

Attic Black and Red-Figure Pottery in the Southern Levant

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Abstract

Attic black and red-figure pottery from excavations in Israel and the Palestinian Territories can provide valuable insight into the processes of trade and cultural interaction in Canaan during the period of Achaemenid rule (539–332 BCE). The metric of “incorporability”, or the facility with which an object can be incorporated into a cultural framework, is here proposed as a lens for understanding these trade dynamics. To interpret this material, which is highly fragmentary, a wide-ranging study of both published and unpublished material is conducted. A survey of the shapes and find contexts of black and red-figure pottery from throughout Canaan reveals that the pottery was used primarily in domestic settings and comprised a limited range of shapes favouring the consumption of wine and perfume. This limited functional range is reflected neither in assemblages of local pottery, nor in Attic pottery assemblages in other export markets or Athens itself. This indicates that local cultural factors, which assigned particular social significance to wine and perfume, likely influenced the purchasing and use patterns. The *Marzeah*, a traditional Near-Eastern elite banquet, is the clearest manifestation of this social significance, and likely served as the context-of-use for imported Attic fineware. The range and popularity of figural motifs on Attic pottery in Canaan likewise differs from the wider repertoire present at Athens. This too likely reflects local cultural values, as the most popular themes (symptotic and equestrian imagery) reflect and reinforce the value placed on feasting and horsemanship as markers of elite status in the art and culture of the Achaemenid Levant. Rather than indicating the presence of Greek settlers or a Hellenization of local consumption patterns, Attic pottery in Canaan was evidently purchased primarily by local elite members of Levantine society to demonstrate and reinforce their status within preexisting local modes of consumption and expression.

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Abbreviations

ABV: Beazley, J. D. *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

AJA: *American Journal of Archaeology*.

ARV2: Beazley, J. D. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

ASOR: American Society of Overseas Research (previously American Schools of Oriental Research)

BAPD: Beazley Archive Pottery Database. [https://www. Carc. Ox. Ac. Uk/carc/pottery](https://www.Carc.Ox.Ac.Uk/carc/pottery).

CVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. Union Académique Internationale. [http://www. Cvaonline. Org/](http://www.Cvaonline.Org/)

HA: *Hadashot Arkheologiyot / חדשות ארכיאולוגיות*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, (1961-).

IAA: Israel Antiquities Authority.

IDAM: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

IEJ: *Israel Exploration Journal*. Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society (1950-).

IES: Israel Exploration Society.

KAI: Donner, H. and W. Rollig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Wiesbaden, 1964.

LIMC: Ackermann, Hans Christoph, Jean-Robert Gisler, and Lilly Kahil, eds. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich: Artemis, 1981.

Para: Beazley, J. D. *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

PEF: Palestine Exploration Fund

1: INTRODUCTION

Between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE Attic pottery dominated Greek ceramic exports throughout the Mediterranean world. In the region of Canaan, roughly corresponding to modern-day Israel and the Palestinian Territories, the concurrent period, spanning from the fall of the Babylonian Empire in 539 BCE to the arrival of Alexander in 332 BCE, corresponds with the era of Achaemenid Persian rule. Under the Achaemenid administration, this region fell within the satrapy of Eber Nari, a large administrative unit encompassing Achaemenid territories west of the Euphrates, while the area of Canaan itself comprised the provinces of Yehud and Samaria along with semi-autonomous port cities on the Mediterranean littoral. Excavations in the region over the past decades have uncovered Attic pottery from nearly every site with Persian-era occupation. Though highly fragmentary, this ever-growing corpus of material can serve as a useful source for examining cultural interaction in the ancient world. The pottery, with its range of black and red-figure decoration, represents a unique body of Greek visual and material culture within this South-Levantine context. If the significance of these objects and their incorporation into Levantine material culture is to be understood, the array of vessels and iconography must be examined within local contexts-of-use.

The Persian era in Canaan has historically been treated as marginal in both chronology and geography. The period has long been regarded as a ‘dark age’ between the Biblical Monarchic era of the Iron Age, and the better-documented Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹ Its geographical location also makes it peripheral to both the spheres of the Classical Mediterranean, and that of the Achaemenid Empire. This, in turn, has placed the Persian Levant between the spheres of academic specialisation: falling as it does on or just beyond the boundaries of traditional Classical Archaeology, Biblical Archaeology, and Assyriology. However, the very characteristics that have traditionally marginalised the study of the Persian-era Levant also make it a valuable source for examining the processes of cultural interaction and exchange in the ancient world. Rather than marginal, the region can be viewed as a space for cultural overlap, transition, and exchange.²

¹ Stern (1982a), xv; Carter (1999), 31-33; Eph’al (1998), 107.

² On cultural change: Betlyon (2005). On negotiations of identity: Jugoulov (2014). On Phoenician-Greek “hybridity” in art: Martin (2017), 136-170.

In this focus on the overlap of external cultures and empires, however, it is important not to overlook the role that local Levantine peoples played in shaping these exchanges. Traditionally the presence of Greek material culture in the Levant has been interpreted either as evidence for the presence of Greek colonists, or as evincing a trend towards ‘Hellenization’.³ Both of these models are problematic, firstly because of the Graeco-centric assumptions on which they are based, and, more saliently, because they are not necessarily supported by the available archaeological evidence.⁴ If a reasonable framework for interpreting the range of Attic figure-decorated pottery in the region is to exist, this framework must be rooted primarily in a consideration of specific local practices and institutions into which these objects were incorporated. From there the implications of this material within broader trends can be considered.

In recent years scholarly interest in the study of Persian-era Canaan has increased greatly.⁵ This interest has been partially driven by research trends outside the field of archaeology. The period has received particular attention from historians and biblical scholars, motivated largely by the role this period is now understood to have played in the development of biblical literature and Jewish cultural identity. The religious, political, and demographic nature of the Persian province of Yehud has been the subject of rigorous debate, with various scholars seeking to either bolster or refute literary accounts of the so-called Post-Exilic Period.⁶ For the purpose of the current study, the entire region comprising Yehud and Samaria Provinces, along with the Negev to the south and the adjacent coastal plain, will collectively be referred to, somewhat anachronistically, as Canaan. In scholarship this name has traditionally been reserved for describing this region and its people during the Bronze Age. However, given the regional scope of the present study, and absent definitive knowledge of the set boundaries between the Persian-era polities,⁷ it is useful here as a general geographical designation. This name also has the added advantage of being endonymic among the semitic-speaking population of this region during the Persian Period. From the Iron Age through to the Roman Period, the people referred

³ Clairmont (1955), 87-9. Cf. de Vries (1977), 545; Waldbaum (1997). On Greek imports to Canaan prior to the Achaemenid era: Waldbaum (1994).

⁴ On “Hellenization”: Martin (2007).

⁵ For various recent approaches: Lipschits, Oeming (2006); Lipschits et al. (2007). On interest: Carter (1999), 34-35; Betlyon (2005), 4.

⁶ Becking (2006); Berquist; Lipshitts, Oeminig, (2006); Gerstenberger (2011); Borders and demography in literature and archaeology: Carter (1999); Ussishkin (2006); Wright (2006).

⁷ Berquist; Lipshitts, Oeminig, (2006).

to as ‘Phoenician’ in Greek sources seem to have used the name Canaan (*Khna*) to refer to themselves and their homeland in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸ Likewise, Biblical Hebrew texts, generally understood to have been composed or redacted in this period,⁹ use the term, albeit retrospectively, to refer to the geographical region occupied by the Hebrew kingdoms.¹⁰

In addition to the renewed focus on this period in other fields, archaeological research in Israel has also devoted increased attention to Persian-era material culture. Greek pottery from the Eastern Mediterranean was itself the subject of an early general study by C. Clairmont, published in 1955.¹¹ In this study Clairmont set himself the task of cataloguing all known pieces of Greek pottery from throughout the Near East and Egypt. At the time this was a relatively modest undertaking with his work citing only 380 known examples of Greek figure-decorated pottery from the whole of the region.¹² In 1977, K. De Vries likewise produced an early exploration of the reception of Attic pottery throughout the entirety of the Achaemenid world based largely on Clairmont’s relatively modest lists.¹³ In contrast, A. Stewart and S. R. Martin’s preliminary report on the pottery from Tel Dor, published in 2005, lists 411 identifiable black and red-figure fragments from that site alone,¹⁴ thus highlighting both the need for an up-to-date devoted study and the inherent difficulties in performing such a study. The most complete, general work on the archaeology of this period remains E. Stern’s *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538-332 B. C* first published in Hebrew in 1973 and translated into English in 1982. Stern’s work includes a survey of the geographical and chronological distribution of then-published Greek pottery from sites in Israel.¹⁵ More recently, R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom has also contributed a study of the typologies of local and imported Persian-era ceramics to S. Gitin’s 2014 volume *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbours*, which is of great value in tracing the general trends in imported fineware in the region as they evolved over time.¹⁶

⁸ On Phoenician coins with “Canaan”: Cohen (2006), 205. As Phoenician endonym: Bonfante (1941), N.1; Maisler (1946), 6-7; Drews (1998), 48-49.

⁹ Gerstenberger (2011), 132-426.

¹⁰ Killebrew (2005), 96.

¹¹ Earlier Levy (1927) and Iliffe (1933) catalogued some fragments in the collections of the PAM (Rockefeller Museum).

¹² Clairmont (1955), 98-137. Geometric, Corinthian, East Greek, Attic, and South-Italian material. Black-glazed published separately in Clairmont (1956).

¹³ De Vries (1977), 544.

¹⁴ Stewart, Martin (2005), 108.

¹⁵ Stern (1982a), 137-141, 283-286.

¹⁶ Rosenthal-Heginbottom: Gitin (2014), 619-622.

However, because of the more general aims of these projects, neither engages with the full range of shapes and imagery, nor with the specific archaeological contexts of the finds.

In the absence of a full, devoted study, it has fallen to journal articles and excavation reports to fill in, piecemeal, some of the more recent finds and more detailed archaeological data missing from the general surveys. Because Classical Archaeology and Art History have produced relatively well-established chronologies for Attic vase painters and styles, such pottery can usually be dated far more precisely than local Levantine ware. As such, Attic pottery has often been employed as a means of dating Persian-era loci, and it is in this capacity that it often appears in excavation reports. Overall, however, despite increased interest in recent years, the corpus of decorated Attic pottery from Canaan remains poorly understood and only sporadically published.

Two admirable site-specific excavation reports can be noted as helping to change this trend. The pottery from Tel Hesi has been thoroughly published, catalogued, and analysed by M. K. Riser and J. A. Blakely,¹⁷ as has that from Tel Dor in publications by E. Stern, R. T. Marchese, and S. R. Martin.¹⁸ Helpful lists of then-known figure-decorated Attic pottery from the region were also produced by R. Wenning in 2000 and 2004.¹⁹ These trace the chronological and geographical range of the material, respectively. Though necessarily limited in their scope and in the depth of their analysis, Wenning's lists are extremely valuable in updating earlier general surveys. Recently, in her contribution to a 2010 conference at Ruhr Universität Bochum and the resulting 2014 publication, A. Nunn has begun the valuable work of synthesising and updating reported Attic pottery finds, including those in Wenning's lists, with an eye to exploring the role of Levantine buyers and the place of pottery in assessing Levantine identity.²⁰

It is, in a large part, off of these latter studies that the current investigation will build, with the aim of providing the first full-length, in-depth survey and analysis of all known Attic figure-decorated pottery in Canaan. To this end, the present study has amassed a corpus of 1122 specimens of black and red-figure pottery discovered at archaeological sites throughout Israel. This corpus combines previously-published material with unpublished finds housed in the collections and storerooms of universities, museums, and excavations throughout the country as

¹⁷ Bennet, Blakely (1989).

¹⁸ Marchese: Stern (1995); Stewart, Martin (2005); Martin (2007).

¹⁹ Wenning (2000); Wenning (2004).

²⁰ Nunn: Frevel et al. (2014), 391–429.

well as the warehouses of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), all accessed by the author in the years 2017-2020. Such an examination can never be exhaustive, as it is limited by both the authors' access to material, and the fact that new material is being excavated every year. However, it is hoped that the present study will provide both a clearer understanding of the currently-excavated pottery and its significance, while also providing a framework for the interpretation of future finds.

One factor that has discouraged devoted study of Attic pottery from Canaan is the highly fragmentary nature of the evidence. Unlike more spectacular finds from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, pottery from this region generally survives only in very small sherds. Despite this, a great deal of information about the vessels and their significance in a Levantine setting can be determined through close analysis. The very fact that the material survives in so fragmentary a state suggests that the vessels, unlike those preserved through deposition in tombs, generally saw practical use in daily life.²¹

The validity of this hypothesis, and setting of this supposed use, can only be ascertained through a concerted study of the archaeological contexts of known loci around the region that have yielded Attic pottery. Along with examining the context of the deposits, further insight into contexts-of-use can be achieved by identifying and analysing the range of shapes. While this is rendered difficult by the fragmentary nature of the evidence, enough indicative material survives to propose local patterns and preferences, which can then be compared with those seen in local ceramics. Such an examination will form the body of the current study.

Knowledge of the range of vessels and the setting of their use, will then enable further cultural analysis, in which these data are compared with relevant literary and artistic sources from the region to provide insight into the function of imported figure-decorated pottery in Levantine society. Once an understanding of these functions is achieved, it can inform any discussion of the vessels' decoration and its significance to Levantine audiences. Despite the fragmentary state of much of the imagery, close examination of the artwork allows for the identification of a range of iconography. By examining the material in this manner, it can be determined which subjects from the repertoire of Attic vase painting were incorporated into specific settings by Levantine customers. The implications of the imagery within these settings can then be explored with reference to trends in local visual culture. The resultant analysis of the

²¹ De Vries (1977), 544; Shefton (2000), 76.

relationship between these imported vessels and their cultural context will conclude the analysis section of the present study.

To better understand the significance of these vessels it is imperative that both their uses and their decoration be examined within a local context, with our understanding of each informing our interpretation of the other. As cultural objects whose function included both practical and aesthetic dimensions, understanding the place of Greek figure-decorated pottery in foreign settings is a complex matter. Neither purely practical qualities, such as ‘usefulness’ or ‘aptness’, on the part of the object, nor abstract assessments of subjective ‘taste’ are truly sufficient as the focus of discussion. Rather, the property of interest to the current analysis is that which can describe why and how a cultural object, in its totality, was incorporated into a new setting: in other words, what in this dynamic between object and context made the artefact *incorporable*. It is around this idea of *incorporability* that this study’s analysis will be built. Incorporability, as here proposed, describes the readiness and facility with which an object can be incorporated into a particular cultural framework. It combines concepts of personal and collective taste or preference with the object’s practical utility. In doing so it also recognises both the qualities innate to the object itself and the agency of those who purchased, used, and viewed it in specific settings. The factors influencing an object’s incorporability in a specific framework are as endlessly variable as the cultures and individuals that comprise and construct these frameworks. They include overlapping aesthetic, ideological, economic, and practical considerations, both conscious and unconscious. In the relationship between a given object and framework, any number of these factors may influence, augment or compete with one another to determine the item’s overall incorporability. By elucidating the various factors that governed the incorporation of Attic pottery into specific Levantine contexts, this approach can deepen our understanding both of the significance of this material to local people, and of the broader dynamics of cultural exchange in the ancient world.

2: POTS AND CONTEXTS: A SURVEY BY REGION AND SITE

The most essential questions regarding the presence of Attic pottery in Canaan are practical in nature: which types of foreign figure-decorated vessels were imported and to fulfill what purpose? As such, an understanding of which shapes occur most frequently, the function of these shapes, and the context of their deposition must serve as the basis of any study. Only once these questions are answered can the larger matter of these objects' cultural significance and the potential identity of their users be considered.

Unfortunately, due to the scantiness of published material and the lack of detailed record-keeping, especially for early excavations, the precise find-contexts of much of the pottery remain unknown. This difficulty is compounded by the fragmentary state of the material, which can complicate identification. These problems can be mitigated, however, by the broad, regional scope of the study. By examining sites throughout Persian-era Canaan, it is possible to combine the analysis of individual sites, including those with large, well-documented assemblages, with the accrual of all available information on Attic pottery finds from sites around the region for general statistical analysis. (Fig. I.1) In this way, a sufficient body of indicative material and secure contexts can be used to identify local purchasing preferences and deposition patterns. These patterns, when viewed within the context of local cultural practices and compared with assemblages both of locally-produced ceramics and of Attic pottery elsewhere in the Mediterranean world, can provide insight into the role and significance of Attic pottery in the Persian-era Levant.

Within the wider Achaemenid satrapy of Eber Nari, the former regional kingdoms of Judah and Israel were reconstituted as the Achaemenid *medinata* or provinces of Yehud and Samaria, administered from Jerusalem²² and Samaria respectively, while the cities of the Mediterranean coast were variously placed under the rule of the Phoenician kings of Sidon and Tyre or allowed to function as semi-autonomous city-states.²³ The precise borders of these various political entities, if indeed any such existed, have been the subject of much disagreement.²⁴ It is beyond the scope of the current study to seek to settle this debate, nor is it the intention to present the geographical divisions employed herein as representations of ancient

²² At least after the mid-5th century. Lipschits (2006), 35. On Persian imperial administrative units: Tuplin (1987).

²³ Sidonian rule: Stern (1982a), xv. Phoenician presence: Elayi (1982), 97-105. Tyrian cities: Katzenstein (1979).

²⁴ On debated borders: Wright (2006); Lipschits (2006); Ussishkin (2006).

geopolitical reality. The division of sites by geographical region is however useful for identifying trends in the distribution of imported Attic pottery, especially between coastal and inland sites. To this end, the findspots can be organised into four broad geographical categories: The Northern Coast; The Northern Interior (comprising the Galilee, Samaria Province and its environs); The Southern Coast; and the Southern Interior (comprising Yehud Province as well as parts of the Shephelah and Negev). Within each region, sites are examined one-by-one proceeding alphabetically for ease of reference. For sites where the assemblage of figure-decorated Attic pottery comprises ten or more specimens, site-specific statistical analysis is conducted. Where enabled by sufficient publication of local ceramics, these analyses are supplemented through comparison with coarseware assemblages from the same sites. Additionally, the contexts and typology of finds from all sites will be evaluated, both on a regional and pan-regional basis in the final analysis. In this way trends both local and regional can be established.

2.1: Sites Unknown

Prior to examining the material from known regions and findspots, it is important to acknowledge that a portion of the material available for this study has no definitive provenience. Specifically, five unpublished figure-decorated Attic fragments in the collections of the IAA come from unknown locations within Israel. One bell krater lower-body sherd was discovered during the Mandate era, and features unidentifiable decoration above a meander. (No. 1, Fig. II.1)²⁵ The remaining unprovenienced sherds all belong to cups. A pair of cup fragments should both be assigned to black-figure vessels of the early-fifth century. One displays the lower part of chariot scene with the feet of two goddesses visible alongside the wheel and horses' legs, in a schematic manner near to that of the Haimon Group (ca. 500-480 BCE). (No. 2, Fig. II.2)²⁶ The other shows a striding warrior in a style comparable to that of the Leafless Group. (ca. 500-470 BCE) (No. 3, Fig. II.3)²⁷ The final two fragments both bear red-figure faces of youths. On one

²⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1288. See Catalogue (Vol. II) for detailed descriptions and comparanda of all pieces.

²⁶ IAA:2007-1198. Haimon Painter: *ABV*, 538-539; Haspels (1936), 130-141, 241-246; Haimon Group: *ABV*, 539-571; Haspels (1936), 130-137, 241-247. Cf. Adria: 23460; BAPD: 43683.

²⁷ IAA:2007-1199. Leafless Group: *ABV*, 632-653; Boardman (1974), 150-151, 194. Cf. Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte: B309; BAPD: 12606.

fourth-century piece only a head survives. (No. 4, Fig. II.4)²⁸ The other is dateable to ca. 450-420 BCE and, alongside the head, also preserves the figure's raised hand and a ball, all framed by an egg-and-dart lip frieze and vegetation. Part of a wing can perhaps be seen extending from this latter figure's shoulder, and it may thus represent Eros. (No. 5, Fig. II.5)²⁹

2.2: Northern Coast

2.2. A: Introduction

According to the inscription on the sarcophagus of King Eshmunazar II, (ca. 500 BCE)³⁰ the Persian King of Kings granted the Sidonian monarch and his successors rule over cities on the Levantine coast at least as far south as Jaffa.

יתן לן אדן מלכם
אית דאר ויפי ארצת דגן האדרת אש בשד שרן למדת עצמת אש פעלת ויספננם
עלת גבל ארץ לכננם לצדנמ לעל

The Lord of Kings gave us/
Dor and Jaffa, the rich wheat-lands that are in the Plain of Sharon, in recognition of the great
deeds that I accomplished,
and we have added to the lands that are forever those of the Sidonians.³¹

The Lord of Kings mentioned is evidently Xerxes I, and the service being rewarded was likely the participation of the Sidonian fleet in Persian military expeditions. Herodotus mentions the importance of Sidonian ships to Xerxes' Greek campaign,³² and the role of Phoenician naval forces in fighting the Athenians is referenced in Thucydides' descriptions of both the Battle of Eurymedon³³ and Kimon's final expedition to Cyprus.³⁴ For the purposes of the current study, Dor, the southernmost city named in the Eshmunazar inscription, will be used as the southern terminus of the region designated as the Northern Coast, while Akko serves as the northernmost coastal site. Alongside Sidonian-controlled settlements, this stretch of coastline evidently also

²⁸ IAA:2000-1671.

²⁹ Reg. No. 838907-פ

³⁰ Louvre: AO4806.

³¹ *KAI*-14.

³² Hdt.7.96, 99;8.67.

³³ Thuc.1.100.1.

³⁴ Thuc.1.112.4.

contained Persian-era cities administered by Sidon's fellow Phoenician city-state, Tyre.³⁵ The division of the coastal cities of Canaan between Sidonian and Tyrian hegemony is described in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax, a Greek maritime travel guide believed to have been composed in the mid-fourth century and spuriously attributed to Skylax of Karyanda. Listing the cities of the Levantine littoral north-to-south, the *Periplus* describes the following:

καὶ πόλις Τυρίων Ἐκδιππα] καὶ ποταμός. καὶ Ἄκη πόλις, Ἐξώπη πόλις Τυρίων. Κάρμηλος] ὄρος ἱερὸν Διός. Ἄραδος πόλις Σιδωνίων. [Μάγδωλος πόλις] καὶ ποταμός Τυρίων. Δῶρος πόλις Σιδωνίων, κ[αὶ Ἰόπη πόλις· ἐκτε-] θῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήτει. Ἀσκά-] λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ βασιλεία. ἐνταῦ[θα ὄρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης] Συρίας.

And a city of the Tyrioi, [Ekdippa (*Achziv*)], with a river. And Ake (*Akko*), a city. Exope (*Achshaph*, *Tell Abu Hawam?*), a city of the Ty[r]ioi. Karmelos (*Mt. Carmel*), a mountain sacred to Zeus. Arados (*Atlit*), a city of the Sidonioi. [Magdolos, a city] and river of the Tyrioi. Doros (*Dor*), a city of the Sidonioi. [Ioppe (*Jaffa*), a city;] they say it was here that Androm[eda] was [ex]posed [to the monster. Aska]lon, a city of the Tyrioi and a royal seat. Her[e is the boundary of Koile] Syria.

(Ps. Skylax, 104.3)³⁶

In addition to these textual attestations, Phoenician presence, and influence in the coastal cities of Canaan is further demonstrated in the material culture. Phoenician-style votive figurines have been found in large numbers, for example, in favissae at Dor,³⁷ while the characteristic Phoenician construction techniques, combining ashlar piers with rubble fill appear in Persian-era buildings throughout the coastal region.³⁸ As port cities administered by the seafaring, mercantilist, Phoenician kingdoms, it is unsurprising that the cities of Canaan's northern coast have been found to contain some of the largest assemblages of Attic pottery in the region.

³⁵ Berlin, Herbert (2005), 34; Briend, Humbert (1980); Elayi (1982); Shalev (2018). On Achaemenid Tyre: Katzenstien (1979).

³⁶ Trans. Shipley (2019), 81.

³⁷ Stern (1982a); Lipinski (2003), 297-308.

³⁸ Stern (1997), 17-27; Sharon (1987), 22-31; Sader (2019), 156-168.

2.2. B: Abu-Hawam, Tell

(Fig. I.1:4)

The mound of Tell Abu-Hawam is located within the modern city of Haifa. Situated at the foot of the Carmel ridge and the estuary of the Kishon River, the site was originally a harbour town located directly on the seashore, though it now sits 1.5km inland due the shifting coastline.³⁹ Initial salvage excavations were carried out by the Mandate antiquities department between 1922 and 1933, with later excavations conducted by Israeli archaeologists E. Anati, Y. Olami, and M. Prausnitz in 1952 and 1963, and by a French-Israeli team between 1984 and 1989.⁴⁰ Remains of the Persian-era occupation at the site (Strat. IIA–B) date to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE and include a large, fortified compound on the summit of the mound, as well as Persian-era tombs from the city's necropolis on the northern slopes of the Carmel. (Fig. I.2.)⁴¹ The tel is one of the various sites put forward as the potential location for the ancient city of Achshaph (Exope),⁴² which the *Periplus* of Ps. Skylax identifies as a city of the Tyrians.⁴³

All five of the available Attic figure-decorated sherds from the site belong to drinking cups, and all those with stratified findspots came from Persian-era refuse heaps. (Fig. 1.3) A dump in Area-D7-8 contained large amounts of Persian-era pottery, including fragments of black-figure cup-skyphoi. One foot-and-lower-body fragment, (No. 6, Fig. II.6)⁴⁴ along with a set of two lip sherds from the heap, (No. 7, Fig. II.7)⁴⁵ all show portions of chariot scenes in a style characteristic of the Haimon Group. Another fifth-century rubbish dump on the eastern edge of the site (Area-C7) contained the handle of a further black-figure cup-skyphos. (No. 8, Fig. II.8)⁴⁶ Two red-figure cup sherds were also found at Tel Abu-Hawam, both in disturbed surface layers. The lower body of a red-figure kylix was found with a painted interior and partially-preserved stem.⁴⁷ The tondo shows a schematic image of a reclining symposiast and

³⁹ Balensi (1985), 256-257

⁴⁰ Dever: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Abu-Hawam, Tell".

⁴¹ Hamilton (1935), 2-5; Stern (1968); Balensi (1985), 69.

⁴² Dever: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Abu-Hawam, Tell".

⁴³ Ps. Skylax, 104.3.

⁴⁴ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1937-304; Hamilton (1935), Pl. 11:11. Cf. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire: 14996; BAPD: 330967.

⁴⁵ Hamilton (1935), Pl. 11.16. Cf. Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2084; BAPD:9054708.

⁴⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1937-309; Hamilton (1935), Pl. 11:17.

⁴⁷ Hamilton (1935), 16.

should be attributed to the Pithos Painter (ca. 510-500 BCE). (No. 9, Fig. II.9)⁴⁸ A schematised image of a youth also appears on the body fragment of a red-figure skyphos found on the surface of the tel, (No. 10, Fig. II.10) which is near in style and date to the lesser works of the Jena Painter. (ca. 390-370 BCE)⁴⁹

Excluding these unstratified finds, the cups that constitute the entirety of the figure-decorated Attic pottery assemblage at Tel Abu-Hawam thus appear to have been deposited in rubbish dumps on the margins of a Persian-era settlement. Given the homogeneity of the deposits within the dumps, they all appear to have been disposed of within a relatively short period of their use.

2.2. C: Akko

(Fig. I.1:2)

The ancient site of Akko is located on a kurkar ridge west of the modern city of Akko (Acre). (Fig.I.1:2) This hill, also referred to as Tell el-Fuhar, is strategically located near one of the best natural harbours on the Levantine coast and has been the site of a settlement and anchorage from the Early-Bronze Age onwards.⁵⁰ In the Persian period the importance of Akko's port for both military and trade purposes is demonstrated in literary sources. The city was governed by Tyre under the auspices of the Persian Empire,⁵¹ and it appears that Achaemenid naval expeditions against Egypt, including Artaxerxes II's campaign in 374 BCE and possibly also Cambyses' invasion of 520 BCE, were launched from the city's harbour.⁵² Writing of Artaxerxes's preparations to suppress the Egyptian rebellion in 374 BCE, Diodorus Siculus states "When the Persian army had assembled at the city of Ace...the triremes numbered three hundred and the thirty-oared ships two hundred. The number of those conveying food and other supplies was great,"⁵³ while Strabo refers to the city as "a large city, formerly called Ace. It was the place of

⁴⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1937-315; Hamilton (1935), Pl. 11.23. Pithos Painter: *ARV2*, 139-141; Almagro-Gorbea (2015), 417-433. Cf. Cygeilman et al., (1992), Pl. 30:a.

⁴⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1937-316; Hamilton (1935), Pl. 12:24. Jena Painter: *ARV2*, 1510-1516; Paul-Zinserling (1994); Kathariou (2009). Cf. Jena, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität: 0416; BAPD: 231024 (I).

⁵⁰ Artzy, Beeri (2010), 15. On the harbour: Katzenstein (1979), 27; Gambash (2004). On Akko: Raban (1993).

⁵¹ Katzenstein (1979), 27; Elayi (1982), 95.

⁵² Katzenstein (1979), 27; Cf. Gambash (2004).

⁵³ Diod.15.41.3, Trans. Oldfather (1989).

rendezvous for the Persians in their expeditions against Egypt.”⁵⁴ In a demonstration of the city’s role in attracting Mediterranean trade, Demosthenes’ oration of Apollodorus against Callippus references the case of two Athenian merchants taking out a loan to finance a voyage to Akko.⁵⁵

Excavations at the site of Tel Akko were conducted between 1973 and 1989 under the direction of M. Dothan and the University of Haifa with a delegation from Marburg University directed by D. Conrad. Persian-era strata were excavated in areas A, B, F, G, H, and K on the tel, (Fig. 1.4)⁵⁶ and a large Phoenician-style built harbour, likely dating to the fourth century, was discovered west of the mound.⁵⁷ In Area-A, at the top of the mound, a complex of large Persian-era administrative buildings were found along with a fifth-century ostrakon bearing the longest known Phoenician cursive inscription from Israel, an order for the sale of various precious vessels to the overseer of the city’s shrine.⁵⁸

בדת לבן חרש יתן אגן כ
 בד לשלת אש על אשרת גלגלם
 א וממלמאם ופכש
 תאדרת ולפם
 וולגמם ו
 מיפחת
 ודקרת צערת

[By order: to the artisans; they shall give a valuable krater to honour Shelet, the overseer of the shrine (s); and metal cups 10, and vessels with inlay 25, and large jars (?) 70, and pots on stands 60, and decanters 60, and smiths' blown vessels 57 and small deep bowls 30.]⁵⁹

The remains of large Persian-period structures were also discovered in Area-G. These contained numerous undeciphered Phoenician ostraca and a large assemblage of Persian or Phoenician shipping containers, along with Cypriot and East Greek pottery, further demonstrating the status of Akko as a centre of both administration and trade.⁶⁰ Attic black and

⁵⁴ Strab.16.2.25, Trans. Hamilton, Falconer (1909).

⁵⁵ Dem.52.20.

⁵⁶ Artzy, Beeri (2010), 15, 20.

⁵⁷ Gambash (2004).

⁵⁸ Translation by the author based on Dothan (1985), 83. Dothan equates תאדרת with “pyxides” (I have more cautiously adopted the generic jars) and "אגן" as “basin”. On אגן as krater see Gimatzidis (2017), 49, N.4.

⁵⁹ Dothan (1985).

⁶⁰ Artzy, Beeri (2010), 20.

red-figure pottery has been recovered from throughout the site. This includes the stray find of a black-figure cup-skyphos lip from ca. 500-475 BCE which was found at “Tel-Fuhar”, (No. 11, Fig. II.11)⁶¹ as well as the larger assemblages from the official excavations overseen by Dothan in Areas-F/H, and Conrad’s in Area-K,

Area-F:

Of the sizeable corpus of Attic pottery from Akko only a selection of finds from Area-F have thus far been published. Area-F, is located on the northwest edge of the mound. In the words of the excavators this area contained “spacious and well-planned domestic quarters, illustrat[ing] continuous occupation...from the mid-8th century BCE... to the late 3rd century.”⁶² The period of Persian-era occupation was represented by two strata of typical Phoenician-style domestic architecture of ashlar and rubble-stone construction. In one structure of the latter phase, a purpose-built pit (L46) reinforced with rubble stone was installed in the lime floor of the structure (L44, L45) and filled to overflowing with domestic refuse. The contents of this pit included animal bones, masses of household coarseware, and an assemblage of Attic fineware. Nearly all of the Attic pottery from Area-F came from this pit and the surrounding surface.⁶³

Six of the Attic figure-decorated fragments from Area-F can be identified as belonging to cups. Four fragments from inside the pit come from black-figure cup-skyphoi, all decorated in the style of the Haimon Group. The first is a rim fragment showing a rider and warriors. (No. 12, Fig. II.12)⁶⁴ The other three are painted in a fully silhouette style attributable to the Lancut Group, a subset of the Haimon Group whose output is characterised by the complete absence of incision.⁶⁵ Two of these depict scenes of satyrs pursuing maenads, (No. 13, Fig. II.13)⁶⁶(No. 14, Fig. II.14)⁶⁷ while the other shows a bent figure. (No. 15, Fig. II.15)⁶⁸ Alongside these black-figure cup-skyphoi, body fragments from two red-figure kylikes were also found in the vicinity

⁶¹ IAA-1951-1054, unpublished courtesy of the IAA. Unless a different collection is specified, objects with photographs and IAA numbers were accessed in the IAA storerooms in Beit Shemesh with the gracious permission of Orit Tsuf.

⁶² Raban (1993), 73.

⁶³ Raban (1993), 90-98. Others have no assigned loci.

⁶⁴ Haifa, Hecht: IAA-1986-129; Raban (1993), 95, Fig. 20. Perhaps Caylus Painter; Cf. Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: A220; BAPD: 44826; Caylus Painter: Beazley ABV 649-651.

⁶⁵ *ABV*, 576-579.

⁶⁶ Haifa, Hecht: IAA-1986-126; Hachlili (1986), 12.

⁶⁷ Haifa, Hecht: IAA-1986-127. Cf. Sevres, Musée Céramique: 258.1; BAPD:331049.

⁶⁸ Haifa, Hecht: IAA-1986-130.

of L46.⁶⁹ One, from the pit itself, shows a diademed youth holding a torch, likely from a Lampadedromia, in a style datable to ca. 440-420 BCE. (No. 16, Fig. II.16)⁷⁰ The other was found in the vicinity of the pit and preserves part of a decorated interior. The tondo appears to show part of a schematic draped figure attributable to the Pithos Painter. (No. 17, Fig. II.17)⁷¹

In addition to cups for drinking wine, the finds from Area-F included at least nineteen red-figure bell kraters for the mixing and serving of wine. Remains of at least thirteen such fragmentary vases were found in the pit. Two of these were sufficiently preserved as to be restored for display at the Hecht Museum in Haifa. The first shows Ariadne attended by satyrs and maenads on side-A, while the lower-body fragments from side-B appear to depict Nike. (No. 18, Fig. II.18)⁷² The style is characteristic of the Telos Group,⁷³ especially the Painter of the Oxford Grypomachy. (ca. 380-360 BCE)⁷⁴ The second restored bell krater shows a youthful Herakles seated before a naiskos, attended by maenads and satyrs, and, on its reverse, the standard motif of schematized draped youths common on fourth-century bell kraters. (No. 19, Fig. II.19)⁷⁵ The two vessels are similar in date and style, with the latter serving as the name vase of I. McPhee's recently-identified Akko painter.⁷⁶

The other bell kraters from the pit survive in more fragmentary states. One vessel, which is roughly contemporary with the two restored kraters, survives as a set of eleven non-joining body sherds. One fragment from side-A shows a female figure alongside grape clusters and black pinecone from atop a thyrsos. (No. 20, Fig. II.20)⁷⁷ This distinctive detail allows the piece to be attributed to the Black Thyrsus Painter, (ca. 360-350 BCE) another member of the Telos Group.⁷⁸ A draped youth from the b-side of the same vase is also preserved, along with other fragments bearing partial figures and marginal vegetal and meander motifs. Of slightly earlier

⁶⁹ Raban (1993), 95, Fig. 21:1, 2.

⁷⁰ IAA-1986-134; Raban (1993), 95, Fig. II.21:2.

⁷¹ Raban (1993), 97, Fig. II.25:8. Cf. Athens, Agora: P2800; BAPD: 201194.

⁷² Haifa, Hecht: IAA-1986-125, 131; Raban (1993), 92-93, Fig. 18. On discovery: *IEJ* 27.4 (1977), 242.

⁷³ Telos Painter and Group: *ARV2*, 1425; Boardman (1989), 169; Cabrera, Rouillard, (2003), 90-98. On their vessels at the margins of the classical world: Dominguez, Sanchez (2001), 427.

⁷⁴ Painter of the Oxford Grypomachy: *ARV2*, 1428. Cf. London, British Museum: F72 ; BAPD: 260112. Dothan suggests either this painter or the Retorted Painter (*ARV2*, 129-31, 1693), Dothan (1979), 51.

⁷⁵ Haifa, Hecht: IAA-1986-124; Dothan (1979); Raban (1993), 90, Fig 17. Cf. Paris, Louvre: G508; BAPD: 218049.

⁷⁶ McPhee (2022). Dothan suggests Toya Painter (*ARV*, 1448-1449), Dothan (1979), 151.

⁷⁷ Haifa, Hecht:46/96; Raban (1993), 96, Fig. 23.

⁷⁸ Black Thyrsus Painter: *ARV2*, 1431-1434; Boardman (1989), 169. Cf. London, British Museum: 1950.4-26.1; BAPD: 260159.

date are thirteen non-joining body sherds of another krater. Among the various pieces are portions of unidentifiable figures and a meander, as well as a draped youth beside an egg-and-dart handle border. (No. 21, Fig. II.21)⁷⁹ This latter figure likely belonged to a reverse scene like that on the two prior specimens, though the more naturalistic style places it ca. 425-390 BCE.

