text{שחן}}$  “to be warm”; compare  $\text{ܫܚܝܢܐ}$  “a boil, sore,” see e. g. Sokoloff 2017: 626–627).

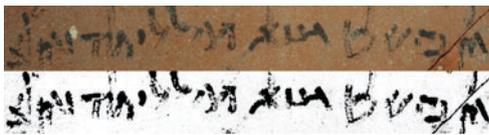
Beyond personal welfare, these ostraca also deal with family issues, especially marriage and divorce. This context may account for such laconic expressions



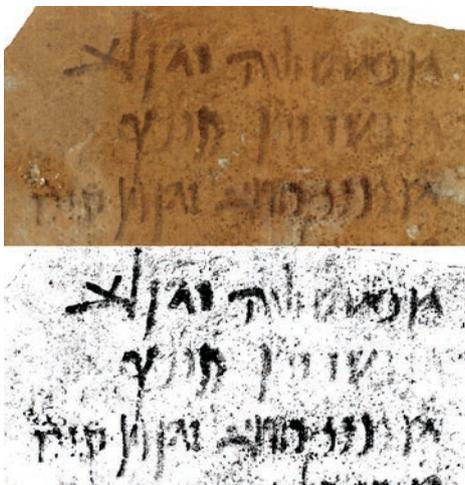
**Fig. 12.3.** Lines 6–7. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (880 nm).



**Fig. 12.4.** Line 5. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (830 nm).



**Fig. 12.5.** Line 6. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (830 nm).



**Fig. 12.6.** Lines 1–3. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (590 nm).

as the one used in ostracon, which reads (obverse, line 5) *מקח והן יחטף אנתתא והן: מקח* and may be translated “either to elope — he will elope ‹with› the woman; or to take ‹in marriage›” (Fig. 12.4) (Reg. No. 169-94-1532-S9). In Hebrew and Aramaic, the verb *חטף* means “to seize, take away,” usually by violence (cf. Ps 10:9; Targum to Isa 60:18). In the context of marriage, it refers to kidnapping or eloping. Kidnapping, for instance, is referred to in the biblical story of the Outrage of Gibeah (Judges 19–21), and marriage by forced eloping is later discussed in the Tosephta (Ketubbot 4:9). The same practice is attested later in the Jewish sources and outside of Judaism (Schremer 2003: 116–117, esp. notes 43–44). By contrast, the second option: *והן מקח*, from the verb *לקח*, simply means “to take” in marriage, as attested in Hebrew, while the common Aramaic verb “to marry” is *גסב*, but *לקח* can also be found, as attested for instance in a marriage contract from Elephantine: [ל]א יכהל ענניה [י]לקח אנתה אחר[ה] בר מן יהוושמע, “Moreover, [Annaniah shall] n[ot be able to] take anoth[er] woman [besides Jehoishma]” (TAD B3 8:36, Recto; Porten and Yardeni 1989: 78–83). This ostracon thus considers two options for marriage: eloping or acquiring. The second is the more common, but the first is also attested for centuries from various sources and communities as a means of resolving issues within or between families.

On the same ostracon, the following line reads *הן בקשט גברא ממלל עמה והן לא* “Either in truth the man speaks with her, or ‹he is› not” (Fig. 12.5, line 7). Whether this line deals with the same case as line 5 or moves to a new case, it does pertain to male-female relations, perhaps a marital conflict that may lead to a divorce. It may be compared with another ostraca, cf. *הן באיש עליה* “Either (someone) something bad against her/him” (Fig. 12.6, line 1) (Reg. No. 169-93-1483-S4).

Various types of locations, settlements and buildings are mentioned on these ostraca, which may indicate a concern for travel or the acquisition of property, perhaps in connection to marriage and family. For instance, the above-mentioned ostracon mentions such terms as *ביתא* “the house” and *מדינתא* “the province” (line 1), as well as *מתא* “the region” (line 2) and *קריה* “city” (line 3; Reg. No. 169-94-1532-S9). Some of these words may also have been used as technical astronomical and/or divinatory terms in connection to the following observations.

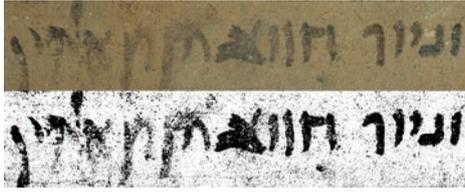


Fig. 12.7. Line 4. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (590 nm).



Fig. 12.8. Line 2. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (880 nm).

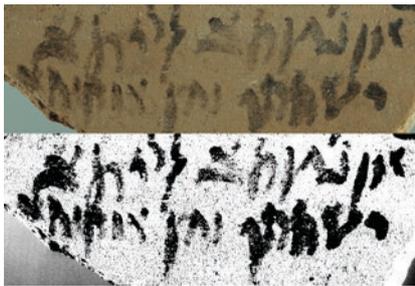


Fig. 12.9. Lines 6-7. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (785 nm).



Fig. 12.10. Line 5. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (590 nm).

Some of the הן inscriptions show an interest in cosmology and astrology. For instance, a reference to Halley's comet might be seen in the expression וַיִּזְדַּק חֲזוּא הַמֵּן מִן אֱלֹהִים “And a comet in-sight, either from the gods/Elahin” (Reg. No. 169-94-1392-S1, Eshel 2011: 181–186) (Fig. 12.7). Such astronomical observations are, as usual, interpreted in connection to divine manifestations and regarded as signs in the context of divination.

Last but not least, these ostraca often refer to spirits, demons and deities, either by generic appellatives or specific names, some of which are well known in the Ancient Near East. One of the more common appellatives is רוּחָא “spirit, demon” (either emphatic masculine or absolute feminine; see e. g. Sokoloff 2017: 594), found several times in the syntagm וְהָן רוּחָא “either a/the spirit” (Fig. 12.8) (Reg. No. 169-94-1532-S1) and once in the expression הָן חֲזִי רוּחָא “either a seer of a/the spirit” (Fig. 12.6, line 3) (Reg. No. 169-93-1483-S4). Another term well known from the Hebrew Bible, שָׁד, also appears on these ostraca (Fig. 12.6, line 2) (Reg. No. 169-93-1483-S4); it is related to Akkadian *šedu* and designates a (good or evil) spirit (see e. g. CAD Vol. 17/2; 1992: 256–259).

Mesopotamian influence is evidenced by the use of the loanword אִתְּךָ (Fig. 12.9, line 7) (Reg. No. 169-9-4-1392-S1), from Akkadian *utukku(m)*, which refers to an evil demon (Black, George and Postgate 2000: 430). Likewise, לִילִית (Fig. 12.3) (Reg. No. 169-114-1720-S1), corresponds to Akkadian *lilû* and feminine *lilitu*, a famous demon for which Mesopotamian evidence reaches as far back as the third millennium BCE Sumerian Gilgamesh Epic. This demon is well known throughout Akkadian literature, including omens and rituals (CAD 1973, vol. 9:190; DDD: 520–521). Interestingly for our context of mainly Idumean habitants of Maresha is לִילִית, known as a night demon who haunts the desolate places of Edom — as we read in Isa 34:14 “There too *lilith* shall repose and find herself a resting place.”

One of the Maresha inscriptions even reads לִילִיתָא (Reg. No. 169-94-1392-S1) (Fig. 12.9, line 6) which, as suggested to us by Mark Geller, might refer to the female demon *ardat lili*, of which we read: “In Akkadian texts *lilû*, *lilitu* and *ardat lili* often occur together as three closely related demons whose dominion are the stormy winds” (CAD 1968, vol. I A, Part II: 241–242). Finally, the less known demon סִינְיָא (Fig. 12.6, line 2) (Reg. No. 169-93-1483-S4), which also appears on another ostraca, was unknown in early sources but later appears with the spelling סִינְיָא on two Jewish Babylonian Aramaic bowls (Shaked, Ford and Bhayro 2013: 92, JBA 11:16; 95, JBA 12:16).

Which gods did they worship? Our preliminary decipherment has revealed six occurrences of the theonym קוּס, Qos, within the divination texts under discussion. For instance, an ostrakon bears



Fig. 12.11. Line 3. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (940 nm).



Fig. 12.12. Line 3. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (590 nm).



Fig. 12.13. Beginning of line 1. Above: color photograph; below: enhanced multispectral imaging (940 nm).

the clause *תקלתא הן מן קוס*, which may be translated “the stumbling, either ‘it is’ from Qos (Fig. 12.10) (Reg. No. 169-68-1316-S3). Qos was the principal god of the Idumeans, worshiped by the Nabataeans as late as the second or third century CE (DDD: 674–677). Besides Qos, we found a mention of *בעל* (Baal), in the clause *הן מן בעל אדיר* “either from mighty Baal” (Fig. 12.11) (Reg. No. 169-68-1331-S2). The name of this storm god comes from the eponymous Semitic noun *bʿl* “lord, owner.” This common noun is used as a theonym as early as the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries BCE in Egyptian texts, Akkadian documents such as the Tell el-Amarna letters, the Alalakh tablets, Ugaritic texts and, later, in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions (DDD: 132–139).

The *הן* inscriptions also mention a female deity named *נני*, Nanay or Nanaya (Fig. 12.12) (Reg. No. 169-94-1533-S6), a Mesopotamian goddess of love who shares many of the same characteristics as Ishtar (cf. Inanna), identified by the Greeks with Artemis. The cult of Nanaya is documented for a period covering at least three millennia, beginning in Sumerian Uruk, at the end of the third millennium BCE. Her cult developed throughout the Persian Empire and is attested until ca. 1000 CE (DDD: 612–614). Around the time of these ostraca, there was a “temple of Nanaia” in Elymis (biblical Elam), whose priests killed Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 164 BCE (2 Macc 1:13; see Goldstein 1983: 154, 170)<sup>2</sup>. Nanay or Nananya also seems to appear in Papyrus Amherst 63, an Aramaic document from Egypt written in the Demotic script and perhaps dated the fourth century BCE (Column xvii of P. Amh. 63; see Holm 2017).

In this context, the frequent use in ostraca of the plural *אלהין* in such clauses as *הן מן אלהין* “either/or (it is) from gods/Elahin” on the SC169 ostraca probably points to a polytheistic environment. The lack of definite article also allows for a reading of Elahin as a theonym, but in any case this usage stands in sharp contrast to the emphatic singular *אלהא*, God attested in contemporary Jewish Aramaic documents. Added to the fact that no occurrence of the Tetragrammaton has been found so far, the evidence points to a non-Jewish origin for these documents.

The recurrence of syntagms of the type *הן מן* + theonym, translated “Either/or ‘it is’ from DN (e. g. Qos, Baal),” strongly suggests that these ostraca were divinatory in nature and used to inquire about such issues as health, marriage and property. To substantiate this interpretation, we considered possible parallels in the Mesopotamian world, where conditional omens are common forms of divination. There are, indeed, general similarities between the *הן* inscriptions from Maresha and Akkadian omen texts. Thus, for example, the fragmentary

<sup>2</sup> The verse here says that the temple was in “Persia,” but based on 1 Macc 6:1 and other sources it is clear that it refers to the temple in Elam, where a wealthy temple of Artemis was known, see Schwartz 2008: 148.

phrase: *הן תפתח תרעא* “if a gate will be opened,” may be compared, as suggested by Rivka Elitzur-Leiman, to a series of omens which deals with the direction of a house’s doorways: “If a house’s doorways open towards the south, the inhabitant of that house will be happy; If a houses doorways open towards the north, the inhabitant of that house will not be happy” (Freedman 1998: 95, Tab. 5:71–72). On the other hand, Mesopotamian omens feature a clearer structure, as their protasis and apodosis are usually complete; by comparison, the Maresha ostraca exhibit an elliptical syntax so that their meaning often remains obscure. In many cases, a component of the condition is lacking, sentences are short, and sometimes lack a verb. Such inscriptions, written on recycled pottery sherds, are obviously not canonical omens like their Mesopotamian counterparts. They are, more probably, short versions or abbreviated reminders of local oracles which, we suppose, were used during some sort of divination ceremony on site.

The elliptical and confusing character of these texts led to their early interpretation as scribal exercises, based on the study of parallel texts found nearby, in Maresha Area 61 (Eshel, Puech and Kloner 2007). Such exercises were thought to have been used for

the training of diviners; as they were written in short sentences and were incomplete, they appeared more like notations than complete copies of texts (see below for a discussion of the *Sitz im Leben* of this corpus).

Back to the interpretation of these ostraca as divinations, the identity of these diviners or their customers is uncertain, as there are no personal names indicative of nationality or religion. Overall, apart from the divination texts, the other epigraphic material from Maresha reveals a very mixed population in the late Persian period, with 31% Arab, 24% Idumean, 28% Western Semitic, 9% Judahite, 5% Phoenician, and 3% others (Stern 2007: 213).

Two titles found in this collection might shed light on this question, as they might be referring to diviners. The title *ענני* found at the beginning of an ostrakon (Fig. 12.13) (Reg. No. 169-114-1749-S1) relates to the root *ענן*, which means in Aramaic “to practice sorcery”; see the Hebrew *מְעוֹנֵן*, *מְעוֹנֵיִם* (HALOT s. v. *ענן*, *polel*), cf. 4Q513 frg. 3–4:5 *אשר הר[א]ה ענני[...]* ולא מתורת משה [...] and not form the law of Moses.” Another connection is the title *גזרא*, “a diviner”; see Dan 2:27; 4Q242 fr. 1–3:4 *והוא יהודי גזר והוא*... “and He forgave my sins. An exorcist — a Jew.”

### SITZ IM LEBEN

As suggested above, these are divination texts. Such an interpretation is reinforced by the presence, in SC169, of other archaeological finds which are cultic in nature, and might be related to divination. Indeed, excavations have unearthed more than 385 aniconic *kernos* lamps attached to vessels like those used in various rituals throughout the Hellenistic world; these *kernos* lamps represent ca. 50% of the total number of lamps found in SC169 (See Chapter 10). Likewise, 17 chalk models of phalli were found; they were probably used for cultic purposes, connected to fertility rites or perhaps used as votive objects (see Chapter 5).

Last but not least, 63 astragals were found and may have been used for divination (see discussion below). This rich cultic assemblage may be connected to a monumental building located ca. 30m away, in Area 800, which Amos Kloner and Nili Graicer identified as a shrine (Graicer 2012: 183–193; Kloner 2001). These archaeological finds thus offer us a unique insight into the nature and practice of divination and cult at Maresha.

There is more: SC169 is only ca. 10m away from SC57, where the famous Heliodorus Stele was discovered.<sup>3</sup> This stele refers to the appointment, by Seleucid King Seleucus IV, of a certain Olympiodoros to a position of religious power in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia.

3 In 2007, Hannah Cotton and Michael Würle published the first fragments (A+B) of an inscription found in a private collection. In 2009 three more fragments (C, D, E) of the same inscription, found *in situ* at Maresha, were published. For the preliminary report see Stern, 2009: 60–61. The inscription was studied by Gera 2009: 25–155; Jones 2009: 100–104.

The proximity of SC57 to SC169 and Area 800 is probably no coincidence, as a stele such as this one would have been expected to stand near or inside a temple.

Let us now have a closer look at the 63 modified astragals excavated in SC169 (see Chapter 11). As pointed out by Geller, these knucklebones may very well have been used for divination. Most of them came from ovine bones, others from bovine bones, while some are models made of lead or glass. One bears a Greek inscription *νίκη* “victory.” The mention of victory suggests a use for game or divination (LSJ: 1176), but *νίκη* may also refer to the eponymous goddess.

In Greek and Roman culture, astragals were associated with luck and used in games of chance as well as divination rituals. But parallels are not restricted to the Mediterranean world, as Mesopotamian texts also document the use of astragals for divination. Geller drew our attention to a Babylonian cuneiform tablet dated to 177/6 BCE and published by Irving Finkel (2008). This and another tablet feature “rules for a board game which is to be identified as employing the later version of the board used for the so-called Royal Game of Ur” dated to 2600 BCE. In addition to the game instructions, “both tablets record a separate tradition according to which part of the playing grid is used for fortune-telling” (Finkel 2007: 16–17). This game was played on a board split into 20 squares

and required two types of astragals — from ovine and bovine — used as dice. As mentioned above, those two types of astragals were indeed found in SC169. It is therefore possible that they may have been used in conjunction with board games; a subsequent survey of excavated material in SC169 has indeed yielded five possible game-board candidates, where what might be a grid was incised on the surface of a stone (see Chapter 9).

The use of astragals fits the “either/or” syntax attested by the ostraca, while cases of multiple answers might fit the use of grids. It is even possible that terms denoting locations, such as “the house,” may actually refer to various squares on the grid, as they are also found in the Babylonian parallels. Likewise, the mention of Nike on one of the astragals might be paralleled by the mention of the goddess of good fortune in the Babylonian tablets. Such comparisons, as well as the identification of game boards or grids, are uncertain and remain hypothetical at this stage. But a connection between the astragals and the divination texts is at least quite probable.

As we continue to decipher these ostraca, we will be able to test and refine our hypotheses. At the end of this process, we will be able to offer a global interpretation and a better understanding of the content and context of these fascinating ostraca from Hellenistic Maresha.

## SUMMARY

A corpus of ca. 127 Aramaic ostraca from SC169 in Maresha presents unusual features and remains quite enigmatic. Most of these inscriptions are fragmentary and difficult to read; fortunately, some of them preserve a few lines whose reading is clear enough to allow for a tentative interpretation. We suggest that these ostraca are divination texts, with the added possibility that they may be scribal exercises for divination within a school for practitioners. Further, we tentatively suggest that these divination texts may have been used together with the astragals found in the same loci and perhaps with board games or grids, should the identification of the latter be confirmed. Such divinatory practices may have been associated with what appears to be a temple located nearby.

The issues dealt with by these ostraca pertain to daily life in the ancient world, especially health, marriage, property and death. These matters are closely related to divine intervention or will, hence the numerous mentions of deities and demons. The purpose of divination is thus to reveal such divine intervention or will and to predict the future. The various divine names and titles attested in these inscriptions do not point to a unique ethnic group but are rather consistent with the presence of a mixed population in Maresha.

We are currently working on deciphering these inscriptions, some of which were written on both sides of an ostrakon and hopefully will be read, interpreted and published soon, in a separate volume.

## APPENDIX

As mentioned in the introduction, this group of divination text is part of a larger group of 360 ostraca found in SC169. The decipherment of this group is in progress and so is its interpretation. As for now, only 57 are readable and understood, more or less, with yet some difficulties. It is expected to be published in the near future by Esther Eshel and Alex Kamensky. As for now, we can tentatively summarize their content as follows:

1. A group of seven ostraca with parts of undated docketts (or commodity chits);
2. A group of 25 inscriptions with a personal names. Since no product is cited next to the names, it is likely that they signify ownership of the jars. Inscriptions that were not preserved in their

entirety might have contained a date and the quantity of an agricultural product. In that case, they should be included in the previous group of docketts.

3. A group of 25 inscriptions with more than one name, sometimes a list of names. These lists could have served various purposes. Included is a unique list of names, each followed by a name of a month.

The names that appears in the above groups are of various origins, such as Idumean, (e. g. קויסיד, קויסנתן, קויסגבר, and קויסמלך); Arabian or Nabatean (e. g. זבדא), Jewish (e. g. עזריה and שמעיה), Greek (e. g. אפליניס), Babylonian (e. g. שמשאל) and Egyptian (e. g. פטובסתתי).

## ABBREVIATIONS

Ⓢ Ⓢ Ⓢ	Certain letter, probable letter, possible letter, respectively.	DDD	van der Toorn, K., Becking, B. and van der Horst, P. W. (eds.). <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (2nd edition). 1999.
◦	A letter that has ink traces remaining but cannot be confidently identified.	HALOT	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Leiden 1995. Volume 2.
[Ⓢ]	Reconstructed letters.	LSJ	Liddell, H. G., Scott, R. and Jones, H. S. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (9th edition). Oxford 1996.
<>	In the translation — word(s) added for the sake of clarity or for what is assumed to be in the original text.	TAD	Porten, B. and Yardeni, A. <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, 2: Contracts</i> . Jerusalem 1989.
CAD	M. Civil, I. J. Gelb, B. Landberger, A. L. Oppenheim and E. Reiner (eds.). <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago 1968; 1973; 1992.		

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## CHAPTER 13

# TERRACOTTA FIGURINES, PLASTIC VASES AND RELATED OBJECTS

*Adi Erlich*

Subterranean Complex 169 is the richest in terracottas of all the areas and subterranean complexes excavated so far at Maresha. The assemblage from SC169 discussed here includes 384 terracottas. If we consider only the 320 Hellenistic-type figurines, it seems as if the assemblage from SC169 outnumbers the terracottas discovered throughout Maresha from 1986 to 1996 (283 cataloged pieces; Erlich and Kloner 2008). Nonetheless, this large assemblage results from an extensive dig spanning 16 years (2000–2016), an average of about 20 finds per year, and if we consider the main seasons of digging (2000–2012), an average of about 30 finds per year. This makes 169 one of the richest complexes in Maresha in regard to figurines, but not very extraordinary. To compare this assemblage with other subterranean complexes in Maresha that were excavated extensively (based

on Erlich and Kloner 2008 for the Hellenistic figurines; Erlich 2014a; and counting unpublished material), SC147 yielded 26 terracottas yearly, SC84 yielded 20 terracottas yearly, and SC57 only 11 yearly. In this regard, SC169, although very rich in figurines, is not much different than other large subterranean complexes at Maresha. The uniqueness of the assemblage lies not in its large size, but in its character. The assemblage from SC169 is highly varied, with many unique types, and brings together both very Greek types with very local groups.

In the framework of this report I shall offer a brief overview of the types, quantities and general features of the assemblage, and what can be learned from the terracottas on the activity in SC169 and its surroundings. Only selected figures will be presented here.

## OVERVIEW OF TYPES AND QUANTITIES

Most of the terracottas from SC169, as elsewhere throughout Maresha, were found in fragmentary condition. Still, many of the figurines are in good enough condition to allow for their identification, and some are even complete. Restoration efforts were invested in three stages: first, a brief examination by Elisheva Kamaisky, the head of the IAA pottery conservation unit; then thorough restoration by Roe Shafir at the University of Haifa, and last, supplements by the author. Each examination yielded scant results. Only a few joints were found, no more than 5% of the assemblage. It was noticed though, that some fragments may have belonged to

the same figurines, according to their ware, technique and type. The small fragments point to the secondary character of the fill in which they were found, which was probably deposited from above.

The varying condition of the terracottas, from complete to tiny fragments, and the possible connections between certain fragments, makes typology and quantification a difficult task. There were two main obstacles in this regard: the identification of each fragment, and the decision whether to include or exclude it from the statistics and typology. For the purposes of this study, all plain back fragments and small unidentifiable fragments were excluded from the discussion.

Nevertheless, unidentified pieces that carry useful information were included, to allow for future identification. Furthermore, for the purpose of this overview every fragment was counted separately, unless it was highly probable that it matched another fragment.

### *Persian-period and Other non-Hellenistic Types*

Among the 384 figurines, about 47 figurines are of non-Hellenistic types, mostly Persian-period types. This proportion of about 12% Persian-period types is normal in Maresha (except for SC57; Erlich 2014a). It should be stressed that although the types are Persian-period in style and iconography, they could also have been in use in the Hellenistic period, as was suggested regarding the figurines from SC57 (Erlich 2014a: 57). Furthermore, continuity was discerned in a few cases. For example, one of the horse and rider figurines of the Persian-period types features a face typical of Hellenistic figurines (Fig. 13.1; compare that face to the face style of the Hellenistic Dioskouroi, Erlich and Kloner 2008: 164, Fig. 133).

The distribution and makeup of the Persian assemblage is unique in Maresha (for the Persian figurines from Maresha see Erlich 2006; 2014a; forthcoming). The assemblage includes 25 figurines of the Shephelah/Idumean horse and rider with a breastplate for the horse (Fig. 13.2); 16 standing figures, both male and female, one Greek protome (bust in Classical style



**Fig. 13.1.** Horse and rider figurine (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)

(Fig. 13.3; Erlich, forthcoming: Fig. 9) and two solid schematic figures that cannot be dated with certainty. Lastly, only three figurines of woman with child seated on her left shoulder are represented in the corpus. This makeup is atypical of Maresha, where in most areas and caves the predominant type is the local horse and



**Fig. 13.2.** Horse and rider figurine (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)



**Fig. 13.3.** Classical protome (photo: Adi Erlich)

rider (about 65% of the figurines), followed by the woman with child seated on left shoulder (about 20% of the figurines), and the rest are split between various other types.

The situation in SC57 is even clearer, with about 70% horse and rider and 30% woman carrying child (Erlich 2014a: 39–57). At SC169 however, the horse and rider is indeed the most popular type, but still constituted only a little more than half of the assemblage, and the woman with child is yet rarer. The variety stands out in the small Persian assemblage, with standing men and women and two Greek types, rare elsewhere at Maresha, a unique protome and a woman with a double polos which finds only a few parallels at Maresha (Erlich 2006: Fig. 9).

About 19 schematic solid animal legs are included in the corpus. Some might belong to the Persian horse and rider type, but many might be of Hellenistic types, such as the rhyta.

### *Hellenistic Types*

The Hellenistic figurine types found in SC169 consist of 318 figurines and fragments. About half, 155 figurines, depict human figures: 61 women (women and

drapery fragments), 42 men or groups (men or man and woman), 47 small fragments of standing draped figures or just figures, most probably women, and 7 large-scale figurines or statuettes of both males and females. The rest of the assemblage is composed of a large group of 70 protome fragments, all female; 24 male riders; 11 animals; 8 Hellenistic pillar figurines; 18 rhyta and plastic vases; 11 arulae and stands (see Chapter 4); and 21 varia and unidentified fragments.

The human figures are varied and include deities, votaries and mortals of Hellenistic koine as well as local types. Many of the figures follow types that have been previously found at Maresha; others appear in Maresha for the first time.

*Females (61 certain figurines, plus 47 drapery fragments, probably females).* Most of the figurines and fragments depicting women and girls depict the figure in an upright position. A few more females appearing in couples with men are counted in the male category.

The largest group, as is normal in Hellenistic assemblages throughout the Mediterranean, consists of standing draped women in the tradition of the Hellenistic Tanagras (for the Maresha variants of the Tanagras see Erlich and Kloner 2008: 29–34, Pls. 13–17). About 30 figurines and fragments of females were counted in SC169, plus more drapery fragments counted in the ungendered group below (Fig. 13.4).

The next largest group is standing draped women. These are not in the Tanagras tradition, but rather a type local to Idumea: women standing firmly in a frontal position, wearing a chiton without himation, and with a molded back and dark red slip, technical features unique to this group at Maresha. Only one example from SC51 has been published so far, and parallels come also from Tel Be'er Sheva (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 29–30, Pl. 15 No. 68). SC169 yielded eight examples deriving from different molds (one unslipped), the largest group of figurines of this local type in Maresha so far. There is evidence for a local production of the type in the cave (see below).

Next comes a group of eight kourotrophoi, both of the standing woman holding a child who is wrapped in her himation (six fragments) and a woman nursing a baby (two fragments). These are types already known at Maresha (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 18–21, Pls. 7–8). Seven fragments might depict goddesses



**Fig. 13.4.** Figurines of a standing draped woman (photo: Vera Lechem)

or other sacred images: two nude torsos, probably of Aphrodite, two heads with special headdresses, one figurine wearing an Egyptian wig and two figurines perhaps portraying Athena. Musicians and dancers appear in six fragments — four trigonon players and two dancers (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 23–26, Pl. 150). One finely modeled head was found. One unique figurine shows two pupils seated on a bench with their writing tablets, of which only the girl survived (the other might have been a boy?) (Fig. 13.5). This scene of pupils seated with their tablets on their laps, often boys but sometime also girls, is known from Alexandria and Phoenicia (Kassab Tezgör 2007: Pl. 80, No. 269; Chéhab 1951–1954, Pl. 65: 2–4.). At Maresha,

another type of pupil with a tablet was found in a plaster mold (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 37–38, Pl. 19 No. 101). According to the fabric this figurine seems to have been imported.

As mentioned above, a further 47 fragments of drapery and body fragments belong to either female or male figures. However, since among the Maresha figurines many men are portrayed nude, it is highly likely that many of these fragments belonged to standing draped women. Furthermore, some of the large-scale figurines (below) also depict females.

*Males and groups.* Forty-two figurines portray males or groups of males and/or females. They are divided into to divine figures that can be identified



**Fig. 13.5.** Figurine of seated pupils (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)

with certainty; probably divine according to their nudity; and mortals.

Twelve figurines portray gods or couples of deities. Eros probably appears four times. He appears twice alone — standing in a frontal pose and holding a mirror, or a riding Eros (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 10–11, Pl. 4, Nos. 15, 13). Two more figurines depict a couple embracing and kissing, a type that might portray Eros and Psyche (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 39–40, Pl. 20, Nos. 106–107). Herakles appears twice as do the Dioskouroi (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 5–9, Pls. 1–2). A bearded deity, probably Zeus, appears once (Erlich and Kloner 2008: Pl. 3 No. 11). Three types of gods each appear once, and for the first time

in Maresha: a couple consisting of an adult and a child, probably Silenus and Dionysos (Chéhab 1951–1954: 90–91, 138–139, Pl. XXI), a relief depicting a crouching figure, probably Harpocrates, and an unusual figurine, imported according to its technology, of a phallic Harpocrates holding a pot (Fig. 13.6; see Bailey 2008: 15, Pl. 12, Nos. 3061–3062).

Fourteen terracottas in this group show muscular, nude or half-nude male figures, some of which are probably divine. One of them is a unique, solid figurine of a muscular man whose arms are articulated (Fig. 13.7).

Seventeen figurines portray men and boys other than deities. Four figurines, one of them complete,



Fig. 13.6. Figurine of phallic Harpocrates (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)



Fig. 13.7. Solid figurine of a seated man (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)

depict a boy wearing a Macedonian cap (Erich and Kloner 2008: 36–38, Pl. 19, Nos. 98–100), three draped boys or men, and two couples of men or boys walking with a duck (Erich and Kloner 2008: 40–41, Pl. 21, No. 111). One complete figurine shows a chubby, nude boy leaning on a pillar (Fig. 13.8). One figurine is unique, and despite its Hellenistic style, is not a koine type but rather a local type; it shows a nude young man walking with a chicken (or rooster) held in each hand. This figurine represents one of the main economic activities at Maresha, raising chickens, as attested by the fauna from the site (Perry Gal et al. 2015; this volume Chapter 11). Lastly, there are two unclear male figures, a figurine of an actor with a swollen belly (Erich and Kloner 2008: 58–59, Pl. 34 No. 187) and four male heads.

*Large-scale figurines:* Six figurines are large, probably 30–60cm high when complete. They were made in multiple molds, and more work was invested in them than in the normal figurines, which are 10–20cm in height. Two figurines depict babies or toddlers, and they are modeled just like a modern ceramic doll.



**Fig. 13.8.** Figurine of a child leaning on a column (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)

One of them has a few body fragments, while of the other, only one hand remained. The figurines are slipped in white and painted. Three figurines depict large, enthroned women, one of them depicts Kybele/Atargatis (Erllich 2009a), and the other two, which are more fragmentary, are perhaps of the same type. One odd figurine depicts a seated figure with legs cut off at the thigh; the figurine was fired before the legs were cut off, perhaps mutilated during a magic ceremony.

*Protomes:* Seventy fragments are of female protomes. Such protomes were discovered in Maresha in the past (Erllich and Kloner 2008: 21–21, Pl. 9), but never in such a large concentration. Furthermore, one of the molds (below) is of a protome. At least 14 fragments carry white slip and colors, and many of the fragments show uniformity in style and technique (though there are several molds). The evidence points to local production of the protomes in the cave (on the production, see below). The protomes include seven heads and many fragments of fronts and backs (Fig. 13.9). Handmade appliqué appears on the side of some of the women's heads, one of which still carries pink color. One complete figurine shows a small bust of a woman wearing himation and holding a flower

(Fig. 13.10). In terms of quantity, and taking into consideration that some of the 70 fragments belong together (but cannot be restored), the seven heads and many arms and body fragments may indicate around 30–40 specimens when complete.

*Pillar figurines.* Eight figurines are of the so-called “Hellenistic pillar figurines” — pointed pillars carrying two stamped faces one on top of the other (Erllich 2014b). This is one of the local types; outside Maresha it has been found so far solely in Idumea. Seven belong to the common variants of this group, and one is a unique, tiny pillar with a single handmade head.

*Riders.* The most common type at Maresha, riders (mostly on horses), are also prominent in the SC169 collection (for this group see Erllich and Kloner 2008: 46–54, Pls. 25–31). There are 24 riders in the assemblage (plus one more Eros riding, mentioned above), of which 18 ride on horses. Ten belong to the Maresha horse-and-rider type 1, which might portray Eros wearing a Macedonian cap and riding a horse (Erllich and Kloner 2008: 47, Pls. 25–26), while eight figurines are of various other types: type 2, large-scale, slipped, head turning left, rider wearing tiara). Six figurines show warriors riding on camels (Erllich and Kloner 2008: 52–54, Pl. 31).

*Animals.* Eleven figurines depict animals. This is a varied group in terms of types and techniques, some mold-made and some handmade. The mold-made animals include two large bull protomes (Fig. 13.11) that may be interpreted as the Egyptian Apis bull (for the type in Egypt see Boutantin 2014: 260–291; Bailey 2008, Pl. 130, Nos. 3718–3720), and another ox of the zebu species might also represent Apis. In addition, there is one boar's head, a head fragment possibly of a rabbit, and a large body fragment of unidentified animal. As for the handmade figurines, they include a snake, an antelope, a lion and perhaps a dog.

*Rhyta and plastic vases.* There are 18 fragments of vessels, of which 15 are horned zoomorphic rhyta, and 3 are plastic vases (Erllich and Kloner 2007; Erllich and Kloner 2008: 65–78, Pls. 39–49; Erllich 2009b). The rhyta include a unique camel with a load of small vases, its horn is broken off; an antelope; two bulls; four horses, one of which is exceptional in its decoration of palmettes; three wheel-made horns and five bent legs of galloping horses. The plastic vases include



Fig. 13.9. Large Hellenistic protome (photo: Adi Erlich)



Fig. 13.10. Small Hellenistic protome (photo: Vera Lechem)



Fig. 13.11. Apis-bull protome (photo: Silvia Krapiwko)

three black- or brown-slipped fragments. One of them is a fragment of a Magenta Ware sandal, imported, which could have served as the inspiration for local imitations, such as the sandaled foot vase found in SC84 (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 66–68, Pl. 40).

*Molds.* Six molds were found in SC169. They produced the following types: a protome, a dancer, a standing draped woman; perhaps a bunch of grapes, or a mold-made bowl; an actor playing a leading slave (Erlich and Kloner 2008: No. 188), unidentified.

### PRODUCTION AND IMPORTS

Although the terracottas have not yet undergone scientific analysis, preliminary conclusions regarding their origin and production can be drawn. Two opposite trends are represented in the assemblage — the dominance of foreign influence (including imports) or features untypical of the Maresha production, and evidence for local production.

Foreign influence is evident in the technology of many of the figurines, which carry thick white slip and remnants of paint. This technique is normal in Hellenistic figurines (Uhlenbrock 1990), but rare at Maresha, where so far most of the figurines are either bare or with colors painted directly on the clay surface (Erlich and Kloner 2008: 109–110). Other details of

modelling are atypical of the Maresha production, such as the extensive use of appliqués and hand-modelled items, and the large-scale figurines using multiple molds are unique to SC169. At least two figurines seem to have been imported, according to their fabric, technical details and unique type. One is the phallic Harpocrates made of an orange clay with a diamond-shape vent (above, Fig. 13.6), and the other is of seated pupils (above, Fig. 13.5). There are also a few imported plastic vases, but they are already known at Maresha; imported figurines however, are very rare in the assemblage.

Local production is evident in the cave. Six molds were found in different rooms throughout the cave. Again, to compare to the figurines found at the site until 1996, the ratio of figurines to mold is similar: Until 1996, of 283 cataloged Hellenistic terracottas, 8 are molds, almost 3%; In SC169, of 318 terracottas, 6

are molds, almost 2%. In terms of the ratio of molds to terracottas, SC169 does not stand out in terms of production. However, there are two exceptional series that imply local production in or nearby the cave: One is that of the many large protomes that resemble each other, many of which are slipped and painted, pointing to a local production. The other is the series of the local type of a standing draped woman slipped in red, which also produced a unique oil lamp (using only the torso part of that mold). Other series that may have been locally produced are kourotophoi and some of the standing draped women. Production may have taken place in the cave itself, as figurines are sometimes produced in caves, for example, the Gerasa Roman workshop (Iliffe 1944). Furthermore, the local figurines may have been produced in the cave specifically for cultic purposes activity taking place in or near the cave.

## CONCLUSIONS

The assemblage of terracottas from SC169 is varied in its nature. A large part of it is typical of the Maresha corpus in general, similar to the figurines previously published from the site (Erlich 2006; Erlich and Kloner 2008; Erlich 2014a; Erlich forthcoming). Nevertheless, certain characteristics of the SC169 assemblage are unique to this cave. The assemblage can be characterized by two seemingly opposite trends — global and local. The global elements, either Greek or otherwise Mediterranean, are represented by specific types that appear at Maresha for the first time — the Classical protome, the phallic Harpocrates, the pupils, and more. The Persian-period figurines are less local in type than those normally found in Maresha. With regard to Hellenistic figurines, evidence was found in SC169, for the first time at Maresha, of the normal Hellenistic technology using white slip covered with paint, in such large scale.

The local element is also very strong. The Persian horse and rider, though less dominant than in other areas in Maresha, is the most common among the Persian types. With regard to Hellenistic figurines, large groups of local types (Maresha or Idumea)

appear in the assemblage, like the red-slipped, standing draped woman, the Hellenistic pillar figurines, rhyta and others. Sometimes combinations of style and iconography appear that were inspired from different origins. For example, the nude youth holding a chicken is very Greek in style, although the type is specifically endemic and reflects Maresha. Other examples include one of the horse riders is in Greek style, wearing a Persian cap, and the rhyton of a horse with palmettes, incorporating local, Greek and even Parthian elements.

Four elements stand out in the Hellenistic assemblage: groups of series, the multiple protomes, large-scale figurines and images of children. The series groups and protomes allude to local production in or nearby the cave, as also attested by the molds. The large-scale nature of the figurines may imply that they were cult statuettes (rather than small votives). The children, who appear in several types in the assemblage, alone or with their mothers (kourotophoi), may suggest a personal cult involving families, perhaps healing, rites of passage or thanksgiving for newborns.

Above all, the assemblage from SC169 shows Maresha as a highly variegated town, with rich imagery deriving from neighboring cultures (Egypt, Phoenicia, Greece), as well as independent imagery

embedded in Maresha and Idumea. This richness, also evident elsewhere at Maresha, reaches its peak in SC169 and reveals Maresha as a vibrant, outlying Hellenistic town.

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## CHAPTER 14

# THE GLASS FINDS

*Ruth E. Jackson-Tal*

### INTRODUCTION

The glass industry went through a major change during the late Hellenistic period. It evolved from production of small numbers of luxury closed and open shapes of core-formed and cast vessels, to mass production of common, open, cast drinking bowls, alongside fairly extensive production of core-formed and luxury cast vessels (Grose 1989: 193–194). This significant change had social and economic implications in terms of the availability of glass to wider levels of society and greatly expanded the glass industry (Jackson-Tal 2004: 27–28).

The glass finds discovered in Subterranean Complex 169 at Maresha provide an opportunity to study glass-vessel use in a specific context at the site.<sup>1</sup> They are an addition to the diverse group of glass artifacts found in excavations conducted at Maresha by Professor Amos Kloner of the Israel Antiquities Authority between 1992 and 1997 (preliminary publication: Jackson-Tal 2005). The glass assemblage discovered in SC169 consists of ca. 350 fragments. They can be identified as core-formed perfume vessels

cast by sagging drinking bowls, tooled pendants, beads, gaming pieces and a rod. A small quantity of glass-production remains was also found. Eighty-seven of the best preserved glass finds are presented here.

Most of the glass artifacts found at the site were discovered in layers of accumulation in the subterranean complex; therefore the chronological contribution of the assemblages rests on the overall dating of the site and the various items discovered alongside the glass finds. The Hellenistic strata at the site are generally dated to the third and second centuries BCE, based mainly on the most common objects found — pottery, including stamped amphora handles (Rhodian and others) and coins. The glass finds can be dated to the late second century BCE according to the terminus ante quem provided by the abandonment of the site in 108/107 (Kloner 2010: 220–221). We can assume they were in use from the mid-second century BCE. The glass finds are presented in typological order according to their technique of manufacture.

### THE ASSEMBLAGE

#### *Core-formed Vessels* (Fig. 14.1:1–12)

Core-forming was the earliest known glass-production technique, known from the mid-second millennium BCE. The vessels were shaped around an organic core and decorated with marvered trails of colored glass, in a lengthy and complicated process

creating small, luxurious perfume vessels (Grose 1989: 31, 46). During the Persian, Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, core-formed vessels were small and colorful, imitating well-known Greek and Egyptian vessel types. They are typologically divided into three groups, the so called Mediterranean

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Ian Stern for allowing me to publish these finds. They were drawn by Yulia Rudmann and photographed by Asaf Stern.



Fig. 14.1.

Core-formed Groups I, II and III, dated from the sixth century BCE to the early first century CE. They differ in their shapes, types, colors and distribution (Grose 1989: 109–125).

Twelve fragments are presented; most are too fragmentary to be attributed to a specific vessel, but four fragments may have belonged to an amphoriskos, unguentarium, aryballos and perhaps a stamnos or hydriskos (Nos. 1–4).

These identified fragments can be attributed to the Mediterranean Core-formed Group II, dated from the mid-fourth to the late third century BCE (Grose 1989: 116). The vessels in this group are mostly found on the Greek mainland (Thessaloniki and Macedonia) and central and southern Italy (McClellan 1984: 322). McClellan suggested this group may have originated in several workshops, in Italy as well as in Macedonia (McClellan 1984: 323). Duncan Jones suggested Gordion as another production center (Duncan Jones 1995: 27, 32–33). This group of vessels is rarely found in the Levant. Very few vessels were found in Israel, an alabastron and hydriskos from burials at HaGoshrim (Engel-Berkov 1966: 110–111, Fig. 8:6–7), perhaps an oinochoe from Ashdod (Barag 1971: 202, Fig. 105:14)<sup>2</sup> and an unguentarium from Ramat Rachel (Jackson-Tal 2016a: 567–568, Fig. 37.1:1). Two small amphoriskoi with the typical knob bases were found in burial contexts at Jericho and Tel Qasile (Jackson-Tal 2004: Figs. 3–4). According to their shape they also belong to this group; however their context is much later, in the first century BCE, perhaps indicating a continuation in their use and production, with an attribution to the Mediterranean Core-formed Group III (Jackson-Tal 2004: 16, Figs. 3–4).

Although few in number, the core-formed finds from SC169 at Maresha constitute the largest group of vessels attributed to the Mediterranean Core-formed Group II from a single site in the region. Accordingly, they are dated earlier than the other glass finds discovered at the site and in SC169 and they are therefore extremely important typologically and chronologically. Fragment No. 1 is a flat, out-splayed, small rim

made of translucent cobalt blue glass, decorated with a yellow trail, which could belong to an amphoriskos or unguentarium. Fragment No. 5 could also belong to an amphoriskos, but is too fragmentary to be identified with certainty. Fragment No. 2 is the foot and base of an unguentarium, made of translucent, cobalt-blue glass, imitating typical Hellenistic pottery vessels. Fragment No. 3 is a large wall fragment of a lentoid aryballos. It is made of translucent golden-brown glass, decorated with feather-combed opaque white, yellow and light green trails and remains of one applied ring handle. This is the first appearance of this type in the region. Fragment No. 4 is the base and wall of a stamnos or hydriskos, made of translucent cobalt-blue glass with yellow trails.

Seven small fragments cannot be securely attributed to a specific type of vessel. They are decorated with applied marvered trails shaped in horizontal lines, feathered, festooned or zigzag patterns. They were made of deep, translucent, cobalt-blue and golden-brown glass with white, yellow and light green trails. Their trail design and colors are typical of all types of the Mediterranean groups of core-formed vessels and thus are difficult to securely assign to one group or another. We can assume they belong to either the Mediterranean Core-formed Group II or III of the Hellenistic period. The Mediterranean Core-formed Group III is dated between the third or mid/late second century BCE and the early first century CE (Harden 1981: 53–54, 122–137; McClellan 1984: 127; Grose 1989: 122–125). Core-formed vessels of this group are known in small numbers from Palestine in late Hellenistic–Early Roman contexts, mainly at urban sites (Jackson-Tal 2004: 15–16). Vessels of this group were found in the IAA excavations at the site (Jackson-Tal 2005: 51).

### *Cast Grooved Bowls* (Fig. 14.2–14.5)

Casting was also one of the earliest methods used to make glass vessels and other glass objects, from their very inception in the mid-second millennium BCE. This method, used to produce closed

<sup>2</sup> Barag dates a small rim fragment to the fourth–third centuries BCE; however, he also states that it was found in a stratum dated to the Persian period. Therefore the very small size of the fragment makes it impossible to attribute to either Mediterranean Group I or II.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

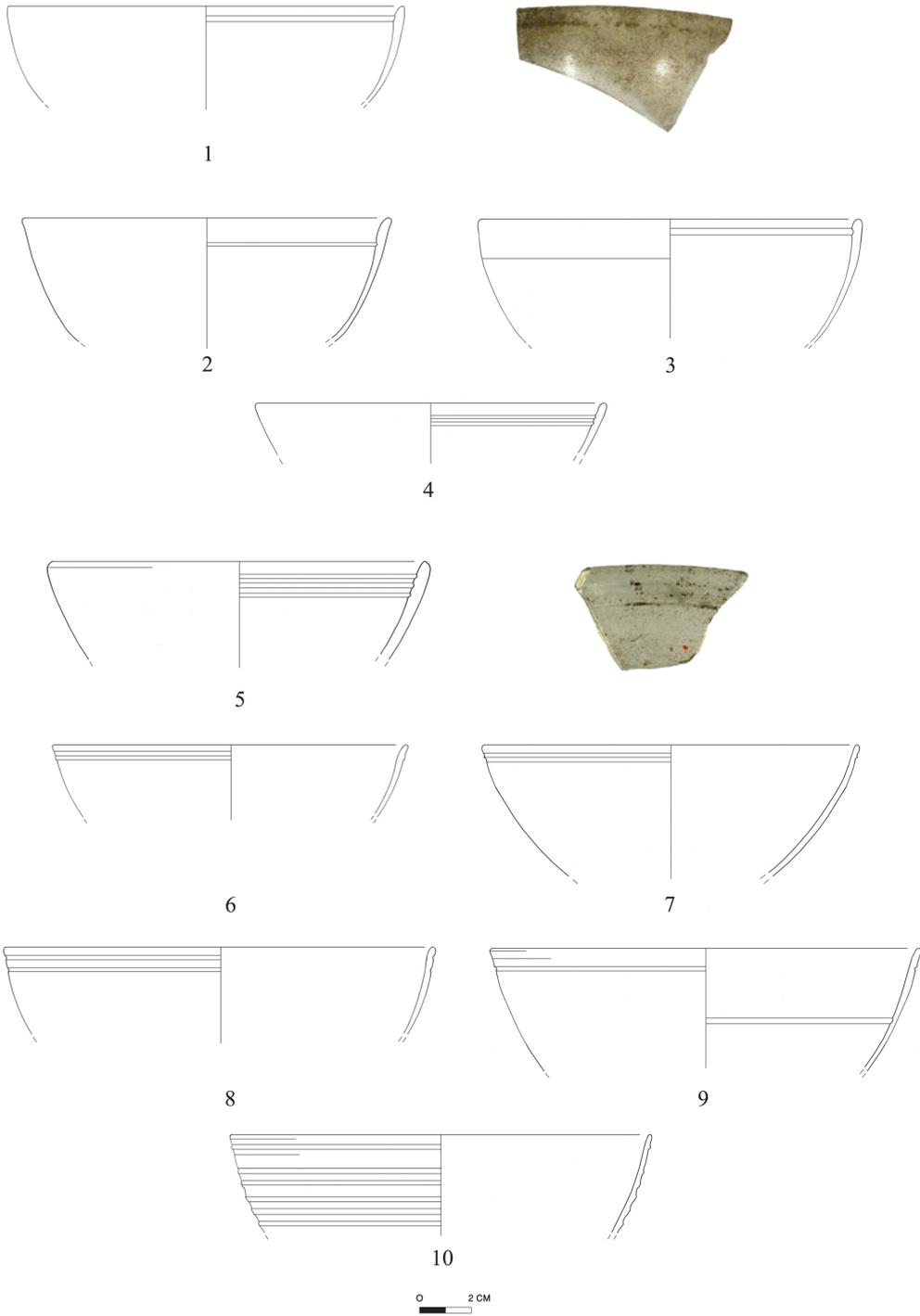
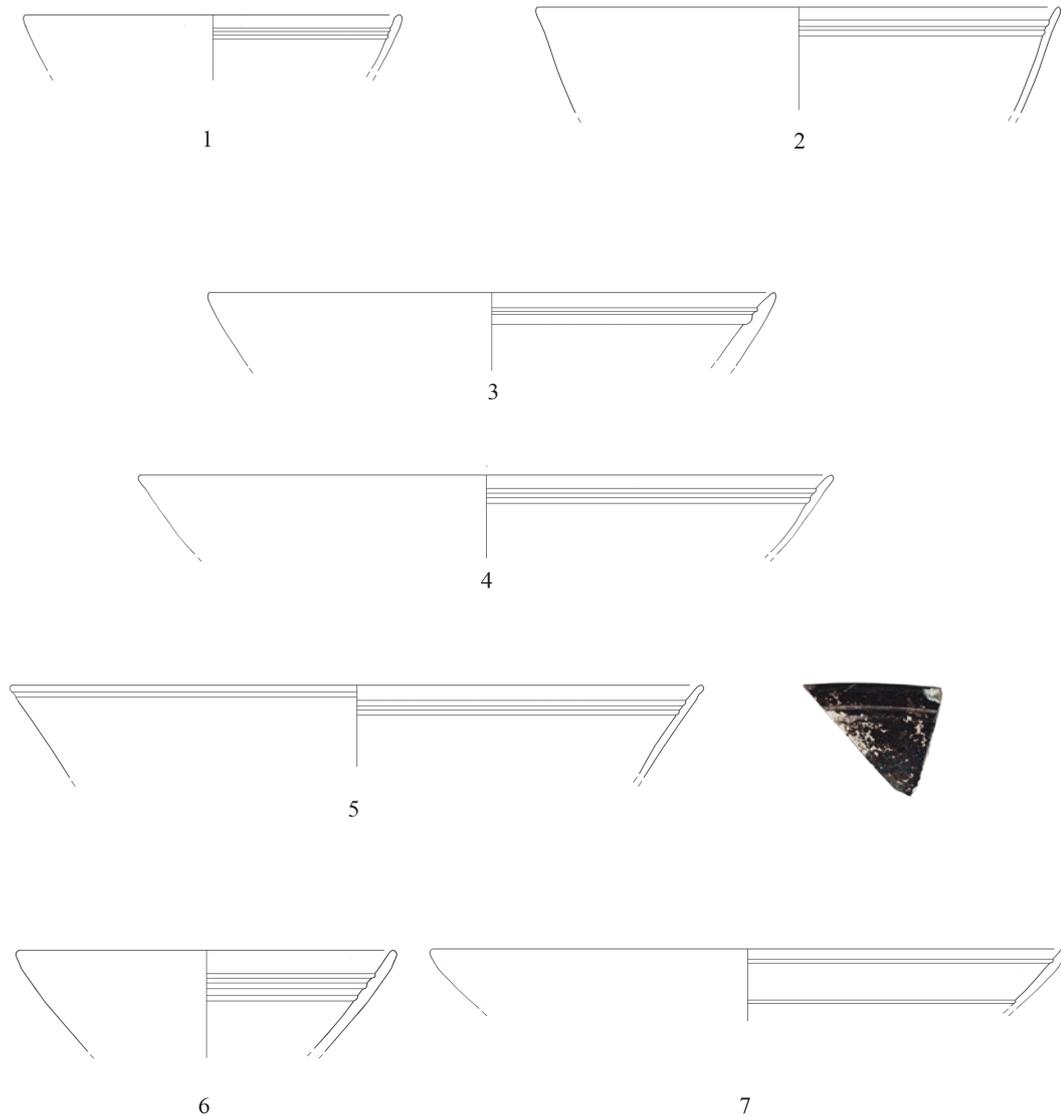


Fig. 14.2.



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Fig. 14.3.

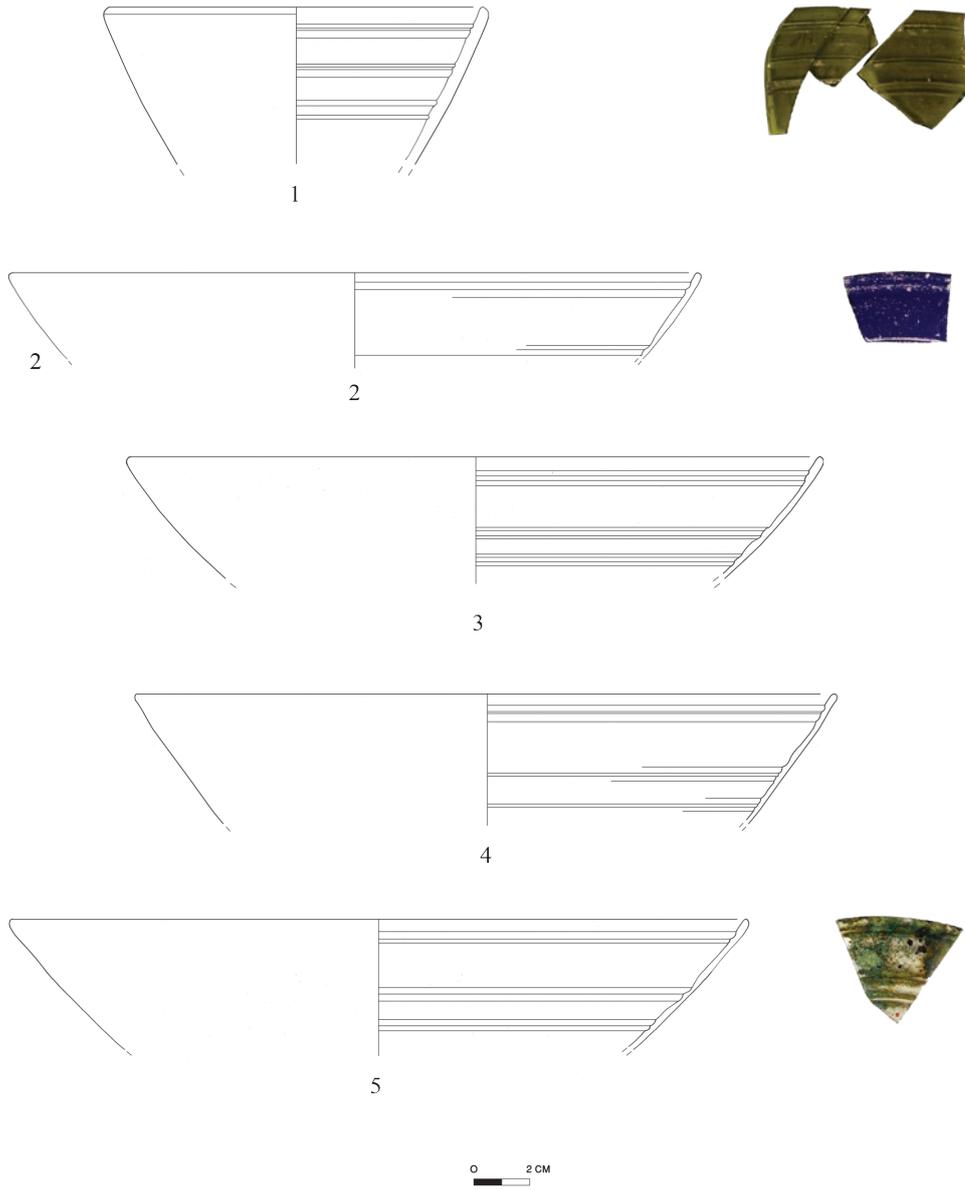


Fig. 14.4.