The other bell kraters from Area-F are represented only by rims. While most came from the pit, (Nos. 22-30),⁸⁰ others have no recorded findspots. (Nos. 31-37)⁸¹ On one such piece from the pit, a flying Eros, in early-to-mid-fourth-century style is persevered. (No. 23, Fig. II.22)⁸² and all the lips feature the typical laurel pattern, save one with waves around the mouth. (No. 36, Fig. 23)⁸³

Two final red-figure sherds from the pit belong to less common shapes. One shows the foot of a draped figure, likely a goddess, mounting a chariot. (No. 38, Fig. II.24)⁸⁴ The fragment was identified by the excavators as belonging to a bell krater. However, the convex, lateral ridge running down the centre of the sherd, coupled with the hanging-lotus-bud frieze on the lower portion, make this identification unlikely. Rather, the sherd appears to come from the shoulder of a hydria produced ca. 480-450 BCE.⁸⁵ Hydriai are exceedingly rare in the region and this new identification makes the fragment from Akko one of only three possible vases of this shape from Persian-era Canaan.⁸⁶ Likewise noteworthy is a body fragment from the pit which may belong to a red-figure amphora, and displays a hoplite with a shield and Chalcidian helmet. (No. 39, Fig. II.25)⁸⁷ Like Hydriai, such vases are notably uncommon in the region with only one other red-figure amphora body sherd potentially identifiable at Tell el-Farah South.

The assemblage of Attic figure-decorated pottery from Area-F thus contains mainly shapes for the mixing and consumption of wine, with the exceptions of the amphora and hydria. The location and contents of the pit identify the context of the vessels' use as domestic in nature, while the fact that only two examples presented a sufficient number of connecting fragments for

⁷⁹ IAA-1986-133; Raban (1993), 96, Fig. 22.

⁸⁰ Raban (1993), 97, Fig. 24.

⁸¹ Raban (1993), 97, Fig. 25:1-7.

⁸² Raban (1993), 97, Fig. 24:2.

⁸³ Raban (1993), 97, Fig. 25:6. Waves: McPhee (1987), 293.

⁸⁴ IAA-1986-128; Raban (1993), 95, Fig. 21:3.

⁸⁵ On such vases: Mannack (2001), 67-68. Cf. Munich, Antikensammlungen: J4; BAPD: 200170. Cf. London, British Museum: E160; BAPD: 202049. Cf. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico: 169; BAPD: 206572.

⁸⁶ Others are from Dor and Gezer.

⁸⁷ IAA-1986-132; Raban (1993), 95, Fig. 21:1.

restoration suggests that most of the vessels were broken prior to deposition and saw use in daily life.

Area-H:

In contrast to that from Area-F, the unpublished Attic pottery from Area-H, cannot all be traced to a single well-defined find context. Rather they were apparently found at disparate loci throughout the excavation area, about halfway up the ridge's north-west slope. The area contained Persian-era pits, human and dog burials, and domestic architecture, though none of the fragments can currently be associated with specific features. The burials in particular are noted to have lacked any grave goods, ruling out the possibility of a funerary context for these finds.⁸⁸

As in Area-F, shapes for drinking and serving wine are represented. Two of the fragments from Area-H can be identified as belonging to cups. One is a Lancut Group cup-skyphos showing a figure with a bent arm, (No. 40, Fig. II.26)⁸⁹ while the other is a lip and upper-body fragment of a red-figure skyphos. (No. 41, Fig. II.27)⁹⁰ This deep-bodied cup with a flared lip features a schematic and blocky depiction of two draped youths, one holding a strigil and the other a staff. The motif and style are characteristic of the Fat Boy (FB) Group (ca. 400-350 BCE).⁹¹ Fragments of three red-figure kraters can also be identified among the finds from Area-H. A body fragment showing a draped youth belongs to the reverse of a bell krater of the later-fifth century, (No. 42, Fig. II.28)⁹² while a lip sherd adorned with a stopped-meander likely came from a volute krater of somewhat earlier date (ca. 490-450 BCE). (No. 43, Fig. II.29)⁹³ Finally, a small body sherd depicting a fan likely also belongs to a krater. (No. 44, Fig. II.30)⁹⁴

In addition to these shapes for the consumption of wine, the finds from Area-H also include two Attic lekythoi, designed for the storage and application of perfumed oil. The larger of the two is a white-ground pattern lekythos adorned with lattice and ivy motifs (No. 45, Fig. II.31)⁹⁵ characteristic of the Beldam Workshop (ca. 480-450 BCE),⁹⁶ while the other is a

⁸⁸ Brody, Artzy (2023) 25-29.

⁸⁹ Reg. No. 3231-2-2873π. Cf. Warsaw, National Museum: 198051; BAPD: 352111. All unpublished objects from Area-H courtesy of the University of Haifa.

⁹⁰ Reg. No.2872-π.

⁹¹ FB Group: *ARV*2, 1484-1495. Cf. Ullastret, *Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya* 1145; BAPD: 31593.

⁹²Reg. No.2874-π.

⁹³ Reg. No. 2876-π .

⁹⁴Reg. No. 2875-π.

⁹⁵ Reg. No. 2881-π ; L26183.

⁹⁶ On Beldam Painter: *ABV*, 571, 586-587; Boardman (1974):149-150; Haspels (1936), 170-191, 266-269. On pattern lekythoi of Beldam Workshop: Kurtz (1975), 153-155. Cf. Zurich, University: 3445; BAPD 1513.

miniature black-figure lekythos decorated with a palmette-and-lotus-bud-chain likewise dating to the first half of the fifth century. (No. 46, Fig. II.32)⁹⁷ Lastly, a single amphora is also represented among the Attic pottery from Akko Area-H. The flat flanged handle is characteristic of an Attic Amphora Type A. It is decorated with the standard black-figure ivy tendril used throughout the shape's production from ca. 550 - ca. 460 BCE. (No. 47, Fig. II.33)⁹⁸ Through the presence of these two closed shapes, the Attic finds from Area-H form a more varied assemblage than that from Area-K, though one smaller in size and lacking known contexts.

Area-K:

Another unpublished assemblage of Attic pottery, far larger than that from Area-H, was discovered during Conrad's excavations in Area-K on the mound's eastern slope. Sadly, the records from the excavation were left unsorted and incomplete at the time of Dr. Conrad's death. However, examination of his notes, which are currently being compiled and edited by M. Peilstöcker and fellow researchers at the University of Berlin, can provide insight into the find-contexts of the material.⁹⁹

In his draft report from 1986 Conrad identifies Area-K as a residential quarter with evidence of continuous occupation from the Early-Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁰ The levels, particularly the upper strata, are highly mixed having been extensively disturbed by modern activity, earthquakes, erosion, and illicit excavations.¹⁰¹ As such, while a large amount of Persian-era material both local and imported has been recovered, the precise limit of the Persian stratum, particularly the upper limit marking the start of the Hellenistic strata, is very difficult to define. Conrad tentatively identified two strata (Strat. V, Strat. IV) as belonging to the Persian Period, with the former dating to the fifth and the latter to the fourth century.¹⁰² A number of walls have been assigned to these strata, though the paucity of floors or sealed, homogeneous loci from either this or Strat. III above (assigned to the "Ptolemaic and Seleucid" periods) make interpretation difficult. However, by comparing the information on Conrad's lists of baskets and loci, a workable understanding of the Attic pottery assemblage from Area-K can be reached.

⁹⁷ Reg. No. 2882-π.

⁹⁸ Reg. No. 2884-π.

⁹⁹All pottery from Area-K is unpublished and accessed courtesy of Dr. M. Peilstöcker and the IAA.

¹⁰⁰ Conrad, *Bericht*, (1986), 5, (unpublished).

¹⁰¹ Conrad, *Bericht*, (1978);(1979), Passim, (unpublished).

¹⁰² Conrad, "loci", (1985), Ed. M. Peilstöcker, (unpublished).

As in the combined finds from Areas F and H, cups, kraters, and lekythoi are all well represented. Of the fragments of Attic black and red-figure pottery from Area-K, twenty-nine can be identified as belonging to cups of various forms. Of these cups, nine came from loci assigned by Conrad to late Iron Age-III or the Persian period. While some of these contexts were evidently disturbed and contain a mix of material from various periods, others are listed as having contained only Persian-era finds and it is reasonable to assume provisionally the security of these deposits.

Two black-figure cup-skyphos fragments were found in loci assigned by Conrad to Strat. VI, a level described as spanning Iron Age-IIC and Iron Age-III. (Fig. I.5)¹⁰³ Both of the fragments show palmettes and date to ca. 500-475 BCE. The first is a lower-body sherd (No. 48, Fig. II.34)¹⁰⁴ from L480, an area listed as containing only Persian-period material.¹⁰⁵ This locus is situated below a domestic structure, B400, the first phase of which was assigned to Strat. V, a level designated “Early-Persian” though with no definite dates. The presence of this sherd in L480 pushes the date of the house’s construction and of Conrad’s Strat. V to post ca. 500 BCE. The second fragment was found at L220, (No. 49, Fig. II.35)¹⁰⁶ a mixed deposit containing mainly Persian-era material. It is located just south of L316, a pit whose contents spanned from LBA-IIB until the early-fourth century.¹⁰⁷

Four further cups are recorded as having come from loci in Strat. V. (Fig. I.6)¹⁰⁸ A domestic context can be assigned to fragments of two black-figure cup-skyphoi decorated with palmettes, which were found at L419 and L472 in the courtyard of Building-400’s first phase. (No. 50, Fig. II.36) (No. 51, Fig. II.37)¹⁰⁹ The surviving sections of rubble-stone wall appear to delineate a courtyard and at least one closed room, while the presence of these cup-skyphoi both in the courtyard of this house and below its foundations at L480 suggest a construction date in the early-fifth century. The context of a Saint-Valentin-Class skyphos fragment decorated with lozenges is somewhat less certain. (No. 52, Fig. II.38)¹¹⁰ It was found at L219, an open area

¹⁰³ Conrad, “loci”, (1985), Ed. M. Peilstöcker, (unpublished).

¹⁰⁴ Reg. No. 2046-2.

¹⁰⁵ Conrad, “finds”, (unpublished).

¹⁰⁶ Reg. No. 841-7.

¹⁰⁷ Conrad, “loci”, (1985), Ed. M. Peilstöcker, (unpublished).

¹⁰⁸ Conrad, “finds”, (unpublished); Conrad, “loci”, (1985), (unpublished).

¹⁰⁹ Reg. Nos. 1333-2, 2047-1.

¹¹⁰ Reg. No. 854-1; See: Howard, Johnson (1954), 193. Cf. Chicago, Art Institute: 89.102; Howard, Johnson (1954), Pl.34:19.

assigned to Strat. VI and Strat. V whose recorded contents date entirely to the Persian period.¹¹¹ This locus is the surface just west of Pit-332 which contained material spanning from the Late Bronze Age to the Persian period. Thus, overflow from the pit likely formed the deposits at this locus. Finally, a rim and handle zone fragment of yet another black-figure cup-skyphos was found at L279, an open area of Strat. V that contained only Persian-period material but cannot be associated with any specific features. (No. 53, Fig. II.39)¹¹²

The remainder of the cups assigned to Persian-period loci come from Conrad's "Late-Persian" Strat. IV. (Fig. I.7) In this stratum, a new phase of Building-400 was built in ashlar-and-rubble construction. A body sherd with unclear decoration was found at L429. (No. 54, Fig. II.40)¹¹³ This locus is situated in the northeast room of the house, though the stratigraphy is unclear and it has been variously assigned to Strat. IV through Strat. II.¹¹⁴ All of the recorded finds from the locus are, however, of Persian-era date.¹¹⁵ Of similar, though even less secure context is the rim fragment of a red-figure kantharos from L408 in the courtyard of the same structure. (No. 55, Fig. II.41)¹¹⁶ The sherd itself is decorated with incised ivy and should be dated to ca. 440-410 BCE. The locus appears to be a disturbed deposit, as it is variously assigned to Strat. IV through II and the listed finds range throughout this timespan.¹¹⁷ The last cup fragment from a recorded Persian-era locus is the stem and lower-body of a black-figure cup with the body of a horse represented in its tondo. (No. 56, Fig. II.42)¹¹⁸ The sherd was found in a baulk (L502) whose stratigraphy spans Strat. III and IV but from which only Persian-period finds have been recorded.¹¹⁹ It is also the sole piece of Attic pottery from Area-K to have been previously published.¹²⁰ Wenning, likely based only on a view of the interior, identified it as an orientalisising Boeotian lekane. However, the narrow foot and black-glazed exterior make this identification untenable, and mark it instead a cup of ca. 560-530 BCE.¹²¹

¹¹¹ Conrad, "finds"(unpublished); Conrad, "loci", (1985), (Unpublished).

¹¹² Reg. No. 3174.

¹¹³ Reg. No. 1371-12.

¹¹⁴ Conrad, "loci", (1985), (unpublished).

¹¹⁵ Conrad, "finds", (unpublished).

¹¹⁶ Reg. No. 1231-5.

¹¹⁷ Conrad, "finds", (unpublished); Conrad, "loci", (1985), (unpublished).

¹¹⁸ Reg. No. 2149-1.

¹¹⁹ Conrad, "Finds", (unpublished).

¹²⁰ Wenning (1981), 43, P.4:3.

¹²¹ Wenning (1981), 43. But Cf. Killinski, (1977), Figs.2, 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20.

Two further cups came from loci that do not appear in the locus lists but whose contents, according to the basket lists, have been dated exclusively to the Persian period.¹²² These are a rim sherd of a Little-Master band cup (ca. 560-530 BCE) showing a male head from L56, (No. 57, Fig. II.43)¹²³ and a body fragment from Pit-217 with unidentifiable decoration. (No. 58, Fig. II.44).¹²⁴

The remaining twenty Attic figure-decorated cups from Area-K were all found either in later Hellenistic strata or come from mixed or unknown contexts. Seven of these cups come from Conrad's "Early-Hellenistic" Strat. III, which he dated to the third century BCE. (Fig. I.8)¹²⁵ However, as previously noted, the extensive disturbance of the upper strata make determining the divisions between this layer and those directly above and below very difficult. L233, which yielded a black-figure cup-skyphos sherd with a palmette, (No. 59, Fig. II.45)¹²⁶ is assigned to Strat. III, but listed as having contained only Persian-era material.¹²⁷ The other sherds were all found in mixed deposits spanning the Persian and Hellenistic periods. These include body fragments of two red-figure cups, one with illegible decoration, (No. 60, Fig. II.46)¹²⁸ and another from a red-figure type-C kylix. (No. 61, Fig. II.47)¹²⁹ The latter shows a female head wearing a diadem and can be dated to the mid-to-later fifth century. The same locus also contained the lower-body sherd of a black-figure skyphos, (No. 62, Fig. II.48)¹³⁰ while sherds of two other such skyphoi or cup-skyphoi were found at, L266 (No. 63, Fig. II.49) (No. 64, Fig. II.50)¹³¹ and another at L254 (No. 65, Fig. II.51).¹³² This latter locus is situated within a house (Building-203) with Strat. III and Strat. II phases, and has been variously assigned to both strata.¹³³ The Strat. III phase comprised at least two rooms and the deposit from L254, contained mainly Persian-era material.¹³⁴

¹²² Conrad, "finds", (unpublished)

¹²³ Reg. No. 588-1.

¹²⁴ Reg. No. 812-3.

¹²⁵ Conrad, "Stratigraphy", (1985), (unpublished).

¹²⁶ Reg. No. 2149-1.

¹²⁷ Conrad, "finds". (unpublished); Conrad, "loci", (1985), (unpublished).

¹²⁸ Reg. No. 603-3; L200.

¹²⁹ Reg. No. 1042-1; L252.

¹³⁰ Reg. No. 1042-2.

¹³¹ Reg. Nos. 1157-1, 3146-1.

¹³² Reg. No. 1069-1.

¹³³ Conrad, "Bericht 5", (1986), 5-6, 23, (unpublished).

¹³⁴ Conrad, "finds", (unpublished).

Loci from the “Late-Hellenistic” Strat. II and later mixed deposits, also contained Attic pottery. These included the sherds of a five black-figure cups. Two display unidentifiable motifs, (No. 66, Fig. II.52)¹³⁵ (No. 67, Fig. II.53),¹³⁶ while the others feature a foot and grapevines in early-fifth-century style, (No. 68, Fig. II.54)¹³⁷(No. 69, Fig. II.55),¹³⁸ along with the garment and reins of a charioteer dating to ca. 525-475 BCE. (No. 70, Fig. II.56)¹³⁹

Lastly, fragments of eight cups from Area-K have no recorded findspots. These include two pieces from ca. 500-570 BCE with palmette-and-lotus-bud chains, (No. 71, Fig. II.57)¹⁴⁰ (No. 72, Fig. II.58),¹⁴¹ as well as sherds of cup-skyphoi with palmettes (No. 73, Fig. II.59)¹⁴² (No. 74, Fig. II.60)¹⁴³and vines. (No. 75Fig. II.61)¹⁴⁴ Departing from these recurring vegetal motifs, the fragment of a black-figure band-cup may show the hindquarters and tail of an animal, perhaps a panther, (No. 76, Fig. II.62)¹⁴⁵ dating to ca. 550-530 BCE. Finally, a rim fragment of a red-figure cup was also found at an unspecified locus. (No. 77, Fig. II.63).¹⁴⁶

In addition to cups, pieces of six kraters were also found in Area-K. The only krater fragment in a secure Strat. V deposit came from the same courtyard in Building-400 (L414) that contained two black-figure cup-skyphoi above. (No. 78, Fig. II.64).¹⁴⁷ The sherd shows a laurel branch above an architectural feature and likely came from a naiskos scene painted ca. 400-350 BCE. Its presence in the deposit thus provides a terminus post quem of ca. 400 BCE for the construction of the subsequent Strat. IV phase of Building-400.

A single red-figure krater fragment was also found in a house assigned to Conrad’s “Late Persian” Strat. IV. The fragment is a bell krater handle and body sherd decorated with egg-and-dart. (No. 79, Fig. II.65)¹⁴⁸ It was found in L646, a “closed room” in a Strat. IV structure, though the locus also contained later Hellenistic material.¹⁴⁹

¹³⁵ Reg. No. 662-1; L201.

¹³⁶ Reg. No. 2300-2; Conrad, “finds”, (unpublished); L.600.

¹³⁷ Reg. No. 1111-2; L250.

¹³⁸ Reg. No. 3225; L285. This locus also contained IA material: Conrad, “finds”, (unpublished);

¹³⁹ Reg. No. 455-1; Conrad, “finds”, (unpublished); Conrad, “Bericht 5”(1986), 5, (Unpublished); L.455.

¹⁴⁰ Reg. No. 101-1.

¹⁴¹ Reg. No. 1693-1.

¹⁴² Reg. No. 317-1.

¹⁴³ Reg. No. 2391-4.

¹⁴⁴ Reg. Nos. 317-1;2391-4;2016-1.

¹⁴⁵ Reg. No. 2038-1.

¹⁴⁶ Reg. No. 3103-2.

¹⁴⁷ Reg. No. 1421-10.

¹⁴⁸ Reg. No. 2677.

¹⁴⁹ Conrad, “finds”; “loci”, (unpublished).

Intriguingly, while these “Late-Persian” loci contained Hellenistic material, the findspots of two krater fragments associated with the subsequent Strat. III contained only Persian-period material.¹⁵⁰ The smaller of these fragments is a body sherd of a thick-walled open vessel, likely a red-figure krater possibly showing feathers or drapery. (No. 80, Fig. II.66)¹⁵¹ The other is the rim of a red-figure bell krater of ca. 440-390 BCE decorated with the standard laurel wreath. (No. 81, Fig. II.67)¹⁵² These sherds were found at L259 and L267 respectively. Both of these loci are open areas assigned to Strat. III,¹⁵³ and the fact that their recorded contents were exclusively Persian-era in date, further demonstrates the area’s difficult stratigraphy.¹⁵⁴

Two other red-figure krater fragments from Area-K, one a column krater (No. 82, Fig. II.68)¹⁵⁵ and the other a bell krater (No. 83, Fig. II.69),¹⁵⁶ have no recorded findspots. The column krater sherd features a vertical ivy border commonly in the mid-fifth century, and should be dated to ca. 460-440 BCE,¹⁵⁷ while the bell krater lip fragment likely dates to ca. 440-430 BCE and shows a laurel leaf below an egg-and-dart.

Along with the cups and kraters, the Attic pottery assemblage from Area-K at Tel Akko, also mirrors that from Area-H through the prominent presence of lekythoi. Five lekythoi of various types can be identified among the black and red-figure finds from Area-K. Of these two come from loci assigned to Persian-Period strata (Strat. V and Strat. IV). The fragment of a white-ground pattern lekythos decorated with a lattice and ivy in the manner of the Beldam Group was found at L219, (No. 84, Fig. II.70)¹⁵⁸ the same surface near Pit-332 that contained the Saint-Valentin skyphos above. The shoulder fragment of another lekythos was found at L89, a baulk comprising deposits from both Achaemenid strata. (No. 85, Fig. II.71)¹⁵⁹ The sherd itself displays black rays, and should be dated to ca. 500-450. The remaining lekythoi from Area-K all come from mixed or unknown contexts. These include the sherds of a fourth-century squat-lekythos and early-fifth -century black-figure lekythos, both decorated with sketchy palmettes,

¹⁵⁰ Conrad, “finds”; “loci”, (unpublished).

¹⁵¹ Reg. No. 1113-2.

¹⁵² Reg. No. 1190-3.

¹⁵³ Conrad, “loci”, (unpublished).

¹⁵⁴ Conrad, “finds”, (unpublished).

¹⁵⁵ Reg. No. 1033.

¹⁵⁶ Reg. No. 2058-1.

¹⁵⁷ Later than this the heart-shaped leaves tend to get schematized into dots.

¹⁵⁸ Reg. No. 822-1. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl. 70: 6-8.

¹⁵⁹ Reg. No. 8044.

(No. 86, Fig. II.72),¹⁶⁰(No. 87, Fig. II.73)¹⁶¹ as well as the lower body of a white-ground cylinder lekythos from ca. 480-430 BCE. (No. 88, Fig. II.74).¹⁶²

Three additional red-figure sherds from Area-K cannot be securely identified. All come from open shapes and were found in mixed late-Hellenistic deposits. Two of these fragments are body sherds, one decorated with a meander (No. 89, Fig. II.75)¹⁶³ and the other with a palmette, (No. 90, Fig. II.76)¹⁶⁴ while the third is a rim sherd with the remnants of an added-red meander that has been worn or scoured away. (No. 91, Fig. II.77)¹⁶⁵

In sum— apart from these vessels of uncertain shape – thirty-one cups, six kraters, and five lekythoi can be identified from Area-K. Thus, shapes for the consumption of wine and perfumed oil appear to have been heavily favoured, a trend supported by the finds from other areas of the tel. With regard to stratigraphy, these finds may help to clarify the dates of construction of the various phases of the structures, especially Building-400, which contained pottery of the early-fifth century under its foundations and of the early-fourth century between the floors of its first and second phases. While the extensive disruption of the upper layers means out-of-context finds are to be expected, a remarkable number of loci from Strat. III, assigned by Conrad to the third century, contained only Persian-period material. Later deposition and extended use of such vessels are of course possible, but it may also suggest the need to raise the date of this stratum closer to the mid-fourth century. If so, this would mean that the different phases of Buildings 400 and 203 up to Strat. III would have been built in quick succession, all within the span of about a century.

When viewed as part of the full corpus of Attic figure-decorated pottery from the tel, this assemblage from Area-K and the others from Areas F and H provide a cohesive picture of the common shapes and contexts-of-use. Regarding the nature of the deposits, all of the sherds that can be assigned secure contexts came either from houses or rubbish pits in residential areas that themselves contained household material. The context of the pottery's use and deposition is thus manifestly domestic. The range of shapes present is also limited. Nearly half of the fragments belong to cups of various sorts (kylikes, katharoi, and skyphoi) (39/81=48.15%). This is

¹⁶⁰ Reg. No. 3105-3; Conrad, "finds"(unpublished);"loci", (unpublished); L266.

¹⁶¹ Reg. No. 1994-1; L470.

¹⁶² Reg. No. 3258-7.

¹⁶³ Reg. No. 600/6; L200.

¹⁶⁴ Reg. No. 373-1; L31.

¹⁶⁵ Reg. No. 1733-1; L450.

followed by kraters at 37.04% (30/81). Together these shapes for the serving and consumption of wine make up 85.19% of all the black and red-figure pottery present. The remainder of the identifiable sherds are lekythoi which make up 8.64% (7/81) alongside the two amphorae (2/81=2.47%) and a hydria (1/81=1.23%). (Fig. I.9) In general, then, the practical and social role into which residents of Akko incorporated Attic pottery was mainly the consumption of wine in a household setting, though with a smaller number of vessels also dedicated to storing and pouring other substances such as oil or water. The combination of these finds with local epigraphic evidence on the ostrakon from Area-A is potentially enlightening. It is noteworthy that the overseer of the city's shrines, a figure presumably high in the local religious and administrative hierarchy, specifically requested that he be supplied with decorated kraters and cups, and small deep bowls. These shapes make up the vast majority of the Attic figure-decorated pottery assemblage, which is composed largely of kraters, cups, and a small, deep-bowled cup-skyphoi. Shelet's order even specifies the desire for "decorated" vessels. Evidently, the same shapes used by occupants of Akko's residential areas, were among those also favoured by the local elite, with both also seeming to value the addition of decoration.

2.2. D: Apollonia-Arsuf

(Fig. I.1:22)

Apollonia-Arsuf is located on a coastal kurkar ridge northwest of the modern city of Herzliya. The earliest port city at the site seems to have been established in the late-Persian era under the hegemony of Sidon, a link corroborated by the large assemblage of fourth-century BCE Sidonian coins found at the site.¹⁶⁶ Following salvage digs in 1950, systematic excavations at the site were carried out between 1977 and 2004 under the direction of I. Roll.¹⁶⁷ The Persian-era city appears to have extended over approximately 2000m², with excavated finds from this period concentrated in Area-H and Area-D. (Fig. I.10) In Area-H two Persian-period strata were identified, an early-Persian layer (Persian-II) (Fig. I.11) and a late-Persian layer (Persian-I) (Fig. I.12), both of which

¹⁶⁶ Galor et al. (2009), 5.

¹⁶⁷ "Apollonia-Arsuf Excavation Project," https://en-humanities.tau.ac.il/archaeology/excavations_and_projects/current_excavations/Apollonia-Arsuf, accessed 08/2021; Roll, Ayalon (1989); Roll, Tal (1999); Galor et al., (2009), 5.

contained segments of the walls and floors of domestic structures. Area-D, meanwhile contained a large Persian-era refuse pit. (Fig. 1.13)¹⁶⁸

Of the figure-decorated Attic sherds from the site, ten belong to cups, the majority of which were found in the refuse pit in Area-D. Finds from this pit included three black-figure cup rims: one displays the head and shoulders of a man in the style the Lancut Group, (No. 92, Fig. II.78)¹⁶⁹ while the others feature unidentifiable decoration composed of dots and diffuse brushstrokes respectively. (No. 93, Fig. II.79)¹⁷⁰(No. 94, Fig. II.80)¹⁷¹Also contained in the pit were the body sherd of a red-figure cup showing the corner of a kline from a symposion scene, (No. 95, Fig. II.81)¹⁷²and the foot and lower body of a fourth-century red-figure stemless cup with spiralling vegetation. (No. 96, Fig. II.82)¹⁷³ This pit also contained large quantities of local pottery, animal bones, and ash.¹⁷⁴

Five cup fragments were found in Area-H, two of which can be associated with domestic structures. A body fragment of a black-figure cup-skyphos with a palmette was found in Rm.983, a residential space of the Persian-II stratum delineated by two perpendicular rough-hewn kurkar walls (WB1, WB2). (No. 97, Fig. II.83)¹⁷⁵ L.1515, a cooking area of the Persian-I stratum with a white chalk floor, also contained a body fragment of a red-figure cup. (No. 98, Fig. II.84).¹⁷⁶ This fragment appears to show part of a standing figure holding a kantharos. An additional black-figure cup handle from Area-H, was found in the an early-Persian-era fill, (No. 99, Fig. II.85)¹⁷⁷ while two red-figure skyphos sherds, one with an olive sprig – likely a framing motif from an owl skyphos (No. 100, Fig. II.86)¹⁷⁸– and another with vegetal spiral (No. 101, Fig. II.87)¹⁷⁹ have no known find context. The former should be dated to ca. 472-425 BCE¹⁸⁰ and the latter to the fourth century.

¹⁶⁸ Roll, Tal (1999), 83-90.

¹⁶⁹ IAA-1992-1368; Roll, Tal (1999), 180, Fig. 4.45:11.

¹⁷⁰ IAA-2002-235; L430; Roll, Tal (1999), 180, Fig. 4.45:13.

¹⁷¹ IAA-2002-220; L431; Roll, Tal (1999), 180, Fig. 4.45:12.

¹⁷² IAA-2002-221; L430; Roll, Tal (1999), 180, Fig. 4.45:14.

¹⁷³ IAA-1992-1378-2; Roll, Tal (1999), 148, Fig. 4.44:7.

¹⁷⁴ Roll, Tal (1999), 91.

¹⁷⁵ IAA-2002-91; L983; Roll, Tal (1999), 115, Fig. 4.14:13.

¹⁷⁶ IAA-2002-122; Roll, Tal (1999), 146, Fig. 4.28:6.

¹⁷⁷ IAA-2002-97; L1145; Roll, Tal (1999), 119, Fig. 4.18:1.

¹⁷⁸ IAA-2002-114; Roll, Tal (1999), 145, Fig. 4.27:11. On owl skyphoi: Johnson (1955); Watson (1999).

¹⁷⁹ IAA-1992-1378-1; Roll, Tal (1999), 151, Fig. 4.33.

¹⁸⁰ Watson (1999), 1.

In addition to the cups, fragments of four red-figure bell kraters were also found. With the exception of a lip sherd from the pit in Area-D adorned with laurel, (No. 102, Fig. II.88)¹⁸¹ all were found out-of-context. These include two lower-body fragments from Area-H with meanders, (No. 103, Fig. II.89) (No. 104, Fig. II.90)¹⁸² as well as a body fragment from Area-G. This last piece displays a schematized face, evidently from the B-side of a fourth-century bell krater. (No. 105, Fig. II.91)¹⁸³

Fragments of four lekythoi were also found in Apollonia. Areas D and H each yielded shoulder fragments of lekythoi with black rays and tongues. (No. 106, Fig. II.92)¹⁸⁴ (No. 107, Fig. II.93),¹⁸⁵ the former from the pit in Area-D and the latter from a late-Persian fill. The pit also yielded two joining body fragments of a white-ground pattern lekythos in the manner of the Beldam Workshop, (No. 108, Fig. II.94)¹⁸⁶ while the body sherd of a red-figure squat-lekythos of ca. 430-400 BCE was found out-of-context in Area-H. This piece displays the billowing drapery of a flying figure, perhaps Nike. (No. 109, Fig. II.95)¹⁸⁷

In all then, of the figure-decorated Attic pottery from Apollonia, 55.56% of the assemblage are cups (10/18), while kraters and lekythoi constitute 22.22% each (4/18). (Fig. I.14) The finds with identifiable contexts are also strictly domestic, in the case of those from Area-H, or detrital in the case of the pit in Area-D. It is notable that a Persian period necropolis was also excavated at the site but that none of the burials contained offerings.¹⁸⁸ Roll and Tal's 1999 publication from the site provided a quantitative analysis of the shapes present among local coarse-ware and imported fine ware pottery in Areas D and H. Their statistics were based only on diagnostic rim fragments and the overall quantities are thus not directly comparable with this current study. However, the general proportions of different shapes represented in the results are still instructive. Of the locally-produced wares 45% were storage vessels (including a wide array of jars); 24% were bowls of various sizes, 13% were lamps, 9% were cooking pots, 6% were jugs and juglets, and 3% were kraters. The functions represented by this assemblage of coarseware thus vary significantly from that of the Attic imports, with the former showing

¹⁸¹ IAA-1992-1370; L412; Fischer, Tal (1996), 224, Fig. 9:12.

¹⁸² Roll, Tal (1999), 151, Fig. 4.32.

¹⁸³ Roll, Tal (1999), 185, Fig. 4.50.

¹⁸⁴ Reg. No. HM-3769; L430; Roll, Tal (1999), 178, Fig. 4.44:3.

¹⁸⁵ Reg. No. HM-3584; L1145; Roll, Tal (1999), 115, Fig. 4.14:12.

¹⁸⁶ IAA-1992-1367; L430; Roll, Tal (1999), 178, Fig. 4.44:4. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl. 70:6-8.

¹⁸⁷ Roll, Tal (1999), 151, Fig. 4.32.

¹⁸⁸ Roll, Tal (1999), 223.

broader variety and greater emphasis on the production, storage, and consumption of food. Since these assemblages were found in the same areas of the site and in the same strata, the dissimilarity is all the more striking.

2.2. E: Atlit

(Fig.I.1:8)

The site of Atlit, dominated today by the ruins of a large crusader fortress in a closed military zone, is located on a promontory between large natural harbours 20km south of Haifa. From the ninth century through to the Hellenistic period, it was the site of a Phoenician port city, which Ps. Skylax identifies as “Arados, a City of the Sidonians”.¹⁸⁹ To the southeast of the crusader land wall a Persian-era necropolis was found, containing Phoenician-style rock-hewn shaft graves. (Fig. I.15) These graves, excavated by C. N. Johns between 1930 and 1934,¹⁹⁰ contained a remarkably high concentration of grave goods including, unusually, Attic pottery.

The largest assemblage of Attic pottery was found in Tomb-L21. (Fig. 1.16) This shaft grave comprised two chambers, a side chamber and the main shaft, and contained the remains of twelve adults dating to the Persian and early-Hellenistic periods. Four bodies, likely the earliest burials, were placed in two floor graves in the side chamber (b. iv – b. vii) with subsequent bodies placed above in the shaft (a. i - a. v).¹⁹¹ Two black-figure lekythoi were found in the shaft near the opening of the side chamber with two adult skeletons (a. iv, a. v).¹⁹² The first is adorned with a double palmette-and-lotus-bud chain, (No. 110, Fig. II.96) and should be attributed to the Beldam Workshop.¹⁹³ The other, attributable to the Haimon Group, shows a chariot scene with a team of horses and figure seated on a diphros. (No. 111, Fig. II.97)¹⁹⁴ Other objects associated with these burials included bronze and iron pins, a bronze anklet, and a flint saw. Fragments of a third lekythos were found by the shoulders of skeleton b-iii, an adult who was laid extended on the cover stone of the floor grave.¹⁹⁵ These fragments appear to have been deposited later as part

¹⁸⁹ Ps. Skylax, 104.3.

¹⁹⁰ Johns (1933), 41.

¹⁹¹ Johns (1933), 72-76.

¹⁹² Johns (1933), 73.

¹⁹³ IAA-1932-528; Johns (1933), 73, No. 528, Pl. 21. Cf. Leiden, Rijksmuseum: C4; BAPD: 8081.

¹⁹⁴ IAA-1932-529; Johns (1933), 73, No. 529. Pl. 21. Cf. Leiden, Rijksmuseum: ROII15; BAPD: 1222.

¹⁹⁵ Johns (1933), 74.

of the debris that descended through a breach in the chamber roof, since fragments of this same lekythos were found in the fill in tombs L21b and L23.¹⁹⁶ This red-figure vase, which has been restored for display, shows a fleeing woman in a style near to that of the Karlsruhe Painter (ca. 475-450 BCE). (No. 112, Fig. II.98)¹⁹⁷

Four other tombs each contained a single figure-decorated Attic vessel among their respective grave goods. Tomb-L/16, (Fig. I.17) which contained the burials of two adults,¹⁹⁸ yielded a single lekythos bearing a palmette-and-lotus-bud chain. (No. 113, Fig. II.99)¹⁹⁹ This piece was found near the left foot of skeleton b. I. and should be attributed to the Beldam Workshop. The individual was also buried with an array of other grave offerings, including beads of silver, semi-precious stones, and glass, as well as a silver ring, an alabastron, and a jasper scarab with an image of Isis nursing Horus.²⁰⁰ A black-bodied cylinder lekythos with a black-figure palmette-scroll on its shoulder was also found in Tomb-L21b. (No. 114, Fig. II.100).²⁰¹ This tomb, comprising three chambers, held the remains of twenty-eight individuals. (Fig. I.18)²⁰² The lekythos, dateable to ca. 475-450 BCE, was found with burial c.ii, an adult whose grave goods also included a Greek-style terracotta of a recumbent woman, a bronze finger ring, and bronze, iron, and silver hair ornaments.²⁰³ A body fragment of a final white-ground pattern lekythos was also found in the shaft of Tomb-L23. (Fig. I.19.) This sherd is ornamented with ivy-and-berries below lattice and can be attributed to the Beldam Group. (No. 115, Fig. II.101)²⁰⁴ The mixed material in the shaft appears to be fill that accumulated in the opening and does not properly belong to the burials within.²⁰⁵ Aside from these lekythoi, a final tomb, L35, (Fig. I.20) contained joining rim and handle fragments of a black-figure cup-skyphos. The extant decoration, attributable to the Lancut Group, shows the heads of figures and horses from a chariot scene. (No. 116, Fig. II.102)²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁶ Johns (1933), 73, 79.

¹⁹⁷ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-307; Johns (1933), 74, No. 307, Fig. 39, Pl. 22. Karlsruhe Painter: *ARV2*, 730-739. Cf. Vienna, von Matsch; *ARV2*, 732.40; BAPD: 209032.

¹⁹⁸ Johns (1933), 60-62.

¹⁹⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-415; Johns (1933), 62, No. 415, Pl. 18.

²⁰⁰ Johns (1933), 62.

²⁰¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-623; Johns (1933), 79, No. 623.

²⁰² Johns (1933), 77-82.

²⁰³ Johns (1933), 79.

²⁰⁴ Johns (1933), Pl. 20. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl. 70:5-8. Note: some confusion regarding locus, possibly same object listed under L21b at Johns (1933), 76.

²⁰⁵ Johns (1933), 84.

²⁰⁶ IAA-1933-979; Johns (1933), 102, No. 1005c, Pl. 35:979. Cf. Prague, National Museum: 444; BAPD: 21430.

As one of the few sites in Canaan to have contained Attic pottery in a funerary context, Atlit provides a useful counterpoint to the generally domestic, assemblages in the region. While the small number of Attic vases from the necropolis provide too small a sample for meaningful statistical analysis it is interesting to note that the shapes, cup-skyphoi and lekythoi, are the same as those which dominate the residential finds. In the Greek world lekythoi functioned primarily as funerary shapes; thus, their appearance in graves is to be expected. In these Phoenician burials in Canaan, however, their presence can likely be explained as an extension of their popularity in domestic use. Prized status-objects valued in life were repurposed as effective status-objects in death. It is also important to note that Attic pottery constitutes only a minute portion of the funerary assemblages from the site. Attic figure-decorated vessels account for only 0.7% of catalogued grave goods,²⁰⁷ and only five of the 115 burials in the South Cemetery contained any figure-decorated Attic pottery.²⁰⁸ It therefore seems that imported Attic pottery remained an unusual luxury, even among the rarified segment of society wont to be buried with grave goods.

2.2. F: Dor

(Fig. I.1:14)

The mound of Tel Dor is located on a small headland jutting into the Mediterranean roughly 30km south of Haifa, on the grounds of Kibbutz Nachsholim. The natural harbour at the site fostered a succession of settlements from the Middle Bronze Age onward. Following the apparent abandonment of the Iron-Age city of Dor in the mid-seventh century and a lull in occupation during the Babylonian period, a large, well-planned city was constructed anew on the mound in the late-sixth or early-fifth century.²⁰⁹ This Achaemenid-era settlement is well-attested as a major Sidonian port. Hekataios of Miletus, writing ca. 500 BCE, referred to *Doros* as a Phoenician city,²¹⁰ while both the Eshmunazar sarcophagus inscription and Ps. Skylax name Dor as a city ruled by Sidon.²¹¹

²⁰⁷ 7/996.

²⁰⁸ “A mass of sherds of plain black varnish” are also reported and are potentially Attic. At least six apparently belonged to kylikes, though quantity, fabric, and technique are uncertain: Johns (1933), 47.

²⁰⁹ Nitschke et al. (2011), 133-134.

²¹⁰ Steph. Byz. (ed. Meineke)s. V. “Δῶρος”, 254-6: “Δῶρος, πόλις Φοινίκης. Ἐκαταῖος Ἀσία μετὰ δὲ ἡ πάλαι Δῶρος, νῦν δὲ Δῶρα καλεῖται.”

²¹¹ *KAI*-14; Ps.-Skylax, 104.3.

The earliest archaeological investigations of the site were conducted by J. Garstang for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in the 1920's. This was followed by J. Leibowitz's excavation of the lower city in 1950s, and A. Raban's excavations of the harbour installations between 1979 and 1984. From 1980 to 2000, E. Stern, of the Hebrew University directed twenty seasons of excavations at the site, all of which have been extensively published,²¹² and the current project, begun in 2003 under the direction of I. Sharon of the Hebrew University and A. Gilboa of Haifa University, is still ongoing.²¹³ Extensive remains of the Persian-period city have been excavated throughout the site. These remains show the existence of a large, well-organised urban space built on a grid system whose semi-orthogonal plan seems to have followed the contours dictated by the city's inset-offset defensive wall (which remained in place from the previous late-Iron-Age city). Extensive residential areas were found with houses built using the standard Phoenician ashlar-pier technique and arranged into insulae in accordance with the city's grid-plan. In addition to these domestic areas, the remains of other Persian-era structures, were also found during the various excavations at the site. These included a large prostyle public building, industrial installations, warehouses, and numerous pits.²¹⁴ (Fig. I.21)

Alongside these extensive architectural remains, Dor has provided, by far, the largest single-site corpus of Attic pottery available for this study. This state of affairs is potentially suggestive of ancient reality while simultaneously presenting a prejudicial view of the relative size of assemblages if viewed uncritically. As both a major port and a flourishing population centre in the Persian era, it is likely that the masses of Attic pottery are indeed indicative of Dor's considerable economic connectivity, size, and affluence. Concurrently, it is also the result of the practical realities of publication and access to material. The imported ceramics unearthed during Stern's twenty years of excavation in Areas A and C of the tel have been meticulously published by R. Marchese.²¹⁵ As such, Dor has one of the best-published collections of Attic pottery in a region where the publication of such material has otherwise been comparatively

²¹² Eg. *HA74* (1980): 12-15; Stern (1982c); Stern (1984); Stern (1985); Stern (1987); Stern (1995); Stern (1996); Stern (2010);

²¹³ Gilboa et al. (2009); Gilboa et al. (2010); Gilboa et al. (2014); Gilboa et al. (2018).

²¹⁴ Nitschke et al. (2011), 134.

²¹⁵ Stern (1995), Vol.1. B, 127-173. Marchese has also provided extensive comparanda and analysis of this material which need not be rehearsed here. The reader is referred to the publication. All unpublished material was provided courtesy of the Dor Excavation Project and the Mizgaga Museum, unless otherwise indicated.

neglected. Likewise, the large collections of pottery from Dor housed at HaMizgaga Museum in Kibbutz Nachsholim was generously made available for the current study, further expanding the corpus of available objects from this site. It is hoped that the reader's cognizance of this unavoidable imbalance in sample size, and the consideration of this extraordinary collection alongside as much comparable data as possible from other sites in the present study, will serve to ameliorate the inherent interpretational bias.

Area-A

The excavated areas at Tel Dor have been assigned alphabetic labels ranging from A to H, some with numerically-designated sub-areas. Area-A was excavated by Stern's expedition between 1980 and 2000. It is located on the eastern edge of the mound and contained the architectural remains of several Persian-era residential insulae bordering the city wall. One of the main north-south streets runs through the area, dividing the insulae into well-defined rows on either side. The central subarea encompassing the street itself was designated A0, while that to its west was labelled A1 (Fig. I.24) and the small subarea to its east containing remains of the fortification wall was dubbed A2.²¹⁶ Of the fragments of Attic figure-decorated pottery from Area-A, eight can be identified as cups. All save two of these are black-figure cup-skyphoi. One such skyphos fragment depicting drapery, (No. 117)²¹⁷ and another with a palmette-chain, (No. 118)²¹⁸ were found out-of-context in later fills,²¹⁹ while a further sherd with a palmette was found in a sealed deposit beneath the Hellenistic tower, likely as part of the soil revetment reinforcing the Persian-era wall. (No. 119)²²⁰ The remainder of the black-figure skyphos fragments from Area-A were found in sealed deposits directly on floors in the Persian-period residential insulae, thus providing secure domestic contexts. Such deposits yielded two skyphos body sherds, (No. 120)²²¹ one decorated with a palmette-and-lotus-bud chain and datable to the late-sixth or early-fifth century. (No. 121, Fig. II.103)²²² The rim of a further cup-skyphos was found in the makeup of a floor and, though none of the decoration has survived, it was identified as black-figure by

²¹⁶ Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 49.

²¹⁷ Reg. No. 10494; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 2.

²¹⁸ Reg. No. 82-11; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 12.

²¹⁹ L1082, LAH.

²²⁰ Reg. No. 10240-4, L1044; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 1.

²²¹ L1186; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 3; Vol.1a, 57, 72.

²²² Locus cards are from the Dor Excavation Project catalogue at the University of Tel Aviv. Years are of card entry and the initials of the card writer when known. Reg. No. 11563-1:(Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 4.

Marchese. (No. 122)²²³ In addition to these black-figure skyphoi, the finds from Area-A also included fragments of two red-figure cups. Part of a late-fifth-century skyphos showing a palmette was found in the topsoil of A0, (No. 123, Fig. II.104)²²⁴ while Area-A1 yielded the body sherd of a red-figure cup decorated with the torso of a nude male figure, dated to ca. 490-470 BCE. (No. 124)²²⁵ This fragment was found at a locus comprising two occupation surfaces and the fill between them: the earlier cobbled floor is dated to the late-sixth century and the fill to the fifth to mid-fourth centuries.²²⁶

The remainder of the Attic figure-decorated fragments from Area-A all belong to red-figure kraters. The surface of A0²²⁷ contained two joining bell krater rim fragments with laurel springs on both the lip and upper body. (No. 125, Fig. II.105)²²⁸ In A1 and A2 bell krater fragments were found in unsealed loci and Hellenistic-era deposits. A sherd with a palmette and an egg-and-dart pattern around the handle-root, (No. 126)²²⁹ and a lower-body fragment with a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard frieze, (No. 127, Fig. II.106)²³⁰ were both found in mixed fills.²³¹ Meanwhile, a body sherd showing a male head was found in the makeup of a Hellenistic floor, (No. 128)²³² and two others showing vegetal motifs (No. 129, Fig. II.107)²³³ and drapery (No. 130, Fig. II.108)²³⁴ were found in the fills above such floors.²³⁵ Another body sherd showing the drapery of a standing figure was found in a Hellenistic pit, (No. 131, Fig. II.109)²³⁶ and a fragment with a red-figure palmette was found in a mixed Roman-era fill. (No. 132)²³⁷ Excepting these unstratified finds, the decorated Attic pottery from Area-A was thus found in demonstrably residential settings and consisted exclusively of wine-related shapes.

²²³ Reg. No. 1193-11; L1233 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 14.

²²⁴ Reg. No. 10052-1; L1001 (Card, 1981); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 165, No. 39.

²²⁵ Reg. No. 11905-4; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 165, No. 41.

²²⁶ L1237 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 64; Vol.2, 141-142.

²²⁷ L19, AF.

²²⁸ Reg. No. 37-2; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169-170, No. 76.

²²⁹ Reg. No. 10486: L4301 (Card, 1982); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 167, No. 52.

²³⁰ Reg. No. 10152; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 167, No. 51.

²³¹ L1084 (Card, 1982); L1025, Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 262.

²³² Reg. No. 10474-1; Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 74; Vol.1b, 166, No. 50.

²³³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga:47; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 166, No. 47.

²³⁴ Reg. No. 10539-11; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, No. 81.

²³⁵ L19, L1171 (Card, 193); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 55, 252, 260; Vol.1b, 140.

²³⁶ Reg. No. 11618-3; L1180 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 167, No. 53.

²³⁷ Reg. No. 10271-1; L1039; Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 262; Vol.1b, 170, No. 79.

Area-B

As with Area-A, Area-B appears to have been a primarily domestic area comprising residential insulae. The insulae in this area were clustered around the junction of main east-west street and the city wall. The street passes through the wall via a Persian-era gatehouse, and serves to divide the area into two sub-areas: B1 to the north (including the gate itself), and B2 to the south. (Fig. I.25) The area was excavated first by Stern's expedition and later as part of the current excavation project. The pottery from both expeditions remains largely unpublished. However, examination of the material in the storerooms of HaMizgaga Museum combined with data from the current expedition's locus cards and basket lists, allows for some preliminary conclusions to be drawn.

Of the Attic black and red-figure fragments found in Area-B1, four belong to cups. One of these cups, a black-figure cup-skyphos has been partially restored for display, and its decorated area features a draped woman seated on a diphros facing a standing, draped man. The style and motif are characteristically Haimonian. (No. 133, Fig. II.110)²³⁸ The foot and lower-body of a different black-figure cup-skyphos is also identified as having come from Area-B1, (No. 134, Fig. II.111)²³⁹ though neither of their loci have been catalogued.²⁴⁰ Fragments of two red-figure cups were also uncovered in this area. A body-herd of a red-figure kylix with vegetal designs was found in a baulk, (No. 135, Fig. II.112)²⁴¹ while the Persian-era fill above the Iron-Age gate yielded a piece of an owl skyphos, on which the wing and legs of the bird are visible. (No. 136, Fig. II.113)²⁴²

The most common shapes among the decorated Attic pottery from B1 are kraters, of which thirty examples have been found. A mixed Roman-era fill yielded two joining body fragments of a krater, upon which are depicted a head wearing Dionysiac fillet and wreath partially turned away from the viewer, along with the spotted drapery or panther skin of another figure, and a long arching frame. (No. 137, Fig. II.114)²⁴³ The style is very near to that of the

²³⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2410; Stern (1996), 271, Fig. 7b. Cf. Prague, National Museum: 1673; BAPD: 21426.

²³⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 71286.

²⁴⁰ L11254; L7137.

²⁴¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 130646.

²⁴² Nahsholim, Mizgaga:33675-1; L3167(Card, 1985).

²⁴³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 130044-1; L13004; Stern (1996), 271, Fig. 7a:3; Stewart, Martin (2005), 82, Fig. 2.1.

Pronomos Painter (ca. 400 BCE),²⁴⁴ and the arrangement of the characters within and around an arching vault suggests that the scene may be a Gigantomachy, based on that which adorned the shield of Athena Parthenos.²⁴⁵ The sleeved arm of a figure in patterned Eastern dress, likely an Amazon or Arimasps, (No. 138, Fig. II.115) appears on a piece from a fourth-century krater found in a baulk. Other fragments from the area depict the legs and feet of various figures. These include the three body fragments of a red-figure calyx krater found in a fill with Persian and Hellenistic-era material. (No. 139, Fig. II.116)²⁴⁶ Two of these join to show the draped lower body of a female figure, while the other piece features a tympanon and a laurel sprig. The curvature of the sherds and elongated figure indicate that they belong to a late calyx krater produced by the L. C. Group (ca. 350-320 BCE).²⁴⁷ The draped legs of a dancing female figure also appear on the fragment of a fourth-century bell krater from a pit, (No. 140, Fig. II.117)²⁴⁸ while the remains of two other vessels appear to show the feet of seated figures. The first of these belongs to the lower body of a bell krater and displays a foot overlapping a staff above the groundline, perhaps a Dionysiac figure and a thyrsus. (No. 141, Fig. II.118)²⁴⁹ On the other fragment, found in a stratified accumulation, the toes appear above a meander. (No. 142, Fig. II.119)²⁵⁰ The lower-body fragments of two further bell kraters show the simplified feet and drapery of standing figures, likewise above meanders. These evidently belong to scenes of schematic youths on the B-side of vessels dating to ca. 390-350 BCE. Both sets of fragments were found in late-Persian-era construction fills, one in a residential structure, (No. 143, Fig. II.120)²⁵¹ and the other in the foundation trench of a wall near the Iron-Age gate. (No. 144, Fig. II.121)²⁵² Three further sherds from uncatalogued and surface loci show drapery from unidentifiable figures. (No. 145, Fig. II.122) (No. 146, Fig. II.123) (No. 147, Fig. II.124)²⁵³

²⁴⁴ Pronomos Painter: Taplin, Wyles (2010). Cf. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: H2883; *ARV2*, 133; BAPD: 21751. Cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum :1333; *ARV2*, 1337.8; BAPD: 217512. Cf. Paris, Louvre, S1677; *ARV2*, 1344.1, 1691; BAPD: 217568.

²⁴⁵ Von Salis (1940), 99; Arafat (1986), 2.

²⁴⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 127642; L12806 (Card, PVC, 1991); Database (2013). Database entries cited were accessed in 2022 courtesy of the Tel Dor Excavation project. Dates are of the entries, and initials of the researcher where known.

²⁴⁷ L. C. Group: *ARV2*, 1456-1461; Boardman (1989), No. 418-422; Robertson (1992), 288-289. Cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum: EM19643; *ARV2*, 1458.23; BAPD: 218296.

²⁴⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; IAA-1996-2056; L2121 (Card, 1981).

²⁴⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 1100031; L11003 (Card:1989).

²⁵⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 129507; L12918 (Card, 1991, MLK).

²⁵¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 127913; L12821; Stern et al. (1992), 37-38.

²⁵² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 130242; Stern (1993), 139; L13012 (Database, 06/06/2013).

²⁵³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 77393-7, 3345-9, 77707; L7728; L3383; L7792 (Card, 1988, Roni).

Finally, fragments from the main decorated area of a krater show an unknown figure or object, decorated with short curved lines and a band. (No. 148, Fig. II.125)²⁵⁴

On the remaining fragments of kraters from Area-B1 only peripheral framing motifs are preserved. Seven bell krater rim fragments were found with the standard laurel motif. These pieces span in date from the mid-fourth to mid-fifth centuries, with one specimen having been found in a stratified Iron-Age-II to Persian-period fill, (No. 149, Fig. II.126)²⁵⁵ another in the makeup of a Hellenistic floor, (No. 150, Fig. II.127)²⁵⁶ and all the others in unstratified deposits and baulks. (No. 151, Fig. II.128) (No. 152, Fig. II.129) (No. 153, Fig. II.130) (No. 154, Fig. II.131)²⁵⁷ Among the lower-body fragments, six belong to bell kraters and are decorated with meander friezes. As with the lip fragments, most come from uncatalogued or unstratified loci, (No. 155, Fig. II.132) (No. 156, Fig. II.133) (No. 157, Fig. II.134) (No. 158, Fig. II.135)²⁵⁸ save one from a Persian pit, (No. 159, Fig. II.136)²⁵⁹ and another found in a stratified deposit of fifth- and-fourth century material (No. 160, Fig. II.137)²⁶⁰ near the Persian-era gatehouse. The other lower-border fragments appear to belong to column kraters decorated with egg-and-dart motifs from the lower convex section of these vessels' bodies. One such fragment was found in a baulk, (No. 161, Fig. II.138)²⁶¹ while two non-joining sherds of another column krater decorated with a palmette-lotus-bud chain above the egg-and-dart were also found at separate uncatalogued loci. (No. 162, Fig. II.139)²⁶² Finally, palmettes also appear on two further body fragments from the handle areas of red-figure bell kraters, one found in a Persian-era fill, (No. 163, Fig. II.140)²⁶³ and the other from an unknown locus in Area-B1. (No. 164, Fig. II.141)²⁶⁴

²⁵⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 110003/2; L11003/2.

²⁵⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 131043; L13135 (Database,06/06/2013).

²⁵⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 26286/8; L2662 (Card, 1982).

²⁵⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 28077/1. Reg. No. 30379/2; Stern (1995) Vol.1b, 167, No. 55. Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 71286; L7137 (Database,06/06/13). Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 71341/2; L7142 (Card, 1987).

²⁵⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 7785/3; L7774 (Card, 1988, Roni). Nahsholim, Mizgaga; L7774 (Card, 1988, Roni). Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 130412-5; L13043. Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 84830; L8526 (Card, 1992, JCM).

²⁵⁹ L2603 (Database).

²⁶⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 130966; L13138 (Database).

²⁶¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 130646; L13138 (Database,06/06/2013).

²⁶² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 127433, 127031; L, 12738, L12773 (Possibly the assemblage in a construction fill of the Persian-Hellenistic residential area excavated in 1991; Stern et al. (1992), 37-38.)

²⁶³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 130646, 131252; L13185 (Card, 1992, JCM).

²⁶⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 127943. Possibly the same construction fill as above.

In addition to the kraters listed above, seven connecting sherds from the upper body of a large red-figure vessel were also identified by the excavators as belonging to a krater. (No. 165, Fig. II.142)²⁶⁵ However, the incurving profile of the shoulder, which is decorated with a row of tongues, and the unglazed interior of the vase make it more likely that the sherds belong to a stamnos. The decorated area below this border shows the head of a maenad in profile. She wears a panther skin and patterned fillet and is rendered in a style characteristic of early-Classical pot painters (ca. 490-460 BCE).

Along with shapes for drinking and mixing wine, B1 also yielded a variety of oil vessels. These included the upper body of an early-fifth-century white-ground lekythos with a net pattern, (No. 166, Fig. II.143)²⁶⁶ and the neck of a late-fifth or early-fourth-century red-figure squat-lekythos decorated with tongues. (No. 167, Fig. II.144)²⁶⁷ The former, having been found in an uncatalogued locus and the latter in a baulk cleared from a possible pit.²⁶⁸ Along with lekythoi, the corpus of perfume vessels from Area-B1 also included fragments of two fourth-century red-figure askoi. One askos body sherd, which shows the hindparts of a bird, was found amidst an accumulation of Iron-Age and Persian-period rubble, (No. 168, Fig. II.145)²⁶⁹ while a spout fragment with laurel and an egg-and-dart ornamentations came from an uncatalogued locus. (No. 169, Fig. II.146)²⁷⁰

Just as bottles for the dispensing of perfume are present among the finds from Area-B1, Attic bowls for the storage of cosmetics are also represented among finds from the area. These include lekanides, specifically fragments belonging to two lids and one body. The first of these lid fragments shows a hanging sash and part of the drapery of a female figure. (No. 170, Fig. II.147)²⁷¹ It can be attributed to the Otchet Group (ca. 375-320 BCE) and evidently depicts one of the attendants from this group's standard repertoire of domestic and nuptial scenes.²⁷² The other lid fragment, which was found in the fill beneath a Hellenistic floor,²⁷³ shows part of a

²⁶⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2408; L11127.

²⁶⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 12712.

²⁶⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 33580-6.

²⁶⁸ L12707; L3146 (Card, 1992, JCM).

²⁶⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 131197; L13172 (Card, 1993, EH).

²⁷⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 2676-1; L030k.

²⁷¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 128180.

²⁷² Otchet Group: *ARV2*, 1496-1498; Roberts (1973), 435-437; Boardman (1989), No. 397-398; Robertson (1992), 274-275. Cf. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: GNV131; *ARV2*, 1497.16; BAPD: 230798.

²⁷³ L1004 (Card, 1987).

kyrbasia headdress belonging to one of the large Amazon or Arimasp heads that adorn the lids of the Group of the Vienna Lekanis (ca. 375-350 BCE). (No. 171, Fig. II.148)²⁷⁴ In contrast with the elaborate fourth-century figures and fabrics on the lids, the two joining lekanis body fragments are decorated with a simple series of wavy black lines on a reserved strip below the inset lip. These sherds were found in an Achaemenid-era pit and can be dated to ca. 450-400. (No. 172, Fig. II.149)²⁷⁵

Adjacent to Area-B1, the Persian-era strata in Area-B2 comprised the southern side of the gate and the residential areas to the south of the main east-west road. The Attic finds from this area included a body sherd of a black-figure cup, (No. 173, Fig. II.150) as well as the remains of two red-figure skyphoi. One such red-figure sherd was found between the drains on the pavement of the Persian-period gate,²⁷⁶ and was decorated with a palmette and vegetation typical of the handle areas of fourth-century skyphoi. (No. 174, Fig. II.151)²⁷⁷ Three joining body fragments of another red-figure skyphos were also found in the area. These show the drapery of a standing figure next to a tendril and can be dated to ca. 420-380 BCE. (No. 175, Fig. II.152)²⁷⁸

Along with these cups, pieces of twenty-one red-figure kraters were also found in Area-B2. Among those on which parts of figures are preserved, one depicts a reclining youthful symposiast wearing a himation and can be dated to ca. 450-420 BCE. (No. 176, fig. II.153)²⁷⁹ Two other fourth-century bell krater fragments show figures' limbs set amongst tendrils emanating from the handle-area. On one, the crossed bare legs of a seated figure can be seen, (No. 177, Fig. II.154)²⁸⁰ and on the other an arm or a leg. (No. 178, Fig. II.155)²⁸¹ Other fragments found in the area show only portions of drapery belonging to one (No. 179, Fig. II.156) (No. 180, Fig. II.157) (No. 181, Fig. II.158)²⁸² or two figures, (No. 182, Fig. II.159)²⁸³ and on one example drapery surrounded by a dotted frame and vegetal motifs. (No. 183, Fig.

²⁷⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 100258; Betlyon (2005), 25. On Persian headdresses: Olbrycht (2015), 179. Group of the Vienna Lekanis: *ARV2*, 1501-1502. Cf. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 3721; *ARV2*, 1501.4; BAPD: 230868. On the development of these vessels in the fourth century: Roberts (1973).

²⁷⁵ Reg. Nos. 33580, 317280; L3148 (Card, 1985).

²⁷⁶ L2502 (Card, 1981)

²⁷⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 24241-1; L2502; Stern (1995), 165, No. 40.

²⁷⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 120730; L12110.

²⁷⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 1207294; L12110.

²⁸⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 123804; "balk". (Descriptors of loci from Dor without sources were written on sherds or labels).

²⁸¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 73943; LH25, "surface".

²⁸² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 24305-3, 38679-20, 30230-10; L2527; L3923; L2555 (Card, 1981), "fill".

²⁸³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: 28015, "surface"

II.160)²⁸⁴ Such borders and vegetal patterns also appear on further bell krater fragments, with part of a decorated frame visible on a lower-body sherd deposited on a Persian-era paved surface. (No. 184, Fig. II.161)²⁸⁵ Palmettes and tendrils appearing on two fourth-century handle-area fragments were also found in the topsoil. (No. 185, Fig. II.162) (No. 186, Fig. II.163)²⁸⁶ Four pieces of bell krater rims with the typical laurel motif, were also discovered in the area, and span in date from the mid-fifth to mid-fourth centuries. Two were found in Hellenistic fills and one in the makeup of a paved surface. (No. 187, Fig. II.164) (No. 188, Fig. II.165) (No. 189, Fig. II.166) (No. 190, Fig. II.167)²⁸⁷ In contrast with these simple flaring rims, two other fragments found in Area-B2 belonged to lips in two degrees decorated with a combination of laurel and tongues, and came from an earlier style of bell krater (ca. 450-420 BCE). (No. 191, Fig. II.168) (No. 192, Fig. II.169)²⁸⁸ Beyond these fragments with recognisable patterns, three other Attic krater sherds were found whose decorative motifs cannot be securely identified. One was discovered in the fill above the Iron-Age gate, (No. 193, Fig. II.170)²⁸⁹ a second in an ash destruction layer directly on a cobbled plaza in the Persian-era residential area, (No. 194, Fig. II.171)²⁹⁰ and a third directly on the Persian-era pavement within the city walls. (No. 195, Fig. II.172)²⁹¹

Finally, alongside the ubiquitous cups and kraters, the body sherd of a red-figure closed shape, likely a pelike, was also found in Area-B2 in the fill below a domestic floor. (No. 196, Fig. II.173)²⁹² The interior of the sherd is unglazed and the exterior shows part of a reserved frame bearing a vertical border pattern of staggered dots between lines, seemingly a degenerated version of the pomegranate-net motif.

While continuing to demonstrate the popularity of cups and kraters, the assemblage of Attic figure-decorated pottery from Area-B is thus somewhat more diverse than that from Area-A, containing some less-common vessels like the pelike and lekanides. Furthermore, though this

²⁸⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 120747; L12116.

²⁸⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 24143-10; L2469 (Database).

²⁸⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 24777-2, 24157-1; L2410; L2479.

²⁸⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 28337-7, 280771, 24314-1, 31122-3; L2940 (Card, 1982); L367(Database); L2509 (Card, 1981).

²⁸⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 31122-3, 24153-3; L3532; L246.

²⁸⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 24157-1; L2479 (Database).

²⁹⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 3126-4; L3752 (Card, 1985, J. L) .

²⁹¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 24143-10; L2469; Stern (1982c), 117.

²⁹² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 28095; L2815 (Database).

area, like Area-A, was predominantly residential in the Persian era, some of the secure deposits were also found in more public contexts such as gatehouses and plazas.

Area-C

Area-C is located to the north of Area-A and it was likewise bounded by the city wall on its eastern side. Like Area-A, it contained the remains of extensive residential insulae of the Persian-period built in the standard Phoenician-style Ashlar-pier technique. These insulae were divided in to three subareas, designated C0, C1, and C2, by the two north-south roads. All of the Attic pottery from Stern's excavations in this area was published by Marchese in that project's final report.²⁹³

Area-C0

The Persian-era architectural remains in Area C0 comprise a strip of insulae located between the two roads. (Fig. I.26) Much of the Attic pottery found in this area comes from secure domestic deposits within these houses. Both of the red-figure skyphos sherds from this area were found in sealed deposits directly on the floors of two different rooms of the same house (Unit-H47).²⁹⁴ One, shows part of a palmette and can be dated to the late-fifth or early-fourth century, (No. 197, Fig. II.174)²⁹⁵ while the other, a fragment of a rim and handle, also features vegetal motifs and dates to ca. 400-350. (No. 198, Fig. II.175) This latter sherd was found as part of a deposit on an occupation surface whose residential nature was further demonstrated by its association with a tabun.²⁹⁶ Two red-figure krater fragments were also found in domestic structures in the area. One such sherd was found between two floor phases in the "Phoenician House"²⁹⁷ as part of a deposit containing a third-century coin. (No. 199, Fig. II.176)²⁹⁸ The fragment was identified by Marchese as belonging to a black-figure vase of the mid-to-late-sixth century, however the uneven, stopped-meander frieze and blocks of reserved red from a figure above make it far likelier that the vessel was a fourth-century bell krater.²⁹⁹ Another krater body fragment was

²⁹³ Stern (1995)Vol.1b, 127-181. See publication for extensive discussion and comparanda.

²⁹⁴ Stern (1995)Vol.1a, 97-98.

²⁹⁵ Reg. No. 5443-10; L633 (Card, 1980); Stern (1995). Vol.1b, 164, No. 26.

²⁹⁶ Reg. No. 40470; L4098; Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 97; Vol.1b, 164, No. 27.

²⁹⁷ L4221, L1698. (Database).

²⁹⁸Reg. No. 40994-1; L4243 (Card, 1981); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 166, No. 46.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum:177; BAPD:572.

found in a layer of ash under a fourth-century domestic floor. This piece shows the head of a woman in profile. She holds an offering tray in front of her face, and can be dated on the basis of style to the early-fourth century. (No. 200, Fig. II.177)³⁰⁰

Area-C1

Area-C1 is situated to the east of C0, between the road and the city wall.³⁰¹ In some sections, the earlier inset-offset city wall was over-built in the fourth-century with houses that formed a casemate wall in its place.³⁰² In addition to the houses, the Persian-period strata in this area also included several rubbish pits. Both these pits and the rooms of the insulae yielded deposits with black and red-figure pottery. (Figs. I.27-30)

Of the Attic-figure-decorated vessels found in the area, eleven can be identified as cups. While one black-figure cup fragment with a laurel wreath was found in the mixed topsoil, (No. 201)³⁰³ the findspot for another showing the feet of a dancer is unknown. (No. 202)³⁰⁴ Three other cup fragments were found directly in secure domestic deposits. Both a black-figure body sherd of ca. 500-450 BCE, (No. 203)³⁰⁵ and a fragment from an owl skyphos were found on residential floors associated with tabuns, (No. 204, Fig. II.178)³⁰⁶ and a late-sixth-century black-figure rim sherd was found directly within a tabun. (No. 205)³⁰⁷ The remainder of the Attic figure-decorated cups from C1 were found in or around rubbish pits. The fragment of a red-figure skyphos showing drapery was found near the tipline of pit-L4338, (No. 206, Fig. II.179)³⁰⁸ and the area around pit-L4336 contained eight fragments of another red-figure skyphos showing portions of drapery, figures, and a palmette. (No. 207, Fig. II.180)³⁰⁹ Figure-decorated Attic sherds were found inside two different pits in the C1 area. One cup-skyphos sherd with unidentifiable decoration was found in a pit-L4938, (No. 208) whose exclusively Persian-era contents also included local cooking and storage vessels, animal bones, and part of a terracotta mask.³¹⁰ The remains of at least three black and red-figure cups were also found in pit-L4321.

³⁰⁰ Stern (1987), 70.

³⁰¹ Stern (1984), 23.

³⁰² Stern. Et. Al: Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 435.

³⁰³ Reg. No. 43089-1; L4301 (Card, 1982); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 5.

³⁰⁴ Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 18.

³⁰⁵ Reg. No. 48105; L4822 (Card, 1983); Stern Vol.1b, 163, No. 17.

³⁰⁶ L4822; Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 170.

³⁰⁷ Reg. No. 48486; L4908 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 190; Vol.1b, 164, No. 23.

³⁰⁸ Reg. No. 43197; L4338; Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 169; Vol.1b, 165, No. 42.

³⁰⁹ Reg. No. 43248-16; L4336 (Card, 1982); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 165, Nos. 34, 35, 36.

³¹⁰ Reg. No. 49346-3; L4938 (Card, 1985); Stern (1995), 163, No. 15.

This pit, excavated in 1982, was dug through the packed lime glaucis outside of the inset-offset wall sometime in the early-fourth century, as part of the same phase of construction that saw the houses of the new casemate wall built. Besides Attic pottery it also held a large assemblage of clay votive figurines, all dating to the Persian period. This led the excavators to identify the pit as a favissa, though it should be noted that no cult buildings have been found in association with it. Amongst the pottery from this pit, three joining lip fragments of an early-fifth-century black-figure cup-skyphos with a leafy vine were found, (No. 209, Fig. II.181)³¹¹ along with fragments of at least two red-figure skyphoi of the late-fifth century. A body sherd from one of these cups shows a nude male torso, (No. 210, Fig. II.182)³¹² while two joining sherds of the other depict a woman lifting her veil. (No. 211, Fig. II.183)³¹³ Various other fragments likely belonging to this latter cup, feature small pieces of draped figures, a male torso,³¹⁴ and a lotus bud.³¹⁵

In addition to the cups, Area-C1 also contained the remains of fifteen kraters. A lower-body sherd depicting sympotic furniture and the draped leg of an attendant, (No. 212, Fig. II.184)³¹⁶ was found in the topsoil,³¹⁷ and should be dated to ca. 360-350 BCE.³¹⁸ Another fragment, likewise found in the topsoil, was also identified by Marchese as depicting the foot of a sympotic table, but on closer inspection the sloping leg and apparent presence of drapery indicate that it is more likely the foot of a striding figure with the toes facing the viewer. (No. 213, Fig. II.185)³¹⁹ Just as the extended foot of a figure can be seen on the previous sherd, another sherd from an unsealed locus shows an extended hand along with a bent draped knee, seemingly from a seated woman and dateable to the mid-fifth century. (No. 214, Fig. II.186)³²⁰ On a further piece from a mixed Roman-era fill, a small portion of drapery is the only surviving vestige of the main decorative scene. (No. 215)³²¹ This is also true of a fragment from L4803 which, alongside the drapery, also features part of the egg-and-dart border that once encircled the

³¹¹ Reg. No. 43113-18; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, 437, No. 6.

³¹² Reg. No. 43113-22; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 165, No. 22.

³¹³ Reg. No. 43113-20; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 164, 436, No. 28, Fig. 7.2:8.

³¹⁴ Reg. No. 43113-51; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 164, 436, No. 30, Fig. 7.2:12.

³¹⁵ Reg. No. 43421-16; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 164, No. 33.

³¹⁶ Reg. No. 48162; Stern (1995) Vol.1. B, 169, No. 70.

³¹⁷ L4828 (Card, 1983)

³¹⁸ Despite Marchese's association with Suesulla Painter, nearer to symposia of Black Thyrsos Painter (ca. 360-350). Cf. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum:177; BAPD:572.

³¹⁹ Reg. No. 40853; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 167, No. 54.

³²⁰ Reg. No. 48418-4; L4900; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169, No. 73.

³²¹ Reg. No. 48393-2; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 170, No. 80.

vessel's handle. (No. 216, Fig. II.187)³²² This latter sherd was found alongside another red-figure body sherd with unidentifiable decoration sealed beneath a fourth-century domestic floor. (No. 217)³²³ Similar egg-and-dart patterns also appear on two other bell krater handle fragments found in C1, (No. 218) (No. 219)³²⁴ and a body sherd with the fronds of a palmette likely also came from the handle area of a bell krater. (No. 220)³²⁵ Pieces belonging to the rims of four red-figure bell kraters, all decorated with laurel leaves, were found at various loci around the site, including that sealed between flooring phases in a residential insula, (No. 221)³²⁶ as well as in the surface layer, (No. 222)³²⁷ and in a fourth-century pit. (No. 223, Fig. II.188)³²⁸ A further rim sherd decorated with a degenerated ivy pattern likely belonged to a column krater. (No. 224, Fig. II.189)³²⁹ Besides these patterned rims, a single fragment from the lower body of a bell krater was also found in disturbed fill in Area-C1 and was decorated with the standard meander border. (No. 225, Fig. II.190)³³⁰

Along with these shapes for the mixing and drinking of wine, a domestic deposit in Area-C1 also yielded a single fragment of closed red-figure vessel, possibly a wine pouring jug, such as a chous or oinochoe dating to ca. 430-410 BCE. (No. 226)³³¹ This fragment is decorated with a leaf-bearing branch. It was found on the surface of an early-fourth-century floor and sealed beneath a subsequent floor built later in the same century.³³² Given the paucity of oinochoai in Persian-era Canaan, the potential presence of such a vessel in this fourth-century domestic setting is of considerable interest.

Area-C2

C2 is the westernmost subsection of Area-C, and is separated by a road from Area-C0. As with the rest of Area-C, its Persian-period strata contained the remains of residential insulae that have yielded a significant amount of Attic pottery. (Figs. I.31-32) Of the fourteen examples of black and red-figure cups discovered in this area, one red-figure kylix fragment was found in the

³²² Reg. No. 48016-3; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169, No. 69.

³²³ Reg. No. 48008-4; L4803; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 154, 170, No. 78.

³²⁴ Reg. No. 4853-1; L561 (Card, 1980); L4871 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 166, 169, Nos. 48, 72.

³²⁵ Reg. No. 43043-1; L4300 (Card, 1982); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 167, No. 57.

³²⁶ Reg. No. 5357-15; L615 (Card, 1980); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 139, 166, No. 49.

³²⁷ Reg. No. 48178-3; L4828; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169, No. 71.

³²⁸ Reg. No. 49346-1; L4938 (Card, 1985); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169, No. 74.

³²⁹ Reg. No. 43026-1; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 167, No. 58.

³³⁰ Reg. No. 49363; L4940 (Card, 1985); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169, No. 75.

³³¹ Reg. No. 48143-7; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 170, No. 82.