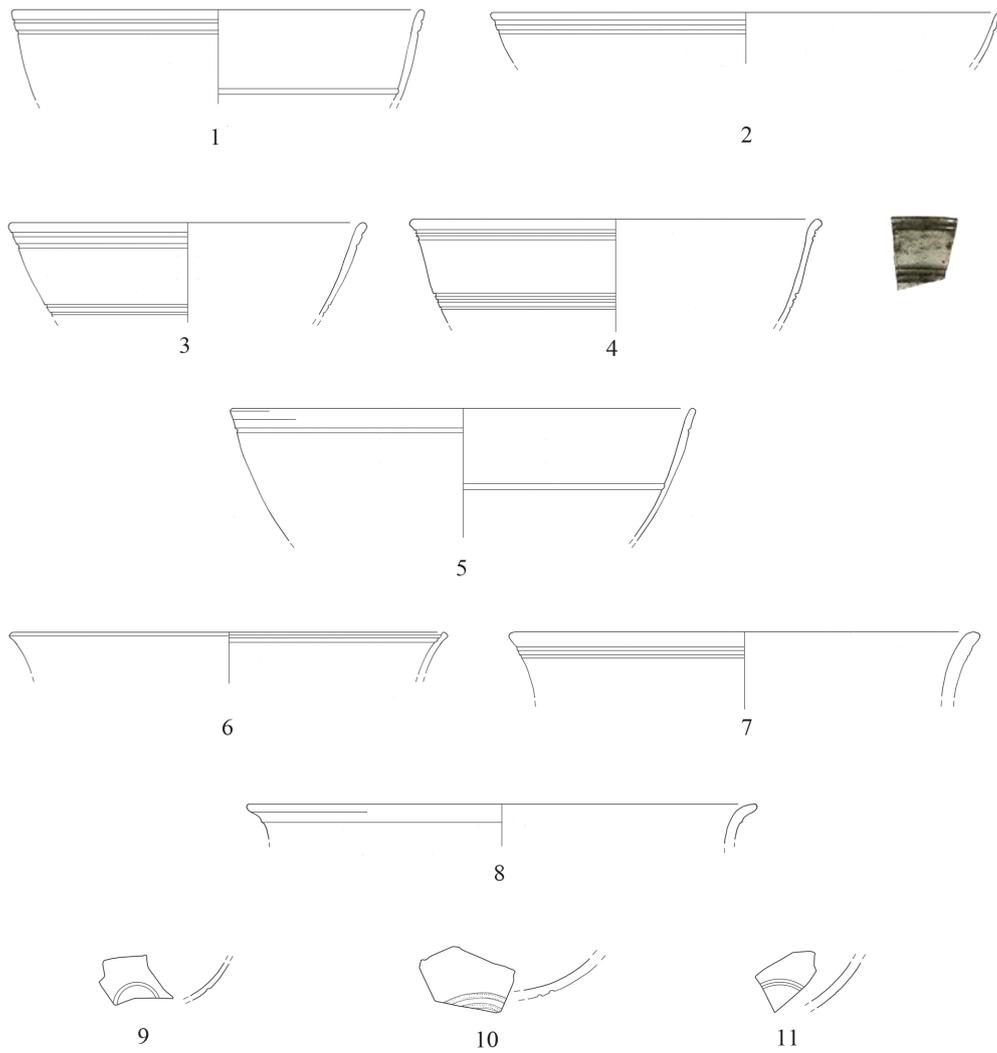
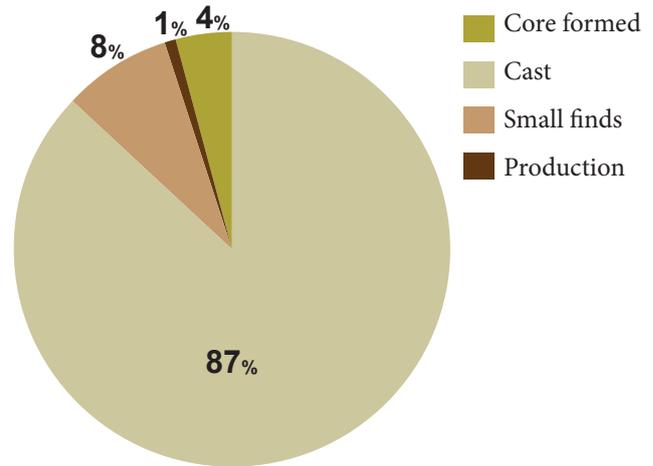


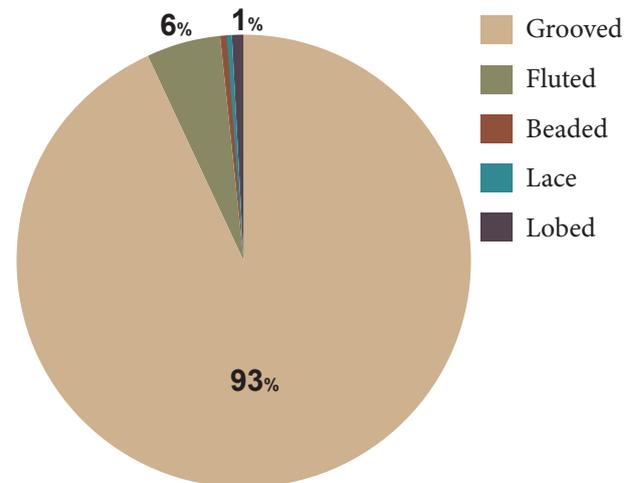
Fig. 14.5.

and open vessels and other objects mainly from the Late Bronze Age until the Early Roman period, originated in the metal industry (Grose 1989: 47–48; Schlick-Nolte and Lierke 2002: 26–28). During the late Hellenistic period, glass bowls were made by sagging a flat, round blank into or on top of an upside-down, former mold in a furnace. The heat softened the blank on or in the mold and caused it to take the shape of the mold (Schlick-Nolte and Lierke 2002: 30–31). This was a quick and cheaper process than core-forming vessels and multi-part cast vessels, allowing mass production. Monochrome grooved bowls are found in large numbers in Syria-Palestine, more specifically in the area known during the Seleucid period as Phoenicia, and also later under the Hasmonean Kingdom as Judea (Jackson-Tal 2004; Jennings 2006). They are found in every type of settlement of that date, mostly in urban contexts, but also at palatial sites, farmsteads, fortresses and burial complexes (Jackson-Tal 2004: 22). Their archaeological context in Judea is usually in destruction layers dated to the mid-second to the first centuries BCE, probably reflecting the end of Seleucid rule and territorial expansion of the Hasmonean Kingdom in the area (Jackson-Tal 2004: 24). Their wide distribution throughout the area and at specific sites implies that they were available to many classes of society. Notable quantities were uncovered especially at Tel Anafa in the Upper Galilee, where several thousand fragments of monochrome bowls were discovered, and attracted scholars' attention to this area in the early stages of the research (Weinberg 1970; Grose 2012), but also at sites like Maresha (Jackson-Tal 2005), Gamla (Jackson-Tal 2016b), Akko (Katsnelson 2016), Dor, Jaffa, Jerusalem and almost every site with late Hellenistic occupation in the area (Jackson-Tal 2004: 22).

The monochrome bowls found in SC169 are hemispherical or conical. The majority are grooved on their interior or exterior (Figs. 14.2–14.5). A few fluted, beaded and lobed types were also found (Figs. 14.6–14.7). They were used as affordable daily drinking vessels. The cast bowls form the largest group of finds at SC169, constituting 87% of the glass finds (Graph 1). The grooved bowls are the dominant type, consisting 93% of the cast vessels (Graph 2). The bowl remains



Graph 1. Distribution of Glass Finds



Graph 2. Cast Bowl Types

are mainly rim and wall fragments with a few grooved, rounded bases. Most of the cast bowls are made of colorless glass, with a few variations in light green and blue, bluish-green and cobalt blue.

The grooved bowls had rounded bases that were either plain or ornamented, and featured circular incisions of various sizes and shapes on the exterior (Fig. 14.5). The rounded bases indicate that the bowls were stored with the rim downward so they could be stacked. Despite the abundance of rim and side fragments of cast bowls, only a small number of base fragments have been found; they are not usually mentioned in publications. Fragments of similar bases

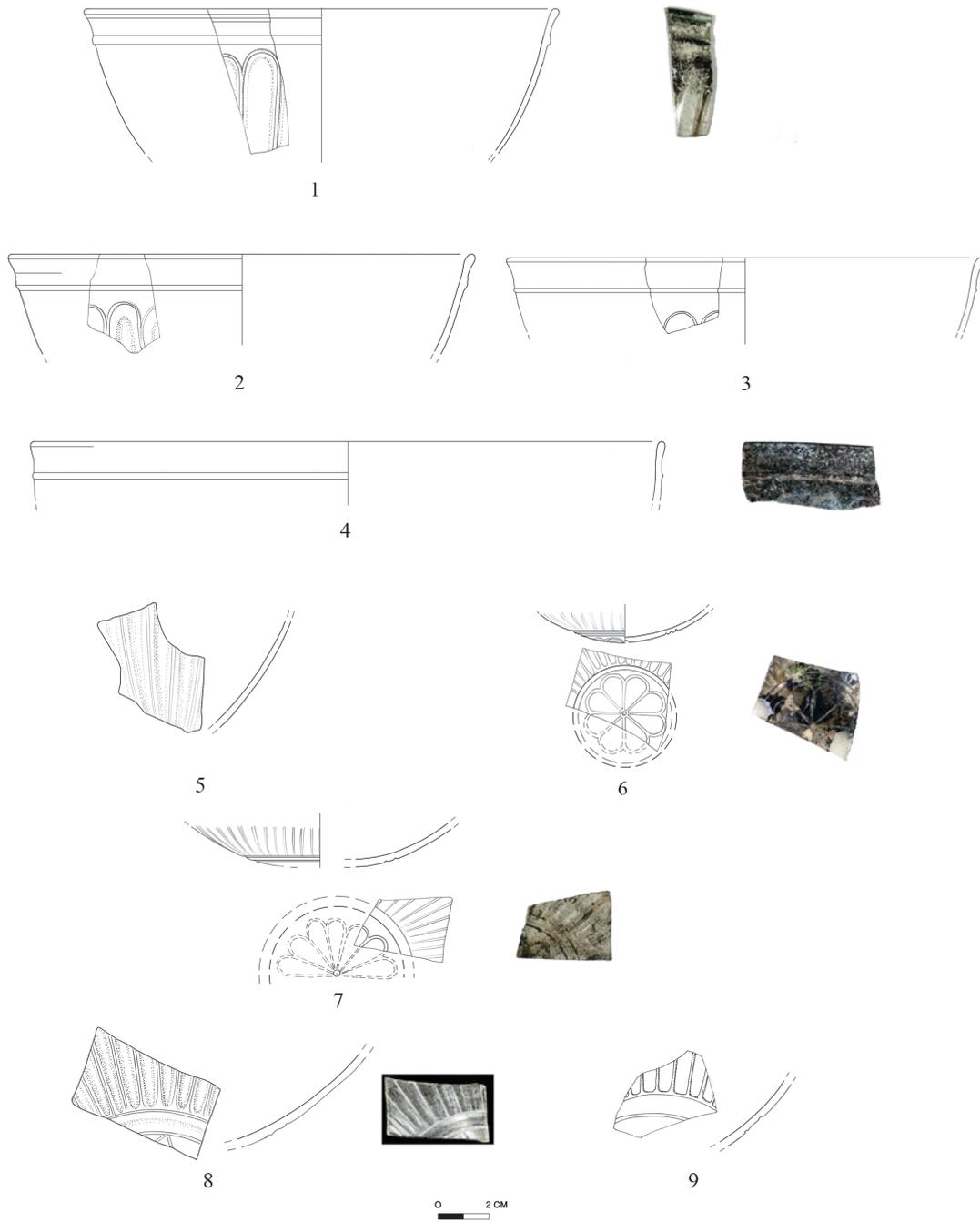


Fig. 14.6.

with exterior ornamentation have been found in the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem. In Area A in Strata 6 and 4 they are dated from the end of the second century BCE to 70 CE (Gorin-Rosen 2003: 376), in Area J they were found in the refuse from a glass workshop (Israeli and Katsnelson 2006: 422, Pls. 21.16: GL151-GL155; 21.17: GL156-GL163; 21.18: GL169) and in Area E, they were found in Stratum 3, dated to the second half of the first century BCE (Gorin-Rosen 2006: 241–242, Pl. 10.1: G9-G11). Similar bases were also found at Dor in a mixed assemblage in Area G (Jackson-Tal 2000: 17, Fig. 6:3) and at Tel Anafa (Grose 2012: 49–50, Figs. 21:225–233; 22:234–238).

#### *Cast Fluted Bowls* (Fig. 14.6)

Several bowls decorated with a fluted design were found in SC169. The fluted design apparently originated in Achaemenid metal bowls that were decorated with various vegetal patterns, and continued in the Hellenistic period on metal, ceramic and glass vessels as the vegetal patterns sometimes “evolved” into flutes. The designs were made by lathe-cutting and polishing vertical densely set arched flutes. Fluted and vegetal-cut bowls are known in small numbers in Palestine in late Hellenistic contexts, mainly at urban sites (Jackson-Tal 2004: 19–21). Additional published finds were discovered in Strata 3, 2 and 1 in Area E of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, dated to the second half of the first century BCE and the first century CE (Gorin-Rosen 2006: 243–245, Pl. 10.2: G18–G21).

Fluted bowls were found in SC169. They share the same profile, a flaring rounded rim with an exterior single horizontal groove underneath it creating a rib, a rounded side with vertical flutes and rounded base decorated with exterior circular incisions and eight-petted rosette design (Stern and Schlick-Nolte 1994: 252). The quantity and variety of the fluted bowls at Maresha in general and in SC169 in particular is unique. Their exquisite decoration implies their status as luxury vessels and is an indication of the city’s affluence and wide trade connections.

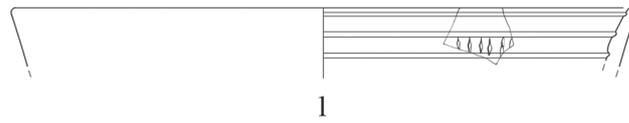
#### *Cast Beaded Bowl* (Fig. 14.7:1)

Beaded bowls are adorned with an inner beaded ridge below the rim. The ridge was formed by cutting and polishing. The bead pattern is familiar from metal vessels and according to Barag, was reproduced on ceramic and glass vessels (Barag 1971: 203). Weinberg notes that ceramic vessels made in this way have been found in assemblages from the mid-second or early first century BCE at various sites in Israel such as Gezer, Ashdod and Tel Anafa. In his opinion, this is a local type that was produced along the Syro-Palestinian coast in the mid-second century BCE and spread through the Mediterranean region (Weinberg 1988: 66–67). Fragments of glass bowls of this type are rare in Israel. Additional vessels were found at the IAA excavations at Maresha, in Stratum 4 in Ashdod dated to the second century BCE (Barag 1971: 203, Fig. 105:8), in a first–second-century CE context at Caesarea (Israeli 2008: 370, No. 2) and in the Harvard University excavations in Samaria (Weinberg 1988: 69–70, Fig. 2c). A similar, unpublished bowl fragment was found at Yavne-Yam in a mid–second-century BCE context.<sup>3</sup> The bowl found in SC169 is a small fragment made of colorless glass.

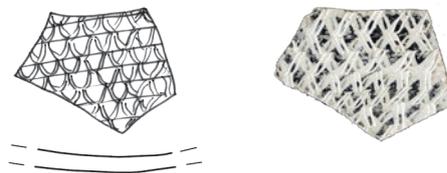
#### *Network Mosaic Bowl* (Fig. 14.7:2)

Network mosaic bowls (also known as reticella or lace glass) are a sub-type of mosaic vessels known in Hellenistic and Early Roman contexts (Grose 1989: 31–35). Their production method included winding trails of one color around rods of other monochrome colors. In some Hellenistic mosaic bowls, a twisted trail made of several strands of different colors or a cane made of network glass was added to some of the rims (Schuler 1959: 51; Grose 1989: 31–35). The Hellenistic vessels were shaped by trailing the reheated canes from the base to the rim in a circular motion imitating basketry design (Nenna 1999: 36; Schlick-Nolte and Lierke 2002: 32–33, Fig. 17). They first appeared in the Canosa hoards dated to the second half or final quarter of the third century BCE (Harden 1968: 27, 31, Figs. 18–19), with a wide distribution pattern (Grose 1989: 190) and in similar

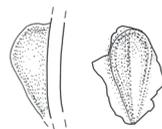
<sup>3</sup> I wish to thank Professor Moshe Fischer for allowing me to mention this unpublished find.



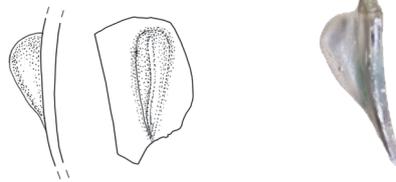
1



2



3



4



Fig. 14.7.

context at Nimrud (Barag 1985: 85–86, Fig. 8 and Pl. 12:107). Such vessels are also known at Delos in late Hellenistic contexts (Nenna 1999: 36–37, Pl. 45: B1–3, B58, B69, B75, Pl. 61: B4, Pl. 63: B88) and from the Antikythera shipwreck dated to 80 BCE (Weinberg 1965: 38–39, Figs. 20–23; de Solla Price 1974: 8).

Network mosaic bowls are very rare in Israel. Few similar vessels were found in the IAA excavations at Maresha and at Gamla (Jackson-Tal 2016b: 4, Fig. 8.2:12–13). The fragment found in SC169 is very small. It is a wall fragment made of colorless canes wound with white trails.

#### *Cast Lobed Bowls* (Fig. 14.7:3–4)

Bowls decorated with protruding lobes are known during the Hellenistic period, from the late third to the first century BCE (Ignitiadou 2008: 21–22). Ignitiadou, who discussed these bowls extensively, has shown that the lobe design developed from the Achaemenian phiale, decorated with almond designs. These were used mainly as sacred libations vessels during religious ceremonies (Ignitiadou 2008: 21). She suggests the transformation in the design was connected to technological advances, but the vessels preserved their sacred character throughout the Hellenistic period (Ignitiadou 2008: 22).

Lobed vessels are very rare. Similar vessels are known in late third–early second century BCE burial contexts, at Xanthos and Canosa (Ignitiadou 2008: 22) and in late second or first century BCE contexts from the Antikythera and Camarat shipwrecks, in Delos and in Hüseyinli in Cappadocia (Ignitiadou 2008: 22).

This type of vessel is scarce in Israel.<sup>4</sup> A lobed bowl with vegetal motifs was found unstratified in the administrative building at Qedesh (Larson et al. 2017: 56–58, Fig. 5:4). A small lobe, possibly of a similar bowl, was found in Stratum 2 in Area E of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem and dated to the first century CE, but is probably earlier in the first century

BCE according to other finds (Gorin-Rosen 2006: 251, Pl. 10.4: G53). Two small fragments of colorless wall fragments with single lobes were found in SC169. They are an important addition to the distribution of such vessels throughout the Mediterranean. Their suggested function as a vessel used in rituals is especially intriguing and is another indication that rituals took place in SC169.

#### *Pendants* (Fig. 14.8:1–5)

Two types of pendants were found in SC169; head-shaped pendants and plain pendants. The latter were of two shapes; tear-shaped and rounded.

*Head-shaped Pendants* (Fig. 14.8:1–3). Glass pendants shaped like human and demon heads appeared in the seventh century BCE and were in use until the first century BCE, and especially during the fourth and third centuries BCE (Spaer 2001: 155–160). They were made on the tip of a rod, with the glass being wound into the desired shape around a core of separating material and shaped freely or in an open or closed mold. Details such as eyes were made of tiny beads; the hair-locks, ears, a forehead ribbon, a beard and the back of the pendant were then added in glass of various colors. The pendants have loops at the top so they can be hung on a necklace. Such pendants were found throughout the Mediterranean region. Quite likely, the pendants initially symbolized various apotropaic deities and were later used mainly as jewelry (Spaer 2001: 160).

The small head-shaped pendant type is well known from various sites and is classified by Seefried as Type DII, dated to between the early third century BCE and the first half of the first century BCE. In Seefried's opinion, these pendants represent figures of women, in view of their small size relative to earlier pendants, the ribbon on the head and the absence of the beard that was characteristic of earlier pendant designs (Seefried 1982: 9, 30, Pl. 3: DII). Pendants of this type are known from Hellenistic assemblages (mostly tombs) in Cyprus, Rhodes, Delos, Tarsus,

<sup>4</sup> Katsnelson suggests a bowl with a vegetal design, found at 'Akko, may have been a sub-type of a lobed bowl (Katsnelson 2016: 72, Fig. 3.4:20). This bowl may have been inspired by the vegetal motifs known in lobed bowls of some types (for example in the Antikythera shipwreck, Weinberg 1992: 104, No. 61). However the absence of an actual lobe hinders such identification.



Fig. 14.8.

Ibiza (Spain), Sicily, Sardinia, Carthage, Egypt and Sudan, but mainly from various museum collections (Simon 1986: 40–42, Figs. 11–16; Grose 1989: 83, Nos. 50–62; Nenna 1999: 139, Pl. 53: E150–E151; Spaer 2001: 159–160).

Few pendants of this type have been found in Israel, although examples of the early type of pendant dating from the Persian period have been found in the region (Stern 1976). Two types of glass head-shaped pendants were found in the IAA excavations at Maresha — a single-faced type, like the ones found in SC169, and a double-faced type (for a preliminary discussion, see Kloner and Jackson 2000: 135\*, color plate and back cover). A fragmented pendant of this type was found in unpublished yet excavations at Jaffa.<sup>5</sup>

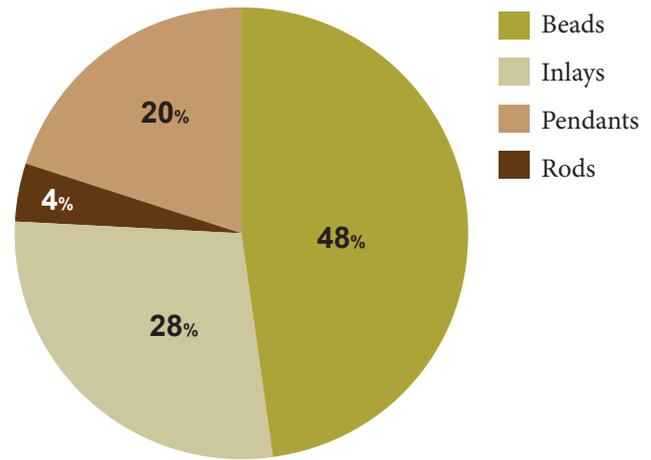
Three head-shaped pendants were found in SC169, two are complete and one is fragmentary. They are made of green, light blue and yellow background, decorated with white, yellow, red and blue trails and cobalt-blue upper loop, back gob and eye beads.

*Plain Pendants* (Fig. 14.8:4–5). Two small plain pendants were found in SC169, a colorless tear-shaped pendant and a yellow-brown rounded pendant. The tear-shaped pendant is perforated on its upper side and the rounded pendant has an upper loop. Plain pendants were produced over very long periods and therefore are difficult to date (Spaer 2001: 155, Nos. 297–300). Tear-shaped pendants are known in the area, mostly in Late Roman burial contexts, for example in the Tel Barukh cemetery (Jackson-Tal 2015: 114, Fig. 1.78:8–9, with further references). No exact parallel was found for the rounded pendant, however pendants with very similar designs are also recorded in much later contexts, during the Roman and Byzantine periods (Spaer 2001: 171, 176).

### *Beads* (Fig. 14.9:1–12)

Beads were among the first objects made of glass, appearing in the third millennium BCE in Mesopotamia and Egypt and known before the initial production of glass vessels. They were produced in various patterns and strung on necklaces. Two main methods were used to make glass beads: winding glass around a rod (rod-forming) and drawing

a hollow cane from the furnace and cutting it. A third, less common, method used a mold to create spacer beads during the Late Bronze Age (Beck 1928:



**Graph 3.** Distribution of Small Finds.

60–61; for an updated discussion, see Spaer 2001: 43–48). The beads found in SC169 are eye beads, trailed beads and plain beads. They form the largest group among the small finds consisting 48% of the cast vessels (Graph 3).

*Eye Beads* (Fig. 14.9:1–3). Such beads are ornamented with spots of white glass and a drop of blue glass in the center, imitating an eye. This design was among the earliest ones produced, beginning in the second millennium BCE and for much of the first millennium BCE. Beads of this type are often found near the glass pendants discussed above. Venclová maintains that the eye beads, like the head-shaped pendants, were believed to have magical protective properties and that they represented the human head, which was eventually reduced to an eye pattern (Venclová 1983: 11–17).

Three eye beads were found in SC169. Six eye beads were found in the IAA excavations at Maresha. Eye beads of this type have been found in Israel in Persian-period burial assemblages at Tel Michal (Kertesz 1989: 371–374), in Persian and Hellenistic

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Kaplan's excavations. I wish to thank Dr. Orit Tsuf for allowing me to mention this unpublished find.



Fig. 14.9.

strata in the City of David at Jerusalem (Ariel 1990: 159, Fig. 31:47–48, 50), in Areas A and C in an assemblage from a Persian-period pit at Dor (Stern 1995: 447, Fig. 7.6:14–17), at Gamla (Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz 2016: 162–163) and at other sites in the region (Spaer 1987: 2, 8, notes 4, 11). A workshop for eye beads made by the mosaic method, dating from the second half of the third century BCE, was found in Rhodes (Weinberg 1982: 37; Spaer 1987: 3, note 7).

*Trailed Beads* (Fig. 14.9:4–7). Beads decorated with trails are known from the second to the first millennium BCE to the early first millennium CE (Spaer 2001: 99–100).

Four trailed beads were found in SC169. One is rounded with an applied horizontal white trail, one is rounded with twisted, densely intertwined multi-colored trails, one is a large oval bead, shaped like an inlay with multi-colored, wavy lengths of assembled, combed and cast mosaic canes, and one is squat, spindle-shaped and decorated with applied horizontal trails bordering a zigzag pattern. A similar trailed, twisted bead is published in the Israel Museum collection, dated to the Early Roman period (Spaer 2001: 117, No. 198, with a reference to Masada). Spindle-shaped beads first appeared in the Persian period (Spaer 2001: 100), but no exact parallel to this type has been found in the region. A rounded bead with an applied white trail was found in the IAA excavations at Maresha. No parallels were found to the large mosaic oval bead, however its fine workmanship and delicate design indicate a Hellenistic date. It was made in a very similar way to the gold-band mosaic alabaster of the late Hellenistic period (Grose 1989: 196–197, Fig. 113).

*Plain Beads* (Fig. 14.9:8–12). The plain beads are rounded, biconical and ribbed. They were made in a variety of glass colors, light to dark blue and green. Their shape is too common to attribute to a specific period. However ribbed glass and faience beads are quite common in excavations in the region, in contexts dating mainly to the Roman and Byzantine periods, but also in earlier Iron Age to Hellenistic-period contexts (Jackson-Tal 2015: 113, Fig. 1.78:1–3; Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz 2016: 161–162).

### *Inlays/Gaming Pieces* (Fig. 14.10:1–7)

These finds are rounded or oval, flat on one side and convex on the other, and may have been used as inlays in pendants, rings and other jewelry, with the flat side placed against the setting. Another possible function is as gaming pieces, especially as game boards were found near these finds. Ignatiadou suggests they were used for games with multiple players, with each piece representing a player (2002: 22) (see Chapter 9).

The finds from SC169 are plain monochrome. Approximately 30 small, circular monochrome glass inlays were found in the IAA excavations at Maresha.

Monochrome inlays/gaming pieces are very common in the region, especially in Hellenistic and Roman contexts. Similar finds made of glass and stone have been unearthed in the City of David in Jerusalem in strata from the Iron Age and from the Hellenistic through Byzantine periods (Ariel 1990: 157, Fig. 31:37–40) and in Area X-2 in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem in Strata 6–5, dated to the end of the second century BCE and early first century CE (Gorin-Rosen 2003: 388, Pl.15.9: G106). Others were found at Tel Anafa (Weinberg 1969: 21–22) and recently, similar stone, glass and faience finds were published from Gamla (Amorai-Stark and Hershkovitz 2016: 111–132).

### *Rod* (Fig. 14.10:8)

Glass rods are known from the Hellenistic period, but became more common during the Early Roman period (Spaer 2001: 262). They were produced by drawing and tooling a glass cane (Israeli and Katsnelson 2006: 417–418). They may have served as delicate cosmetic or medical applicators, hair ornaments, decorative elements or tools (Spaer 2001: 262; Israeli and Katsnelson 2006: 418). A large number of glass rods of several types (rounded, twisted and pointed) were discovered in the glass workshop refuse in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, dated to the mid-first century BCE (Israeli 2005: 54–55, Fig. 2; Israeli and Katsnelson 2006: 417–419, Pls. 21.7: G1 59–60; 21.8: G1 61–62; 21.9: G1 63–67), and in the City of David, dated up to 70 CE (Ariel 1990: 159, Fig. 31: GL60). Similar rods were found in the



**Fig. 14.10.**

Tyropoeon Valley in Jerusalem (Gutreich 2013: 275, Fig. 12.3:51) and in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, the Burnt House (Israeli 2010: 228, Pl. 6.3: G49). A single twisted rod made of dark blue and white trails was found at the site.

***Production Remains*** (Fig. 14.10:9–13)

A few small, uneven chunks made of yellow-brown, bluish-green and reddish-brown glass were found at the site. Glass vessels were probably produced in the Levant during the late Hellenistic period; however,

no direct evidence of such activity has been uncovered to date. Therefore these few glass chunks are an interesting find; they cannot be used to prove that glass finds were being produced at the site although glass vessels made of similar colored glass were found at the site.

***Unidentified Fragment*** (Fig. 14.10:14)

An unidentified fragment was found at the site. It is made of high-quality colorless glass and has a rounded loop extending from a flat solid piece.

## SUMMARY

The late Hellenistic period is a time of major changes alongside a sense of continuity of the glass industry. The well-known traditional production techniques of core-forming and casting continued, but the industry matured from the production of small numbers of luxury closed and open shapes of core-formed and cast vessels to mass production of common, open cast drinking bowls, alongside the fairly extensive production of core formed and luxury cast vessels (Grose 1989: 193–194). This crucial change altered the glass industry in social and economic aspects. Glass finds were available to wider levels of society in increasing numbers, becoming a common feature of daily life (Jackson-Tal 2004: 27–28).

The quality, type variety and quantity of the glass finds from all areas at Maresha, alongside finds from other sites in Israel — especially those at Tel Anafa (Grose 2012), affirm the major role of the glass industry during the late Hellenistic period in the region. The historical evidence indicates the significance of the Palestinian-Phoenician (Sidonian) coastal region for glassmaking — supports the assumption that there was a glass manufacturing center on the northern coast of Palestine in the late Hellenistic period. The evidence of refuse from the glass workshop discovered in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, dated to the mid-first century BCE (Israeli and Katsnelson 2006), could suggest that earlier late Hellenistic glass vessel production took place there.

The glass finds discovered in SC169 at Maresha are an important addition to our knowledge of the late Hellenistic glass industry. Although most types of glass vessels discovered are similar to finds from other areas at the site, a few glass finds belong to vessels unknown previously at the site and in the region. The new types that were found are the core-formed vessels of the Mediterranean Group II, which are scarce in the country, and the rare appearance of lobed bowls, scarcely known previously in the region. Fluted bowls with a typical rosette incised on the base, beaded and network glass bowls were also found and are quite rare in the area. The majority of the vessels, however, are the well-known cast grooved bowls.

A rich assemblage of small finds included pendants, beads, inlays and a rod. These are known in the region, but several types, such as head-shaped pendants, have been found in other areas at the site, but are quite rare elsewhere in the region. The oval mosaic bead is unique in this country. The glass finds came mainly from drinking bowls, but several finds can suggest a use in rituals, such as some of the core-formed vessels and the cast lobed bowls. The pendants, beads and inlays/gaming pieces were used mainly as ornamental objects, but some also possessed originally apotropaic qualities or as daily gaming pieces.

The considerable role of Maresha as the capital of Idumea and its central location and the affluent status of the Sidonian community within it are important factors that could explain the rich glass assemblage unearthed. The glass vessels were most probably brought to the site through commerce. The unique fluted, beaded, network and lobed vessels demonstrate the flourishing trade in luxury goods to the site. They also indicate the demand for highly decorated glass bowls alongside the plainer grooved bowls at the site. The glass-vessel trade is well attested during this period, especially in maritime commerce along the Mediterranean (Foy and Nenna 2001: 101–105, Henderson 2013: 226–227) and probably also along less documented land routes. Very few glass chunks were found in SC169 and cannot indicate that an active glass industry existed at Maresha.

The importance of the glass finds from SC169 at Maresha lies in the new types, their quantity and variety and especially their *ad quem* dating to the year 108/107 (Kloner 2010: 220–221). The glass vessels are mostly connected to the occupational level of the latest date. Both the core-formed and sagged glass vessels continued to be manufactured in the first century BCE. This dating from the mid-second to first century BCE connects the glass vessels to late Seleucid and Hasmonean rule in Palestine, and makes them a useful chronological tool for identifying occupation layers of these periods.

## CATALOG

**Core-formed Vessels** (Fig. 14.1:1–12)*Amphoriskos/Unguentarium*

1. Reg. No. 35/15-169-199-2791-S4 (Fig. 14.1:1)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 2.1cm.  
*Description:* Complete rim, beginning of neck. Translucent cobalt blue background with applied yellow trail. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Slightly flaring flattened rim, cylindrical neck.

*Unguentarium*

2. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115a-1702 (Fig. 14.1:2)  
*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 2.0cm; foot diameter: 0.8cm.  
*Description:* Complete base and foot fragment. Translucent cobalt blue. Little silver weathering. Flattened, irregular base with indentation on lower side. Solid cylindrical foot, out-splayed at the bottom.

*Aryballos*

3. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1600 (Fig. 14.1:3)  
*Description:* Wall and base fragment. Translucent golden-brown background, with feather-combed opaque white, yellow and light green trails. Little silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Curved wall with remains of single, partially preserved, applied roll, perforated on one side and solid on the other.

*Stamnos or Hydriskos*

4. Reg. No. 3/00-169-1-12 (Fig. 14.1:4)  
*Description:* Wall and base fragment. Translucent cobalt blue background with applied horizontal trail above a zigzag yellow trail. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Curving rounded wall with flat, slightly flaring flattened base.

*Amphoriskos?*

5. Reg. No. 3/00-169-1-12 (Fig. 14.1:5)  
*Description:* Wall and base fragment. Translucent cobalt blue background with applied festoon above horizontal yellow and white trails. Silver

weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Curving rounded wall.

*Unidentified Wall Fragments*

6. Reg. No. 3/00-169-2-12 (Fig. 14.1:6)  
*Description:* Translucent cobalt blue background with applied horizontal trail above wavy trail above zigzag white trail. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Curving rounded wall.
7. Reg. No. 3/00-169-2-12 (Fig. 14.1:7)  
Translucent cobalt blue background with applied uneven wavy trail above zigzag yellow and white trails. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Curving rounded wall.
8. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-165a-2353 (Fig. 14.1:8)  
Translucent golden brown background with applied feather-combed, opaque, light green and yellow trails. Gray inner core. Straight wall.

*Unidentified Wall Fragment*

9. 5808//10-169-141-2205 (Fig. 14.1:9)  
*Description:* Translucent cobalt-blue background with applied zigzag trail above wavy, opaque white trails. Gray inner core. Curving rounded wall.
10. Reg. No. 3/00-169-2-12 (Fig. 14.1:10)  
*Description:* Translucent, cobalt-blue background with applied, uneven, zigzag yellow and white trails. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Curving rounded wall.
11. Reg. No. 3/00-169-2-12 (Fig. 14.1:11)  
*Description:* Translucent, cobalt-blue background with applied, uneven, zigzag yellow and white trails. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Straight wall.
12. Reg. No. 3/00-169-2-12 (Fig. 14.1:12)  
*Description:* Translucent, cobalt-blue background with applied, uneven, zigzag yellow and white trails. Silver weathering and iridescence. Gray inner core. Straight wall.

**Cast Grooved Hemispherical****Bowls** (Fig. 14.2:1-10)

13. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125-1919 (Fig. 14.2:1)

*Dimensions:* Rim diam. 15cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Silver weathering. Straight rounded rim. Curved wall with a horizontal groove below the rim on the interior.

14. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125b-1713 (Fig. 14.2:2)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter 14cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Silver weathering. Slightly flaring, rounded flattened rim. Curved wall with a horizontal groove below the rim on the interior.

15. Reg. No. 3/00-169-9-152 (Fig. 14.2:3)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 14.6cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering, shinning iridescence and pitting. Straight rounded rim. Curved wall with a horizontal groove below the rim on the interior.

16. Reg. No. 52/01-169-2-184 (Fig. 14.2:4)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Straight pointed rim. Curved, shallow, thin wall with a horizontal groove below the rim on the interior.

17. Reg. No. 4687/06 169-97-1437 (Fig. 2:5)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 14.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. White weathering and shinning iridescence. Straight rounded flattened rim. Curved, thick wall with three horizontal grooves below the rim on the interior.

18. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-31-526 (Fig. 14.2:6)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 13.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Curved, thin wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the exterior.

19. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-66-1017 (Fig. 14.2:7)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 14.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering, shinning iridescence and pitting. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Curved wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the exterior.

20. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-544 (Fig. 14.2:8)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring, rounded rim. Curved wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the exterior.

21. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-544 (Fig. 14.2:9)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Curved wall with a horizontal groove below the rim on the exterior and a horizontal groove at mid-body on the interior.

22. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-185a-2580 (Fig. 14.2:10)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Silver weathering, shinning iridescence and pitting. Straight rounded rim. Curved wall with six horizontal grooves below the rim and on the wall on the exterior.**Cast Conical Bowls** (Figs. 14.3:1-7, 14.4:1-5)

23. Reg. No. 52/01-169-2-184 (Fig. 14.3:1)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 13.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the interior.

24. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-20-392 (Fig. 14.3:2)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18.4cm.*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight

- wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the interior.
25. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125-1848 (Fig. 3:3)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 20cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light blue. White weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight thick wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim and on the interior, a thin one above a wide one.
26. 4361/05-169-39-916 (Fig. 14.3:4)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 20.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. No weathering. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim and on the interior.
27. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-169-2445 (Fig. 14.3:5)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 24.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim and on the interior.
28. 4687/06-169-96-1417 (Fig. 14.3:6)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 13.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Pitted. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with three horizontal grooves below the rim and on the interior.
29. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-718 (Fig. 14.3:7)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 22.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Translucent cobalt blue. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves, one below the rim and one on the wall, on the interior.
30. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1138 (14.4:1)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 13.6cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light green. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight thick wall with six horizontal, uneven, narrow and wide grooves below the rim and on the wall, on the interior.
31. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-916 (Fig. 14.4:2)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 24.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves, one below the rim and one on the wall, on the interior.
32. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-112-1734 (Fig. 14.4:3)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 24.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with six horizontal grooves, below the rim and on the wall, on the interior.
33. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-38-575 (Fig. 14.4:4)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 24.6cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with six horizontal grooves, below the rim and on the wall, on the interior.
34. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-27-509 (Fig. 14.4:5)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 26cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with six horizontal grooves, below the rim and on the wall, on the interior.

### Cast Deep Bowls with Flaring Rims

(Fig. 14.5:1–11)

35. Reg. No. 52/01-169-9-242 (Fig. 14.5:1)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 14.4cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves, below the rim on the exterior and one horizontal groove on the wall, on the interior.

36. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1054 (Fig. 14.5:2)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Translucent bluish-green. White and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves, below the rim on the exterior.
37. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-868 (Fig. 14.5:3)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 12.6cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with four horizontal grooves, below the rim and on the wall on the exterior.
38. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-36-551 (Fig. 14.5:4)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 14.4cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with five horizontal grooves, two below the rim and three on the wall, on the exterior.
39. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-544 (Fig. 14.5:5)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with four horizontal grooves, two below the rim and two on the wall, on the exterior.
40. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-42-979 (Fig. 14.5:6)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 14.6cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. No weathering. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the interior.
41. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1278 (Fig. 14.5:7)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16.6cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Black and silver weathering. Flaring rounded rim. Straight, thick wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim on the exterior.
42. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-169-2405 (Fig. 14.5:8)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering. Flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with one horizontal groove below the rim on the exterior.
43. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-959 (Fig. 14.5:9)  
*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Colorless. No weathering. Curved wall and beginning of rounded base with a small incised circle on the exterior.
44. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1568 (Fig. 14.5:10)  
*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering. Curved wall and beginning of rounded base with two small, incised concentric circles on the exterior.
45. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-68-1331 (Fig. 14.5:11)  
*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Yellow-green. Thick black and silver weathering. Curved wall and beginning of rounded base with two closely set, small incised concentric circles on the exterior.
- Cast Fluted Bowls** (Fig. 14.6:1–9)
46. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-697 (Fig. 14.6:1)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18.2cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black weathering, shining iridescence and pitting. Flaring rounded rim. Curved wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim creating a protruding rib, and vertical, densely set arched flutes below them on the exterior.
47. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-20-392 (Fig. 14.6:2)  
*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18cm.  
*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black weathering, shining iridescence and pitting. Flaring rounded rim. Curved wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim creating a protruding rib, and vertical, densely set arched flutes below them on the exterior.

48. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-697 (Fig. 14.6:3)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 18.4cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black weathering, shining iridescence and pitting. Flaring rounded rim. Curved wall with two horizontal grooves below the rim creating a protruding rib, and vertical, densely set arched flutes below them on the exterior.

49. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-13-444 (Fig. 14.6:4)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 24.4cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Slightly flaring rounded rim. Straight wall with horizontal groove below the rim creating a protruding rib, on the exterior.

50. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-31-565 (Fig. 14.6:5)

*Description:* Wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Curved wall with lower part of arched flutes.

51. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-588 (Fig. 14.6:6)

*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 2.6cm.

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Rounded base with incised eight-petal rosette within two concentric incised circles and curved wall with lower part of arched flutes.

52. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-189-2669 (Fig. 14.6:7)

*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 5.4cm.

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Rounded base with remains of two incised rosette petals within two concentric incised circles and curved wall with lower part of arched flutes.

53. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-735 (Fig. 14.6:8)

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Rounded base with remains of the tip of an incised star within two concentric incised circles and curved wall with lower part of arched flutes.

54. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-39959 (Fig. 14.6:9)

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Colorless. Thick black and silver weathering and shining iridescence. Rounded base with remains of two concentric incised circles and curved wall with lower part of arched flutes.

### Cast Beaded, Network and Lobed Bowls (Fig. 14.7:1–4)

55. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1559 (Fig. 14.7:1)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16.4cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Colorless with light greenish tinge. Silver weathering and shining iridescence. Flaring rounded rim. Straight thick wall with three horizontal grooves below the rim and on the wall, on the interior. The horizontal ridge below the second groove is cut in a bead design.

56. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-179-2478 (Fig. 14.7:2)

*Description:* Wall fragment. Colorless with white trail. Silver weathering and shining iridescence. Curving wall of colorless canes wound spirally with white trails assembled in parallel horizontal lines.

58. Reg. No. 6380/13-169-167-2392 (Fig. 14.7:3)

*Description:* Wall fragment. Colorless with white trail. Gray and silver weathering. Curving wall with a protruding, thick almond-shaped lobe.

59. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-68-1285 (Fig. 14.7:4)

*Description:* Wall fragment. Colorless with white trail. Gray and silver weathering. Curving wall with a protruding, thick almond-shaped lobe.

### Head-shaped and Plain Pendants (Fig. 14.8:1–5)

60. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-495 (Fig. 14.8:1)

*Dimensions:* Height: 2.1cm. Width: 1.1cm.

*Description:* Intact. Opaque green background with additions in blue and green. Head-shaped with a rounded loop on top of the head. The loop has a horizontal perforation. The head is made of green glass. The eyes and hair are blue beads. The loop and back of the pendant are made of cobalt

blue glass. The ears are made of blue and green beads. Above the forehead is a horizontal ribbon made of twisted white, blue and yellow trails. A vertical perforation at the lower side of the head indicates use of a rod.

61. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-93-1414 (Fig. 14.8:2)

*Dimensions:* Height: 2.1cm. Width: 1.1cm.

*Description:* Intact. Opaque light blue background with additions in blue. Head-shaped with a rounded loop on top of the head. The loop has a horizontal perforation. The head is made of light blue glass. The eyes and hair are blue beads. The loop and back of the pendant are made of cobalt blue glass. The ears are made of light blue beads. Above the forehead is a horizontal ribbon made of twisted white, blue, red, blue and yellow trails. A vertical perforation at the lower side of the head indicates use of a rod.

62. Reg. No. 4997/07 Surface (Fig. 14.8:3)

*Dimensions:* Remaining height: 2.0cm. Width: 1.4cm.

*Description:* Upper part preserved. Yellow background with additions in light and dark blue. Head-shaped with a rounded loop on top of the head. The loop has a horizontal perforation. The head is made of yellow glass. The eyes and hair are light blue beads. The loop and back of the pendant are made of cobalt blue glass. The ears are made of light blue and yellow beads. Above the forehead is a horizontal ribbon made of twisted red, blue, yellow and white trails. A vertical perforation at the lower side of the head indicates use of a rod.

63. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-94-1532 (Fig. 14.8:4)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.5cm.

*Description:* Intact. Colorless. Silver and golden weathering and shinning iridescence. Uneven tear-drop shape with upper horizontal perforation.

64. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1689 (Fig. 14.8:5)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.5cm

*Description:* Intact. Yellow-brown. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Rounded,

uneven pendant with upper thick loop with horizontal perforation.

### **Beads** (Fig. 14.9:1–12)

65. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-18-450 (Fig. 14.9:1)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.4cm. Width: 1.2cm.

*Description:* Intact. Deep blue background with white trails. White and silver weathering. Cylindrical bead with a vertical cylindrical perforation. Decorated with an eye design made of white circles with blue borders and central blue dot.

66. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-189-2617 (Fig. 14.9:2)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.0cm. Width: 1.2cm.

*Description:* Intact. Deep blue background with yellow trails. White and silver weathering. Rounded bead with a vertical cylindrical perforation. Decorated with an eye design made of yellow circles with central blue dot.

67. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-97-1386 (Fig. 14.9:3)

*Description:* Fragment. Bluish-green background with white and deep blue trails. White and silver weathering. Rounded, with a vertical cylindrical perforation. Decorated with an eye design made of white circles with thin inner blue circle and central blue dot.

68. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-177-2483 (Fig. 14.9:4)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.0cm. Width: 0.8cm.

*Description:* Intact. Dark blue. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Rounded bead with vertical cylindrical perforation and applied uneven horizontal white trail.

69. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-124-1768 (Fig. 14. 9:5)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.0cm. Width: 1.4cm.

*Description:* Intact. Deep blue background with white, yellow, light blue and red trails. Silver weathering. Rounded, with a vertical cylindrical perforation. Decorated with a twisted design made of applied and twisted thin white, yellow, light blue and red trails.

70. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-128-01958 S5 (Fig. 14. 9:6)

*Dimensions:* Height: 2.5cm. Width: 2.0cm.

*Description:* Intact. Yellow-brown, bluish-green, light blue and white canes. Silver weathering, shinning iridescence and pitted. Oval, with one curved convex side and one flat side and cylindrical horizontal perforation. Designed from assembled and combed cane around a cane and probably cast.

71. Reg. No. 37/15-169-199-2738 (Fig. 14.9:7)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.8cm. Width: 1.2cm (widest part).

*Description:* Intact. Deep blue background with yellow and light blue trails. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Spindle-shaped, with a vertical cylindrical perforation. Decorated on both ends with horizontal yellow and light blue trails.

72. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a-2236 (Fig. 14.9:8)

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.0cm. Width: 1.0cm.

*Description:* Intact. Light blue. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Barrel-shaped, with flattened ends and a vertical cylindrical perforation.

73. Reg. No. 37/15-169-194-2727 (Fig. 14.9:9)

*Dimensions:* Height: 0.8cm. Width: 0.3cm.

*Description:* Intact. Yellow-brown. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Elliptical, with a vertical cylindrical perforation.

74. Reg. No. 6092/11-169-159-2292 (Fig. 14.9:10)

*Dimensions:* Height: 0.8cm. Width: 0.5cm.

*Description:* Intact. Light blue. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Elliptical, with a vertical cylindrical perforation.

75. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-135-2088 (Fig. 14.9:11)

*Dimensions:* Height: 0.4cm. Width: 0.4cm.

*Description:* Intact. Bluish-green. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Biconical, with a vertical cylindrical perforation.

76. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-167-2345 (Fig. 14.9:12)

*Dimensions:* Height: 0.8cm. Width: 0.8cm.

*Description:* Intact. Light blue. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Rounded ribbed bead with a vertical cylindrical perforation.

## **Inlays/Gaming Pieces, Rod, Production Remains and Unidentified** (Fig. 10:1–13)

### *Inlay/Gaming Pieces*

77. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1742 (Fig. 14.10:1)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.5cm.

*Description:* Intact. Colorless with bluish tinge. Pitted. Oval, with one curved convex side and one flat side.

78. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-124-1949 (Fig. 14.10:2)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.0cm.

*Description:* Intact. Translucent cobalt blue. Silver weathering, pitted. Rounded, with one curved convex side and one flat side.

79. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-164-2447 (Fig. 14.10:3)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.1cm.

*Description:* Intact. Colorless with greenish tinge. Silver weathering, pitted. Rounded, uneven, with one curved convex side and one flat side.

80. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125a-1841 (Fig. 14.10:4)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.3cm.

*Description:* Intact. Colorless. White and silver weathering, pitted. Rounded, with one curved convex side and one flat side.

81. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-122-1798 (Fig. 14.10:5)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.0cm.

*Description:* Intact. Translucent cobalt blue. Shinning iridescence. Rounded, with one curved convex side and one flat side.

82. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-20-428-S1 (Fig. 14.10:6)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.5cm.

*Description:* Intact. Colorless with bluish tinge. Silver weathering, pitted. Rounded, with one curved convex side and one flat side.

83. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-175a-2455-S3 (Fig. 14.10:7)

*Dimensions:* Length: 1.1cm.

*Description:* Intact. Opaque blue? Appearing black. Silver weathering, slightly pitted. Rounded, with one curved convex side and one flat side. Rod.

84. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1134 (Fig. 14.10:8)

*Dimensions:* Diameter: 0.6cm.

- Description:* Fragment. Deep blue with white trails. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Cylindrical, decorated with twisted white trails. Production Remains.
85. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-173-2484 (Fig. 14.10:9)  
*Dimensions:* Length: 1.0cm.  
*Description:* Fragment. Yellow-brown. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Small, uneven rounded chunk.
86. Reg. No. 4997/07 Surface (Fig. 14.10:10)  
*Dimensions:* Length: 1.8cm.  
*Description:* Fragment. Bluish-green. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence, limy surface. Small, uneven.
87. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-179-2532 (Fig. 14.10:11)  
*Dimensions:* Length: 1.7cm.
- Description:* Fragment. Reddish-brown. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Uneven.
88. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-148-2187 (Fig. 14.10:12)  
*Dimensions:* Length: 3.0cm.  
*Description:* Fragment. Bluish-green mixed with reddish-brown. Silver weathering. Uneven.
89. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-148-2187 (Fig. 14.10:13)  
*Dimensions:* Length: 2.5cm.  
*Description:* Fragment. Bluish-green mixed with reddish-brown. Silver weathering. Uneven.
- Unidentified Fragment**
89. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1161 (Fig. 14.10:14)  
*Description:* Fragment. Colorless. Silver weathering and shinning iridescence. Small, uneven oval loop, emerging from a solid piece.

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## CHAPTER 15

# THE FAIENCE FINDS

*Ruth E. Jackson-Tal*

### INTRODUCTION

Faience is a glazed, non-clay ceramic produced mainly in Egypt from the pre-dynastic period to create small objects and vessels (Aldred 1971: 35; Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000: 177, 179–186). When manipulated it can produce a variety of shapes and colors (Zuckerman 1996: 277; Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000: 186–192). Faience, like glass, is a vitreous material made of silica (quartz sand, rock-crystal or quartz pebbles), an alkali binder (natron or plant ash) and lime or other mineral and perhaps clay (Lucas 1962: 175; Lilyquist, Brill and Wypyski 1993: 8, Fig. 2; Nenna and Nicholson 2013: 134–135). However, faience and glass are distinct materials, varying in the proportions of their similar components. Faience contains more silica and less alkali, affecting firing temperature and production time, which are lower for faience (Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000: 178, 187). Faience paste, created by mixing the different ingredients, was shaped by hand, in molds, or both, to create the objects, which were left to dry and fired in a kiln.

After the first firing, the faience objects were covered by low-melting glazes, allowed to dry and fired again (Nenna and Nicholson 2013: 136–144). The glazes were made of the same materials as the core (silica-natron-lime) with added colorants, made of metal or stone oxides to create the typical colors (Kaczmarczyk and Hedges 1983: 6–7; Nicholson and

Peltenburg 2000: 189–190; Nenna and Nicholson 2013: 135–136). Several Hellenistic workshops were discovered in Egypt, creating tableware similar to the metal, glass, stone and ceramic vessels of the period alongside small finds (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 31–33, 131–148; Thomas 2017: 3–4).

Faience finds, mostly tableware, are known in small numbers in this country during the Hellenistic period (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 34, 37; Tal 2017: 70–71). The best preserved decorated vessel was found in Hellenistic contexts at Mishmar Ha-‘Emeq (Giveon 1963). Additional well-preserved, decorated vessel fragments were found at Samaria (Reisner, Fisher and Lyon 1924: Fig. 202; Crowfoot 1957: Fig. 91) and at Maresha (Levine 2003: Fig. 6.19:1). During the previous periods — the Persian period and Iron Age — small faience amulets in the shape of Egyptian deities are well known in Israel.<sup>1</sup>

The faience finds discovered in Subterranean Complex 169 at Maresha provide an opportunity to study faience use in a specific context at the site.<sup>2</sup> They are an addition to the diverse group of faience artifacts found in excavations conducted at the site by Professor Amos Kloner of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), between 1992 and 1997.<sup>3</sup>

Approximately 80 faience finds were discovered in SC169. The majority are fragments of open vessels, mainly bowls, but one large platter was also

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1 Herrmann extensively discussed Egyptian amulets in Palestine in several detailed corpuses, 1994; 2002; 2006; and other publications.

2 I am grateful to Dr. Ian Stern for allowing me to publish these finds. They were drawn by Yulia Rudmann and photographed by Asaf Stern.

3 This assemblage of tableware, beads and Egyptian amulets will be published by Naomi Sidi.

found and several unidentified wall fragments, a few perhaps belonging to closed vessels. A single amulet of the Egyptian god Bes or Pataikos is presented here. Another amulet depicting the Egyptian god Shu and a statuette depicting the throne of the Egyptian goddess Isis suckling baby Horus are presented in this volume (see chapter 7).

Twenty-one of the best preserved finds are presented here. The finds are made mostly of light blue and light green glazed faience. A few fragments are made of white glazed faience. The glaze is mostly of good quality, but sometimes is flaking, porous and pitted. The core is white and usually porous. The finds are plain or decorated with geometric and vegetal motifs in blue and red-brown glazes applied/painted, incised or in relief. In some cases, the incisions were filled with greater amounts of glaze than the vessel's surface, making them appear darker (Kaczmarczyk and Nenna 2014: 302). The faience

artifacts were discovered in layers of fill in the subterranean complex; therefore the chronological contribution of the assemblage rests on the overall dating of the site and the various items discovered alongside the faience finds. The Hellenistic strata at the site are dated generally to the third and second centuries BCE, based mainly on the most common objects found — pottery, including stamped amphora handles (Rhodian and others; see Chapter 17) and coins (see, Chapter 18). The faience finds can be dated between the third and late second centuries BCE according to the terminus ante quem provided by the abandonment of the site in 108/107 BCE (Kloner 2010: 220–221). The finds are presented in typological order. Parallels are given from sites elsewhere in the country when possible, from Egyptian sites or from the comprehensive study of the faience vessels in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000).

## CATALOG

### **Bowls** (Figs. 15.1:1–9, 15.2:9)

#### *Bowls with in-curved rims and ring-base*

(Fig. 15.1:1–2)

1. Reg. No. 52/01-169-10-359-S1 (Fig. 15.1:1)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 8.5cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light blue glaze, white core. Curving in pointed rim, rounded thick shallow wall.

2. Reg. No. 52/01-169-9-242-S1 (Fig. 15.1:2)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 8.5cm.

*Description:* Rim, wall and base fragment, complete profile. Light blue glaze, white core. Curving, in-pointed rim, rounded, thick, shallow wall and low base-ring.

*Parallels:* Similar bowls were found in the IAA excavations at the site<sup>4</sup>, at Beer Sheva (Derfler 1993: 104, No. 55, Pl. 26:2), Samaria (Reisner, Fisher and Lyon 1924: 326–327, Fig. 202:12a, 13a) and Bet Yerah (Tal 2017: 70–71, Fig. 4.6). This type is also known in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria

(Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 219–221, T3.1, Pl. 6:199–203).

#### *Bowl with Out-splaying Flat Rim*

3. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-50-976-S2 (15.1:3)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 5.7cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light green glaze, white core. Out-splaying, flat rim with shallow circular groove with remains of blue glaze. Rounded, shallow wall.

*Parallels:* This small shallow bowl was not found in excavations in the region. Similar plain and decorated bowls with a similar rim are known from Memphis and Tebtunis (Nenna 2013: 112, 119, Figs. 6.4: T6.2b; 6.10: T15.3).

#### *Bowls with Everted, Thickened Rim* (Fig. 15.1:4–5)

4. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-22-403-S2 (Fig. 15.1:4)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 16.7cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light blue glaze, white core. Everted thick rim and rounded shallow wall.

<sup>4</sup> See note 3.

5. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1047-S5 (Fig. 15.1:5)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 21.5cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light blue glaze, white core. Everted thick rim and rounded shallow wall.

*Parallels:* A similar bowl was found in the IAA excavations at Maresha<sup>5</sup> and at Samaria (Reisner, Fisher and Lyon 1924: 327, Fig. 202:16a). This type is also known in Memphis and Tebtunis (Nenna 2013: 112, Fig. 6.4: T6.1a) and in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 242, T6.1, Pl. 8:250).

**Bowls with Rounded Base** (Fig. 15.1:6)

6. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-135a-1987-S1

*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 3.5cm.

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Light blue glaze, white core. Thick, rounded base and wall. Rounded bases were common in shallow and deep bowls. The shape of this base indicates it was probably of a deep plain bowl.

*Parallels:* Similar decorated bases were found in the country at Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 390, Fig. 91:10) and at Mishmar Ha'Emeq (Giveon 1963: 21–22, Pl. 6). Other bases are known in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 200–208, T2.3, Pl. 5:153, 159).

**Bowls with Ring-base** (Fig. 15.1:7)

7. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-636-S2

*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 3.5cm.

*Description:* Complete base and wall fragment. Light blue glaze, white core. Convex base with slightly splaying low ring-base. Beginning of rounded wall.

This small ring-base belonged to a bowl, probably with an in-curved rim, see above Nos. 1–2.

*Rosette base* (Fig. 15.1:8)

8. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-90-1540-S2 (Fig. 15.1:8)

*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 2cm.

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Light green glaze, white core. Rounded base with a floral design depicted in high relief on the exterior. The design is made of a central rosette with eight petals reconstructed and a central dot at the very base, with additional stylized leaves above the rosette, made of central elongated sunken leaves bordered by rounder larger leaves.

This base probably belongs to a deep bowl with high-relief vegetal design of stylized leaves and rosette on the exterior.

*Parallels:* Similar bases are in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 165, 191–192, T2.1, Pls. 31:127, 129; 32:131–135; 2014: 223, Fig. 5:655).