³³² L4830 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 170; Vol.1b, 154.

unstratified topsoil. This sherd is decorated with an unidentifiable object upon which an eye can be seen. (No. 227, Fig. II.191)³³³ Marchese has suggested that it may represent either a shield device or eyed phallus, but neither seem particularly satisfactory. Apart from this fragment, all other Attic figure-decorated cup fragments in C2 were found in Persian-era deposits in or around the houses. Fragments of three black-figure cup-skyphoi were all found in the fill between floors at L4668. This fill contained exclusively sixth and fifth century material. One of the cups, which shows the legs and drapery of three standing figures, (No. 228, Fig. II.192)³³⁴ can be attributed to the Haimon Group, while the other two, which depict a palmette and vine respectively, are of a similar date. (Nos.229, 230)³³⁵ The fill from another room in this residential block,³³⁶ included four further Attic skyphos fragments among its exclusively fifth-century contents. Two of these sherds bore black-figure palmettes, one possibly belonging to a late-sixth-century Droop Cup (No. 231)³³⁷ and the other to a cup-skyphos, (No. 232)³³⁸ while a rim of another black-figure skyphos was likewise found in the deposit. (No. 233)³³⁹ Two joining red-figure body fragments from an owl skyphos were also found in this locus, and though the owl is not extant, one of the flanking olive branches can be seen on the surviving sherds. (No. 234, Fig. II.193)³⁴⁰ Pieces of three further black-figure cup-skyphoi were found in other loci within the insula. A handle fragment with no surviving decoration, (No. 235)³⁴¹ and a body fragment showing a figure with arms akimbo, (No. 236, Fig. II.194)³⁴² executed in the style of the Lancut Group, were both found in sealed contexts directly on Achaemenid-era floors. The domestic nature of both these deposits was further evinced by the presence of loom weights together with the pottery assemblages.³⁴³ Three joining rim sherds of a final black-figure skyphos decorated with a palmette was also found among the fill at L4888. (No. 237, Fig. II.195)³⁴⁴ Though this fill was evidently disturbed, all the pottery present was of a fifth or fourth-century date.³⁴⁵ In addition to

³³³ Reg. No. 48341-2; L4883 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 21.

³³⁴ Reg. No. 46628-1; L4668 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 8.

³³⁵ Reg. No. 46693; Reg. No. 46632-2; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, Nos. 25, 9.

³³⁶ L4672 (Card, 1984).

³³⁷ Reg. No. 46687-10; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, No. 10.

³³⁸ Reg. No. 46688-6; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 16

³³⁹ Reg. No. 46687-8; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 13.

³⁴⁰ Reg. No. 46695-11; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, No. 20.

³⁴¹ Reg. No. 46537-6; L4626 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 149; Vol.1b, 164, No. 24.

³⁴² Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 162, 219-222, No. 7.

³⁴³ L4651 (Card, 1984).

³⁴⁴ Reg. No. 48363; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 163, No. 11.

³⁴⁵ L4888 (Card, 1984).

these black-figure cups, pieces of two further red-figure cups were also found in Area-C2. A red-figure body fragment showing the drapery of a seated figure, (No. 238, Fig. II.196)³⁴⁶ which can be dated to ca. 490-450 BCE, was found in L4660. This locus was identified as the makeup of a residential floor and the fill directly above it. It was sealed below one floor and above another with all three phases having been constructed in relatively quick succession between ca. 500 BCE and ca. 375 BCE.³⁴⁷ The other red-figure cup fragment found in C2 shows the head and upper torso of a draped youth and is datable to the mid-fourth century. (No. 239, Fig. II.197)³⁴⁸ Shortly before this, in ca. 375 BCE, it appears that a new programme of domestic insula construction was conducted throughout Area-C2, destroying many of the earlier structures. It was in a fill from this fourth-century phase, dateable by the presence of a Sidonian coin of Abashtart I (372-362 BCE),³⁴⁹ that this cup fragment was found.

The Attic pottery finds from Area-C2 also include the remains of twelve kraters from a range of loci throughout the subarea. As in the other areas, most can be identified as red-figure bell kraters. Of those which appear to come from the upper body of such bell kraters, one sherd found in a fifth-to-sixth-century fill shows the corner of an architectural feature, (No. 240, Fig. II.198)³⁵⁰ while the other depicts the top of a staff and was found on a Persian-era residential floor. (No. 241)³⁵¹ Four other sherds appear to come from the lower bodies of red-figure bell kraters. Two of these fragments, both from unsealed deposits, were identified as black-figure fragments in Marchese's publication. However, upon examination, the black areas appear instead to be the negative space and sketchy linework delineating the feet and drapery of standing figures executed in slapdash red-figure, likely from the B-sides of fourth-century bell kraters. (No. 242, Fig. II.199)³⁵²(No. 243, Fig. II.200)³⁵³ The placement of one of these scenes above a meander frieze makes this identification even more likely. A similar lower-body fragment with unidentifiable red-figure decoration above a meander also appears among the finds from L4626c in a residential insula. (No. 244, Fig. II.201)³⁵⁴ This locus comprised the occupational debris on

³⁴⁶ Reg. No. 46616-8; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 63, No. 19.

³⁴⁷ Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 219-220.

³⁴⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA:1993-2712; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 165, No. 37.

³⁴⁹ Incorrectly identified as Straton II by R. M Motta: Motta (2015), 19. Cf. Betlyon (1980), 12.

³⁵⁰ Reg. No. 46606-5; L4657(Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 151; Vol.1b, 168, No. 66.

³⁵¹ Reg. No. 46690; L4670 (Card, 1982); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 168-169, No. 68.

³⁵² Reg. No. 48171-1; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 166, No. 44.

³⁵³ Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 166, No. 45.

³⁵⁴ Reg. No. 46550; L4626 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 149; Vol.1b, 68, No. 63.

a late-fifth or early-fourth-century floor, and also contained a krater upper-body fragment with black dots on a reserved band, (No. 245, Fig. II.202)³⁵⁵ along with unspecified black-figure fragments. Two adjacent rooms in Unit-K47 of the insula both included lower-body sherds from bell kraters in the deposits sealed between their fifth-century and fourth-century flooring phases. One of these sherds shows the edge of a fabric fold above a border and was found in L4628. (No. 246, Fig. II.203)³⁵⁶ The other, which depicts a meander, (No. 247)³⁵⁷ was found next door in the narrow room dubbed L4622:³⁵⁸ a locus which also contained a bell krater body sherd with floral motifs. (No. 248)³⁵⁹ Besides these body fragments, a bell krater handle, ringed with an egg-and-dart pattern, (249, Fig. II.204)³⁶⁰ was discovered in the debris sealed beneath a Hellenistic floor,³⁶¹ and two bell krater rim fragments were also found in C2. Both lips bear the usual laurel pattern, though one, found on a residential floor,³⁶² is somewhat earlier in style- dating to ca. 450-400 BCE, (No. 250, Fig. II.205)³⁶³ and the other slightly later- dating to ca. 400-350 BCE. (No. 251, Fig. II.206)³⁶⁴ This latter sherd was found in a fourth-century fill which also contained a Sidonian coin of 'Abd`astart I, (372-362/1)³⁶⁵ A further lip fragment found in Area-C2 belongs not to a bell krater but rather to a column krater. (No. 252, Fig. II.207)³⁶⁶ It is decorated with a black-figure palmette on the flat, upper surface of the lip and can be dated to the late-sixth century or fifth century. Despite its relatively early date, the sherd was found in a fourth-century floor or compacted fill between floors in residential Unit-K47.³⁶⁷

Although cups and kraters dominated the Attic pottery assemblage from Area-C2, shoulder fragments of two lekythoi were also discovered on floors of two adjacent residential rooms. The shoulder of a lekythos decorated with black rays and dateable to ca. 475-460 BCE was found at L465. (No. 253)³⁶⁸ the same floor that yielded a black-figure cup-skyphos

³⁵⁵ Stern (1995)Vol.1b, 68, No. 62.

³⁵⁶ Reg. No. 46409-2; L4628 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 150; Vol.1b, 168, No. 64.

³⁵⁷ Reg. No. 46297-3; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 168, No. 61.

³⁵⁸ L4622 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 148.

³⁵⁹ Reg. No. 46266-5; L4622 (Card1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 168, No. 60.

³⁶⁰ Reg. No. 46180-15; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 169, No. 59.

³⁶¹ L4614 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 267.

³⁶²L4661 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 151.

³⁶³ Reg. No. 46589-2; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 168, No. 67.

³⁶⁴ Reg. No. 46372-4; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 168, No. 65.

³⁶⁵ L4631 (Card, 1983); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 150.

³⁶⁶ Reg. No. 46115; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 166, No. 43.

³⁶⁷ L4577(Card, 1982); Stern (1995), Vol.1a, 222.

³⁶⁸ Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 170, No. 83.

examined above.³⁶⁹ Likewise a squat-lekythos fragment with a collar of black tongues was found next-door in L4668, (No. 254, Fig. II.208)³⁷⁰ alongside three previously-discussed cup-skyphoi. Overall then, the three most popular shapes among Attic pottery in Canaan, namely cups, kraters and lekythoi, are all represented among the finds from Area-C, and all those in secure Persian-era deposits came from pits or domestic contexts.

Area-D

The south side of the mound overlooking a small bay below the promontory was designated Area-D. Excavations have been ongoing in one or more of D's five designated subareas from 1984 until the present. These have produced a large collection of Attic pottery as well as a range of Persian-era structures and features suggestive of an area with mixed residential and industrial functions. (Fig. I.33)

Area-D1

Area-D1 is situated in the northwestern quarter of Area-D and was excavated first by Stern's expedition and later by the current Tel Dor Excavation Project between 1986 and 2006.³⁷¹ The Hellenistic stratum in D1 (referred to as Phase-3) is occupied almost entirely by a single palatial structure. This structure was initially dated by the excavators to the late Persian Period, resulting in it being termed "The Persian Palace" in early publications.³⁷² However, following subsequent examination of the deposits beneath the building's foundations, the date of its construction was lowered to the Hellenistic period with a *terminus post quem* of the late-fourth century.³⁷³ The initial confusion likely resulted from the degree to which this construction project disturbed the Persian-period horizon. The buildings of the forgoing Persian phase (Phase-4) were almost entirely obliterated by the leveling and construction involved in constructing the "palace". Those Persian-era features that have been discovered suggest that this area served primarily as a quay-

³⁶⁹ Stern (1995), Vol.1b, No. 162, No. 7.

³⁷⁰ Reg. No. 46614-7; L4668 (Card, 1984); Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 170, No. 84.

³⁷¹ Stern, Sharon (1987), 204-210; Stern et al. (1988), 39-40; Stern et al. (1992), 45-46; Stern, Sharon (1993), 137-142; Stern, Sharon (1994), 30; Stern et al. (2000a), 24-25; Sharon et al. (2009), 3; Gilboa et al. (2009), 1.;

³⁷² Stern, Sharon (1993), 137; Cf. Sharon et al. (2006), 3

³⁷³ Sharon et al. (2006), 3; Sharon et al. (2009), 3.

side industrial zone in this earlier period, as the remains of installations for the manufacture of murex dye were found along with several rectangular pits.

The Persian-era finds from these pits as well as from the disturbed areas included fragments of seventeen black and red-figure cups. On several of the black-figure vessels, enough decoration survives for the mythological themes to be determined. A scene of Herakles grappling with the Nemean Lion appears on two joining cup sherds found in a mixed deposit (No. 255, Fig. II.209).³⁷⁴ The motif and style are characteristic of a series of black-figure cups produced by the Leafless Group between 500 BCE and 480 BCE, and it is likely that the piece should be attributed to this group.³⁷⁵ Another scene of mythic combat appears on a black-figure skyphos sherd from an unknown locus, which depicts the goddess Athena striding forward with her hand raised to strike a foe, likely from a Gigantomachy. (No. 256, Fig. II.210)³⁷⁶ The piece is roughly contemporaneous with the Herakles cup and should be attributed to the Haimon Group. Also attributable to the Haimon Group (or its Lancut Group subset) is a fragment of a further cup-skyphos on which the lower bodies of a thyrsus-bearing satyr and dancing Maenad appear. (No. 257, Fig. II.211)³⁷⁷ The fragment was found in a rectangular pit (L5731)³⁷⁸ amidst a deposit of Iron-Age-II and Persian-era material, and the staging and style of its Dionysiac figures closely mirrors that seen on the two Lancut Group cups from Akko Area-F. Another Persian pit, L16997,³⁷⁹ likewise contained a lip fragment on which the fronds of a black-figure palmette are visible. (No. 258, Fig. II.212)³⁸⁰ Portions of these typical framing palmettes also appear on two other cup-skyphos sherds from D1; the smaller of the two was found in the topsoil, (No. 259, Fig. II.213)³⁸¹ while the other, a large lower-body fragment, came from a disturbed deposit under a Roman-period wall. (No. 260, Fig. II.214)³⁸² This same mixed deposit also contained a sherd on which part of a palmette-and-lotus-bud chain survives. (No. 261, Fig. II.215)³⁸³ A version of the

³⁷⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 169168, 52413-1; L16359 (Card, 1992, DEM); Stewart, Martin (2005), 83. Fig. 3.

³⁷⁵ Leafless Group: *ABV*, 632-653. Cf. University of Illinois: W22.1.35; BAPD: 18460.

³⁷⁶ Stewart, Martin (2005), 82, Fig. 2.5. Cf. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe: 71; *ABV*, 567.630; BAPD: 331728.

³⁷⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 56732. Cf. Prague, National Museum: 2304; BAPD: 21429.

³⁷⁸ L5731 (Card, 1987).

³⁷⁹ (Card, 2000, KMS)

³⁸⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 262158.

³⁸¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.04-4018 ; L04D1-006 (Database,01/07/2004/, MAT).

³⁸² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 18D1-5562; L18D1-464 (Database, 29/07/2018, ALR).

³⁸³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 18D1-5599.

same motif can be seen on a fragment from an unsealed Hellenistic-era fill, (No. 262, Fig. II.216)³⁸⁴ and both appear to have come from black-figure band cups of the early-fifth century.

Red-figure cups are also well-represented among the finds from D1, with eight identifiable examples having been found. Among these finds are pieces of two kylikes with decorated tondi. One of these fragments, found within the floor of the Hellenistic palatial building,³⁸⁵ shows part of an unidentifiable draped figure or figures surrounded by a pomegranate-net frame, (No. 263, Fig. II.217)³⁸⁶ a border pattern highly unusual in red-figure cup interiors. The other piece was likewise incorporated into the packed floor of a Roman-period building to the south of the Hellenistic palace. Its interior depicts the kyrbasia cap and forehead of a Near-Eastern symposiast, painted in the distinctive schematic style of the Pithos Painter. (No. 264, Fig. II.218)³⁸⁷ The head of another figure appears on a red-figure skyphos rim sherd found during a baulk cleaning.³⁸⁸ The face is that of a youthful male, possibly Apollo, who wears a laurel wreath around his brow. (No. 265, Fig. II.219)³⁸⁹ This cup can be dated to ca. 460-430 BCE. The head and upper body of a youth also appears on one of two non-joining sherds from a fourth-century red-figure kylix found in separate unsealed fills. (No. 266, Fig. II.220)³⁹⁰ The other fragment of the same cup shows the bare leg of another individual, and it is likely that both figures belong to one of the scenes of athletes and standing youths common on cups of this period. A small fragment of drapery from another figure appears on a cup sherd from an additional mixed fill. (No. 267, Fig. II.221)³⁹¹ Besides these depictions of humans and gods, the face of an owl appears on a fragmentary owl skyphos found amid the Iron-Age-II and Persian contents of Pit-L10821, (No. 268, Fig. II.222)³⁹² which in addition to its assemblage of imported and local pottery also contained a sizeable deposit of murex shells, further cementing this area's connection with dye production. No other figurative subjects can be identified on cups from Area-D1, though two red-figure fragments with handle-area palmettes were found: one in a Persian-period deposit of seemingly domestic nature sealed under the palatial building's western

³⁸⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06d1-1401; L06d1-128 (Database, 19/07/2006, RAK).

³⁸⁵ L5014 (Card, 1984); Stern et al. (1997), 66.

³⁸⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 50115; Stewart, Martin (2005), 82, Fig. 2.7.

³⁸⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 54134; L5413.

³⁸⁸ L16401 (Card, 1997, BJM)

³⁸⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 155723.

³⁹⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 262058, 2620604; L16950 (Card, 2000, LL); L16970 (Card, LL).

³⁹¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 33418-12; L3364 (Card, 1985).

³⁹² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA:1993-3487; Stern (1996), 271, Fig. 7a:2.

wing, (No. 269, Fig. II.223)³⁹³ and the other from a stratified fill. (No. 270, Fig. II.224)³⁹⁴ Lastly one further Attic cup fragment was found in an unsealed fill below a Roman wall.³⁹⁵ However, the surviving decoration is so minimal that it is impossible to determine whether it is black-figure or red-figure. (No. 271, Fig. II.225)³⁹⁶

Excavations in D1 also revealed a sizeable assemblage of krater fragments. While one sherd from an uncatalogued locus may belong to the lower body of a black-figure krater, (No. 272, Fig. II.226)³⁹⁷ all other known kraters from the area are red-figure, mostly of relatively late date and with well-preserved decoration. The most complete collection of decorated fragments from a single krater at Tel Dor are the eight body sherds of a red-figure bell krater, on which an image of Dionysos and Ariadne attended by satyrs can be seen. (No. 273, Fig. II.227)³⁹⁸ Sherds featuring the deities' upper bodies and part of a thymiaterion were found in L16708, a pit which contained the skeleton of a goat (complete except for the missing head) along with other animal bones, a grindstone, and a large assemblage of pottery.³⁹⁹ Meanwhile, three other lower-body fragments of the same vessel, featuring the base of the thymiaterion and the legs of a seated satyr came from a different pit in an adjacent square. This pit, L06D1-135, held late Iron-Age to Hellenistic detritus including bones, murex shells, and pottery.⁴⁰⁰ A further fragment of the same krater shows a bent figure (likely a satyr of Komast) carrying a krater, and was found separately in the fill above a Persian-era floor: a fill which also included domestic material such as loomweights, spindle whorls and jewellery.⁴⁰¹ The ornate draftsmanship on this vase is reminiscent of the Kerch style, and it should be dated to the mid-fourth century.⁴⁰² Another fourth-century scene of Dionysiac figures appears on two joining body fragments of a further bell krater. These pieces show an erotic encounter between a crouching satyr and seated maenad.

³⁹³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168272; L16601 (Card, 1998, RSS).

³⁹⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 18d1-5691-1; L18D1-458 (Database, 28/07/2018, ALR).

³⁹⁵ L05D1-002 (Database, 09/07/2005, RAK).

³⁹⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 05d1-0107.

³⁹⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 56329; L5637.

³⁹⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 169090, 168978, 164515, 16110, 54773; Betlyon (2005), 24; Stewart, Martin (2005), 82, Fig. 2:6-9. On the development of Dionysos' iconography in the later Classical period to that of a youthful figure relaxing with his consort and followers: Isler-Kerényi (2015), 184-210.

³⁹⁹ L16708 (Card, 1998, DS).

⁴⁰⁰ L06D1-135 (Database, 2006, RAB)

⁴⁰¹ L5568 (Card, 1986)

⁴⁰² Kerch style: Schefold (1934); Robertson (1992), 281; Lapatin: Cohen (2006), 317-341. Cf. Paris, Louvre: G506; *ARV2*, 1443.4; BAPD: 218124. Cf. Copenhagen, National Museum: CHRVIII291; *ARV2*, 1425.8, 1427.2; BAPD: 260068. Cf. Genoa, Museo Civico di Archeologia Ligure: T88; *ARV2*, 1429.4; BAPD: 260125.

(No. 274, Fig. II.228)⁴⁰³ As with the previous vase, these sherds were found in separate locations: one locus listed as a low-value mixed fill,⁴⁰⁴ and the other as a large pit, or collection of interconnected pits, which contained copious amounts of pottery, bones, and murex shells.⁴⁰⁵ The dispersal of these krater fragments across various adjacent pits and fills in the vicinity, suggests that this area served as a general dumping zone for industrial and household refuse in the late Persian period.

Fragments of four further red-figure kraters were also found in or around pits in Area-D1. Both a body fragment displaying a chlamys-clad shoulder, (No. 275, Fig. II.229)⁴⁰⁶ and that showing the leg of a horse and a laurel sprig above a meander-and-chequerboard frieze, (No. 276, Fig. II.230)⁴⁰⁷ were found in pits containing Persian-era material.⁴⁰⁸ Both kraters appear to date to the late-fifth century. Stratified deposits from around the mouths of two other pits yielded a fragment of the early-fourth-century featuring the draped waist and thighs of a standing female, (No. 277, Fig. II.231)⁴⁰⁹ and a fragment decorated with a large-scale griffin head rendered in added white. (No. 278, Fig. II.232)⁴¹⁰ This latter vessel should be attributed to the Amazon Painter and dates to the very end of the Achaemenid-era, ca. 350-330 BCE.⁴¹¹

In addition to those discarded in pits, other krater fragments from D1 were found in fills and dumps formed either during the late-Persian period, or as part of the destruction and levelling associated with the later Hellenistic and Roman-era construction in the area. Some such fragments were found in unsealed and unstratified fills. These include an upper-body fragment on which the arm of a small figure is shown raised and wielding a spear amid added white dots, (No. 279, Fig. II.233)⁴¹² and another which shows the added-white hand of an auletris overlapping the bare chest of a symposiast. (No. 280, Fig. II.234)⁴¹³ The small-scale of the spear-bearer suggests that it he was likely elevated in the field either due to the presence of multiple registers or because he was on horseback. The style of the painting is dateable to ca. 400-380

⁴⁰³Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 261528, 261738.

⁴⁰⁴ L16942 (Card, 2000, WAL).

⁴⁰⁵ L26178 (Card, 2000, JLN)

⁴⁰⁶Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06D1-1360; L06-D1-134 (Database, 2006, RAB).

⁴⁰⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 108200, 169317-1, 169317-2.

⁴⁰⁸ L16768 (Card, 1998, OAP); L10821 (Card, 1992, LKB)

⁴⁰⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168598; L16646 (Card, 1998, RSS).

⁴¹⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 169338; L16770 (Card, 1998, CRM).

⁴¹¹ Amazon Painter: *ARV*2, 1476-1480. Cf. Burriana, Museo Arqueologico; BAPD: 12928.

⁴¹² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 169169; L16756 (Card, 1998, CRM).

⁴¹³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 163038-2; L16001 (Card, 1995, HLS).

BCE. The symposium sherd meanwhile is very near in style to The Black Thyrsos Painter, and it should be dated ca. 380-360 BCE.⁴¹⁴ Another krater fragment was found in a mixed fill whose intermingled contents spanned from the Achaemenid to the Roman periods.⁴¹⁵ As on the previous fragment, abundant added white and colour were employed in the painting of the sherd, in this case to render the face of a female figure and a tripod atop a column. (No. 281, Fig. II.235)⁴¹⁶ The technique belongs to the Kerch style of the mid-fourth century.⁴¹⁷

Other fills which contained red-figure-krater fragments can be associated with the Hellenistic palatial structure. One upper-body sherd showing a wreathed head and a hand amid garlands was found in an unsealed but stratified fill within a room of the palace, (No. 282, Fig. II.236)⁴¹⁸ while two other fragments were found in deposits sealed by the structure's walls.⁴¹⁹ These latter sherds depict a head of a diademed youth amongst hanging foliage and fillets, (No. 283, Fig. II.237)⁴²⁰ and the feet of a seated figure respectively, (No. 284, Fig. II.238)⁴²¹ both in a style dateable to the early-fourth century. A further fourth-century krater sherd was found not in the Hellenistic construction layers but rather as part of the makeup of a Roman-era floor.⁴²² This piece shows the leg of a small flying figure (likely Eros) in added-white between two larger seated figures: one a female and the other a male grasping a staff or thyrsus. (No. 285, Fig. II.239)⁴²³

Lastly, other examples of kraters from Area-D1 cannot be assigned findspots, either because they were stray, out-of-context, discoveries, or because their loci are uncatalogued. One such body sherd from the surface of the tel shows a woman, painted in early-fourth century style, with a tympanon in front of her face, (No. 286, Fig. II.240)⁴²⁴ while another sherd, displaying the wing of an unknown creature or god, was found during a cleaning. (No. 287, Fig. II.241)⁴²⁵ A

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional:1979.70.3; *ARV2*,1433.32; BAPD: 260191.

⁴¹⁵ L10006 (Card, 1987).

⁴¹⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1996-205; Betlyon (2005), 25.

⁴¹⁷ Especially Pourtales Painter. Cf. British Museum 1865,0103.14; *ARV2*: 1446.1, 1693.

⁴¹⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 260717; L26069 (Card, 2000, JLN); Sharon et al. (2009), 1199-11200.

⁴¹⁹ L16783 (Card, 1998, DS); L16134 (Database, 2013).

⁴²⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 163394-1.

⁴²¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 164474.

⁴²² L16647(Card, 1998, BAM).

⁴²³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168672.

⁴²⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.04D1-4005; L04D1-007(Database,07/07/2004, JLN).

⁴²⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06d1-0001.

final krater fragment from the Area-D1 came from an uncatalogued locus and shows the torso of a woman with an extended, banged arm, datable to ca. 420-400 BCE. (No. 288, Fig. II.242)⁴²⁶

The identity of other figures pictured on bell kraters in this area cannot be determined, as only scraps of their drapery or bodies are extant. One such lower-body sherd, which shows the feet of a figure standing in contrapposto above a border, (No. 289, Fig. II.243) came from a fourth-century accumulation to the south of a Hellenistic drain.⁴²⁷ Three other fragments showing drapery were found out-of-context in the topsoil, (No. 290, Fig. II.244)⁴²⁸ a baulk, (No. 291, Fig. II.245)⁴²⁹ and a Roman-era floor respectively, (No. 292, Fig. II.246)⁴³⁰ while another was found in a sealed accumulation on the surface between two Persian-era pits, from which it may be overflow. (No. 293, Fig. II.247)⁴³¹

Further body fragments that can be identified as belonging to bell kraters, display either vegetal motifs from near the handles of these vessels, or meander friezes from their lower bodies. Both of the handle-area fragments were found in mixed fills, (No. 294, Fig. II.248) (No. 295, Fig. II.249)⁴³² whilst the lower-body sherds came from stratified Persian-era deposits in or associated with pits. One such fragment with a stopped-meander-and-saltire pattern was found in the open area between two Persian-period pits, (No. 296, Fig. II.250)⁴³³ while three joining lower-body sherds showing a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard frieze below dots were found separately at three disparate loci around D1. (No. 297, Fig. II.251)⁴³⁴ One of these sherds was found in a shallow unsealed fill,⁴³⁵ and the others in separate pits adjacent to and beginning at the same elevation as this fill.⁴³⁶ The deposition of parts of this already-broken krater in separate pits – whose other Persian and early-Hellenistic contents included a range of imported and local pottery, loom weights, a grindstone, bones, and jewelry – seems to indicate that the pits in this area formed a large rubbish-dumping area for domestic detritus in the late-fifth and fourth centuries.

⁴²⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 260694; L25036.

⁴²⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 166977; L16432 (Database, 2013).

⁴²⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06d1-0013; L06d1-004 (Database, 2006, IMM).

⁴²⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 195495.

⁴³⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.04D1-2620; L05d1-273 (Database, 2005, EKD,).

⁴³¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168941; L16753 (Card, 1998, NPM).

⁴³² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 168135, 163693; L16071 (Database, 2013); L16554 (Card, 1998, BAM).

⁴³³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 261783; L26176 (Card, 2000, SCS).

⁴³⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 261242.

⁴³⁵ L26069 (Card, 2000, JLN).

⁴³⁶ L26137(Card, 2000, SCS); L26202 (Card, 2000, JLN).

Of the five rim fragments with laurel patterns, all identifiable as belonging to bell kraters, most were found out of context in baulks and mixed fills. (No. 298, Fig. II.252) (No. 299, Fig. II.253) (No. 300, Fig. II.254) (No. 301, Fig. II.255)⁴³⁷ Only one came from a secure Persian-period context. (No. 302, Fig. II.256)⁴³⁸ This fragment was found next to a small storage cellar or silo built of field stones.⁴³⁹ Within this installation a collection of Persian-era pottery was found, including Attic and East Greek ware and faience imports, alongside storage jars, transport amphorae, and cooking pots. It may be that this storage installation functioned as part of the area's quayside warehouse district, or served a now-lost residential area erased by later construction. Besides these bell krater rims, a further rim fragment from a contaminated mixed fill,⁴⁴⁰ belonged to a fourth-century calyx krater. The overhanging lip of the vessel's wide, flaring mouth is characteristic of the vessels produced by the LC Group ca. 350-320 BCE. (No. 303, Fig. II.257)⁴⁴¹

Three other sherds of large open vases from D1 likely belonged to red-figure kraters, though too little of these vessels are preserved for either the precise shapes or the decorative themes to be determined with certainty. One such vessel was found out of context while cleaning, (No. 304, Fig. II.258)⁴⁴² and the other two were found in Persian and early-Hellenistic fills sealed beneath the later Hellenistic floors. (No. 305, Fig. II.259) (No. 306, Fig. II.260)⁴⁴³

The loci which yielded perfume and oil vessels in Area-D1 were likewise typified by dumps, fills, and disturbed deposits. Of these closed shapes for oil, four can be identified as white-ground pattern-lekythoi, all attributable to the Beldam Workshop and produced ca. 475-425 BCE. The most complete of these vessels was found in a baulk and is decorated with a wreath of ivy-and-berries between two registers of the workshop's characteristic lattice pattern. (No. 307, Fig. II.261)⁴⁴⁴ This same lattice pattern also appears on the other three specimens. One of these sherds was discovered in the stratified accumulation between two pits containing

⁴³⁷Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 260190, 261885, 261885, 167112; L16169 (Card, 1996); L16870 (Card, 2000, JBK); L26128 (Card, 2000, ACS); L1.6743 (Card, 1998, BAM).

⁴³⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 18d1-5612-1.

⁴³⁹ L18d1-469 (Database, 2018, ALR).

⁴⁴⁰ L16544 (Card, 1998, RSS).

⁴⁴¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 167725. Cf. Munich, *Antikensammlungen*: 6043; BAPD: 7850.

⁴⁴² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.05d1-0738.

⁴⁴³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 167112; L1674 (Card, 1998, BAM). Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA:1993-2390; Stern (1993), 38;. L05d1-094 (Database, 2005, RAK).

⁴⁴⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2390; Stern (1993), 38. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl. 70:6-8.

Persian-era pottery, (No. 308, Fig. II.262)⁴⁴⁵ while the others were found out of context. (No. 309, Fig. II.263) (No. 310, Fig. II.264)⁴⁴⁶

Besides these pattern-lekythoi, an unsealed fill in the area also contained a body sherd of a single red-figure lekythos decorated with drapery and dating to the second quarter of the fifth century. (No. 311, Fig. II.265)⁴⁴⁷ For two other lekythoi fragments, one a shoulder decorated with rays, (No. 312, Fig. II.266)⁴⁴⁸ and the other a lower-body and foot fragment. (No. 313, Fig. II.267)⁴⁴⁹ The absence of the main decorated areas makes identification of the vessels as either red-figure or black-figure impossible. The former likely dates to ca. 500-460 BCE and was found in a pit,⁴⁵⁰ whose contents included a large assemblage of Iron-Age-II and Persian-era pottery, while the latter was discovered in the foundation trench of a late-Persian period wall and is of late-sixth or early-fifth-century manufacture.⁴⁵¹

Lekythoi were not the only perfume juglets found in D1 as four other fragments can be identified as belonging to askoi. Three of these fragments belong to the shoulders of fourth-century red-figure askoi and preserve parts of the decoration that encircled the vessels' upper surfaces. These motifs are, respectively, addorsed palmettes, (No. 314, Fig. II.268)⁴⁵² the chest and hindlegs of a panther, (No. 315, Fig. II.269)⁴⁵³ and a laurel wreath above an egg-and-dart border. (No. 316, Fig. II.270)⁴⁵⁴ The latter piece was found in a homogenous deposit containing Persian-era pottery,⁴⁵⁵ while the other two were recovered from disturbed, unstratified fills.⁴⁵⁶ The final Attic askos fragment from D1 belongs to figure-askos moulded in the likeness of a duck, (No. 317, Fig. II.271)⁴⁵⁷ and represents the only known figure vase from Dor. The vessel

⁴⁴⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 108120-1; L10814 (Card, 1992, LKB). Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1,3,5-8; 71:1-2.

⁴⁴⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 166772, 169251; L16296 (Card, 1997, PKP); "bault". Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1,3,5-8; 71:1-2.

⁴⁴⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 260563; L16868 (Card, 2000, LL).

⁴⁴⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.05d1-5604-2

⁴⁴⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168187.

⁴⁵⁰ L05d1-524 (Database, 2005, EFD).

⁴⁵¹ L16602 (Card, 1998, RSS).

⁴⁵² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06d1-0623.

⁴⁵³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 108049.

⁴⁵⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168946.

⁴⁵⁵ L16749 (Database, 2013).

⁴⁵⁶ L06d1-073;06D1-0631 (Database, 2006, IMM).

⁴⁵⁷Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 167937; Stewart, Martin (2005), 82, Fig. 2.2.

can be dated to the latter half of the fifth century and was found in a possibly contaminated fill containing Iron-Age through Hellenistic-era material.⁴⁵⁸

As in the other excavated areas of Tel Dor, the ceramic finds from D1 also included a collection of red-figure lekanides, mostly attributable to the Otchet Group or their mid-fourth century contemporaries. Upper surface fragments of two lekanis lids were found in a mixed fill of Persian to Roman-era material, and in the Persian-era fill sealed directly beneath it.⁴⁵⁹ Both sherds preserve small areas of decoration from the lids' usually domestic or nuptial red-figure scenes, with the former featuring a section of drapery, (No. 318, Fig. II.272)⁴⁶⁰ and the latter the ends of a pendant sash. (No. 319, Fig. II.273)⁴⁶¹ A fragment comprising the edge and overhanging outer lip of such a lid was also discovered in an unsealed Persian-era rubbish pit, whose other contents included a large assemblage of horse and cattle bones.⁴⁶² The upper surface of the sherd depicts a curved fan, an accessory likewise common in the Otchet Group's nuptial and domestic tableaus, while its outer lip is adorned with an egg-and-dart frieze. (No. 320, Fig. II.274)⁴⁶³ The disk-shaped handle from a lekanis lid, similarly ornamented with an egg-and-dart ring, was also found in D1, (No. 321, Fig. II.275)⁴⁶⁴ while a small sherd, recovered from the foundation trench of a wall in the Hellenistic palace, may also belong to a lekanis lid, though too little survives for either the shape or the decoration to be determined securely. (No. 322, Fig. II.276)⁴⁶⁵ In addition to these lekanis lids, two joining body fragments of a single lekanis bowl was also discovered in a long trench-shaped pit containing mainly Persian and a Hellenistic material.⁴⁶⁶ The extant sections of the bowl comprise a portion of the walls, decorated with triangular opposed palmettes, as well as the adjoining recessed lip, handle, and lug. (No. 323, Fig. II.277)⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁵⁸ L16544 (Card, 1998, RSS).

⁴⁵⁹ L16601, L16664 (Cards, 1998, RSS).

⁴⁶⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168272. Cf. Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: IIIB1459; BAPD: 9003748.

⁴⁶¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 168628. Cf. Gotha, Schlossmuseum: AHV71; BAPD: 8001.

⁴⁶² L26243 (Card, 2000, MGW).

⁴⁶³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 282392. Cf. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 451; *ARV2*, 1497.14; BAPD: 230796.

⁴⁶⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 163994-1; L16104.

⁴⁶⁵ W5035 (Cards, 1984-2000).

⁴⁶⁶ L16265 (Database, 2013).

⁴⁶⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 165452.

Area-D2

Area-D2 is located to the east of D1 on the lower section of the tel's southern slope. It was excavated between 1986 and 2011, first by Sterns' team and later by the current Tel Dor Excavation Project.⁴⁶⁸ The area's Persian-era horizon seems to have contained three building phases over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries, all seemingly composed of a mixture of industrial buildings and residential structures organised into insulae. While some portions of ashlar-pier walls were extant, much of these buildings' layout was suggested by robber trenches and floor surfaces. The floors of the lower sub-strata were frequently pierced by rubbish pits from those above.⁴⁶⁹ An Athenian Tetradrachm of the mid-fifth century was found under a floor of the earliest phase,⁴⁷⁰ providing a *terminus post quem* for the construction, and both the occupation surfaces and the pits yielded sizeable assemblages of Attic pottery.

Among the finds of Attic pottery from Area-D2, nine black-figure cups can be identified. One such fragment shows a female head, with skin in added-white and a diadem in added-purple, placed on a background of vines. (No. 324, Fig. II.278)⁴⁷¹ The fragment should be dated to ca. 500-480 BCE and was found in a well-stratified pit whose exclusively Persian-era contents comprised a mix of industrial and domestic detritus.⁴⁷² The remainder of the black-figure cup sherds belong to cup-skyphoi produced and decorated in the manner of the Haimon Group or those working in a similar simplistic idiom in the early-fifth century. Seven joining sherds comprising the full profile of a cup-skyphos body and roughly half its circumference were found together in a pit, whose stratified contents spanned Iron Age-IIC and the Persian period.⁴⁷³ The surviving section has been restored for display and shows a satyr with a drinking horn pursuing a fleeing maenad in the style of the Haimon Group. (No. 325, Fig. II.279)⁴⁷⁴ The upper body of a similar fleeing maenad or woman, (No. 326, Fig. II.280)⁴⁷⁵ executed in the silhouette technique of the Lancut Group, appears on another sherd, likewise found in a rubbish pit: in this case a

⁴⁶⁸ See eg. Stern, Sharon (1987), 209; Stern et al. (1989), 39-40; Stern, Et. Al (1995), 57-58; Stern, Sharon (1995), 29-32; Stern et al. (1996), 59-60; Stern et al. (1997), 36-44; Stern et al. (1998), 44-45; Stern et al. (2000b), 725-27; Stern et al. (2000a), 30-33; Sharon et al. (2006), 1-2; Gilboa et al. (2009), 1-2; Sharon et al. (2009a), 2-3; Sharon et al. (2009b) 1-2; Gilboa et al. (2010), 1; Gilboa et al. (2014), 1-4; Matskevitch et al. (2014), 1-2.

⁴⁶⁹ Stern, Et. Al (2000b), 32;; Sharon et al. (2009), 4.

⁴⁷⁰ Sharon et al. (2006), 3.

⁴⁷¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 16d2-5505.

⁴⁷² L16d2-527(Database, 17/07/2016, SRM).

⁴⁷³ L15092 (Card, 1993, SBK)

⁴⁷⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA:1996-2064. Cf. Salonica, Archaeological Museum: T85; BAPD: 24481.

⁴⁷⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga:11d2-6350. Cf. Dunedin, Otago Museum: E48.230; *ABV*: 576.10; BAPD: 331039.

square pit with deposits ranging from the Persian to Roman periods.⁴⁷⁶ Beyond these scenes of Dionysiac pursuit, a female figure also appears on another Haimonian cup-skyphos fragment found in a fill with mixed Iron-Age-IIc and Persian-era pottery above a lime floor.⁴⁷⁷ On this sherd, the woman can be seen seated on a diphros while a draped man stands before her leaning on a staff. (No. 327, Fig. II.281)⁴⁷⁸ A nearly identical leaning man, likely from a similar scene, can also be seen on a sherd found in an unstratified deposit formed by winter wash. (No. 328, Fig. II.282)⁴⁷⁹ A final sherd from the main decorated area of a cup-skyphos shows the hind legs of a team of horses, evidently from a chariot scene, (No. 329, Fig. II.283)⁴⁸⁰ and was found during a cleaning of the area's west baulk.⁴⁸¹ The other black-figure cup fragments from D2 show only marginal or background vegetal motifs. For example, a leafless vine appears on a sherd found near a Persian pit, (No. 330, Fig. II.284)⁴⁸² and palmettes can be seen on pieces of two cups from an unsealed mixed deposit. (No. 331, Fig. II.285)⁴⁸³ As well as from a pit sealed under a later Persian-era wall. (No. 332, Fig. II.286)⁴⁸⁴ This latter pit was dug into an Iron-Age house and held Persian-era and Iron-Age-IIc material.⁴⁸⁵

In addition to the black-figure cups, sherds of two red-figure kylikes were also found in the area. An unsealed mixed fill yielded the rim fragment of a shallow red-figure kylix decorated with a palmette and lotus-bud, (No. 333, Fig. II.287)⁴⁸⁶ while a lower-body fragment with the drapery of a standing figure was discovered inside a complete Hellenistic jar. (No. 334, Fig. II.288)⁴⁸⁷ The jar was found alongside a complete amphora in situ above an early-Hellenistic floor, indicating the domestic nature of the deposit and perhaps the continued use of Persian-era pottery into the early Hellenistic period.

Excavations in D2 also uncovered fragments of sixteen Attic kraters. Among these finds, two bell kraters can be partially reassembled from joining sherds. A sizeable portion of one

⁴⁷⁶ 11D2-621 (Database, 12/07/2011, EBS). Cf. Prague, National Museum:1673; BAPD: 21426.

⁴⁷⁷ L15028 (Card, 1993, MRG)

⁴⁷⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 150162.

⁴⁷⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 150325; L15052 (Card, 1993, RAT). Cf. Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina: T295; *Para*, 285; BAPD: 352042.

⁴⁸⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 177711. Cf. Athens, National Museum: 17529; *ABV*, 568.644; BAPD: 331741.

⁴⁸¹ L17999 (Database, 24/12/2008).

⁴⁸² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 150639; L15063 (Card, 1993, RAT).

⁴⁸³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 195272; L19378 (Card, 1999, HAK).

⁴⁸⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 171184.

⁴⁸⁵ L17079 (CARD, 1995, ONH).

⁴⁸⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.05d2-1033; L05d2-048; L05D2-048 (Database,02/08/2005, AMH).

⁴⁸⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.05d2-1154; L05D2-047(Database,02/07/2005, AMH).

fourth-century bell krater has been restored from connecting fragments found outside a Persian residential insula. (No. 335, Fig. II.289)⁴⁸⁸ Its extant decoration belongs to one of the standard palaestra scenes with standing youths that adorn the reverse sides of such vessels produced ca. 400-350 BCE. The eight pieces of the other partially-restorable krater, dateable to ca. 420-400 BCE, were found at separate loci. (No. 336, Fig. II.290)⁴⁸⁹ All of these findspots are uncatalogued, save for one locus, identified as a sealed Iron-Age-IIIC to Hellenistic-period fill.⁴⁹⁰ This fill held a body fragment on which part of a draped male figure appears. Other fragments including an adjoining portion with the figure's arm, and others with his leg and lower drapery were also found, as were the krater's disk foot and three joining fragments of a handle, ringed with an egg-and-dart border.

Individual fragments of seven other red-figure kraters preserve identifiable portions of the decorative scenes. For example, figures in ornately-patterned Near-Eastern-style dress appear on body fragments of two fourth-century kraters found in the area. One such sherd, found in baulk, displays a woman in an elaborate plumed helmet raising a weapon, (No. 337, Fig. II.291)⁴⁹¹ while the other was found in a Persian-era pit and shows a torso with patterned clothing overlapped by the long tail of an animal. (No. 338, Fig. II.292)⁴⁹² Both images likely represent either Amazons or Arimasps in the midst an Amazonomachy or Grypomachy respectively.⁴⁹³ The body sherd of another krater, likewise depicting the torso and hips of a draped female figure in loose mid-fourth century style, was found in a mixed fill with Iron-Age to Roman-era material. (No. 339, Fig. II.293)⁴⁹⁴ A nude male torso and arm belonging to a seated muscular figure, can be seen on a body sherd from a mixed Persian and Hellenistic fill. (No. 340, Fig. II.294)⁴⁹⁵ It appears to date to the late-fifth century and likely represents a seated god in the manner of the Dionysos on the bell krater from Area-D1 or Herakles on the krater from Tel Akko.⁴⁹⁶ On three lower-body fragments, likewise from bell kraters, portions of red-figure decoration are extant above the lower border. Two such fragments show the lower drapery of

⁴⁸⁸ L10512 (Cards, 1986-1989, B. Miley)

⁴⁸⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. Nos. 104476, 10442519, 104535, 104555; W104470, L104490.

⁴⁹⁰ L10488 (Card, 1989)-

⁴⁹¹ Reg. No. 17d2-0001 (Courtesy of Tel Dor Excavation Project); L17999 (Database, 24/12/2008).

⁴⁹² Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 170055; L17008 (Card, 1995, ONH).

⁴⁹³ On Grypomachy and Amazonomachy: Macdonald (1987).

⁴⁹⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 176458-1; L16745 (Card, 1996, AC).

⁴⁹⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 13d2-4602; L13d2-472 (Database, 07/08/2013, RMG).

⁴⁹⁶ Nos. 19, 273.

female figures with their feet in added white, (No. 341, Fig. II.295)⁴⁹⁷ (No. 342, Fig. II.296)⁴⁹⁸ and can be dated to ca. 400-370 BCE, while the other depicts the leg of a symposium table and is of somewhat earlier date (ca. 430-400 BCE). (No. 343, Fig. II.297)⁴⁹⁹ The first of the sherds depicting female feet was found in a pit whose contents were otherwise largely late-Hellenistic,⁵⁰⁰ whereas the sympotic fragment was found in a sealed deposit on a Persian-period domestic floor along with other in-situ artefacts such as storage jars, figurines and jewelry.⁵⁰¹

Lower-body meander borders, sans any surviving figures, also appear on two bell krater fragments one of which was found in a mixed fill, (No. 344, Fig. II.298)⁵⁰² and the other in the makeup of a Persian-era domestic floor, (No. 345, Fig. II.299)⁵⁰³ while the decoration on a final body sherd, seemingly from a krater, is unidentifiable. (No. 346, Fig. II.300)⁵⁰⁴ This latter fragment was found amidst the Iron-Age-IIc and Persian-era fill above the white plaster floor of a room in the “Monumental Iron Age Building,” a fill which also included other imported Attic, Boeotian, and East-Greek Pottery, along with local ceramics and industrial waste such as murex shells and iron slag.⁵⁰⁵

Alongside the range of iconography, diagnostic rim fragments found in Area-D2 indicate that a variety of krater types were present. Two joining fragments, discovered separately in a Roman-era silo⁵⁰⁶ and an unstratified surface deposit,⁵⁰⁷ can be assigned to a volute krater of ca. 550-520 BCE. The sherds comprise a lip and neck in several degrees ornamented with laurel and ivy scrolls alternating with bands of egg pattern. (No. 347, Fig. II.301)⁵⁰⁸ Two other sherds, both found in baulks, can be identified as having belonged to column kraters of the late-sixth to mid-fifth centuries.⁵⁰⁹ One of these is a lip sherd with an ivy wreath on its overhanging outer rim, (No. 348, Fig. II.302)⁵¹⁰ while the other comes from the vessel’s neck and features a pendant-

⁴⁹⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 13d2-4745

⁴⁹⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 170910

⁴⁹⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 52370

⁵⁰⁰ L13D2-456 (Database, 29/07/2013, MDI).

⁵⁰¹ L1591 (Card, 1985).

⁵⁰² Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 3176475; L17631 (Card, 1996, HAK)

⁵⁰³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 170260; L17032 (Card, 1995, ONH)

⁵⁰⁴ Reg. No. 170753; L17067

⁵⁰⁵ L17076 (Card, 1995, ONH); Stern et al. (1997), 37-41.

⁵⁰⁶ L17827 (Database, 24/07/1999, MDP)

⁵⁰⁷ L17433 (Card, 1995).

⁵⁰⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 174678; L7433

⁵⁰⁹ Both possibly Mannerist, see Mannack (2001), 61.

⁵¹⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 172373

lotus-bud chain in black-figure. (No. 349, Fig. II.303)⁵¹¹ The final krater lip fragment from a uncatalogued locus in D2 is one of the laurel-patterned bell krater rims that appear with such frequency in the region. (No. 350, Fig. II.304)⁵¹²

Closed shapes for oil are also present among the Attic pottery from Area-D2. Of these, eight lekythoi with black-figure decoration can be identified. A nearly-complete black-figure shoulder-lekythos has been restored from fragments found in a Persian-era fill, whose only other recorded find was the base of a Corinthian juglet.⁵¹³ The body of the vase shows two figures, likely Dionysos and Ariadne, seated on diphroi among vines. (No. 351, Fig. II.305)⁵¹⁴ Both this motif and the vessel's shape are characteristic of the Class of Athens 581 (ca. 500-460 BCE) to whom the vessel should be attributed.⁵¹⁵ Another black-figure lekythos fragment was discovered in the Iron-Age and Persian-period fill beneath a Roman street.⁵¹⁶ This sherd belonged to the shoulder of the vessel and is adorned with a ring of tongues above a scroll of open-palmettes and tendrils, (No. 352, Fig. II.306)⁵¹⁷ a motif common on black-figure cylinder-lekythoi produced between 530 and 460. The upper portion of another cylinder lekythos, this one with surviving white-ground on the extant portion of its body, was found in a baulk, and can be dated to around 480-450 BCE. The black-figure decoration on the body cannot be identified, while the reserved shoulder and neck are ringed with the common motif of double rays. (No. 353, Fig. II.307)⁵¹⁸ This same pattern can be seen on two further shoulder fragments (No. 354, Fig. II.308)⁵¹⁹ (No. 355, Fig. II.309)⁵²⁰ and one neck fragment found in the area, (No. 356, Fig. II.310)⁵²¹ though the broader decorative technique of their now-missing bodies is impossible to determine and they can only be dated broadly to between the late-sixth and mid-fifth centuries. One of the shoulder fragments was found in the foundation trench of a Persian-era ashlar-pier wall,⁵²² while the neck

⁵¹¹Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 177912

⁵¹² Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 177640; L17809.

⁵¹³ L5136 (Card, 1984).

⁵¹⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; IAA-1993-2485; Stern (1993), 38.

⁵¹⁵ Class of Athens 581: *ABV*, 489-506; Haspels (1936), 93-94, 224-225. Cf. Athens, Agora: P24442; *Para*, 240; BAPD: 361279. Cf. Athens, National Museum: CC919; *ABV*, 494.122, BAPD: 303637. Cf. Dijon, Musée Archeologique: 1217; *ABV*, 494.127; BAPD: 303642.

⁵¹⁶ L17089 (Card, 1995, ONH).

⁵¹⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 170197; L17089

⁵¹⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 172373

⁵¹⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No.09D2-637012; L09D2-533 (Database, 2009, EBS)."Surface".

⁵²⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 13d24079; L13d2-406

⁵²¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 1504 (89); L15063.

⁵²² L13d2-406 (Database, 2013, RMG).

was found in the stratified fill surrounding two Persian pits.⁵²³ Body sherds belonging to a pair of white-ground pattern-lekythoi, round out the assemblage of black-figure oil vases from D2. Both are attributable to the Beldam Group, and feature the group's characteristic lattice friezes, paired on one sherd with interlocking ivy leaves, (No. 357, Fig. II.311)⁵²⁴ and on the other with a meander. (No. 358, Fig. II.312)⁵²⁵ While the former piece was found out of context while cleaning,⁵²⁶ the latter came from a pit filled with Persian-era material. This same pit also contained a lower-body fragment from the only red-figure cylinder lekythos identified in the area. The surviving decoration on this sherd shows the lower drapery of a standing female figure above a meander border, (No. 359, Fig. II.313)⁵²⁷ in a manner similar to the Carlsruhe and Bowdoin Painters (ca. 480-450 BCE).⁵²⁸ The other contents of the pit included a large assemblage of local and imported transport amphorae, along with Attic and East-Greek fineware, local cooking and storage jars, figurines, jewelry, and bones with butcher marks: all suggestive of a rubbish dump whose catchment reflected the area's mixed residential and commercial functions in the Persian period.⁵²⁹

Alongside the cylinder and shoulder shapes, two red-figure squat-lekythoi were found in Area-D2. One nearly-complete fourth-century vase decorated with a single red-figure palmette was found in an uncatalogued locus, (No. 360, Fig. II.314)⁵³⁰ while the neck of another, ringed with an egg-and-dart pattern, was found in a pit. (No. 361, Fig. II.315)⁵³¹ This pit was located in the vicinity of a presumed Persian era-street, and contained a large assemblage of pottery mixed with burned mud-brick debris. The neck sherd itself should be dated to the late-fifth or early-fourth century.⁵³²

Fourth-century askoi are also represented among the red-figure closed shapes from D2, with fragments of three such vessels having been found throughout the area. Images of animals, likely identifiable as panthers, appear on two of these sherds: one showing the spotted forelegs of

⁵²³ L15063 (Card, 1993, RAT)

⁵²⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 150237. Cf. Como, Museo Archeologico: 35; BAPD: 2213.

⁵²⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 13d2-4733; L13d2-429.

⁵²⁶ L15024 (Card, 1993, RAT)

⁵²⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 13D2-4696.

⁵²⁸ On Carlsruhe Painter: *ARV2*, 730-739; Boardman (1989), 37. On Bowdoin Painter *ARV2*, 677-690; *ABV*, 522; Boardman (1974), 113-114; Boardman (1989), 37, Haspels (1936), 141-165, 254-260.

⁵²⁹ L13d2-429 (Database, 18/07/2013, RMG).

⁵³⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2409; Stern (1993), 38. L2249.

⁵³¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 15933

⁵³² Nahsholim, Mizgaga; L15055 (Card, 1993, MRG).

the beast, (No. 362, Fig. II.316)⁵³³ and the other depicting two stylized feline heads with bulging eyes. (No. 363, Fig. II.317)⁵³⁴ The former fragment was found in a fill containing Iron-Age-IIc and Persian-era material,⁵³⁵ while the latter came from a robber trench with mixed Persian to Roman-period contents.⁵³⁶ Two joining pieces of a further red-figure askos were found at an uncatalogued locus,⁵³⁷ and are decorated with wreath of laurel and berries between egg-and-dart borders. (No. 364, Fig. II.318)⁵³⁸

Continuing the pattern seen elsewhere on the tel, the Attic pottery recovered from Area-D2 also included fragments of two fourth-century lekanis lids. Both of these pieces were found in mixed fills and are near in style to the lekanides of the Otchet Group.⁵³⁹ The larger of the two sherds shows the draped legs of one seated and one standing woman with a large fan between them, (No. 365, Fig. II.319)⁵⁴⁰ while the other, smaller sherd features a hanging sash. (No. 366, Fig. II.320)⁵⁴¹ All of these figures and objects are emblematic of the domestic or nuptial scenes that typify such vessels. One final Attic figure-decorated sherd from Area-D2 was found in the clay fill beneath the packed floor of a Persian-era domestic building.⁵⁴² The fill contained Iron-Age-IIc and Persian-period pottery as well as loom weights and bones and may represent an earlier living surface in the same dwelling. The Attic sherd, which appears to be decorated with black rays on reserved clay, belonged to a thick-walled closed shape with an unglazed interior. (No. 367, Fig. II.321)⁵⁴³

Area-D3

Area-D3 is located on the slope above the rest of Area-D and, as yet, only its Roman-era strata have been excavated and published.⁵⁴⁴ The topsoil in this area yielded a single Attic figure-

⁵³³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 171652

⁵³⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 175603

⁵³⁵ L17121 (Card, 1995, ONH).

⁵³⁶ L17579 (Card, 1995, HAK).

⁵³⁷ L17801.

⁵³⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 177506

⁵³⁹ L17645 (Database, 26/05/2013); L17429 (Card, 1995, HAK).

⁵⁴⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga.

⁵⁴¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 175202. Cf. Leiden, Rijksmuseum: GNV131; *ARV*2, 1497.16; BAPD: 23079.

⁵⁴² L10D2-563 (Database, 01/08/2010, AEG)

⁵⁴³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 10d2-6076

⁵⁴⁴ Stern, Sharon (1995), 32.

decorated fragment:⁵⁴⁵ the body sherd of a red-figure krater decorated with drapery. (No. 368, Fig. II.322)⁵⁴⁶

Area-D4

Area-D4 is located to on the slope above D2. It was initially excavated and categorised as an extension of D1, and most of its Hellenistic phase is taken up by a wing of the Hellenistic Monumental Building, which also occupied much of D1.⁵⁴⁷ The Persian-era strata below this structure were excavated in 2011 and comprised the robber trenches and sequence of floors from a demolished residential structure. The presence of mudbrick material in the fills are suggestive of its use in these buildings' construction.⁵⁴⁸

Body fragments of four black-figure cups were found out-of-context in D4. Three of these sherds belonged to cup-skyphoi and display hastily-painted palmettes in a manner reminiscent of the Haimon Group, (Nos.369-371, Figs. II.323-325)⁵⁴⁹ while on a further sherd only a single black ray survives. (No. 372, Fig. II.326)⁵⁵⁰

Kraters were also present among the finds from the area, represented by fragments of ten red-figure vessels. On only one of these is the face of a figure persevered. This fragment, which shows the face of a woman or youth wearing a diadem of added white, belongs to a bell krater of the early-to-mid-fourth century and was found in the foundation trench of a Hellenistic wall. (No. 373, Fig. II.327)⁵⁵¹ Another bell krater fragment, found in a Roman drain,⁵⁵² shows the hand of a figure next to a hanging discus and likely came from one of the conventional palaestra scenes that adorned the B-sides of such vases in the fourth century. (No. 374, Fig. II.328)⁵⁵³ Four other krater-fragments show small portions of drapery, either plain (No. 375, Fig. II.329)⁵⁵⁴ or decorated with bands (No. 376, Fig. II.330)⁵⁵⁵ and dots. (No. 377, Fig. II.331) (No. 378, Fig.

⁵⁴⁵ L14000 (Card, 1993, SMS; Database, 12/03/2013).

⁵⁴⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 140000

⁵⁴⁷ Sharon et al. (2009b), 4-5; Gilboa et al. (2010) 1-2; Sharon et al. (2011), 4-5; Gilboa et al. (2014), 7-8; Matskevitch et al. (2014), 2-4.

⁵⁴⁸ Matskevitch et al. (2014), 2.

⁵⁴⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 10D4-7682;10d4-7042;11D4-8219; ; L10D4-675 (Database,07/08/20)“Fill”; L10D4-626 (Database, 26/07/2010, PTT)“Fill”; L05D4-806, “Cleaning”.

⁵⁵⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.05D4-001 (Database,05/07/2005)“Surface Soil”.

⁵⁵¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d4-7227-108; L11D4-715 (Database,05/07/2011, WXE).

⁵⁵² L08D4-318 (Database, 13/07/2008, CAM).

⁵⁵³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.08d4-3403

⁵⁵⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d4-7042; L10D4-626 (Database, 26/07/19, PTT).

⁵⁵⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d4-7682; L10D4-675 (Database,07/08/2010, SIM).

II.332).⁵⁵⁶ These can likewise be dated to the fourth-century and were found in mixed fills and unstratified surface deposits.⁵⁵⁷ A body fragment bearing an egg-and-dart frieze was likewise discovered in a mixed fill, (No. 379, Fig. II.333)⁵⁵⁸ while two others with unidentifiable red-figure decoration were found amid winter wash (No. 380, Fig. II.334)⁵⁵⁹ and in a stratified Persian-period fill beneath the Hellenistic “Thin Ashlar Building”. (No. 381, Fig. II.335)⁵⁶⁰ Besides these body sherds, a single krater rim fragment was also found in a mixed fill in Area-D4.⁵⁶¹ The sherd is decorated with a wave pattern on the exterior face of its torus lip. (No. 382, Fig. II.336)⁵⁶² Such patterns appear on both bell and kalyx kraters in the first half of the fourth century.⁵⁶³

A mixed fill of low value likewise yielded one of the two fragmentary lekythoi found in D4.⁵⁶⁴ This collection of four joining body sherds belonged to a black-figure lekythos dating to ca. 500-475 BCE. The fragments show drapery with incisions and added purple on a background of vines. (No. 383, Fig. II.337)⁵⁶⁵ The other lekythos fragment from the area was found in a stratified fill containing Persian to early-Hellenistic material.⁵⁶⁶ It displays a reserved round object, possibly a discus, decorated with a triangular device that may represent a “δ” or “α”. (No. 384, Fig. II.338)⁵⁶⁷

In addition to the lekythoi, four other sherds sealed under a Hellenistic wall belong to a closed shape of larger size,⁵⁶⁸ likely a red-figure hydria or pelike. Three of these fragments join to portray a seated nude male, while drapery appears on the other. (No. 385, Fig. II.339)⁵⁶⁹ The

⁵⁵⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 10D4-7626, 13D4-9972/1.

⁵⁵⁷ L10D4-626 (Database, 26/07/2010, PTT); L10D4-675 (Database, 07/08/2010, SIM); L10D4-651 (Database, 05/08/2010, PTT).

⁵⁵⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 08d4-4607; L08D4-381 (Database, 24/07/2008, CAM).

⁵⁵⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d4-6014; L10D4-602 (Database, 12/07/2010, HSB).

⁵⁶⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d4-6699; L10D4-604 (Database, 21/07/2010, SIM); Gilboa et al. (2014), 8.

⁵⁶¹ L08D4-306 (Database, 03/07/2008, CAM).

⁵⁶² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 08d4-3808

⁵⁶³ McPhee (1987), 293.

⁵⁶⁴ L11D4-705 (Database, 05/07/2011, HSB).

⁵⁶⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d4-7271.

⁵⁶⁶ 10D4-620 (Database, 26/07/2010, PTT)

⁵⁶⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d4—6503. Device: cf Athens, National Museum:17281; *ARV*2, 684.145; BAPD:208103.

⁵⁶⁸ L13D4-021 (Database, 06/08/2013, KLV).

⁵⁶⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 13D4-9981

style is near to that of the Hesperides Painter and the vessel should be dated to the early-fourth century.⁵⁷⁰

The final fragment from Area-D4 comes from the lid of a red-figure lekanis and was discovered in a mixed fill with Persian to Roman-era contents.⁵⁷¹ The sherd shows a wing, likely belonging to Eros, along with parts of a box and sash. (No. 386, Fig. II.340)⁵⁷² As with the other fragments of this type, it appears to belong to one of the Otchet Group's nuptial scenes, which frequently feature Erotes and the presentation of bridal or domestic wares.⁵⁷³

Area-D5

Area-D5 is situated by the water's edge on the slope below D1. Several Achaemenid-era features were uncovered over a series of excavation seasons between 2005 and 2011.⁵⁷⁴ Parts of a sixth-century domestic building were found on the eastern side of the area along with a feature dubbed "the bone installation" due to presence of a large, stratified assemblage of horse, pig, cattle, sheep, and goat bones. Next to the installation were three pits containing dog burials, and numerous Persian-era rubbish pits were also discovered throughout D5. In the stratum above these features on the western side of D5, robber trenches indicated the presence of a late-Persian/early-Hellenistic building phase, likely consisting of domestic insulae.⁵⁷⁵

Among the finds from D5, seven Attic figure-decorated cups can be identified. On five of these fragments, portions of black-figure decoration can be seen, all datable to the early-fifth century. The lone black-figure fragment to feature an identifiable subject is a sherd attributable to the Whitworth painter,⁵⁷⁶ showing the head of a bridled horse surrounded by grapevines, (No. 387, Fig. II.341)⁵⁷⁷ which was found in a fill outside the southern exterior wall of the Hellenistic Monumental Building.⁵⁷⁸ Similar vines with grape clusters appear next to an unidentifiable figure on a sherd found in a fill above the floor of an early-Persian-period residential building. (No. 388, Fig. II.342)⁵⁷⁹ This fill, which was sealed between the house's kurkar floor and the

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. New York, Metropolitan Museum: 24.97.5; BAPD: 9525. Cf. Thebes, Archaeological Museum: 25546; BAPD: 1012709.

⁵⁷¹ L08D4-356 (Database, 22/07/2008, RPB).

⁵⁷² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.08d4-4572

⁵⁷³ Cf. Bussels, *Musees Royaux*:A3549; *ARV*2,1498.1; BAPD:230816.

⁵⁷⁴ Sharon et al. (2009), 1; Gilboa et al. (2009), 2; Gilboa et al. (2010), 2; Sharon et al. (2011):3-6.

⁵⁷⁵ Gilboa et al. (2010), 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. Orvieto, Museo Civico, Collezione Faina: 2604; BAPD: 10331.

⁵⁷⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d5-3122

⁵⁷⁸ 11D5-303 (Database,08/07/2011, HBB).

⁵⁷⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d5-2970.

wall of a later Persian-era structure built above it, also contained bones and shells, along with an assemblage of domestic pottery, none of it postdating the early-fifth century.⁵⁸⁰ Likewise unidentifiable is the partial figure seen next to the fronds of a palmette on a lower-body fragment from a Persian-era pit. (No. 389, Fig. II.343)⁵⁸¹ This pit, located between a kurkar wall and a dog burial, contained a range of pottery, including local jars and East-Greek transport amphorae, along with shells and bones.⁵⁸² The two remaining black-figure cup sherds were found out-of-context in the topsoil⁵⁸³ and baulk,⁵⁸⁴ and displayed only marginal vegetal motifs: grapevines, (No. 390, Fig. II.344)⁵⁸⁵ and a palmette (No. 391, Fig. II.345)⁵⁸⁶ respectively.

Along with these black-figure cups, fragments of two red-figure cups were found in a single Persian pit in Area-D5. Two lip sherds from a fourth-century skyphos, found in this locus, show draped youths in a schematic style comparable to that of the Kalymnos painter, (No. 392, Fig. II.346)⁵⁸⁷ while the other red-figure fragment from the same pit displays a single olive leaf, likely from an owl skyphos. (No. 393, Fig. II.347)⁵⁸⁸ Apart from these fragments, this pit contained a range of domestic and industrial detritus including local jars and East-Greek amphorae along with bones, kiln wasters, and slag.⁵⁸⁹

Excavations in the area also uncovered the remains of thirteen red-figure kraters. Body fragments of two such pots show the upper bodies of nude male figures and can be dated to the late-fifth to mid-fourth centuries. One, showing the bare neck and shoulders of a youth with an added-white fillet, was found in the stratified accumulation above a Persian-period floor. (No. 394, Fig. II.348)⁵⁹⁰ This same floor also contained a possible in-situ tabun suggesting a domestic space.⁵⁹¹ The other vase survives as two non-joining body fragments both found in a pit which

⁵⁸⁰ 10D5-246 (Database, 28/07/2010, EFI).

⁵⁸¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d5-290

⁵⁸² 10D5-218 (Database, 17/07/2010, EFI).

⁵⁸³ 08D5-6470.

⁵⁸⁴ L05D4-806.

⁵⁸⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.08d5-6470

⁵⁸⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d4-8219

⁵⁸⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d5-3325. Kalymnos Painter: Kaşka (2020).

⁵⁸⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d5-4760

⁵⁸⁹ L11d5-317(Database,08/07/2011, HBB).

⁵⁹⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06d5-2150.

⁵⁹¹ L06D5-416 (Database, 16/07/2006, AMH).

held late-Iron-Age to Hellenistic deposits.⁵⁹² One of the sherds shows a nude male midriff, and the other a segment of drapery. (No. 395, Fig. II.349)⁵⁹³

In addition to these nude male figures, two other krater body-fragments show the torsos of draped females. The earlier of the two fragments came from an uncatalogued locus and shows a woman's sleeved Ionic chiton and himation, painted in the archaizing style of the early Mannerists (ca. 480-450 BCE). (No. 396, Fig. II.350)⁵⁹⁴ The other, which was discovered in a disturbed mixed fill,⁵⁹⁵ shows a draped torso with diaphanous folds in added white, (No. 397, Fig. II.351)⁵⁹⁶ reminiscent of the Rich or early Kerch styles of the late-fifth or fourth centuries.⁵⁹⁷ Folded drapery can also be seen on a small fragment found in the makeup of a Hellenistic wall, though the figure cannot be identified. (No. 398, Fig. II.352)⁵⁹⁸

Four further bell kraters are represented by fragments of the pots' lower bodies. On two such fragments sympotic motifs can be identified with one sherd showing the leg of a symposium table above a meander frieze, (No. 399, Fig. II.353)⁵⁹⁹ and the other, the legs of a draped figure carrying a wineskin - likely in a komos scene painted ca. 460-440 BCE (No. 400, Fig. II.354).⁶⁰⁰ While the latter fragment was found in the same pit that contained two skyphoi discussed above,⁶⁰¹ the former was uncovered in the fill above an early-Persian cobbled floor, likely a courtyard in the residential complex. The floor was pocked with later-Persian-period pits and two dog burials and the fill itself contained a mix of Persian-era domestic and industrial detritus, including local and imported pottery, loom weights, olive pits, slag, bones, and large quantities of murex shells.⁶⁰² It thus seems likely that the courtyard area was used for dye production and other small-scale industrial work over an extended period of time in the later Persian-period. The lower-body fragments of two other bell kraters were found in D5, one in a disturbed mixed fill⁶⁰³

⁵⁹² L11D5-629 (Database, 12/07/2011, BAR).

⁵⁹³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d5-4245

⁵⁹⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 16d5-3005; Mannack (2001), 12-23. Cf. London, British Museum: E363; *ARI2*, 586.36; BAPD: 206766.

Cf. Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2417; *ARI2*, 556.101; BAPD: 206344

⁵⁹⁵ L07D5-312 (Database, 04/07/2007, TAG).

⁵⁹⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 07d5-3348

⁵⁹⁷ Lapatin: Cohen (2006), 318-320. Cf. London, British Museum: F69; BAPD: 8201.

⁵⁹⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 06d5-1372; W06D5-5020 (Database, 2006, AMH).

⁵⁹⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 06d5-1178

⁶⁰⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11d5-4162

⁶⁰¹ Nos. 392, 393. L11D5-317 (Database, 08/07/2011, HBB).

⁶⁰² L06D5-400 (Database, 2006, AMH); Gilboa et al. (2009), 3.

⁶⁰³ L07D5-345 (Database, 23/07/2007, TAG).

and the other sealed beneath a Hellenistic wall.⁶⁰⁴ Both of these pieces date to the mid-fourth centuries and show the feet and hems of draped figures. On one of these fragments, the feet and garment are both painted in added white, marking them as female, and are placed above a meander border, (No. 401, Fig. II.355)⁶⁰⁵ while those on the other appear to belong to two schematic youths from a bell krater's reverse side. (No. 402, Fig. II.356)⁶⁰⁶

Along with these sherds from the kraters' main decorated areas, a series fragments belonging to the handle areas and rims of bell kraters were also found. One such fragment displays a fourth-century-style under-handle palmette, (No. 403, Fig. II.357)⁶⁰⁷ and the other a ring of egg-and-dart around an extant handle. (No. 404, Fig. II.358)⁶⁰⁸ The former sherd was found in the fill directly above a floor of the early-Persian domestic structure,⁶⁰⁹ while the latter came from a large Hellenistic pit.⁶¹⁰ Meanwhile, the two rims were both found in disturbed fills. The earlier and better-preserved of the two features separate registers of egg-and-dart and laurel patterns, (No. 405, Fig. II.359)⁶¹¹ and should be dated to the middle decades of the fifth century, (ca. 475-425 BCE) while the other displays a worn laurel wreath below a now-missing lip and is of late-fifth or early-fourth century date. (No. 406, Fig. II.360)⁶¹² Finally, a fragment of a large red-figure open shape was also found in a Persian-era fill that also contained local pottery, shells, and bones. (No. 407, Fig. II.361).⁶¹³

Besides the cups and kraters excavated, D5 also yielded fragments of seven Attic lekythoi. A Persian-pit contained the one black-figure fragment of such a vessel:⁶¹⁴ a shoulder of a small, early-fifth century lekythos ornamented with rays, (No. 408, Fig. II.362)⁶¹⁵ while two other fragments preserve red-figure decoration. One red-figure lower-body fragment, likewise found in a pit,⁶¹⁶ shows the foot of a krater placed on a platform above a meander border. (No.

⁶⁰⁴ L06D5-414 (Database, 16/07/2006, AMH).

⁶⁰⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. L07D5-345 (Database, 23/07/2007, TAG).

⁶⁰⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.06d5-1022; L06D5-414 (Database, 16/07/2006, AMH).

⁶⁰⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d5-2610

⁶⁰⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.07d5-3430

⁶⁰⁹ 10D5-261 (Database,09/08/2010, EFI); Gilboa et al. (2014), 7.

⁶¹⁰ L07D5-323 (Database,09/07/2007, TAG).

⁶¹¹ L06D5-217(Database, 11/07/2006, TAG).

⁶¹² L06D5-403 (Database,05/07/2006, AMH).

⁶¹³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.08d5-6370; L08d5-734.

⁶¹⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. L11D5-310 (Database,08/07/2011, HBB).

⁶¹⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 11D5-4974.

⁶¹⁶ L08D5-713 (Database, 12/07/2008, HBB)

409, Fig. II.363)⁶¹⁷ The style is comparable to that of the Bowdoin Painter and the vase should be dated to ca. 480-450 BCE.⁶¹⁸ Of the other red-figure lekythos, two non-joining body sherds are extant. Both were found in a sealed deposit between flooring phases in the Persian-era house, a deposit which also contained a range of domestic detritus comprising local and East-Greek storage vessels, bones, shells, and a mortarium.⁶¹⁹ The red-figure fragments, which came from a cylinder lekythos, appear to depict a scene of erotic pursuit,⁶²⁰ with one sherd showing the draped body of a running woman, and the other parts of a shoulder and head. (No. 410, Fig. II.364)⁶²¹ The drapery and draftsmanship are early classical (ca. 470-450 BCE).

The fragments of three other lekythoi include small black-glazed portions of the vessels' upper bodies and it is impossible to determine whether they originally belonged to black-bodied lekythoi or had red-figure decoration on the now-missing bodies.⁶²² The most complete of these shoulder fragments has been partially restored from joining sherds, all found in a pit with stratified late-Iron-Age to Hellenistic contents.⁶²³ The shoulder of this vase is adorned with black-figure open palmettes on reserved clay, while a meander encircles the upper body below the shoulder. (No. 411, Fig. II.365)⁶²⁴ These two motifs appear separately on the other two specimens, with one shoulder sherd displaying only the palmette pattern, (No. 412, Fig. II.366)⁶²⁵ and an upper-body sherd only the meander. (No. 413, Fig. II.367)⁶²⁶ The former piece was found in the fill under the floor of a Hellenistic residential insula,⁶²⁷ while the latter came from a locus which also contained three dog burials,⁶²⁸ making it one of the rare examples from our region of Attic pottery found in a cultic context. All three of these vessels should be dated to ca. 480-450 BCE.

⁶¹⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 62-08

⁶¹⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. Bowdoin Painter: *ARV2*, 677-690, *ABV*, 522; Boardman (1974), 113-114; Boardman (1989), 37; Haspels (1936), 141-165, 254-260. Cf. Prague, National Museum: 772; *ARV2*, 714.166; BAPD:208744. Cf. Mainz, Romisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum: O29214; *ARV2*, 680.55; BAPD: 208003.

⁶¹⁹ L10d5-204 (Database, 17/07/2010, EFI)

⁶²⁰ Erotic pursuit motif: Sourvinou-Inwood (1987).

⁶²¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 10d5-2613 and 2151

⁶²² On black lekythoi: Kurtz (1975), 115-130.

⁶²³ L09D5-409 (Database, 15/07/2009, HBB).

⁶²⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.03d5-7173

⁶²⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.09d5-7963

⁶²⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.07d5-1470

⁶²⁷ L09D5-421 (Database, 24/07/2009, HBB).

⁶²⁸ L07D5-112 (Database, 12/07/2007, EFI).

The final closed vessel fragment from D5 is a body sherd from a squat lekythos found in the makeup of a late-Hellenistic floor.⁶²⁹ It is decorated with a net pattern in the manner of the Boulas Group and is of fourth-century manufacture. (No. 414, Fig. II.368)⁶³⁰

Area-D, with its five constituent subareas, thus produced the largest known corpus of Attic black and red-figure sherds from any of the areas in Tel Dor. The Attic finds from this area were also among the most varied from the site, and included a number of shapes beyond the standard cups, kraters, and lekythoi. Most notable in this regard were the eleven red-figure lekanides, found in the area: the largest known assemblage of such vessels in Canaan. Though the later Hellenistic construction resulted in many of the find contexts being disturbed, both the contents of the Area-D's numerous Persian pits and the smattering of sealed, securely dated Achaemenid-era deposits suggest an area of mixed domestic and industrial use.

Area-E

Area-E is situated on the north-eastern side of the tel, overlooking the northern harbour and dockyards. It was excavated between 1986 and 1988, with Persian-era strata having been found only in the centre of the excavated area. Here the remains of ashlar-pier residential buildings similar to those from fifth and fourth-century strata elsewhere in the city, were uncovered.⁶³¹ Unfortunately, all four pieces of the Attic pottery from this area were found out-of-context in later strata. Of the two cup fragments, the rim of a black-figure band-cup decorated with an ivy chain was discovered in the foundation trench of a Hellenistic wall, (No. 415, Fig. II.369)⁶³² and can be dated ca. 550-530 BCE, while the tondo fragment from a red-figure kylix was found on the surface. (No. 416, Fig. II.370)⁶³³ This second cup can be attributed to the Pithos Painter and shows the hair and torso of one of this artist's characteristically schematised Eastern symposiasts.⁶³⁴

⁶²⁹ L08D5-706 (Databate, 12/07/2008, EFI).