**Unidentified Closed Vessels with Egg-and-dart Design** (Fig. 15.1:9)

9. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-43-908-S2 (Fig. 15.1:9)

*Dimensions:* Rim diameter: 6.7 cm.

*Description:* Rim and wall fragment. Light blue glaze, white core. Wide, in-curving rim with egg and dart applied design at the top of the rim on the exterior. The egg-and-dart design is partially filled with darker blue glaze. Beginning of rounded wall with remains of dart or small triangular design below a plain band on the exterior.

**Rectangular Platter** (Fig. 15.2:1)

10. Reg. Nos. 4361/05-169-67-1095-S1, 3941/03-169-31-527-S1, 6380/12-169-66-1220-S3; 6380/12-169-66-1923-S4; 6380/12-169-68-1182-S10

*Dimensions:* Height: 1.6cm.

*Description:* Light green glaze, white core. Large, rectangular flat platter. The upper side has an upturned straight rim bordering a sunken rectangular groove all around the vessel's perimeter. The lower side has a central, rectangular thick ring base made with inner groove below the base, which is slightly protruding and rectangular. This platter is a high-quality, impressive vessel.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

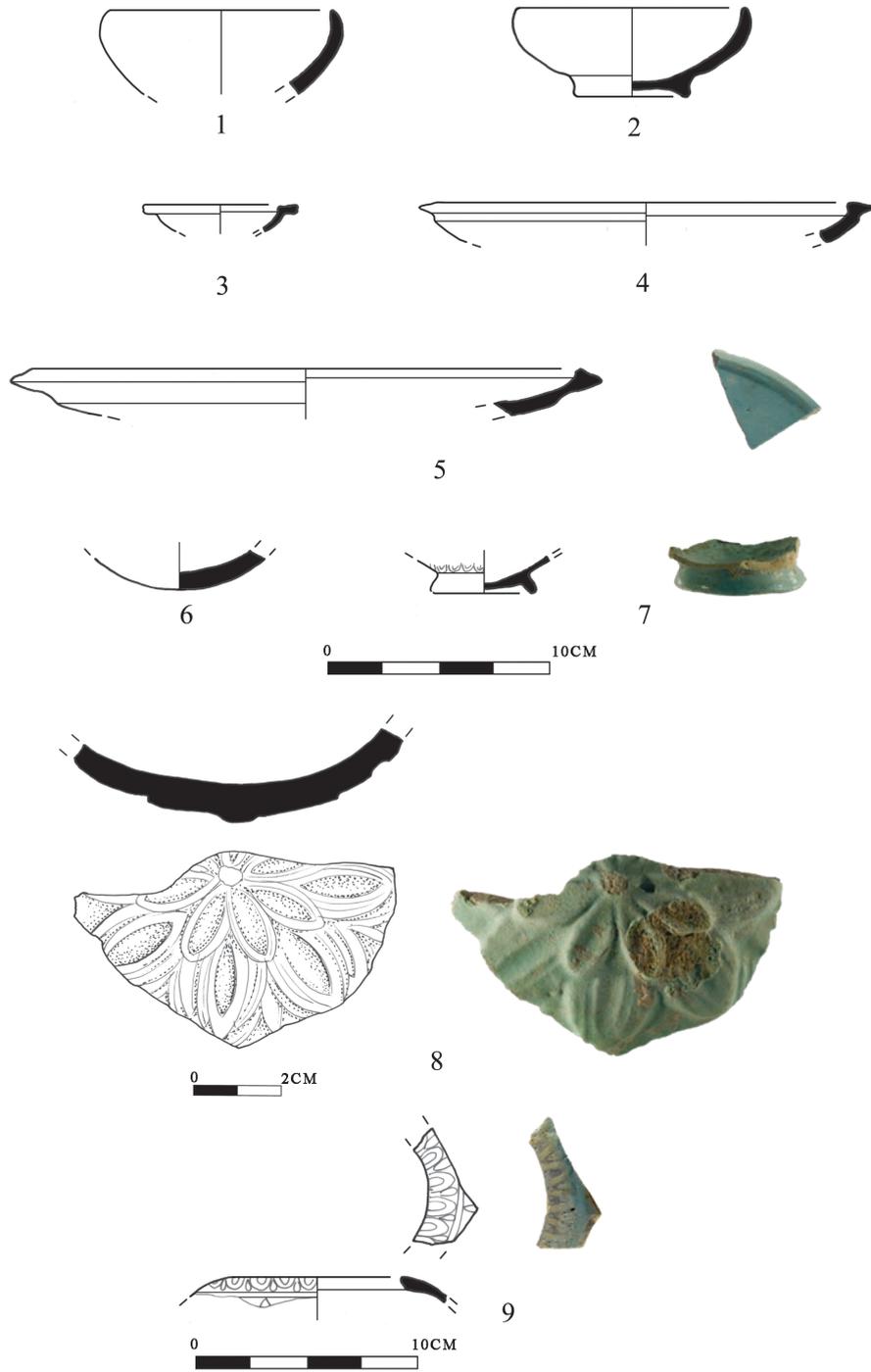


Fig. 15.1.

*Parallels:* Several fragments of a similar vessel were found in the IAA excavations at Maresha<sup>6</sup> and perhaps at Samaria (Reisner, Fischer and Lyon 1924: 327, Fig. 21b). Similar vessels were found at Memphis (Nenna 2013: 117, Fig. 6.9: T14.1) and in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 329–331, T14.1, Pl. 65:476–477).

## Unidentified Decorated Wall Fragments

### *Wall Fragments Decorated with Geometric Motifs* (15.2:2–4)

#### 11. Reg. No. 52/01-169-6-312-S3 (Fig. 15.2:2)

*Description:* White glaze and core. Slightly curving, thick wall. The wall is decorated with applied uneven triangles placed on the same circular line, with a straight line continuing the pointed side, in red-brown glaze.

#### 12. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-94-1399-S2 (15.2:3)

*Description:* Light blue glaze and white core. Slightly curving wall. The wall is decorated with incised, uneven triangles placed on the same circular line, with a straight line continuing the pointed side, in blue glaze.

#### 13. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1566-S1 (15.2:4)

*Description:* Light blue glaze and white core. Slightly curving wall. The wall is decorated with incised, uneven triangles placed on the same circular line, with a straight line continuing the pointed side, in blue glaze.

*Parallels:* These three wall fragments are decorated with a similar applied and incised design of concentric triangles with a pointed line. A wall fragment with a similar design was found at Samaria (Reisner, Fisher and Lyon 1924: 326, Fig. 202:1a). Others are known in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 273, T7.1, Pl. 55:355).

### *Bowl with Concave Base* (Fig. 15.2:5)

#### 14. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-51-890-S1

*Dimensions:* Base diameter: 2.5cm.

*Description:* Base and wall fragment. Light green glaze, white core. Rounded thick base with small

central concavity on the exterior. Rounded wall with remains of three elongated leaf-shaped incisions filled with blue glaze on the interior. This bowl base is decorated on its interior side with blue elongated leaf design, probably in a concentric design.

*Parallels:* Shallow bowls with closely decorated designs (with pointed ends), above a similar base, but on the exterior side, are known in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 165, 177–178, T1.2, Pls. 16:4; 25:74, 76).

### *Wall Fragments Decorated with Vegetal and Geometric Motifs* (Fig. 15.2:6–8)

#### 15. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a-2123-S2 ((Fig. 15.2:6)

*Description:* Light blue glaze and white core. Slightly curving wall. The wall is decorated on the exterior with remains of one incised pointed triangle in blue glaze. The interior is decorated with two applied oval leaves of light blue glaze, one with a central midrib and lateral, palm-like leaves and the other depicted only in pointed contour on a circular background of blue glaze.

#### 16. Reg. No. 37/15-169-197-2783-S5 (Fig. 15.2:7)

*Description:* Light blue glaze and white core. Slightly curving wall. The wall is decorated on the exterior with an applied curving rounded branch, ending in a small vegetal design similar to an ivy leaf, with a central pointed tip bordered by two circles, in blue glaze.

#### 17. Reg. No. 52/01-169-6-198-S2 (Fig. 15.2:8)

*Description:* White glaze and core. Slightly curving, thick wall. The wall is decorated on the exterior with remains of vertical palm leaves in relief, made of a central midrib and lateral leaves next to a shallow groove and beginning of another leaf design. The groove is partially filled with red-brown glaze, dripping onto several leaves.

This fragment is decorated on the exterior with an incised, pointed triangle and on the interior with two applied oval leaves of light blue glaze, one with a central midrib and lateral palm-like leaves, and the other depicted only in pointed contour.

<sup>6</sup> See note 3.

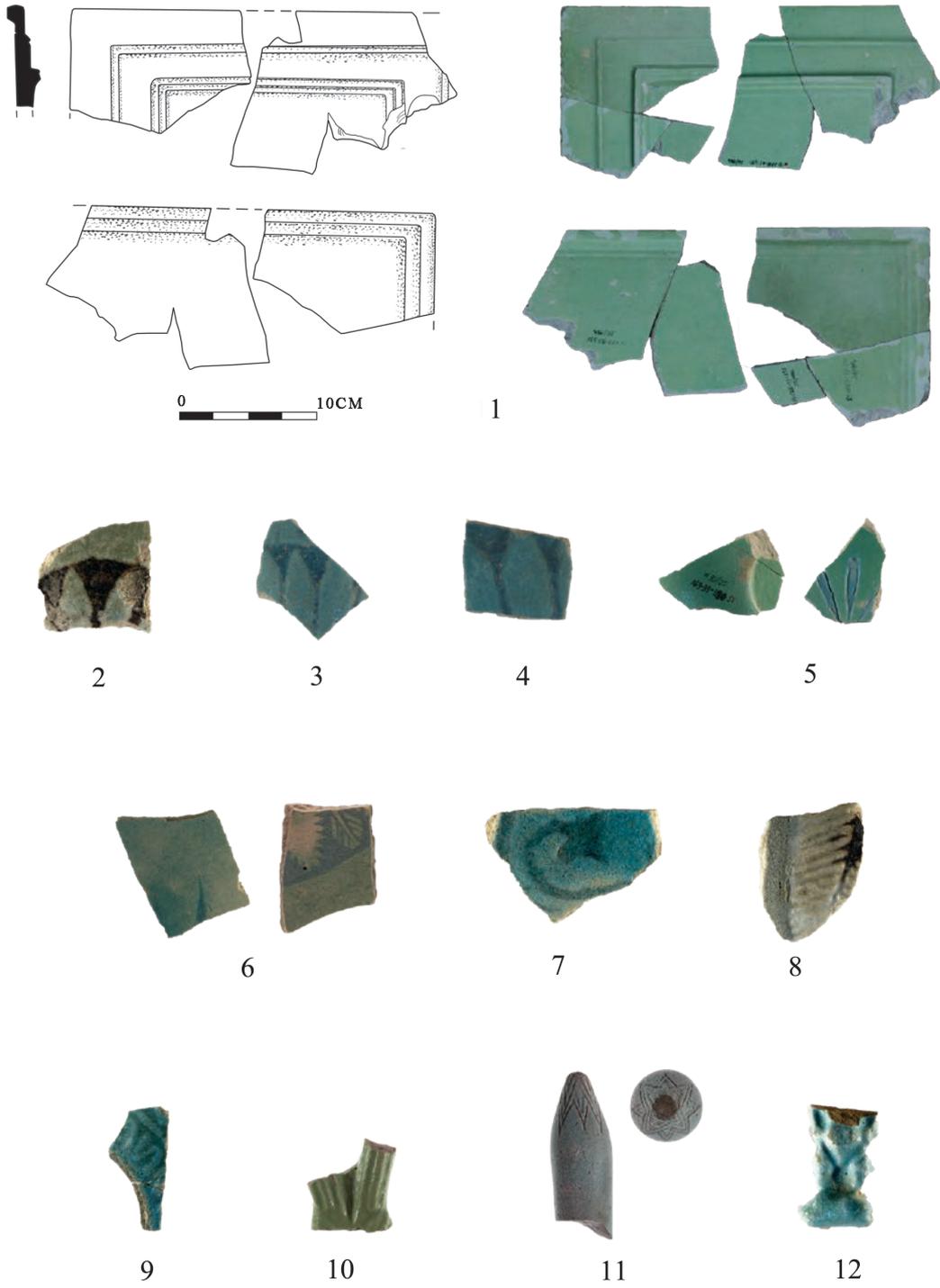


Fig. 15.2.

*Parallels:* Vegetal motives similar to these designs were common for decorating faience vessels.

Similar designs are known in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria for bowls (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 181, 199, T1.2; T2.3, Pls. 27:94–95, 97; 33:143, 146).

No parallels were found for the applied vegetal design on No. 16. Fragment 17 belongs to a deep bowl decorated with vegetal motives in high relief, similar to the design above of the rosette base (Fig. 15.1:8). Similar bowls in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria indicate the large palm leaves were located on the bowl's walls, above the rosette design (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 188–193, T2.1, Pls. 30–32:108–136).

The color of this fragment indicates that the bowl it depicts differs from the rosette base of the bowl found at SC169 (No. 9).

18. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1240-S5 (Fig. 15.2:9)

*Description:* Small rim and wall fragment. Blue glaze, white core. Wide curving-in rim with egg and dart applied design at the top of the rim on the exterior. The egg-and-dart design is made of light blue glaze. Beginning of rounded wall with remains of dart design below a plain thin band made of light blue glaze.

These two rim fragments curve inward, indicating that they were closed vessels. They are decorated on their exterior with an applied design of concentric egg-and-dart design above a circular band and beginning of unknown geometric design.

*Parallels:* Similar fragments are in the collection of the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: 263–264, T7.1, Pls. 49:293; 50:294–300). They are attributed there to amphoriskoi shoulders decorated with divided horizontal zones (Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: Fig. 11: T7.1).

#### Unidentified Fragments (Fig. 15.2:10–11)

19. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-999-S1 (Fig. 15.2:10)

*Dimensions:* Maximum height: 2.5cm.

*Description:* Light green and white core. The fragment consists of two fluted, D-shaped rods,

branching in opposite directions, with a flat back. All sides are glazed.

20. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1164-S4 (Fig. 15.2:11)

*Dimensions:* Maximum height: 3.2cm.

*Description:* Light blue and white core. Solid cylindrical rod with pointed end. The pointed end is decorated with concentric, shallow, incised pointed-leaf design.

These fragments many have been handles or parts of figurines.

#### Bes or Pataikos Amulet (Fig. 15.2:12)

21. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-69-1113-S5

*Description:* Lower part of an amulet. Light blue, white core. The figure is depicted standing on an uneven oval podium, with the hands resting on widely separated knee caps. The figure is quite schematic with no depiction of body features like fingers or feet, but quite a large central concavity marks the navel and the genitals are depicted by a schematic line. The back is flattened. The condition of the pendant is rather poor.

This lower part of a small amulet probably depicts either the Egyptian god Bes or Pataikos, usually shown schematically in this frontal pose, hands on the wide-opened knees and navel and genitals depicted (Herrmann 1994: 316–383, 412–492; 2002: 19–24, 27, 30–31; Andrews 1994: 39–40). The flat back indicates production in a single open mold. The fragmentary state of preservation prevents a clear attribution to either god. Faience pendants in the shape of these gods are well known in the area in contexts dated over a long period, beginning in the Late Bronze Age, but occur in Palestine mainly from the Iron Age to the Hellenistic period (Herrmann 1994: 316–383, 412–492). Additional Bes and Pataikos amulets have been found in various tombs dated to the Iron Age and Persian period at Akhziv (Dayagi-Mendels 2002: 50, 60, 81, 143–144, Figs. 4.7:105, 4.11: 42, 4.21:67, 69–70, 4.27:108–112). Other similar amulets were also found in Iron Age, Persian and Hellenistic contexts at Dor (Stern 1995: 447–448, 451, Fig. 7.6:3–5; Herrmann 2010: 234–237, Nos. 29–41) and in Iron Age contexts at Bet She'an (Cowie 2006) and a similar amulet at Yavneh-Yam (unpublished).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> I wish to thank Professor Moshe Fischer for allowing me to mention this find.

## SUMMARY

The faience finds recovered from SC169 shed light on faience vessels and small finds in use at Maresha during the Hellenistic period, the third–second centuries BCE. These finds, along with those discovered during the earlier IAA excavations at Maresha, reflect the large quantity and varied use of plain and highly decorated faience vessels at the site. This is unparalleled at other sites in the Levant and, more importantly, provides evidence of strong trade connections with Egypt, the predominant faience-manufacturing center during this period. The vessels consists of small, plain, shallow bowls, deep bowls and wall fragments decorated with geometric and vegetal motifs, applied, incised or in high relief, and a large, exceptional platter. These vessels were probably used as tableware.

According to Nenna, the shape, strong colors and rich decorative motifs of the faience vessels made them a modest substitute for elaborately decorated metal, glass and ceramic vessels, appealing to the consumer's taste for an exotic object (Nenna 2002: 324–328). However, although some types of metal, glass and ceramic vessels were likely to have been

treasured objects, some of the more highly decorated and rare faience vessels were probably also valuable commodities.

The depiction of Egyptian deities among the faience finds could hint at the existence of popular domestic cults at Maresha dedicated to these deities. Additional finds at Maresha and in SC169, such as the head-shaped glass pendants described in Chapter 14, may reflect the presence of Egyptian and Phoenician cults among Phoenician/Sidonian populations both along the Syro-Palestinian coast and in adjacent inland regions, from the Iron to the Hellenistic periods.

These small objects were used as amulets to ward off evil. The use of Egyptian deities alongside Phoenician symbols in the amulets and pendants testifies to the mixed influences on popular local cults in the region from south to north, through well-known Egyptian and Phoenician themes. Therefore the faience finds unearthed in SC169, given their context, type and decoration variety enrich our knowledge of daily life in Hellenistic Maresha and clearly indicate trade connections and cultural influences with Egypt.

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CHAPTER 16  
THE GREEK INSCRIBED POTTERY  
*Avner Ecker*

Presented here are 90 inscriptions on pottery sherds and vessels found in Subterranean Complex 169 in Maresha. They join the 261 Greek inscriptions published by Korzakova 2010 and the 15 inscriptions published by Ecker and Korzakova 2014. All of the Greek inscriptions from Maresha, apart from inscribed pottery, have now been published in the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae* (CIIP IV).<sup>1</sup>

The first four documents are ostraca containing substantial legible text. Ostraca 1–3 are documents describing a fine given by a private association, the Koinon of Kosadar, to one of its members. The fourth is a numerical notation or account that is still under study.

Most of the ostraca, Nos. 5–37, are “tags,” small sherds, 3–5cm wide, which were probably used to mark commodities. These tags bear names, commodities and most importantly, dates. Two tags, Nos. 5–6, mention “holy property,” which may tie in with other finds of cultic nature discovered in SC169.

Nos. 38–72 are jar inscriptions, that is, inscriptions on imported amphorae and local jars and jugs referring to the contents and the ownership of the commodities within the vessels. It is important to note that inscriptions on imported amphorae were not necessarily written in Maresha. Two important inscriptions on a decorated jug begin with the word “Iope,” perhaps indicating their origin is from Jaffa.

Jar inscriptions are followed by owners’ marks on bowls and plates (Nos. 73–82), also divided into local and imported materials. In the latter group the same caveat applies regarding their origin — the inscriptions may not have been written in Maresha.

Seven inscriptions bear dates. A possible date, year 30, appears on an amphora (No. 55). This may be the year of a Ptolemaic king, most probably Ptolemy II Philadelphos, making it 253/2 BCE.

The other six ostraca are dated with the Seleucid Era, five (excluding No. 7) use the L-shaped symbol. These are (earliest to latest):

- No. 14 — a tag — 114 SE = 198 BCE (being the earliest use of the SE in Maresha).
- No. 7 — tag — 124 SE = 188 BCE.
- No. 8 — tag — 130 SE = 182 BCE.
- No. 38 — inscription on jug — 131 BCE = 181 BCE.
- No. 39 — inscription on jug — 131 BCE = 181 BCE.

At the end of the report is a list of eight ostraca (Nos. 83–90) deemed illegible for the time being. These, and in fact the entire corpus, will benefit in the future from more advanced methods of documentation, such as multispectral imaging, and perhaps better readings will emerge. N.B. Allomegas are W-shaped, and all sigmas lunate.

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<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions on stone from SC169 were all published in CIIP IV: Nos. 3731, 3737, 3740.

## CATALOG

**The Koinon of Kosadar** (Fig. 16.1:1–3)

These three ostraca, bearing similar texts, were all discovered in the same room.

1. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1070-S1 (Fig. 16.1:1)

Four lines in black ink on the interior of a body sherd of an unidentified vessel; discovered in Room 10.

*Sherd:* H 7.6cm, 7.3cm, letters: 0.7–1.1cm.

ZHMIOITO  
KOINONKOCA  
ΔΑΡΟCΠΟΔΩΝ+

AP † M

Ζημοῖ τὸ

κοινὸν Κοσα-

δάρος Ῥόδων[α]

ἄρ(γυρίου) (δραγμαῖς) μ'

The Koinon of Kosadar fines Rhodon 40 silver drachmae.

2. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1233-S1 (Fig. 16.1:2)

Discovered in Room 7.

*Sherd:* H 2.9 cm, W 5.3cm, letters: 0.4–1.0cm.

[..]MIOITO

[... ..]NKOCAΔΔ

[... ]++[—]

[—]

[Ζη]μοῖ τὸ

[κοινὸν]ν Κοσαδά-

[ρος]++[—]

[ἄρ(γυρίου) (δραγμαῖς)?]

The Koinon of Kosadar fines...

3. Reg. No. 4726/06-169-68-1325-S6 (Fig. 16.1:3)

Discovered in Room 7.

*Sherd:* H 2.9, W 5.3cm; letters: 0.4–1.0cm.

ZHM[—]

AEI+[—]

AP†[—]

Ζημ[ιοῖ τὸ κοινὸν Κοσαδάρος?]

AEI+[—]

Ἀρ(γυρίου) (δραγμαῖς)[—]

The Koinon of Kosadar fines ...AEI...silver drachmae

*Commentary:* Ζημοῖ: The right to fine its members is well attested among Greek private associations.

τὸ κοινὸν Κοσαδάρος: Kosadar, קוסעדֶר (QWS<sup>s</sup>DR), is a known Idumean personal name in Aramaic inscriptions (Yardeni 2016: 712; also s. v. Wuthnow 1930: 65), meaning “Qos helped.”

If the name of an association incorporates the name of its leader or founder it usually does so with περί, σύν, or even ἀπό.

Ῥόδων[α]: A similar name, Rhodion (Ῥόδιον), for a female, is attested in a third-century BCE burial cave at Khirbet Za'aquqa near Maresha (SEG 42, 1442, 1443).

ἄρ(γυρίου) (δραγμαῖς) μ': In the third line of No. 3, only the letter *alpha* and the top part of the symbol for drachmae (†) is visible.

The specification of silver drachmae entailed payment in actual silver coin as opposed to any bronze equivalent (see Maresch 1996: 16–17).

In ostrakon No. 3 the *alpha* and the *rho* may be in ligature.

For full commentary see Ecker and Eckhardt, *Israel Exploration Journal*, forthcoming.

**An Ostrakon with a Numerical Notation?** (Fig. 16.1:4)

4. Reg. No. 52/01-169-11-116-S1

A five-line ostrakon, each line underlined, inscribed in black ink on the exterior of an amphora sherd.

*Sherd:* H 16.6cm, W 16cm; letters: H ca. 0.5cm

ΕΠ[—ca. 13-]

KBL P† K ΞZ+[—ca. 9-]

KHΘ. ΑΓ- KAKA[—]Z+[—]

++ΔEM K̄Θ L KAIΠΑΡ-ΛK

+ΔΛοL ‡<OY. ΑΓ. ΘLΔO

*Commentary:* The entire ostrakon may be a numerical notation. It is unclear to me. Several symbols recur on tags and other inscriptions from Maresha. Others, like reversed L shapes as in line 5 appear only here. Similar, shorter, notations have

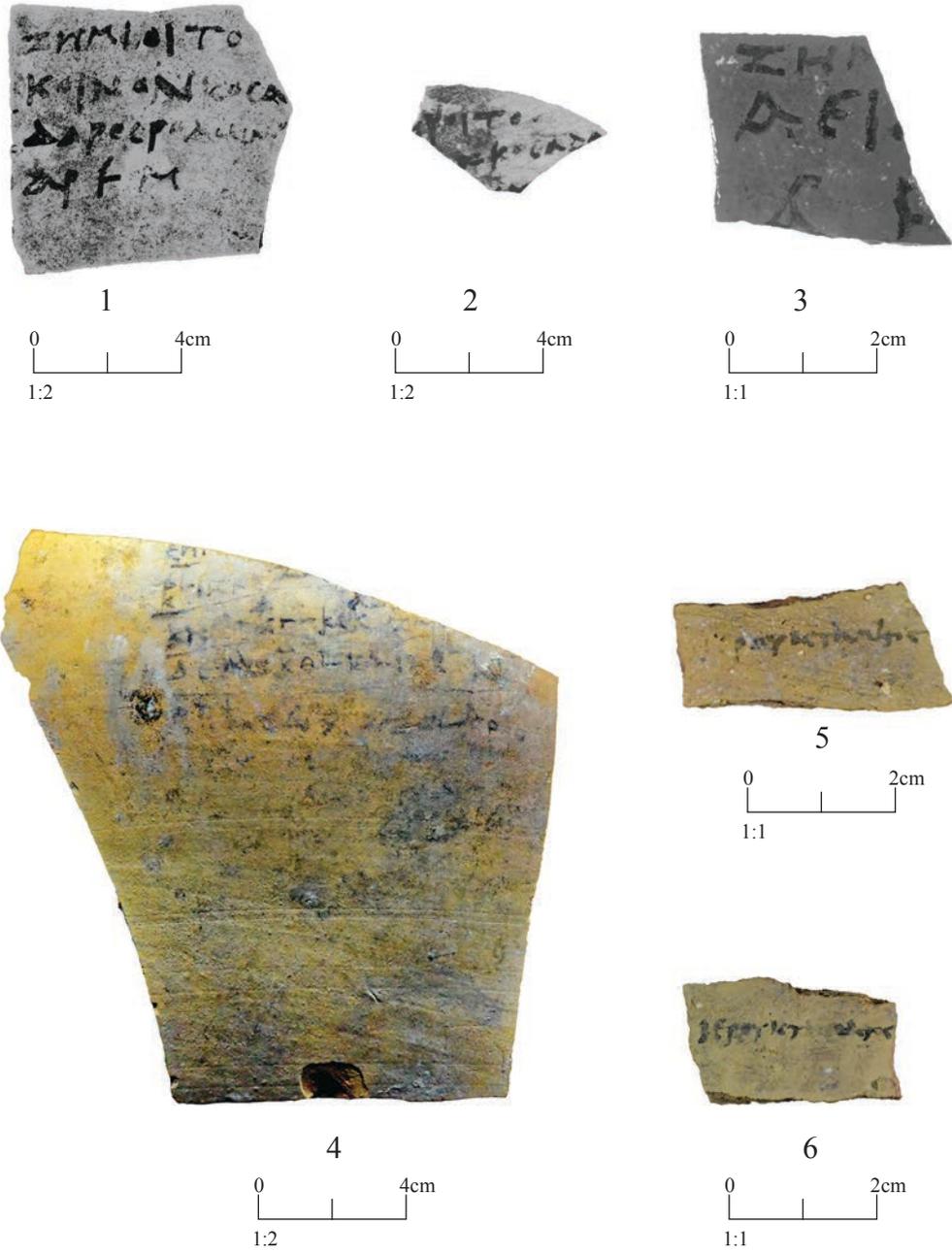


Fig. 16.1.

been seen in Maresha ostraca (Korzakova 2010, Nos. 10, 20, 112, 120; Ecker and Korzakova 2014, No. 6). This ostrakon seems like a summary of such notations.

The L-shaped symbol seen in this text (lines 4–5) is probably a sign for a “minus” out of a larger amount of received funds (Gonis 2009: 175); it can also mean a weight (Finkielsztejn 2015: 76ff.).

This ostrakon is undergoing further study.

### Tags Marking “Holy Property” (Figs. 16.1:5–6)

Two ostraca, tags, mentioning “holy property.” They may have marked offerings to a temple. This is further evidence for cult activity in or above SC169.

5. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115a-1735-S1 (Fig. 16.1:5)

A single line in black ink.

Letters: 0.2–0.3cm.

ΙΕΡΟΥΚΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ  
ἱεροῦ κτήματος

(A marker of?) holy property

*Commentary:* The reading is facilitated through comparison with No. 6 below, an identical ostrakon.

6. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-150-2209-S1 (Fig. 16.1:6)

Letters: 0.2–0.3cm.

ΙΕΡΟΥΚΤ. ΑΤΟC  
ἱεροῦ κτ[ήμ]ατος

(A mark of) holy property

*Commentary:* See above, No. 5.

### Tags and Other Short Texts on Ostraca (Figs. 16.2:7–17)

7. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-94-1464-S1 (Fig. 16.2:7)

A tag mentioning Sellema.

Two lines, black ink.

Letters: 0.3–0.6cm.

ΔΚΡ CΕΛΛΕΚΑΙ  
ΩΡΩΜΕΤΕ  
Δκρ' Cελλε(μα) και

Ωρω(...) Μετε(ιλήφασιν?)

124 SE (188 BCE), by Sellema and Oro(...) received?

*Commentary:* Σελλε(μα) και | Ωρω(...): Sellema is a name attested in more than 50 (unpublished) ostraca from SC89. In several of these ostraca, the names or place names Σελλεμα και Παρσατα (*Sellema and Parsata*) occur in full. Thus, following the *kai* another name beginning in “Oro” in the nominative should be considered (LGPN offers five options).

Μετε(...): It is possible that this last word is a composite verb beginning with “μετα.” There are too many options to decide which verb this may be. But a search through papyri and ostraca dating between 300 and 100 BCE<sup>2</sup> (in papyri. info) showed that μετειληφέναι (μεταλαμβάνω), “received” or “exchanged,” seems, naturally, to be the verb most often used, hence the one most likely to be abbreviated.

8. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-94-1436-S2 (Fig. 16.2:8)

A tag bearing a date and a volume of dry measure.

A single line in black ink.

Letters: 0.4–0.6cm.

LΛ̄P KA<-  
(ἔτους) λρ', κα' (ἡμιαρτάβια)

Year 130 SE (=182 BCE), 21 half-artabas

*Commentary:* The date on this tag is close to the date of the Iope jar inscription (Nos. 38–39). The wedge-shaped symbol followed by a vertical stroke is the common symbol for the measure of half an artaba (see: e. g. o. petr. mus.101, l.2; dated 125–101 BCE), roughly 20 liters. Several tags of this type were found in SC89 (unpublished).

9. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-42-928-S1 (Fig. 16.2:9)

A name.

Four letters in black ink on the interior of the sherd.

Letters: 0.5cm.

ΒΟΗC  
Βόης

Boes (is the owner?)

<sup>2</sup> Search was made through the Papyrological Navigator at Papyri. info (<http://papyri.info/search>).

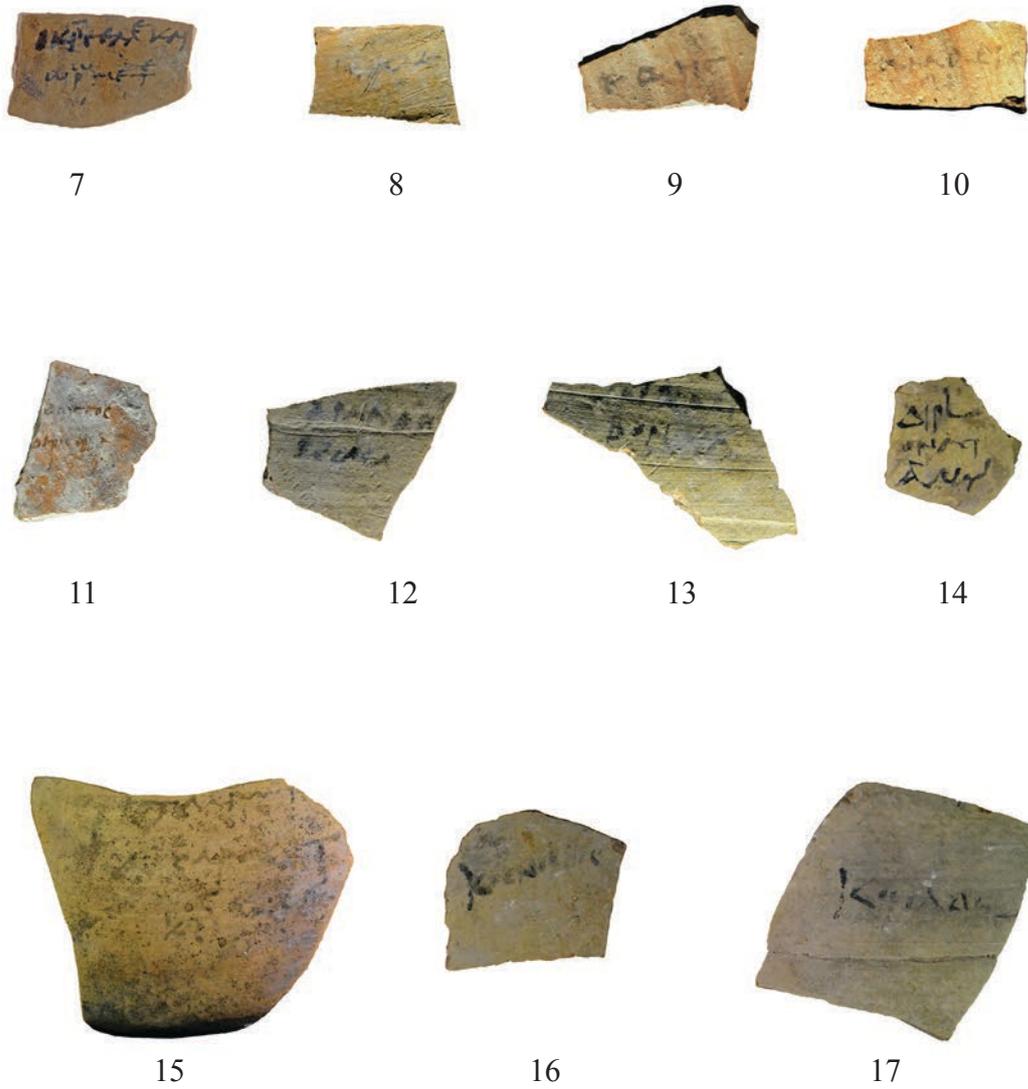


Fig. 16.2.

*Commentary:* The name Βόης is recorded as a Greek variant of a Persian name (s. v. Justi, *INB*). The name also appears in several local and Egyptian variants in Semitic languages (s. v. Buheis in Ilan 2002).

## 10. 4687/06-169-68-1121-S2 (Fig. 16.2:10)

A name.

Two lines, black ink.

Letters: ca. 0.7cm.

ΑΜΑCΙC

+ΑΓ

Ἄμασις

+λγ'

Amasis... | ...33?

*Commentary:* The name Amasis (Greek) is followed by a number or other unknown abbreviation.

## 11. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-75-972-S1 (Fig. 16.2:11)

Possible mention of a person called Kosadar.

Two lines of black ink, very faded.

Letters: 0.35cm; the letter P extends to 0.85cm.

[—]++++ΓOC

[—]ΔΑΡOC OI++

*Commentary:* Line 2 may contain a mention of the name [Κοσα]δάρος — Kosadar (see above Nos. 1–2).

## 12. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-77-1281-S2 (Fig. 16.2:12)

A curse?

Two lines in black ink.

Letters: 0.6cm.

ΑΡΑΙΑ++

ΚOCMA

ΑΡΑΙΑ ++

Κοσμα(ταν?)

...Kosma(tan)...

*Commentary:* Line 1 ΑΡΑΙΑ: if the word is complete it could derive from the adjectives ἀραιός or ἀραιός — the former meaning "venerated" or even "cursed" the latter "thin," "slender." Otherwise a name Ἀραῖνος is recorded

in the LGPN (vol. 3a). If it is a name, than this ostrakon bears two names on it, perhaps a name and a patronym.

Line 2 Κοσμα(...) (*Kosma*) is the beginning of an Idumean name bearing the theophoric element Kos. The Greek name Kosmas, Κοσμά being its genitive, should not be considered here as it appears in local onomastics much later. Hence it seems that an Idumean name was abbreviated. Kosmatan is supplemented *exempli gratia* (see SB.1.681, III.1.29) Kosmalachos is another likely option (see SB. 1.681, II.1.15).

## 13. Reg. No. 6092/11-169-97-1359-S1 (Fig. 16.2:13)

Possible mention of a Nabatean man's name

Two lines of unclear text.

Letters: 0.3–0.7cm.

ΝΑΛΗ

BONNA

Ναλη

Βόννα

Na'le (and) Bonna? Or Na'le son of Bonnes.

*Commentary:* A Nabatean name נל is known, and the name Νεελα (Neela) has also been documented (P. Hever72, l. 2). The Arabic نلنا, perhaps stemming from the Aramaic נלנא, is attested as well (See Ilan 2002: 439).

Bovνης (*Bonnes*) is an attested Semitic name (s. v. Wuthnow, p. 37).

## 14. Reg. No. 5574/11-169-187-2611-S5 (Fig. 16.2:14)

Three lines of text in black ink.

Letters: Line 1: 0.7–0.9cm; line 2: 0.3–0.6cm; line.3: 0.8cm.

ΔΙPL

ONACI

ANY'

διρ' (ἔτους)

Ὄνάσι

ανυ(...)

Year 114 SE (=198 BCE), | (for) Onasis | ...

*Commentary:* Line 1: the L-shaped symbol is misplaced; it ought to be set before and not after the number (for an example of the symbol appearing after the number see P. Tebt.1.40 l.6

of 117 BCE). Year 114 SE is 198 BCE. If indeed this is a date, then this is the earliest use of the Seleucid Era in Maresha.

Line 2: Seems to be best explained as a name, perhaps the dative of the name Ὀνασίς, *onasis* (Ὀνάσι for Ὀνάσει) attested five times in the LGPN. But it may also be an abbreviation of one of the other 62 names beginning with these letters in that lexicon (the most popular being, of course, Ὀνάσιμος, with 120 instances). Another possibility in a Semitic name based on Hannan (חנן) or Hona (הנא) (e. g. Οναίω in Wuthnow, p. 89).

Line 3: ANY': An apostrophe mark above the *upsilon* seems to indicate that this is an abbreviation. I do not know what it means. Interestingly, a document dating to 130 BCE, detailing payments to a small group of cavalry soldiers in Ptolemaic Egypt contains one type of payment abbreviated in the same way (UPZ 2.206, l.10). Unfortunately, the editors of that papyrus also do not know the meaning of this abbreviation. However, if it is a type of payment, then this tag marked a payment to a person called Onasis.

15. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-150-2249-S3 (Fig. 16.2:15)

Four lines of text on a large amphora sherd.

Letters: 0.5–1.0cm.

ΙΤΑΛΙΩΤ[.]  
 ΚΑΠΑΡΑΣ+Τ  
 +++++  
 Κ++  
 Ἰταλιωτ[ι]-  
 καὶ παρὰ Ç+Τ  
 +++++  
 Κ++

Italiotika from S. te...

*Commentary:* Line 1: Ἰταλιωτ[ι]κα: A second-century CE work notes “Italiotikon” as a type of groats of wheat (Herodian, *Philetaeros*, 139.2, ed. Dain, 1954).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this is the case here.

Line 2: Ç+T...: these are the first letters of a name that continued in line 3.

16. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-154-2272-S1 (Fig. 16.2:16)

Letters: 1.3cm (K), 0.3–0.5cm.

ΚΟCNA+++Ç  
 Κοσνα+++ç

*Commentary:* The ink on the latter half of the word has mostly faded. This seems to be a tag bearing an Idumean name with the theophoric element “Kos,” most probably Κοσνατᾶνος, *Kosnatanos* (see: CIIP IV 3528, 3529, 3553, 3570, 3634).

17. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-134-1984-S2 (Fig. 16.2:17)

A Greek-Aramaic bilingual ostrakon?

Single line in black ink.

Letters: 1.4 (K), 0.3–0.7cm.

ΚΟCΙΑCΙ 𐤆 -  
 Κοσιασ 𐤆 -

To Kosias 30?

*Commentary:* The name may be a Greek version, in the dative(?), of the name קוסי, *Qwsy*, attested in six texts in the corpus of Idumean ostraca (Yardeni 2016: 707).

Following the Greek letters there seem to be two additional symbols/letters, perhaps the symbols denoting 10 and 20, thus making the number 30. Another option is that this is the number 10 on the right followed by letter *kaf*, a known abbreviation for כור, (*kor*) the dry volume measure. In both cases the writing is reversed — the number 10 would usually come after the 20 and the volume unit should come before the number.

*Unclear or Illegible Tags and Short*

*Ostraca* (Figs. 16.3:18–16.5:37)

18. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-51-702-S1 (Fig. 16.3:18)

Two lines, black ink.

Letters: 0.4cm.

[..]ΟΥΤΩΝ  
 [..... .]+ΘΔ

3 “Χόνδρον οἱ Ἀττικοί· τὸ δὲ ἄλιξ ἰταλιωτικὸν ὄνομα.”

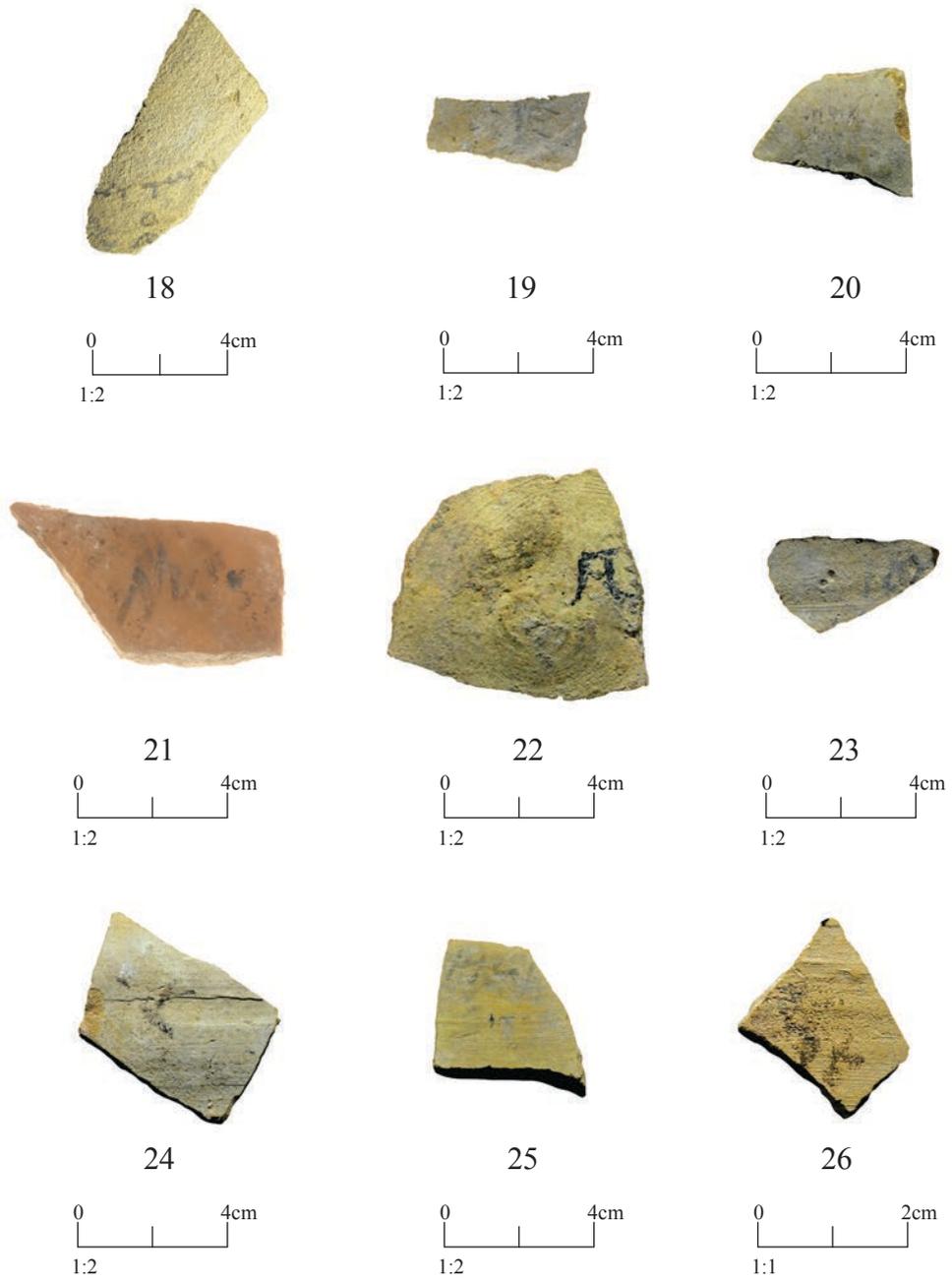


Fig. 16.3.

- Commentary:* The abbreviation *theta delta* also occurs in ostraca from SC89. Its meaning is still unknown.
19. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-66-1016-S1 (Fig. 16.3:19)  
Letters: 0.8–0.9cm  
[—]  
[—]BIE  
*Commentary:* Last letters of a larger ostrakon?  
Similar script to No. 54, below.
20. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-67-1079-S1 (Fig. 16.3:20)  
Black ink, probably a tag.  
Letters 0.4–0.5cm  
+ΠΙΠΙΑ
21. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1320-S2 (Fig. 16.3:21)  
Single line black ink incomplete tag.  
Letters: 0.5cm; N: 1.13cm.  
NΩC+[—]
22. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-69-1196-S5 (Fig. 16.3:22)  
Single letter, black ink.  
Letter: 0.7cm  
M̄  
*Commentary:* It is uncertain whether this is a tag or an owner's mark. It may have been written on the base of a bowl.  
The line over the letter seems to indicate that this is a number — if so, this is simply the number 40.
23. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-69-1329-S2 (Fig. 16.3:23)  
Remains of two lines in black ink.  
Letters: 0.5cm.  
IOY[—]  
+[—]
24. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-75-971-S1 (Fig. 16.3:24)  
A single letter tag. Black ink.  
Letter: 1.5cm.  
— C  
*Commentary:* Perhaps similar to the single letter discovered in SC57 (Ecker and Korzakova 2014, No. 7).
25. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-93-1439-S1 (Fig. 16.3:25)  
Two lines of text. Seemingly complete.  
Letters: 0.4–0.8cm.  
PAC+  
+TO+  
*Commentary:* Last letter in line 1 may be K, I or B.
26. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-93-1508 (Fig. 16.3:26)  
Two letters in black ink. Possibly a tag, inscribed on interior of sherd.  
Letters 0.5cm.  
OΓ or ΘΓ  
*Commentary:* Several series of two letter tags were published by Korzakova (2010: e. g. Nos. 21–27).
27. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-175a-2518-S5 (Fig. 16.4:27)  
Tag?  
Single line in black ink inscribed on interior (concave) section of sherd.  
Letters: 0.4–0.7cm.  
ΠΤΟΛΜΑΙΟΥ  
Δ  
Πτολ(ε)μαίου  
δ'  
(Property?) of Ptolemy |4  
*Commentary:* Line 1: letters are faded and reading uncertain.  
Line 2: The letter *delta* seen below the *upsilon* but it may also be a wedge-shaped symbol.  
The name Ptolemaios appears on a tag from SC57 (Ecker and Korzakova 2014, No. 4).
28. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-94-1434-S3 (Fig. 16.4:28)  
Two lines of black ink, very smudged, written on the exterior of a sherd.  
Letters: 0.4–0.7cm.  
EΦ+++  
EΦAΛ  
*Commentary:* Lambda written somewhat below the line, stemming from the bottom of the right-hand leg of the *alpha*.
29. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-96-146-S1 (Fig. 16.4:29)  
Tag. Two letters on interior of sherd.

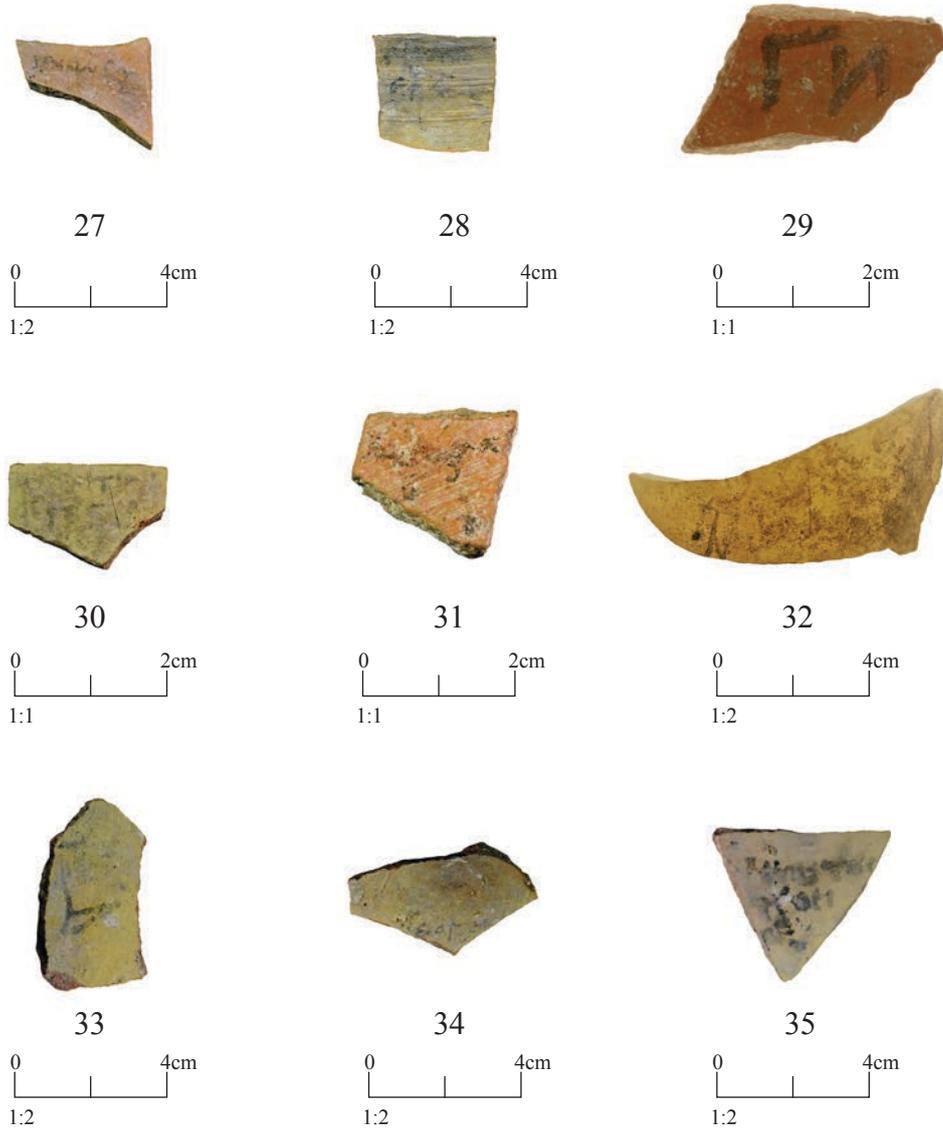


Fig. 16.4.

- Letters: 0.9–1.1cm.  
 ΓΝ  
*Commentary:* The *nu* is inverted. Perhaps ΓΙΑ could be read or, even less likely, ΓΗ. No matter which way this ostrakon is turned, a letter is inverted (i. e. if one wants to read an L-shaped year symbol instead of *gamma*, the letter *zeta* will be inverted). Tags bearing one, two or three letters, a numerical or other notation method, are known from Maresha — see Korzakova 2010, e. g. Nos. 22–52.
30. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-125b-1814-S3 (Fig. 16.4:30)  
 Tag?  
 Remains of two lines of faded letters. perhaps beginning with an L-shaped symbol. Letters: 0.5cm.  
 L+++T +++  
 .. ΤΕÇ+P
31. Reg. No. 6092/11-169-189-2951-S1 (Fig. 16.4:31)  
 Five or six letters on the interior of a sherd, with ink blots above and below text.  
 Letters: 0.2–06cm.  
 ΑϞϞΥΑϞ
32. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-124-1969-S1 (Fig. 16.4:32)  
 Remains of two letters.  
 Letters: 0.5cm, 0.9cm.  
 [—]ZI[—]
33. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-173-2486-S2 (Fig. 16.4:33)  
 Tag?  
 A symbol/letter in black ink on a small sherd.  
 Letter: 1.5cm.  
 Δ  
*Commentary:* Either a ligature of *sigma* and *tau* or a *delta* with an elongated apex. In either case it looks like a personalized marking or signature.
34. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-155a-2283-S1 (Fig. 16.4:34)  
 Letters: 0.2–0.5cm.  
 [—]+EOΓ++[—]
35. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-135a-2010-S3 (Fig. 16.4:35)  
 Tag?  
 Three lines of text, smudged, perhaps incomplete.  
 Letters: 0.5–0.6cm.  
 [—]Δ++++T++  
 ΗϞEI  
 +E
36. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-134-2095-S1 (Fig. 16.5:36)  
 Three lines, black ink.  
 Letters: 0.5–0.7cm.  
 +ΠΙΟΩ  
 +Λ-  
 ++  
*Commentary:* Line 2: Possibly a number λ', 30, and a vertical line meaning some unit (obols? Artaba?).
37. Reg. No. 52/01-169-177-2536-S1 (Fig. 16.5:37)  
 Tag.  
 A single line, black ink.  
 Letters: 0.4–0.7cm.  
 ++++MEIKTY  
 ++++ μεικτ(ο)ϝ  
 ...of mixed (e. g. grain)  
*Commentary:* The first four letters are unclear; it seems that there may be a *mu* written above the line of the text (over an *alpha*?), perhaps indicating that the first word was abbreviated. The spelling μεικτός for μικτός, is, according to the *LSJ*, “early,” and is attested in one of the Zenon papyri from 250 BCE (P. Cairo. Zen. 2. 59292 FrA, 2, 25; 8, 90) where it is used to described chickpeas.

#### *Jar inscriptions* (Figs. 16.5–16.11:38–72)

The following inscriptions are either dipinti or graffiti incised, before or after firing, on storage jars and amphorae (and occasionally onto large jugs). They often mention names of owners, merchants or producers and possibly contents of vessels.

The inscriptions presented below are divided into dipinti, graffiti incised after firing and graffiti



Fig. 16.5.

incised before firing. The latter category probably refers to the producers of the vessels.

One must bear in mind that since many of these vessels are imported amphorae it is impossible to know whether the inscriptions were written in Maresha itself, in their place of origin, or somewhere in between.

The first two inscriptions are dipinti on decorated jugs and are exceptionally detailed, written in the same form usually found on tags of Maresha.

### “Iope Series” (Figs. 16.5:38–39)

These two seemingly identically formulated inscriptions are found on jugs painted with red decoration. The inscriptions are written like tags. The jugs may have been marked on their bodies and not with tags because they had their own lid. Jaffa is mentioned in this inscription — perhaps the origin of the commodity.

38. Reg. No. 6092/11-169-39-948-S1 +  
3941/03-169-39-675-S1 (Fig. 16.5:38)

Several sherds that connect to form a complete vessel. Letters written in black ink.

*Theta* at the end of the third line is written as a circle with a central dot, the *delta* is written directly above it.

Letters: 0.8–1.0cm; line 3: 0.3–0.5cm.

ΙΟΠΗC

[—]ΛΠ̄ΤΡ++++Τ++++

+ΟΡΟΜΑΧΟΥΘΔ

Ιόπης

[(ἔτους?) α]λρ' τρ[ητ?]+ τ++++

Ὀρομάχου ΘΔ

(From?) Jaffa | year 131 (SE)... | of Oromachos(?)  
(*theta delta* abbreviation)

*Commentary:* This seems to be a locally made Aswan-style table oenoche.<sup>4</sup> The first line mentions Iope, most probably Jaffa, the famous coastal city (ca. 50 km away as the crow flies). The spelling with a single *pi* (rather than *Ιόπη*) is in line with papyrological attestations (e. g. P. Cairo.

Zen. 59093r. line 7, see TM geo id 905: [www.trismegistos.org/place/905](http://www.trismegistos.org/place/905)).

The second line begins with a number as indicated by a line over the letters. The presence of the numeral signifying 100 at the end of the string indicates a date in the Seleucid Era, 131 SE being 181 BCE. The letter *alpha* is added before the *lambda* based on comparison to No. 2.

Following the date, the letters that are discernable, with the additional ones added based on the parallel inscription (No. 2), possibly relate to the commodity within the jug. Though there is no certain reading for TPHT. If *eta* here replaces an *iota* then this may be related to τρεῖς (*treis*), three, or something that is third, or one of several personal names connected to it such as Τρίτος (*Tritos*, s. v. LGPN).

Τρητά (*trēta*), perforated things, is used to denote beehives and/or honeycombs (s. v. τρητός in *LSJ*; p. Bon.42; Coppola, *Aegyptus* 13.2, 1933: 664–665). Perhaps it is a name of a certain kind of honey.

Hesychius, in his lexicon, mentions τρητὸν ἔλαιον (s. v.), (*trēton elaion*), probably the accusative, meaning perforated olive tree, called so “on account of the hollow that the wild olive tree has” (“διὰ τὸ κοίλωμα ἔχειν τὸν ἄγριον ἔλαιον”). It is possible that this dictionary entry is in the nominative, in which case Hesychius is explaining a type of an otherwise unknown olive oil extracted from wild olive trees called “perforated oil.”

Be that as it may, τρητός, which seems to be the word that appears in the second line, may denote a type of commodity.

The third line seems to mention a name, Oromachos, in the genitive, possibly the owner of the jug. The name itself is attested in P. Mich. 1. 100, dated to 258–257 BCE, from Alexandria (see [www.trismegistos.org/name/4714](http://www.trismegistos.org/name/4714)).

The inscription ends with a *delta* set over a *theta*. The meaning of this abbreviation is unknown and repeats itself in several ostraca from Maresha.

<sup>4</sup> I thank Andrea Berlin for identifying this vessel.

39. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-16-404-S1 (Fig. 16.5:39)  
Remains of three lines in black ink over a body  
sherd of the same type of jug.