⁶³⁰ Boulas Group: Beazley (1945), 21. Cf. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum: 86.AE.260; BAPD: 43938.

⁶³¹ Stern, Sharon (1987), 209; Stern et al. (1991), 48, 55.

⁶³² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 63255; L6334 (Card, 1986).

⁶³³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 62686-2; L6262 (Card, 1986).

⁶³⁴ Cf. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum: 13386; *ARV2*, 139.23; BAPD: 201180.

As with the cups, one of the two red-figure krater fragments was found on the surface,⁶³⁵ while the other was built into the lower course of a Roman wall.⁶³⁶ The former fragment displays handle area vegetal motifs, (No. 417, Fig. II.371)⁶³⁷ and the other the feet and drapery of standing, b-side figures above a meander. (No. 418, Fig. II.372)⁶³⁸ Both belong to the lower bodies of fourth-century bell kraters. The small collection of unstratified Attic sherds from Area-E thus belonged exclusively to wine-serving vessels.

Area-F

Area-F is located on the westernmost point of the promontory of Tel Dor, on a ledge where the kurkar ridge drops precipitously to the sea. It was excavated first by Garstang in the 1920s and later by Stern's expedition between 1992 and 1995.⁶³⁹ These excavations uncovered the remains of a large Roman-era temple complex built atop a leveled stone platform and enclosed by a temenos wall.⁶⁴⁰ The platform was built over a series of earlier structures including Roman and Hellenistic residential buildings. Other features revealed by excavations within the platform are conjectured to date as far back the Iron Age, though none of the published architectural remains have yet been securely dated to the Persian era.⁶⁴¹ Despite this, a large body of figure-decorated Attic pottery was uncovered in this area.

Three red-figure fragments, all surface finds, are assigned simply to "Area-F" rather than to any of its constituent subareas. One of these fragments belongs to a fourth-century askos and shows the hindparts of a spotted bird, likely a duck. (No. 419, Fig. II.373)⁶⁴² The other two came from unknown closed shapes. One, showing a hooked motif (possibly a strigil), (No. 420, Fig. II.374)⁶⁴³ belonged to a small vessel, while the other came from a large thick-walled shape and

⁶³⁵ L6252 (Card, 1986).

⁶³⁶ W6213 (Card, 1987).

⁶³⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 62578

⁶³⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 66356-1

⁶³⁹ Garstang (1924), 67; Stern, Sharon (1993), 131-137; Stern, Sharon (1995), 33-36; Stern et al. (1997), 44-50.

⁶⁴⁰ Stern, Sharon (1993), 131.

⁶⁴¹ Stern, Sharon (1993), 133-134; Stern, Sharon (1995), 33-36.

⁶⁴² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 86497; "Surface".

⁶⁴³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 86685; L8834 (Uncatalogued)

shows the wreathed head of a man with a raised skyphos. (No. 421, Fig. II.375)⁶⁴⁴ The image likely comes from a komos or symposium scene, and it can be dated to ca. 440-400 BCE.

Area-F1

The excavated area around the southern portion of the eastern temenos wall was designated as Area-F1.⁶⁴⁵ Among the figure-decorated Attic pottery fragments found in this area two can be identified as belonging to cups, one black-figure and the other red-figure. The black-figure sherd shows simplified grapevines in an early-fifth idiom and was found in the mixed fill within a robber trench, (No. 422, Fig. II.376)⁶⁴⁶ while the sherd with an unidentifiable red-figure image was part of the makeup of a Hellenistic floor. (No. 423, Fig. II.377)⁶⁴⁷ Besides the cups, pieces of two red-figure kraters were also discovered in F1. A lower-body fragment from an unstratified fill shows a staff or furniture leg above a stopped meander and should be dated to the late-fifth or fourth centuries, (No. 424, Fig. II.378)⁶⁴⁸ while a handle fragment ringed with egg-and-dart was found in a stratified accumulation between Hellenistic walls. (No. 425, Fig. II.379)⁶⁴⁹

Area-F2

The name F2 was applied to an area around the northern portion of the eastern temenos wall.⁶⁵⁰ Like F1, this area yielded a small assemblage of Attic pottery, all of it out-of-context. All of the sherds from identifiable shapes can be assigned to red-figure kraters. These included two rims with laurels found in a low-value fill and disturbed surface deposit respectively. (No. 426, Fig. II.380) (No. 427, Fig. II.381)⁶⁵¹ This fill also contained two non-joining body fragments showing a dancing female figure painted in style of the Telos Group (ca. 390-360 BCE). (No. 428, Fig. II.382)⁶⁵² Body fragments were also recovered during baulk cleaning, and in a robber trench. The baulk contained a lower-body sherd which (despite having been previously misidentified as

⁶⁴⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 81106; Betlyon (2005), 25; L8114 (Card, 1987), "Topsoil.

⁶⁴⁵ Stern, Sharon (1993), 133-134; Stern, Sharon (1995), 26.

⁶⁴⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 80551; L8070 (Card, 1986).

⁶⁴⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; L04F1-005 (Database, 31/07, JHC).

⁶⁴⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; L8071 (Card, 1986).

⁶⁴⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No.01908; L8097(Card, 1986).

⁶⁵⁰ Stern, Sharon (1993), 126, 133;

⁶⁵¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 84848, 86205; L8526 (Card, 1992, JCM); L8765 (Card, 1998, DS).

⁶⁵² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. Nos. 84836, 84419; L8526 (Card, 1992, JCM); L8447(Card, 1992, DGB). Cf. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional: 32712; BAPD: 41893.

black-figure) shows a red-figure border comprising a zigzag between a meander and saltire, (No. 429, Fig. II.383)⁶⁵³ while the accumulation within a robber trench yielded a body sherd with drapery. (No. 430, Fig. II.384)⁶⁵⁴ The only Attic red-figure sherd from F2 not assignable to a krater is the body fragment of an unknown closed shape found in a Roman wall.⁶⁵⁵ This piece is decorated with perpendicular lines, likely from either a border or the corner of a piece of architecture or furniture. (No. 431, Fig. II.385)⁶⁵⁶

Area-F3

Area-F3 refers to the excavated areas within and below the centre of the Roman temple complex and platform, and the area directly to its east.⁶⁵⁷ Of the decorated Attic fragments discovered in this area, three belonged to cups. The one black-figure piece found was a lower-body fragment with palmettes from the handle area of a Haimonian cup-skyphos. (No. 432, Fig. II.386)⁶⁵⁸ This fragment was found in an unsealed fill,⁶⁵⁹ while a red-figure rim of ca. 450-420 BCE showing the head of a youth (No. 433, Fig. II.387)⁶⁶⁰ came from a mixed deposit sealed below the platform.⁶⁶¹ Finally, a Saint-Valentin Group fragment was recovered from a baulk and is decorated with feather patterns in the group's characteristic combination of black-on-reserved and added-white-on-black. (No. 434, Fig. II.388)⁶⁶²

Body fragments of six red-figure kraters were also found in F3. The only such fragment potentially found in-situ is decorated with the head of a youth, likely from side-B of a fourth-century bell krater and was found on the floor adjacent to an olive press. (No. 435, Fig. II.389)⁶⁶³ This installation appears to have been in use from the Late Iron Age through to the Hellenistic period. The krater fragment was found in a stratified deposit containing material linked with oil production, including numerous olive pits, and complete storage jars, along with other, unidentified, Attic sherds, a lead weight and a gaming piece.⁶⁶⁴ The remaining krater fragments

⁶⁵³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 70-92; L84888 (Database, 10/08/1992).

⁶⁵⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 82031; L8243 (Card, 1987, JS).

⁶⁵⁵ W8004 (Card, 1994, ZXH).

⁶⁵⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 81694

⁶⁵⁷ Stern et al. (1997), 30.

⁶⁵⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 6810. Cf. Ure (1927), Pl. XXII, 139:40, 108:6.

⁶⁵⁹ L8898 (Card, 1996, DNN).

⁶⁶⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 85250

⁶⁶¹ L8605 (Card, 1993, DGB).

⁶⁶² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 85174. Cf. Howard and Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:2,3,5,7; 34:16,17.

⁶⁶³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 103-96

⁶⁶⁴ L8942 (Card, 1996, JCM).

from F3 were all found in later, mixed deposits. The sole pair of joining fragments were found separately decades apart: one during the early Mandate-era excavations⁶⁶⁵ and the other by the current excavation project in an unsealed fill.⁶⁶⁶ The fragments belong to a scene of Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides and date to ca. 420-400 BCE. (No. 436, Fig. II.390).⁶⁶⁷ The other krater fragment from the area to feature an identifiable mythical figure, is likely of similar date. This fragment shows a tityros-satyr playing an aulos and was found amidst a deposit of winter wash which came down on human skeletal remains between two walls. (No. 437, Fig. II.391)⁶⁶⁸ A body fragment with the draped shoulder of an unidentifiable figure was found in an early-Roman-era fill, (No. 438, Fig. II.392)⁶⁶⁹ and the topsoil yielded two bell krater sherds with marginal motifs – one vegetal tendrils and the other a meander. (No. 439, Fig. II.393) (No. 440, Fig. II.394)⁶⁷⁰

Unstratified deposits also yielded the two decorated fragments of Attic closed shapes from F3. The wall sherd of a black-figure “secondary-shape” lekythos,⁶⁷¹ decorated with a palette-and-lotus-bud chain, (No. 441, Fig. II.395)⁶⁷² was found in a mixed fill,⁶⁷³ while a red-figure fragment was found in topsoil.⁶⁷⁴ This latter fragment bears the image of a hare and likely came from a fourth-century askos or squat-lekythos. (No. 442, Fig. II.396)⁶⁷⁵

Taken as a whole, the decorated Attic pottery finds from Area-F’s various subsections lack useable find contexts, having largely been disturbed by later construction. The vessel types present do, however, continue to conform with the general popularity of cups, kraters, and oil juglets, with only a small number of unidentifiable closed shapes potentially hinting at further diversity.

⁶⁶⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2875; Illiffe (1933), 22, No. 22, Pl. VII. B:5.

⁶⁶⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 85234; L8605 (Card, 1993, DOB).

⁶⁶⁷ Stewart, Martin (2005) 84, Fig. 4, No. 168978.

⁶⁶⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 86200; L8780 (Card1994, APB) Similar to that from Ashodod below: Dothan (1971)Pl. LIV.2.

⁶⁶⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 86987; L8902 (Card, 1996, JCM).

⁶⁷⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. Nos. 85737, 85283; L8677(Card, 1993, CPH); L8558 (Card, 1993, LAT).

⁶⁷¹ Kurtz (1975)Pl. 68:6, 7.

⁶⁷²Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 86777.

⁶⁷³ L8890 (Card, 1996, JCM).

⁶⁷⁴ L8608 (Card, 1993, JCM).

⁶⁷⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Reg. No. 85309

Area-G

Area-G is located at the centre of the mound and was excavated between 1986 and 2005.⁶⁷⁶ During the Achaemenid period it appears to have been an open public area, likely the city's agora. (Fig. I.34) Features dateable to this period include several rubbish pits from the early-Persian era and a large prostyle-public building which was built on the edge of the agora in the late-Persian or early-Hellenistic phase.⁶⁷⁷ Four of the decorated Attic sherds from this area were discovered in pits. This is true of the two cup fragments, one of which belongs to the body of a black-figure Haimonian cup-skyphos and depicts a draped figure on a diphros, (No. 443, Fig. II.397)⁶⁷⁸ while the other is a red-figure kylix rim sherd of ca. 450-430 BCE and shows a nude youth next to a lotus bud. (No. 444, Fig. II.398)⁶⁷⁹ The two krater sherds, likewise from pits, show red-figure images of women. One, dateable to around 440-420 BCE, shows the upper body of a draped woman with diadem, (No. 445, Fig. II.399)⁶⁸⁰ and the other depicts a female face framed with dilute-slip hair in a manner comparable to the Apollonia Group and dateable to ca. 360-350 BCE. (No. 446, Fig. II.400)⁶⁸¹ The only Attic sherd from the area not known to have come from a pit, is the body sherd of an owl skyphos decorated with an olive sprig, whose precise findspot is unrecorded. (No. 447, Fig. II.401)⁶⁸²

While the function of Area-G in the Persian era seems to have been primarily public and commercial, the Attic sherds with identifiable contexts came from rubbish pits, rather than public structures. It is likely however that these pits received the refuse from the surrounding agora, and that thus the cups and kraters deposited therein may represent either broken merchandise or the detritus of public dining.

⁶⁷⁶ Stern et al. (1997), 50-56; Stern et al. (2000), 28-29; Sharon et al. (2006), 1-2; Sharon et al. (2009), 1-2.

⁶⁷⁷ Stern et al. (1991), 53.

⁶⁷⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1996-2063; L9031 (Card, 1986). Cf. Berlin, Antikensammlung: 32714; BAPD: 9054706.

⁶⁷⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2518; Betlyon (2005), 25; L9251 (Card, 1988).

⁶⁸⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2516; Betlyon (2005), 25; L9251 (Card, 1988, JYS).

⁶⁸¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2517; L8035 (Card, 1986). Cf. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum:3248; *ARV*2, 1482.5, 1695; BAPD:230497.

⁶⁸² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 183652-3

Area-H

The southern part of the Roman-era temple complex exposed in Area-F was designated Area-H.⁶⁸³ While this area is theorised to have functioned as a domestic quarter in the Persian period,⁶⁸⁴ the sizeable assemblage of Attic pottery found in Area-H was discovered mainly out-of-context in later Roman strata.

Of the decorated Attic fragments found in Area H, eight belonged to drinking cups. Only one black-figure fragment can be identified among these finds: the body fragment of a cup-skyphos decorated with a palmette. (No. 448, Fig. II.402)⁶⁸⁵ Like most other Persian-era pottery in this area it came from a disturbed fill.⁶⁸⁶ A further fragment with an unidentifiable motif of reserved areas divided by black lines may be either black or red-figure and was discovered in a disturbed robber trench. (No. 449, Fig. II.403)⁶⁸⁷ Of the identifiable red-figure cup sherds, only one surface find shows part of a draped figure and should be dated to the late-fifth or early-fourth centuries. (No. 450, Fig. II.404)⁶⁸⁸ Two other handle-area fragments display framing vegetal motifs: specifically, a palmette and lotus tendrils. The former can be seen on a skyphos or cup fragment from a mixed deposit above a Roman wall, (No. 451, Fig. II.405)⁶⁸⁹ and the latter on an early-fourth-century kylix fragment contained in the makeup of a Roman floor. (No. 452, Fig. II.406)⁶⁹⁰ Finally, remnants of two Saint-Valentin cups were also found in Area H. A rim fragment decorated with tongues and feathers in the group's characteristic style was found in a mixed fill above a Roman floor, (No. 453, Fig. II.407)⁶⁹¹ while a body fragment with lozenges was the only piece of an Attic cup to be found in a stratified deposit in Area-H. (No. 454, Fig. II.408)⁶⁹²

Besides the cups, excavations in Area-H also revealed fragments of thirteen red-figure kraters. On five of these fragments portions of figures can be identified. The upper body of a

⁶⁸³ Sharon et al. (2009), 5.

⁶⁸⁴ Stern et al. (2000), 27.

⁶⁸⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 204431

⁶⁸⁶ L20519 (Card, 1998, NAT).

⁶⁸⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 200688; L20044 (Card, 1996, AC).

⁶⁸⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 201230

⁶⁸⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 201305; L20184 (Card, 1997, CRM).

⁶⁹⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 203466; L20534 (Card, 1999, SSE).

⁶⁹¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 200299; L20015 (Card, 1996, ZXH). Cf. Ullastret: 789; BAPD:31579.

⁶⁹² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 203090; L20419 (Card, 1997, KH). Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:1,2,4-6,8; 33:9,10,13; 34:15,19.

twisting, seated youth with an offering tray appears on the sherd of late-fifth or early-fourth century krater from an unstratified fill, (No. 455, Fig. II.409)⁶⁹³ while another fourth-century bell krater sherd shows the waist of a standing woman with an akimbo arm in added-white. (No. 456, Fig. II.410)⁶⁹⁴ The style is comparable to the that of the Black Thyrus Painter and the fragment, which was found in a robber trench, should be dated to ca. 380-360 BCE.⁶⁹⁵ Two further fragments appear to come from the standard scenes of youths and athletes that adorn reverse sides of fourth-century kraters. One such fragment, from an uncatalogued locus,⁶⁹⁶ shows the head of a youth, (No. 457, Fig. II.411)⁶⁹⁷ while the other, found in the topsoil,⁶⁹⁸ shows a hand holding a strigil to the arm of a standing figure. (No. 458, Fig. II.412)⁶⁹⁹ The draped body of another standing figure appears on a body sherd of somewhat earlier date (ca. 470-450 BCE), (No. 459, Fig. II.413)⁷⁰⁰ and drapery is also visible overlapping the egg-and-dart border on a bell krater handle fragment. (No. 460, Fig. II.414)⁷⁰¹ Whereas both of the forgoing pieces were found in baulks, a further body fragment showing a kline from a symposion scene was found in a stratified fill, (No. 461, Fig. II.415)⁷⁰² making it the only krater fragment from the area not found in a later, disturbed deposit. The final krater fragment to show part of a decorative scene comes from directly below the vessel's lip and is decorated with laurel sprigs and added-white berries, likely painted in the early-fourth century. (No. 462, Fig. II.416)⁷⁰³ The same locus above a Roman floor,⁷⁰⁴ which held this upper-body fragment, also contained a fourth-century bell krater rim adorned with laurel leaves. (No. 463, Fig. II.417)⁷⁰⁵ A similar sherd was also found in another mixed fill. (No. 464, Fig. II.418)⁷⁰⁶ In addition to these lip sherds, two lower-body pieces, can also be assigned to red-figure kraters. While one fragment, found in a disturbed

⁶⁹³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 201370; L20171 (Card, 1997, SJB).

⁶⁹⁴ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 203381

⁶⁹⁵ L20535 (Card, 1999, UD). Cf. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: 3736; BAPD: 570. Cf. Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional:32712; BAPD:41893.

⁶⁹⁶ L7168.

⁶⁹⁷ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: IAA-1993-2464

⁶⁹⁸ L20165 (Card, 1999, SEE).

⁶⁹⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 202004

⁷⁰⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 200955

⁷⁰¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 205100

⁷⁰² Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 204893-2; L20394 (Card, 1997, SJB).

⁷⁰³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 200635.

⁷⁰⁴ L20013 (Card, 1996, MPG).

⁷⁰⁵ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 200247-1

⁷⁰⁶ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 200115; L20014 (Card, 1996, JYS).

robber trench,⁷⁰⁷ bears the common meander border, (No. 465, Fig. II.419)⁷⁰⁸ the other shows a triangular palmette painted in black outline on reserved red. (No. 466, Fig. II.420)⁷⁰⁹ This is a very late stylistic development visible on the lower body friezes of calyx kraters produced ca. 350-320 BCE by the LC Group.⁷¹⁰ Finally, an additional early-fourth-century krater fragment is recorded as having been found in “the area of the temple”,⁷¹¹ and may thus have come from either Area-H or Area-F. This large lower-body sherd shows the feet of a seated male along with the bottom of his drapery and the shaft of his spear or staff. The figure’s shield, with a black shield device, is also visible above a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard border. (No. 467, Fig. II.421)⁷¹²

Lastly, in addition to the cups and kraters, the Attic finds from Area-H also included the lower-body fragment of a late-sixth or early-fifth century open shape, likely a stamnos, showing drapery above a meander. (No. 468, Fig. II.422)⁷¹³ As with the other fragments in the area, this piece was found out-of-context.⁷¹⁴

Like in Area-F to its north, the Roman-era construction in Area-H largely eliminated the original find-contexts for the area’s Attic pottery. Despite this, sufficient evidence survives to indicate the domestic nature of the area in the Persian-era, and the wine-related function of the black and red-figure shapes present.

Unknown Areas

In addition to the pottery identified as having come from Areas A through H, other examples of Attic pottery from Tel Dor cannot be assigned to any known loci. Much of this material was excavated by Garstang’s expedition during the British Mandate and is simply identified as having come from “Tantura”, the Arabic name for the former fishing village located on the site, with no further detail provided.

⁷⁰⁷ L20250 (Card, 1997, CMS).

⁷⁰⁸ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 202221

⁷⁰⁹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 20032and20031; L20026 (Card, 1996, CMS), “disturbed fill”.

⁷¹⁰ LC Group: *ARV*2, 1456-61, 1694, 1708.

⁷¹¹ IAA Card Catalogue.

⁷¹² IAA-1981-2.

⁷¹³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga: Reg. No. 201246

⁷¹⁴ L21999 (Database)“Fictive, Non-stratified”.

Pieces allotted this general “Tantura” provenience include a single lower-body sherd of a kylix with unidentifiable decoration on its exterior and a reserved tondo, (No. 469, Fig. II.423)⁷¹⁵ as well as six krater fragments. Among these are three lip fragments: two from bell krater rims adorned with laurel leaves, (No. 470, Fig. II.424)⁷¹⁶(No. 471, Fig. II.425)⁷¹⁷ and another with hooked waves on its upper surface, (No. 472, Fig. II.426)⁷¹⁸ likely assignable to a fourth-century calyx or bell krater.⁷¹⁹ A lower-body fragment with a meander can likewise be assigned to a bell krater. (No. 473, Fig. II.427)⁷²⁰ A red-figure body fragment from Tantura, showing a winged goddess (likely Nike or Eos), (No. 474, Fig. II.428)⁷²¹ was identified by Iliffe as South Italian, though the vessel’s fabric and painting style more closely resemble Attic products from the latter half of the fifth century. Likewise, a lower body fragment with feet and a staff is identified as having come from a red-figure amphora, though the interior glazing makes an open shape such as a krater far more likely. (No. 475, Fig. II.439).⁷²²

In addition to these Mandate-era finds, other Attic fragments from Tel Dor have been either published, or retained in collections but without any specific find-context having been noted. One such bell krater rim with laurel leaves, (No. 476, Fig. II.430)⁷²³ has no recorded findspot, while other krater fragments are mentioned in publications without specified provenience and were unavailable for the current study. Within the publications from Stern’s excavations, such fragments include the rim of a red-figure calyx krater, (No. 477)⁷²⁴ and a body sherd on which the face of a woman appears. She is portrayed wearing a diadem and an object (likely an offering tray) is held before of her. (No. 478, Fig. II.431)⁷²⁵ Both pieces can be dated to the late-fifth or early-fourth centuries. The face of a youthful satyr wearing an added-white fillet appears next to a wreathed head on a further bell krater body sherd published by Stern, and should be dated to ca. 390-360 BCE. (No. 479, Fig. II.432)⁷²⁶ The S. R. Martin and J. W.

⁷¹⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2867.

⁷¹⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2882.

⁷¹⁷ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2889.

⁷¹⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2884.

⁷¹⁹ Waves pattern: McPhee (1987), 293.

⁷²⁰ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2886.

⁷²¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2874; Iliffe (1933), No. 28, Pl. VIIb:7.

⁷²² Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2872; Iliffe (1933), No. 28, Pl. VIIb:2.

⁷²³ Nahsholim, Mizgaga.

⁷²⁴ Stern (1995)Vol.2, 170, No. 77.

⁷²⁵ Stern (1987), 70; Betlyon (2005), 25.

⁷²⁶ Stern (1996), 271, Fig. 7a:1.

Betlyon's 2005 publications also contain a large number of unprovenanced krater fragments from Dor. Two joining body fragments of a bell krater, featured in this publication, show parts of a standing draped female and a nude figure playing the aulos. (No. 480, Fig. II.433)⁷²⁷ The scene is likely Dionysiac, representing a maenad and piping satyr, and the delicate style is near to that of the Meidias Painter. (ca. 420-400 BCE)⁷²⁸ Also included are a range of other krater sherds showing, singly, reclining and standing youths in a himatia, (No. 481, Fig. II.434) (No. 482, Fig. II.435) the head of a youth, (No. 483, Fig. II.436) and a reclining figure above the handle zone with a raised hand. (No. 484, Fig. II.437)⁷²⁹ All appear to come from kraters of the late-fifth or fourth century.

Besides these kraters, Stern's excavations also uncovered two lekythos shoulder fragments with no specified loci. Both vessels have black rays on their shoulders, (No. 485, Fig. II.438)⁷³⁰ and one features added-white decoration on its upper body, likely from a palmette-and-lotus-bud pattern, in a style dateable to ca. 500-475 BCE. (No. 486, Fig. II.439)⁷³¹

Dor Analysis

The massive single-site corpus of decorated Attic pottery explored above presents a uniquely detailed opportunity to examine these vessels' utility, as demonstrated by patterns in their shapes and deposition. While most of the pieces were found out-of-context in disturbed, unsealed, or later deposits (240/370), the excavations at Tel Dor also produced a sizeable collection of Attic sherds in secure, well-dated Persian-era contexts (130/370). Of the pieces found in stratified Achaemenid-period deposits, the largest number (50/130=38.46%) came from pits or associated rubbish dumping areas. Excavations of the city's extensive residential insulae also uncovered a large number of sherds (35/130=26/92.88%) from sealed domestic deposits in the fifth and fourth century living quarters. Beyond these, a smattering of sherds were also found deposited on undetermined Persian-era surfaces, (3/130, 2.31%) or within foundation trenches, (2/230=1.54%) while the identifiably cultic context of a dog burial and the industrial setting of winepress each

⁷²⁷ Betlyon (2005), 24; Stewart, Martin (2005), 82, Fig. 2:4.

⁷²⁸ Meidias Painter: *ARV2*, 1312-1314; Burn (1987). Cf. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 259; BAPD: 220515.

⁷²⁹ Betlyon (2005), 25.

⁷³⁰ Nahsholim, Mizgaga; Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 170, No. 85.

⁷³¹ Nahsholim, Mizgaga.

yielded one sherd respectively (1/130=0.77%). The remainder of the sherds from stratified Persian-era contexts came from sealed fills or deposits, which, though securely dateable to the Achaemenid-period, could not be associated with any extant features or structures (38/130=29.23%). Overall, this deposition pattern suggests a product whose use at Tel Dor – with only a small number of exceptions – was overwhelmingly domestic, before their eventual disposal as rubbish.

Dor's corpus, of Attic black and red-figure pottery also presents a clear trend in vase preferences, though one that will benefit from broader regional comparison. (Fig. I.35) Shapes for the consumption of wine plainly dominate the assemblage with kraters being by far the most popular shapes at 54.86% (203/370) and cups at 26.22% (97/370). Lekythoi and other oil bottles amount to 12.16% (45/370). Collectively, these three vessel types account for 87.83% of the all the decorated Attic pottery from Dor. The mound also yielded a small, though notably higher than average, contingent of vessel shapes beyond these three mainstays, with such shapes constituting 4.59% of the Attic finds (17/370).⁷³² Of these, the majority are fourth-century red-figure lekanides, with thirteen examples extant. This is by far the largest assemblage of this vase shape from any site in Israel, and their timespan of ca. 375-320 BCE situates them at the very end of this study's chronological scope. The largescale production and export of this shapes is itself a fourth-century innovation among Attic workshops,⁷³³ and thus their absence from earlier assemblages in the region is not unexpected, though their concentration in Dor and apparent failure to penetrate inland is perhaps more so. These lidded dishes are often associated with Greek nuptial gifts and rituals,⁷³⁴ and their function within this Levantine context is somewhat enigmatic. Given their intended role as containers for cosmetics, and the preponderance of small oil vessels among the imported and local assemblages, it is possible that Levantine buyers used these lekanides to store perfume bottles. (Fig. 1.35)

The preferences evident in the Attic imports contrast sharply with the range of local-ware present at Dor. Such a comparison is facilitated at this site by the methodology of the Stern excavation, which involved the retention and publication of the complete local pottery

⁷³² The remaining 8/370 cannot be identified with certainty.

⁷³³ Robertson (1992), 274.

⁷³⁴ Roberts (1973), 435; Robertson (1992), 274.

assemblages from thirty-nine Persian-era loci in Areas A and C.⁷³⁵ In these assemblages, the largest proportion of vessels are storage pots, including the characteristic hole-mouth and basket-handle varieties (43.28%), followed by mortaria (14.2%), and cooking pots (8.83%). Conversely, the shapes directly analogous in form and function to the most popular imported shapes are present in far smaller numbers. Specialised cups and rhyta for drinking, amount to only 0.64% of local-ware while locally-produced kraters are only somewhat more prominent at 2.21%. Oil flasks and juglets, some of which likely performed a similar function to lekythoi, represent 6.94% of the local pottery at these loci. As such, they are only about half as common in relation to the rest of the local shapes as their imported counterparts within the Attic assemblage. The local pottery with its wide range of functions favouring storage and cooking thus displays far less exclusive focus on the wine and oil shapes that dominate the Attic imports. It seems that it was precisely to fill this limited functional niche of wine and oil consumption in residential settings that the population of Achaemenid Dor imported black and red-figure pottery.

2.2. G: Jaffa

(Fig. I.1:25)

The ancient city of Jaffa, which today constitutes the southwestern part of Tel Aviv-Yafo, is situated on a kurkar outcropping on the Mediterranean coast. This hill and its ancient occupation layers are today identified as Tel Yafo within the Jaffa's citadel. The site's strategic location led to its continual existence as a coastal settlement from the bronze age onward, with the presence of major Egyptian and Philistine cities at the site attested in both the literary and archaeological record.⁷³⁶ In the Persian-era, Jaffa is named on the Eshmunazar sarcophagus as one of the cities granted to the Sidonians, while its existence as a coastal city in the fourth-century and its association in Greek imagination with the myth of Andromeda, are noted by Pseudo-Skylax.⁷³⁷ Furthermore, Jaffa's status as an imperially-sanctioned Phoenician harbour-city in the Persian

⁷³⁵ Stern (1995), Vol.1b, 69-92.

L27, L32, L33a, L33b, L40, L46, L1170, L1193, L1195, L1197, L1206, L1225, L1226, L1227, L1237, L1242b, L4364, L4651, L4628, L4668, L4675, L4678, L4679, L4801, L4803, L4829, L4831, L4844, L4843, L4848, L4853, L4885, L4886, L4899, L4900, L4903, L4907, L4916, L4928.

⁷³⁶ Burke et al. (2010), 2–30.

⁷³⁷ Ps. Skylax, 104.3.

era, and its role in supplying luxury imported goods to the province of Yehud are attested in the book of Ezra. When discussing the import of construction material for the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem the text states:

וַיִּתְּנוּ... מֵאֶקֶל וּמִשְׁתָּה וְשֶׁמֶן לְצֹדְנִים וְלְצָרִים לְהָבִיא עֲצֵי אֲרָזִים מִן־הַלְּבָנוֹן אֶל־יָם וְפֹא כָרְשִׁיוֹן
כּוֹרֵשׁ מְלִי־פָרַס עָלֵיהֶם.

They paid... the Sidonians and Tyrians with food, drink, and oil to bring cedarwood from Lebanon by sea to Jaffa, in accord with the authorization granted them by King Cyrus of Persia. (*Ezra,3:7*)⁷³⁸

The earliest official excavations in Jaffa were a series of digs conducted between 1948 and 1955 by the IDAM and later the University of Leeds,⁷³⁹ though most of the material from these excavations remains unpublished.⁷⁴⁰ The first large-scale excavations at the site, and to date the most extensive, were those overseen by J. Kaplan between 1955-1981.⁷⁴¹ These excavations, which focused on the tel's summit and the areas to the north and west, uncovered most of the Attic pottery known from the site, and this pottery was published by O. Tsuf in 2018.⁷⁴² Following a series of intervening salvage excavations conducted by the IAA,⁷⁴³ the Jaffa Cultural Heritage Project was formed in 2007 as a joint effort of the IAA and UCLA under the direction of A. A. Burke and M. Peilstöcker to oversee both archaeology and wider heritage projects in Jaffa, work which is currently ongoing.⁷⁴⁴ (Fig. I.36)

Area A

The largest assemblage of Attic pottery from Tel Yafo was found in Area-A. (Fig. I.37) This area, the most extensive excavated by Kaplan, formed the historical centre of the ancient settlement.⁷⁴⁵ The Persian-period (Stratum-7) features discovered in this area can be divided into two substrata. The earlier phase (7a), dating to between the mid-sixth and fifth centuries BCE, is associated with a portion of the Persian-era city wall, referred to as the “the Sidonian Wall” which ran north-south at the eastern edge of the area. A series of pits sealed under the later

⁷³⁸ Trans. JPS, *Tanakh* (1985).

⁷³⁹ Bowman et al. (1955).

⁷⁴⁰ Isserlin (1950); Bowman, Et. Al (1955); Peilstöcker: Peilstöcker, Burke (2011), 17-19.

⁷⁴¹ Kaplan (1959); Kaplan (1964); Kaplan (1972), 86-88. For full bibliography of Kaplan excavations: Burke: Peilstöcker, Burke (2011), 243-349.

⁷⁴² Tsuf: Peilstöcker, Burke, (2018), 240-253.

⁷⁴³ Arbel: Burke et al. (2017), 63-88.

⁷⁴⁴ Peilstöcker: Peilstöcker, Burke, (2011), 17-24; Burke, Peilstöcker: Burke et al. (2017), 9-62.

⁷⁴⁵ Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 57.

Persian-period construction of the first phase of Building-M also date to this substratum.⁷⁴⁶ The first stage of Building-M itself can be dated to the late-fifth century. The recorded features of this structure include a series of fragmentary pier-and-rubble walls, and a flagstone floor, tentatively reconstructed as a courtyard with storerooms. Kaplan identified the building as a warehouse for imported goods, and the pottery associated with the floor date its use to between the late-fifth and mid-fourth centuries. The building's use then came to sudden and violent end, as evinced by a destruction layer above the floor containing Persian arrowheads,⁷⁴⁷ likely as a result of Tennes' rebellion against the Achaemenids in 345 BCE.⁷⁴⁸

A Persian-era locus in Building-M yielded one of the seven figure-decorated Attic cup fragments discovered in Area-A. The sherd, which belongs to a black-figure cup-skyphos, displays two schematized heads below the lip. (No. 487, Fig. II.440)⁷⁴⁹ The sherd, along with all other black-figure cup fragments from Area-A, were categorised by Tsuf as Boeotian. However, it should instead be attributed to the Haimon Group.⁷⁵⁰ Three further skyphos sherds from the area, all of which bear palmettes, (No. 488, Fig. II.441)⁷⁵¹(No. 489, Fig. II.442)⁷⁵² (No. 490, Fig. II.443)⁷⁵³ should likewise be associated with Attic workshops of ca. 500-475 BCE. Alongside the black-figure fragments, a single red-figure sherd from an owl skyphos was published from Area-A, (No. 491, Fig. II.444)⁷⁵⁴ and two unpublished cup fragments can also be identified among the finds from the area. One of these is a small red-figure body-herd with illegible figures, (No. 492, Fig. II.445) while the other is the foot and lower body of a fourth-century Corinthian-style skyphos with net pattern. (No. 493, Fig. II.446)⁷⁵⁵ Excavations in Area-A also uncovered fragments of four red-figure bell kraters of the late-fifth or fourth centuries. Part of a draped figure appears above a meander on one lower-body sherd, (No. 494, Fig. II.447)⁷⁵⁶ two rim

⁷⁴⁶ Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 58-65.

⁷⁴⁷ Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 65-68.

⁷⁴⁸ Barag (1966).

⁷⁴⁹ Reg. No. 79/A/71/B88; L604; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 248, No. 725.

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. Prague: 4442; BAPD: 21430.

⁷⁵¹ Reg. No. 79/A/56/276; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 250, No. 734, Fig. 9.43:734.

⁷⁵² Reg. No. 79/A/56/204; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 726, Fig. 9.43:726.

⁷⁵³ Reg. No. 79/A/74/077; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 727, Fig. 9.43:727.

⁷⁵⁴ Reg. No. 79/A/71/226; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 250, No. 740, Fig. 9.43:740.

⁷⁵⁵ IAA-2000-1987. Unpublished items from Jaffa courtesy of the IAA. On Corinthian shape skyphoi: Oakley (1988).

⁷⁵⁶ Reg. No. 79/A/56/271; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 750, Fig. 9.44:750,

pieces bear the standard laurel leaves, (No. 495, Fig. II.448)⁷⁵⁷(No. 496, Fig. II.449)⁷⁵⁸ while a final sherd preserves an egg-and-dart border around the handle base. (No. 497, Fig. II.450)⁷⁵⁹

Among the Attic closed shapes from the area, two pieces belong to black-figure lekythoi: one a pattern lekythos sherd with lattice characteristic of the Beldam Workshop, (No. 498, Fig. II.451)⁷⁶⁰ and the other a lower-body fragment with a meander dating to the late-sixth or early-fifth century. (No. 499, Fig. II.452)⁷⁶¹ Fragments of two larger black-figure closed vases are also present. Tsuf identifies both as Panathenaic amphorae. One body sherd, which depicts a driver mounting a chariot may indeed belong to a Panathenaic prize vase, or else to an imitation thereof, and should be dated to the late-sixth or early-fifth century. (No. 500, Fig. II.453)⁷⁶² However, the two non-joining sherds of a second vase, found in a locus associated with the Persian-era city wall,⁷⁶³ does not appear to depict an athletic scene. Rather, one shows a couching male figure, confronting and crossed by a horse's leg, and the other the horse's hindquarters. (No. 501, Fig. II.454)⁷⁶⁴ The scene appears to be one of combat between a warrior on foot and either a horseman or centaur. This vase should be dated to ca. 560-550 BCE.

Red-figure closed shapes can also be identified from Area-A. These include the shoulder of a fourth-century strainer-askos ringed with olive leaves, (No. 502, Fig. II.455)⁷⁶⁵ as well as a body sherd described by Tsuf as depicting a temple façade, though it appears to simply be part of a reserved lower border adorned with tongues. (No. 503, Fig. II.456)⁷⁶⁶ This latter sherd likely belongs to a red-figure lekythos of ca. 430-420 BCE. An additional fragment identified in the publication as a lekythos foot with egg-and-dart on its underside, appears instead to be the disk-shaped handle from a fourth-century lekanis lid. (No. 504, Fig. II.457)⁷⁶⁷ Likewise, eighteen red-figure fragments found in a stratified Persian-period deposit within Building-M also belong to the lid of a lekanis. The vessel should be attributed to the Otchet Group and the decorated

⁷⁵⁷ Reg. No. 79/A/70/167; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 744, Fig. 9.44:744

⁷⁵⁸ Reg. No. 79/A/72/134; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 746, Fig. 9.44:746.