Letters: 0.5–0.8cm.

ΙΟΠΗ[.]  
[.]ΑΛΡ̄ΤΡΗΤ+[—]  
ΤΟΥΛΓΟΥ[—]  
Ιόπης  
[(έτοῦς?) α]λρ' τρητ[—]  
ΤΟΥΟΥΟΥ[—]

(From?) Jaffa | year 131 (SE) ...| of ΟΓΟΥ...

*Commentary:* The text is inscribed on the same type of vessel as No. 1, and seems similar in all but the third line. It seem to have been written by a different hand than No. 1, and it was written with a sharper tool, or with less ink.

Contrary to the expectation of finding the same text in the third line of both inscriptions, it seems that a different name or place name was written here. The third line can perhaps be read τοῦ Ὀγού? Ogou was a village in the Herakleopolitan nome in Egypt; it may have been the place of origin of the owner of the jug or the jug itself (in which case suggesting an Egyptian origin of the vessel — but then conflicting with the clear mention of Jaffa in the first line). In any case, the reading is unclear and the name may be a Semitic personal name, such as Ογοα (s. v. Wuthnow) or a variant of וג ('WG, Ἄ(ο)υγ, s. v. Wuthnow; written Ωγ in the Septuagint — Numbers 21:33). I am aware that there may be a misreading here or in the previous exemplar, and that a *rho* should be read here and or a *gamma* in the previous inscription.

### Commodities (Figs. 40–41)

40. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-09-154-S2 (Fig. 16.5:40)  
Single line in black ink on the top of the shoulder  
of a jug.  
Letters: 0.55–0.6cm.

ΜΕΛ[—]  
Μέλ[ι?]

Honey?

*Commentary:* Many other reconstructions are possible.

41. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-157-2321-S3 (Fig. 16.5:41)  
Single line in black ink on neck and shoulder  
of an amphora sherd. There are other blotches  
of ink on the sherd, none seem like part of an  
inscription.

Letters: 0.6–0.9cm.

ΑΝΕΥΜΑC or ΑΝΩΜΑC

*Commentary:* ΕΥ is in ligature and may also be an *omega*. As a single word on a jar it is probably a name. It could be another Greek version of a Semitic name 'NMW, Anamos, Animos (s. v. Wuthnow Αναμος).

### Names (Owners or Merchants)

(Figs. 16.5:42, 16.6:43–44)

42. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-131-1866-S1 (Fig. 16.5:42)  
One-line inscription below the rim of a locally  
produced table jug, “pie crust” decoration on its  
rim.

Letters: 0.9–1.1cm.

ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟ[.—]  
Ἀμμωνίο[υ—]

(Property of) Ammonios

*Commentary:* Ammonios is a common Semitic name (s. v. Wuthnow, p. 20).

43. Reg. No. 52/01-169-114-1657-S4 (Fig. 16.6:43)  
One-line black ink inscription on the body sherd  
of an amphora.

Letters: 0.5–1.36cm.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ  
Ἀπολλοφάνου

(Property of) Apollophanes

*Commentary:* This name occurs several times among the Greek names of Maresha; see Peters and Thiersch 1905: 52, No. 23 (= CIIP IV 3562); SEG 58, 1762 (= CIIP IV 3562).

44. Reg. No. 3/00-169-124-1926-S2 (Fig. 16.6:44)  
One line, four letters in black ink on the shoulder  
of an amphora.

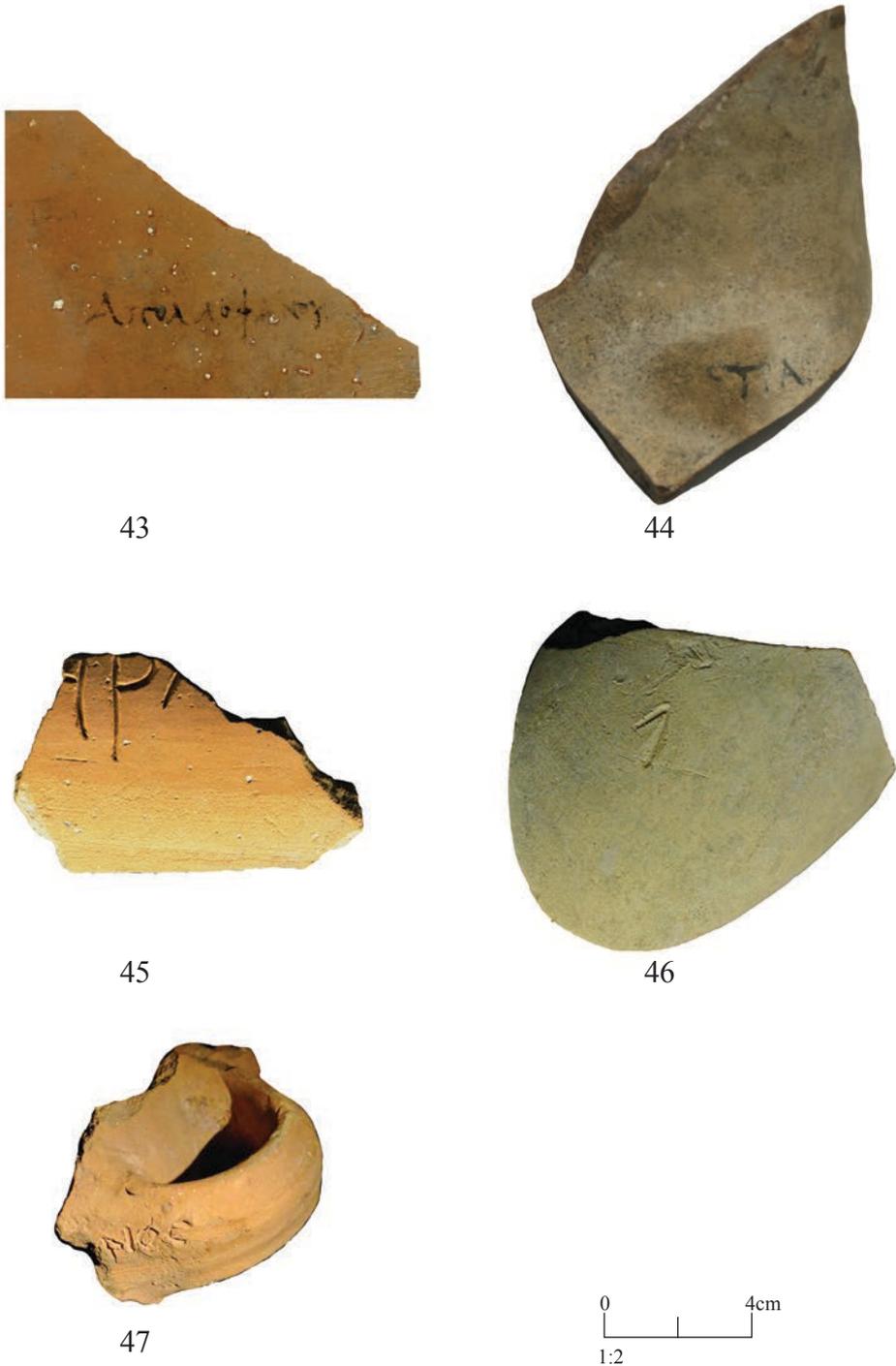


Fig. 16.6.

Letters 0.5–1.0cm.

CTPA

Στρά(τωνος)

(Property of/Product of?) Straton

*Commentary:* Other inscriptions on amphorae from Maresha (see Nos. 42–43), as elsewhere, usually bear names of various owners. LGPN lists 84 names beginning with these letters, with the most popular name being Straton (625 entries out of 1754); hence it was chosen here *exempli gratia*.

### Graffiti Incised Before Firing — Makers' Marks (Figs. 16.6:45–47)

45. Reg. No. 52/01-169-50-856-S2 (Fig. 16.6:45)

Makers' mark incised before firing on an amphora(?).

Letters: ca. 1.5cm.

[—]HPA[—]

46. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-10-219-S1 (Fig. 16.6:46)

Graffito incised before firing on the neck of an amphora.

Letter: ca. 1.9cm.

Λ

*Commentary:* See possibly similar sign on Nos. 51 and 53 below (incised after firing).

47. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-03-70-S1 (Fig. 16.6:47)

Amphora handle incised before firing.

Letters: 0.5–0.7cm.

[—]NOC

### Graffiti Incised after Firing (Fig. 16.7:48–53)

48. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-03-292-S1 (Fig. 16.7:48)

Two letters incised after firing on an amphora(?).

Letters: ca. 2.0cm.

KB[—]

*Commentary:* This is either an owners' mark or a number — 23. Combinations of *beta* and *kappa* seem to recur on such inscriptions incised after firing on amphora sherds and other jar inscriptions and even on an ostrakon (No. 4). See

No. 12 above, and Korzakova 112, 115 (the latter is possibly identical).

49. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-114-1761-S3 (Fig. 16.7:49)

Remains of two letters incised after firing on amphora(?).

Letters: (maximum remaining height) 0.4cm.

[—]BK[—]

50. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-67-1254-S1 (Fig. 16.7:50)

Graffito on amphora sherd.

Letters: 0.8cm.

IN[—]

51. Reg. No. 3/00-169-76-974-S6 (Fig. 16.7:51)

Graffito incised on an amphora sherd.

Letters: ca. 1.0cm.

Γ or Λ

52. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-93-1402-S2 (Fig. 16.7:52)

Letter incised after firing on the body of an amphora.

Letter: ca. 1.0cm.

[—]Δ

### Graffiti Incised before Firing

(Figs. 16.7:53–16.8:54)

53. Reg. No. 52/01-169-93-1402-S2 (Fig. 16.7:53)

Mark incised before firing on the body of the same amphora as No. 52.

Letters: ca. 1.0cm.

Δ or Λ

54. Reg. No. 52/01-169-05-64-S2 (Fig. 16.8:54)

Base of jug or jar with maker's mark incised before firing.

Letter: ca. 1.0cm.

C[.]

### Other Dipinti (Figs. 16.8:55–16.9:72)

*Marks on Amphorae* (Figs. 16.8:55–61, 16.9: 62–68)

55. Reg. No. 3/00-169-94-1349-S1 (Fig. 16.8:55)

Three letters on the body of an amphora.

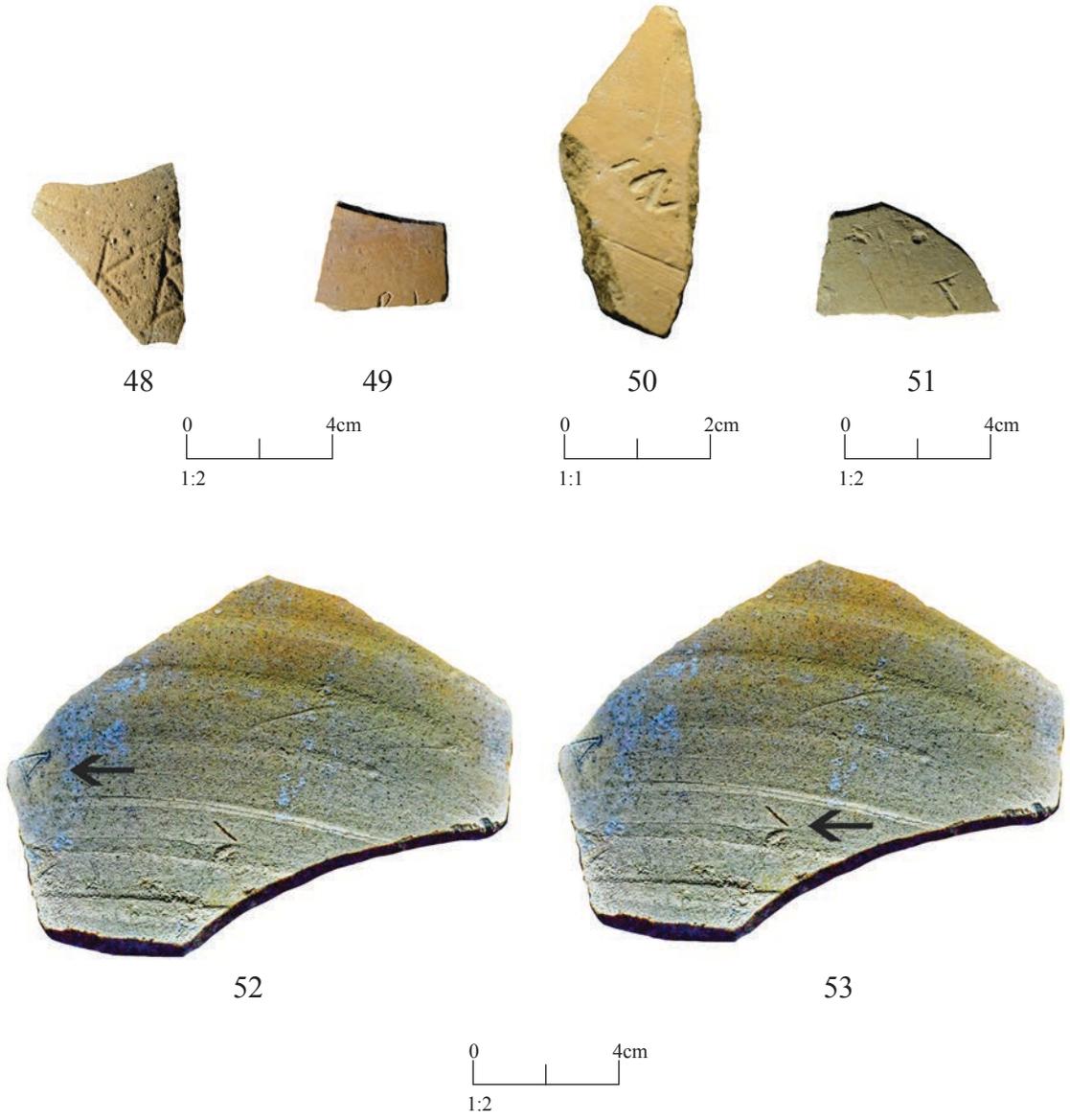


Fig. 16.7.

- Letters: L-shaped symbol(?) 2.0cm; *lambda* 0.8cm.  
 Λ Λ'  
 (ἔτους) λ'
- Year 30  
*Commentary:* Year 30, if it is of a Hellenistic monarch, can only be that of Ptolemy II 253/2 BCE. If this is indeed the mark of a year, it is a very early Greek inscription — possibly the earliest securely dated inscription from Maresha. One must consider that it is related to the amphora on which it was shipped and not necessarily written in Maresha.
56. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-09-279-S1 (Fig. 16.8:56)  
 Dipinto with red ink on sherd off the neck of an amphora; a ligature.  
 Letters: 0.6cm.  
 ΠΥ?  
*Commentary:* The letter *upsilon* is encased within the *pi* as common in Hellenistic ligatures with the letter *pi*.
57. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-03-293-S1 (Fig. 16.8:57)  
 Inscription in black ink on the shoulder of an amphora, above handle. A symbol or ligature.  
 Letters: ca. 1.0cm.  
 XO or XΓO  
*Commentary:* The symbol may be a merchants' mark or signature. See also No. 58 below.
58. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-06-130-S1 (Fig. 16.8:58)  
 Four letters in black ink on amphora.  
 Letters 0.5–0.8cm.  
 XOPY[—]  
 or  
 XΩPY[—]
59. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-93-1485-S4 (Fig. 16.8:59)  
 A ligature in black ink on amphora sherd.  
 Height 2.5cm.  
*Commentary:* Perhaps this is a ligature of K and B meaning κᾶβοι — the measurement *kab*.
60. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-113-1707-S1 (Fig. 16.8:60)  
 Three letters remaining on the body of an amphora.  
 Letters: *beta* –1.6cm, *omicron* — 0.5cm, *upsilon* — 0.9cm.  
 BOY  
 Bou(...)  
 (Property of?) Bou...  
*Commentary:* The inscription seems complete. LGPN indices give 142 names beginning with these letters; it is probably an owner's/merchant's mark.
61. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-92-1538-S1 (Fig. 16.8:61)  
 Two letters in black ink on body of an amphora(?).  
 Letters: 2.3cm and 3.4cm.  
 AP  
*Commentary:* Probably an owner's/merchant's mark.
62. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-115-1595-S7 (Fig. 16.9:62)  
 Remains of one line in black ink on amphora sherd.  
 Letters: 0.6–0.7cm.  
 [—]ΠOXY  
*Commentary:* Considering that other such one-line inscriptions on amphorae from Maresha bear names in the genitive, one may perhaps reconstruct here a name such as [Ἄρ]ποχύ(σιος) (P. Ryl. 2, 217, 36), a variant of the Egyptian *Harpekysis* (TM People: [www.trismegistos.org/name/255](http://www.trismegistos.org/name/255)) or [Ἄρ]ποχύ(ψιος) (BGU14, 2428, col. 4, 53), from the Egyptian name Harpchypsis (TM People: [www.trismegistos.org/name/255](http://www.trismegistos.org/name/255)). Other names may be possible.
63. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-173-2501-S3 (Fig. 16.9:63)  
 Single letter remaining on an amphora sherd.  
 The bottom of the letter is missing, hence it was written before the amphora broke.  
 Letter: 1.3cm.  
 K  
*Commentary:* The letter *kappa* on its own on an amphora sherd was discovered in Korzakova 137.



Fig. 16.8.

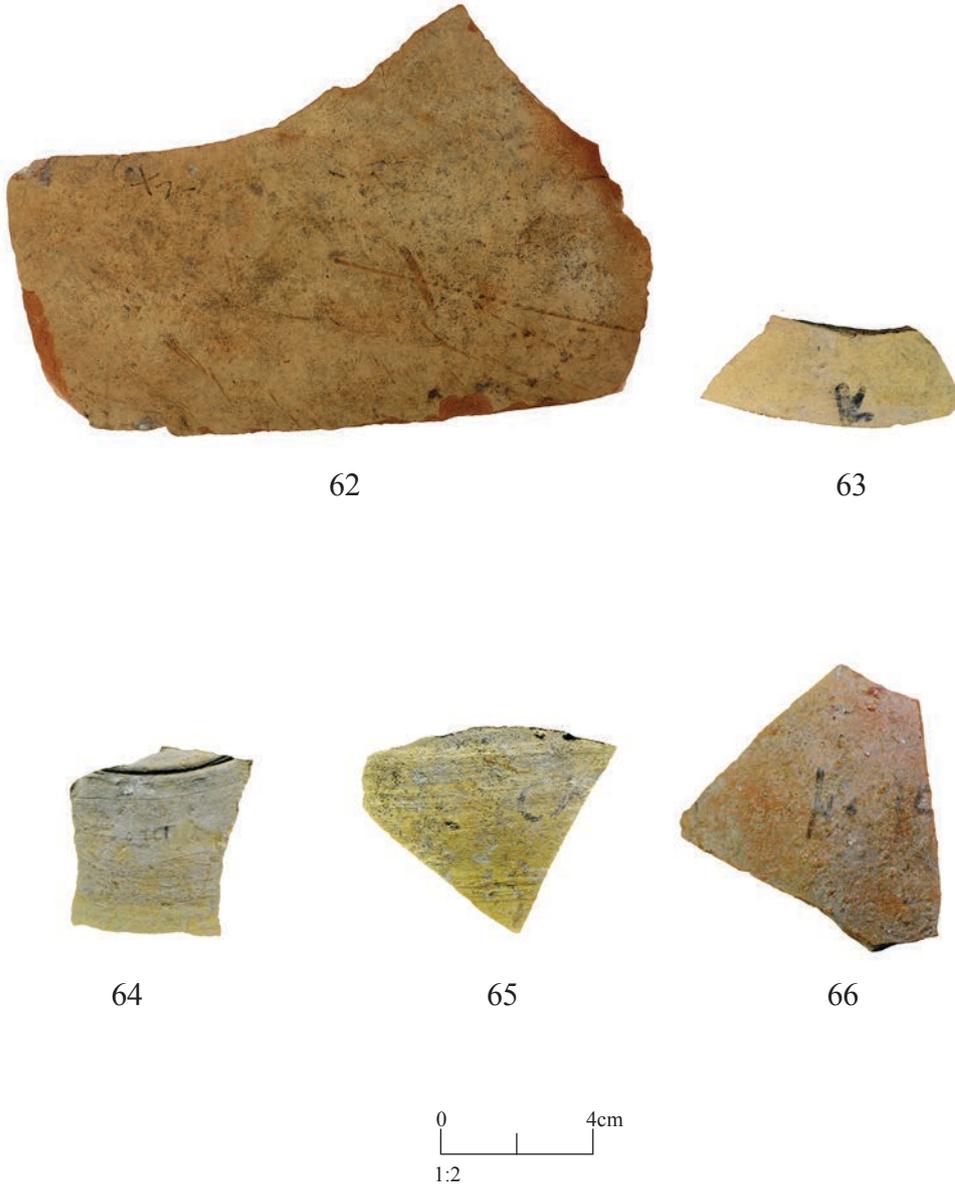


Fig. 16.9.

64. Reg. No. 3/00-169-94-1500 (Fig. 16.9:64)  
Remains of one line of text in black ink below the neck of an amphora. There are possible traces of one more line above the existing line, and above it there seems to be a single horizontal line in ink, perhaps a marking of sorts.

Letters: 0.5cm.

++ΟΠΤΑ

*Commentary:* No certain reading can be given. The remaining letters could be related to κόπτος, meaning cut or shredded, and refer to food stuffs such as sesame and cheese (s. v. κόπτος *LSJ*). But many other possibilities exist.

65. Reg. No. 52/01-169-96-1467-S2 (Fig. 16.9:65)

Jar inscription.

Remains of two letters on an amphora sherd. Possible remains of ink below and above on the sherd, with no discernable letter.

Letters: 0.8cm.

CA[—]

66. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-183-2708-S5 (Fig. 16.9:66)

Faint traces of letters on amphora sherd.

Letters: 0.7–1.8cm.

HCIC[—] or HCIO[—]

### Marks on Local Storage Jars

(Figs. 16.10:67–16.10:72)

67. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-09-161-S1 (Fig. 16.10:67)

Dipinto on a jar sherd; traces of red ink; letters unclear.

Letters: 2.0–2.3cm.

[—]ICY++[—]

*Commentary:* Perhaps the same as No. 70 below.

68. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-09-296-S1 (Fig. 16.10:68)

Traces of three letters in black ink on body sherd.

Letters: ca. 0.7–0.8cm.

.IC+[—]

69. Reg. No. 52/01-169-36-520-S2 (Fig. 16.10:69)

A single remaining letter in black ink below the handle of a jar or amphora.

Letter: ca. 1.0cm.

Φ[—]

70. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-187-2665-S7 (Fig. 16.10:70)

Remains of four letters on the body sherd of a storage jar.

Letters: 0.9cm.

ABΔ.[—]

*Commentary:* This may either be the beginning of a Semitic name with ἄβδ[—] or an abecedar. The letter *beta* is oddly written, and it seems as if it is composed of two superimposed letters, possibly *gamma* and *beta* in which case it may be an abecedar. The traces of one more letter to the right may be discerned — possibly an *epsilon*. If this is an abecedar, this may be an ostrakon and not a jar inscription.

71. Reg. No. 3/00-169-17A-647 (Fig. 16.10:71)

Black ink two lines interior of the body sherd of a jug or jar. Top left-hand side (line 1) inscribed with small letters, 0.3–0.6cm, bottom (line 2) larger, 1.0–1.3cm. This may also be a tag.

[—]ΩΨ+AK?

[—?]ΡΩΚΑ ΦΥ

*Commentary:* Line 1: I found no clear interpretation.

Line 2: a) ῥώκκα/ῥόκα is, in fact, rocket (arugula) — but that word is only attested in very late Byzantine sources. b) ῥωκάνη is a plain — it is possible that this states that this comes from a field or a plain, a bit vague, but possible; c) ῥάξ — ῥόξ — ῥόγα — is a grape — perhaps writing phonetically, *gamma* and *kappa* may be interchanged — and this means grapes, or some grape-based beverage, i. e. wine or must.

72. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-07-120-S2 (Fig. 16.11:72)

Possible remains of two letters in red ink on storage jar sherd.

Letters (remaining max. height): 2.9cm.

[—]A or Λ +[—]

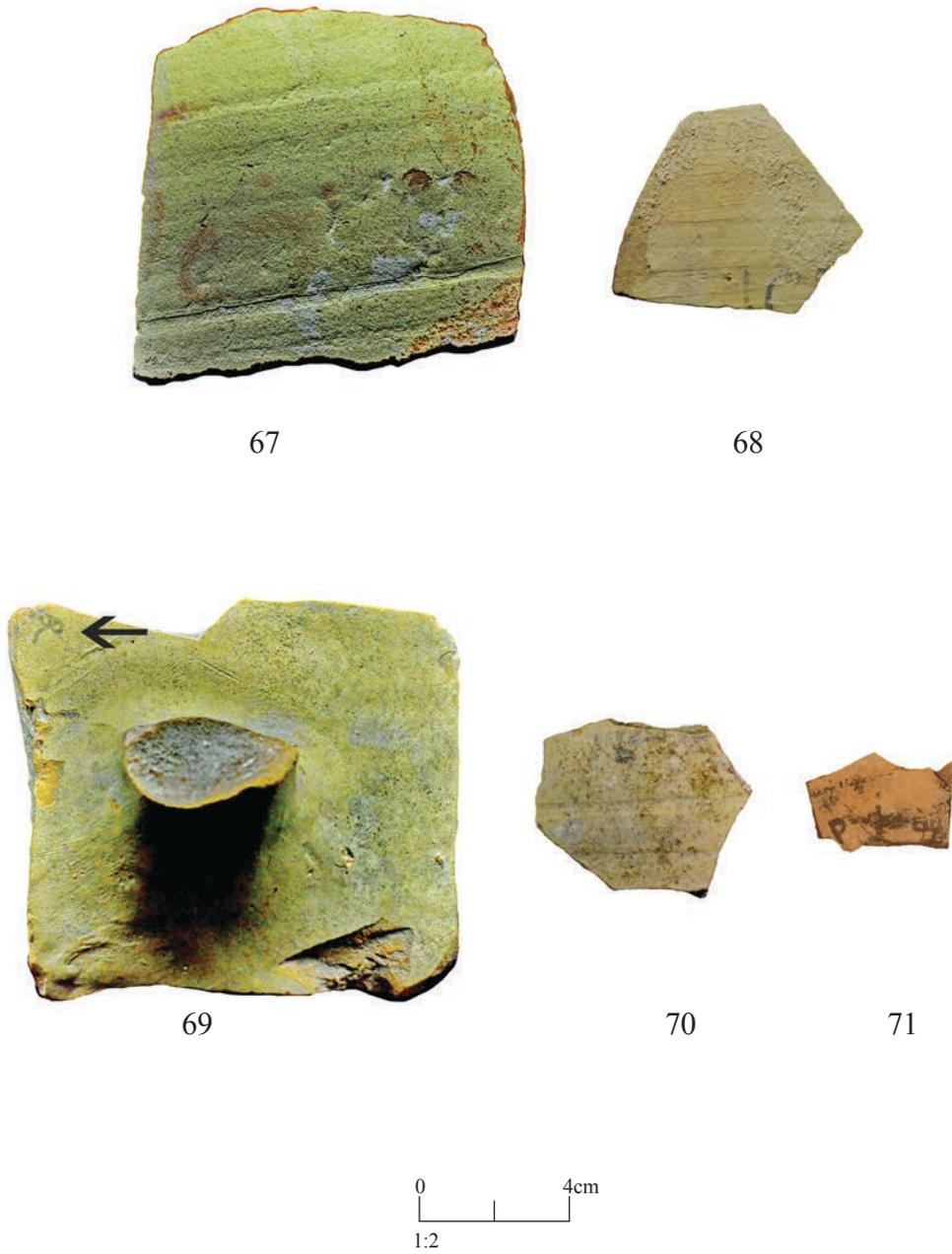


Fig. 16.10.

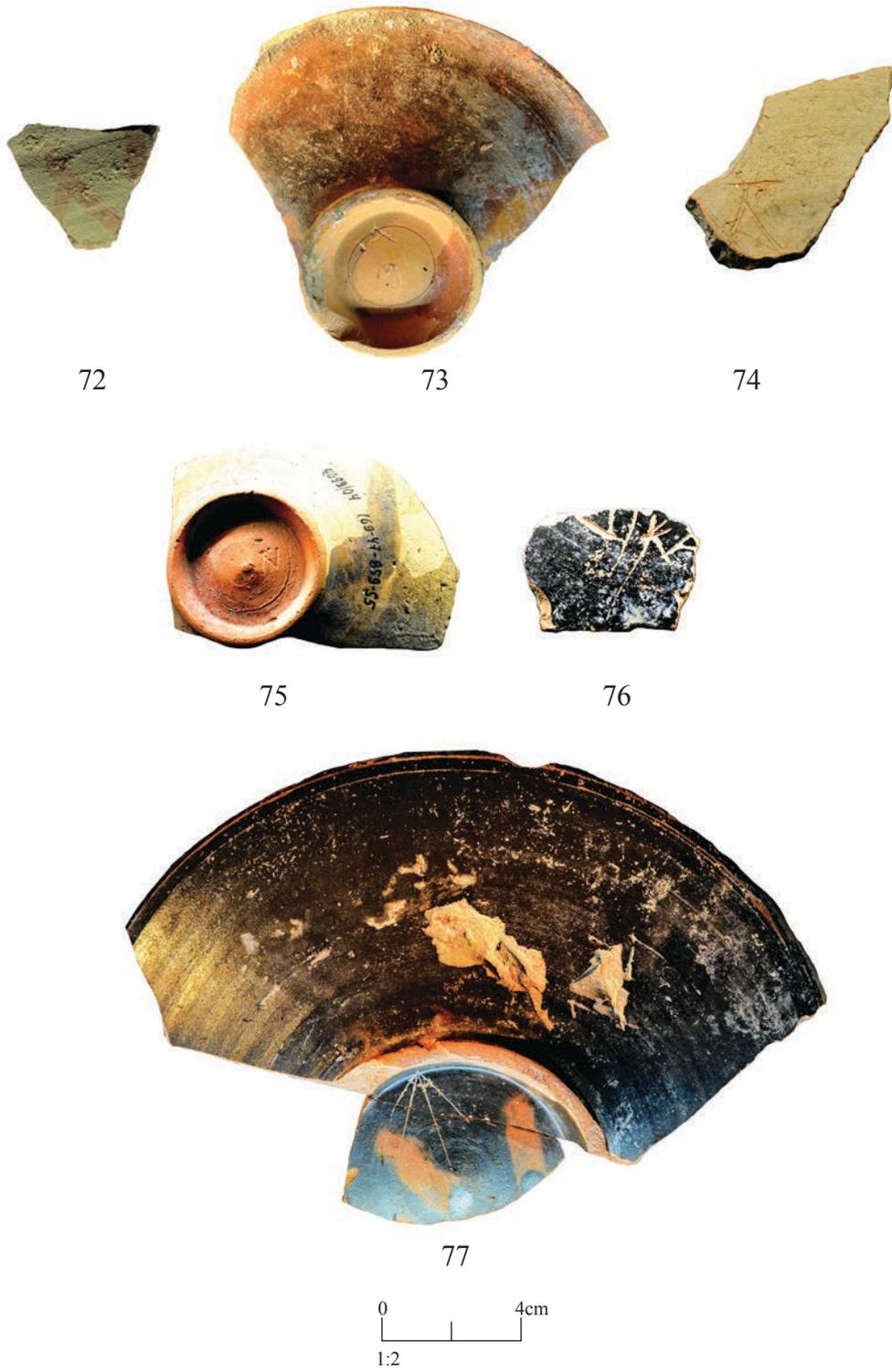


Fig. 16.11.

**Owner's Marks on Bowls and Plates (Figs. 16.11:73–16.12:82)****Local Pottery (Figs. 16.11:73–75)**

73. Reg. No. 3/00-169-18-450 (Fig. 16.11:73)

Graffito incised on base of a red-slipped local fish plate.

Letters ca. 1.5cm.

AB

74. Reg. No. 52/01-169-08-35-S2 (Fig. 16.11:74)

Letters incised in the interior at the base of a (locally made?) bowl. Possibly a ligature.

Letters: 1.6cm.

[—]+IA[—]

Or

+ΠA

*Commentary:* Another letter probably preceded the two. The graffito was incised with a two-pronged instrument (see also Korzakova 2010: No. 80; jar inscription No. 56).

75. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-47-859-S5 (Fig. 16.11:74)

Graffito on the bottom of a locally produced slipped bowl.

Letter ca. 0.7cm.

N

**Imported Pottery (Figs. 16.11:76–16.12:82)**

76. Reg. No. 3/00-169-01-15-S14 (Fig. 16.11:76)

Graffito incised on the base of a black-glazed fish plate, probably an imported vessel.

Letters ca. 1.5cm.

[—]ΩKA[—]

77. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-10-226-S1 (Fig. 16.11:77)

Graffito on base of a black-glazed fish plate.

No letters, just four lines radiating in a fan shape from the same spot. On the side of the bowl a possible *lambda*-shaped mark like below No. 81.

78. Reg. No. 3/00-169-36-603-S1 (Fig. 16.12:78)

Graffito on the bottom of an imported black-glazed plate.

Letter ca. 1.2cm.

A

79. Reg. No. 3/00-169-03-69-S1 (Fig. 16.12:79)

Graffito on base of ESA bowl.

Letter: ca. 5cm.

X

*Commentary:* Probably a marking and not a letter. Occupying all of base. See also 169073–1190-S2 below.

80. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-73-1190-S2 (Fig. 16.12:80)

X-shaped mark on base of ESA bowl.

Letter: ca. 4.0cm.

81. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-03-71-S1 (Fig. 16.12:81)

A triangular maker's mark.

A triangular incision made before firing on the side of a bowl.

Letter: ca. 1.5cm.

Λ

*Commentary:* There are traces of another incision further to the left of the marking. It is unclear whether this latter mark is a scratch or a sign.

82. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-09-86-S1 (Fig. 16.12:82)

Graffito incised before firing on the interior of an (imported?) bowl.

Letters 1.2–2.1cm.

[—]CICK

*Commentary:* Considering that this is probably the name of the bowl's maker because it was incised before firing — it may be an abbreviation of a name ending with σικ(ος), perhaps the diminutive of a name ending with σικ or with σιος.**Illegible Traces (not illus.)**

The following is a list of inscriptions that are very likely in Greek, but are illegible either because they are too broken or too faded.

Notable features are supplied when possible.

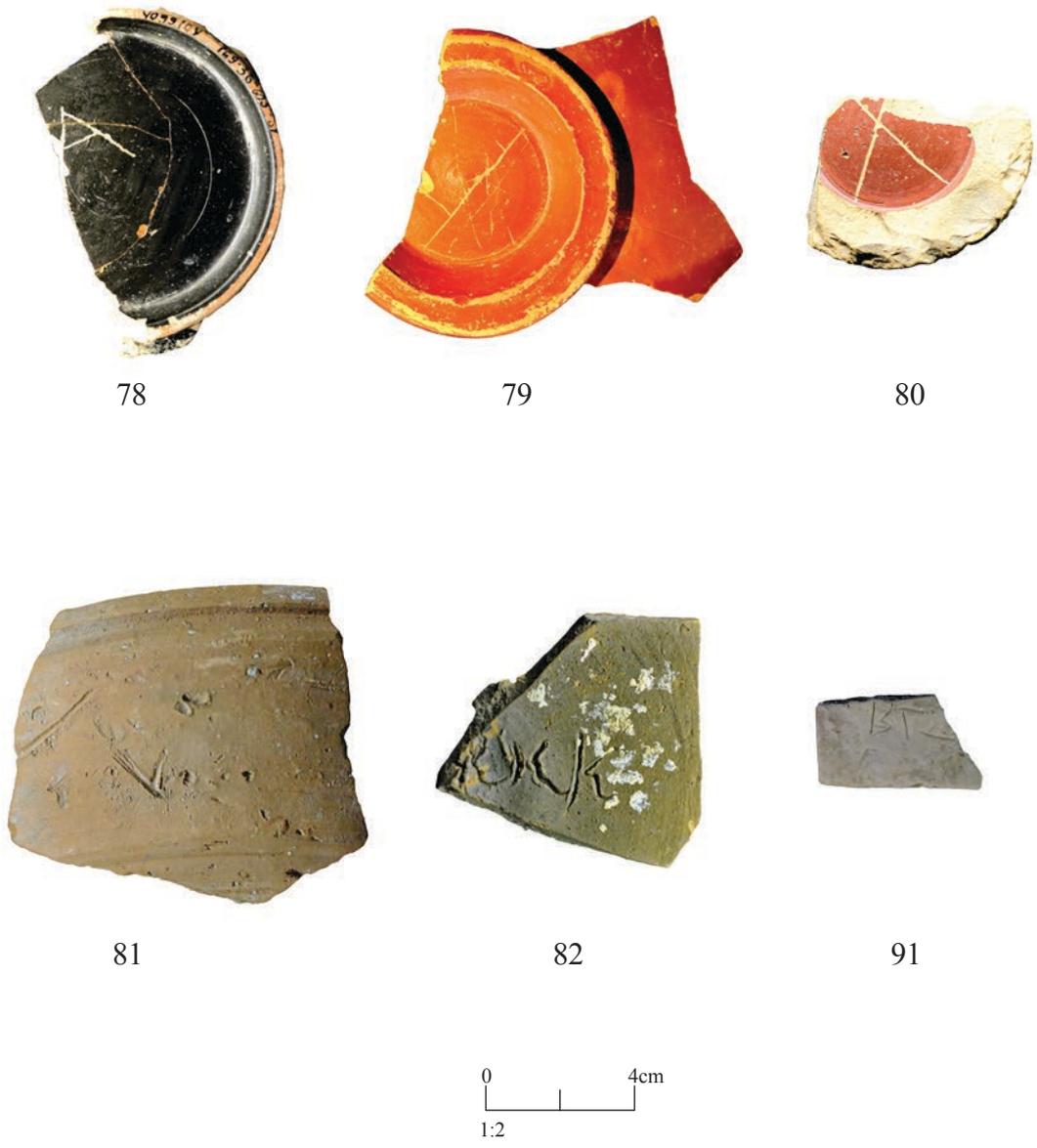


Fig. 16.12.

83. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-50-865-S1  
Jar inscription, at least four letters on shoulder of amphora.
84. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-76-966-S7  
Four lines of text.
85. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-165a-2431-S3  
Tag — letters 0.3cm.
86. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-27-508-S1
87. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-50-910-S1
88. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-16-414-S1
89. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-20-438-S1

90. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-189-2618-S5

### Abecedary (Fig. 16.?:91)

I add this inscription here because it was not published in the CIIP IV.

91. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-116-1557-S6 (Fig. 16.12:91)

Bottom left hand corner of a chalk stone tablet.

Measurements: W 4.5cm, H. 3.0cm

Letters: ca. 1.0cm.

[—]

ΒΓΔ[—]

*Commentary:* This is the fourth published abecedary from the subterranean complexes of Maresha (see Ecker-Korzakova 2014 No. 3).

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CHAPTER 17  
THE AMPHORA STAMPS FROM SC169

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The assemblage of stamped amphora handles from Subterranean Complex 169 consists of 239 items. Of these: 225 are from Rhodes (94.14%), 1 from Knidos (? 0.42%), 5 from Thasos (2.09%), 6 from Chios (2.51%), 1 from Cyprus (0.42%) and 1 of the Nikandros Group, most probably from Ephesos (0.42%). Based on the best datable Rhodian and Thasian stamps, as well as a rough calculation of the chronology of the other classes, 61.67% date from the last two thirds of the third century BCE, 33.33% date to the first half of the second century BCE and 5% are spread throughout the second half of the second century BCE.

These data conform to the general findings of stamped amphora handles in the region: Thasian stamps are the earliest datable stamps found in the Southern Levant, but they are relatively rare in Maresha as a whole. The Knidian stamps are more common than the Thasian in Maresha as a whole, mostly dated to the second half of the second century BCE. But in SC169, they are absent from that period (and the sole attribution of a stamp as Knidian in SC169 is dubious). The vessels of both the Knidian and Thasian classes are rather common in the Galilee in the third century BCE, probably due to the intense activity of the main harbor of the southern Levant, Ptolemais-Akko. At Maresha in general, the Cypriot and the Chian stamps, dating respectively to the third century and to 220–180 BCE, are not very numerous. Finally, only one Nikandros Group example represents one of the most common imports of the second half of the second century BCE; the others classes common in the same period are totally absent in SC169.

Findings at Maresha (Fig. 1) reflect the chronological profile of the third century, evidenced in most

large cities of the southern Levant. The peak in the years 214–200 BCE may be related to the preparation by the Egyptians for a probable second attempt by Antiochus III to invade the region, also evidenced in other cities, after the defeat of the latter in Raphia in 217 BCE.

A drastic decline in amphora imports in Maresha in the 160s is evidenced as a whole on the site, followed by a recovery about ten years later. The decline coincides with the march of Judah and his army in the area: “Judah with his brothers went to the Negev to fight the Edomites. He seized Hebron [...]. Then he left for the land of the Philistines, passing through Marisa. That day some priests who wanted to be valiant fell because they imprudently attacked the enemy” (I Macc. 5:65–67).

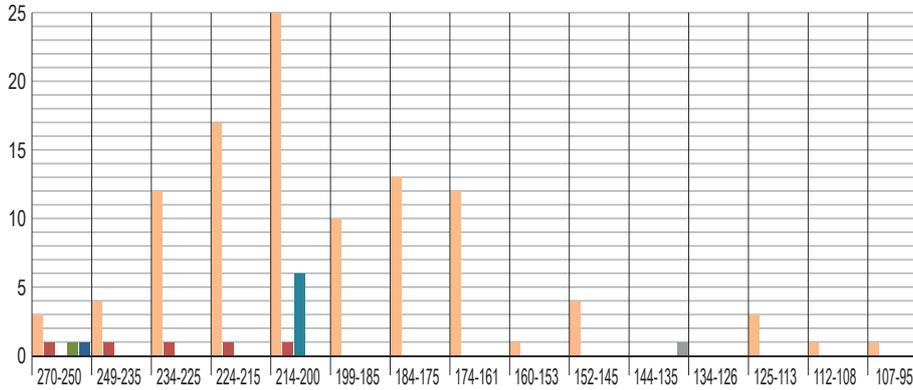
Therefore, at first glance, the decline in the imports in Maresha might seem to have been the result of an attack by the Maccabees on the city. However, it seems unlikely that Judah’s forces were able to cut off trade with such a well-protected and wealthy city in one battle and then continue their march. This partial disruption of supply was probably due to the general political and military disturbances in the region at that time. The study of the matter is beyond the scope of the present report.

There is slight evidence for the renewal of activities from 152 to 145 BCE, the reign of Alexander I Balas. It seems that there is a sign of another small peak from 125 to 123 BCE, the reign of Alexander II Zabinas. Both peaks appear in the rest of Maresha, but more pronounced. But otherwise, the imports of amphoras seem to have almost ceased in the buildings above SC169, from which the dumps mostly originated.

Since other classes of vessels dating to the second half of the second century BCE are also present it may be suggested that the activities changed, and perhaps also the inhabitants.

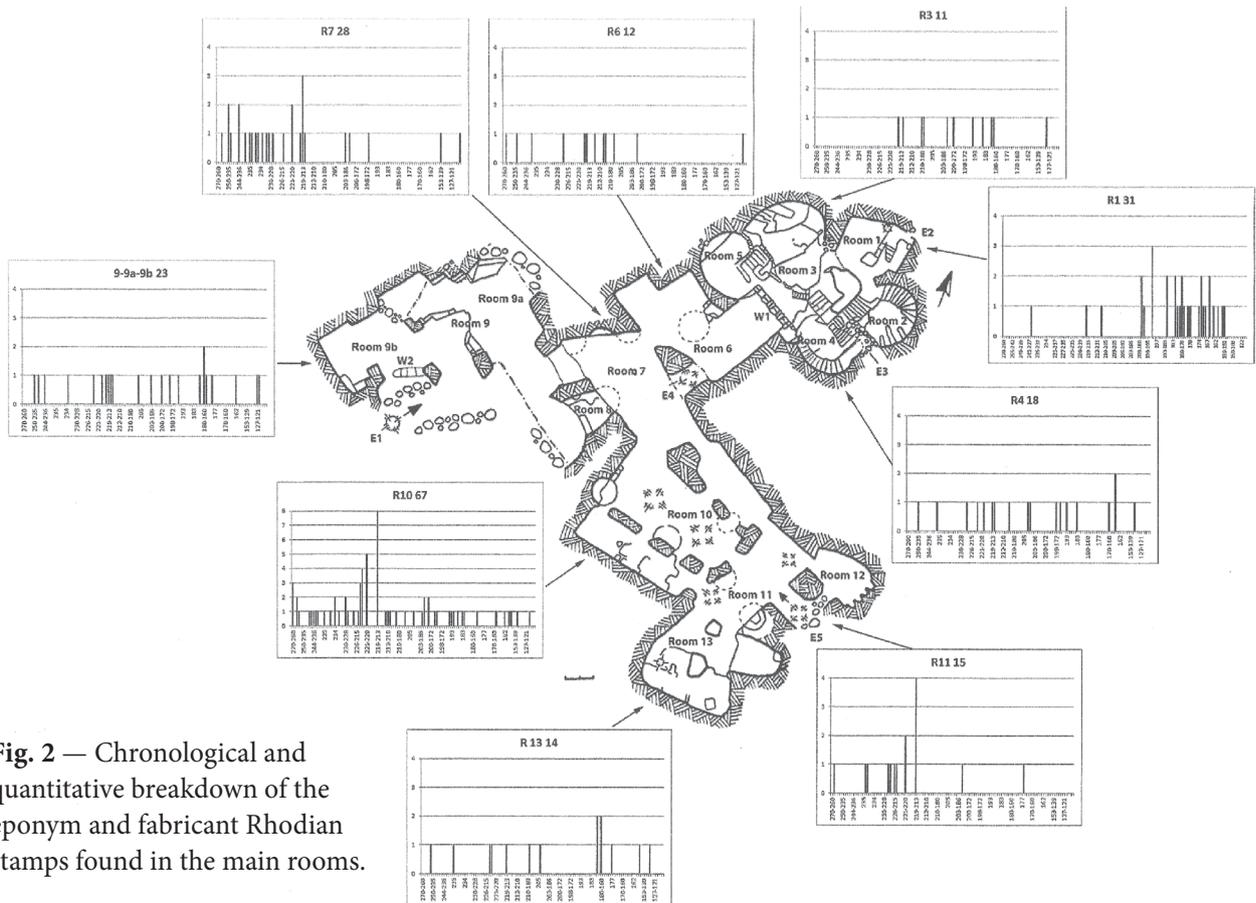
In Rooms 3, 4, 6, 9, 11 and 13, the dump is poor or very poor in amphora remains (Fig. 2). Only in Room 10, was a significant number of stamped handles discovered (67). It is here that the peak of the period

of imports (215–213 BCE) is well represented, as is the fact that imports were continuous during that period. The peak is also marked in Rooms 7 and 11, albeit to a lesser extent. The findings in the excavation of the buildings above SC169 may refine the understanding of the differences between the various dumps, both qualitatively and chronologically. Obviously the functions of some rooms would preclude the storage of amphoras.



**Fig. 1** — Chronological breakdown of the amphora stamps from SC169.

- Rh E = Rhodian eponyms,
- Th E = Thasian eponyms,
- Ch F = Chian fabricants,
- Cy = Cypriot,
- Ni F = Nikandros fabricant,
- Kn.



**Fig. 2** — Chronological and quantitative breakdown of the eponym and fabricant Rhodian stamps found in the main rooms.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



Fig. 17.1.



Fig. 17.2.





Fig. 17.4.

EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



Fig. 17.5.



Fig. 17.6.



Fig. 17.7.





Fig. 17.8.



EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA



Fig. 17.9.



Fig. 17.10.





Fig. 17.11.

CATALOG<sup>1</sup>

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
<b>RHODES</b>						
1	10	6701/13-173-2458.4 — Rectangular stamp.	Ε vacat. [—].Ι vacat ——. ΙΟ ΦΙΡ/ΩΝ/ΙΛ/Α vacat .	?	270–260	Chipped surface. Large letters on three lines, on partly impressed stamp. Date based on the appearance of the handle.
2	10	6380/12-163-2439.2 — Rectangular stamp.	... ..ΑΣ Monogram?	?	270–260	Double impression. Lunate <i>sigma</i> . The fabricant Ὀνάσιμος puts a retrograde <i>beta</i> under his name, on a rectangular stamp. The stamp recalls those of Σωτῆς 1st and Κράτων (3), who use monograms (but not that letter) below their name, on a squarish stamp. This could be the case here.

1 Catalog legends. a, b, c attached to Cat. No. = different artifacts; Reg. No. = License No.-Locus-Basket-Item; a, b, c attached to Locus No. is part of the number.

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
3	10	6701/13-173-2500.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Κράτων	Κράτων F	270–260	No monogram visible below the name, as is common for this fabricant's stamps (Ariel 2006: 601, No. 10; see 2).
4	11	4361/05-51-932.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἄριστι ωνος	Ἄριστίων E or Ἄριστίων 1st F	264	Date of the eponym. The name of a contemporary fabricant appears generally abbreviated. Probably same die as 5.
5	6	7015/14-186-2649.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἄριστι ωνος	Ἄριστίων E or Ἄριστίων 1st F	264	Probably same die as 4.
6	10	4099-50-805.5 — Circular stamp.	Illegible Button	?	264–226	F Ἱεροτέλης
7	7	2/16-204-2827.3 — Circular stamp.	Ἱεροτέλευς Button	Ἱεροτέλης F	264–226	Other fabricants were using the button stamps: Διάνδρος and Δικαῖος
8	10	6701/13-173-2514.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἱεροτέλευς Button	Ἱεροτέλης F	264–226	Other fabricants were using the button stamps: Διάνδρος and Δικαῖος
9	10	3941/03-36-594.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ' ἱερέ ως Πολ υκλεῦς	Πολυκλῆς E	259–249	
10	7	7015/14-184-2608.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Μός χου	Μόσχος 1st F	250–235	
11	4	5343/08-128-1868.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ὀνα σίμου	Ὀνάσιμος F	250–235	
12	9	3941-27-510.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ποσ ιδέ ου	Ποσίδεος F	250–235	
13	7	4687/03-68-1324.2 — Circular stamp.	Σωτήριχος Eagle	Σωτήριχος 1st F	250–235	See 115, Σωτήριχος 2nd.
14	7	4997/07-114-1575.2 — Circular stamp.	ΑΤΤΙΝΑC vacat Thick dot Double thick frame	?	250–230	Fabric rather dark with a thick yellow cover.
15	10	7015/14-183-2693.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἄξιου Rose Double frame	Ἄξιος F	245–236	See 19 and 20.
16	10	2/16-203-2877.3 — Circular stamp.	Blank Button	?	245–226	F probably Ἱεροτέλης
17	10	3941/03-36-583.1 — Circular stamp.	Δαμοκράτης Button	Δαμοκράτης 1st E	244–236	F Ἱεροτέλης or Δικαῖος (association on amphora; Lawall 2007: 33, AH 6).
18	9	2/16-205a-2869.7 — Circular stamp.	Ἰδρου Button	Διάνδρος F	244–236	E Ὀνάσανδρος too long, even without Ἐπί. Διάνδρος is associated with Τιμοκλῆς 1st (Lawall 2007:36, AH 14).
19	7	4687/06-68-1327.2 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπί Εὐφρανορίδα Ἄξιου ΠΑ	Εὐφρανωρίδας E Ἄξιος F ΠΑ Mg	244–236	Same die as 20. See 15.

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
20	0	6380/12-Surface.26 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Εὐφρανορίδα Ἄξιου ΠΑ	Εὐφρανορίδας Ε Ἄξιος F ΠΑ Mg	244–236	Same die AS19. See 15.
21	7	7015/14-184-2640.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Εὐφρανορίδα	Εὐφρανορίδας Ε	244–236	
22	6	4687/06-96-1388.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἄρτεμ[ι] δῶρο[υ]	Ἄρτεμίδωρος (1st?) F	240–235	May be the same person as 35.
23	1	5808/10-150-2243.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἄρτεμίδωρος	Ἄρτεμίδωρος (1st?) F	240–235	May be the same person as 35.
24	10	4361/05-67-1124.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Κρέωντος	Κρέων F	244–235	
25	10	4361/05-67-1013.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Κρέωντος Ὑακινθί(ου)	Κρέων F Ὑακίνθιος Mo	234–215	
26	11	6092/11-151-2270.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Κρέω[ντ]ος Ἄρταμίτιου	Κρέων F Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	234–215	
27	4	5343/08-128-1957.6 — Circular stamp.	Almost no visible letters Rose	?	240–230	Dating based on appearance of the handle and the device on the stamp.
28	0	6380/12-Surface.25 — Circular stamp.	ΟΥ[————]Α Flower? Rose? In retrograde reading	?	240–230	The device is badly engraved. Small piece of the bend.
29	13	4099/04-39-817.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Διονύσιος Frame	Διονύσιος 1st F	235	Association: Ἀρετακλῆς.
30	7	6701/13-174-2541.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος 1st F	235	Association: Ἀρετακλῆς.
31	10	7015/14-183-2692.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Διονύσιος	Διονύσιος 1st F	235	Association: Ἀρετακλῆς.
32	7	37/15-194-2727.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ποταμοκλῆς	Ποταμοκλῆς F	235–231	
33	11	4361/05-66-1211.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ποταμοκλῆς	Ποταμοκλῆς F	235–231	
34	11	4687/06-91-1469.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἀφροδίσι(ου) Concavity instead of dot	Ἀφροδίσιος (1st?) F	235–230(?)	Date based on the appearance of the handle and the stamp.
35	10	4099/04-36-685.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί ———]. κράτεως	? Ε	235–225	Either Καλλικράτης or Φιλοκράτης, judging by the appearance of the handle.
36	7	4997/07-114-1729.5 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπί name Παγνάμου Rose	? Ε Πάναμος Mo	235–225	May be associated with 44 despite the different scripts
37	7	4997/07-114-1606.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἄρτεμίδωρος Ἄρταμίτιου	Ἄρτεμίδωρος (2nd?) F Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	235–220	May be the same person as 22 and 23.

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
38	10	6701/13-173-2547.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἐξακέ [στου]	Ἐξάκεστος E	234	<i>Pi</i> as a <i>gamma</i> with large <i>vacat</i> before the <i>iota</i> . Partly stamped due to curve. Seems only possible identification. Probably later than 235.
39	10	4361/05-67-1068.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἐξακέστου	Ἐξάκεστος E	234	
40	9a	5574/09-135a-2010.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Καλλικράτειος	Καλλικράτης E rather than F	234–230	
41	7	2/16-204-2827.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Φιλῶν→δα↵←	Φιλῶνδας E	234–230	Φιλῶνδας is a different person than Φιλωνίδας. See 81.
42	10	3941/03-37-570.2 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπι Εὐκλεῦς Α[ρτ] αμιτί[ου] Rose	Εὐκλῆς 2nd E Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	233–231	F probably Ζήνων I
43	7	5343/08-124-1926.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Εὐκλεῦς	Εὐκλῆς 2nd E	233–231	
44	7	4997/07-114-1729.6 — Circular stamp.	Ζήνωνος Rose	Ζήνων 1st F	231–217	May be associated with 36 despite the different scripts.
45	12	4997/07-112-1692.1 — Circular stamp.	Ζήνωνος Rose	Ζήνων 1st F	231–217	
46	10	468706-93-1444.1 — Circular stamp.	]ΑΜ[ [Device?]	?	230–220	Almost completely broken stamp.
47	7	5574/09-134-2072.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι [ Πα<v>[άμου]	? E Πάναμος Mo	230–220	Date based on the appearance of the handle and stamp.
48	10	3941/03-37-570. 1- Rectangular stamp.	Θευδῶρο[υ] Πανάμ[ου]	Θευδῶρος (2nd?) F Πάναμος Mo	230–205	Nominative possible for both names.
49	11	4099/04-51-821.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Θευδῶρου Βα[δρομί]ου	Θευδῶρος (2nd?) F Βαδρόμιος Mo	230–205	
50	10	7015/14-183-2707.5 — Rectangular stamp.	Head of Ἐπι Δαή Helios μονος	Δαήμων E	230–228	Head of Helios on “two steps.”
51	10	4361/05-67-1083.5 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Νίκωνος	Νίκων E	230–228	
52	11	4361/05-51-945.2 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπι .[—· Πα]νάμου Rose	? E Πάναμος Mo	227–215	
53	4	6380/12-167-2408.1 — Circular stamp.	Ζήν[ωνος month]ίου Rose	Ζήνων 1st F ? Mo	227–215	
54	11	4099/04-50-815.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Μικύθου Ἀγριανί(ου)	Μίκυθος 2nd F Ἀγριάνιος Mo	226–215	
55	10	3941/03-36-533.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Παισανία	Παισανίας 1st E	226	
56	11	4361/05-66-1218.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Δαμονίκου	Δαμόνικος F	225–222	Month probably on eponym stamp.

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Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
57	7	5574/09-134-1989.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Πανάμου Δαμονίκου	Δαμόνικος F Πάναμος Mo	225–222	
58	10	4099/04-36-695.1 — Circular stamp.	Ξενοτίμου Rose + K?	Ξενοτίμος F	225–215	There is what seems to be a <i>kappa</i> on the right side of the rose, but it does not look like the sub-impression of the eponym stamp. See 86 (association).
59	10	4099/04-50-796.1 — Circular stamp.	[Ξενοτ]ίμου Rose	Ξενοτίμος F	225–215	Three petalled rose with bud to the right; die different than 60. See 86 (association).
60	13	4361/05-65-1099.1 — Circular stamp.	Ξενοτίμου Rose	Ξενοτίμος F	225–215	Die different than 59. See 86 (association).
61	10	4361/05-67-993.4 — Circular stamp.	Ξενοτ[ι]λου Rose	Ξενοτίμος? F	225–215	Very altered inscription. Suggestion based on style of stamp and profile of handle. See 86 (association).
62	4	37/15-197-2725.7 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71 (associations).
63	10	3941/03-36-593.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	Top of handle on complete neck lacking the second handle. See 95 and 71 (associations).
64	10	4099/04-36-627.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71 (associations).
65a	10	4099/04-50-806.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71 (associations).
65b	10	4099/04-36-606.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71 (associations).
65c	12	4997/07-112-1734.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71 (associations).
66	13	4361/05-65-1034.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71 (associations).
67	9a	5343/08-125a-1976.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Παυσανία	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	See 95 and 71.
68	12	5343/08-122-1877.1- Rectangular stamp.	Παυσαν(ι)α	Παυσανίας 2nd F	225–210	Same die as 95. See 71.
69	12	4099/04-31-623.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ[	? E	225–200	Broken handle. Only the top left corner preserved.
70	10	7015/14-183-2690.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ξεν ἀρέτου	Ξενάρετος E	225–222	
71	11	5343/08-122-1791.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Τιμοκλείδα Δαλίου Παυσανία	Τιμοκλείδας E Δάλιος Mo Παυσανίας 2nd F	221–220	Association of two complete handles on a complete neck. See 95.
72	10	3941/03-36-572.6 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Τιμο [κ]λείδα	Τιμοκλείδας E	221–220	
73	4	5574/09-138-2042.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγησι[ι]λα	Ἀγησίλας 1st F	220–219	

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
74	10	4099/04-36-607.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ' Ἀγησίππου Ἀγριανίου	Ἀγήσιππος E Ἀγριάνιος Mo	221–220	
75	10	4099/05-36-620.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγησίππου	Ἀγήσιππος E	221–220	
76	10	4099/04-50-865.2 — Rectangular stamp.	[Ἐπὶ Ἀγ]ησίπ[που] [Rose] Retrograde reading	Ἀγήσιππος E	221–220	
77	11	4099/04-51-715.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγ[ησί]ππου Rose Retrograde reading	Ἀγήσιππος E	221–220	Die different from 80.
78	10	4361/05-67-1199.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγησίππου Rose Retrograde reading	Ἀγήσιππος E	221–220	F Μένων 1st probably.
79	7	4687/06-68-1303.2 — Rectangular stamp.	[Ἐπ]ὶ Ἀγη[σί]ππου	Ἀγήσιππος E	221–220	
80	7	5343/08-124-1831.4 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγησίππου Rose Retrograde reading	Ἀγήσιππος E	221–220	Die different from 77.
81	11	37/15-191-2723.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Φιλωνίδα	Φιλωνίδας E	219–213	Φιλωνίδας is a different person than Φιλώνδας. See 41.
82	10	4687/06-93-1402.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Φιλωνίδα	Φιλωνίδας E	219–213	Same as 81.
83	7	5343/08-124-1844.4 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Φιλωνίδα	Φιλωνίδας E	219–213	Same as 81.
84	9	3941/03-27-507.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀρτέμω(νος) Ἰακινθί(ου)	Ἀρτέμων F Ἰακίνθιος Mo	220–210	The name is always abbreviated to a maximum of Ἀρτέμων. The genitive seems logical with the month in the same mode.
85	6	4361/05-69-1114.3 — Rectangular stamp.	[Ἀριστομή[δους] Top of Caduceus →	Ἀριστομήδης F	220–195(?)	Complete neck with one complete handle. Date based on the appearance of the handle.
86	7	5343/08-124-1896.1 — Circular stamps.	Ὀνασάνδ[ρου Π]ανάμου Rose [Ξε]γο[τί]μου Rose	Ὀνάσανδρος E Πανάμου Mo Ξεγότιμος F	219–213	Association already known, on complete neck; complete handle and top of the other. Preposition missing for the eponym.
87	11	4099/04-51-811.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ὀνασάνδρου	Ὀνάσανδρος E	219–213	
88	10	3941/03-36-530.2 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Αἰσχυλ(ίνου) [Δα]λίου Rose	Αἰσχυλίνος E Δάλιος Mo	219–213	F probably Χενότιμος
89	10	409904-50-815.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Αἰσχυλίνου	Αἰσχυλίνος E	219–213	

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Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
90	11	4361/05-66-1082.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Αἰσχυλίνου Ἀγριανίου	Αἰσχυλῖνος Ε Ἀγριάνιος Μο	219–213	
91	10	4687/06-93-1421.5 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπ' [ιερέ]ως Αἰσχυλίνου Rose Retrograde reading	Αἰσχυλῖνος Ε	219–213	F probably Μένων 1st
92	10	4687/06-93-1527.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Αἰσχυ(λίνου) Ἀγριανίου Rose	Αἰσχυλῖνος Ε Ἀγριάνιος Μο	219–213	F probably Χενότιμος
93	9a	5808/10-145a-2164.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Αἰσχυλίνου Ὑακινθίου	Αἰσχυλῖνος Ε Ὑακίνθιος Μο	219–213	
94	10	4099/04-50-745.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγλωκρίτου	Ἀγλώκριτος Ε	219–213	
95	11	4099/04-51-816.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγλωκρίτου Ἀρταμίτιου [Παυσ]αν(ί)α	Ἀγλώκριτος Ε Ἀρταμίτιος Μο Πausanias 2nd F	219–213	Association. Fabricant: same die as 68. See 70 (association).
96	7	4687/06-68-1342.9 — Rectangular stamp.	Symbol of Ἐπὶ Ἀγλω Helios κρίτου	Ἀγλώκριτος Ε	219–213	Θεύδωρος (2nd?) F
97	6	4997/07-116-1751.8 — Rectangular stamp.	Θρασύδαμος	Θρασύδαμος Ε	219–213	
98	4	2/16-207-2855.12 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Χαρμοκλεῦς	Χαρμοκλῆς Ε	219–213	
99	10	4099/04-36-620.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Χαρμοκλέου Θευδαισίου	Χαρμοκλῆς Ε Θευδαῖσιος Μο	219–213	
100	13	4361/05-65-1059.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Χαρμοκλεῦς Ὑακινθίου	Χαρμοκλῆς Ε Ὑακίνθιος Μο	219–213	
101	10	4687/06-93-1468.1 — Circular stamp.	Σωτηρίδα Flower Retrograde reading	Σωτηρίδας 1st F	219–213	Associations based on the type of rose, shared with eponyms.
102	4	2/16-207-2839.9 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπίγονου Δάλιος	Ἐπίγονος F Δάλιος Μο	215–205	
103	9	3941/03-27-500.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ[ίγονος] Πάναμος δεύτερο(ς)	Ἐπίγονος 1st F Πάναμος δεύτερος Μο	215–205	Nominative for name tentative.
104	7	4687/06-68-1297.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπίγονος Ὑακινθί(ου)	Ἐπίγονος 1st F Ὑακίνθιος Μο	215–205	The month may also have been in the nominative.
105	3	3567/02-18-385.7 — Ivy leaf-shaped stamp	Ὑακιν(θίου)	Ὑακίνθιος Μο	215–205	F Ἐπίγονος I. The names of the fabricant and the eponym were abbreviated on the associated stamp.
106 no Photo	9a	5808/10-145a-2256.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ[ι]	? Ε	215–200	Minute letters. Partly chipped off.
107	6	4361/05-69-1163.5 — Rectangular stamp.	Μ<ε>ντωρ ος Σμινθίου	Μέντωρ F Σμίνθιος Μο	214–205	Rough dating.

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
108	1	3/00-07-61.1 — Circular stamp.	Μέν[ωνος Πανά]μος Rose Retrograde reading	Μένων 1st F	211–206	Different die than 109.
109	??	3941/03-37-570.3 — Circular stamp.	Μ]ένωνος Πανάμ[ος Rose Retrograde reading	Μένων 1st F Πάναμος Mo	211–206	Different die than 108.
110	10	4099/04-50-827.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Μένων[ος Σμ]ινθίου Retrograde reading 11Rose	Μένων 1st F Σμίνθιος Mo	211–206	
111	10	4099/04-36-680.4 — Rectangular stamp.	[υλίν]ου Ἐπί Σιμ Reading from bottom to top	Σιμυλῖνος E	212–211	
112	10	3567/02-20-435.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Helios Ἐπί Ξε Symbol νοστρ(άτου)	Ξενόστρατος E	212–210	F probably Θεόδωρος or maybe Σωκράτης 1st.
113	6	4997/07-116-1698.3 — Circular stamp.	Ἐλλανίκου Rose	Ἐλλάνικος F	211–205	
114	3	3567/02-18-452.2 — Circular stamp.	Ἰνίκ[ου] Rose	Ἐλλάνικος or Στρατόνικος F?	210–205	
115	4	4687/06-102-1486.1 — Circular stamp.	Σω]τ[ηρί]χου Rose	Σωπήριχος 2nd F	210–205	Complete profile of the neck, with the top of one handle. See 13, Σωπήριχος 1st.
116	10	4099/04-36-669.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐ[πί —]. νο [—]. ου	E?	210–200	Probably two lines. Red paint right below rim.
117	3	3567/02-18-384.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Head of Helios Vertical zigzags on both sides of head Thick linear frame Anepigraph	Anepigraph	210–180	Half capacity amphora.
118	3	3567/02-18-415.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Μ[εν]εκράτεος	Μενεκράτης 1st F	209–207	
119	13	4361/05-39-916.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Πασίων Ἄρταμίτι(ου) Linear frame, with dots on right side	Πασίων F Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	209–207	
120	6	4687/06-96-1478.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Head of [Ἐπί —] —] Helios [—] —] Linear frame, with dots inside	? E	209–205	Small stamp. Smoothed surface. Inscription completely erased. F Πασίων (119) rather than Ἀγορᾶναξ (131). Half capacity amphora or maybe less (one sixth?).
121	10	3941/03-36-517.2 — Rectangular stamp.	ἸΣΗ. vacat Thick linear frame	F?	209–200	Badly engraved thick letters. Lunate <i>sigma</i> ?
122	9a	6701/13-175a-2519.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπί Ἀρμοσί[λα month]ου Rose	Ἀρμοσίλας E ? Mo	207	Ἐλλάνικος F.

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Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
123	12	3941/03-31-566.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Δοκ[ίμου] Θεσμ[οφορίου]	Δόκιμος F Θεσμοφόριος Mo	205	Month may have been abbreviated.
124	13	4361/05-65-1038.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Star Ἰερο[κλεῦς/ κλής] Ἀγριάνιος	Ἰεροκλῆς 1st F Ἀγριάνιος Mo	205–192	
125	4	5574/09-138-2020.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί [ ] Θεσμ[οφορίου]	? E Θεσμοφόριος Mo	205–190	Blurred and unstamped letters. Date based on the appearance of the handle and stamp.
126	10	3567/02-20-437.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἀγήμονος Rose Bee	Ἀγήμων (2nd?) F	205–190	Unusual device associated to the rose: bee.
127	4	37/15-197-2726.7 — Rectangular stamp.	Symbol of Ἄρχο Helios κράτης	Ἀρχοκράτης 1st E	204	F Θεόδωρος (2nd?).
128	2	4687/06-103-1441.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγριανί ου Ἀρχ(ι)λα(	Ἀρχέλας F Ἀγριάνιος Mo	203–200	Dating based on script similarities with stamps of eponyms. The <i>epsilon</i> may have been corrected by a thick <i>iota</i> . Name appears also in the genitive on stamps.
129	7	4361/05-68-1048.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀριστίωνος	Ἀριστίων 2nd F	203–186	
130	9a	5808/10-145a-2256.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀριστίωνος	Ἀριστίων 2nd F	203–186	
131	10	4099/04-50-826.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγοράνακτ   ος Ἀγριανί   υ Thick linear frame	Ἀγορᾶναξ F Ἀγριάνιος Mo	202–200	See eponym 135.
132	3	0052/01-06-274.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγοράνακτος Θεσμοφορίου(υ)	Ἀγορᾶναξ F Θεσμοφόριος Mo	195–184	Same engraver as 133, but not same die.
133	10	3567/02-20-436.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγοράνακτος Θεσμοφορίου	Ἀγορᾶναξ F Θεσμοφόριος Mo	195–184	Same engraver as 132, but not same die.
134	4	2/16-207-2864.5 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγοράνακτο(ς) Βαδρομίου	Ἀγορᾶναξ F Βαδρόμιος Mo	170–160	
135	10	4099/04-36-667.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Head of Ἐπί Κλ   ε Helios ἄρχου E outside thick frame	Κλέαρχος E	201–200	Letter outside the frame, which cuts the rays of Helios. See fabricant 131.
136	3	3941/03-35-557.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ[ί Παυ] σα[νία]	Παυσανίας 2nd E	201–200	
137	10	4361/05-50-882.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Παυσανία Διοσθίου	Παυσανίας 2nd E Διοσθίου Mo	201–200	
138	11	4361/05-66-1230.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Παυσανία Βαδρομίου	Παυσανίας 2nd E Βαδρόμιος Mo	201–200	

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
139	7	5574/09-134-2023.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Παισάνια Θευδαισίου	Παισάνιας 2nd E Θευδαίσιος Mo	201–200	With rim.
140	6	4997/07-116-1703.2 — Rectangular stamp.	.....	? F	200–190	Half capacity amphora or a sixth. Small stamp. Six(?) minute letters.
141	10	4099/04-50-743.1 — Rectangular stamp.	..... Α Ἄρταμίτιου vacat	? Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	200–180	Traces of bases of letters of first line. Stamp partly blurred. May be half capacity amphora. Dating based on the appearance of the handle.
142	10	52/01-09-256.1 — Rectangular stamp.	]Α or Υ[	? F	200–180	Almost completely broken handle. Probably a fabricant.
143	1	2/16-209-2823.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Σωκράτευσ Torch	Σωκράτης 2nd F	200–172	See 160.
144	3	4099/04-35-604.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Σωκράτευσ Torch	Σωκράτης 2nd F	200–172	May be association with 173 (E Ἀγέμαχος). See 160.
145	1	7015/14-189-2656.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Σωκράτευσ Torch	Σωκράτης 2nd F	200–172	See 160.
146	9a	6380/12-165a-2360.6 — Rectangular stamp.	Σωκράτε[υ]ς Torch	Σωκράτης 2nd F	200–172	Complete neck with one complete handle. Relatively minute letters. The torch is blurred by a repeated impression. See 140–142.
147	1	7015/14-189-2617.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀπολλωνίου	Ἀπολλώνιος F	200–160	
148 no Photo	10	3567/02-20-376.2 — Circular stamp.	Κλεισιμβροτ[ίδα] Πάναμος Rose	Κλεισιμβροτίδας F Πάναμος Mo	199–195	Non-retrograde reading as is often the case.
149	10	3/02-09-138 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Θε[υφ]άγγελυς Παν[άμου]	Θευφάνης 2nd E Πάναμος Mo	199	See Badoud 2015.
150	4	5343/08-128-1863.3 — Circular stamp.	Δαμοκράτευσ Rose	Δαμοκράτης 1st F	198–172	
151	1	7015/14-189-2590.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Δαμοκράτευσ Rose	Δαμοκράτης 1st F	198–172	
152	1	7015/14-189-2661.1 — Circular stamp.	Δαμο[κράτευσ] [Rose]	Δαμοκράτης 1st F rather than Ἴπποκράτης	198–172 rather than 172–148	
153	1	37/15-199-2720.1 — Circular stamp.	Δαμ[οκράτευσ] [Rose]	Δαμοκράτης 1st F(?)	198–172	Suggested identification based on appearance of the handle.
154	7	4687/06-94-1522.5 — Circular stamp.	Head of Helios	Anepigraph	198–150	– Top of pseudo double-barreled handle of an “amphorette,” 1/12th or 1/6th of a standard amphora. May be for honey (this writer’s suggestion). Date based on contexts.

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Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
155	9	3/00-02-16.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί [Δορκ] υλίδ[α] [Σμ]ινθίο(υ) Α Τι[μ]ογέν(ευς)	Δορκυλίδας Ε Σμίνθιος Μο Let Α Τιμογένης F	198	Association. Three handles with stamps endorsed by the fabricant were found in the excavations of Samaria (Finkielsztein 1990: Volume III, Nos. 359–362). Their date is confirmed here.
156	4	5343/08-128-1928.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Ἀγλομβρ ότου Θεσμοφορίου	Ἀγλομβρότου Ε Θεσμοφόριος Μο	197	
157	9a	7015/14-185a-2641.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ' ἱερέως Σωδάμου Καρνείου	Σώδαμος Ε Καρνεῖος Μο	195–194	
158	10	3567/02-22-405.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Κλειτο [μάχου] [Πα]νάμου	Κλειτόμαχος Ε Πάναμος Μο	193	
159	4	4361/05-72-1066.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Κλειτομάχου Ἀρταμίτιου	Κλειτόμαχος Ε Ἀρταμίτιος Μο	193	
160	1	2/16-209-2825.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Δαμ οθέμιος	Δαμόθεμις Ε	191	
161	1	7015/14-189-2659.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Δαμοθέμιος Ἀρταμίτιου	Δαμόθεμις Ε Ἀρταμίτιος Μο	191	
162	10	3941/03-36-572.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Head of Ἐπί Ξενο Helios φάνευς	Ξενοφάνης Ε	193–189	F Ἄγορᾶναξ (see 132–133).
163	10	52/01-09-259.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Δίσκου	Δίσκος 2nd F	189–186	
164	0	4997/07-Surface — Rectangular stamp.	Δίσκ[ου]	Δίσκος 2nd F	189–186	
165	3	3567/02-18-416.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπί {Λ/Α}ἱέρ[ο/ω] νος or Ἀρί[στο/ω]νος Θεσμοφορίου Rose	Ἱέρων 1st Ε Θεσμοφόριος Μο	186	Ἐπί Ἀρί[στο/ω]νος Θεσμοφορίου is less likely. Probably F Ἀντίγονος
166	10	52/01-09-300.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί [Φιλ]ο[δ]άμου Ἄρτ[ε]μ[ι]τι[ου]	Φιλόδαμος 2nd Ε Ἀρταμίτιος Μο	183	
167	4	5343/08-128-1863.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπί Φιλοδάμου Πανάμου	Φιλόδαμος 2nd Ε Πανάμου F	183	The organization of the inscription is typical of F Ἄριστος
168	1	2/16-209-2842.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Φιλαινίου	Φιλαίνιος F	183–161	Latest type used by this fabricant.
169	10	3567/02-21-395.2 — Rectangular stamp.	[Φιλαι]νίου	Φιλαίνιος F	183–161	
170	1	5808/10-150-2165.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Φιλαινίου	Φιλαίνιος F	183–161	
171	1	7015/14-189-2705.2 — Circular stamp.	[Ἐπί —]μάχου Δ[—] Rose	Ἀγέ-/Σύμ-/ Ἀριστό-/Ἀλεξι- μαχος Ε Δάλιος or Διόσθουος Μο	181 to 147	

## CHAPTER 17: THE AMPHORA STAMPS FROM SC169

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
172 no Photo	1	1/17-309-2889.1 — Circular stamp.	Rose Ἐπ' Ἀγεμάχου	Ἀγέμαχος E	180	Unusual centripetal (based outward) orientation of the letters for this period.
173	13	3567/02-13-443.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγεμάχου	Ἀγέμαχος E	180	
174	3	4099/04-35-604.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγεμάχου Πανάμου	Ἀγέμαχος E Πάναμος Mo	180	May be association with 144 (F Σωκράτης 2nd).
175	13	4361/05-65-1058.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγεμάχου Δαλίου	Ἀγέμαχος E Δάλιος Mo	180	
176	9a	6092/11- 155a-2303.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀγεμάχου Θευδαίσιου Rose	Ἀγέμαχος E Θευδαίσιος Mo	180	Half capacity amphora or may be less (one sixth?).
177 no Photo	1	1/17-309-2895.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Νικαγίδος	Νικαγίς F	180–170	
178	1	2/16-209-2860.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Νικαγίδος	Νικαγίς F	180–170	
179	3	3941/03-35-494.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Νικαγίδος	Νικαγίς F	180–170	
180	9a	6092/11- 155a-2303.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ unclear letters Ἰακινθίου	? E Ἰακίνθιος Mo	180–160	Superimposed letters due to double stamping.
181 no Photo	9	1/17-305.2923.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Μαρσύα Πανάμου	Μαρσύας F Πάναμος Mo	180–160	
182	13	4099/04-39-869.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Μαρσύα Δαλίου	Μαρσύας F Δάλιου Mo	180–160	
183	1	37/15-199-2787.3 — Rectangular stamp.	[Μαρ]σύα [Σμι- or Ἰακί-]νθίου Retrograde reading	Μαρσύας F Σμίνθιος or Ἰακίνθιος Mo	180–160	
184	13	4099/04-39-665.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Μαρσύα Σμινθίου	Μαρσύας F Σμίνθιος Mo	180–160	
185	9a	5808/10- 145a-2197.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιδάμου Δαλίου	Ἀρχίδαμος E Δάλιος Mo	179	The organization of the inscription is typical of F Ἄριστος
186	10	4099/04-50-744.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Rose↑ [— — — — —]	Ὀλυμπος F?	179–176	
187	10	3567/02-20-376.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Torch↑ Ὀλύμπου	Ὀλυμπος F	179–176	
188	1	7015/14-189-2660.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ὀλύμπου Torch↑	Ὀλυμπος F	179–176	
189	1	37/15-199-2741.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπὶ Αἰνησι δάμου Ἰακινθίου	Αἰνησίδαμος 2nd E Ἰακίνθιος Mo	178	

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
190a	9a	6092/11-155a-2302.4 — Rectangular stamps.	Ἐπι N/M Βα(τ)ῖ[ρομίου Star Star Star Ἀριστάρχου Star Star	? E Βαδρόμιος Mo Ἀριστάρχος F	178–174	Association. Neck with tops of the two handles.
190b	3	52/01-06-195.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀγαθοκλεῦς	Ἀγαθοκλῆς 2nd F	178–161	
191	13	4099/04-39-661.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπι Αἰνήτορος Ἰακίνθου Rose	Αἰνήτωρ E Ἰακίνθιος Mo	177	
192	11	4361/05-51-951.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Head of Ἐπι Καλ Ἡλίου λικρατῖ(ῖδα)	Καλλικρατίδας 2nd E	175	-ῖδα superimposed. F Μαρσύας
193	10	3/00-09-149 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπ' ἱερέως Κλευ κράτειος Θεσμοφορίου	Κλευκράτης 1st E Θεσμοφόριος Mo	174	
194	1	7015/14-189-2683.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπι Κλευκράτειος Ἰακίνθου Rose	Κλευκράτης 1st E Ἰακίνθιος Mo	174	
195	1	37/15-199-2791.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Συμμάχου Ἰακίνθου	Σύμμαχος E Ἰακίνθιος Mo	174–172	
196	1	7015/14-189-2656.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Συμμά χου Πανάμου	Σύμμαχος E Πάναμος Mo	174–172	
197	1	6701/13-179-2457.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀμύντα Wreath	Ἀμύντας F	171–155	
198	1	7015/14-189-2586.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Σαραπίωνος	Σαραπίων F	170–160	No stars in the corners as is commonly the case.
199	10	4099/04-50-864.4 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἀρισ τείδας	Ἀριστείδας 2nd E	167	
200	1	6380/12-169-2406.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἀρί στωνος Πανάμου	Ἀρίστων E Πάναμος Mo	165	
201	1	6701/13-179-2530.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἀρί στωνος Καρνείου	Ἀρίστων 2nd E Καρνεῖος Mo	165	
202	4	52/01-07-345.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Δωροθέου	Δωρόθεος F	165–140	
203	4	5343/08-128-1913.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Δωροθέου	Δωρόθεος F	165–140	
204	1	5808/10-150-2204.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἀρισ τοδάμου Σμίνθου	Ἀριστόδαμος 2nd E Σμίνθιος Mo	163	
205 no Photo	10	3/00-09-95.1 — Rectangular stamp.,	Bust of Ἐπι Ξενο Ἡλίου φωντος	Ξενοφών E	162	Half capacity amphora. F Μαρσύας

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
206	9a	5343/08-125a-1832.4 — Circular stamp.	Bust of Ἐπι Ξενοῦ Helios φωντος	Ξενοφῶν E	162	
207	10	3/00-09-50.2 — Rectangular stamp.	[Ἐπι ———] τρά[τρου] Πανά[μου]	Ἀγέστρατος or Πεισίστρατος E Πάναμος Mo	161–160	
208	1	6380/12-169-2407.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἀγγεστρά του Πανάμου	Ἀγέστρατος E Πάναμος Mo	161	
209 no Photo	1	1/17-309-2888.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι [—] δά[μου] Ζμι[νθίου]	? E	160–150	Blurred letters.
210	13	4361/05-39-961.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀριστογε( [Faint letters?]	Ἀριστογείτος F ? Mo	160–150	Lunate <i>sigma</i> .
211	10	7015/14-183-2573.6 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἀριστογείτου	Ἀριστόγεις F	160–150	Lunate <i>sigma</i> and <i>epsilon</i> . May be half capacity amphora.
212	1	6701/13-179-2503.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ὀνασιόικου	Ὀνασιόικος F	159–152	
213	7	4997/07-114-1738.5 — Rectangular stamp.	Star Star Διοκλείας Star Star	Διόκλεια F	153–139	
214	10	52/01-10-330.1 — Rectangular stamp.	[Head of Ἐπι] Πᾶυ [Helios σανί]α	Παυσανίας 3rd E	152–150	Tentative likely restoration; F Μαρσύας
215	2	4997/07-47-380.1(?) — Circular stamp.	Rose [Ἐ]πι Εὐδ[άμου] Ἰακιν[θίου] SS???	Εὐδαμος E Ἰακίνθιος Mo	150	
216	4	6380/12-167-2345.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Εὐδάμου Ἄρταμίτιου	Εὐδαμος E Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	150	
217	3	4099/04-44-821.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Rose [Ἐπι Τι]μοδ[ί]κου	Τιμόδικος E?	145	F probably Τιμόξενος
218	9a	4997/07-115a-1702.1 — Circular stamp.	Rose Δαμοφίλου	Δαμόφιλος F	127–121	
219	9a	5574/09-135a-2063.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Τεισαμέ νου Παν[άμου]	Τεισαμένος E Πάναμος Mo	125	
220	10	3/00-09-41.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι Ἰέρ[ω/ονος] Ἄρταμ[ιτίου]	Ἰέρων 2nd E Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	122	No room for ἱερέως [priest] + name.
221	6	4687/06-96-1450.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Ἐπι [Ἀριστάνα or Ἀγοράνα] κτος Ἄρταμι τίου	Ἀριστᾶναξ 2nd or Ἀγορᾶναξ E Ἄρταμίτιος Mo	112 or 108	
222	7	5574/09-134-2072.3 — Rectangular stamp.	ο/ω]νος Grape Fileted Cluster† Thyrsos →	? F	105–95	Rough dating for a type evidenced in that period.

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
223 no Photo	10	4099/04-36-666.1 — Circular stamp.	Ἐπί [	?	?	

## ΚΝΙΔΟΣ?

224	6	7015/14-186-2584.3 — Rectangular stamp.	]OK .[→ ΣΟ. [. . .?] ↑ Λ/Α .[or rather device?	?	250–230?	The fabric may be Rhodian or Knidian. Stamped twice?]OK.[is perpendicular to ΣΟ. [. . .?], below which is a large open triangle followed by the beginning of another one? The latter maybe a device. Dating based on appearance of the handle, unevenly ribbed.
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## ΘΑΣΟΣ

225a		52/01-07-346.11 — Rectangular stamp.	Θασίων → Quiver ← [Δ]ιαγόρας	Διαγόρας	263–259 255–242 [255]	Garlan 2004-2005:326, Table. Tzochev 2016:161, No. 295, different die. Σ = C.
225b	7	6701/13-174-2539.3 — Rectangular stamp.	Σατυρος → Quiver ← Θα{.}σίων →	Σατυρος 2nd E	258–249 241–227 [233]	Garlan 2004-2005:326, Table. Tzochev 2016:175, No. 362, different die. Σ = C.
226	13	4099/04-39-779.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Θασίων → Thyrsos ← Σ  → ↑ Device(?) Φιλωνίδ{v}ς →	Φιλωνίδης/ΣΙ E	235–230 255–242 [242]	Complete neck+ one complete handle Garlan 2004-2005:327, Table. Tzochev 2016:170, No. 338, different die. The small device(?) is blurred. Σ = C.
227	10	4099/04-50-740.1 — Rectangular stamp.	[Θ]ασίων → Plowshare → ων → ↑ Ἄστυκρέ →	Ἄστυκρέων E	218—[214] 226–208 [226–222]	Garlan 2004-2005:327, Table. Tzochev 2016: no example; 21, note 2; 70; Table 2 (cont.). Σ = C, Σ
228	10	4099/04-50-705.1 — Rectangular stamp.	Θασίων → Ladle → ↓ [Monogram] ← Ναύπλιος →	Ναύπλιος E	218–[214] 226–208 [210]	Garlan 2004-2005:327, Table. Tzochev 2016:183, No.404, same die. Σ = Σ.

## ΧΙΟΣ

229a		52/01-03-290.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Διο{v}ι( Retrograde reading	Διον(or less likely Διονι(F?	220–180?	Lagynos; abbreviated name. Rim. Either the second vertical stroke of the nu was repeated or there is an <i>iota</i> . See 229b.
229b	10	3567/02-22-405.2 — Rectangular stamp.	]ΙΔ Retrograde reading	Δι[F?	220–180?	Lagynos; abbreviated name. See 229a.
230	9	5808/10- 145a-2222.2 — Rect- angular stamp.	Μεν( Retrograde reading	Μεν(F?	220–180?	Lagynos; abbreviated name.

Cat. No.	Room	Reg. No.	Reading	Identification	Date (All Ca. And Bce)	Comments
231	1	6380/12-169-2442.2 — Rectangular stamp.	Ομ(device, or device Mo(in retrograde reading Frame	Name in Ομ(or Mo(F?	220–180?	Very small handle for a lagynos, so it is rather a juglet, a rare occurrence. The “device” is a curved line convex to bottom, with a vertical line above it. Fabric light brownish red; surface light brown; many white and fine brown inclusions.
232	7	4997/07-114-1726.8 — Rectangular stamp.	Όνα( Retrograde reading	Όνα(F?	220–180?	Lagynos.
233	3	3941/03-35-568.3 — Circular stamp.	]π/μοϋ Plain center	]π/μοϋ? F?	220–180?	Lagynos. Unclear cut letters on periphery.

## CYPRUS

234	9b	5343/08-125c-1978.2 — Circular stamp.	Oval die Blurred letters or monogram	Letters or Monogram	250–200	Complete handle with rim. Gritty fabric. On the Cypriot stamps see Calvet 1972; 1982; 1993; Meyza 2004; Finkielsztejn 2013.
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## NIKANDROS GROUP (EPHESOS)

235 no Photo	13	4361/05-65-1030.2(?) — Rectangular stamp.	Βίωνο(ς) Retrograde reading	Βίων F	150–108	Complete handle still attached to the neck and shoulder. Same name on another stamp from Area 61, unpublished.
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## CHAPTER 18

### THE COINS

*Donald T. Ariel*

Three hundred and ninety-five coins were found in the excavations at Subterranean Complex 169. Of these, 136 are unidentifiable. Two hundred and forty-nine identified coins are cataloged here: 216 isolated finds (Catalog A) and a hoard of 43 coins (Catalog B).<sup>1</sup>

As with the coins of SC57 (Ariel 2014), and the other approximately 168 subterranean complexes at Maresha, SC169 was originally created as a quarry to provide stones for the buildings aboveground, and some of the rooms were subsequently converted into functional rooms that could be identified as a cistern and storage pits. SC169 was later filled in — intentionally and unintentionally — with anthropogenic soil, presumably dumped directly from above. The coins found in most of these complexes are rather uniform, essentially reflecting the Hellenistic numismatic profile of Tel Maresha, and SC169 is no exception. Most of the material is from the third and second centuries BCE, although there is definitely a small amount of material from earlier and later periods. In 2011 Hoover and I published a conspectus of 170 coins excavated in SC169 until and including the 2010 season. Today, with coins from the 2011 through 2015 seasons, the total number of identified coins has increased by half.

The coins from SC169 are not stratified in a strict sense, in that many do not derive from well-sealed contexts. Nevertheless, they are likely to have been closely associated with the structures located on the surface immediately above, as those structures were in use in the same period as that in which the subterranean complex itself was filled. In particular, it is noteworthy that the aboveground site, Area 800, roughly 30m from SC169, is consensually thought to have included a temple, apparently the roughly 13 x 27m-building excavated there (See Chapter 1). The very large number of finds in SC169 to which cultic significance has been ascribed also supports the idea of the importance of the buildings on the surface (See Chapter 4–12). It is therefore relevant to note that the profile of the coins excavated in SC169 provides no support, or almost none, to these ideas. Of the special finds noted below, only the silver Ptolemaic coins may possibly indicate the wealth of a person or persons standing above the underground complex. The other items discussed, the two almost unique bronzes of the local mint, and the hoard of small bronze coins of Antiochus III are not suggestive of any special activity going on above.

#### NUMISMATIC PROFILE OF THE SC169 COINS

In 2011 Hoover and I described the profile of the coins from SC169 as mostly from the third and second centuries BCE, with a small but undeniable amount of

material from later periods (2011: 70). We also noted that the coins found in most of the subterranean complexes are rather uniform, and they reflect the

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<sup>1</sup> The coins were cleaned in the IAA laboratories by Lena Kuperschmidt, Raisa Vinitzky and Ilya Reznitsky, and were photographed by Clara Amit of the IAA photography studio. My thanks to Ariel Berman who identified Nos. A213–215.

basic Hellenistic numismatic profile of Tel Maresha. As the coins of only one subterranean complex has thus far been fully published (SC57; Ariel 2014), and because that complex yielded so few coins, the SC169 coin profile deserves an expanded discussion.

As numismatic profiles are informative especially when considered in relation to one another, I will contrast and compare the 206 Hellenistic coins from SC169 (A1–206) not only with the Hellenistic material in the forthcoming report of the coins from the (largely) aboveground Kloner excavations (Barkay forthcoming) but also with two large unpublished sitewide Hellenistic coin assemblages from the nearby sites of Gan Soreq (Ariel forthcoming, Gan Soreq) and Ashqelon (Ariel forthcoming, Ashqelon).<sup>2</sup>

Very roughly, it appears that a significantly larger percentage of third-century BCE coins are found in SC169 as compared to the other assemblages. Of course, the Gan Soreq and Ashqelon profiles reflect the different occupational histories of their sites. Gan Soreq was abandoned after ca. 145 BCE, and Ashqelon was flourishing in the last quarter of the second century BCE. Those differences in occupational history cannot be claimed for the surface and underground parts of Maresha. The high percentage of third-century BCE coins in SC169 is remarkable, especially as the fills of the subterranean complexes at Maresha are presumed to have been contemporaneous *or later* than the activities taking place above. I have not compared the third-century BCE coins from SC169 with the coins from Area 800, but rather only with the third-century profile of all the Kloner (largely aboveground) excavations. It would be interesting, however, to make such a comparison. Might the coins from SC169 reflect the numismatic profile of Area 800 above, and suggest an earlier *floruit* for the very large building in it, as has recently been suggested (Graicer 2012: 183, 375–376)?

Turning to the main portion of the Seleucid period, one finds that in the Kloner excavations at Tel Maresha, and at Gan Soreq, the well-recognized ‘twin peaks’ of the two coin types of SC: No. 1096 (Antiochus III,

‘Akko-Ptolemais) and SC: No. 1479 (Antiochus IV, ‘Akko-Ptolemais) appear, with over half of the Seleucid cataloged coins coming from between the reigns of Antiochus III to Demetrius I (223–150 BCE). Relative to the Kloner finds, the quantities at SC169 are significantly smaller, similar, also, to Ashqelon. As the two main types, SC: Nos. 1096 and 1479, are small and consequently had little purchasing power, the main question for us is whether there is meaning to differences in profile between SC169 and the other profiles for the first part of Seleucid hegemony in the region. The answer seems to be no.

Of course, when there are high percentages of Ptolemaic coins, the percentages of coins in other periods must be lower, and one must be very cautious when trying to draw conclusions. When looking at the second half of the second century BCE, or more exactly, from 150 BCE until the disintegration of Seleucid hegemony and the beginning of local autonomy, the percentage of coins from SC169 is roughly in accord with the Maresha coins of the Kloner excavations, and the Ashqelon coins. (As noted, the coins from Gan Soreq, with its ca. 145 BCE abandonment, cannot be used for this comparison.)

So, it is the anomalously high quantities of third-century BCE coins in SC169 that is the salient result of the above comparison of numismatic profiles. That, however, is not all that can be learned from the SC169 coin assemblage and the above numismatic profiles. It may also be noted that the coins from Maresha, both above and below ground, seem to attest to a very low amount of pre-Ptolemaic occupation. Although there is a late Persian occupation at Maresha, as attested by ceramic finds, the few coins dating before Ptolemaic hegemony (in SC169: Nos. A1–2 and B1) could all have arrived with those settling Ptolemaic Maresha for the first time.

Another insight provided by the other numismatic profiles is the sharpness of the break in occupation at the end of the second century BCE. At Gan Soreq, which goes out of use after ca. 145 BCE, and was never known to have been reoccupied, some 42 coins, of 8%

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Rachel Barkay for permission to note finds in her forthcoming report here, and to the excavators (Tel Maresha, Amos Kloner; Ashqelon, Daniel M. Master and Kathleen R. Birney; and Gan Soreq, Uzi ‘Ad) for their permission as well.

of the coin finds, were retrieved from the site, representing parts of six of the following 20 centuries. At Kloner's Maresha, it is interesting that as few as 11 coins, or 1% of the coin finds, date after the abandonment. Even more unusual is that in SC169, 11 post-abandonment coins, or 5% of the total, were identified.

With the replacement settlement to Maresha — Bet Guvrin — a kilometer away, that would appear to be

significant. Regardless of the question of whether visitors to the old tell, new residents from Bet Guvrin or others, why is it that a relatively large number of post-abandonment coins were dumped into SC169, a small subterranean complex, when very few post-abandonment coins were retrieved from up above?

### TWO VERY RARE BRONZES THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN ISSUED AT MARESHA (A176–177)

In 2011 Hoover and I published two coins found in SC169. The first, A176, came from the 2006 season and the second, A177, was excavated in 2010. These two coins are anepigraphic and depict Athena's head on the obverse and a wreath on the reverse (Fig. 18.2:A176–A177). They joined a third, unprovenanced coin, which was acquired in Jerusalem (*SNG Israel* I:214, No. 1576). The three coins were all struck from the same pair of dies (composite images of the dies producing the three coins are found in Fig. 18.1). As two of the three coins were provenanced to Tel Maresha, and because of their iconographic (Ariel and Hoover 2011: 69) and technological (strong bevelling; 2011: 67) similarities to Seleucid coins of Marisa, Hoover and I ascribed the coins to that mint (2011: 73). As for the minting authority, we did not opt for Houghton and Spaer's tentative ascription to Alexander I Balas (in *SNG Israel* I), especially because the coins are anepigraphic. Instead, A176–177 are viewed as an early expression of Marisa's autonomy, and even possibly an iconographic bridge



**Fig. 18.1.** Composite images of the dies producing A176–177 (Drawings, Jean-Philippe Fontanille) (2:1 scale).

to the autonomous series struck at least 70 years after the last of the coins of the Seleucid Marisa mint (2011: 74). Regardless of the rarity of A176–177, it must be repeated that they do not belong in the list of unusual ('cultic') finds in SC169 that support unique connections to the buildings on the surface.

### LARGE NUMBERS OF SILVER PTOLEMAIC *TETRADRACHMS* IN SC169 (A3–9)

Seven Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* were found in SC169. Nos. A3–7 were all found in the same room (Room 10), hinting that they might have been deposited together. Possible support for this idea of a hoard that was scattered is that although the five coins in Room 10 were excavated over four seasons, these seasons occurred soon after Room 10 was robbed by antiquities looters (Ian Stern, pers. comm.).

No. A3, the only well dated coin (250/49 BCE) was damaged by chisel marks. It may also be the latest of

the coins. Nos. A6–7 were not in good condition; nor were the two coins not from Room 10 (No A8 came from Room 7 and No. A9 from Room 4). To judge from the three better preserved coins from Room 10, Nos. A3–5, if those five *tetradrachms* were part of a hoard, it would not have been a normal hoard. The three coins each come from a different mint, and their dates are disparate.

All of the seven *tetradrachms* are dated to the third century BCE. In that way, they are in accord with the



Fig. 18.2. Coins from Catalog A.

large numbers of third-century BCE coins in SC169, as discussed above. There is no clear hoarding pattern in the third century BCE in the region. *EH I* lists two silver hoards of that period from excavations in the southern Levant, from Tel Mikhal (12 *tetradrachms*; Kindler 1978; *EH I*:7, No. 102 with other citations there) and Bet She'an (20 or more *tetradrachms*; Fitzgerald 1931: 51–56, Nos. 1–20; *IGCH*:219, No. 1585; *EH I*:6, No. 94). If the entire Levant is considered there is a third hoard (12 *tetradrachms*; Seleucia Pieria; Waage 1952:74–90, Nos. 788–789, 961–965, 968–974; *IGCH*:209, No. 1526; *EH I*:6, No. 87).

If the five *tetradrachms* from Room 10 are a hoard or part of a hoard, the closest parallel may be the 20-coin hoard from Bet She'an. In *EH I* the hoard is dated to before 246 BCE. The latest identified coin of that hoard, of Ptolemy II, dates a year later than No. A3 (249/8 BCE; Fitzgerald 1931: 56, No. 19).<sup>3</sup>

Eight other Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* have been found as isolated finds in the excavations at Maresha, all from the Kloner excavations (Barkay forthcoming). Remarkably, although that material has not been published, Barkay's draft catalog indicates that five of the eight Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* also derived from one Area (61), and all five were found in the same general context (Locus?) 711. Like the Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* from Room 10 in SC169, those coins have third-century dates, but the Area 61 *tetradrachms* seem to cluster more like a hoard might. The latest coin in that grouping dates to 242/1 BCE,<sup>4</sup> eight years after No. A3, and was issued in Sidon, like No. A4. The publication of Area 61, an area with rich finds reflecting the wealth of its inhabitants (Kloner 2010: 5–8), may help to clarify the status of the Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* found in context 711, and perhaps raise the likelihood that the five *tetradrachms* from Room 10 in SC169 derive from a scattered hoard.

### HOARD L197 (CATALOG B)

In 2015, 43 coins were found together in a lump, in L197, which is in Room 4 of SC169. The room is a quarry with a staircase, but is otherwise undistinctive. L197 is a locus near the bedrock floor. Twenty-one isolated coins were found in Room 4, two postdating the hoard (A147, Antiochus IV; A208, Valentinian I, 383–395 CE). So, the other dated material in the room does not contribute to understanding the context of the hoard.

Hoard L197 is composed of a single bronze attributed to Alexander the Great (No. B1) and 42 coins of a type of Antiochus III well known in the southern Levant (Nos. B2–43, below).

The outlier coin in the hoard, No. B1, is a bronze depicting a shield with gorgoneion within the boss on the obverse, and crested helmet with cheek pieces on the reverse. The coin is roughly identified as an issue (lifetime or posthumous) of Alexander III (the Great).

Because of what may be a caduceus in the left field of the reverse, it might be attributable to the mint of Salamis, one of the more common mints from which bronzes of Alexander III arrived to the southern Levant.

However, is the coin correctly ascribed to Alexander III? For a coin as poorly preserved as No. B1 is, one could also attribute it to Philip V of Macedon (221–179 BCE), who issued similar types (*SNG Denmark II*: Pl. 32:1241–1243). In fact, while to my knowledge, no coins identified as issued by Philip V have been found in the southern Levant, in the case of this hoard, with all the other coins contemporary to the reign of Philip V, an identification to that king should remain a possibility.

Returning to the 42 coins of Antiochus III, on their obverses are depictions of a laureate head of Antiochus III as Apollo to the right, and, on the reverses, Apollo standing to the left, testing an arrow

3 Another assemblage of excavated Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* with similar uncertainty as to whether it derives from a hoard was found at Mazor. In that case, too, five such coins were found, all in the same area. Two were found together, or at least they had consecutive registration numbers, and four of the five were restricted in their dates to a half decade (ca. 170–165/4 BCE). This suspected hoard, however, dates to the second century BCE. See Ariel forthcoming, Mazor.

4 The coin (IAA 110630), issued by Ptolemy III, was identified by Héloïse Aumaitre as Svoronos 1904: 162, No. 1033 (Lorber 2018: vol. I: 418, No. S823).

in one hand and resting the other hand on a grounded bow. Starting with an idea first proposed by Danny Syon, one must consider whether these coins in hoard L197 are issues of SC I:402, No. 1055 (and its variants, Nos. 1056–1059), the common small bronze of Antiochus III issued in Antioch, or whether they are imitations. In the 1990s Syon proposed to Catherine C. Lorber that imitations of the Antiochene type were struck in ‘Akko-Ptolemais. The idea was accepted and ultimately published in 2002 in SC I, with the catalog number 1096.

Antiochus III, after his conquest of the Ptolemaic territories beyond his southern border following the decisive battle of Panion in 200 BCE, became the most powerful ruler in the Hellenistic world. ‘Akko-Ptolemais became the Seleucid dynasty’s important port in the region, and its provincial capital, as it had been beforehand under the Ptolemies. Nevertheless, as a provincial capital ‘Akko-Ptolemais did not have any special rights to strike valuable coins. The Ptolemies had last struck coins — perhaps only silver — at ‘Akko-Ptolemais over a half-century before the Seleucids’ arrival. In SC I, Houghton and Lorber noted that Syon drew attention to the high numbers of Antiochus III coin finds at ‘Akko. They were issues depicting the type of SC I, No. 1055 and its variants, but crudely imitating it and in a smaller module than that prototype. Houghton and Lorber’s date for the imitative coins, from 198 BCE, excludes their having been struck at a mobile mint for providing small change for the Seleucid campaigns in the Fifth Syrian War — before 198 BCE. Rather, Houghton and Lorber placed the coins after this date, and thus raised the puzzling question of why so many coins were struck at ‘Akko-Ptolemais between 198 and Antiochus III’s murder in 187 BCE.

The coins attributed to ‘Akko-Ptolemais are described by Houghton and Lorber as unmarked and of somewhat crude style. They designated them Denomination D (10–12mm). The denominations of the prototype coins are letters C, D and E (15–16 down to 9–10mm). As described by Syon, the ‘Akko-Ptolemais imitations are small, without controls, the inscription naming the king is often blundered and their dies are at best simply and sometimes even crudely cut. Between the coins with simple or crudely cut dies and the generally larger, definite Antiochene issues often with controls, there is a gray area where the mint

place is difficult to determine. In hoard L197, I assigned 12 coins to the Antioch mint (Nos. B2–13) and 30 to the imitative, ‘Akko-Ptolemais mint (Nos. B14–43).

The main reason for attributing the imitative coins to the mint of ‘Akko-Ptolemais — their “sheer abundance” (SC I:416) in excavations there — has already been noted. It should, however, also be remarked that many such coins are found much farther south, in Judea, along the coastline as well as inland. Also, since the original finds were uncovered in ‘Akko (in 1991; see Syon 2016: 205–206), other sites have yielded even more of these crude, head right / standing Apollo coins, than the number found in ‘Akko (which, incidentally, today stands at 32 in the IAA database). Moreover, from familiarity with these crude imitations, my impression is that in addition to Syon’s characterizations, they are also generally thicker than most of the Antiochene issues.

Syon noted a number of sites with quantities of isolated finds of these coins (Shechem, Bet Zūr, Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel, ‘En Gedi and Be’er Sheva; Syon 2016: 205–206).

Finds of these coins in even larger quantities come from Mount Gerizim (395 coins; Bijovsky forthcoming [“hundreds” in Syon 2016: 205]) and at Gan Soreq, with 143 coins (Ariel forthcoming, Gan Soreq). At SC169 in Maresha there are 27 isolated finds (Nos. A99–125), 30 in hoard L197, and many more from the Kloner and Alpert-Stern excavations. The proportion of the imitative finds provide another indication. The Antiochus III coins attributed to the mint of ‘Akko-Ptolemais found at Gan Soreq constituted a full quarter of the identified coins from that site (26%). From all the excavations at Maresha, with its many more coins overall, the proportion is slightly lower: 23% relative to the identified coins from the site, and 22% relative to the *Hellenistic* identified coins from Maresha. If any of the three above sites (Mount Gerizim, Gan Soreq and Maresha) were to be a candidate for the mint of these coins, it would probably be Maresha, for which both quantities and proportions are high. The diffusion of the coin type throughout the southern Levant seems to suit a southern mint, and Maresha is the strongest candidate because a Seleucid mint is now thought to have functioned there beginning under Alexander Balas (SC II:246, Nos. 1850–1851; regarding the attribution of No. 1851 see Ariel and Hoover 2011: 66).

Nevertheless, I am not claiming here that any of these sites *by themselves* struck the crude and thick, head right / standing Apollo coins. In fact, a number of styles of these coins appear to be represented, and it may be best to view the phenomenon as one by which imitative series were struck in a *number* of mints, in 'Akko-Ptolemais *and* elsewhere further south. This possibility is expressed by the ascription, by the authors of SC I, of a coin of the head right / Apollo standing type to an "Uncertain Mint 63" somewhere in the southern Levant (SC I:417, No. 1098). Therefore, despite the scholarly silence on this issue since the appearance of SC I in 2002, it seems that much more research is needed before the crude imitations of coins of the mint of Antioch can be satisfactorily attributed.<sup>5</sup>

There are parallels to small hoards predominately composed of imitations of SC I, No. 1055. One is a hoard of 22 bronzes from Or 'Aqiva (North) (Bijovsky 2009). Like hoard L197, all but one<sup>6</sup> is of the Antiochus III as Apollo head / Apollo to left, testing arrow type characteristic of the Antiochene prototype and 'Akko-Ptolemais imitation coins. Observing that no control marks are visible on the coins and their state of preservation is poor (2009: 75), Bijovsky did not venture to distinguish which of the 21 coins of the type belonged to the prototype and which were imitations. However, the absence of visible control marks and their small module (avg. 10.4mm) suggest that all of the coins of that type from the Or 'Aqiva (North) hoard are in fact imitations.<sup>7</sup>

The so-called "Northern Israel Hoard, 2002" is a second hoard that may serve as a parallel to hoard L197.<sup>8</sup> Reported to have been found in Israel before the summer of 2002, it was published as coming from northern Israel by virtue of the fact that 83% of its coins were issued in the mint of 'Akko-Ptolemais (273

out of 307 coins; Hoover 2010: 227). Hoover viewed all the Antiochus III as Apollo head / Apollo to left, testing arrow types as imitations, and did not identify Antiochene types at all in the hoard. This is possible. The criteria distinguishing the Antiochene prototypes (i. e. SC I, Nos. 1055 and variants 1056–1059) from the southern imitations are not hard and fast, and as I noted, there is much gray area. The module and weights of the Antiochus III imitations of the "Northern Israel Hoard, 2002" are similar to those of the Or 'Aqiva (North) hoard and the L197 hoard (Northern Israel hoard, avg. diam. 10.9mm; 1.81g, *against* 10.4mm; 1.67g in the Or 'Aqiva (North) hoard, and 10.9mm; 1.86g in the L197 hoard).

Nevertheless, in light of the evidence for large numbers of the imitations, and especially the thick imitations, in the south (and also large numbers of Antiochus IV 'Akko-Ptolemais serrates, not discussed here), the argument that the hoard derives from northern Israel because of the 83% ascribed to 'Akko-Ptolemais is weakened. No doubt, the "Northern Israel" hoard contains one coin from Uncertain Mint 90, in Northern Syria (Hoover 2010: 237, No. 297), possible support for a northern provenance. But the hoard also contains four rare southern-mint coins, one from Ascalon (Hoover 2010: 238, No. 309) and three from Marisa (Hoover 2010: 237, No. 300–302). Consequently, the "Northern Israel" hoard may in fact be a southern Israel hoard. It may even have been looted from Maresha-Bet Guvrin, the source of so many illicit antiquities in the past generation (see Avni, Dahari and Kloner 2008: V [Bet Guvrin], and the best-known example, the large stone inscription from commerce, which later connected to fragments excavated in Maresha (SC57; Cotton-Paltiel, Ecker and Gera 2017: 2).

5 My thanks to Danny Syon for sharing his thoughts on this subject with me.

6 The outlier in the Or 'Aqiva (North) hoard is a diademed head / club type of Antiochus III from Tyre (SC I: 411, No. 1082; Bijovsky 2009: 77, No. H22 [there the obverse is mistakenly described as laureate]).

7 Only two, however, are described by Bijovsky as thick (2009: 76, Nos. H2, H4).

8 Yet another hoard that may be related to the L197 hoard was excavated in the City of David, Jerusalem in 1928. A "small hoard of 24 copper coins, most of them stuck to one another" was noted in a preliminary report of Crowfoot's excavations at 'Ophel' (Crowfoot 1929: 14). The excavator was confident that the coins were Seleucid, and his first guess was that they belonged to the third century BCE. From our familiarity with the common Seleucid coins of the third century BCE (or second century BCE, see Crowfoot 1945: 71 note 2), it may be reasonable that these are coins of SC: No. 1096.



Fig. 18.3. Coins from Catalog A (continued) and Catalog B.

## CATALOG A

The coins are arranged chronologically, according to coin-types. All the coins are bronze, except Nos. A3–9, which are silver. Coins bearing an asterisk have photographs in Figs. 18.2–3.