⁷⁵⁹ Reg. No. 79/A/56/274; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 747, Fig. 9.44:747.

⁷⁶⁰ Reg. No. A/71/B155; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 729. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1,3,6-8; 71:1,2.

⁷⁶¹ Reg. No. 79/A/71/187; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 754; Fig. 9.44:754.

⁷⁶² Jaffa Museum:2368-II; Wenning: Alkier (2004), 58, Fig. 1; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 731.

⁷⁶³ L-1; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 64.

⁷⁶⁴ Reg. No. 79-A-55-119; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 733.

⁷⁶⁵ Reg. No. 79/A/71/227; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 251, No. 741, Fig. 9.43:741.

⁷⁶⁶ Reg. No. 79/A/73/177; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 755, Fig. 9.44:755.

⁷⁶⁷ Reg. No. 79/A/56/299; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 753, Fig. 9.44:753.

fragments, several of which join, belong to one of the group's characteristic scenes of ladies and attendants. (No. 505, Fig. II.458)⁷⁶⁸

Drawings of two additional red-figure sherds from Area-A have also been published. However, as no description is provided and the pieces were unavailable for examination, it is not possible to determine the shapes. One of these sherds shows flowing drapery with wave-pattern borders and likely dates to ca. 410-400 BCE, (No. 506, Fig. II.459)⁷⁶⁹ while the other shows a large-scale female head and should be dated to the mid-fourth century. (No. 507, Fig. II.460)⁷⁷⁰

Despite the unknown identify of these particular fragments, the identifiable Attic vessels from Area-A thus constitute a corpus that includes not only the common shapes of cups, kraters, and oil bottles, but also lekanides and two specimens of comparatively rare amphorae. If the identification of Building-M as a warehouse is correct, all of the Attic pottery from this area whose find-spots can be associated with known Persian-era features, are linked to commercial or public structures.

Area Y

Following Area-A, the second-largest collection of Attic fragments from Jaffa were found in Area-Y. Excavations in this area on the north-west slope, exposed a public quarter identified as the city's Agora. The area comprised an open space surrounded by large ashlar structures built using header and header-and-stretcher techniques typical of the late-Persian and Hellenistic periods, and occupation layers ranging from the Persian through the Roman period were identified. It appears that the Agora was first built in the early-fourth century BCE and remained in use until around the first century CE. (Fig. I.38)⁷⁷¹

Decorated Attic pottery found in the open area of the agora included sherds of two cups and three kraters. A black figure cup-skyphos fragment should be attributed to the Haimon Group, and, though identified by Tsuf as depicting a boat, it instead belongs to a chariot scene with a lyre and hames visible above the horses' backs. (No. 508, Fig. II.461)⁷⁷² The other, previously unidentified, sherd appears to come from the tondo of a red-figure kylix of the late-

⁷⁶⁸ IAA:2000-1918; Ritter-Kaplan (1982), 67. Cf. Gotha, Schlossmuseum: AK253; BAPD: 8001.

⁷⁶⁹ Reg. No. 79/A/56/272; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 757, Fig. 9.44:757.

⁷⁷⁰ Reg. No. A/71/B40.1; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 758, Fig. 9.44:758.

⁷⁷¹ Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 45-56.

⁷⁷² Reg. No. 79/Y/62/002; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 248, No. 724, Fig. 9.43:724. Cf. New York, Metropolitan Museum: 64.293; *ABV*, 565.601; BAPD: 331699. Cf. University of Michigan: 2595; *ABV*, 565.599; BAPD: 331697.

sixth century with the legs of a kneeling figure visible above the frame. (No. 509, Fig. II.462)⁷⁷³ The krater fragments include a rim, handle, and body sherds. Both the rim and the handle belong to bell kraters of the late-fifth or early-fourth centuries with the former showing the heads of a bearded symposiast and female attendant below the laurel-ringed lip, (No. 510, Fig. II.463)⁷⁷⁴ and the latter bearing an egg-and-dart border. (No. 511, Fig. II.464)⁷⁷⁵ The body sherd shows part of a reserved vertical frame with black ivy, (No. 512, Fig. II.465)⁷⁷⁶ a motif commonly seen on column kraters produced ca. 530-450 BCE, especially by Mannerist painters.⁷⁷⁷

Adjacent to the agora, at the southern edge of Area-Y a red-brick floor with a fireplace was unearthed. (Fig. I.39)⁷⁷⁸ This floor seemingly belonged to a fourth-century domestic structure, with all of the pottery on its surface dating to the late-Persian and early-Hellenistic period. This assemblage included three local red-slip bowls, a mortarium, and two juglets, as well as an East-Greek kantharos and a local-ware imitation of an Attic lamp. Also present, was a single body fragment of a white-ground pattern lekythos ornamented with ivy-and-berries. (No. 513, Fig. II.466)⁷⁷⁹ This motif is common on lekythoi produced by the Beldam Group and their imitators ca. 475-425 BCE.⁷⁸⁰

In addition to the finds in the agora and surrounding structures, a rubbish pit whose initial use predated the fourth-century building phase, was also discovered in Area-Y. With contents dating to between the sixth and second centuries BCE,⁷⁸¹ this pit also yielded the largest assemblage of figure-decorated Attic pottery from any single locus in Tel Yafo. Among this assemblage are pieces belonging to four Attic cups. One rim fragment with palmette fronds can be assigned to a black-figure cup-skyphos of the early-fifth-century, (No. 514, Fig. II.467)⁷⁸² while a body sherd identified in the publication as having come from a black-figure vase, in fact preserves part of a red-figure palmette from under the handle of a late-fifth or early-fourth-century cup. (No. 515, Fig. II.468)⁷⁸³ The two remaining cup fragments, one a skyphos lip, (No.

⁷⁷³ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/272; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018) 250, No. 739, Fig. 9.43:739.

⁷⁷⁴ IAA:1972-517; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 525, No. 754, Pl. 9.44:745.

⁷⁷⁵ Reg. No. 79/Y/62/388; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 748, Fig. 9.44:748.

⁷⁷⁶ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/287; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 250, No. 736, Fig. 9.43:736.

⁷⁷⁷ Mannack (2001), 61. After this the heart-shaped leaves tend to degenerate into dots.

⁷⁷⁸ L606; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 50.

⁷⁷⁹ Reg. No. 79/Y/64/085; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 730, Fig. 9.43:730.

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl.70:6-8.

⁷⁸¹ Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 45-50.

⁷⁸² Reg. No. 79/Y/295; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 728, Fig. 9.43:728.

⁷⁸³ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/278; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 250, No. 735, Fig. 9.43:735.

516, Fig. II.469)⁷⁸⁴ and the other a body sherd, (No. 517, Fig. II.470)⁷⁸⁵ can be assigned to the Saint-Valentin class. Of the three fragmentary red-figure kraters also found within the pit, one lower-body sherd belongs to a bell krater, while two non-joining neck pieces, and a body fragment both come from column kraters. The bell krater sherd seemingly comes from the reverse side of a vase of late-fifth or fourth-century date, and shows the feet and drapery of two standing figures above a meander-and-chequerboard frieze. (No. 518, Fig. II.471)⁷⁸⁶ The column kraters are somewhat earlier in date, with the neck-fragments displaying a linked-lotus-bud pattern common on Mannerist vases of ca. 520-440 BCE. (No. 519, Fig. II.472)⁷⁸⁷ The body sherd likely comes from the latter part of this same period (ca. 480-440 BCE), and its previously unidentified decoration shows a symposion table below a kline. (No. 520, Fig. II.473)⁷⁸⁸ Along with these cups and kraters, the pit also contained one further red-figure sherd with drapery, likely belonging to the lid of a fourth-century lekanis, (No. 521, Fig. II.474)⁷⁸⁹ as well as a final unidentified fragment with black-figure vines. (No. 522, Fig. II.475)⁷⁹⁰

Along with the detrital context of the pit deposits, the find contexts from Area-A show notable range, including both the communal space of the agora, and the domestic surface of the red-brick floor. The collected body of Attic black and red-figure ceramics from these contexts are dominated by shapes for the consumption of wine, with individual lekythos, and lekanis specimens also present.

Other Areas

Besides the sizeable assemblages of black and red-figure sherds found in Areas A and Y, other areas around Tel Yafo have each yielded a single known piece of decorated Attic pottery. In Sounding-X, a trial dig conducted on the north-western side of the tel in 1960-1961, a fragment of another black-figure amphora was found alongside a Persian sauroter in the Achaemenid-era

⁷⁸⁴ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/289; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 742, Fig. 9.43:742. Identifiable as Howard and Johnson Type IV-20: Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pl. 34:19.

⁷⁸⁵ Reg. No. 79/Y/62/011; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 745, Fig. 9.43:743. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:1,2,4-6,8; 33:9,10,13; 34:15,19

⁷⁸⁶ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/288; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252, No. 749, Fig. 9.44:749.

⁷⁸⁷ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/273B; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 252-253, No. 751, Fig. 9.44:751. Cf. Mannack (2001), 61, Pls.4-6, 12, 22-34, 37, 42, 48, 50-52, 55-58, 60, 64.

⁷⁸⁸ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/274; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 752, Fig. 9.44:752.

⁷⁸⁹ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/286; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 253, No. 756, Fig. 9.44:756. Not identified by Tsuf or seen by author (identification based on drawing).

⁷⁹⁰ Reg. No. 79/Y/68/261; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018) 250, No. 738, Fig. 9.43:738.

stratum.⁷⁹¹ The sherd was assigned by Tsuf to a Panathenaic prize vase, but appears to show an unidentifiable bent male figure and an ivy tendril in a style comparable to the Leagros Group and dateable to ca. 520-500 BCE. (No. 523, Fig. II.476)⁷⁹² Area-J, west of Area-A on the mound's summit likewise yielded a single figure-decorated Attic-fragment. The sherd, a drawing of which appears upside-down in the publication, seems to depict the foot and patterned drapery of a dancing woman, in a style dateable to ca. 400-360 BCE. (No. 524, Fig. II.477)⁷⁹³ Among the finds from more recent excavations are two krater fragments. One, found in a late-Ottoman-era fill during the 2006 salvage excavations in the Armenian Compound,⁷⁹⁴ comes from the neck of a black-figure volute krater of ca. 520-510 BCE and shows a bearded komast holding a skyphos. (No. 525, Fig. II.478)⁷⁹⁵ The other, was discovered by the ongoing Heritage Project and is currently unpublished. It belongs to the body of a red-figure bell krater and depicts Dionysos and Ariadne in a style comparable to that of the Telos Painter and his group. (ca. 390-360 BCE). (No. 526, Fig. II.479)⁷⁹⁶ Another, likewise unpublished, is a fourth-century squat-lekythos with a red-figure palmette found in Area-E1. (No. 527, Fig. II.480)⁷⁹⁷ This piece is of particular interest as, not only is it nearly intact, it was also found within a Persian-era tomb,⁷⁹⁸ making it the only Attic vase from the site known to have come from a funerary context.⁷⁹⁹

Overall, Attic pottery finds from Jaffa are associated with a range of find contexts. These include the commercial settings of the Building-M warehouse and agora, as well as a domestic building in Area-Y and even a funerary deposit in E1. The assemblages from distinctly mercantile settings in a major Persian-era port city are especially informative, as they provide direct evidence of the range of pottery unloaded and purchased at these objects' point-of-entry into the Levant prior to their resale and distribution both locally and further inland. Meanwhile, finds from the tomb and red-brick domestic floor provide insight into how some of these items were used by residents of Jaffa itself. Cups make up the largest portion of the Attic figure-decorated corpus from Jaffa constituting 13/41 pieces. This is closely followed by kraters at

⁷⁹¹ Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 17.

⁷⁹² Reg. No. 79/X/60/005; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 249, No. 732, Fig. 9.43:732. Leagros Group: *ABV* 354-391.

⁷⁹³ Reg. No. 79/J/70/065; Tsuf: Tsuf (2018), 250, No. 737, Fig. 9.43:737.

⁷⁹⁴ Arbel: Burke et al. (2017), 327-338; Gendelman: Burke et al. (2017), 363-364. L4084.

⁷⁹⁵ IAA:2010-2876; Gendelman: Burke et al. (2017), 364, Fig. 24.1

⁷⁹⁶ IAA-2012-1977. Cf. Copenhagen, National Museum: 291; *ARV2*, 1425.8, 1427.2; BAPD: 260068.

⁷⁹⁷ Reg. No. B-344-2010.

⁷⁹⁸ L231.

⁷⁹⁹ A Persian-era necropolis was also uncovered in Jaffa in the French Hospital Compound: Dayan et al. (2020); Nagar (2020).

12/41. Six lekythoi and similar oil bottles are also present, while both red-figure lekanides and black-figure amphorae are represented by three specimens each. (Fig. I.40) A sampling of local Persian-era pottery from the Kaplan excavations was published by Tsuf, though these were selected for the purpose of exhibiting characteristic types rather than showing quantities. The published material does however give an indication of the wide range of functions represented by the local ware, which included bowls, juglets, flasks, bottles, kraters, mortaria, pithoi, jars and lamps. While the presence of Attic cups, kraters, lekythoi, and lekanides, are consistent with trends seen elsewhere in Canaan, the unusually high number of black-figure amphorae is striking given the general rarity of this shape in the region. This may indicate that a process of additional selection occurred further down the chain of exchange. It may also point to a somewhat broader range of preferences and predilections among the coastal residents of Jaffa, a possibility further supported by the unusual inclusion of an Attic vase among the grave goods in the Area-E1 tomb. In contrast, the pottery assemblage from the domestic floor in Area-Y is broadly consonant with established trends. Decorated fineware from the Aegean, specifically the Attic lekythos and East-Greek kantharos, filled the niche of dispensing wine and perfume, while other functions were fulfilled by shapes of local manufacture.

2.2. H: Kisson, Tel

(Fig. I.1:3)

Tel Kisson is a prominent mound situated between the modern cities of Akko and Haifa, on the narrow plain between the Mediterranean coast and the hills of the Lower Galilee. (Fig. I.1:3) Although the site is today about 8km inland it would have been nearer the coast in antiquity and is one of several sites tentatively identified with the ancient city of Achshaph. The mound was first excavated by J. Garstang and A. Rowe between 1935 and 1936 and then again between 1971 and 1980 by R. DeVaux, J. Prignaud, J. Briend, and J. B. Humbert for the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* in Jerusalem.⁸⁰⁰ Recent excavations in 2018, led by Ben-Gurion University archaeologist G. Lehmann and D. Schloen of the University of Chicago, confirmed that the mound contained an Achaemenid-era military fort. This has led the excavators to

⁸⁰⁰ Briend, Humbert (1980).

speculate that, like neighbouring Akko, the site may have served as a mustering point for Cambyses invasion of Egypt in 525 BCE.⁸⁰¹

The French excavations yielded six pieces of decorated Attic pottery, all of which were found in non-stratified deposits. A body fragment of a black-figure cup shows, a female figure with an outstretched hand, standing before a seated figure holding a sceptre. (No. 528, Fig. II.481)⁸⁰² The style appears to belong to the late-sixth century and both the drapery and the hand are highlighted with added-white. Body sherds from two red-figure kraters have also been published from the site. The first, dateable to ca. 450-420 BCE, features a striped cushion and the draped elbow of a reclining symposiast, (No. 529, Fig. II.482)⁸⁰³ while the second sherd depicts the eye and forehead of a figure with a white fillet and should be dated to the early-fourth century. (No. 530, Fig. II.483)⁸⁰⁴

Body fragments of three black-figure closed vessels have also been identified from the excavations at Tel Kisson. One white-ground sherd is decorated with a black palmette scroll and likely belonged to a lekythos or alabastron of the first half of the fifth century, (No. 531, Fig. II.484)⁸⁰⁵ while another piece, likely from a lekythos of ca. 500-475 BCE, shows drapery detailed with both incision and added white and purple. (No. 532, Fig. II.485)⁸⁰⁶ A fragment of a further closed vessel of unknown shape is identified in the publication as a black-figure image of horses' legs. (No. 533, Fig. II.486)⁸⁰⁷

While the unstratified nature of these finds from Tel Kisson largely precludes specific analysis of their contexts-of-use, the fact that the site itself seems to have functioned as a military fort in the Persian period, hints at an association between these wine and oil vessels and the military and administrative institutions of the era.

⁸⁰¹ Schloen (2018).

⁸⁰² Pierre: Briend, Humbert (1980), 126, No. 4, Pl. 142:4.

⁸⁰³ Pierre: Briend, Humbert (1980), 126, No. 5, Pl. 142:5.

⁸⁰⁴ Pierre: Briend, Humbert (1980), 126, No. 6, Pl. 142:6.

⁸⁰⁵ Pierre: Briend, Humbert (1980), 126, No. 1, Pl. 142:1.

⁸⁰⁶ Pierre: Briend, Humbert (1980), 126, No. 3, Pl. 142:3.

⁸⁰⁷ Pierre: Briend, Humbert (1980), 126, No. 2, Pl. 142:2.

2.2. I: Megadim, Tel

(Fig. I.1:7)

The mound of Tel Megadim is located on the Mediterranean coast 2km north of Atlit and 17km south of Haifa. It was excavated on behalf of the IAA, first under the direction of M. Broshi from 1967 to 1969, and later S. Wolff between 1994 and 1998.⁸⁰⁸ The mound was found to contain a settlement of the Persian period built over the ruins of an earlier Canaanite city, and this later phase was itself permanently abandoned before the start of the Hellenistic Period.⁸⁰⁹ Despite its short life, the Persian construction phase consisted of a well-planned and well-fortified city. (Fig. I.41) Its abandonment in the early-to-mid-fourth century seems to have been very abrupt, as evinced by the full storage vases, coins and tools all left in situ, and may have resulted from the suppression of Tennes' rebellion.⁸¹⁰

Near the western wall of the city the rooms of residential structures were excavated on either side of a street that runs parallel to the fortifications. These rooms are recorded as having contained Attic pottery, possibly including the single published Attic fragment from the site.⁸¹¹ This sherd, belongs to the body of a red-figure krater, and shows the arm and midriff of a figure dressed in an elaborately-patterned sleeved garment. The figure appears to be playing an aulos and stands next to a vase filled with sprouting vegetation, perhaps as part of an Adonia festival. (No. 534, Fig. II.487)⁸¹² Stylistically the vase likely dates to the late-fifth or early-fourth century (ca. 420-360 BCE) shortly before the site's abandonment.

2.2. J: Mevorakh, Tel

(Fig. I.1:16)

Tel Mevorakh is a small round mound located on the Sharon plane south-east of a bend in the Tannin River. The site was excavated between 1973 and 1976 under the auspices of the Hebrew

⁸⁰⁸ Wolff (1998b); Ray et al. (2007).

⁸⁰⁹ Broshi (1969), 124. Reoccupied in the Byzantine era: Ray et al. (2007), 2.

⁸¹⁰ Broshi (1969), 125.

⁸¹¹ Broshi (1969), 125; Wolff (1998b), 31.

⁸¹² Wenning: Uehlinger (2000), Pl.46.9.

University of Jerusalem and the direction of E. Stern.⁸¹³ Excavations revealed fifteen layers of occupation on the hill spanning from an Early Iron Age settlement to a Crusader and later Muslim cemetery, of which Strat. V can be associated with the Achaemenid-era occupation. (Fig. I.42)⁸¹⁴

The architectural remains from Strat. V comprised a single large house of the mid-fifth to early-fourth century BCE which occupied the western half of the mound. It was built around a central courtyard, within which several silos and pits were excavated. These seem to have been intended primarily for household storage, as three of the pits contained complete basket-handled jars.⁸¹⁵ The largest of the pits, Pit-6 also yielded a collection of local and imported pottery.⁸¹⁶ The local-ware attests to the domestic nature of the assemblage and included storage jars, bowls, a mortarium, cups, lamps, a juglet, and a cooking pot. This same pit also contained the lip fragment of a black-figure cup with the tips of a palmette-and-lotus-bud-chain visible below a low, black-glazed lip. (No. 535, Fig. II.488)⁸¹⁷ The fragment was tentatively identified in the publication as Boeotian, but it closely matches the patterns seen on Attic cups of the late-sixth and early-fifth centuries. Pit-6 also contained the lower-body sherd of a black-figure lekythos of similar date, (No. 536, Fig. II.489)⁸¹⁸ while the shoulder and neck of another lekythos with black double-rays was found out of context. (No. 537, Fig. II.490)⁸¹⁹ The pit also contained the black-slipped handle of a kylix, though, lacking the rest of the vessel, it is impossible to know whether it was black-glazed or figure-decorated.⁸²⁰

While the collection of Attic pottery from Tel Mevorakh is relatively small, the secure domestic context makes the finds useful for analysis. Pit-6 and the other silos evidently functioned as domestic storage within the large elite dwelling that occupied the tel in the fifth and early-fourth centuries. The range of ceramics present in the pit therefore provides valuable

⁸¹³ *HA*48/49 (1973):45-47; *HA*56 (1975):23-25; *HA*59/60 (1976): 22-21; Stern (1978), V. Later excavations were conducted under the direction R. Badahi and A. Yunis (1993), and A. Shadman (2006-2009) for the IAA, and in 2017 by S. Matskevich (Hebrew University) and P. Waiman-Barak (University of Haifa); Badahi (1997); Shadman (2014); Oren (2019); Matskevitch et al. (2019). Though no Attic pottery from these was available.

⁸¹⁴ Previously identified as level III: Stern (1974), 46.

⁸¹⁵ Stern (1978), 28-45.

⁸¹⁶ Stern (1978), 29, 45.

⁸¹⁷ Reg. No. 680/1; Stern (1978), 40, Pl. 29:24.

⁸¹⁸ Reg. No. 680/2; Stern (1978), 40, Pl. 29:2.

⁸¹⁹ Stern (1978), 40, Pl. 29:1.

⁸²⁰ Reg. No. 706/8; Stern (1978), 40, Pl. 29:21. Various other black Attic sherds from the site may likewise have been either black-glazed or figure-decorated. Stern (1978), 40, Pl. 29.

insight into the vessels employed in household activities in such a dwelling. In keeping with the pattern already observed, Attic ware, in the form of cups and lekythoi, were chosen to occupy the niche of wine and perfume consumption for the household, while all other functions including storage, and the preparation and serving of food were fulfilled by local ware.

2.2. K: Michal, Tel

(Fig. I.1:23)

The ancient coastal settlement at Tel Michal occupied a cluster of five hills along a kurkar ridge south of the modern city of Herzliya. This site, also referred to as Makmish, was first surveyed and excavated under the British Mandate by J. Ory and R. W. Hamilton.⁸²¹ Between 1958 and 1960, N. Avigad conducted salvage digs at the site on behalf of the Hebrew University,⁸²² which were followed by an international project under the direction of Z. Herzog of Tel Aviv University between 1977 and 1982.⁸²³ Persian-era structures were found on the High Tel, which rises 30m above sea level,⁸²⁴ as well as in the Lower City, which comprises the smaller mounds to the north and east.⁸²⁵ The tallest of the Lower City's eastern hillocks was occupied by a Phoenician temple, the cultic nature of the building having been demonstrated by the presence of numerous incense altars and favissae containing votive figurines,⁸²⁶ while the Northern Hill housed a series of industrial and residential areas along with the Persian-era necropolis.⁸²⁷ The Achaemenid-era strata on both this Northern Hill and the High Tel contained all of the known black and red-figure pottery from the site. (Fig. I.43)

The High Tel, which served as the citadel of Persian-era Tel Michal, hosted a succession of fortified structures between 525 and 300 BCE, with their construction divided into six phases (Strat. XI-VI). (Figs. I.44, 45)⁸²⁸ The architectural features within these forts included domestic

⁸²¹ Herzog et al. (1978b), 100.

⁸²² Avigad (1960); Avigad (1961).

⁸²³ Herzog et al. (1978a); Herzog et al. (1978b); Herzog (1980); Herzog (1988); Herzog et al. (1989); Gorzalczyński (2006); Kapitaikin (2006).

⁸²⁴ Herzog et al. (1978a), 46; Herzog: Herzog et al. (1989), 88

⁸²⁵ Herzog et al. (1978a), 47; Herzog, Et. Al (1978b), 115-116.

⁸²⁶ Avigad (1960), 92; Avigad (1961), 97; Herzog, Et. Al (1978b), 128; Herzog (1980) 144.

⁸²⁷ Herzog et al. (1978a), 49; Herzog et al. (1978b), 103.

⁸²⁸ Herzog: Herzog et al., (1989) 88-108.

buildings along with large granaries and storehouses, all suggesting an elite residential complex which also served administrative, economic, and military uses.⁸²⁹ The area also yielded a sizeable amount of Attic pottery from stratified deposits. Two of the decorated Attic sherds from the High Tel belong to cups. The first of these displays an olive sprig from an owl skyphos (No. 538, Fig. II.491)⁸³⁰ and was found amidst Strat. VIII (ca. 430-400 BCE) debris just north of Fort-340.⁸³¹ This fort, the citadel's main Strat. VIII structure, was built around a beaten-earth courtyard, accessed by a monumental staircase, guarded by a watchtower. In addition to an oven, the courtyard also contained horse stables, suggestive of a military function.⁸³² The other cup fragment from the High Tel belongs to the lip of a Saint-Valentin-Class skyphos (ca. 450-400 BCE), (No. 539, Fig. II.492)⁸³³ and was found in a Strat. IX (ca. 450-430 BCE) fill on the southwest of the High Tel.⁸³⁴ A small building (L412) stood in the vicinity of the fill along with numerous pits and silos, all suggestive of a storage area.⁸³⁵

The remaining decorated Attic sherds from the High Tel belonged to lekythoi of various types. The same locus which yielded the owl skyphos above also contained the foot and lower-body of a black-figure cylinder lekythos with unidentifiable decoration, (No. 540, Fig. II.493)⁸³⁶ while a further black-figure sherd was found out-of-context in a room of the later Hellenistic fort.⁸³⁷ This latter fragment seems to have belonged to a miniature lekythos, given the small scale of the decorated area, and shows a figure with a chlamys approaching a goat, both painted in silhouette on white-ground. (No. 541, Fig. II.494)⁸³⁸ A single red-figure lekythos fragment was found in a Strat. XI fill at the centre of the High Tel. This fill, dating to ca. 520-490 BCE represented the debris in an open area pocked with ovens and pits. The detritus within these pits included large volumes of animal bones and ash along with a knife and assemblages of local and imported pottery.⁸³⁹ Combined with the ovens, these finds seem to indicate that the area was

⁸²⁹ Herzog (1978b), 104-112; Herzog: Herzog et al., (1989), 88.

⁸³⁰ Reg. No. 8756/1. Incorrectly identified as a lekythos Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:29, Pl. 66:12.

⁸³¹ L1371.

⁸³² Herzog: Herzog et al. (1989), 97.

⁸³³ IAA-1995-3040; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:25, Pl. 66:8. Cf. Chicago Art Institute: 89.102; Howard, Johnson (1954), Pl.34:19.

⁸³⁴ L409.

⁸³⁵ Herzog: Herzog et al. (1989), 95.

⁸³⁶ IAA-1995-3036; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:16, Pl. 65:11

⁸³⁷ L917.

⁸³⁸ Reg. No. 607/1; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:28, Pl. 65:11

⁸³⁹ L1500.

used for communal feasting and food preparation. The red-figure sherd itself belongs to the upper-body of a lekythos and shows the face and draped shoulder of a female below a key-meander. (No. 542, Fig. II.495)⁸⁴⁰ Style situates the vessel's creation and deposition late in formation of the fill, during the early-fifth century. Besides these cylinder-lekythoi, finds from the High-Tel also include fragments of two squat-lekythoi. The foot and lower-body of one such vessel, decorated with a net-pattern, was found in a Strat. IX pit next to a residential structure on the northern side of the tel. (No. 543, Fig. II.496)⁸⁴¹ The other squat-lekythos fragment bore a degenerated black-figure running-dog pattern and was found directly within the occupational debris in the courtyard of Building-1013. (No. 544, Fig. II.497)⁸⁴² This collapsed mudbrick structure, which can be dated to ca. 400-350 BCE, was the largest building of its period found on the tel, and in addition to the lekythos fragment, the courtyard was also found to contain a large amount of local cooking and storage ware, an iron knife, and an oven, all emphasising the domestic nature of the space.⁸⁴³

Along with the finds from the High Tel, a group of Attic lekythoi were also uncovered in Persian-era loci on the Northern Hill. The fragment of one squat-lekythos with a similar running-dog pattern was found directly on a Persian-era floor, (No. 545, Fig. II.498),⁸⁴⁴ while the other lekythos fragments from the hill were found in dumps and fills. Of these, one shoulder fragment can be identified as a belonging to white-ground pattern lekythos. This sherd which was found in a Strat. VII fill (ca. 400-350 BCE) displays the remnants of rays above meander and lattice patterns, in a style characteristic of the Beldam Workshop. (No. 546, Fig. II.499)⁸⁴⁵ The earlier Strat. IX (ca. 450-430 BCE) layer at the same locus contained a fragment of a late-fifth-century squat-lekythos decorated with a net-pattern, (No. 547, Fig. II.500)⁸⁴⁶ while a nearly-complete vessel with similar decoration was found nearby in a deposit of ash and hamra soil identified as a garbage dump. (No. 548, Fig. II.501)⁸⁴⁷ A final squat-lekythos, from this area displays a band of black-figure running-dog pattern around its upper body. (No. 549, Fig. II.502)⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴⁰ IAA-1995-3041; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:26, Pl. 66:9.

⁸⁴¹ IAA-1995-3043; L1650; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:31.

⁸⁴² Reg. No. 6888/1; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:19, Pl. 66:4.

⁸⁴³ L1013; Herzog et al. (1989), 105.

⁸⁴⁴ L726; Gorzalkczany (2006), 10. Reg. No. 7217; Kapitaikin (2006), Pl.49:38, 39;

⁸⁴⁵ Reg. No. 4493/1; L614, Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:27, Pl. 66:10. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1, 3, 6-8; 71:1.

⁸⁴⁶ Reg. No. 4529/1; Marchese: Herzog et al. (1989), 148, Fig. 10.2:30, Pl. 66:13.

⁸⁴⁷ L614. Reg. No. 7213; L745; Kapitaikin (2006), 49, Fig. 14:40.

⁸⁴⁸ Kapitaikin (2006), Pl. 49:38, 39.

If the finds from both the High Tel and the Northern Hill are combined, lekythoi make up the vast majority of decorated Attic vases from Tel Michal, numbering 10 in all, (10/12=83.33%) while the two cups from High Tel round out the total corpus (2/12=16.67%). (Fig. I.47) In contrast, the local coarse-ware pottery published by L. A. Kapitaikin in 2006 displays a far greater variety of shapes and functions. Cups are not represented at all amongst the coarse-ware finds, and juglets, whose function is arguably analogous with lekythoi, make up only 9.35% of the identifiable shapes (10/107). The most numerous are storage jars of various shapes (28/107=26.17%) followed by mortaria (21/107=19.63%), bowls (16/107=14.95%), and jugs (12/107=11.21%), with numerous other shapes appearing in smaller quantities.⁸⁴⁹ A comparison of the loci that contained decorated Attic pottery with the wider Persian-era occupation layers is also instructive. Excavations in the lower city and Northern hill revealed both the Persian-era necropolis, and a cultic area with favissae, which produced well-preserved Persian-era funerary and cultic deposits respectively. However no decorated Attic pottery was found in any of these contexts. Rather, such pottery was found exclusively on floors and in rubbish pits, storage areas, and fills containing residential detritus. As such it appears that such pottery was employed for domestic rather than ritual purposes. Its discovery in the fortified High Tel also suggests that these imported vessels were the reserve of the local economic, political, or military elite.

2.2. L: Mikhmoret

(Fig. I.1:18)

Excavations around Mikhmoret harbour, within the modern Mevo'ot Yam nautical academy, have uncovered the remains of an ancient port city with architectural remnants dating from the Persian to Medieval eras. Following a salvage dig in the early 1950s,⁸⁵⁰ disparate areas around the bay were excavated by a series of expeditions, led first by B. Isserlin in 1960 for the University of Leeds,⁸⁵¹ and later by Y. Porath, S. Paley, and R. Stieglitz for the Israel Department of Antiquities (1978-1984).⁸⁵² More recent salvage excavations were also conducted in 2010.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁹ Kapitaikin (2006), 22-41.

⁸⁵⁰ Porath et al. (1993), 1043.

⁸⁵¹ Isserlin (1961).

⁸⁵² *HA* (1978), 15-16; *IEJ* 32.4, (1982), 260-261; *IEJ* 34.4 (1984), 277-278.

⁸⁵³ Masarwa (2011).

Persian-era remains were discovered on all sides of the harbour and include a large public building of ashlar construction on the headland south of bay,⁸⁵⁴ as well as storehouses and a well to the East. Water channels and rock-cut tombs on the north side of the bay are also of pre-Roman date, but may be Hellenistic.⁸⁵⁵ The site was evidently destroyed in the mid-fourth century as demonstrated by the extensive damage to storehouses and the ash-layer covering the remains of the public building. This destruction likely occurred in the aftermath of Tennes' revolt in 345 BCE.⁸⁵⁶

Though most of the material from this site remains unpublished, Mikhmoret has yielded some of the highest quality Attic pottery from the coast of Israel, including a collection of well-preserved red-figure cups and kraters. Several of the best pieces were sent to be studied by Sir John Beazley shortly after excavation. Attic sherds are referenced as having been found in fills within the public building as well as scattered around the bay,⁸⁵⁷ though most of the fragments have no recorded findspots.

Of the twenty-six identifiable cups from the site, five are black-figure. One black-figure cup-skyphos has been restored for display and should be attributed to the Lancut Group. The more complete side of the cup depicts two figures, one holding a lyre and the other a wreath, seated on diphoroi between palmettes, while the reverse features the left half of a similar scene with only the harpist and one palmette extant. (No. 550, Fig. II.503)⁸⁵⁸ Two further body sherds, one displaying a palmette, (No. 551, Fig. II.504)⁸⁵⁹ and the other palmette fronds with part of a silhouette figure, (No. 552, Fig. II.505)⁸⁶⁰ are likely also attributable to this same group, while two fragments with incised drapery are of similar early-fifth-century date. (No. 553, Fig. II.506) (No. 554, Fig. II.507)⁸⁶¹

Fragments of nineteen red-figure cups can also be identified. One group of joining sherds from the body and lip of a skyphos were found in an unstratified deposit near the harbour.⁸⁶² The painting on this cup was attributed by Beazley to the Millin Painter, (ca. 410-370), and features

⁸⁵⁴ *IEJ* 32.4 (1982), 261.

⁸⁵⁵ Porath et al. (1993), 1045.

⁸⁵⁶ Porath et al. (1993), 1044.

⁸⁵⁷ *IEJ* 32.4 (1982), 261; Porath et al. (1993), 1044.

⁸⁵⁸ IAA-1986-5520. Cf. Geneva: 10758; *ABV*, 578.56; BAPD: 31085.

⁸⁵⁹ Reg. No. 756-706-1.

⁸⁶⁰ Reg. No. M400-57.

⁸⁶¹ Reg. Nos. 756-081, 756-706-4.

⁸⁶² IAA object record.

two youths from a palaestra scene: one draped and holding a strigil, the other nude and seated next to vegetal patterns. (No. 555, Fig. II.508)⁸⁶³ A partial draped youth and hanging strigil, likewise belonging to a palaestra scene, also appear on three joining kylix fragments which closely resemble the work of the Eretria Painter and should be dated to ca. 400-415 BCE. (No. 556, Fig. II.509)⁸⁶⁴ The languidly extended arm on another lip sherd is likely of similar date, (No. 557, Fig. II.510)⁸⁶⁵ and the style of the Eretria Painter or a near imitator can also be recognised in the painting on two joining sherds that constitute nearly the full body profile of a skyphos. On the one surviving side of this cup, a mantled youth is figured with his arm akimbo, standing next to a low block or altar. (No. 558, Fig. II.511)⁸⁶⁶ A nearly identical altar, this supporting a small circular object, appears next to the feet and drapery of another standing figure on the lower-body fragment of a further skyphos likewise found at the site. (No. 559, Fig. II.512)⁸⁶⁷

Smaller red-figure sherds from Mikhmoret can also be identified as belonging to red-figure cups. One such fragment depicts the upper body of a youth with vegetation behind him, (No. 560, Fig. II.513)⁸⁶⁸ evidently one of the schematic scenes of draped youths that proliferated on skyphoi of the fourth century (ca. 370-350). Similar vegetal spirals occur on three additional small sherds, (No. 561, Fig. II.514) (No. 562, Fig. II.515) (No. 563, Fig. II.516)⁸⁶⁹ while other marginal ornaments also appear, including three under-handle palmettes in late-fifth-or-fourth-century style (No. 564, Fig. II.517) (No. 565, Fig. II.518) (No. 566, Fig. II.519)⁸⁷⁰ and part of a stopped-meander. (No. 567, Fig. II.520)⁸⁷¹ Furthermore, three red-figure cup fragments display small areas of drapery. (No. 568, Fig. II.521) (No. 569, Fig. II.522)⁸⁷² On one such sherd, the drapery's swirling folds allow it to be dated to the late-fifth century. (No. 570, Fig. II.523)⁸⁷³ Besides these fragments with exterior decoration, two sherds of a red-figure cup were also found

⁸⁶³ IAA-1954-191; *ARV2*, 1401.5; BAPD:250149. Millin Painter: *ARV2*, 1401-1402, 1704.

⁸⁶⁴ IAA-1960-1351/1354. Eretria Painter: *ARV2*, 1247-1255; Lezzi-Hafter, (1988). Cf. Salerno: T2; BAPD: 30961.

⁸⁶⁵ IAA-1960-1352.

⁸⁶⁶ IAA-1979-436. Cf. Moscow, Pushkin: II1B586; BAPD: 24439. Cf. London, British Museum: 1978,0117.5; BAPD: 216820.

⁸⁶⁷ IAA-1997-4098.

⁸⁶⁸ Reg. No. M-300-41.