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>Alexander III (336–323 BCE)</b>												
A1*	10/36	601/1	3.84	17		Shield; central boss gorgoneion	Crested helmet with cheek pieces; below, in r. field: Κ			Cf. Price 1991: 275, No. 2064		136714
A2	9/115	1569/3	6.56	18x20		Head of Heracles r.?	Illegible				Alexander III of early Ptolemaic	137441
<b>PTOLEMIES Silver tetradrachms</b>												
A3*	10/67	1045/1	13.06	27	↑	Head r.	[ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ–ΣΩ[ΤΗΡΟΣ] Eagle with closed wings stg. l. on thunderbolt; in l. field: ΨΕ; in r. field: ΛΓ; between legs, unclear symbol	250/49	'Akko-Ptolemais	Lorber, 2018: vol. I: 379, No. S654	Ptolemy II; damaged by 7 blows on obv. and 4 on rev.; ID C. C. Lorber from photo	136751
A4	10/183	2573/1	13.06	25	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ–ΠΤΙΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in l. field: ΣΙ	283/2–246	Sidon	Svoronos 1904: 106, No. 715	Ptolemy II	153345
A5	10/50	954/1	13.95	27	↑	Same	[– – –] Same	294–283	Alexandria or Cyprus		Ptolemy I; ID H. Aumaitre	136743
A6	10/163	2438	13.41	25	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ–ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same	ca. 305–246			Ptolemy I–II; ID J. Olivier	144031
A7	10/173	2543	13.34	27	↖	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ–ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same	Same			Same	144040
A8	7/174	2462	12.84	27	↑	Same	[– – –] Same	Same			Same	144039
A9	4/187	2615/3	13.45	25	↑	Same	[– – –] Same	Same			Probably Ptolemaic; ID D. Wolf	153342

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>Bronzes whose dates roughly overlap the reign of Ptolemy I (323–282 BCE)</b>												
A10	4/177	2506	3.93	17	↑	Head of deified Alexander r., wearing mitra, with ram's horn at temple and short hair	[---] Same	315/12–301?		Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 6, No. B10	Hemiobol; cf. Series 1	144047
A11*	9/185a	2687/1	13.71	25	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Eagle with spread wings stg. l. on thunderbolt; in l. field: Α above Κ	294–282	Alexandria	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 24, No. B89	Diobol; cf. Series 2D	153350
A12	4/177	2508/1	11.79	26	←?	Head r.?	[---] Same; on wing, trident-shaped punch	294–246		Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 16, No. B43	Obol; cf. Series 1D-3	144048

**Bronzes whose dates roughly overlap the reign of Ptolemy II (283/2–246 BCE)**

A13	9/115	1559/2	3.67	15	↑	Horned head of deified Alexander r., wearing mitra, with long, flowing hair	[---] Same; in l. field: [ ] above club	prob. 274–271	Tyre	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 73, No. B322	Hemiobol; Series 2	136801
A14	10/67	1090/1	2.56	16	↑	Horned head of deified Alexander r., wearing mitra, with long, flowing hair	[---] Same; in l. field: [ ] above club	Same	Same	Same	Hemiobol; Series 2	136752
A15	4/187	2615/2	15.73	30	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in l. field: two letters one above another, above Galatian shield. In r. field, trident-shaped punch	275/4– 265/261	Alexandria	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 42, No. B166	Diobol; Series 2F	153356
A16	9/115	1569/1	15.46	27		Illegible	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in l. field: ζ above Galatian shield?	c. 275/4– 261/0	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 45, No. B180	Same	137439
A17	10/36	626/1	16.46	28	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in l. field: ζ above Galatian shield; between legs: Α	c. 275/4– 261/0	Same	Same	Same	136720

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A18	9/115	1559/5	11.56	23x25	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ]-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ[ΟΥ] Same; in l. field: ⚡ above Galatian shield above chi-rho monogram; between legs: Δ	260s	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 47, No. B187	Diobol; cf. Series 2H	136804
A19	9/115a	1679-2	14.71	27	↑	Same	[---] Same; in l. field, Galatian shield? On wing, trident-shaped punch	Same	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 47, No. B188	Same	137448
A20-22	9/115 (1559/3, 1559/4, 1559/6)					Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same On wing, trident-shaped punch	Same	Same	Same	Same	136802- 136803, 136805
A23	6/69	1074/1	14.83	27	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ[ΟΥ] Same; in l. field: ⚡ above shield? On wing, trident-shaped punch	Same	Same	Same	Same	136758
A24	4/187	2605/1	6.00	20	↑	Horned head of deified Alexander r. in elephant headress	[---] Same	265/261-246	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 53, No. B206	Tritarteron; Series 3	153354
A25	2/73	1261/1	4.33	18	↑	Horned head of Zeus-Ammon r., wearing taenia with basileion above forehead	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ]-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Eagle with spread wings stg. i. on thunderbolt	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 53, No. B207	Hemiobol; central cavities; Series 3	136759
A26	7/94	1542/1	3.94	17	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ]-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 53, No. B207	Hemiobol; Series 3	136798
A27-28	36 (606/1); 39 (866/1)					Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same	265/261-197	Same	Same	Hemiobol; central cavities; Series 3-5	136719, 136723
A29	9/125a	1848/1	11.89	24	↑	Head of deified Alexander r. in elephant head-dress	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ]-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ[ΟΥ] Same; between legs: Δ	265/261-246	Same	2018: vol. II: 54, No. B219	Obol; central cavities; Series 3	137425
A30	6/43	867/1	11.86	23x25	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; between legs: Δ	Same	Same	Same	Same	136725
A31	10/67	1161/1	11.12	23	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-[Π]ΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ(ΟΥ) Same	Same	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 54, No. B219	Obol; Series 3	136754

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A32	6/186	2649/1	8.07	22	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; between legs: Δ	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 54, No. B220	<i>Tritartemo-</i> <i>rioi</i> ; central cavi- ties; Series 3	153351
A33	3/35	558/1	22.88	29	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	[---] Eagle with closed wings stg. I. on thunderbolt; double cornucopias over eagle's shoulder	Same	Perhaps Philadelphia (Amman)	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 77, No. B340	<i>Diobol</i> ; Series 3	136699
A34	1/169	2368	4.61	18	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	[---] Same	Same	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 77, No. B342	<i>Hemiobol</i> ; Series 3	144037

**Bronzes whose dates roughly overlap the reign of Ptolemy III (246–222 BCE) and IV (222–204 BCE)**

A35	10/36	518/1	43.49	37x39	↑	Horned head of Zeus-Ammon r., wearing taenia with basileion above forehead	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Eagle with closed wings stg. I. on thunderbolt; in I. field, double cornucopias	c. 230–197	Alexandria	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 93, No. B392	<i>Drachm</i> ; Series 4–5	136700
A36	4/197	2772/1	4.63	18	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; double cornucopias over eagle's shoulder; between legs: ⚡	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 95, No. B399	<i>Hemiobol</i> ; central cavi- ties; Series 4–5	157233
A37–39	138 (2068/1); 129 (1870/1, 1870/3)					Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in I. field, club	c. 220–197	Tyre	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 115, No. B465	<i>Drachm</i> ; central cavi- ties; Series 5	137473, 137427, 137429
A40*	3/18	471/1	30.36	34x36	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in I. field, club	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 115, No. B466	<i>Triobol</i> ; Series 5	136681
A41*	2/129	1870/2	32.15	35	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in I. field, club	Same	Same	Same	<i>Triobol</i> ; central cavi- ties; Series 5	137428
A42*	13/65	990/1	33.97	34	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in I. field, club; between legs: Δ	Same	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 115, No. B466	<i>Triobol</i> ; central cavi- ties; Series 5	136744
A43	4/157	2271/1	21.77	30	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in I. field, club	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 116, No. B467	<i>Diobol</i> ; Series 5	144064

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A44-45*	13/65	(1216/1); 119	(1675/1)			Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in l. field: club	Same	Same	Same; for A45, see Gifler and Finkelsztein 2015: 45, No. GIT8 (this coin)	Diobol; central cavities; Series 5	136745, 137453
A46-47	3/35	(494/1); 50	(796/1)			Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ-ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ Same; in l. field: club	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 116, No. B468	Obol; Series 5	136698, 136730
A48-57	13/39	(831/1); 11/66	(1016/1, 1221/1); 10/67	(1093/1); 7/68	(1106/1, 1327/1); 12/92	(1493/1); 4/118	(1753/1); 2/119	(1675/2); Surf. (no Reg. No.)	Same	Same	Obol; central cavities; Series 5	136742, 136747- 136748, 136753, 136757, 136773, 136777, 137452, 136806, 136767
A58	11/31	618/1	9.07	23	↑	Same	[---] Same; in l. field: club?	Same	Same	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 116, No. B468	Same	136712
A59-66	7/68	(1289/1); 7/94	(1428/2); 7/114	(1612/1); 2/129	(1864/3, 1864/4); Surf. no Reg. No. 3)	Same	[---] Same; in l. field: club	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: 116, No. B469	Hemiobol; central cavities; Series 5	136772, 136782, 137437, 137431- 137432, 136796, 136813, 153332
A67	9/165a	2349	2.71	17	↑	Same	[---] Same; in l. field: club	Same	Same	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 116, No. B471	Dichalkon; Series 5	144036
A68-69	4/148	(2195/1); Surf. (no Reg. No.)				Same	[---] Same; in l. field: club?	Same	Same?	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 116, No. B471	Dichalkon; Series 5	137110, 136702
A70	12/112	1728/1	2.43	15	↑?	Head r.?	[---] Same; in l. field: club?	Same	Same?	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 116, No. B471	Dichalkon; central cavities; Series 5	137436

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A71*	7/68	1073/1	2.55	16	↑	Horned head of Zeus-Ammon r., wearing taenia with basileion above forehead	[---] Same; in l. field: harpe	Same	loppe	Lorber 2018: vol. II: 117, No. B474	Dichalkon; Series 5	136756
A72	4/187	2658/1	6.22	20	↑	Same	Eagle; between legs: $\Gamma$ or $\Sigma$	Same		Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 95, No. B399	Hemiobol	153357

**Ptolemaic bronzes dated to Series 3 or later (i. e. after 265/261 BCE)  
based primarily on their all having central cavities**

A73	4/157	2293/1	9.64	23	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	[---] Eagle with spread wings stg. l. on thunderbolt; other details unclear				Obol?	144067
A74	4/177	2454	9.77	25	↑	Head r.	[---] Same				Obol?	144044
A75	7/94	1543	9.52	23	↑	Head of Zeus r.	[---] Eagle with closed wings stg. l. on thunderbolt; other details unclear				Obol?	136799
A76	4/148	2229/1	10.73	24	↑	Same	[---] Eagle; other details unclear				Obol?	137111
A77	Surf.	119	5.21	19	↑	Same	[---] Eagle with closed wings stg. l. on thunderbolt				Hemiobol?	144070
A78	Surf.	10	4.75	19		Same	Illegible				Hemiobol?	136794
A79	4/157	2271/3	4.23	19	↑?	Head r.	[---] Eagle?				Hemiobol?	144065
A80-81	3/18 (465/1); 4/177 (2483)					Same	[---] Same				Dichalkon?	136680, 144045

**Ptolemaic bronzes of unclear date, without central cavities**

A82	4/187	2588/1	54.71	41	↑	Horned head of Zeus-Ammon r., wearing taenia with basileion above forehead	[---] Eagle with closed wings stg. l. on thunderbolt		Alexandria or Tyre	Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 135-136, Nos. B537 or 540	Drachm or Tetraobol	153355
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Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A83	10/173	2458	18.36	31	↑	Head r.	[---] Eagle; other details unclear				Diobol?	144043
A84	4/157	2301/1	8.33	23x25	↑?	Head r.?	[---] Eagle with spread wings stg. l. on thunderbolt				Obol?	144068
A85	2/129	1864/2	2.16	16		Illegible	[---] Eagle with closed wings stg. l. on thunderbolt; in l. field, double cornucopias			Cf. Lorber 2018: vol. II: 95, No. B401	Dichalkon?	137430
A86	7/68	1054/1	5.73	15	↑?	Head r.?	[---] Same; other details unclear				Thick flan	136755

**Side — 3rd-2nd c. BCE**

A87-88	13/65 (1017/1); 10/67 (1044/1)					Helmeted head of Athena, r.	Pomegranate, un-sectioned		Side	Johananoff 2017: 52-53, Nos. 90, 92 (these coins)		136746, 136750
A89-90	9/135a (2088/2); 4/177 (2506)					Same	Same, sectioned		Same	Johananoff 2017: 52-53, Nos. 94, 98 (these coins)		137471, 144046
A91	11/66	1242/1	3.75	17	←	Same	Same, sectioned into 6 parts		Same	Johananoff 2017: 52-53, No. 91 (this coin)		136749

**SELEUCIDS  
Antiochus III (222-187 BCE)**

A92-93	1/159 (2291/1); Surf. (no Reg. No.)					Laureate head of Antiochus III as Apollo r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo stg. l., testing arrow and resting hand on grounded bow		Antioch	SCI:402, No. 1055		144069, 136694
A94-96	9/115 (1586/1); 1/199 (2242/2); Surf. (no Reg. No.)					Head r.	[---] Same		Same	Cf. SCI:402, No. 1055		137442, 157240, 136815
A97	1/199	2244/1	1.58	13	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same	Misstrike	157237
A98	10/93	1492/1	2.28	14	↑	Same	[---] Same				Identifica- tion uncer- tain	136780

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A99-115	7/94 (1532/1); 9/1115 (1586/1); 4/187 (2578/1); 1/199 (2744/3); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x13)					Laureate head of Antiochus III as Apollo r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same	198-187	'Akko-Ptolemais	SC I:416, No. 1096	Generally thick flans	136783, 137443, 153353, 157241, 136684, 136686, 136736- 136737, 136739- 136740, 136762, 136764, 136787, 136790, 136795, 136811, 153281
A116-119	3/18 (449/2); 6/17 (2508/2); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x2)					Illegible	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	136679, 144049, 136763, 136810,
A120-122	1/27 (509/2); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x2)					Head r.	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Apollo stg. l.?	Same	Same	Cf. SC I:416, No. 1096	Thick flans; identification uncertain	136697, 136807, 136814
A123-125	4/138 (2021/1); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x2)					Illegible	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Thick flans; identification uncertain	137472, 136690, 136760
A126	10/36	684/1	10.64	20x22	↙	Head r.	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ] (above)/ [ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] (below) Elephant r., with mahout	202-187	military mint in southern Levant	SC I:412, No. 1084		136721
A127	4/187	2650/1	9.82	18	↑	Laureate head of Antiochus III as Apollo r.	[-- --] (above) / [-- --] (below) Same; between legs, horsehead r.	Same	Same	SC I:412, No. 1085		153431

## Seleucus IV (187-175 BCE)

A128*-129*	7/114 (1632/1); 9/135a (2057/1)				↑	Laureate head of Apollo r., hair rolled	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ/[-- --] Artemis huntress stg. l., holding long torch or scepter and uncertain object (bow?)		Susa	Cf. SC II:15, No. 1346	Strongly bevelled	137438, 137470
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Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A130*	Surf.	no Reg. No.	2.56	15	↑	Radiate head of Helios; three quar- ters l.	[---] Nike stg. l., holding wreath and palm		Seleucus on the Tigris	SC II:26, No. 1336	Strongly bevelled on obverse	136687
<b>Antiochus IV (175–164 BCE)</b>												
A131	Surf.	no Reg. No.	2.22	14	↓	Laureate head of Apollo r.; behind head: [ ]	[---] Apollo seated l. on omphalos, testing arrow and resting hand on grounded bow	175–173/2	'Akko-Ptole- mais	SC II:91, No. 1478	Serrated	136738
A132	13/39	683/1	2.69	16	↑	Same; behind head: [ ]	[BAΣ]IAE[OΣ]/ANTIOXOY Same	Same	Same	Same	Serrated; misstrike	136722
A133– 134	7/94 (1428/1, 1532/1)					Same; behind head: [ ]	[---] Same?	Same	Same	Cf. SC II:91, No. 1478	Serrated; identification uncertain	136781, 136784
A135	Surf.	no Reg. No.	2.77	15	↑	Radiate, diademed head r.; behind head: ⚡	[BAΣ]I[AE]OΣ/AN[TIOX]OY Veiled and draped female goddess stg. facing, holding long scepter or torch	173/2–168	Same	SC II:92, No. 1479	Serrated	136761
A136– 146	6/43 (729/1), 10/50 (797/1); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x9)					Same; behind head: [ ]	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Serrated	136724, 136727, 136789, 136683, 136685, 136688, 136693, 136715, 136791, 144071, 153333
A147	4/187	2579/1	1.93	12	↑	Same; behind head; blank	[BAΣ]I[AE]OΣ/A[NTIOX]OY Same	Same	Same	Same	Serrated	153352
A148	9/97	1466/1	2.25	14		Illegible	[BAΣ]I[AE]OΣ/A[NTIOX]OY Same	Same	Same	Same	Serrated	136785
A149*	10/36	602	9.84	25	↑	Radiate, diademed head r.; behind head: ⚡	[---] Zeus stg. facing, head l., holding wreath		'Akko-Ptole- mais	SC II:92, No. 1480.1d		136716
<b>Demetrius I (162–150 BCE)</b>												
A150	9/115	1569/2	1.73	13		Illegible	[---] Tripod		Unattributed- southwestern issue	Cf. SC II:182, No. 1680	Ruler iden- tification uncertain	137440

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A151	7/124	1942/1	2.28	14		Same	[---] Tripod?				Identifica- tion uncer- tain	137424
A152- 156	3/18 (449/1); 9/20 (390/1); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x2)	9/115b (1752/1);				Head r. (unclear hair adornment); behind head, unclear	[---] Veiled and draped female goddess stg. facing, holding long scepter or torch	173/2-150	'Akko-Ptole- mais	Cf. SC II:92, No. 1479	Ruler iden- tification uncertain; serrated	136678, 136682, 137451, 136692, 136808
A157	Surf.	no Reg. No.	2.11	14		Illegible	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Ruler iden- tification uncertain; serrated	153334

## Alexander I Balas (152-145 BCE)

A158*	9/115a	1679/1	3.62	13	↑	Diademed head r. Bearded male deity stg. facing, head l., extending r. hand above royal name; in l. field: ΔH	[BAΣ AEOΣ/A NEA NAPOY] head l., extending r. hand above royal name; in l. field: ΔH		Marissa	Cf. SC II:246, No. 1850.1; see Ariel and Hoover 2011: 65 (this coin)		137447
159*	1/140	2029/1	1.74	15	↑	Same	[---] Same?		Marissa?	Same	Smaller denomi- nation to A158?	137474
A160*– 161	9/115a (1687/2, 1687/3)					Head r.	[---] Figure stg., extending r. hand				Possibly same as A158-159	137449– 137450
A162*	Surf.	no Reg. No.	1.66	13	↑	Head of Athena r., in Attic helmet	[---] Owl stg. facing on fallen amphora, head facing		Unat- tributed in southern Levant	SC II:248, No. 1855; see Ariel and Hoover 2011: 66 (this coin)		136765

## Antiochus VI (144-142 BCE)

A163*– 166	1/150 (2215/1); (no Reg. Nos. x2)	9/125b (1766/1); Surf.			↑	Laureate head of Apollo r., hair knotted at back; wavy locks escap- ing down neck	BAΣ AEOΣ ANTIOXOY Tyche stg r., extending r. hand with phiale(?) and holding cornu- copiae over shoulder; in left field: [---]		Marissa	SC II:333, No. 2028; for A164, see Ariel and Hoover 2011: 66 (this coin)		137114, 137426, 153279, 153330
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Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
A167*	9/195a	2795/1	3.90	18	↑	Same	[---] Same; in l. field: H/Δ/Λ/M; in outer l. field, club		Same	Cf. SC II:333, No. 2028		157235
A168	9/195a	2778/1	3.71	19	↑	Same	[---] Same?		Same	Cf. SC II:333, No. 2028	Identifica- tion uncer- tain	157234

#### Demetrius II (152–145 BCE)

A169*	9/115a	1626/1	4.35	11	↑	Diademed and draped bust of Demetrius II r.	[---] Tripod; in fields: AOP— H above Π	142/1	Gaza	SC II:306, No. 1975.1; see Ariel and Hoover 2011: 66 (this coin)		137445
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#### Antiochus VII (138–129 BCE)

A170*	Surf.	no Reg. No.	3.09	16	↑	Bust of Athena r., in crested Corin- thian helmet	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ/[EYE] P[ET]OY Owl stg. three-quarters r.; in ex., <i>horizontally</i> : ΑΠ	136/5– 135/134	Probably 'Akko-Ptole- mais	Cf. SC II:390, No. 2119.5		153331
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#### Demetrius II (152–145 BCE)

A171	Surf.	no Reg. No.	6.25	13	↑	Laureate head of Zeus r.	[---] Nike advancing, l., holding wreath and palm	129–128	Antioch	Cf. SC II:420, No. 2170		136817
A172	Surf.	no Reg. No.	6.51	18	↑?	Head of Zeus r.	[---] Figure stg.?	Same	Antioch?	Same	ID C.C. Lorber	136689

#### Alexander II Zebina (128–122 BCE)

A173*	9/115	1595/1	5.97	20	↑	Head of Dionysus r., wreathed with ivy	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ Winged Tyche stg. l., holding ship's tiller and cornucopias	128–122	Perhaps Apamea on the Orontes	SC II:459, No. 2242	Serrated	137444
A174*	10/93	1442/1	5.47	19	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΛΕ]ΧΑΝΔΥ (sic) Same	Same	Same	Cf. SC II:459, No. 2242	Serrated	136756

#### Antiochus VIII (121/0–97/6 BCE)

A175	9/115	1559/1	4.96	20	↑	Radiate, diademed head r.	[---] Eagle stg. l.	121/0–114/3	Antioch	SC II:500–501, No. 2300		136800
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Cat. No.	Room/Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>SELEUCIDS — Unclear King</b>												
A176*–177*	9/97 (1484/1); 9/145a (2226/3)				↑	Head of Athena r. in crested helmet	Wreath, within which, two tie strings(?)	c. 150–126	Marissa	SNG Israel I:214, No. 1576; Ariel and Hoover 2011: 67, Fig. 1b–c (these coins)	Struck from same dies	136786, 137109
A178	Surf.	no Reg. No.	2.83	12x15	↙	Diademed(?) head r.	Prow	2nd c.				136819
A179–180	9/115a (1626/2); Surf. (no Reg. No.)				↑	Head r.	Figure stg.	Same			Serrated	137446, 136695
A181	3/18	379/1	2.27	16	↑	Same	[---/ANITIO(XOY)] Figure stg. r.					136677
A182*	10/36	605/1	5.88	18	↑	Same	[---] Figure stg. l.					136717
A183–184	Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x2)					Same	[---] Figure stg.					136788, 136793
A185–187	10/36 (546/1); 7/144 (2164/1); 1/150 (2204/1)					Same	Figure stg.?					136701, 137107, 137113
A188	3/6	299/1	2.88	15	↑?	Head r.?	[---] Figure stg.					141284
A189	Surf.	no Reg. No.	0.77	16		Head r.?	[---] Figure stg.?					136703
A190–191	10/9 (251/1); Surf. (no Reg. No.)					Illegible	[---] Figure stg.?					136733, 141285
A192–196	1/27 (508/1); 10/50 (828/1); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x3)					Head r.?	Illegible				Some coins perhaps not Seleucid	136696, 136728, 136731, 136818, 153280
<b>NABATEANS Aretas III (84–71 BCE)</b>												
A197*	9/145a	2177/1	7.78	20		Head r.	Illegible		Damascus	Cf. Meshorer 1975: 86, No. 6.		137108

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
<b>Autonomous Ascalon — Before 104 BCE-107/8 CE</b>												
A198	7/134	2023/1	2.06	14	↑	Head of Tyche r.	Galley I; above: AΣ	before 104	Ascalon	Yashin 2007: 38, No. 9		137469
A199- 202	7/68 (1328/2); Surf. (no Reg. Nos. x3)					Same	Same; above: AΣ	Same	Same	Cf. Yashin 2007: 38, No. 11		136776, 136766, 136809, 141286
A203*	Surf.	no Reg. No.	3.05	13	↑	[A]EK Head of Tyche r.	Same; above: AIC	107/8	Same	CHL:100, No. 97		136732
<b>Autonomous Phoenicia? 2nd c. BCE-1st c. CE</b>												
A204	Surf.	no Reg. No.	1.76	13x15	↑	Head of Tyche(?) r.	[---] Galley I. (?)		Phoenicia?			136691
<b>HASMONEAN?</b>												
A205	Surf.	no Reg. No.	1.67	13		Double cornucopias with pomegranate between horns(?)	In wreath: [---](?)	129-37	Jerusalem			136735
<b>ROMAN PROVINCIAL</b>												
A206	7/68	1327/3	18x41	29x31		[---] Two opposing busts	Illegible	2nd c. CE(?)				136775
<b>HOUSE OF VALENTINIAN</b>												
A207	Surf.	no Reg. No.	1.41	13	↑	[---] Bust r.	[---] Figure to r.	364-375 CE?		Cf. LRBC II:87, No. 2068		136812
A208	4/157	2273/1	1.14	13	↓	DN VALENTINI[ANNVS PF AVG] Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust r.	[SAL]VS [REI-PVBLICAE] Victory advancing l., dragging captive and holding trophy	383-395 CE		Cf. LRBC II:89, No. 2183	Valentinian II	144066

Cat. No.	Room/ Locus	Basket	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No.
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## 4th–6th c. CE?

A209	1/150	2189/1	1.33	13	↓	[---] Same	[---] Virtus spearing falling horseman	351–361 CE		Cf. <i>LRBC</i> II:87, No. 2039		137112
A210	Surf.	No Reg. No.	0.59	10	↑	[---] Bust r.?	Figure stg.?	5th c. CE?				136816
A211	2/47	859/1	1.30	10x12		[---] Bust r.	Illegible	4th–5th c. CE				136726
A212	10/50	953/1	1.32	14	↑	[---] Same	<b>ITB</b> in ex.: ANE[ž]	324–350 CE			Dodecanum- mium	137410

UMAYYAD  
Post-reform, fals

A213	10/36	605/2	3.67	16		Illegible	محمد رسول الله	697–750 CE				136718
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## AYYUBIDS

## Al-ʿĀdil I Muhammad Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn (AH 596–615 / 1200–1218 CE), fals

A214	Surf.	No Reg. No.	5.06	21x23		Center: الدين الملك العادل سيوف Margin: [ضرب هذا بدمشق سنة غان وسامانة]	Center: ابو بكر بن ابو ا ب Margin: [ضرب هذا بدمشق سنة غان وسامانة]	AH 608 / 1211 CE	Dimashq	Cf. Balog 1980: 136, No. 322		136734
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## MAMLŪKS

## Al-Nāsir Nāsir ad-Dīn Muhammad 3rd reign (AH 709–741 / 1310–1341 CE), fals

A215	10/36	600/1	0.75	17		السلطان الملك الناصر	Hexalobe of dots; in center, six-petaled rosette			Cf. Balog 1964: 160, No. 256		136713
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## OTTOMANS

A216	Surf.	No Reg. No.	10.31	17		Illegible	Arabesque ornament	1821/2 CE AH 982– 1012/1574– 1617 CE	Miṣr al-Maḥrusa	Cf. Kabaklarli 1998: 444, No. 14-Msr-03	Manghir	136792
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## CATALOG B: HOARD L197 (ROOM 4; REG. NO. 2769)

The coins, all bronze, are arranged chronologically, according to coin-types. Coins bearing an asterisk have photographs in Figs. 18.2-3.

Cat. No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No. (beg. 1572)
B1*	3.84	15		Shield; within boss, Gorgoneion	Crested helmet with cheek pieces; below, caduceus?			Cf. Price 1991: 394, No. 3162		66
<b>Alexander III (336-323 BCE)</b>										
<b>Antiochus III (223-187 BCE)</b>										
B2*	1.30	11	↑	Laureate head of Antiochus III as Apollo r.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollo stg. l., testing arrow and resting hand on grounded bow		Antioch	SCI:402, No. 1055		64
B3	1.32	10	↑	Same	[- - -] Same		Same	Same		44
B4	1.75	11	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		52
B5	1.39	12	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		55
B6	1.43	11	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]/ΑΝΤΙΟΧ[ΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		71
B7	2.17	12	↑	Same	[- - -] Same		Same	Same		72
B8	1.53	11	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same		Same	Same		78
B9	1.88	12	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		79
B10	1.60	11	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		82
B11	1.93	12	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		56
B12	1.11	13	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ] Same		Same	Same		57

Cat. No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No. (beg. 1572)
B13*	1.99	12	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same		Same	Same		62
B14	1.91	11	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same	198–187	'Akko-Ptolemais	SCI:416, No. 1096	Thick flan	47
B15	1.44	17	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	48
B16	1.88	10	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	49
B17	1.71	10	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	50
B18*	2.14	11	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	51
B19	2.08	11	↗	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	53
B20*	1.61	10	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΙΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	54
B21	2.05	11	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	58
B22	1.57	11	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	60
B23	1.98	11	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	61
B24	1.93	11	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	65
B25	1.96	11	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙ]ΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	67
B26	2.53	11	↗	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	68
B27	1.73	11	↖	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	69
B28	1.63	10	↑	Same	[B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	70

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Cat. No.	Weight (g)	Diam. (mm)	Axis	Obverse	Reverse	Date (BCE)	Mint	Reference	Notes	IAA No. (beg. 1572)
B29	2.42	11	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	73
B30	2.28	12	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	74
B31	1.65	11	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	75
B32	1.65	11	↑	Same	[Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/[ΑΝΤΙ]ΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	77
B33	2.34	10	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	81
B34	2.09	11	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	83
B35	1.70	11	↑	Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	84
B36	2.13	10	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	85
B37	1.43	11	↑	Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	76
B38	1.88	11		Illegible	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	43
B39	1.24	10		Same	[---] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	59
B40	1.82	10		Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	63
B41	1.66	10		Same	[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Same	Same	Same	Same	Same	80
B42	1.87	11	↑?	Same	[---] Figure?	198-187?	'Akko-Ptolemais?	Cf. SC I:416, No. 1096	Same	46
B43*	1.41	11	↑	Same	ΒΑΣΙΛΕ[ΩΣ]/ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ] Apollo stg. l., testing arrow and resting hand on grounded bow	Same	Southern Levant?	SC I:403, No. 1062	"Barbarous imitation"	45

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## CHAPTER 19

# JEWELRY AND ACCESSORIES

*Ariel Polokoff*

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the jewelry and accessories found in Subterranean Complex 169 at Maresha, provides definitions and discussions for each type and generic group, and presents a catalog of all the objects. The 99 pieces presented in this chapter include 46 rings, 10 earrings, 11 bracelets, 6 pendants, 3 fibulae, 21 cosmetic utensils and accessories and two other miscellaneous objects.

The finds originate from the fill found in various rooms and loci within SC169: Room 1 (16 finds), 3 (5 finds), 4 (13 finds), 6 (5 finds), 7 (16 finds), 9 (14 finds), 10 (15 finds), 11 (5 finds), 12 (1 find) and 13 (5 finds). While jewelry and accessories were not found in every room within this cave, they were found in most of them. Four unprovenienced objects also came from SC169.

Dating based on the finds themselves is inconclusive at this time, but it is likely that the objects date from the fourth to the second centuries BCE. This determination is based on other objects found within the same fill. All of the objects in this assemblage appear to be dated to before, or up to the Hasmonean conquest of Maresha and the region. This seems likely since all of the finds in this assemblage were found in the fill in SC169, which appears to have accumulated no later than 107 BCE.

The jewelry and accessories in this assemblage are made from a variety of materials. The majority of the assemblage consists of metal finds; however, there are also bone and shell objects. There are 93 metal objects in the assemblage: 38 pieces of bronze, 41 pieces of iron, 1 piece of silver and 7 pieces of gold. There are also 6 pieces that appear to have bronze and iron entwined around each other, or present in the same

object. There are four pieces made of bone and two pieces made of shell.

The majority of the metals within the assemblage are corroded and/or broken. Although the state of preservation of many of the pieces made it difficult to positively identify the formal or complete type, each piece has been placed within the generic typologies based on the remaining visible evidence. It should be noted that some of the finds might be misattributed or misidentified. There are many pieces that were well preserved within the collection, most notably the gold, bone and shell objects. These objects were more easily identifiable because of their excellent preservation and the retention of visible ornamentation and detail.

All of the metal objects from this assemblage that were deteriorating due to corrosion were cleaned and conserved by Jonathan Gottlieb, conservator at the University of Haifa. The cleaning of these objects revealed decorative elements and a better understanding of the shapes and styles of many of the pieces that were previously not visible due to corrosion.

This catalog is divided into two parts: one for jewelry and the other for accessories and cosmetic utensils. For the purposes of this catalog, jewelry is defined as objects of personal adornment. Accessories, in contrast, are defined as additions to clothing for utilitarian or decorative purposes, and cosmetic utensils are defined as implements or containers for cosmetics or beautification. Part I, the jewelry, includes the rings, earrings, bracelets, pendants and beads. Part II, the accessories and cosmetic utensils, includes the fibulae, rods, pins, spatulas and miscellaneous items. Accessories and cosmetic utensils are

presented together given the ambiguity in identifying the exact purpose of some of these pieces.

The information presented in the catalog includes type, context, dimensions, material, descriptions, preservation, parallels when available and discussion. The catalog is organized by typology; within each general typology there are smaller categories that start with more simple, generic pieces and end with more ornate and complex types. In addition, within each section objects are grouped together based on similarities in shape, style and material.

Parallels are provided whenever possible in order to provide a more complete understanding of the assemblage and the objects. Most of the parallels presented come from archaeological reports such as those by Syon, Berlin and Herbert and Davidson; catalogs such as those by Boardman, Spier and Philipp and other specialized collections such as that of Hoffmann and Davidson, Promffner, Rudolph et al., Deppert-Lippitz, Ogden and Williams. Most notably, the Boardman Classical Finger Ring Typology Chart

is among the most accepted references and means of typologically identifying rings; hence its use here. When the finds did not fit a specific type, multiple typologies and parallels are provided. It should be noted that while the aim was to find parallels resembling the chronology at Maresha, some of the parallels are from much earlier or later periods.

Photographs of all the pieces presented in this chapter appear in Figs. 1–8. They are organized by type and follow the same numbering as the catalog.

Abbreviations used throughout this chapter and catalog are as follows: Fig. = the object number in relation to its typological classification, Reg. No. = the Maresha excavation registration number, D = diameter, PD = preserved diameter, OD = outer diameter, ID = inner diameter, DE = depth, L = length, PL = preserved length, H = height, PH = preserved height, W = width, PW = preserved width, TH = thickness, BW = Bezel width, BL = Bezel length, BTH = Bezel thickness and HW = Hoop width.

## CATALOG

### PART I: JEWELRY

#### **Type 1: Rings** (Figs. 1–46)

Rings are small circular bands most commonly worn on the finger, but can also be worn on the toe or hanging from a chain. The rings from this assemblage are made of bronze and iron.

##### **Type 1.1. Hoop rings** (Figs. 1–3)

Hoop rings are plain, perfectly circular bands. Their exact purpose is not clear; they could have been worn as finger rings, or used as chain links and fittings to join leather straps of harnesses (Berlin and Herbert 2010: 239).

1. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-138-2042-M1 (Fig. 19.1:1)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* D = 20.85mm, TH = 5.40mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Plain, circular hoop.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl105:1912; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:509.

*Discussion:* Possibly a band ring.

2. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1570-M3 (Fig. 19.1:2)

*Context:* Room 9

*Dimensions:* D = 21.44mm, TH = 3.71mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Plain, circular hoop.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1908; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:509.

*Discussion:* Purpose unclear.

3. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1559-M1 (Fig. 19.1:3)

*Context:* Room 9

*Dimensions:* D = 20.70mm, TH = 3.31mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Plain, circular hoop.

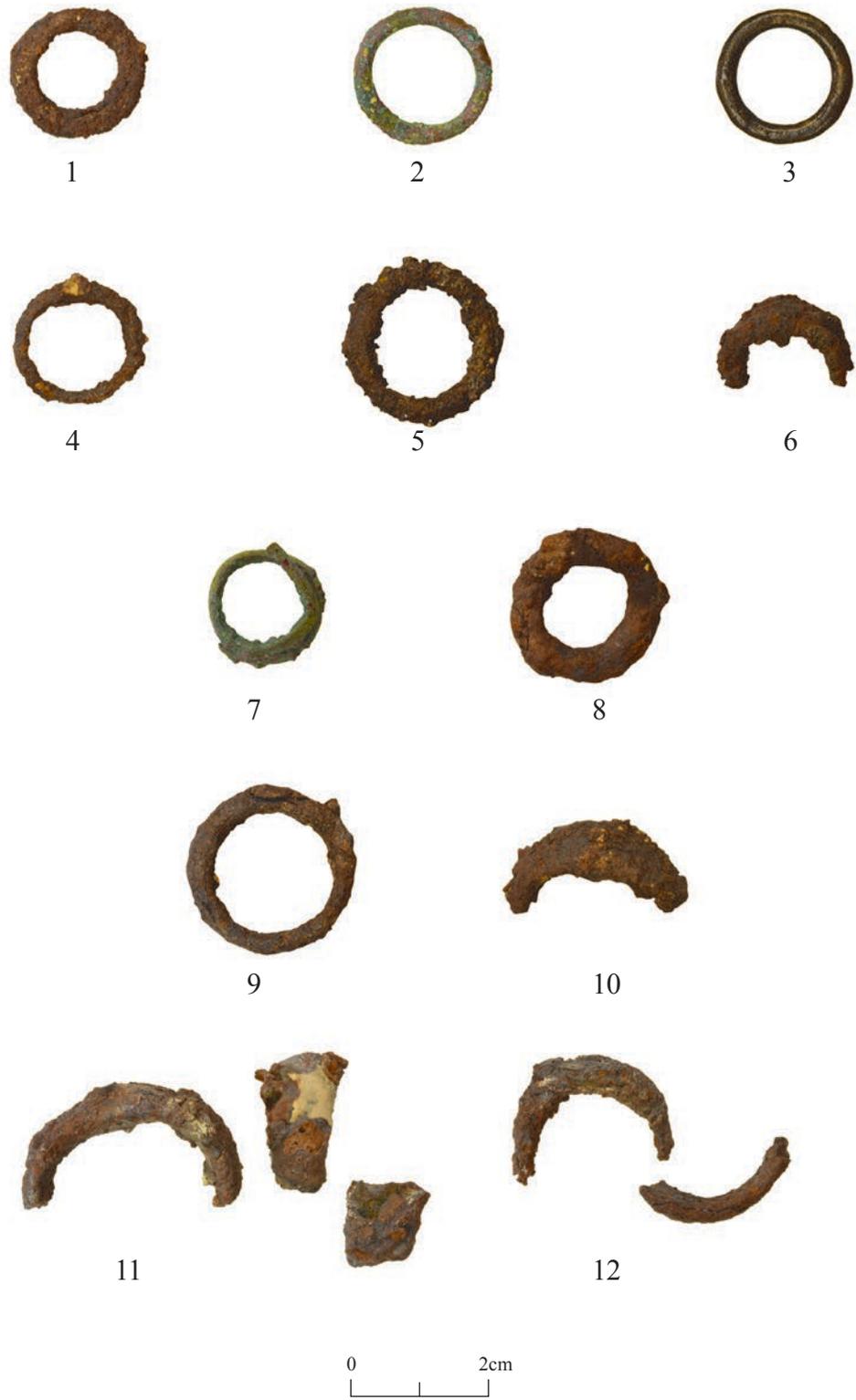


Fig. 19.1.

*Preservation:* Well preserved.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1908; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:509.

*Discussion:* Purpose unclear.

**Type 1.2. Band rings** (Figs. 19.1:4–6)

A band ring consists of a single hoop that is the same thickness and width throughout the ring. Within this type there are a range of sizes, thicknesses and widths.

4. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-167-2396-M2 (Fig. 19.1:4)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* D = 21.32mm, HW = 3.94mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Small, thin band ring.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded with inclusions.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1910; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:509.

5. Reg. No. 37/15-169-199-2746-M1 (Fig. 19.1:5)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* D = 25.74mm, TH = 7.26mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Plain band ring.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1912; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:509.

6. Reg. No. 2/16-169-207-2826-M3 (Fig. 19.1:6)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* PD = 19.82mm, TH = 12.95mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Wide band ring.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken in half.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 107, Cat. No. 24; Davidson 1952, Pl.102:1809.

**Type 1.3. Snake rings** (Figs. 19.1:7–8)

A snake ring or spiral ring consists of a single band that continues wrapping past where the ends of the band should meet, creating an overlapping, spiral. Snake rings were prevalent during the Persian and

Hellenistic periods. It appears that until the first century BCE local snake rings were often made from wire or metal sheets (Syon 2016: 106). At times snake rings appear plain, as they do in this assemblage, but other examples found throughout the Mediterranean take on a zoomorphic form.

7. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-189-2683-M1 (Fig. 19.1:7)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* D = 18.31, TH = 2.48mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Snake ring featuring a thin band that continues past where it meets to make an overlapping spiral.

*Preservation:* Lightly corroded and one end is a bit pointed and worn, while the other is broken into a hard edge.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 21; Davidson 1952, Pl.112:1999, 2000; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:542.

*Discussion:* This ring may have originally continued to spiral, or terminated in an animal or figural head.

8. Reg. No. 2/16-169-207-2826-M2 (Fig. 19.1:8)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* D = 23.97mm, HW = 5.54–9.57mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Snake ring, with a slight overlapping spiral.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 21; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:521.

*Discussion:* Likely a snake ring; however, due to the corrosion it might be a Boardman XVI finger ring.

**Type 1.4. Band rings with wider bezel**  
(Figs. 19.1:9–19.2:22)

Band rings with a wider bezel are among the most common finger rings found in SC169. They are very similar to plain band rings except for the widening of the bezel. This can be a very slight widening or a dramatic widening to make the bezel broader than the hoop. This type of ring often seems to be

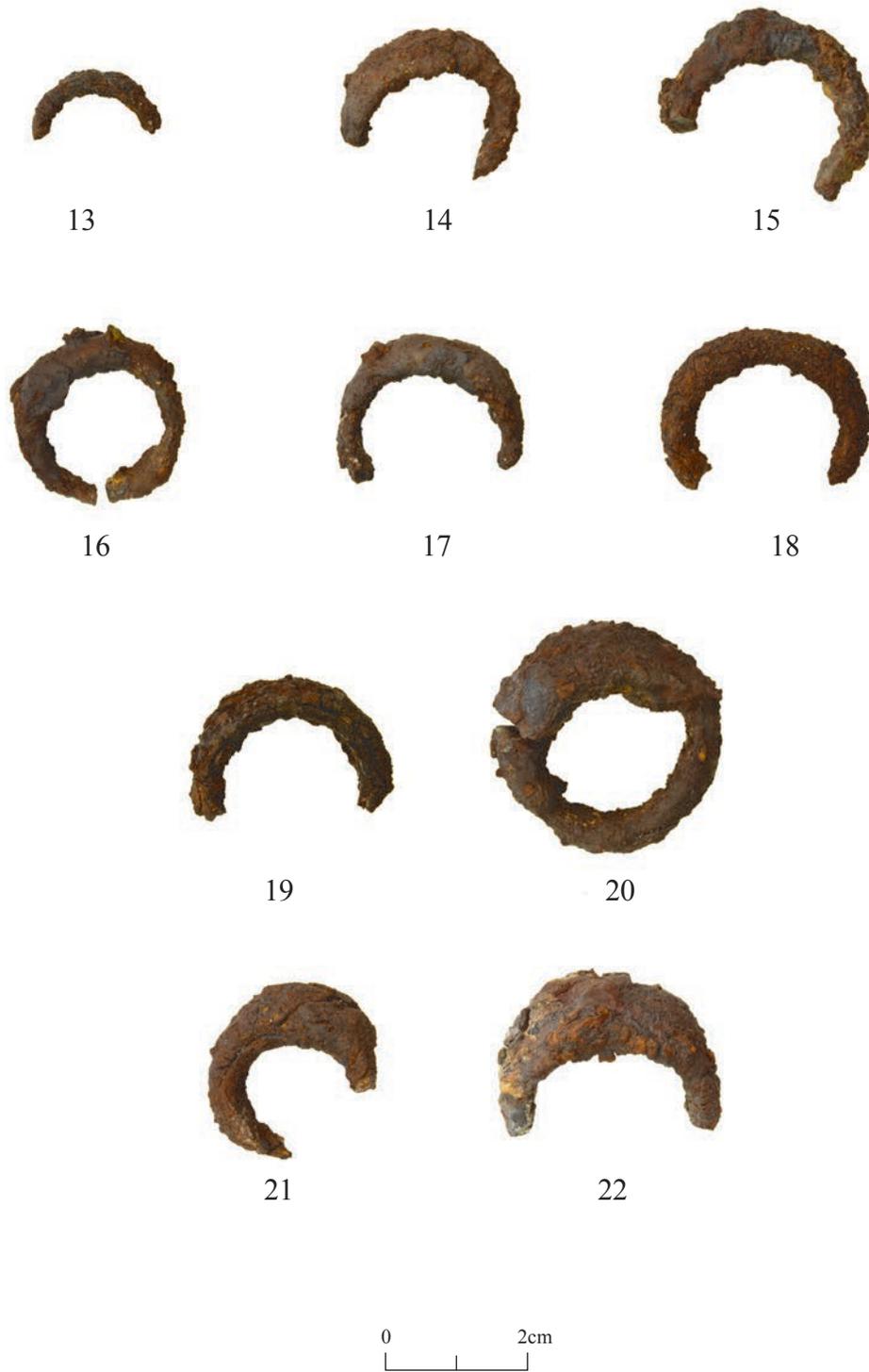


Fig. 19.2.

a blend of a band ring, a Boardman XVI and a Boardman XIII finger ring; however, it can also be a mixture of a Boardman XVI finger ring and a Boardman II, V, VIII, XVII or X finger ring.

9. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-179-2562-M1 (Fig. 19.1:9)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* D = 25.79mm, HW = 6.77–10.83mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Band ring with a slightly wider bezel than hoop.

*Preservation:* Corroded and cracked.

*Boardman typology:* XVI

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1912, Pl.103:1854; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:509.

*Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring and a Boardman XVI finger ring.

10. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-116-1659-M1 (Fig. 19.1:10)

*Context:* Room 6

*Dimensions:* PL = 27.12mm, BW = 15.14mm, TH = 8.08mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Band ring with a wider bezel than hoop. The bezel is circular and tapers towards the shoulders.

*Preservation:* Broken at the shoulders and corroded.

*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 20; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1845; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616, 676.

*Discussion:* This ring is a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI and a Boardman XIII ring. The bezel is more circular than others of this type.

11. Reg. No. 37/15-169-199-2786-M1 (Fig. 19.1:11)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* Piece 1: PD = 32.89mm, TH = 6.32mm; Piece 2: PD = 19.73mm, TH = 5.28mm; Piece 3: PL = 13.93mm, TH = 6.08mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Three pieces from one or two rings. If there is more than one ring, it is likely of the same

type. These pieces are band rings with a bezel wider than the hoop. Piece 1 is the largest and seems to be the bezel because it is thicker at the top and tapers toward the break. Pieces 2 and 3 are likely from the bands or hoops of the rings.

*Preservation:* All pieces are broken and heavily corroded.

*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 20; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1856; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.

*Discussion:* These rings are a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.

12. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125a-1925-M1-M2 (Fig. 19.1:12)

*Context:* Room 9a

*Dimensions:* Piece 1 (largest): PD = 24.27mm, BL = 17.61mm, TH = 6.68mm, BW = 9.78mm, HW = 4.50mm; Piece 2 (smaller): PL = 23.09mm, TH = 3.62mm, W = 8.20mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Two band rings with slightly wider bezels than hoops. They both seem to be of the same type but not the same ring. The larger piece has a wider bezel and thicker band that tapers at the hoop towards the break. The smaller piece is part of a band that is flat, but relatively the same width and thickness.

*Preservation:* Both pieces are broken and corroded.

*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 20; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1845; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.

*Discussion:* These rings are a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.

13. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-169-2401-M2 (Fig. 19.2:13)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* PD = 22.53mm, HW = 9.32mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Band ring that likely widens at the bezel.

- Preservation:* Broken at the shoulder and heavily corroded.
- Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII
- Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1854; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
- Discussion:* Due to the break, it is difficult to discern whether this piece is a simple band ring, or a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.
14. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-65-1160-M1 (Fig. 19.2:14)
- Context:* Room 13
- Dimensions:* PD = 24.56mm, HW at break = 6.86mm, BW = 15.24mm, BTH = 5.40mm
- Material:* Iron
- Description:* Band ring with a bezel wider than the hoop.
- Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken below the shoulders and on the hoop.
- Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII
- Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 20; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
- Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.
15. Reg. No. 37/15-169-199-2741-M1 (Fig. 19.2:15)
- Context:* Room 1
- Dimensions:* PD = 31.29mm, PH = 20.63mm, BW = 15.75mm, HW = 7.01–12.35mm, BTH = 7.87mm
- Material:* Iron
- Description:* Thick band ring with a wider bezel than hoop.
- Preservation:* Corroded and broken on the hoop.
- Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII
- Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1854; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
- Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.
16. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-167-2380-M1 (Fig. 19.2:16)
- Context:* Room 4
- Dimensions:* OD = 24.04mm, ID = 15.25mm, HW = 11.57–7.11mm
- Material:* Iron
- Description:* Thick band ring with a wider bezel than hoop.
- Preservation:* Heavily corroded and disconnected at the bottom of the hoop.
- Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII
- Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 20; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1854; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
- Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.
17. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-177-2471-M1 (Fig. 19.2:17)
- Context:* Room 4
- Dimensions:* PH = 26.69mm, ID = 18.64mm, HW = 14.76mm
- Material:* Iron
- Description:* Band ring with a wider bezel than hoop.
- Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken below the shoulders.
- Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII
- Parallels:* Syon 2016: 106, Cat. No. 20; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1856; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
- Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.
18. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-94-1521-M1 (Fig. 19.2:18)
- Context:* Room 7
- Dimensions:* PD = 23.78mm, HW = 8.14mm, BW = 12.14mm, BTH = 4.47mm
- Material:* Iron
- Description:* Band ring with a slightly wider bezel than hoop.
- Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the base of the hoop.
- Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII
- Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1854; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
- Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.

19. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-50-798-M1 (Fig. 19.2:19)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* PD = 28.10mm, BW = 12.51mm, HW = 8.00mm, TH = 5.66mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Band ring with a bezel wider and thicker than the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Broken in half and heavily corroded.  
*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1854; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.  
*Discussion:* Appears to be a mixture of a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring and a Boardman XIII ring.
20. Reg. No. 3/00-169-09-87-M1 (Fig. 19.2:20)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* PD = 33.16mm, PH = 32.16mm, BW = 22.34mm, HW 13.01mm, BTH = 10.49mm, HTH = 7.59mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Large, heavy ring with an oval bezel and thicker neck that tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken or cracked at the shoulder.  
*Boardman typology:* XVI/XVII  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1864; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616, 676.
21. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1265-M1 (Fig. 19.2:21)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* PD = 24.78mm, BW = 16.06mm, HW = 11.09mm-9.06mm, BTH = 8.23mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a circular bezel that tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the bezel and on the hoop.  
*Boardman typology:* XVI/X  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1864; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:616.
22. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1192-M2 (Fig. 19.2:22)  
*Context:* Room 7  
*Dimensions:* PD = 31.49mm, BW = 22.10mm, HW = 12.82mm, BTH = 10.26mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Large, wide, heavy ring that narrows slightly into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken in half below the shoulders.  
*Boardman typology:* XVI/XVII  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1846.
- Type 1.5. Ring with oval bezel** (Figs.19.3:23–19.4:39)  
Rings with an oval bezel likely had incised or decorative elements. Most of the rings are too corroded to see any decorative details. The oval bezel was often flat, and tapered into a thin, plain hoop. These rings could be fitted to the finger, or have a slightly raised bezel. They are often identified as Boardman II, XVI, XIII, XI, V, VII or VIII finger rings.
23. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-135a-1986-M1 (Fig. 19.3:23)  
*Context:* Room 9a  
*Dimensions:* OD = 18.69mm, BTH = 7.23mm, TH = 2.93mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Small finger ring with a thin, rectangular-oval bezel that tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Corroded.  
*Boardman typology:* VII/II  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1862; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:636.
24. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-177-2508-M1 (Fig. 19.3:24)  
*Context:* Room 4  
*Dimensions:* ID = 10.17mm, OD = 20.91mm, TH = 8.26–4.31mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Small band ring with a raised bezel that is slightly wider than the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.  
*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII/VIII  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 17; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1864; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:669.



0 2cm

Fig. 19.3.

25. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1644-M1 (Fig. 19.3:25)  
*Context:* Room 7  
*Dimensions:* PL = 25.78mm, BW = 13.99mm, BTH = 5.08mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with an oval bezel that extends to the shoulders.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the shoulders.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1846; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:676.
26. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-50-954-M1 (Fig. 19.3:26)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* BL = 23.60mm, PH = 18.44mm, HW = 6.32mm, BW = 17.54mm, BTH = 6.10mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a flat, oval to diamond-shaped bezel that is raised slightly above the inside of the band. The bezel tapers dramatically into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Corroded and broken on the hoop below the shoulder.  
*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.104:1893; Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 17.
27. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-686-M1 (Fig. 19.3:27)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* PD = 22.36mm, PH = 18.08mm, BW = 15.84mm, BTH = 6.41mm, TH = 4.53mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a raised, oval bezel that extends past the shoulders and tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken below the shoulder and on the hoop.  
*Boardman typology:* XI/XIII  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 102, Cat. No. 8.
28. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-169-2357-M1 (Fig. 19.3:28)  
*Context:* Room 1  
*Dimensions:* BL = 16.93mm, BW = 11.54mm; D = 20.92mm, H = 22.33mm, BTH = 5.56mm, TH = 2.86mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a flat, oval to diamond-shaped bezel that is slightly raised above the inside of the band. The bezel tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Corroded with a small oval marking on the inside of the band near the shoulder and a depression in the bezel.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 17; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:578.  
*Discussion:* It is unclear whether the depression and marking are due to corrosion or they follow the original contours of the ring.
29. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-44-830-M1 (Fig. 19.3:29)  
*Context:* Room 3  
*Dimensions:* D = 29.84mm, H = 24.44mm, BL = 27.54mm, BW = 20.70mm, BTH = 5.29mm, TH = 2.76mm, HW = 7.45mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a thick, oval bezel that does not extend past the shoulders and tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:622, 608.
30. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-169-2442-M1 (Fig. 19.3:30)  
*Context:* Room 1  
*Dimensions:* PD = 27.94mm, ID = 12.93mm, HW = 14.75–6.24mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a thick, slightly raised oval bezel that does not extend past the shoulders.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken below the shoulder.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1864.

- Discussion:* Difficult to discern type due to poor preservation.
31. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-135a-2041-M1 (Fig. 19.3:31)  
*Context:* Room 9a  
*Dimensions:* BL = 23.22mm, BW = 17.36mm, HW = 6.10mm, BTH = 7.15mm, PH = 15.85mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a raised, oval bezel that does not extend past the shoulders.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the shoulders.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 17; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:687.
32. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-50-736-M1 (Fig. 19.3:32)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* D = 27.23mm, H = 24.95mm, BL = 23.87mm, BW = 17.20mm, HW = 7.34mm, BTH = 4.85mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a flat, oval bezel that tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.  
*Boardman typology:* V  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:608.
33. Reg. No. 3/00-169-07-60-M1 (Fig. 19.3:33)  
*Context:* Room 1  
*Dimensions:* PD = 29.68mm, PH = 20.29mm, BW = 15.17mm, HW = 6.99–4.79mm, BTH = 6.80mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a raised, oval bezel that does not extend past the shoulders and tapers gradually into the hoop. There is a depression in the bezel.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken on the shoulder and the hoop.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.104:1868; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:594.
- Discussion:* The ring has a depression in the top of the bezel, but is too heavily corroded to know the cause of the depression.
34. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-696-M1 (Fig. 19.3:34)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* D = 26.43mm, H = 24.47mm, BW = 16.09mm, HW = 8.26mm, TH = 6.04mm, BTH = 5.82mm, BL = 24.78mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a slightly raised, oval bezel that tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Corroded.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1902; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:608.
35. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-124-1812-M1 (Fig. 19.3:35)  
*Context:* Room 7  
*Dimensions:* BL = 26.24mm, PH = 14.09mm, BTH = 6.42, BW = 16.22mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a raised, oval bezel that extends slightly past the shoulders and tapers dramatically into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded, cracked and broken.  
*Boardman typology:* XI  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16.
36. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-646-M1 (Fig. 19.3:36)  
*Context:* Room 13  
*Dimensions:* BL = 26.37mm, PH = 23.16mm, BTH = 5.66mm, HW = 7.31mm, BW = 16.79mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with an oval bezel that does not extend past the shoulders and tapers gradually into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16; Davidson 1952, Pl.103:1867; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:608.

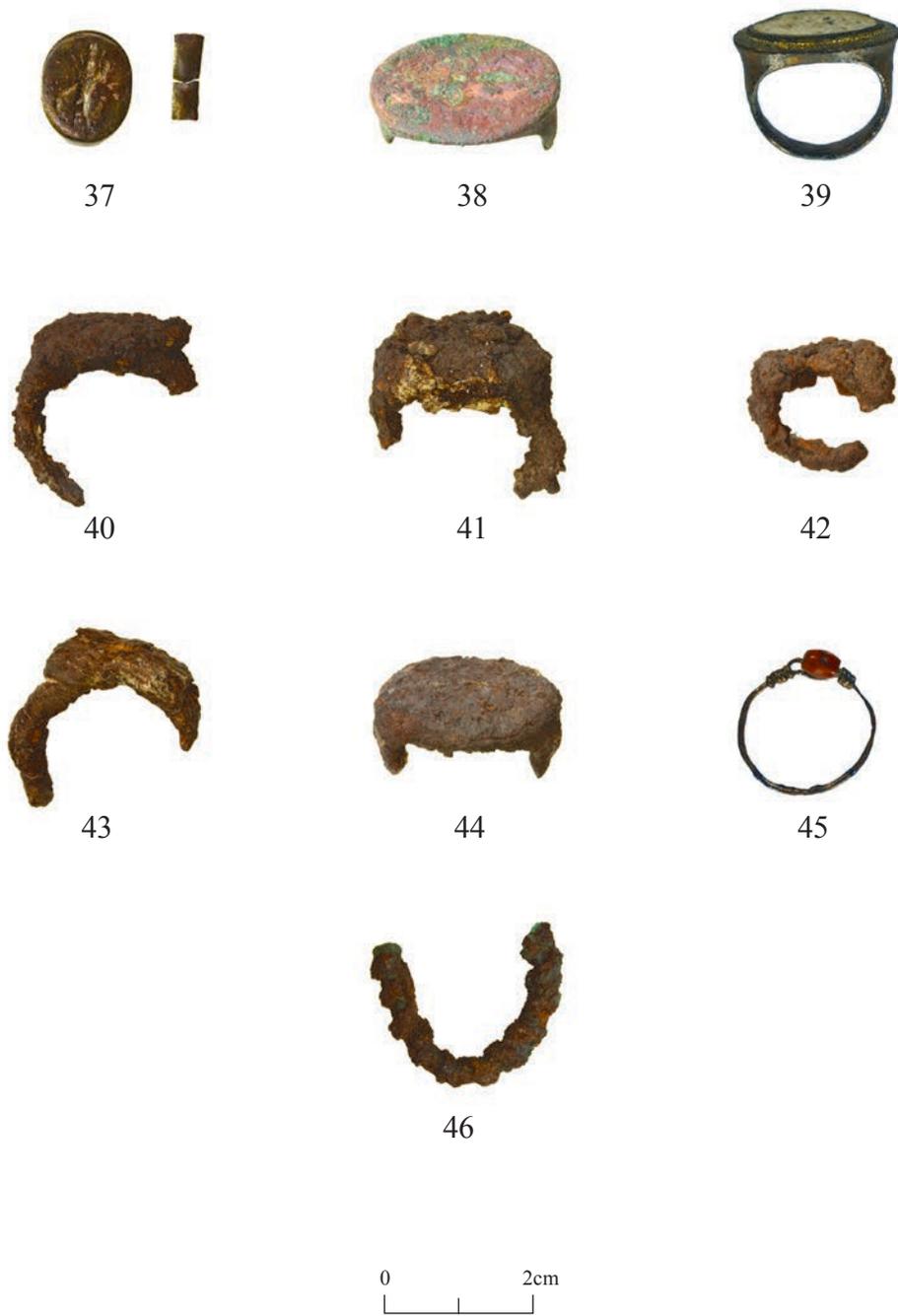


Fig. 19.4.

## 37. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-94-1541-M1 (Fig. 19.4:37)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* D = 15.36mm, H = 14.24mm,  
BW = 11.71mm, BL = 15.04mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Finger ring with an oval bezel that does not extend past the shoulders and tapers gradually into the hoop. An engraving on the bezel appears to be a figural motif.

*Preservation:* Well preserved, but broken at the shoulder.

*Boardman typology:* V/XIII

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 104, Cat. No. 14; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:599, 594.

*Discussion:* Further study must be done to identify the figure on the bezel.

## 38. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-124-1768-M1 (Fig. 19.4:38)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* BL = 25.27mm, PH = 10.67mm,  
BW = 21.72

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Finger ring with a wide, oval bezel that extends past the shoulders and tapers dramatically into the hoop. An engraving appears to be a heart-shaped motif with a tail, likely depicting ivy or flora.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken just below the shoulders.

*Boardman typology:* XI

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 102, Cat. No. 8; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:625, 628.

*Discussion:* It is difficult to clearly discern the image on the ring due to corrosion. Further study must be done to identify the engraving.

## 39. Reg. No. 52/01-196-06-299-M1 (Fig. 19.4:39)

*Context:* Room 3

*Dimensions:* HW = 22mm, BL = 26mm,  
BW = 18mm, PH = 23mm

*Material:* Bronze and stone

*Description:* Finger ring with a raised, oval bezel that extends beyond the shoulders. The bezel has a lifted ledge encasing a stone piece. The

decorative pattern around the ledge is incised into the ring and consists of tiny dots enclosed by repeating double lines that create a triangle pattern. The remnants of the stone appear to be light and sand-colored with a hint of pink and a clear, shiny substance. It also has inclusions of white, dark brown, gray and pink.

*Preservation:* This ring is well preserved, except that the stone from the bezel is broken off. There are worn spots around the bezel and hoop.

*Boardman typology:* XI

*Parallels:* Philipp 1981, Tafel 10:618.

*Discussion:* The ring shape appears to be a Ptolemaic ring type.

**Type 1.6. Ring with circular bezel** (Figs. 19.4:40–44)

Rings with a circular bezel consist of finger rings that likely had incised or decorative elements. Almost all of the rings are too corroded to see the decorative images. These rings consist of a circular bezel, which is often flat and then tapers into a thin plain hoop. The rings could be fitted to the finger, or have a slightly raised bezel. They are often identified as Boardman X, XI, VIII, V and IX.

## 40. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1575-M1 (Fig. 19.4:40)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* BL = 18.81mm, PD = 24.43mm,  
PH = 25.57mm, BW = 16.50mm;  
HW = 4.10mm = BTH = 6.85mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Finger ring with a slightly raised, small, circular bezel that does not extend to the edge or shoulders of the hoop.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the shoulder and on the hoop.

*Boardman typology:* X

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:669.

## 41. Reg. No. 6380/12-169-167-2392-M1 (Fig. 19.4:41)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* BW = 22.76mm, BL = 21.56mm,  
PD = 28.20mm

- Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with a raised, circular bezel.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded, bent, and broken at the shoulder and on the hoop.  
*Boardman typology:* XI/VIII  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 102, Cat. No. 8.
42. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-187-2588-M1 (Fig. 19.4:42)  
*Context:* Room 4  
*Dimensions:* BL = 19.58mm, BW = 11.81mm, BTH = 5.60mm, TH = 4.78mm, PH = 18.72mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Small ring with a circular, flat bezel that tapers into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the shoulder and on the base of the hoop.  
*Boardman typology:* XIII/V  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16; Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1902; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:622, 626.
43. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1093-M1 (Fig. 19.4:43)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* BL = 17.85mm, PD = 23.60mm, BW = 15.30mm, HW = 6.25mm, BTH = 5.72mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Finger ring with circular, flat bezel that is slightly raised above the inside of the band. The bezel does not reach the sides or shoulders, and tapers into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded with cracks, and broken at the shoulder and on the hoop.  
*Boardman typology:* X/VII  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 105, Cat. No. 16.
44. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-91-1547-M2 (Fig. 19.4:44)  
*Context:* Room 11  
*Dimensions:* BD = 33.40mm, PH = 19.78mm, BW = 25.71mm, TH = 9.05mm, BTH = 9.62mm  
*Material:* Iron  
*Description:* Large finger ring with a circular bezel that does not extend past the shoulders, and tapers into the hoop.  
*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken at the shoulders.
- Boardman typology:* XI/IX  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016:102, Cat. No. 8; Philipp 1981, Tafel 43:625.
- Type 1.7. Other rings** (Figs. 19.4:45–46)  
 Other rings in this assemblage include a twisted hoop ring that likely had a flat bezel attached and a thin, wire ring with a small bead.
45. Reg. No. 52/01-169-06-276-M1 (Fig. 19.4:45)  
*Context:* Room 3  
*Dimensions:* HW = 20 mm, H (including the bead) = 22 mm  
*Material:* Bronze and bead  
*Description:* Very thin finger ring with a small bead bezel. The ring consists of a fine wire hoop. The bead is strung onto the ring and held in place by two knobs that were made by wrapping the wire band around the hoop at the point of the bead. It wraps four times with a connecting piece of metal along the outside of the bead. The bead is a burnt orange-red color with a slight marking in darker red and three tiny black dots on top of the red. A few other faint, darker gray lines can also be seen.  
*Preservation:* Excellent.  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 100, Cat. No. 1.  
*Discussion:* The bead is a simple red bead, unlike the scarab in the parallel from Syon 2016.
46. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-122-1798-M1 (Fig. 19.4:46)  
*Context:* Room 12  
*Dimensions:* PH = 21.03mm, PW/PD = 24.63mm, TH = 6.51mm  
*Material:* Bronze and Iron?  
*Description:* Appears to consist of a band with a secondary spiral pattern that wraps it.  
*Preservation:* Corroded and broken so that seemingly only half the piece remains.  
*Parallels:* Williams 1998, Fig. 7.5, Fig. 7.6.
- Type 2: Earrings**  
 In antiquity both men and women wore earrings. It appears that individuals pierced their ears to accommodate earrings, and at times the earrings were rather thick (Calinescu 1996: 4). Ancient earrings

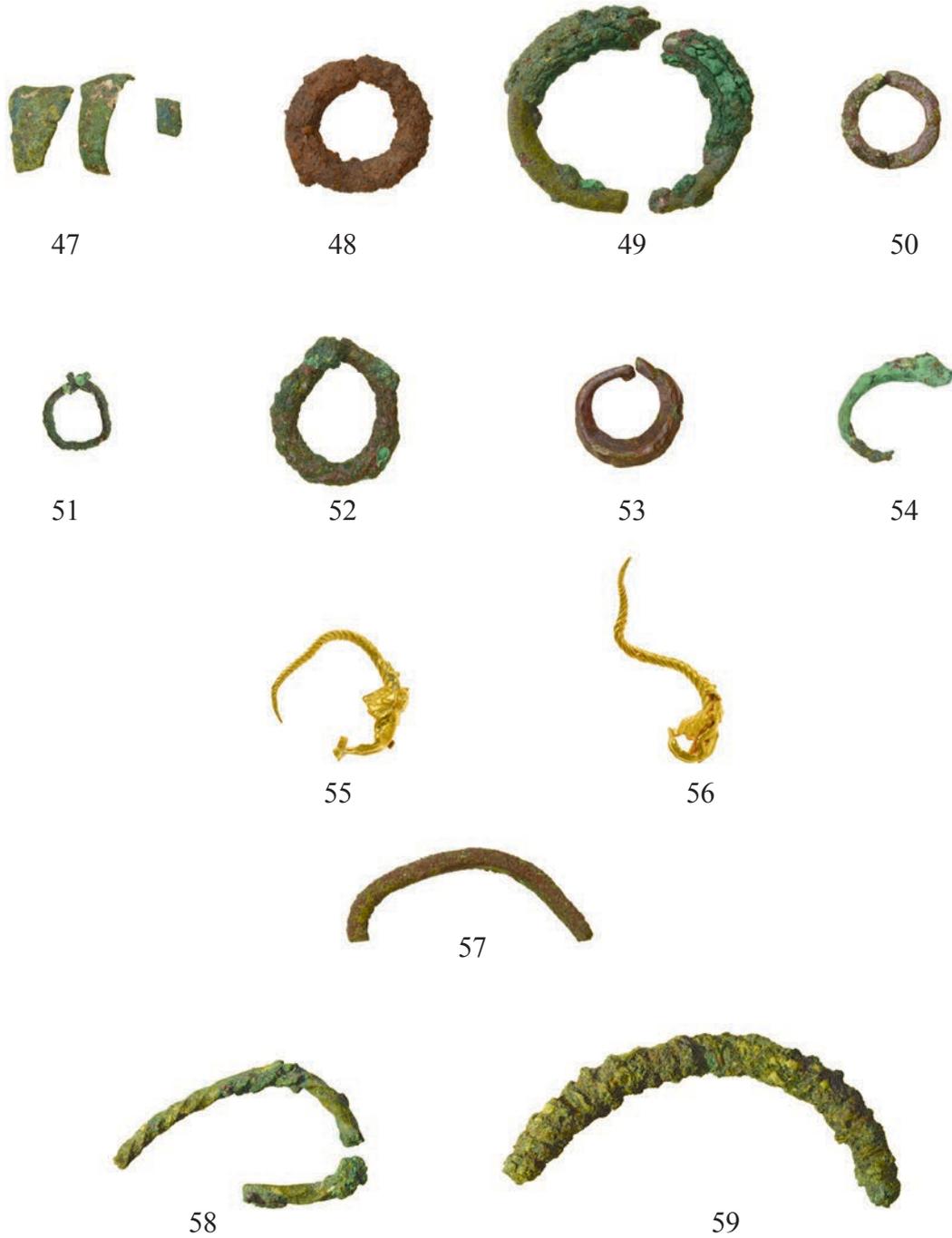


Fig. 19.5.

range in styles and shape from hoops to studs to hanging pieces. They were made of various metals, and feature a wide variety of ornamentation and iconography.

**Type 2.1. Plain hoop earrings** (Figs. 19.5:47–50)

Plain hoop earrings consist of a simple hoop that is not connected on the end. At times it is slightly thinner where the hoop is not connected, and at times it remains the same thickness throughout the entire piece. The plain hoop earrings within this assemblage are heavily corroded and so they often appear almost connected. It also should be noted that the plain hoop earrings identified here may have originally had decorative elements visible.

47. Reg. No. 37/15-169-197-2790-M2 (Fig. 19.5:47)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* Piece 1: PL = 16.54mm, PW = 7.33–3.45mm, TH = 1.14mm; Piece 2: PL = 14.52mm, PW = 9.09–5.29mm, TH = 1.77mm

*Material:* Silver?

*Description:* Three pieces of a band, likely of one earring or very small ring. They are very thin and flat with a wide bezel or base that tapers on the end.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Boardman typology:* XVI/XIII?

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.105:1937.

*Discussion:* If they do represent a ring, they are a cross between a band ring, a Boardman XVI ring, and a Boardman XIII ring. But it seems more likely that they form a thin flat earring.

48. Reg. No. 5808/10-169-145a-2248-M2 (Fig. 19.5:48)

*Context:* Room 9a

*Dimensions:* D = 23.14mm, TH = 6.70mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Earring that is thick, rounded, and comes together at the thinner part of the hoop.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.107: 2012; Syon 2016: 190, Fig. 13.1:2; Philipp 1981, Tafel 41:495, Tafel 42:528, 537, Tafel 41:495.

*Discussion:* Although the earring does not appear to have decorations like the parallels from

Philipp's catalog on bronzes from Olympia, the shape is very similar.

49. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-M1 (Fig. 19.5:49)

*Context:* Surface above Room 1

*Dimensions:* Piece 1: PD = 30.76mm, PW = 8.85–3.55mm; Piece 2: PD = 27.29mm, PW = 6.64–4.35mm; Total H = 32.13mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Large, round, plain, hoop earring that is thicker on bottom and thinner where the pieces come together.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken on both ends. The two pieces seem to fit together to create an earring.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.107:2012; Syon 2016: 190, Fig. 13.1:2; Philipp 1981, Tafel 41:495, Tafel 42:528, 537, Tafel 41:495.

*Discussion:* Although the earring does not appear to have decorations like the parallels from Philipp's catalog on bronzes from Olympia, the shape is very similar.

50. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-76-965-M1 (Fig. 19.5:50)

*Context:* Room 9

*Dimensions:* OD = 14.95mm, TH = 2.72mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Plain, round, circular earring that comes together with a crease.

*Preservation:* Corroded and cracked.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.107: 2012; Syon 2016: 190, Fig. 13.1:2; Philipp 1981, Tafel 41:495, Tafel 42:528, 537, Tafel 41:495.

*Discussion:* Although the earring does not appear to have decorations like the parallels from Philipp's catalog on bronzes from Olympia, the shape is very similar.

**Type 2.2. Hoop earrings with designs** (Figs. 51–53)

The hoop earrings with designs in this assemblage vary in style and shape. One style is a thin hoop that has a twisted cross or clasp as its decorative element. Another piece has a rounded twisted hoop design. There is also a boat-shaped earring.

## 51. Reg. No. 37/15-169-195a-2809-M1 (Fig. 19.5:51)

*Context:* Room 9*Dimensions:* D = 13.84mm, TH = 2.38mm*Material:* Bronze*Description:* A thin band that creates a hoop earring with a twisted cross clasp.*Preservation:* Corroded (CuO).*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.107:2003; Philipp 1981, Tafel 7:491, 488.

## 52. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-600-M1 (Fig. 19.5:52)

*Context:* Room 10*Dimensions:* L = 19.17mm, W = 16.74mm, TH = 3.44mm*Material:* Bronze*Description:* Earring comes together at the slightly thinner part of the piece. It appears to be a rounded, twisted hoop. The twist is one band that creates a ribbing affect.*Preservation:* Corroded.*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.107:2012; Syon 2016: 190, Fig. 13.1:2; Philipp 1981, Tafel 42:528, 537, Tafel 41:495.

## 53. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-28-498-M1 (Fig. 19.5:53)

*Context:* Room 10*Dimensions:* D = 16.48mm, H = 16.73mm, W = 4.48–1.82mm, TH = 4.09mm*Material:* Bronze*Description:* Earring consisting of a hoop that is thicker at the bottom, and thinner toward the break or opening. It is pointed on each edge, creating a diamond-shaped ring.*Preservation:* Well preserved.*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 190, Fig. 13.1:2.**Type 2.3. Animal or figural hoop earrings**

(Figs. 19.5:54–56)

These earrings are hoop-shaped with a figure or head on the end where the earring clasps together. The hoops are made either of a single ring or coiled wires. One piece in this assemblage appears to have the head of an animal, possibly a lion, attached. The lion's head is among the most common types and

likely the original style of this earring type (Higgins 1980: 159–160). Two other objects in this assemblage are hoop earrings consisting of complete figures. These examples appear to be the Eros-bent-backward style, in which the complete figure of Eros makes up part of the hoop and the rest consists of coiled wires (Higgins 1980: 161).

## 54. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-67-1228-M2 (Fig. 19.5:54)

*Context:* Room 10*Dimensions:* PL = 19.35mm, PW = 1.75–7.09mm*Material:* Bronze*Description:* Earring with an animal head terminal and a plain hoop. The animal might be a lion or a dog. The face and features are not clear, but the shape conforms to the lion's head type. It is not clear where or how the earring would have hooked together.*Preservation:* Corroded (CuO) and broken.*Parallels:* Williams 1998, Fig. 10.5.*Discussion:* Identification of the animal head is difficult due to corrosion.

## 55. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-66-1197-S3 (Fig. 19.5:55)

*Context:* Room 11*Dimensions:* L = 20mm, W = 19mm, L of head = 12mm, L of tail = 16mm*Material:* Gold*Description:* This earring features a decorative head and spiral tail bent into a hoop shape. The body is bent backward to complete the hoop shape of the earring and there is a small circular hoop at the feet for the tail of the earring to hook into. This piece has a small flower motif with six petals where the head and tail are attached. The figure appears nude, however the sex is somewhat ambiguous. The arms are slightly akimbo, and wings extend from the figure's shoulders. The wings are detailed as if showing the feathers of the wings. The hair hangs to the shoulders in a solid mass with a point that almost resembles a ball at the top of the head — likely a crown or headband. This piece appears to be the complete Eros figure hoop earring type.*Preservation:* Well preserved.

*Parallels:* Williams 1998, Fig. 10.8; Higgins 1980, Pl.47: I; Deppert-Lippitz 1998: 54, Fig. No. 71.

56. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-51-807 S1 (Fig. 19.5:56)

*Context:* Room 11

*Dimensions:* L = 28mm, W = 9mm, L of head = 8mm, L of tail = 24mm

*Material:* Gold

*Description:* This piece is bent, so the spiral tail features an S-curve and the legs of the figure are bent completely back to touch the wings. This piece has a small flower motif with six petals where the head and tail are attached. The figure appears nude, however the sex is somewhat ambiguous. The arms are slightly akimbo, and wings extend from the figure's shoulders. The wings are detailed as if showing their feathers. The hair hangs to the shoulders in a solid mass with a point that almost resembles a ball at the top of the head — likely a crown or headband. This piece also has a small hoop in the back through which the tail could go. This piece appears to be the complete Eros figure hoop earring type.

*Preservation:* Well preserved, but bent.

*Parallels:* Williams 1998, Fig. 10.8; Higgins 1980, Pl.47: I; Deppert-Lippitz 1998: 54, Fig. No. 71.

*Discussion:* This piece appears to be the matching earring to 4361/05-169-66-1197-S3. Both earrings were found in Room 11 and appear almost identical.

### Type 3: Bracelets

Bracelets, which are ornamental bands, hoops or chains worn around a wrist, arm or ankle, can have a flexible or rigid body. Flexible bracelets are often made of chains or beads that have been strung together, and are frequently fastened with a clasp or hook. Bracelets that are rigid and form a complete hoop are often referred to as bangles. Rigid bracelets that do not form a complete hoop are often referred to as penannular bracelets, and rigid bracelets that spiral are referred to as snake bracelets (Higgins 1980: 167–168). It is often difficult to discern on what

part of the body a bracelet was worn, but they seem to have been most commonly worn around the wrist.

#### Type 3.1. Plain bracelets (No. 57)

Plain bracelets are solid bracelets that are made from a single piece of metal that is bent in a circular shape to be worn around the wrist (Calinescu 1996: 4). They have no decorative elements. Since only pieces of these bracelets exist, they may belong to another type or may have originally had decorative elements that are no longer visible. These bracelets are likely penannular bracelets, bangles or snake bracelets because of their rigid forms.

57. Reg. No. 52/01-169-07-174-M1 (Fig. 19.5:57)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* PL = 36.47mm, PW = 4.73–7.50mm, TH = 2.89mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Plain bracelet that is rounded on the outside and flat on the inside. It is narrower on one end and slightly wider on the other.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.112:2132, 2134; Philipp 1981, Tafel 45:726.

#### Type 3.2. Twisted bracelets (Figs. 19.5:58–64)

These bracelets are either are composed of a single piece of metal that has been twisted, or multiple pieces of metal, sometimes even different metals, that have been coiled together (Hoffmann and Davidson 1966: 36–38). These bracelets often hold their rigid form and are likely penannular bracelets, bangles or snake bracelets.

58. Reg. No. 37/15-169-197-2724-M1 (Fig. 19.5:58)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* Piece 1: PL = 36.66mm, PW = 5.58–2.94mm; Piece 2: PL = 18.65mm, PW = 2.64mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Bracelet made of a thin flat band that was twisted.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.112:2143.

59. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-39-952-M1 (Fig. 19.5:59)

*Context:* Room 13

*Dimensions:* PL = 57.37mm, TH = 6.93mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* A rounded, thick, long, curved piece that seems to have a decorative twisted rope pattern.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Philipp 1981, Tafel 55:918.

60. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1749-M1 (Fig. 19.6:60)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* PH = 31.86, TH = 5.78–2.64mm

*Material:* Bronze and iron

*Description:* Flat on one end, with a decorative twisted rope pattern woven around the flat band. The spiral pattern is woven of bronze and iron.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Deppert-Lippitz 1998: 34, Fig. No. 43; Davidson 1952, Pl.112:2147.

61. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-39-760-M1 (Fig. 19.6:61)

*Context:* Room 13

*Dimensions:* PW = 6.47mm, PH/PD = 60.24mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Rounded circular bracelet with a twisted rope spiral pattern around the band.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken in half.

*Parallels:* Philipp 1981, Tafel 55:918.

62. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1224-M2 (Fig. 19.6:62)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* PD = 55.63mm, PW = 6.72mm, TH = 4.97mm

*Material:* Bronze and iron

*Description:* The bracelet is more rounded on the outside and flatter in the interior. It has a twisted rope spiral pattern around the triangular band.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded (CuO) and broken in half.

*Parallels:* Deppert-Lippitz 1998: 34, Fig. No. 43; Davidson 1952, Pl.112:2147.

63. Reg. No. 6092/11-169-159-2329-M1 (Fig. 19.6:63)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* Piece 1: PL = 63.59mm, TH = 3.11mm; Piece 2: PL = 24.06mm, TH = 4.18mm; Piece 3: PL = 18.42mm, TH = 4.39mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Appears to be three pieces of various bracelets. They probably do not belong to the same bracelet because one is a long flat band, one is a short rounded piece, and one is a twisted band.

*Preservation:* All the pieces are corroded and broken.

64. Reg. No. 52/01-169-06-312-M1 (Fig. 19.6:64)

*Context:* Room 3

*Dimensions:* Piece 1: PL = 59.87mm, TH = 4.82mm, PW = 5.88mm; Piece 2: PL = 43.82mm, TH = 5.58mm, PW = 5.51mm; Piece 3: PL = 15.87mm, PW = 5.16mm, TH = 2.33mm

*Material:* Bronze and iron?

*Description:* The bracelet has a decorative twisted rope spiral pattern woven around the band. It appears to be woven of bronze and iron. The three pieces seem to be of the same bracelet and create a striped pattern.

*Preservation:* All three pieces are corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Philipp 1981, Tafel 55:918.

### *Type 3.3. Animal or figural head bracelets* (Figs. 19.6:65–67)

Animal or figural head bracelets are penannular or snake bracelets with animal or figural depictions on one or both ends of the band. The bodies of the bracelet can be either plain hoops or twisted hoops. The bracelets from this assemblage are zoomorphic; however, due to corrosion it is sometimes difficult to discern the precise animal. Bracelets with animal or figural terminals are pervasive in the Mediterranean and Near East from the Bronze Age onward. They can be found made of various materials and ranging from very elaborate gold pieces to more simple bronze pieces (Berlin and Herbert 2010: 250).

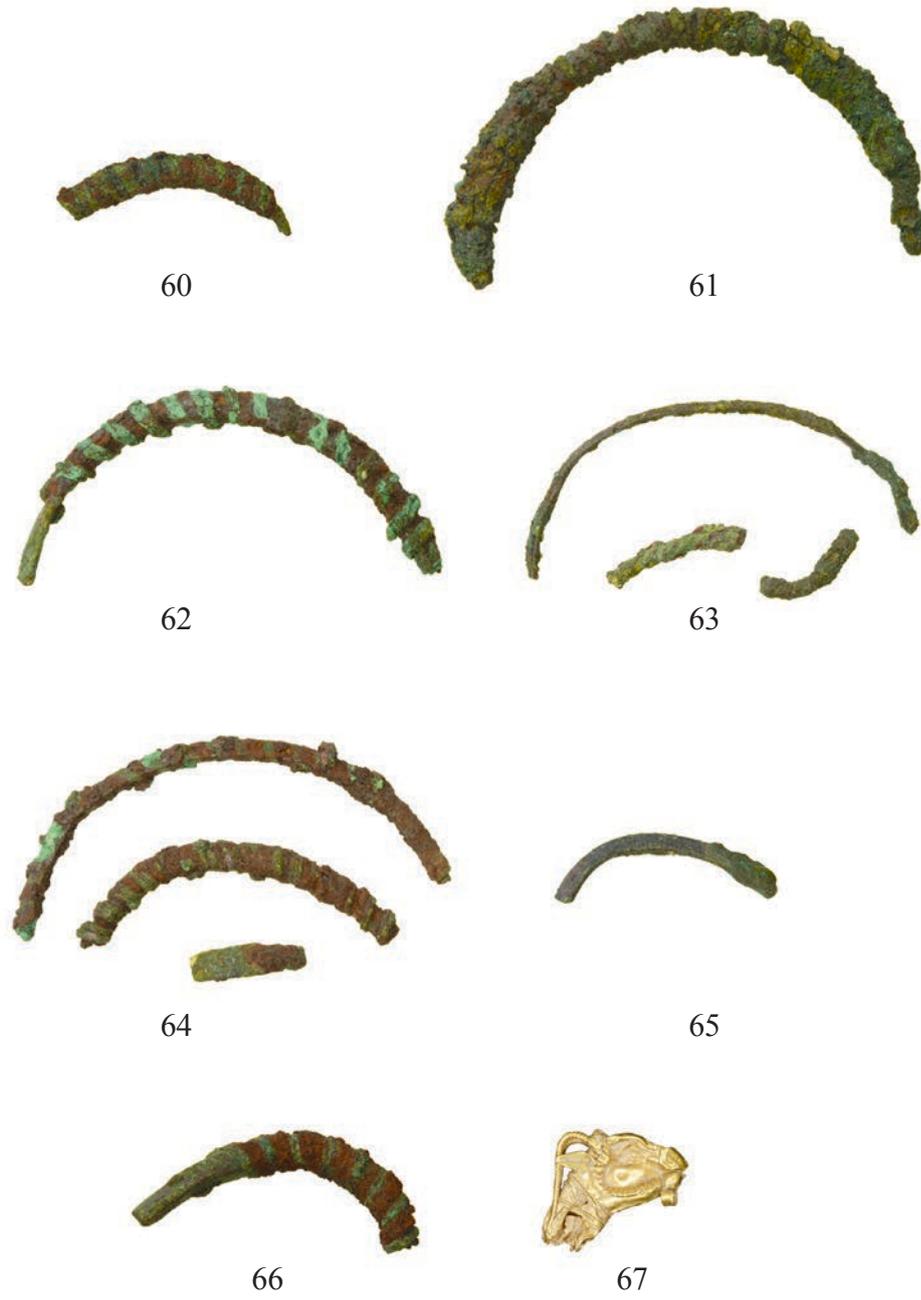


Fig. 19.6.

65. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-36-637-M1 (Fig. 19.6:65)

*Context:* Room 10

*Dimensions:* PH = 32.57mm, W = 5.34mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Small curved band that is rounded on the outside with a thin rim in the middle of the band, and the inside of the band is flat. It appears to have an animal head on one end of the bracelet.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 193, Fig. 13.2: 9; Berlin and Herbert 2010, Pl.33:M55.

*Discussion:* The bracelet ends with an animal head, however due to corrosion it is difficult to identify the specific animal or type.

66. Reg. No. 6701/13-169-179-2465-M1 (Fig. 19.6:66)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* PH = 37.98mm, W = 7.64mm

*Material:* Bronze and iron

*Description:* Bracelet with a twisted rope spiral decoration that terminates in a flat piece.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Deppert-Lippitz 1998: 34, Fig. No. 43; Davidson 1952, Pl.112:2147.

*Discussion:* The bracelet may end with an animal head, possibly that of a duck. However, proper identification is difficult due to corrosion.

67. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125b-1814-S4 (Fig. 19.6:67)

*Context:* Room 9b

*Dimensions:* PL = 25mm, PW = 17mm

*Material:* Gold

*Description:* This piece of an animal head is likely the head and hook of a small bracelet or very large earring. The head appears to be that of an antelope; it is highly decorated and detailed with many layers of gold ornamentation. The face is indented and has a ribbed pattern beneath the cheeks. Leaf-shaped ears project out of the top of the facial ribbing. Situated on top of the head between the long spiral horns is a crown or cap, which features a series of repeating domes. The eye is a circular depression. The neck is detailed; the animal is wearing what looks like multiple necklaces or braided ropes around the neck.

These necklaces appear in two lines, followed by a spiraling motif, a diagonal necklace, and then two horizontal pieces. The horns extend down to the neck of the animal. Beneath the mouth is a circle that would have allowed for the end of the bracelet to hook together. It appears to be of the Achaemenid antelope head bracelet type.

*Preservation:* The animal head is well preserved; however, the piece has been broken beneath the head and the rest of the bracelet was not preserved.

*Parallels:* Hoffmann and Davidson 1966: 160–161, Fig. 57a;

Pfrommer 2001: 5, Fig. 5a; Williams 1998, Fig. 10.3; N. A. 1986: 190, Fig. No. 98.

*Discussion:* This piece has been identified as part of a bracelet due to the size of the animal head. However, it could have been part of a fine necklace or large earring.

#### Type 4: Beads and Pendants

Pendants and beads can often be found together and can be part of many types of jewelry and accessories. The pendants and beads from this assemblage were found independently and as such will be addressed as individual objects.

##### Type 4.1. Beads (Figs. 19.7:68–70)

Beads are often perforated for threading; however, they can also have side attachments that can be linked or threaded instead. Both perforated beads and those with side attachments are found within this assemblage. All of the beads included here are made of gold and likely were part of larger pieces of jewelry or accessories.

68. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-124-1856-S7 (Fig. 19.7:68)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* L = 8mm, W = 7mm, H = 7mm

*Material:* Gold

*Description:* This piece is a gold bead. It is wavy and spherical, with thin bands around each side of the perforated opening.

*Preservation:* Well preserved, but slightly bent.

*Parallels:* Williams 1998, Fig. 2.3; Rudolph, Baden and Deppert-Lippitz 1995: 191, Fig. 45.

69. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-94-1465-S1 (Fig. 19.7:69)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* L = 28mm, W = 4–9mm

*Material:* Gold

*Description:* This bead is a long, eye-shaped piece. Each perforated end is outlined by a thin, beaded wire hoop through which something could be threaded. It has a line or seam along the center of the piece that may have been decorative or merely a technical remnant of the crafting process.

*Preservation:* The bead was likely cylindrical, but due to crushing it is now partly flattened.

70. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-S2 (Fig. 19.7:70)

*Context:* Surface find near SC169

*Dimensions:* L = 11mm, W = 11mm, H = 5mm

*Material:* Gold

*Description:* This piece is a gold, box-like bead. It is circular in shape with four small rods attached, two on each side. On one side the rods look like clasps. The piece seems to have a top and bottom circle that is attached by a wavy or spiraling gold band. The top and bottom have the same motif: a three-petalled flower in the center of the circle, surrounded by a flat gold background encircled by four thin hoops. The innermost and outermost hoops are solid, and the two central hoops are spiraling or woven gold ropes. It is unclear exactly what this piece is, but it appears to be an intricate bead.

*Preservation:* Well preserved.

*Parallels:* Williams 1998, Fig. 7.2, Fig. 7.5, Fig. 17.2.

*Discussion:* This piece appears to be a bead, but also has been thought to be a small box or locket. However, since the piece does not appear to open, it has been identified here as a bead.

#### **Type 4.2. Hanging pendants** (Figs. 19.7:71–73)

Hanging pendants are most commonly threaded or attached to a chain at the top of the piece and are vertically suspended. Among the pendants in this assemblage is a cylindrical stone pendant with a gold mount and two hanging shell pendants. These are spiral shells that have a hole pierced into the top of

the shell where they can be threaded. Shell pendants and beads were common in the Early Bronze Age, but are a rarity in the Hellenistic era (Syon 2016: 108).

71. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-134-2027-S1 (Fig. 19.7:71)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* L = 19mm, W = 5mm

*Material:* Gold and stone

*Description:* The pendant is comprised of a cylindrical stone that tapers at the tip and is mounted in a gold setting. The mount has a loop at the top of the piece for threading and the shaft is decorated with a border and small triangles of granulation.

*Preservation:* Well preserved.

*Parallels:* Pfrommer 1993: 170, Cat. No. 46.

*Discussion:* The mount of the pendant is similar to the parallel provided in that the stone has a gold cuff or mount with triangles of granulation. However, unlike the parallel, the pendant from SC169 has only one mount and the loop is placed at the top of the mount.

72. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-69-1085-S2 (Fig. 19.7:72)

*Context:* Room 6

*Dimensions:* L = 27.84mm, TH = 10.78mm

*Material:* Shell

*Description:* This piece appears to be part of a shell that has been made into a long pendant. It has a pin-sized perforation at the top. It is a twisting shell that is a light pinkish-creamy-white color with stripes of a pearly white color.

*Preservation:* Well preserved.

73. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125b-1773-S4 (Fig. 19.7:73)

*Context:* Room 9b

*Dimensions:* L = 39.37mm,  
TH = 14.77mm-4.28mm

*Material:* Shell

*Description:* This piece appears to be part of a shell that has been made into a long bead. There is a pin-sized perforation at the top of the shell. The shell is striped in various shades of gray.

*Preservation:* Well preserved.

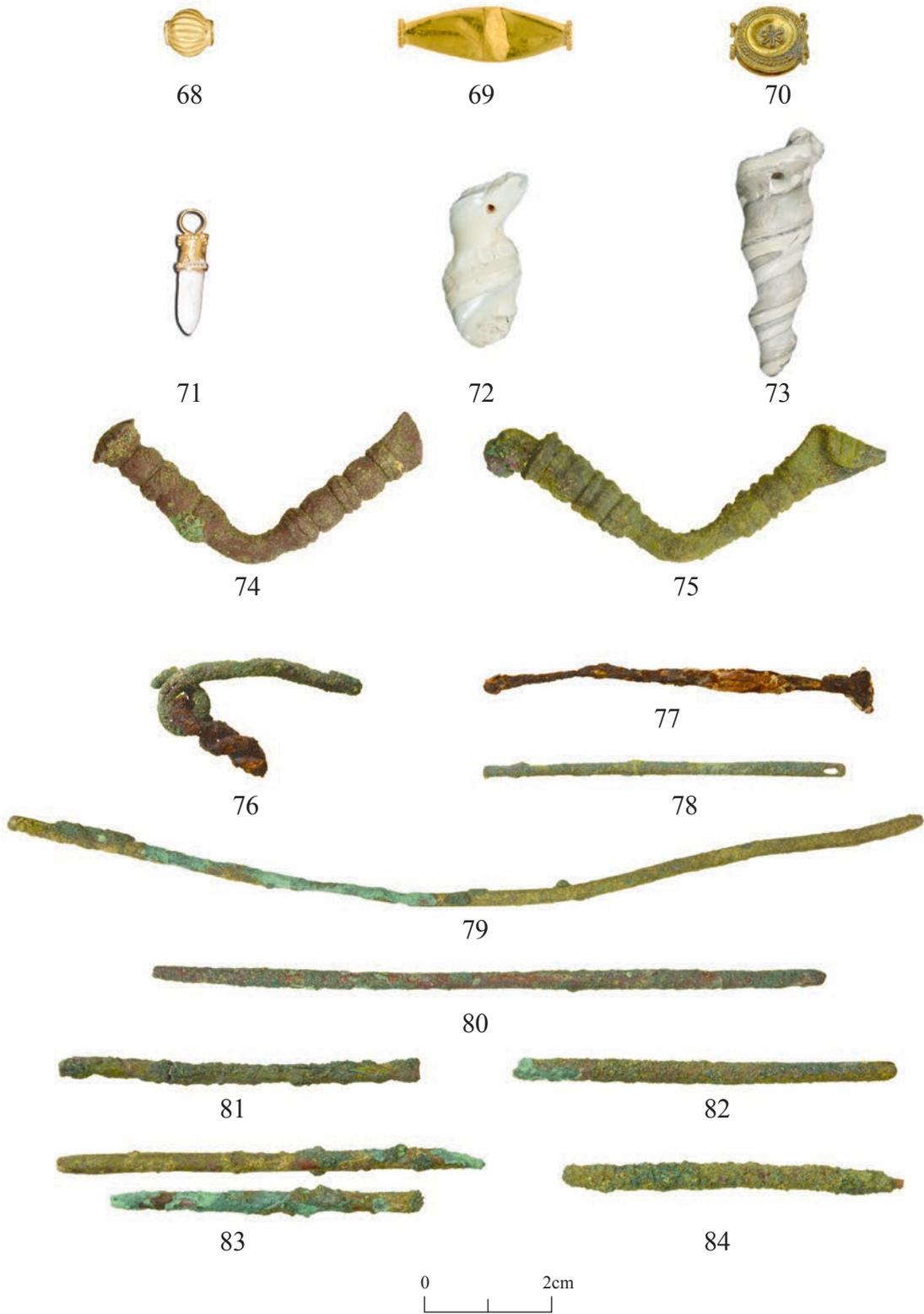


Fig. 19.7.

## PART II: ACCESSORIES AND COSMETIC UTENSILS

**Type 5: Fibulae**

Fibulae can be defined as accessories or jewelry depending on the assemblage and objects themselves; however, for this collection they will be referred to as accessories, typically ornaments fastened to clothing by a clasp, hook or catch and hinged pin.

**Type 5.1. Decorated bent bow fibulae**  
(Figs. 19.7:74–75)

The Near Eastern decorated bent bow fibulae are characterized by an angular bow that is bent at a 90-degree angle with cast or incised decorations. The majority of the fibulae in this assemblage are the decorated bent bow style, which have incised or cast collared-bead ornamentation and thickened arms. The decorated bent bow fibula was a common Near Eastern fibula type, and in the Levant, the decorated bent bow fibulae were commonly used during the Persian period (Berlin and Herbert 2010: 252–253).

74. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1570-M2 (Fig. 19.7:74)

*Context:* Room 9

*Dimensions:* L = 63.09mm, W of triangular terminal = 13.10mm, W of circular terminal = 8.09mm, TH = 5.06mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Decorated bent bow fibula that is bent at a 90-degree angle. It has incised beads below the triangular folded hook terminal and a circular spiral terminal.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 197, Fig. 13.3:19; Berlin and Herbert 2010, Pl.36:M173.

75. Reg. No. 5574/09-169-138-2068-M3 (Fig. 19.7:75)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* L = 51.34mm, TH = 6.49mm

*Material:* Bronze?

*Description:* This fibula, which is bent at a 90-degree angle, has incised beads below the ends, one of which is square and the other circular.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 197, Fig. 13.3:19; Berlin and Herbert 2010, Pl. 36:M173.

**Type 5.2. (Fig. 19.7:76) Other fibula**

There is one example of another fibula or brooch whose type is unclear. The hinged pin side of the piece is preserved and appears to be made of various metals. The hinge wraps around a twisted rod that is broken.

76. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-189-2621-M2 (Fig. 19.7:76)

*Context:* Room 1

*Dimensions:* PL (longer arm) = 32.35mm, PL (shorter arm) = 22.78mm, PW (longer arm) = 3.02mm, PW (shorter arm) = 6.03mm; D = 8.42mm

*Material:* Bronze and iron

*Description:* This piece is the corner of a thin fibula. It consists of two arms coming together in a V shape. One arm is short and twisted with a loop on the end. The longer arm is plain, but it winds itself through the twist-loop to connect the pieces.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 196–198, Fig. 13.4:31.

*Discussion:* This fibula may be of the “Late La Tène-Type”(?)

**Type 6: Pins** (Figs. 19.7:77–79)

Pins likely served as an accessory to pin garments or hair, a cosmetic utensil, or possibly other uses. They are long, thin rods that usually have a pointed end.

77. Reg. No. 4099/04-169-51-795-M1 (Fig. 19.7:77)

*Context:* Room 11

*Dimensions:* L = 61.52mm, TH = 6.74–2.52mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Long, thin pin with a flat head at one end.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Discussion:* Possibly a nail.

78. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-114-1670-M1 (Fig. 19.7:78)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* L = 56.33mm, W = 2.23mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Plain needle or pin with a small hole at one end.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

79. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115a-1747-M1 (Fig. 19.7:79)

*Context:* Room 9a

*Dimensions:* L = 143.29mm, TH = 3.38mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Long, thin, rounded rod that is slightly curved.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

### Type 7: Rods

Rods are long tubes or sticks that were likely used for cosmetic, pharmaceutical or medicinal purposes. As at other sites in Israel, the rods found at Maresha were made of metal and bone. They may have been used for sampling, stirring, and applying cosmetic or medicinal solutions, creams and powders (Syon 2016: 199).

#### Type 7.1. Plain Rods (Figs. 19.7:80–85)

Plain rods are long narrow tubes or sticks that have no visible decoration and are often rounded on the end. The plain rods from this assemblage are all made of metal and are corroded.

80. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-69-1163-M1 (Fig. 19.7:80)

*Context:* Room 6

*Dimensions:* L = 105.58mm, TH = 3.37mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Rod consisting of a long, thin tube.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

81. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-69-1163-M2 (Fig. 19.7:81)

*Context:* Room 6

*Dimensions:* PL = 56.94mm, PW = 3.63mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Rod consisting of a long, narrow tube.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

82. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1006-M3 (Fig. 19.7:82)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* PL = 60.46mm, TH = 3.52mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Rod comprised of a long, narrow tube that is straight.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

83. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-20-440-M1 (Fig. 19.7:83)

*Context:* Room 10

*Dimensions:* Longer piece: PL = 66.98mm, W = 4.12mm; Shorter piece: PL = 48.81mm, W = 3.75mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* The two pieces consist of long tubes that are likely rods.

*Preservation:* Both pieces are corroded.

84. Reg. No. 7015/14-169-187-2637-M1 (Fig. 19.7:84)

*Context:* Room 4

*Dimensions:* PL = 53.64mm, PW = 4.60mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* A rod or pin that is a long, narrow tube.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken.

85. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1073-M1 (Fig. 19.8:85)

*Context:* Room 7

*Dimensions:* Longer piece: PL = 82.87mm, TH = 3.28mm; shorter piece: PL = 60.27mm, TH = 2.45mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Both pieces are long, narrow rods. The longer piece is slightly curved at one end, but otherwise straight. The other piece is straight with a flat top on one end.

*Preservation:* Both pieces are corroded.

#### Type 7.2. Decorated Rods (Figs. 19.8:86–90)

Decorated rods are long narrow tubes or sticks that have decorative details on them. The decorated rods from this assemblage are almost all made of bone or organic materials that have been carved into rods. Often the decorations, which are carved on the rods, are in the form of patterns along the shaft, which is topped by an ornament. One decorated rod is made of bronze.



0 2cm

Fig. 19.8.

86. Reg. No. 3941/03-169-35-559-M-1 (Fig. 19.8:86)  
*Context:* Room 3  
*Dimensions:* PL = 65.57mm, TH = 6.31–2.71mm  
*Material:* Bronze  
*Description:* Narrow rod that is slightly pointed at one end and thicker at the other. It appears to have incised beads near the thicker end.  
*Preservation:* Corroded and cracked.

87. Reg. No. 3/00-169-09-107-S1 (Fig. 19.8:87)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* L = 93.68mm, L of square top = 9.43mm, W of square top = 7.04mm, TH of shaft = 4.57mm  
*Material:* Bone  
*Description:* Long, rounded rod with a decorative square top. The square top has two square rings and creates a design that looks like a four-petalled flower or a cross.  
*Preservation:* Well preserved.

88. Reg. No. 52/01-169-09-204-S1 (Fig. 19.8:88)  
*Context:* Room 10  
*Dimensions:* L = 54.25mm, W of shaft = 4.75mm, W of top = 10.21mm  
*Material:* Bone  
*Description:* Rounded rod that is decorated at the top. The decorative part consists of a series of stacked rings: a thin ring followed by a small space, and then another thin ring followed by a large, wide, rounded ring, and finally another thin ring on top of it.  
*Preservation:* Well preserved.  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.118:2299.

89. Reg. No. 37/15-169-199-2746-S4 (Fig. 19.8:89)  
*Context:* Room 1  
*Dimensions:* L = 100.62mm, W = 3.62mm; decorative top: L = 10.85mm, W 5.72mm  
*Material:* Bone  
*Description:* Long, rounded rod that has a decorative top and is pointed on the other end. The decorative top has a thin, square ring atop which is a square box that is pointed at the tip. The pointed box has a diagonal-striped pattern on it with a single marking on one side.

*Preservation:* Well preserved.  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pls.118:2318, 2315.

90. Reg. No. 52/01-169-07-318-S-1 (Fig. 19.8:90)  
*Context:* Room 1  
*Dimensions:* L = 49.93mm, TH = 8.22mm  
*Material:* Bone  
*Description:* Rounded rod that is decorated. It has a diamond pattern that is enclosed by two rows of a ring pattern on each end. Some of the grooves have remnants of a pinkish material.  
*Preservation:* Well preserved, but broken on both ends.  
*Parallels:* Syon 2016: 238, Figs. 37, 45.

#### **Type 8: Spatulas** (Figs. 19.8:91–97)

Spatulas are long tubes or sticks that flare out into a flat triangle on the end. The spatulas from this assemblage are made of metal and often broken. Similar to rods, they were likely used for daily cosmetic, pharmaceutical or medicinal purposes. They also could have been used for sampling, stirring, and applying cosmetic or medicinal solutions, creams and powders (Syon 2016: 199).

91. Reg. No. 37/15-169-197-2790-M1 (Fig. 19.8:91)  
*Context:* Room 4  
*Dimensions:* PL = 77.12mm, PW at triangle end = 9.13mm, PW at tube end = 3.03mm  
*Material:* Bronze  
*Description:* Long, thin rod that is slightly bent in the middle and has a flat, thin, triangular head.  
*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.83:1351.

92. Reg. No. 4687/06-169-96-1519-M1 (Fig. 19.8:92)  
*Context:* Room 6  
*Dimensions:* PL = 63.69mm, W = 10.29mm-3.19mm  
*Material:* Bronze  
*Description:* Thin, straight pin that fans out into a triangle with rounded edges.  
*Preservation:* Corroded.  
*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.83:1350.

93. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-65-1195-M1 (Fig. 19.8:93)

*Context:* Room 13

*Dimensions:* PL = 68.10mm, W = 6.86–3.31mm, TH = 3.14mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Long, narrow triangular shaft that widens on one end into a small triangle. There appears to be a striped pattern along the shaft.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.83:1349; Berlin and Herbert 2010, Pl.14: M64, M67.

*Dimensions:* PL = 44.34mm,

PW = 5.42mm-0.69mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Thin pin, slightly bent.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

94. Reg. No. 3567/02-169-21-479-M1 (Fig. 19.8:94)

*Context:* Room 10

*Dimensions:* PL = 60.96mm, W = 4.94–1.82mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* This spatula consists of a long, thin, flat shaft that is wider on one end and tapers to the other. At the narrow end it becomes even smaller and slightly curved. Small components consisting of stripes, diamonds and triangles decorate the shaft.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Davidson 1952, Pl.83:1352, 1349, 1367.

95. Reg. No. 4997/07-169-115-1569-M2 (Fig. 19.8:95)

*Context:* Room 9

*Dimensions:* PL = 104.10mm, PW = 2.63mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Long, narrow, plain tube that is slightly curved at one end and triangular at the other.

*Preservation:* Corroded and broken.

96. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-77-978-M3 (Fig. 19.8:96)

*Context:* Room 9

*Dimensions:* L = 91.29mm, W = 3.07–1.10mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* Long and narrow pin that is bent at a 90-degree angle at the pointed end.

*Preservation:* Corroded.

97. Reg. No. 4361/05-169-68-1233-M2 (Fig. 19.8:97)

*Context:* Room 7

### **Type 9: Varia** (not illustrated)

This section contains various other metal items found in this assemblage, including a chain and a hook, which do not clearly fit into any of the above categories.

#### **Type 9.1. Chains** (No. 98)

One chain was found in SC169. It consists of small, flat hoops, and could have been a piece of jewelry, an accessory, or have served some other purpose.

98. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-131-1868-M1

*Context:* Room 11

*Dimensions:* Longer piece: PL = 30.00mm, W = 20.84mm, TH = 7.83mm; shorter piece: PL = 19.38mm, W = 13.04mm; individual ring W = 5.62mm, TH = 2.97mm, D = 13.66mm

*Material:* Bronze

*Description:* This chain has two parts. The longer one is broken, while the other consists of two complete linked rings.

*Preservation:* A small part of the chain has been stripped down to the original metal. The rest is corroded and broken.

*Parallels:* Rudolph, Baden and Deppert-Lippitz 1995: 124, Fig. 25. A.

#### **Type 9.2. Hook** (No. 99)

The hook is broken and heavily corroded. Its purpose is unclear; it may have been used as an accessory.

99. Reg. No. 5343/08-169-125a-1935-M3

*Context:* Room 9a

*Dimensions:* PH = 33.24mm, PW = 26.83mm, TH = 8.70mm

*Material:* Iron

*Description:* Oval hook that is thicker on the flattened bottom.

*Preservation:* Heavily corroded and broken.

## CONCLUSIONS

The artifacts presented in this chapter are all objects of personal adornment or personal utilitarian objects that would have been used for beautification, and as such, they reflect daily life at Maresha. They also provide a glimpse into the style and preferences of the people of Maresha. The assemblage seems to hint at international trade because many of the objects

have parallels from around the Mediterranean, especially the Hellenistic world. A variety of types, styles, techniques and materials are present in this assemblage. The significance and intricacies of this assemblage require further investigation and must be looked at in reference to the rest of the jewelry and accessories found at Maresha.

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CHAPTER 20  
THE GROUND STONE OBJECTS

*David Ilan*

A total of 40 ground stone artifacts and natural stone objects were recovered from Subterranean Complex 169. The minerals represented are (in descending order of frequency): basalt (N=17), siliceous limestone (N=18), chalk (N=2), diabase or gabbro (N=1), porphyry (N=1) and siltstone (N=1).

***Bowls*** (N=9, Fig. 20.1)

All the stone bowls are fragments. Their estimated diameters range from 34 to 46cm. Eight are of basalt and one (Fig. 20.1:3) is an ophiolite — gabbro or diabase. All have a shallow profile. Six display legged, probably tripod bases of varying heights (e. g. Fig. 20.1:2), one (the gabbro example) has a flat base, and two have no indication of base support; but they are smaller fragments. The exterior wall of the ophiolite bowl is decorated with a pattern of oblique striations (Fig. 20.1:3).

Regarding bowl Fig. 20.1:3, gabbro and diabase sources are found in Arabia, south Sinai, Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and Iran, though not in the southern Levant proper. The material is exotic.

***Grinding Slabs*** (N=4, Fig. 20.2:3)

All four fragments are of lower slabs, deriving either from saddle querns or from the lower stones of Olynthus millstone composites (see below). They have flat ventral faces and flat or slightly curving dorsal sides. The illustrated example has preserved only one original edge; the rest are broken edges. All the grinding slabs are of vesicular basalt. It is likely that these fragments were utilized as building material in secondary use.

***Olynthus Millstones*** (N=3, Figs. 20.2:1–2)

These are all fragments of upper millstones (also called hoppers). They are rectangular or square in shape, with a rectangular depression in the center and sloping sides leading down to a slit cut through the stone. This is a standard shape in the Hellenistic and Roman Levant (Frankel 2003: 8–9).

Two of the bases (which are the friction surfaces) show no striations and one shows transversal striations. One of the fragments bears a slot for the lever rod at the top of the preserved short side (Frankel's Type I). A second fragment is too small to have preserved the slot (if it had one), and a third lacks the slot in the short side, suggesting that the slot was in the long side (Frankel's Type II1).

The Olynthus millstone was apparently the most popular type in the Hellenistic period. Similar millstones have been reported from nearby Tell el-Judeideh and Tell el-Zakariya (Bliss and Macalister 1902: 143; Pl. 73.2z). Frankel (2003) has concluded that the Olynthus millstone type originated in the eastern Mediterranean in the fifth century BCE.

When such massive basalt items are found broken, repeatedly, one should consider the possibility of intentional breakage; they do not easily break, even when dropped or when a roof or wall collapses on them.

***Pestles*** (N=3; Fig. 20.3:1–3)

All the pestles are fashioned of siliceous limestone. One (Fig. 3:1) is elongated and would have been grasped in the palm. It shows almost no signs of grinding, for either manufacture or use. It is essentially a natural, elongated cobble. It does show several

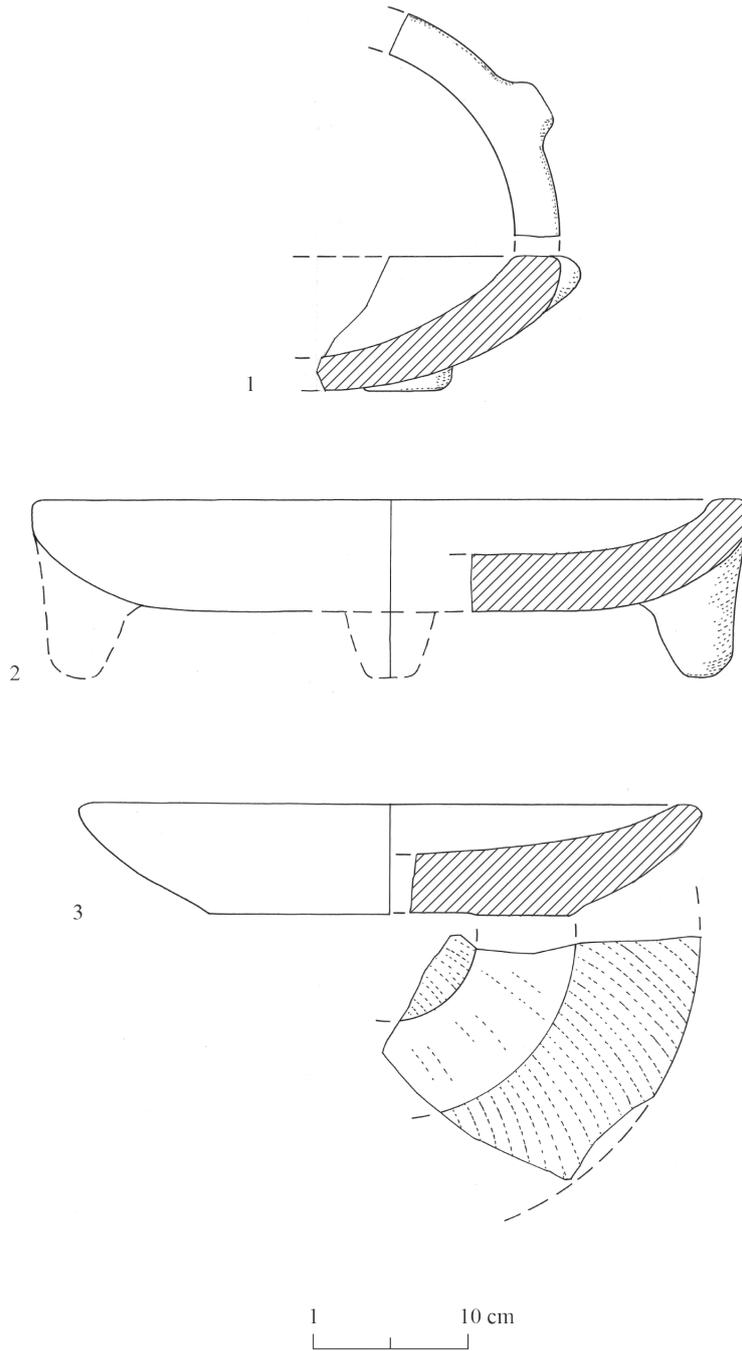
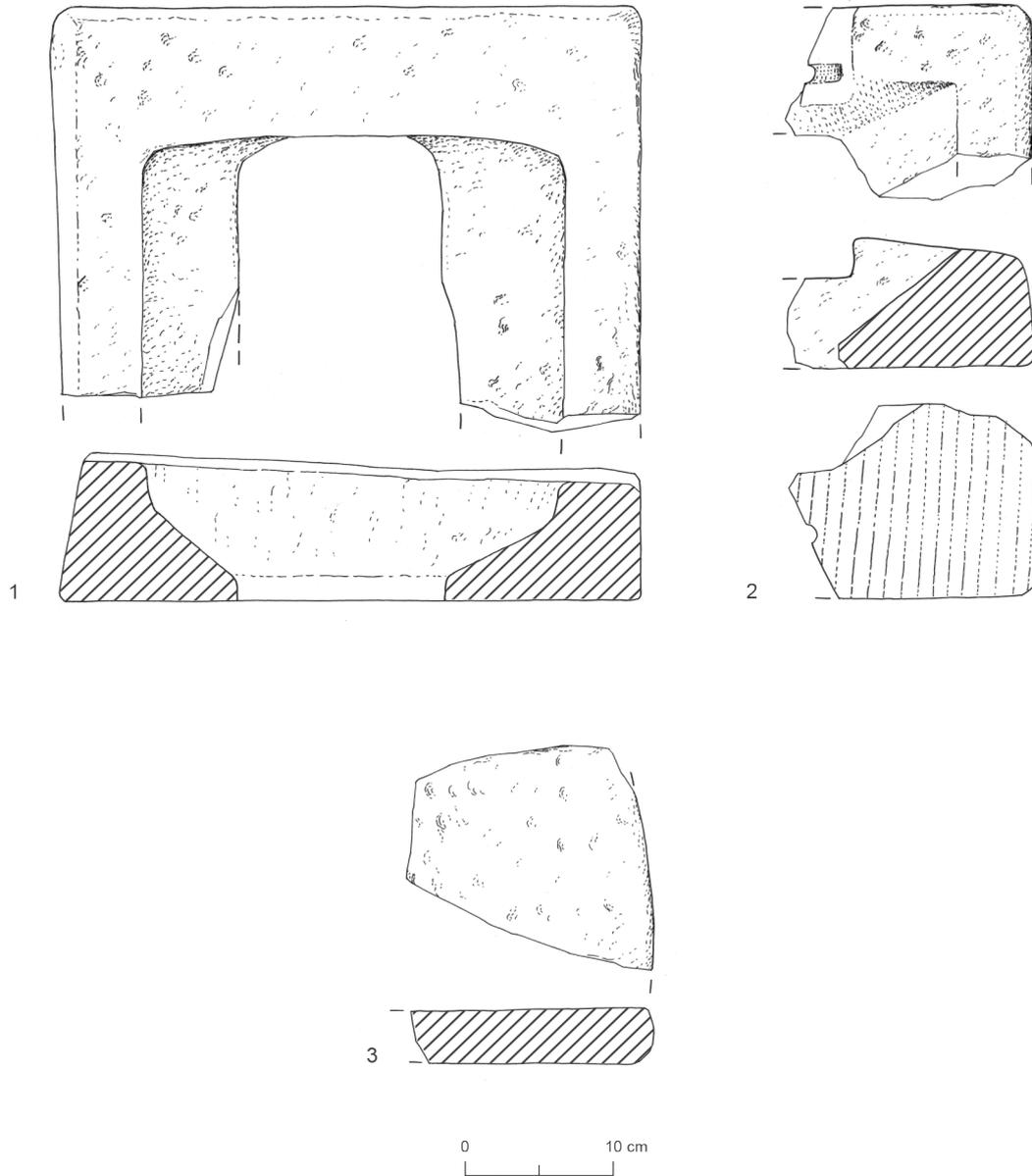


Fig. 20.1. Bowls (for details see inventory Table 1).



**Fig. 20.2.** Grinding stones (for details see inventory Table 1).

scars from pounding. Thus, it would be recognized morphologically as a pestle but it was utilized as a pounder. It seems to be an *ad hoc* tool.

Two of the pestles (Figs. 3:2, 3) are squat and would have been grasped with the fingers and an opposing thumb. All faces are smoothed but the working faces are polished from use.

**Cuboid** (N=1; Fig. 20.3:4)

This siliceous limestone cuboid displays irregular faces and rounded edges. Only one face is smoothed and flat — it would seem to have been the active face. It may have been used for polishing or smoothing, but it may have been a scale weight. If so, it would be a 1/4 mina weight with reference to Finkielsztein's (2010) criteria.

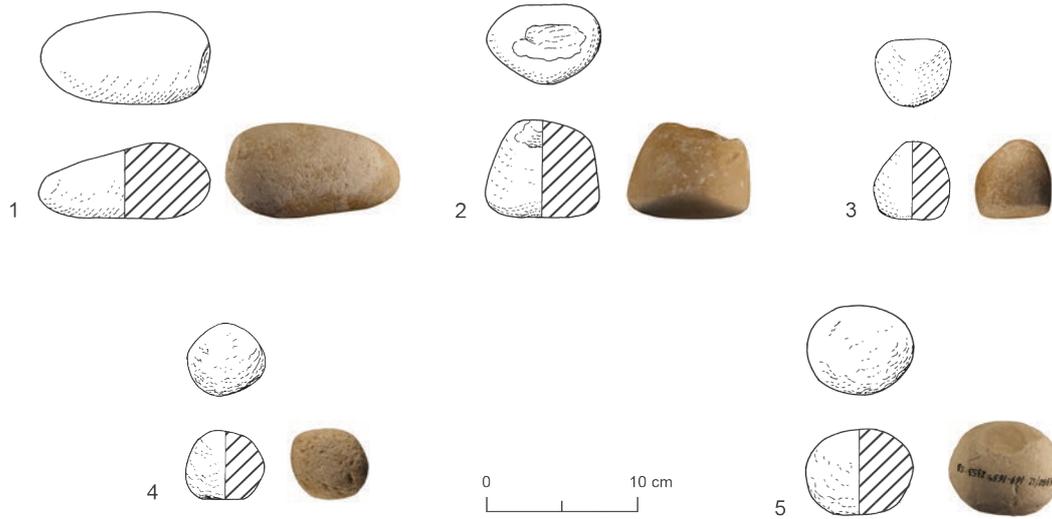


Fig. 20.3. Pestles, a cuboid and a hammerstone(?) (for details see inventory Table 1).

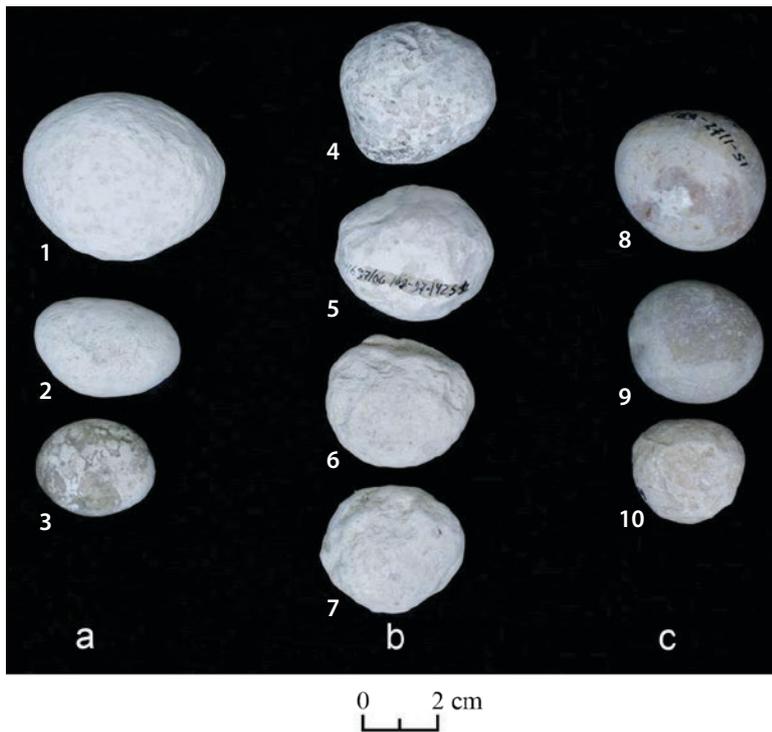


Fig. 20.4. Collected and curated pebbles (a) oval-almond shaped siliceous limestone pebbles; (b) spherical siliceous limestone pebbles; (c) spheroid chalk pebbles (for details see inventory Table 1).

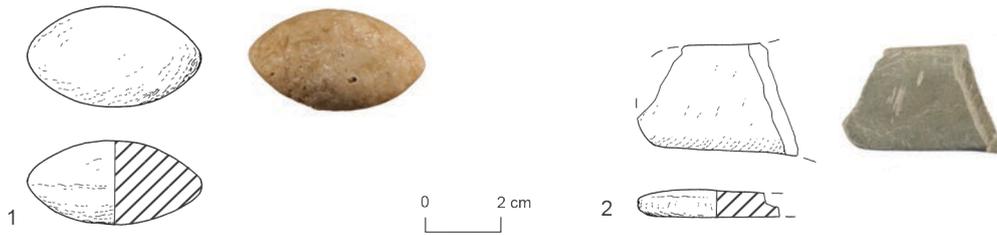
**Hammerstone** (N=1; Fig. 20.3:5)

This is a cobble of siliceous limestone with one flake scar and a number of small battering scars. The small number of scars would indicate that this, too, was an *ad hoc* tool.

**Pebbles** (N=13; Fig. 20.4)

These pebbles were collected, curated and utilized, rather than manufactured. Two groups manifest themselves. One of these is comprised of siliceous limestone pebbles with a high specific gravity (N=11). Three of these (Nos. 1–3) are more elongated and resemble the sling-bullet (below); they may have been intended as projectiles. Perhaps all the siliceous limestone pebbles were bullets. Equally they might have been weights or gaming pieces.

The other group consists of pebbles of lighter, spherical, chalk nodules. The other group (nos. 6–7). The chalk spheres show no signs of use. They may have been weights or tokens, intended for everyday transactions.



**Fig. 20.5.** A sling-bullet and a whetstone (for details see inventory Table 1).

**Sling-bullet** (N=1; Fig. 20.5:1)

The sling-bullet is made of siliceous limestone. Typical of such bullets, it is almond-shaped with tapered ends. This is apparently the optimal aerodynamic form for a projectile that is released from a sling (Korfmann 1973; Ferrill 1985; Grunfeld 1996; Rosenberg 2009). The sling (and, by inference, the sling-bullet) is known from the Hebrew Bible (Judges 20:16; I Samuel 17:34–36; II Kings 3:25) and was an integral part of warfare in the Classical periods (Korfmann 1973; Ferrill 1985; Grunfeld 1996). But it was also a hunting weapon, particularly for small game. Similar sling-bullets have been recovered from generally contemporaneous contexts at Akko, Mount Gerizim, the Tower of David in Jerusalem, Yavne Yam and Gezer (Tal 2006: 320–321, with bibliography).

**Whetstone** (N=1; Fig. 20.5:2)

This small object is made of quartz siltstone. It is broken at two ends. The other two edges are flat and polished. The dorsal and ventral sides are also flat and smoothed. I have interpreted it as a whetstone fragment, based on this flatness and the polish (Griswold 1892). Parallels have been found at Gezer (Hellenistic; Gilmour 2014: 128, Pl. 32:10), Burial Cave 900 in Nahal Refa'im (Middle Bronze Age II; Gershuny 2017: 57–58) and Cave 11 at Efrata (Intermediate Bronze Age; Gonen 2001:33).

**Scale Weights** (N=4?; Fig. 20.6)

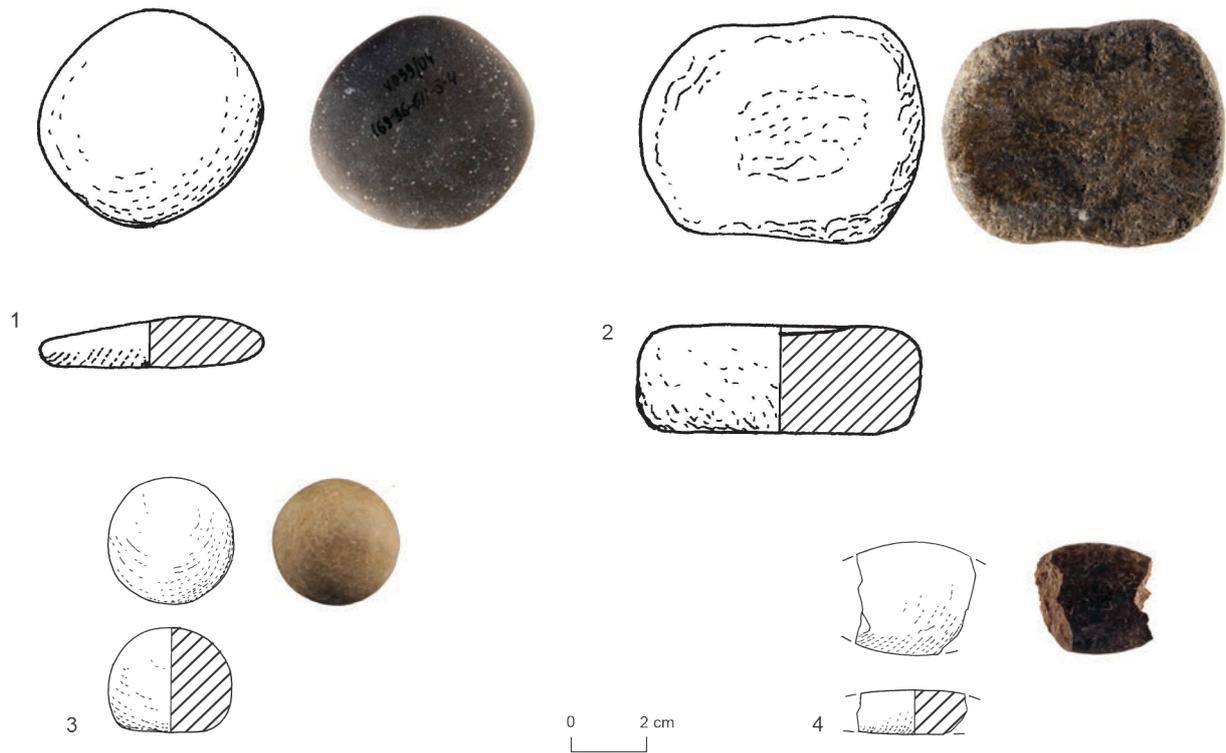
One of these (Fig. 20.6.3) is a domed weight with a flat base. This would fit very well in the Iron Age Judean corpus though the form itself is common in

the Phoenician and Egyptian corpora as well (Kletter 1998: 60–61). The type does not seem to have been used after the Iron Age (Kletter 1998: 42–43), which would suggest that it originated in the Iron Age levels of Maresha rather than its Hellenistic ones. It is not inscribed with a value sign. Its weight, 42.47gr., indicates that it is a four-sheqel weight (Kletter 1998: Figs. 10, 12, 14) though that is slightly below what Kletter would deem an acceptable deviation.

The second item (Fig. 20.6:2) is made of fine-grained basalt. It is rectangular in form, with the short ends rounded and the long sides slightly indented at the midpoint forming a waist. Both faces have depressions but one side has a deeper and broader one. It could be seen as a small mortar for crushing pigments, small quantities of vegetal matter, or for grinding down wooden dowels or such. However, signs of use are not intense and the depressions are gouged irregularly, suggesting that the intention was to arrive at a final form, rather than to use the tool in a consistent fashion. This is the form of metal weights in Hellenistic Greece (cf. Lang and Crosby 1964: 36); the rectilinear form is also known in the Phoenician-Greek polis of the eastern Mediterranean (e. g. Stern 2000: Fig. 176) and elsewhere at Hellenistic Maresha (Korzakova 2010).

A third possible weight (Fig. 20.6:1) is a flat disc of polished, fine-grained basalt or some other dark igneous stone. It would be a 1/8 mina weight with reference to Finkielstejn's (2010) criteria.

The fourth weight (Fig. 20.6:4) was a polished, almond-shaped stone (now broken at either end) of purplish color — probably porphyry. Its reconstructed weight would be approximately 22gr., perhaps two sheqels.



**Fig. 20.6.** Scale weights. (for details see inventory Table 1)

## CONCLUSIONS

Since most of the finds from SC169 derive from fills dumped into the subterranean spaces, they are not useful for reconstructing the spatial organization of food processing, industrial work, commerce or ritual activity (but see Fig. 20.7). We are also unable to investigate the nature of diachronic change since there is no stratigraphy. We are limited to conclusions based on presence/absence, quantification, signs of use and state of preservation. But we can put forward a few hypotheses.

The fact that all three Olynthus millstones were broken may suggest intentional breaking, perhaps an action symbolizing defeat and economic collapse. (cf. Deuteronomy 24:6: “Do not take a pair of millstones — not even the upper one — as security for a debt, because that would be taking a person’s livelihood as security.”)

The pestles suggest some small-scale grinding and polishing — but nothing industrial. Commerce is represented clearly by the weights; especially if some, or all, of the pebbles, and the cuboid, are weights too. Of course, the pebbles may also be either gaming or accounting tokens. The sling-bullet indicates the existence of either military or hunting apparatus.

Overall, we can say that there is little evidence here for large-scale industrial or commercial activity. It seems to be more of a domestic assemblage, in which multiple functions co-existed, such as food and raw material processing, blade sharpening, commercial exchange, and perhaps hunting and gaming. Given the large number of ritual objects found in the complex one should entertain the notion that the stone objects were somehow related, but there is nothing requiring this interpretation.

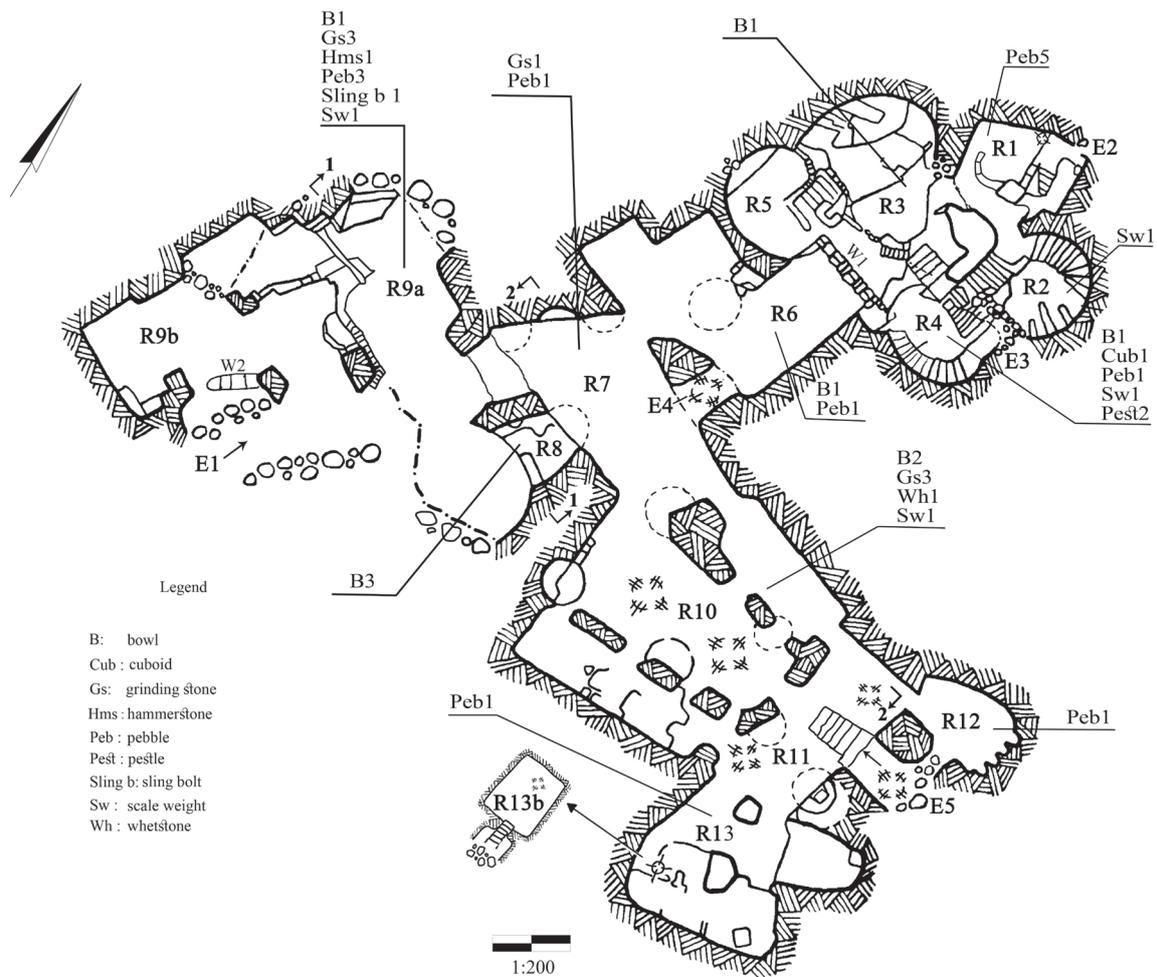


Fig. 20.7. Location of ground stone and natural stone artifacts in SC169 (for details see inventory Table 1).

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**Table 20.1.** An inventory of the ground stone and natural stone objects from Maresha Complex 169.

Type	Catalog No./Room	Dimensions (cm)	Description	Weight	Fig.
Tripod bowl	3941/03-169-36-696-S7 — Rm. 10	Diam. 32	Basalt, fragment, low leg, bar handle	n/a	20.1.1
Tripod bowl	3/00-169-03-68-S1 — Rm. 8	Diam. 46	Basalt, fragment, high leg	n/a	20.1.2
Bowl	4997/07-169-118-1636-S1 — Rm. 4	Diam. 46	Gabbro or diabase, fragment, flat base, oblique scoring on exterior	n/a	20.1.3
Tripod bowl	3/00-169-03-20-S6 — Rm. 8	Diam. 40	Basalt, fragment, vestigial bar handle, basalt	n/a	—
Tripod bowl	52/01-169-05-273-S1 — Rm. 6	Diam. 38	Basalt, fragment, medium leg	n/a	—
Tripod bowl	3/100-169-02-16-S5 — Rm. 9	Diam. 36	Basalt, fragment, medium leg	n/a	—
Tripod bowl	3941/03-169-36-696-S5 — Rm. 10	Diam. 36	Basalt, fragment, medium leg, bar handle	n/a	—
Bowl (tripod?)	3/00-169-03-20-S5 — Rm. 8	Diam. 36	Basalt, fragment, bar handle	n/a	—
Bowl (tripod?)	52/01-169-06-190-S1 — Rm. 3	Diam. 36	Basalt, small fragment,	n/a	—
Olynthus millstone	5808/10-169-145a-2109-S2 — Rm. 9	n/a	Basalt, fragment, one end	n/a	20.2.1
Olynthus millstone	5808/10-169-145a-2109-S1 — Rm. 9	n/a	Basalt, fragment, corner	n/a	20.2.2
Grinding slab-lower	3941/03-169-36-553-S2 — Rm. 10	n/a	Basalt, fragment, edge	n/a	20.2.3
Olynthus millstone	2/16-169-204-2868-S8 — Rm. 7	n/a	Basalt, fragment, corner	n/a	—
Grinding slab, lower	3941/03-169-36-553-S3 — Rm. 10	n/a	Basalt, fragment, edge	n/a	—

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Type	Catalog No./Room	Dimensions (cm)	Description	Weight	Fig.
Grinding slab-lower	7015/15-169-183-2632-S1 — Rm. 10	n/a	Basalt, fragment, small, edge	n/a	—
Grinding slab-lower	1/17-169-305-2885-S3 — Rm. 9	n/a	Basalt, fragment, small, middle portion	n/a	—
Pestle	4361/05-169-surf-S1 — Surface above SC169	L. 11.2 W. 5.1 Ht. 3.5	Siliceous limestone, intact	430.62	20.3.1
Pestle	37/15-169-197-2808-S1 — Rm. 4	L. 7 Ht. 5.5 W. 5	Siliceous limestone, almost intact, chipped	359.49	20.3.2
Pestle	37/15-169-197-2748-S6 — Rm. 4	L. 4.8 Ht. 4.9 W. 4.2	Siliceous limestone, intact	175.72	20.3.3
Cuboid	37/15-169-197-2731-S5 — Rm. 4	L. 4.2 Ht. 3.8 W. 4.3	Siliceous limestone, intact	146.13	20.3.4
Hammer-stone	6380/12-169-165a-2353-S3 — Rm. 9	L. 6 Ht. 4.5 W. 5.3	Siliceous limestone, intact	362.24	20.3.5
Pebble	4997/07-169-114-1566-S3 — Rm. 7	Diam. 5.5 Ht. 2.9	Siliceous limestone, intact	93.15	20.4.1
Pebble	6701/13-169-179-2460-S2 — Rm. 1	L. 4.2 Ht. 2.5 W. 2.8	Siliceous limestone, intact	46.12	20.4.2
Pebble	37/15-169-199-2746-S3 — Rm. 1	L. 3.2 Ht. 2.5 W. 2.9	Siliceous limestone, intact	28.95	20.4.3
Pebble	7015/14-169-189-2616-S1 — Rm.1	Diam. 4.3 Ht. 3.1	Siliceous limestone, intact	55.4	20.4.4
Pebble	4687/06-169-97-1425-S2 — Rm. 9	L. 4.3 Ht. 3.6 W. 3.3	Chalk, intact	32.27	20.4.5
Pebble	7015/14-169-185a-2694-S6 — Rm. 9	Diam. 3.1 Ht. 3.5	Siliceous limestone, intact	27.75	20.4.6
Pebble	5343/08-169-128-1971-S5 — Rm. 4	Diam. 3.5 Ht. 2.2	Siliceous limestone, intact	45.25	20.4.7
Pebble	7015/14-169-189-2711-S1 — Rm. 1	Diam. 4.2 Ht. 3.7	Siliceous limestone, intact	76.52	20.4.8
Pebble	5343/08-16-122-1750-S6 — Rm. 12	Diam. 4 Ht. 2.7	Siliceous limestone, intact	54.91	20.4.9
Pebble	7015/14-169-185a-2694-S6 — Rm. 9.	Diam. 3.7 Ht. 2.7	Chalk, intact	56.06	20.4.10
Pebble	4099/04-169-39-659-S1 — Rm. 13	Diam. 10 Ht. 1.5	Siliceous limestone, intact	106.38	—
Pebble	5574/09-169-136-2035-S6 — Rm. 6	L. 4.8 Ht. 2.4 W. 4.2	Siliceous limestone, intact	63.05	—
Pebble	7015/14-169-189-2643-S1 — Rm. 1	Diam. 2.3 W. 15.69	Siliceous limestone, intact	22.4?	—

## CHAPTER 20: THE GROUND STONE OBJECTS

Type	Catalog No./Room	Dimensions (cm)	Description	Weight	Fig.
Sling-bullet	4689/06-169-97-1362-S2 — Rm. 9	L. 5.1 Ht. 2.4 W. 2.7	Siliceous limestone, intact	31.64	20.5.1
Whetstone	4099/04-169-36-699-S1 — Rm. 10	Remaining L. 4 Ht. 0.4 W. 2.7	Quartz siltstone, 30% of original	11.45	20.5.2
Scale weight	4099/04-169-36-611-S4 — Rm. 10	Diam. 6 Ht. 1	Basalt, intact	69.06	20.6.1
Scale weight	5343/08-169-125a-1980-S3 — Rm. 9	L. 7.1 Ht. 2.9 W. 5.6 Indent depth 0.3	Basalt, intact	259.41	20.6.2
Scale weight	6701/13-169-177-2470-S6 — Rm. 4	Diam. 3.1 Ht. 2.6	Siliceous limestone, intact	42.47	20.6.3
Scale weight?	5574/05-169-139-2052-S2 — Rm. 2	Remaining L. 2.8 W. 3.1 Ht. 0.9	Porphyry, 70% of original	16.26	20.6.4

## CHAPTER 21

# LOOMWEIGHTS AND WHORLS

*Ian Stern and Orit Shamir*

### INTRODUCTION

In the course of the excavations at Maresha Subterranean Complex 169, 112 loomweights (Table 1) and 29 whorls (Table 2) were found. The chronological mixture of the finds ranges from the Iron Age II to the late second century BCE. Most of the specimens are dated to the Hellenistic period; some (29 whorls and 33 loomweights) are dated to the Persian period, and three are dated to the Iron Age.

Due to the simple method of manufacture and the relative friability of loomweights, specimens recovered in archaeological excavations usually represent a mere fraction of the original number at most sites (e. g. Shiqmona [Elgavish 1968: 33]; for a general discussion see Cural 1986; Hoffmann 1974: 314).

Loomweights, which served to keep the warp threads of a warp-weighted loom taut during weaving (Broudy 1979: 23–37; Gleba 2008: 127; Hoffmann 1974; Sheffer 1981; Shamir 1994b: 37–42), were usually made of fired or unfired clay, but sometimes from stone, in a variety of shapes. Evidence for the use of the warp-weighted loom appears as early as the Neolithic period (e. g. Çatal Huyuk [Barber 1991: 299–300]); in Israel the earliest evidence is from Middle Bronze

Age II. Loomweights went out of use in this region at the end of the first century CE, when the two-beam upright loom became popular (Shamir 1994a: 277; 1996: 148; Sheffer and Granger-Taylor 1994: 231). The loom continued to be used in Scandinavian countries and Iceland until the beginning of the twentieth century (Hoffmann 1974: 13) and is still in use in Norway, for tourist purposes.

The warp-weighted loom had several advantages that encouraged its use for thousands of years: Fabric could be woven to a width of over 2m; the space between the even threads and the uneven threads is very wide, allowing the weaver to pass or throw the shuttle; the length of the warp threads is unlimited, in contrast to the ground loom, in which the length of the loom determines the length of the warp.

On the other hand, the warp-weighted loom had several disadvantages that led to its eventual disappearance. The weaver had to weave while standing or walking back and forth. The weft threads had to be tied upward, against the force of gravity. Thus caused women weavers to raise their hands while weaving, exposing an armpit and thereby appearing immodest (Mishnah Nega'im 2b).

### METHODOLOGY

Our study of the loomweights from SC169 dealt only with those that had been sufficiently well preserved to permit examination. These were weighed and measured and are presented below with maximum heights and diameters, as well as minimum perforation diameters and two measurements of

conical perforations. The measurements were carried out with a digital caliper. The material is arranged according to typologically, divided into the Hellenistic period, Persian period, and the Iron Age.



Fig. 21.1. Truncated-pyramid loomweights.

### HELLENISTIC-PERIOD LOOMWEIGHTS

Seventy Hellenistic-period loomweights were discovered at Maresha divided into the following types (Table 1):

#### *Truncated-pyramid Loomweights* (Fig. 21:1)

Maresha yielded 62 Hellenistic-period truncated-pyramid loomweights. The four panels of the truncated pyramid are not always equal. The horizontal perforation is located in the upper third of the loomweight; the hole is not necessarily centered. The truncated-pyramid loomweights from Maresha vary in size, weight, and shape (with either a rectangular or square base) — indicating that they were not mass produced in molds as in some Hellenistic or Roman Mediterranean assemblages.

Forty-three truncated-pyramid loomweights were fired. Eighteen unfired truncated-pyramid loomweights were found. Their weights range from 86.87gr to 535.5gr, averaging 153.45gr. Only one chalk truncated-pyramid loomweight 154.8gr was found. The truncated-pyramid loomweight is the dominant type found at Maresha, comprising more than a half of the total for the Hellenistic period.

#### *Cylindrical Loomweight* (Fig. 21.2)

One unfired cylindrical loomweight with vertical perforation was found. It weighs 110gr.



Fig. 21.2. Cylindrical loomweight.



Fig. 21.3. Domed loomweights.

*Domed Loomweights* (Fig. 21:3)

Three unfired loomweights with a domed top and an elliptical base were found; the horizontal perforation is located in the upper third of the loomweight. Their weights are 53.7gr, 144.6gr and 190.2gr averaging 129.5gr.

*Discoid-shaped Loomweights* (Fig. 21:4)

Four discoid-shaped loomweights were found. They weigh 120.2gr and 201.3gr, for an average of 160.75gr. Three have two holes.



Fig. 21.4. Discoid-shaped loomweights.

*Material*

Twenty-three of the Hellenistic loomweights are made of an unfired local brownish clay; no attempt was made to sift out grits (see Shamir 1994a). Forty-six are fired.

*Perforation*

A loop was passed through the perforation, as an intermediary device between the warp threads and the loomweights (for discussion, see Shamir 1994a).

Sixty-four loomweights (truncated-pyramid and domed) have a horizontal perforation, the remainder — cylindrical and discoid-shaped — have a vertical a vertical perforation; three loomweights have two holes.

Perforation diameters range from 0.2–0.8cm with an average of 0.45cm.

For a study of the manufacture of the perforation see Shamir 1994a.

The Hellenistic loomweights weigh between 54.68gr and 535.5gr, for an average weight of 145.2gr.

## PERSIAN-PERIOD LOOMWEIGHTS

Thirty-five Persian-period loomweights were found at Maresha (Table 1); They were divided into the following types:

*Biconical Loomweight* (Fig. 21.5)

Maresha yielded 32 Persian ceramic biconical loomweights. Of these, 22 were unfired; weighing between 21.25gr and 94.85gr, with an average of 48.3gr. Another 10 were fired, weighing between 19.49gr and 60.19gr.



Fig. 21.5. Biconical loomweight.

*Doughnut-shaped Loomweight*

Two Persian-period doughnut-shaped unfired loomweights were found at Maresha. weigh 21.06gr and 34.09gr.

*Round Loomweight*

One Persian-period round, unfired loomweight was found at Maresha, weighing 20.8gr.

*Material*

Twenty-five of the Persian loomweights are made of an unfired clay; ten are fired.

*Perforation*

Three loomweights (of the round and doughnut-shaped types) have a horizontal perforation, the remainder have a vertical perforation; with a diameter of 0.2–0.7cm for an average of 0.44cm.

*Weight*

The unfired Persian-period loomweights weigh between 20.79gr and 94.85gr; the fired loomweights weigh between 19.49gr and 60.19gr.

## IRON AGE LOOMWEIGHTS

*Doughnut-Shaped Loomweights*

Two unfired doughnut-shaped loomweights were found, weighing 101gr and 106.93gr for an average weight of 102.96gr.

Table 1. Loomweights.

Reg. No.	Room	Height cm	Diameter cm	Weight gm	Perf. diam. cm	Shape	Notes	Period
4687/06-169-93-1472-S2	10	3.3	2.3,1.6	23.06	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5808/10-169-144-2201-S2	7	3.7	4.7	54.68	0.2	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
4687/06-269-94-1434-S1	7	5.3	3.5	69.81	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
2/16-169-207-2840-S1	4	4.8	3.5,2.0	77.39	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-184-2691-S1	7	5.7	3.5	86.87	0.2	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-66-997-S1	11	5.7	3.5	88.22	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Reg. No.	Room	Height cm	Diameter cm	Weight gm	Perf. diam. cm	Shape	Notes	Period
5808/10-169-144-2201-S3	7	6	3.9	99.01	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-125b-1773-S2	9	2.5	3	19.49	0.5	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
6380/12-169-163-2394-S4	10	5.2	4.3	99.23	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-42-984-S2	7	2.6	4.5	53.67	0.5	Dome	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-93-1421-S3	10	1.7	2.4	20.79	0.5	Round	Unfired clay	Persian
7015/14-169-184-2654-S1	7	2.3	2.9	21.06	0.4	Doughnut	Unfired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-42-907-S3	7	6.4	3.7	101.25	0.7	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1137-S8	10	6.5	3.3	106.61	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-185a-2580-S1	9	2.1	3.2	21.25	0.4	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
5343/08-169-124-1967-S2	7	6.5	4.2	107.72	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4997/07-115-1600-S10	9	2.4	3.1	21.46	0.7	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
4997/07-169-113-1647-S2	10	6.8	3.7	109.28	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
2/16-205a-2818-S3	9	7.1	3.1	110	0.4	Cylindrical	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
5574/09-169-134-2060-S2	7	6.4	4	114.78	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-66-1004-S1	11	7.4	4.4	126.68	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
3567/02-169-22-402-S2	10	2.5	3	23.35	0.3	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
5343/08-169-125a-1825-S5	9	6.3	4.2	127.29	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6380/12-167-2419-S2	4	5.5	4.4,2.5	129.54	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4997/07-115b-1694-S1	9	6.4	4.2	130.84	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1137-S7	10	6.2	4.5	132.35	0.7	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1007-S1	10	7.4	3.6	134.57	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
2/16-169-207-2855-S11	4	7.2	4.1	134.93	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
3941/03-169-36-546-S1	10	6.2	4.2	135	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5808/10-169-144-2201-S4	7	3.4	4.5	86.65	0.5	Doughnut	Unfired clay	Iron Age
6701/13-169-173-2545-S2	10	7.3	4.3	136.23	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-93-1456-S1	10	7	4.3	139.37	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-183-2645-S1	10	6.8	3.9	140	?	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5808/10-169-145a-2135-S3	9	2.8	3	24.57	0.3	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6092/11-155b-2327-S3	9	3.2	2.4	25.04	0.5	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-67-1091-S3	10	6.5	4.4	140.55	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5574/09-169-135a-2093-S1	9	6	3.9	144.64	0.5	Dome	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-69-1081-S4	6	2.3	7.3	144.72	0.6	Discoïd	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-97-1386-S1	9	2.5	3.2	25.27	0.3	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6092/11-169-155b-2327-S5	9	2.8	3.5	28.28	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6092/11-155b-2327-S4	9	2.4	3.3	29.62	0.5	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
7015/14-169-183-2692-S2	10	6.9	4.2	145.79	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
37/15-169-193-2732-S3	10	7	3.3	146	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-115b-1766-S1	9	2.7	3.2	29.9	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6701/13-169-173-2487-S1	10	2.3	3.6	30.02	0.2	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian

## CHAPTER 21: LOOMWEIGHTS AND WHORLS

Reg. No.	Room	Height cm	Diameter cm	Weight gm	Perf. diam. cm	Shape	Notes	Period
4687/06-169-97-1396-S2	9	3	3.1	30.32		Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
6380/12-169-165b-2410-S2	9	3.3	3.6	30.93	0.4	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-42-984-S3	7	3.4	3.8	37.32	0.4	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-39-985-S5	13	3.1	3.6	38.34	0.4	Biconical, the two cones are not equal	Unfired clay	Persian
6380/12-169-167-2345-S6	4	7.5	4.5	147.52	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6380/12-169-165b-2410-S1	9	2.7	3.5	41.89	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
7015/14-169-187-2638-S1	4	6.7	4.7	147.83	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-125a-1822-S4	9	3.3	4	42.05	0.4	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
5808/10-169-145a-2210-S1	9	4.2	4.8	106.93	0.5	Doughnut	Unfired clay	Iron Age
4997/07-169-115a-1717-S1	9	2.5	3.9	43.24	0.3	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-68-1164-S1	7	3	4.4	44.07	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6092/11-169-155a-2327-S6	9	3.3	3.1	34.29	0.5	Doughnut	Unfired clay	Persian?
6701/13-169-174-2541-S2	7	3	4	44.67	0.6	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
4997/07-169-115a-1627-S2	9	2.8	4.2	44.96	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4687/06-169-92-1509-S1	12	3.7	4.3	45.49	0.4	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4997/07-169-115b-1731-S4	9	3.2	4	48.07	0.3	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4099/04-169-36-635-S2	10	6.9	4.5	149.08	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-65-1081-S3	13	6.2	5	149.87	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1161-S1	10	2.8	4.7	48.22	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6701/13-169-173-2501-S2	10	7	3.9	150.39	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1272-S2	10	6.6	4.4	151.04	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6701/13-169-173-2458-S3	10	8	4.3	151.83	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
3941/03-169-37-571-S1	10	7.5	4.1	151.88	0.7	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-50-964-S1	10	7.1	4.7	152.29	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6701/13-169-173-2486-S1	10	6.4	4.9	153.03	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6092/11-169-151-2312-S1	11	7	4.3,1.7	154.13	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1084-S4	10	7.1	4.8	154.31	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-121-1816-S1	11	6.8	4.2	154.81	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Chalk	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-93-1505-S1	10	7.1	4.5	155.02	0.7	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4099/04-169-50-784-S2	10	7.1	4.3	156	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
A-4687/06-169-93-1534-S1	10	7.1	4.4	157.09	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-183-2616-S3	10	7.1	4.2	157.47	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
2/16-169-203-2863-S1	10	3.9	4.2	159.03	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-68-1006-S1	7	3.3	4.1	51.64	0.7	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
5343/08-129-1869-S5	2	7.5	3.9	159.34	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-183-2707-S6	10	4.1	4	52.69	0.6	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-68-1076-S5	7	2.4	7.3	161.94	0.4, 0.5	Discoid	Fired clay	Hellenistic

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Reg. No.	Room	Height cm	Diameter cm	Weight gm	Perf. diam. cm	Shape	Notes	Period
4361/05-169-67-1071-S2	10	6.9	4.5	163.6	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4099/04-169-36-611-S1	10	7.1	4.6	164	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
37/15-169-197-2726-S8	4	6.7	5	164.83	0.3	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-67-1056-S6	10	6.9	4.5	170	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
4997/07-169-115-1568-S1	9	4.8	5.3	190.19	0.5	Dome	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
5574/09-169-134-2012-S1	7	7	4.4	190.56	0.8	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-124-1855-S4	7	6.4	6.2,1.5	195.22	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-173-2547-S4	10	3.7	4.2	57.57	0.6	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4361/05-169-68-1097-S1	7	3.1	8.4	201.26	0.5	Discoid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-68-1292-S1	7	3.4	4.5	60.19	0.4	Biconical	Fired clay	Persian
4099/04-169-47-853-S1	2	7.6	4.6	203.38	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-124-1946-S4	7	4	4.8	71.41	0.3	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4687/06-169-94-1413-S1	7	7.1	4.7	206.26	0.7	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
6380/12-169-167-2391-S2	4	6.9	5.2	212.64	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
2/16-169-205a-2851-S1	9	8.8	5.5,2.5	252.77	0.2	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-42-984-S1	7		4.4	82.49	0.3	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
5343/08-169-124-1953-S1	7	7.9	5.2	259.33	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
5808/10-169-148-2268-S1	4	9.7	4.2	267.42	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
3/00-169-09-141-S4	10	9.6	3.8	274.06	0.6	Truncated-pyramid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-124-1967-S3	7	6.9	7.1,4.9	535.54	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
5343/08-124-1946-S1	7	6.9	4.3	136.96	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6701/13-169-173-2523-S1	10	4.2	4.8	89.81	0.5	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
4997/07-169-112-1621-S1	12	1.6	6.9	120.22	0.5	Discoid	Fired clay, two holes	Hellenistic
4997/07-169-115b-1666-S3	9	3.4	3.7	94.85	0.6	Biconical	Unfired clay	Persian
6380/12-169-163-2449-S1	10	7.2	4.1	135.78	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay	Hellenistic
6701/13-177-2512-S3	4	3.3	2.1	17.72	0.2	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay, too small to be a loomweight	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-68-1260-S2	7	3.2	2.5,1.5	24.23	0.5	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay, too small to be a loomweight	Hellenistic
6092/11-169-154-2313-S1	7	3.6	1.6,2.5	31.96	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay, too small to be a loomweight	Hellenistic
6092/11-169-154-2313-S2	7	4.8	1.6, 2.1	35.08	0.4	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay, too small to be a loomweight	Hellenistic
6092/11-169-154-2272-S2	7	3.8	2.9	40.9	0.2	Truncated-pyramid	Fired clay, too small to be a loomweight	Hellenistic



Fig. 21.6. Whorls.

### WHORLS (FIG. 21.6)

Whorls, indicative of spinning activities, were found in all areas of Maresha. However, compared to the large number of loomweights, only a relatively few whorls were found. Apparently many wooden whorls were used at the site but were not preserved. Wooden whorls have been found at many sites in dry areas (e. g. Masada (Shamir 1994a) and Mo'a (Shamir 2006: 109–110).

The dominant types of whorls used at Maresha during the Hellenistic period are the discoid-shaped chalk whorl. Domed basalt whorls are absent at SC169 compared to other areas at Maresha (Shamir forthcoming). No reused ceramic whorls, typical of the Iron Age and common during the Persian period in other sites, were found.

In most of the whorls the perforation is centered, ensuring the even distribution of the mass around the axis and providing optimal spinning efficiency (Nodet 1980: 316; Smith and Hirth 1988).

Twenty-nine whorls were discovered at Maresha SC169 (Table 2). Twenty are dated to the Hellenistic period. The others can be Iron Age or Persian period. Nineteen are made of chalk, two are of unfired clay and eight are of limestone. They are divided into the following types (Table 2):

#### *Discoid-Shaped Whorls*

Nine discoid-shaped whorls, seven made of chalk and two of unfired clay and weighing 5.57–32.17gr.

#### *Domed Whorls*

Nine domed whorls were found at Maresha, eight of stone and one of chalk, weighing from 4.77gr to 24.18gr.

#### *Ring Whorls*

Seven chalk ring whorls were found, weighing from 6.03–7.64gr.

Four whorls are not identifiable.

#### *Varia*

Five truncated-pyramid weights that appear to be too small to be loomweights. Their weight is very low 17.7, 24.2, 40.9, 31.9 and 35.1gr. and they are also very small. They may be connected to ritual, possibly miniature votive gifts (Ferrara and Meo 2017: 124; Landenius Enegren 2014: 141, 143; 2017: 109).

They have not been found at other complexes in Maresha.

## EXCAVATIONS AT MARESHA

Table 2. Whorls

Reg. No.	Room	Height cm	Diameter cm	Weight gr	Perf. Diam. Cm	Shape	Notes	Period
4687/06-169-69-1329-S7	6	1.2	2.6	7.37	0.5	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-97-1412-S3	9	1.7	1.9	6.08	0.6	?	Chalk	Hellenistic
4687/06-169-96-1430-S2	6	1	2.4	11.14	0.6	Dome	Stone	?
4687/06-169-91-1465-S3	11	0.9	3.5	5.57	1.2	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
4997/07-169-115b-1709-S3	9	2.4	17.4	Fragment	1.8	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-125b-1773-S3	9	1.7	2.8	14.03	0.2	Discoid	Unfired clay	?
5343/08-169-125b-1784-S2	9	1	2.1	9.75	0.5	Dome	Stone	?
5343/08-169-125a-1860-S6	9	1.9	9	Fragment	0.4,0.3,0.3	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
5343/08-169-124-1932-S5	7	2.6	6.3	Fragment	1.2	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
52/01-169-09-200-S5	10	2.1	2.9	16.52	0.6	Dome	Stone	?
5574/09-169-134-2077-S3	7	2.9	5.5	62.07	1.7	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
5574/09-169-135a-2091-S2	9	2.8		Fragment	1.6	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
5808/10-169-150-2113-S5	1	?	1.7	4.77	0.5	Dome	Stone	?
5809/10-169-145a-2135-S4	9	1.6	2.9	23.68	0.5	Dome	Stone	?
5808/10-169-150-2234-S3	1	1.5		Fragment	0.7	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
6092/11-169-155a-2289-S1	9	0.6	2.6	6.03	0.5	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
6092/11-169-155a-2344-S1	9	2.1	2.6	6.34	1	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
6701/13-169-175a-2552-S3	9	0.8	4.5	Fragment	0.2	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-185b-2575-S2	9	2.5	3.6	32.17	0.6	Discoid	Unfired clay	Hellenistic
7015/14-169-184-2640-S7	7	1.1	2	7.82	0.5	Dome	Stone	?
7015/14-169-185a-2648-S1	9	1.2	2	8.9	0.6	Dome	Stone	?
37/15-169-199-2739-S1	1	2.1	2.4	12.35	0.6	Dome	Stone	?
52/01-169-06-324-S6	3	1.7	2.6	7.64	0.7, 0.3	Ring	Chalk	Hellenistic
3941/03-169-36-598-S8	10	1.2	5.2	20	0.9	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
4099/04-169-31-693-S1	12	1.5	5.3	Fragment	1.1	?	Chalk	Hellenistic
4099/04-169-51-871-S2	11	1.4	7.5	Fragment	1	Discoid	Chalk	Hellenistic
4099/04-169-44-876-S8	3	2.1	5.4	Fragment	1	?	Chalk	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-50-939-S4	10	3.5		Fragment	1	?	Chalk	Hellenistic
4361/05-169-42-941-S2	7	2.1	3.7	24.18	0.5	Dome	Chalk	Hellenistic

## DATING OF LOOMWEIGHTS

Most of the loomweights found in Israel (whether from the Hellenistic or Persian periods or from the Iron Age) were discovered in the Shephelah and the Bet She'an region (Browning 2001). The dominant type of Hellenistic-period loomweight found at Maresha is truncated-pyramid; in the Persian period the dominant type is biconical.

Truncated-pyramid loomweights, usually fired, were in common use throughout the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods in most Mediterranean countries as well as in Israel (Reisner et al. 1924: 343 and see a list of the sites in Gleba 2008: 131; Shamir 1994a). Apparently the truncated-pyramid type first occurred in Israel in the Persian period (e. g. Khirbet Nimra [Shamir 1997]). The weight of the truncated-pyramid loomweights from the site of Maresha range from 64gr to 479gr, for an average weight of  $240.8 \pm 113.7$ gr (Shamir, forthcoming), similar to other sites of this period (Shamir 1994a: 1996).

The doughnut-shaped loomweight, usually unfired, is characteristic of the Iron Age, and is found at many sites dating to this period (Sheffer 1981; Browning 2001 and Shamir 1994b; 1996). They are heavier in the Iron Age (200–500gr) compared to the lighter weight doughnut-shaped loomweights (20–50gr) from the Persian period (e. g. Khirbet Nimra, Horbat Rogem, Horbat Mesura and Nahal Ha-Ro'a in the Negev [Cohen 1986; Shamir 1997; 2004]). Doughnut-shaped loomweights represent a very small percentage of the entire loomweight corpus of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Israel (only five have been found at Masada so far [Shamir 1994a]).

Light (20–50gr) biconical loomweights are typical of the Persian period (see list in Shamir and 'Ad 2014: 37; Cimadevilla 2012: 559).

Cylindrical loomweights are rare in the Hellenistic period. They are found in Iron Age sites such as Qasile (Shamir 1994b) and Keisan (Nodet 1980). They are more common in Italy (Gleba 2008: 130).

Domed Persian-period loomweights were found at Masada (Shamir 1994a) and at Khirbet Nimra (Shamir 1997). Most are unfired and weigh ca. 100gr.

Only a few discoid-shaped Hellenistic-period loomweights were found at Akko (Shamir 2016); they were also found at Salmine in Cyprus (Chavane 1975); Italy (Gleba 2008: 132). Some have two holes.

The thickness of a loomweight determines the nature of the fabric produced (Mårtensson et al. 2009). A comparison of warp threads from truncated-pyramid and discoid loomweights through weaving experiments shows a different disposition of the warp threads and, therefore, the production of fabrics of different qualities. The truncated-pyramid loomweights have a tendency to create an overhand, “fan effect,” while the discoid loomweights allow the thread to fall vertically due to the possibility of placing their faces side by side (Andersson Strand, Olofsson and Nosch 2015: 100; Meo 2015: 244). It is therefore evident that discoid loomweights guarantee a denser warp and the production of fabrics of better quality or at least a higher thread count than truncated-pyramid loomweights.

## FIRING

In contrast to the Hellenistic-period loomweights found at Maresha, most of which are unfired, most of the loomweights at other sites in the Mediterranean (including Israel) are fired (for example at two production centers of loomweights at Corinth [Davidson 1952]). It is possible that the weavers of Maresha produced their own loomweights. Some loomweights abroad bear impressions (Davidson

1952), which are rare in Israel. Loomweights with two perforations, like those found at Maresha, are very rare in Israel (e. g. Shikmona [Elgavish 1968] and Acco [Shamir, 2016]), but are very common in Greece, Cyprus and Asia Minor (e. g. Corinth [Davidson 1952]; Salmine [Chavane 1975] and Lindos [Blinkenberg 1931]).

## WEIGHT

The weight determines how many threads can be attached to a loomweight while the thickness establishes their density (Andersson Strand E. 2012; Ferrara and Meo 2017: 120). The loomweights of

Maresha are heavier in comparison to other sites of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. At Masada the average is c. 160gr; at Dor the average is c. 100gr and at Acco the average is 130gr (Shamir 2016: 91–92).

## CONCLUSIONS

The connection between textile production and sanctuaries, while remote, may be relevant as many of the finds in SC169 are cultic in nature and the cave complex is near a temple. Small loomweights can be identified as miniature votives (Landenius Enegren 2014: 141, 143). Another possibility is that they could be attributed to sanctuary production (Gleba 2008: 178; Meyers 2013: 248–249). The discovery of large numbers of loomweights at sacred sites can be attributed to sacred weaving for a diety or festival as well as possibly for garments of priests or priestesses. This activity of weaving garments for dieties is mentioned by Pausanias vis a vis the production of cloth elsewhere in Greece. Evidence of such sanctuary weaving of the peplos for Athena took place at the Acropolis in Athens (Sofroniew 2011: 3–4). Another example is in the sanctuary of Hera near the

Sela river where weaving was performed (Ferrara and Meo 2017).

The use of loomweights as votives is also clear. Franca Ferrandini Troisi points out that we have literary evidence describing the dedication by women of household objects including wool combs, shuttles, baskets and thread alongside spindle whorls and “loomweights” suggesting that the choice of loom weights as offerings is more a statement about the women themselves than their connection to a particular deity (Sofroniew 2011: 16). In other words, loomweights may symbolize a feminine parallel to male votives of soldiers, craftsmen and/or their tools of trade. Similar motifs are evident in some of the Maresha figurines like the kouroutrophos depicting a mother carrying a child (see Chapter 13).

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## SUMMARY

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The finds presented in this study of Subterranean Complex 169 at Maresha reflect a diverse, well-to-do, multicultural society. Ceramic parallels are primarily from coastal Hellenistic-period pagan sites such as Dor, Ashdod and Tel Michal, as well as from inland sites such as Tel Anafa, Samaria and Kedesh. Phoenician and Egyptian influences are prevalent. While the local pottery (Chapter 2) contained few surprises for the first time we are able to quantify the breakdown of earlier material that was discovered within all of the primarily Hellenistic fill. The pottery tables statistically show a lack of chronological stratigraphy in SC169. This thesis of no stratigraphy within the subterranean complexes of Maresha, with the exception of SC75, has been accepted in all of the published material to date. These tables reinforce the assertion that the earlier period material is spread randomly in all levels of the predominantly Hellenistic-period fill. They also support the accepted fact of Iron Age II and Persian-period settlement in the lower city of Maresha. While these two tables only relate to the pottery the same principle is applicable to other “residual period” find such as lamps, ostraca, figurines, loom weights, altars, and amulets. The chapter on the imported pottery (Chapter 3) is the most comprehensive of its kind to date from Maresha, revealing the varied and distant commercial connections that existed with this city. While located on the periphery of the Hellenistic world, the inhabitants of Maresha imported a wide range of expensive vessels from all around the Mediterranean. These include an extensive array of vessels from Athens, Italy, the Aegean, Asia Minor and Egypt. It is possible that these imported vessels were used on festive occasions or possibly in ritual contexts such as symposia.

Possibly the most striking feature of the excavation is the many ritual items discovered that can be connected to cultic activity. Several chapters are dedicated specifically to these diverse cultic finds. These include chapters on altars (Chapter 4), chalk phalli (Chapter 5), votive plaques (Chapter 6), amulets (Chapter 7), seals and sealings (Chapter 8), game boards (Chapter 9) and figurines (Chapter 13) as well as Aramaic divination ostraca (Chapter 12). Other chapters do not focus specifically on cultic material but still contain elements that can be considered ritual. The chapter on lamps (Chapter 10) focuses on the discovery of an unprecedented number of aniconic kernos lamps. They appear to have been utilized in a ritualistic context and should be considered an ethnic indicator of the Idumeans. In addition, for the first time, we include an analysis of a large corpus of faunal remains (Chapter 11), ground stones (Chapter 20), glass (Chapter 14), faience (Chapter 15), loom weights (Chapter 21), and jewelry (Chapter 19). The chapter on faunal material provides insights into culinary proclivities, with some ground breaking discoveries including the earliest historical evidence in the Western world of chicken raising for economic purposes. This chapter also relates to the disproportionately large number and percentage of astragals (knucklebones) that can be associated with gaming as well as divination exercises. The chapters on Greek inscriptions (Chapter 16), stamped amphora handles (Chapter 17), and numismatic finds (Chapter 18), are valuable additions to an already rich corpus of such finds from Maresha. Some of the Greek inscriptions contain names and dates, adding to our knowledge of the ethnic makeup of Maresha as well as providing us with the earliest Seleucid date recorded there. A few of

the Greek inscriptions can also be tentatively associated with ritual activity.

The overall finds reveal signs of syncretism. In some cases koine influences are exhibited, but distinctly Idumean/Mareshan characteristics are also evident. This is clear not only in the ceramic corpus but also regarding the glass, faience, figurines, altars and jewelry. While the local ceramic material from the Iron Age II resembles typical Judean types with very little coastal influence, the limited finds from the Persian period (mostly the late Persian period) include coastal vessels, suggesting an early Phoenician influence. The almost total absence of Hellenistic-period pottery from Judea, such as Judean cooking pots and pinched Hasmonean oil lamps, is telling. The fact that extensive trade relations existed with areas much farther afield suggests an intentional lack of exchange and even deliberate isolation from Judea at this time.

While the majority of the ceramic assemblage is locally produced, there is also a considerable amount of imported finds. The imported material was initially dominated, in the third century BCE, by Attic Ware. By the late third to second centuries BCE, however, there was a shift toward imports from Asia Minor, the Aegean and the Levant. The second century also saw a large variety of mold-made drinking bowls become the dominant drinking vessel, both imported as well as from local/regional sources. By the second half of the second century BCE Ptolemaic Black Ware and Ptolemaic Red Ware along with Italian Campana A and Eastern Sigillata A began to make inroads that dovetailed with a reduction at that same time of Attic imports.

Almost all the faience, glass and jewelry are dated to the third to second centuries BCE and foreign symbols and influences are clearly evident. The large number of faience vessels is evidence of strong trade relations with Egypt, the dominant production center of faience at that time. The discovery of a faience amulet of the Egyptian deity Shu, as well as a faience pendant of Isis suckling the baby Horus on a throne, reinforces this notion. Phoenician/Sidonian influences are evident in SC169 as well. Glass-head pendants as well as “eye” beads discovered there are associated with both Phoenician production and cult.

Both of these items are understood to have had magical protective powers.

The chronology of the 239 stamped amphora handles discovered in SC169 conforms to the general findings of such stamps in the region. It has been shown that a large percentage (62%) of our datable stamped amphora handles are from the latter part of the third century BCE, with 33% from the first half of the second century BCE and only 5% from the second half of the second century BCE. The large number of third-century BCE handles of this type corresponds well with the numismatic evidence, which reveals a large percentage of Ptolemaic coins. While there is nothing to suggest cultic activity in this material, its third-century BCE chronology conforms closely to the time period assigned to the nearby Temple in Area 800, dated by Graicer, based upon the architectural parallels (2012:183, 375–376), to the Ptolemaic period. The proximity of SC169 to this temple is central to our understanding of most of the finds in this volume.

One of the most distinctive features of the finds in SC169 is the cultic material. The 81 small incense altars reflect a combination of Phoenician, Greek, South Arabian, Egyptian and Babylonian influences. While their small size suggests domestic use, the concentration of so many in one complex, and with only a few showing evidence of burning, points to *ex voto* usage. Altar No. 60, bearing the inscription “Theodorus (dedicated) to Artemis (in payment of) a vow,” reinforces this idea.

Within the same complex, 17 chalk phalli were found, 5 pilax (votive plaques), and remains of approximately 384 figurines. Of the 780 intact lamps, 50% were kernos lamps that have been associated with cultic rituals. Such lamps have been uncovered in the Eleusinion in Athens and in the temple of Athena in Corinth (Broneer 1930: 34, Fig. 1; see Ambar-Armon, Klöner and Stern 2010: 134). These kernos lamps are a classic example of syncretism of Hellenistic culture with the local Idumean population.

Five game boards and *pesoi* (glass playing pieces) were discovered, suggesting that certain yet-to-be-determined games were played nearby. Many games in that period were associated with divination. Three hundred and sixty-one astragals (knucklebones

used as dice) were found, of which 63 were modified, 11 inscribed (including one with the name of the goddess of victory, Nike) and 2 of glass. Astragals were known to be associated with divination exercises in this period as evidenced in the writings of Pausanias (*Description of Greece* 7.25.10) who wrote:

When one descends from Bura towards the sea, there is the Buraikos river and a not large image of Herakles in a grotto; he too is called Buraikos, and he offers an oracle from a list and from astragaloi.

Whoever intends to consult the divinity, prays in front of the image, and after the prayer, he takes up four astragaloi (plenty of them are lying around Herakles) and rolls them on the table. For any combination of the astragaloi, the inscription in the list gives an easily accessible explanation of the combination.

The finds that tie all these cultic elements together are the many Aramaic divination ostraca. While many have still not been deciphered, it has been determined at this time that 127 of the 360 Aramaic ostraca can be connected to divination.

One can also consider a loose cultic association with some of the other finds as well. For example, 7 of the 90 Greek inscriptions contain the Idumean theophoric, “Kos” while 2 mention “holy property.” It is possible to speculate that some of the loomweights were ex voto offerings and theoretically may also have been votives or, based upon their context, even part of an industry of sacred weaving connected to the nearby sanctuary. The large quantity of imported vessels unearthed in SC169, potentially for cultic usage or symposia, should also be considered in this light.

There is of course the strong possibility that many of the finds were simply used in a domestic context in the surface dwellings above. This explanation could apply to the ground stones, loomweights, game boards, Greek ostraca and some of the Aramaic ones,

and many of the altars, as well as to both the local and imported pottery. While one can make a case for non-cultic usages for each of the items described above, the discovery of so many different finds associated with cultic usage in one subterranean complex cannot be explained away as mere coincidence.

Although the use of SC169 as an actual subterranean cultic area cannot be totally dismissed, there is little evidence for this. One such piece of evidence is the cultic niches, one in Room 2 and the other in Room 12, which may have functioned as an aedicula. Ritual activity connected to mystery and divination cults often took place in underground settings as demonstrated in the quote from Pausanias above.

However, I believe that this very large quantity of cultic material can be better understood by noting the close proximity of SC169 to both Area 800, identified as a temple as well as to SC57. It was in SC57 that the Heliodorus inscription, a large stele believed to have been associated with a temple, was discovered. It is very plausible that the cultic finds discovered in SC169, like the famous stele in SC57, originated either in the nearby temple and/or in a surface dwelling(s) associated with this shrine.

In conclusion, it is my hope that this manuscript will have served as an introduction to many facets of life in Hellenistic-period Maresha that have not, to date, been addressed. A number of important volumes have already been published illuminating this important Hellenistic-period city. I believe that this report will enlarge the scope of understanding of Maresha and become part of a platform upon which future scholars will be able to elaborate. The contributors to this publication understand that many more years will be needed to completely unravel the vast amounts of material discovered here.

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