⁸⁶⁹ Reg. Nos. M300-42, M400-58, M400-61.

⁸⁷⁰ Reg. Nos. M300-34, M400-44, M400-57/M400-59.

⁸⁷¹ Reg. No. M400-60.

⁸⁷² Reg. No. M400-44.

⁸⁷³ Reg. No. 756-649-3

that feature portions of a tondo painted in the distinctly schematic idiom of the Pithos Painter. (No. 571, Fig. II.524)⁸⁷⁴

Lastly, in addition to the black and red-figure vessels, four Saint-Valentin-Class cups have also been found at Mikhmoret. All bear the group's characteristic mix of vegetal and geometric patterns, often in added white, with two sets of joining sherds identifiable as having come from kantaroi, (No. 572, Fig. II.525) (No. 573, Fig. II.526)⁸⁷⁵ and the others belonging to skyphoi. (No. 574, Fig. II.527) (No. 575, Fig. II.528)⁸⁷⁶

Alongside the drinking vessels, Attic pottery finds from Mikhmoret include fragments of twenty red-figure kraters, some with very fine painting. Fragments of three of these kraters were studied, attributed, and published by Beazley. The first such vase is a fragmentary column krater which was attributed to the Orchard Painter (ca. 470-460 BCE). (No. 576, Fig. II.529)⁸⁷⁷ The fragments from Side-A show an old man and fleeing woman from a pursuit scene. The former holds a sceptre and the latter a tendril, and they likely represent Nereus and Thetis from a rendering of the nymph's pursuit by Peleus.⁸⁷⁸ An additional body fragment, not seen by Beazley, should be assigned to the reverse-side of the same vessel and shows the bent bare legs of a walking or dancing figure, possibly a komast. The second vessel studied by Beazley is a fragmentary bell krater, sherds of which were found in an unstratified deposit near the harbour.⁸⁷⁹ The piece was attributed to the Modica Painter (ca. 420-440 BCE) and consists of two groups of joining sherds, (No. 577, Fig. II.530)⁸⁸⁰ one of which comprises parts of a lip in several degrees along with a portion of the body, while the other comes from the vessel's lower body. On the former a satyr and thyrsus-bearing maenad are figured below the ivy-and-berry and egg-and-dart patterns of the lip, while the latter shows the leg and hand of a seated nude figure, likely another satyr, above a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard border. The final krater sherd examined by Beazley was also an unstratified find from the harbour area, and is likewise

⁸⁷⁴ Reg. Nos. M530-1, M562-1. Cf. Reading, University: 1953.41.1; *ARV2*, 140.25; BAPD: 201182.

⁸⁷⁵ IAA-1960-1349; IAA-1960-1350. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:2-8; 33:9,10; 34:15,16,18.

⁸⁷⁶ Reg. Nos. 756-694-1, M-300-31. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 33:12,14; 34:19.

⁸⁷⁷ IAA-1986-5518; *ARV2*, 1706.10; BAPD:275039. On Orchard Painter: *ARV2*, 522-528.

⁸⁷⁸ See *LIMC*. VIII. Pl. 9:12, 10:17, 19.

⁸⁷⁹ IAA warehouse card.

⁸⁸⁰ IAA-1997-4092; *ARV2*, 1708.3; On Modica Painter: *ARV2*, 1340, 1708.

Dionysiac in its subject. It depicts a maenad in elaborately patterned dress, and was attributed to the Painter of Munich 2335. (No. 578, Fig. II.531)⁸⁸¹

In addition to these vessels published by Beazley, the excavations at Mikhmoret also uncovered numerous as-yet-unpublished krater sherds. A fragment from a red-figure bell krater of ca. 440-420 BCE shows the head and upper body of a youth wearing a himation and added-white fillet, (No. 579, Fig. II.532)⁸⁸² while the top of another figure's head likewise appears on a small upper-body sherd. (No. 580, Fig. II.533)⁸⁸³ Another lip-and-upper-body segment from a bell krater of similar date survives with joining portions of the handle and lip. All these areas bear surviving decoration with egg-and-dart around handle and lower-lip, laurel on the upper-lip, and part of a figure (perhaps fingers or plumes) on the upper-body. (No. 581, Fig. II.534)⁸⁸⁴ Other unpublished body fragments display portions of draped figures. Four such fragments join to show a draped bent arm, (No. 582, Fig. II.535)⁸⁸⁵ while others feature drapery (No. 583, Fig. II.536),⁸⁸⁶ and drapery next to a hanging strigil. (No. 584, Fig. II.537)⁸⁸⁷ The latter two appear to date to the fourth and the former to the mid-fifth century. The final bell krater sherd to show part of a figure comes from the lower body of a vase dating to the late-fifth or fourth century and shows a foot and spiraling tendril. (No. 585, Fig. II.538)⁸⁸⁸

The remainder of the krater fragments feature only marginal ornamentation. Of the three lip sherds, two belong to red-figure bell kraters of the late-fifth or fourth century and bear the typical laurel wreaths, (No. 586, Fig. II.539)⁸⁸⁹(No. 587, Fig. II.540)⁸⁹⁰ while the third comes from a column krater and displays linked lotus buds on the upper surface and ivy on the overhanging lip. (No. 588, Fig. II.541)⁸⁹¹ Both patterns are in black figure, though the main vessel may have been decorated in either technique and can be dated only broadly ca. 520-460 BCE. Two shoulder fragments come from a single vase, likely also a late-sixth or fifth century column

⁸⁸¹ IAA-1997-4096; *ARV2*, 1707.70; BAPD:275712. On Painter of Munich 2335: *ARV2*, 1161-1170; Boardman (1989), 97, 132.

⁸⁸² IAA-1985-615. Cf Sotheby, 10/7/1990, 40, No. 253; BAPD:41359.

⁸⁸³ Reg. No. M300-37.

⁸⁸⁴ IAA-1997-4092.

⁸⁸⁵ Reg. Nos. 756-657-2, 3, 5.

⁸⁸⁶ Reg. No. M400-73.

⁸⁸⁷ IAA-1997-4099.

⁸⁸⁸ Reg. No. M500-21.

⁸⁸⁹ Reg. No. 756-649-2

⁸⁹⁰ IAA-1997-4095.

⁸⁹¹ IAA-1997-4145.

krater, volute krater, or stamnos, and are decorated with black tongues on a reserved band. (No. 589, Fig. II.542)⁸⁹² Moving down the vessels' bodies, the three remaining handle-area sherds display the ornamentation common on red-figure bell kraters of the late-fifth and fourth centuries, namely palmettes, (No. 590, Fig. II.543)⁸⁹³ vegetal-spirals, (No. 591, Fig. II.544)⁸⁹⁴ and egg-and-dart. (No. 592, Fig. II.545)⁸⁹⁵ Finally, the three lower-body sherds belong to bell kraters and show portions of meanders. (No. 593, Fig. II.546) (No. 594, Fig. II.547) (No. 595, Fig. II.548)⁸⁹⁶

Alongside this impressive corpus of cups and kraters, only two lekythoi can be identified among the finds from Mikhmoret. Two joining sherds of a black-figure lekythos were found in a foundation trench of the large Persian-period building south of the harbour.⁸⁹⁷ Their decoration, which includes the forelegs of chariot horses and part of a draped figure, can be attributed to the Haimon Group, (No. 596, Fig. II.549)⁸⁹⁸ while the decorative theme on a small red-figure sherd, likely belonging to a squat lekythos, is illegible. (No. 597, Fig. II.550)⁸⁹⁹ Likewise uncertain is the motif on a small fragment of a red-figure pyxis lid, though it may perhaps represent the shoulder of an animal painted in the late-fifth or early-fourth century. (No. 598, Fig. II.551)⁹⁰⁰

Excepting the pyxis and two lekythoi, cups and kraters thus comprise nearly the entire corpus of decorated Attic pottery from Mikhmoret, amounting to 53.06% (26/49) and 40.82% (20/49) respectively. (Fig. I.48) As only the Haimonian lekythos has a known, stratified findspot, it is difficult to draw any sound conclusions from their contexts apart from the clear indication that Mikhmoret was a well-supplied and well-connected port in the Persian-era. The paucity of published coarseware from the site also makes quantitative analysis and comparison impossible. However, the selected Persian-era sherds published from the 2011 salvage excavations include the remains of a mortarium, cooking pot, amphora, and basket-handled jar:⁹⁰¹ all standard local shapes of the era well-represented at other sites, and strikingly different in function from the Attic imports.

⁸⁹² Reg. Nos. M400-53, M400-56.

⁸⁹³ IAA-1997-4474.

⁸⁹⁴ Reg. No. M400-58.

⁸⁹⁵ Reg. No. M300-33

⁸⁹⁶ Reg. Nos. M400-60, M400-60 (A), M300-22

⁸⁹⁷ L10, IAA warehouse card.

⁸⁹⁸ IAA-1985-617. Cf. Brussels, Musées Royaux: R271; *ABV*, 540.24; BAPD: 305702

⁸⁹⁹ Reg. No. M300-44.

⁹⁰⁰ Reg. No. M300-27.

⁹⁰¹ Masarwa (2011), 1, Fig. 6.

2.2. M: Qasile, Tel

(Fig. I.1:24)

The mound of Tel Qasile is located on the northern bank of the Yarkon River within the modern city of Tel Aviv. The ruins of the abandoned Iron-Age city were leveled and built over with a single large structure of limestone rubble masonry in the Persian period (Building-G). This structure, excavated on behalf of the IES and Tel Aviv municipality between 1948 and 1950,⁹⁰² has been identified as an elite or government building.⁹⁰³ The structure comprises a large dwelling built on a leveled and raised platform around an inner courtyard, along with a spacious outer courtyard accessed by a flight of stone steps. This outer courtyard contained a granary and ash-covered cooking pots, while other finds associated with this structure include locally-manufactured jars, bowls, juglets, and lamps, as well as a terracotta horseman figurine.⁹⁰⁴ An assemblage of Attic pottery was also found at the site of which only one piece of black-figure cup has been published. (No. 599, Fig. II.552)⁹⁰⁵ This fragment depicts the body of a dancing female figure with added-white arms along with the foot of another dancer, executed in a style comparable to the CHC Group and dateable to ca. 500 BCE.⁹⁰⁶ In addition to this find, pits containing unspecified pieces of Attic pottery were also uncovered at the site⁹⁰⁷ as was a limestone seal dating to the Achaemenid-era.⁹⁰⁸ This seal depicts a man holding a bird, possibly a hawk or falcon, along with the Hebrew legend “עשניהו עבד מלך” (Ashanyahu Servant of the King).” This seal, dated palaeographically to the late-sixth or early-fifth century,⁹⁰⁹ indicates the presence of a local, indigenous, official working for the Achaemenid administration, and further emphasises the elite nature of this particular find site.

⁹⁰² Maisler (1949); Maisler (1950); Maisler (1951).

⁹⁰³ Maisler (1950), 211.

⁹⁰⁴ Maisler (1950), 211-212.

⁹⁰⁵ Maisler (1950), 213, Fig. 14d.

⁹⁰⁶ CHC Group: *ABV*, 617-625. Cf. Taranto: 6400; *ABV*, 620.71; BAPD: 306283.

⁹⁰⁷ Mazar (1975), 87.

⁹⁰⁸ Maisler (1951), 213, Fig. 14f.

⁹⁰⁹ Maisler (1950), 213-214.

2.2. N: Shikmona

(Fig. I.1:5)

The seaside mound of Tel Shikmona is situated within the modern city of Haifa at the end of the large promontory which extends from the foot of the Carmel. The site, which likely fell under Tyrian control in the Persian-era, was first excavated by J. Elgavish on behalf of the National Maritime Museum between 1963 and 1979.⁹¹⁰ These excavations identified two Persian-era strata. The first, dating to the first half of the fifth century, contained evidence of a well-planned town, with two main stone-paved streets intersecting at its centre, and domestic insulae lining the streets. (Fig. I.49) These structures seemingly suffered sudden collapse in mid-fifth century, possibly as the result of an earthquake,⁹¹¹ and were overbuilt by a large fortress-like structure in the fourth century.⁹¹² A further Persian-era-house was also discovered during the renewed excavations at the site, led by M. Eisenberg and S. Bar for the University of Haifa in 2010.⁹¹³ This house evidently dated to the same period as Elgavish's first Persian stratum, and, though Attic-pottery has been reported from both digs, only the earlier excavation has published examples of black and red-figure sherds.⁹¹⁴

Fragments of two Haimon Group cups, were found in-situ in Persian-period houses. The first, composed of two joining body fragments, including a handle and a near-complete profile, was found on the floor of Rm. PG-3 in a house to the northwest of the excavated area. The surviving decoration includes two palmettes flanking the handle and portions of an unidentifiable figure. (No. 600, Fig. II.553)⁹¹⁵ The other fragment, likewise bearing a palmette, (No. 601, Fig. II.554)⁹¹⁶ was found in Rm. PE-4, a storeroom in a large house in the southeast corner of the excavated area south of the main road.⁹¹⁷ Fragments of three other Attic figure-decorated cups were found amongst the stratified debris in the Persian-period streets. One sherd with

⁹¹⁰ *HA*, 8 (1963), 21-22; *HA*, 9 (1964), 16-17; *HA*, 14 (1965), 9; *HA*, 21 (1967), 12-13; *HA*, 24 (1967), 23-24; *HA*, 25 (1968), 22; *HA*, 28-29 (1969), 10-11; *HA*, 33 (1970), 16-17; Elgavish (1970); *HA*, 27(1971), 10-12; *HA*, 43 (1972), 5-6; *HA*, 45 (1973), 12-13; *HA*, 54-55 (1975), 21-22; *HA*, 57-58 (1976), 12-14; *HA*, 61-62 (1977), 19-20; *HA*, 65-6 (1978), 12-13; *HA*, 67-68 (1978), 24-25; *HA*, 74-85 (1980), 11-12; Elgavish; Meyers (1997), s. v. "Shiqmona".

⁹¹¹ Elgavish; Meyers (1997), s. v. "Shiqmona".

⁹¹² Shalev et al. (2021), 51.

⁹¹³ Eisenberg, Bar (2021). Also intervening salvage digs in the area: Hirshfeld (1996); Sayeed (2009).

⁹¹⁴ Published fragments of the latter excavation do include two black-glazed cups and a cup and lekythos of unidentifiable technique: Shalev et al. (2021), 48, Fig. 3:2-5.

⁹¹⁵ Elgavish (1968), 37-38, Pl. 52:115. Cf. Reading, University: 26.XII.18; *ABV*, 562.556; BAPD: 331652.

⁹¹⁶ Elgavish (1968), Pl. 52:119.

⁹¹⁷ Elgavish (1968), 25-29.

unidentifiable red-figure decoration, (No. 602, Fig. II.555)⁹¹⁸ and four joining body fragments of a black-figure cup-skyphos were found in PB, the street running east-west.⁹¹⁹ The fragments of the latter include a handle-and-body sherd with a palmette, and three joining lip fragments with the heads and raised hands of unknown figures. (No. 603, Fig. II.556)⁹²⁰ Another small body sherd showing part of a silhouette figure and ivy was found in the street oriented north-south (PA),⁹²¹ and is also of early-fifth-century date. (No. 604, Fig. II.557)⁹²² In addition to cups, the detritus in this same street (PA) also included two joining fragments of a black-figure white-ground lekythos; one a neck-and-shoulder fragment decorated with rays, and the other an upper-body fragment with a key-meander. (No. 605, Fig. II.558)⁹²³ Finally, besides these known, stratified finds, four joining fragments of a Haimon Group cup-skyphos were found at an unspecified locus. (No. 606, Fig. II.559)⁹²⁴ The painting shows a female symposiast, possibly Ariadne or a mortal hetaira, lounging at the feet of another figure and framed by a palmette and ivy.

In all, the site has yielded six figure-decorated cups and a single white-ground lekythos, mostly from well-stratified deposits. The two cups found within the rooms of houses are of especial interest. Both rooms, which were seemingly destroyed and abandoned during an earthquake in the mid-fifth century, preserve large in-situ household assemblages, which provide invaluable context for the interpretation of the Attic pottery. In addition to the black-figure cup, Rm. P-G also contained numerous complete Persian period pots including jugs and juglets, storage jars, basket-handled jars, amphorae, and a cooking pot. Other small finds in the same room included a bone cosmetic spatula, bronze and bone beads, and twenty-eight loomweights, all attesting to the domestic nature of the space.⁹²⁵ Similarly, Rm. PE-4, appears to have been a storeroom within a large house and contained a sizeable assemblage of pottery including forty-three complete vessels. Among this room's diverse contents were a large serving bowl, ten jugs, twenty-seven juglets, three jars, a lamp, three amphorae, two stone mortars with four pestles, an

⁹¹⁸ Elgavish (1968), Pl. 52:120.

⁹¹⁹ PB

⁹²⁰ Elgavish (1968), Pl. 52:116.

⁹²¹ PA

⁹²² Elgavish (1968), Pl. 52:118.

⁹²³ Elgavish (1968), Pl. 52:113.

⁹²⁴ Haifa, Hecht:70/7935; Wenning: Uehlinger (2000), Pl. XLII:3. Cf. Leiden, Rijksmuseum: K94.1.17; BAPD:9009066.

⁹²⁵ Elgavish (1968), 37-38.

incense altar, grindstones, loom weights, iron hooks and a spearhead.⁹²⁶ The vast diversity of these household items, not only provides a glimpse into the range of activities conducted in Persian-era homes at Shikmona, it also highlights the unique niche of wine-consumption that the imported Attic cups served within these households. None of the other vessels from these rooms fulfill this same specialized function.

2.2. O: Tanninim, Tel

(Fig. I.1:15)

Tel Tanninim, the site of ancient Krokodeilon Polis, is located on a small kurkar promontory on the seashore where the Tanninim River empties into the Mediterranean. Both the settlement and its namesake river were evidently named for the Nile Crocodiles that occupied the river and nearby wetlands in ancient times.⁹²⁷ The settlement seems to have been founded in the mid-fifth century BCE as a Sidonian port town, as indicated by the presence of Persian-period Phoenician ceramics in the lowest occupation stratum at the site. The tel was excavated between 1996 and 1999 led by R. Stieglitz of Rutgers University. The earliest occupation layer (Strat. VIII) was excavated only in Area-A, Square-B1, which contained a Persian-period domestic living surface (L1234/L1233) composed of compact dark brown soil with fragments of plaster and charcoal. (Fig. I.50)⁹²⁸ This surface was strewn with a large amount of in-situ Persian-era pottery. These included 175 pieces of diagnostic local pottery, comprising two lamps, numerous basket-handled amphorae and a complete cooking pot still containing the bones of a chicken (L1235/L1242). Animal and fish bones as well as murex shells were also present. The domestic assemblage on this living surface also contained an array of imported Greek pottery including an East Greek bowl, as well as fragments of two Attic bowls and four Attic skyphoi.⁹²⁹ These open vessel fragments lack any surviving decoration and may have belonged to either black-glazed or figure-decorated vessels.

The corpus of identifiable Attic figure-decorated pottery from these loci, consists of three lekythoi. Two are white-ground body fragments, one with ivy pattern, (No. 607, Fig.

⁹²⁶ Elgavish (1968), 25-29.

⁹²⁷ Stieglitz (2006), 4.

⁹²⁸ Stieglitz (2006), 23-24.

⁹²⁹ Stieglitz (2006), 112-114.

II.560)⁹³⁰ and the other with black bands. (No. 608, Fig. II.561).⁹³¹ The ivy can be compared with that on lekythoi produced by the Beldam Workshop and the fragments should be dated to ca. 480-450 BCE.⁹³² Three joining fragments of a red-figure lekythos dating to ca. 475-450 BCE were also found in the same domestic deposit, at L1234 and L1233. These depict a winged goddess wearing a sakkos below a meander frieze. (No. 609, Fig. II.562)⁹³³ The goddess is likely Eos and the image likely belongs to a scene of erotic pursuit in which the deity chases one of her mortal lovers, Tithonos or Kephalos.

This remarkably well-preserved domestic surface, with its assemblage of in-situ household ware provides a uniquely revealing glimpse into the context-of-use for these decorated Attic oil vessels (as well as the other, potentially black-glazed, shapes). The small collection of imported finewares of both Attic and East Greek origin, can be contrasted with the far larger assemblage of locally-produced ceramics employed in the same household for cooking, storage and lighting.

2.2. P: Northern Coast: Analysis

The Phoenician-administered cities of Israel's northern coast, spanning from Akko in the north to Jaffa in the south, have collectively yielded the largest available collection of decorated Attic pottery from any of this study's subregions. At the regional level, vessels for the mixing and drinking of wine outnumber all other shapes, with kraters constituting 45.03% of the corpus (272/604), followed by cups at 33.94% (205/604). Lekythoi and other closed perfume flasks account for 14.23% (86/604). (Fig. 1.51) Thus nearly the entire body of decorated Attic ceramics (93.21%) was dedicated specially to holding wine and perfume. All other identifiable shapes account for only 4.47% of the figure-decorated Attic pottery from this region (27/604), with the majority of this subset made up of fourth-century lekanides, (15/27) which were themselves possibly used for storing the smaller perfume and cosmetic vessels.⁹³⁴ The limiting of these imported ceramics to two such specialized niches, distinguishes this material from the

⁹³⁰ Reg. No. C056; Stieglitz (2006), 114, Fig. 102:14.

⁹³¹ Reg. No. 1075/8; Stieglitz (2006), 114, Fig. 102:13.

⁹³² Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl.70:2,6-8.

⁹³³ Reg. No. C035; Stieglitz (2006), 202-203, Fig. 157:5, Fig. 158:5.

⁹³⁴ The amphorae too likely served to store wine or oil. The remaining 2.48% of pieces could not be securely identified.

assemblages of locally-produced Levantine pottery examined at Apollonia, Dor, Tel Mevorach, Tel Michal, Mikhmoret, Tel Tannim, and Jaffa. Across all of these sites the corpora of local-ware consistently show a much wider range of functions, with a notably greater focus on shapes for storage, and the preparation and consumption of food.

Excavations in this region have also produced the largest known number of secure Persian-period find-contexts, allowing for reasonable conclusions to be drawn regarding the Attic pottery's contexts-of-use. (Fig. I.52) 223 examples of black and red-figure Attic vases are known to have been found in identifiable Persian-era loci. The largest number of these, 43.05% (96/223), were found in detrital contexts, with 92 pieces having been recovered from within or immediately surrounding rubbish pits, and a further four from general Persian-era rubbish dumps. This high percentage of detrital find-contexts, coupled with the fragmentary nature of the material in these deposits, suggests that the vessels saw considerable practical use and were damaged prior to being discarded. Many of the pits, such as those in Area-F in Akko and Tel Mevorakh, evidently served adjacent residential buildings. The next-largest percentage of decorated Attic pottery finds come from identifiable domestic deposits within Persian-era houses. Such residential contexts produced 22.42% (50/223) of the decorated Attic pottery from Persian-era loci, indicating that households were the primary setting of these objects' practical use. In cases such the Building-M in Jaffa the house can be identified as an elite ashlar-built dwelling with a courtyard, significantly larger than other residential buildings of the period, while three additional sherds came from loci within fortified governmental or military structures, like Fort-340 at Tel Michal. The upper-class associations of such finds, suggest that at least some of the those who purchased and used these imported ceramics were members of the societal and administrative elite.

After rubbish dumps and residences, the largest number of Attic pottery finds from Persian-era loci, (48/223=21.52%) came from stratified fills and deposits, which, though dating to the Achaemenid era, cannot be associated with any specific features and are of little value in determining contexts-of-use. Likewise of limited contextual value (though useful for dating purposes) are three specimens each found in the foundations of Persian-era walls and on unidentified surfaces. (3/223=1.34%)

Providing more useful insight in the Attic vessels' role in society are the 4.04% (9/223) of fragments found in specifically communal areas, such as the agora in Jaffa and an area in the

citadel of Tel Michal associated with public dining. These hint at the objects' role both as commercial goods and as paraphernalia for commensal feasting. Broadening the range of contexts even further are the 0.36% of vessels (8/223) – seven from the necropolis at Atlit and a single piece from Jaffa – found in funerary deposits, along with one find from a dog burial in Dor. Such finds, though less common, clearly demonstrate that such objects could also play a role in funerary and cultic ritual.

Overall, the deposition contexts of figure-decorated Attic pottery in the northern coastal region suggest that these objects generally saw practical use, often by members of the local elite, and that this use occurred largely, though not exclusively, in domestic contexts, with a smaller number of funerary, public, and cultic finds hinting at a wider array of uses in some rarer instances.

The presence of comparatively large assemblages of Attic pottery in the cities of the northern coast can likely be explained by the history and geography of the region. The fact that these cities were administered by the sea-faring, mercantilist Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon, along with the direct access to Mediterranean trade afforded their coastal location, means that these sites were likely the initial points of sale for Attic pottery in Canaan. This would potentially have allowed residents “first pick” of the goods arriving in the Levant, while also affording local merchants with the economic benefits both of trading for these objects with maritime suppliers and of reselling them for distribution further inland.

2.3: Northern Interior

2.3. A: Introduction

Having examined the nature and deposition contexts of figure-decorated Attic pottery along Israel's northern coast, it is instructive to compare this material with finds from the adjacent inland region. For the purposes of the current study, all sites in the Galilee and Jezreel Valley inland of the Carmel, as well as those in the highlands of Samaria bounded in the south by the Natuf, Modiim, a-Dilb, and Makuk streams, will be considered in this section. In the Achaemenid era this region of Canaan would have hosted a number of different polities and spheres of political control. Portions of the Upper Galilee, like the neighbouring coastal cities,

seem to have been subject to Tyrian hegemony,⁹³⁵ and it is uncertain how far inland the Tyrian and Sidonian cities of the coast exercised power. The Achaemenid province of Samaria, governed from the city of the same name, was established in the territory of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel under the administration of imperially appointed local governors.⁹³⁶ It seems that, having been conquered by the Neo-Assyrians in the eighth century, the lands of the earlier Northern Kingdom largely escaped the ravages of the Babylonian conquest that devastated Judah. Rather the period spanning the seventh and to fourth centuries seems to have been one of relative continuity and growth.⁹³⁷ By the time of Persian hegemony, the city of Samaria itself was one of the largest urban centres in Canaan,⁹³⁸ and its eponymous province appears to have supported a significantly higher number of large settlements than its southern neighbour. It is only in the early Hellenistic period, likely as a result of the failed rebellion of the Samaritan leaders against Alexander's forces in 332 BCE, that signs of serious destruction and decline are evident.⁹³⁹

2.3. B: Beit El

(Fig. I.1:32)

The site commonly identified with the biblical Beit El is located within the Palestinian city of Beitin, 16km north of Jerusalem.⁹⁴⁰ The area was excavated between 1934 and 1960 under the direction of W. F. Albright and later J. L. Kelso for the ASOR.⁹⁴¹ The city itself, which had flourished during the late Iron Age, was destroyed at some point between and 553 and 521 BCE as demonstrated by the extensive ash-filled conflagration layer containing Iron-Age-III pottery. This seems to have been followed by a brief period of abandonment and evidence of sustained construction does not resume until the after the fourth century.⁹⁴² Despite the lack of identified fifth-century structures, a shoulder fragment of a white-ground pattern lekythos, misidentified in

⁹³⁵ Briend, Humbert (1980); Berlin, Herbert (2005), 34; Berlin, Frankel (2012), 28.

⁹³⁶ Eshel (1999).

⁹³⁷ Knoppers (2006), 267-268; Lipschits (2006), 30-31.

⁹³⁸ Stern (2001), 424; Zertal (2003), 380.

⁹³⁹ Knoppers (2006), 269.

⁹⁴⁰ This identification according to E. Robinson. See Dever: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Bethel". Other proposed identifications include El Bireh by D. Livingston. See Gomes (2006), 6-7.

⁹⁴¹ Albright (1934); Kelso (1968); Dever: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Bethel".

⁹⁴² Kelso (1968), 38.

the publication as a Middle-Bronze-Age vessel, is among the published finds. (No. 610, Fig.II.563)⁹⁴³ The vase's shoulder is decorated with rays, while the upper body features a running-key-meander above lattice in the manner of the Beldam Group (ca. 490-450 BCE).⁹⁴⁴ The lekythos therefore likely belongs to a period of tentative, small-scale, resettlement of the site during the Persian-period. In the Assyrian and Babylonian periods, the city was assigned to Samaria province and it seems likely that this allocation continued under Achaemenid governance.⁹⁴⁵

2.3. C: Beit Shearim

(Fig. I.1: 9)

Beit Shearim sits on a low hill at the western end of the Jezreel Valley near the modern town of Kiryat Tivon. The site is best known for the elaborate late-Roman-era Jewish necropolis excavated in the years 1936-1940 and 1953-1958 by B. Mazar and N. Avigad of the Hebrew University. While these excavations did not reveal any Persian period tombs or structures, ceramic finds indicate that the site was occupied at least as far back as Iron-Age-II.⁹⁴⁶ Among the various pieces of Persian-era pottery found out-of-context within the Roman Basilica was the lower body of a black-figure cup-skyphos. (No. 611, Fig. II.564)⁹⁴⁷ The stalk of a palmette and the feet of several figures are visible above the black-glazed lower border, and the vessel can likely be dated to ca. 500-475 BCE.

2.3. D: Gerizim, Mount

(Fig. I.1:21)

Mount Gerizim, the ancient cult-centre of the Samaritan people, is located on the southern edge of the city of Nablus where it rises to an altitude of around 550m above the surrounding city. Excavations at the site were conducted between 1982 and 2004 under the auspices of the Civil

⁹⁴³ Kelso (1968), Pl. 37:10.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. Kurtz (1975): Pls. 70:1,3,6,8; 71:1.

⁹⁴⁵ Keslo (1968), 37.

⁹⁴⁶ Mazar (1957), 161.

⁹⁴⁷ Mazar (1957), 161, Fig. 4.25.

Administration of Judea and Samaria and the direction of Y. Magen. According to the excavators, the earliest phase of the Samaritan temple on the mountain's summit, likely dates to the Persian period, with ceramic and numismatic evidence from deposits placing the beginning of construction and cult activity between the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. This earliest phase of the sacred precinct appears to have taken the form of a walled, square enclosure of about 85x100m, with gates on its north, south, and eastern sides. (Fig. I.53) It is from within this sacred enclosure that nearly all of the securely-identified Persian-period deposits were discovered, sealed below the later Hellenistic phases. The ceramic assemblage of this period consisted of locally-manufactured juglets, flasks, cooking pots, kraters, bowls, and lamps, as well as fragments of Attic pottery.⁹⁴⁸ Two white-ground sherds belonging to pattern lekythoi were found at separate loci within the precinct. One is a body fragment with a lattice pattern in the manner of the Beldam Workshop, (No. 612, Fig. II.565)⁹⁴⁹ while the other is the lower body of a vessel on which most of the decoration above the black lower portion has worn away. (No. 613, Fig. II.566)⁹⁵⁰ These two fragments may potentially belong to the same vessel, as might the black-glazed lekythos mouth and foot fragments also discovered at the site.⁹⁵¹

The discovery of Attic lekythoi on Mount Gerizim is of particular significance as it represents a rare instance of Attic pottery from Canaan having been found in an identifiably cultic setting. The presence of locally-produced kraters, pots, bowls, and juglets are highly suggestive of libations and ritual communal feasting taking place within the temple precinct and it is possible that the Attic pottery likewise played a role in these activities.

2.3. E: Kashish, Tel

(Fig. I.1:10)

Tel Kashish in the northeast of the Jezreel valley, on the northern shore of the Kishon River, was excavated by the Hebrew University between 1978 and 1987,⁹⁵² and has also yielded a single example of figure-decorated Attic pottery. The upper strata of the mound, including the Persian-

⁹⁴⁸ Magen (2008), Vol.2, 167-168

⁹⁴⁹ Magen (2008), Vol.2, 193, Pl. 6:3. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1, 3.6-8; 71:1,2.

⁹⁵⁰ Magen (2008), Vol.2, 193, Pl. 6:4.

⁹⁵¹ Magen (2008), Vol.2, 193, Pl. 6:2, 5.

⁹⁵² Ben-Tor et al. (2003), 2.

period layers, where badly damaged by agricultural ploughing. However, two joining body sherds of a black-figure cup were found out-of-context on the surface of the tel (L314).⁹⁵³ These sherds display a palmette in the style of the Haimon Group. (No. 614, Fig. II.567)⁹⁵⁴

2.3. F: Kedesh, Tel

(Fig. I.1:1)

The large double mound of Tel Kedesh sits on a rocky plateau on the western edge of the Hula Valley, near the current border of Israel and Lebanon. (Fig.I.i:1) Excavations at the site between 1997 and 2012 were directed by A. Berlin and S. Herbert for the universities of Michigan and Minnesota.⁹⁵⁵ This expedition uncovered a large rectangular structure in the southeastern area of the lower, southern mound which was identified as a palatial administrative complex whose use spanned the Achaemenid and Hellenistic eras. The first phase of the building appears to date to ca. 500 BCE, as evinced by pottery deposits sealed in fills beneath its foundations. The structure itself appears to have occupied an impressive 2, 300m² with white limestone walls, a plastered courtyard, and the stylobate of a colonnade evident among the remains. In addition to the building's immense size, the pottery and small finds from the earliest phase attest to its administrative and elite function. (Fig. I.54) Luxury objects included not only imported Attic fineware but also glass and alabaster perfume vessels, as well as a bronze, silver, and faience jewellery, lumps of khol, and glass and jasper seals. One of the two glass seals bears an engraving of the Persian king in the guise of the master-of-the-lions, while the other depicts the Tyrian deity Melqart. A Phoenician-style profile head is likewise figured on the jasper scarab, while other sigillographic evidence from the building including a stamped clay bulla, further suggests that the building served an elite administrative function with links to both the provincial Tyrian, and imperial Persian administrations.⁹⁵⁶

While the Attic pottery from the site remains unpublished and unavailable for examination, preliminary lists of the ceramic finds were provided for the current study by A.

⁹⁵³ Ben-Tor et al. (2003), xix.

⁹⁵⁴ Reg. No. 2060; Ben-Tor et al. (2003), 383, Fig. 154:1.

⁹⁵⁵ Herbert, Berlin (2003), 13-59; Berlin, Herbert (2012) 24-29; Berlin, Herbert: Master et al. (2013), 373-381; Berlin, Herbert: Feinsey, Strange. (2015), 425-427. On earlier expedition: IEJ 18.3 (1968):193-194.

⁹⁵⁶ Berlin, Herbert (2005); Stone (2012); Berlin, Herbert (2013). Other finds of this period include tabuns, pits and other wall segments: Stern, Beit-Arieh (1979), 9. On Kedesh as a Tyrian city: Elayi (1982), 96.

Berlin. Of the known black and red-figure vessels from the site, the majority can be identified as drinking cups. These include a foot (No. 615)⁹⁵⁷ and three body-sherds belonging to black-figure cup-skyphoi, (No. 616) (No. 617)⁹⁵⁸ with one of the latter displaying part of a palmette, (No. 618, Fig. II.568)⁹⁵⁹ as well as three rims (No. 619) (No. 620) (No. 621) and two body sherds (No. 622) (No. 623) from black-figure skyphoi.⁹⁶⁰ Though all of these skyphos fragments likely date to the early-fifth century, only one is specifically associated with a listed Persian-era locus, having been found within the sealed fill abutting a robbed-out wall of the Persian-era administrative building.⁹⁶¹ The two other black-figure cup sherds belong to the bodies of kylikes rather than skyphoi, (No. 624)⁹⁶² with one preserving portions of a figure and palmette. (No. 625)⁹⁶³ Along with these black-figure cups, fragments of a red-figure skyphos and kylix are also present: the former is a fourth-century lip fragment adorned with egg-and-dart, (No. 626, Fig. II.569)⁹⁶⁴ while the latter preserves unidentifiable decoration from the interior floor of the cup. (No. 627)⁹⁶⁵ Finally, a body sherd and two lip fragments from the site belong to cups of the Saint-Valentin Class, (No. 628) (No. 629) (No. 630)⁹⁶⁶ while a single decorated body sherd is of unidentifiable technique. (No. 631)⁹⁶⁷ Besides these cups, two body sherds (No. 632) (No. 633)⁹⁶⁸ and a single lip fragment can be identified as belonging to red-figure kraters, with the rim displaying laurel leaves in a manner characteristic of fourth-century bell kraters. (No. 634)⁹⁶⁹ Closed shapes are also well-represented with ten identifiable examples of black-figure lekythoi having been found. These include the shoulders of four vessels, of which three are adorned with rays, (No. 635) (No. 636) (No. 637, Fig. II.570)⁹⁷⁰ and one with palmettes. (No. 638, Fig. II.571)⁹⁷¹ While the shoulder decoration is all executed in black on reserved clay, the lekythos

⁹⁵⁷ Reg. No. CB38021. All information on objects from Tel Kedesh comes from an unpublished list of Attic pottery from the site and an unpublished catalogue of “Attic and Atticizing Pottery”, both provided courtesy of A. Berlin.

⁹⁵⁸ Reg. No. CB39006; Reg. No. K00P079.

⁹⁵⁹ Reg. No. K00P135.

⁹⁶⁰ Reg. Nos. K99P011, K08P, CB38010, WB31017, CB16037.

⁹⁶¹ Reg. No. CA93019.

⁹⁶² Reg. No. CB48008.

⁹⁶³ Reg. No. K06P*.

⁹⁶⁴ Reg. No. K08P176.

⁹⁶⁵ Reg. No. K08P190.

⁹⁶⁶ Reg. Nos. K99P*, K00P*, CB15008.

⁹⁶⁷ Reg. No. CB17069.

⁹⁶⁸ Reg. Nos. CB26013, CB38032.

⁹⁶⁹ Reg. No. K10P.

⁹⁷⁰ Reg. Nos. CA95019, CB26017, K00P226.

⁹⁷¹ Reg. No. K08P088.

body fragments from the site display a range of decorative techniques. Among these are not only a black-figure piece, (No. 639)⁹⁷² but also two non-joining sherds of a single vase painted in Six's technique (No. 640),⁹⁷³ as well as pieces of four white-ground vessels. (No. 641) (No. 642) (No. 643).⁹⁷⁴ Of these latter vases one is adorned with palmettes, bands, and lattice in the style of the Beldam Workshop. (No. 644, Fig. II.572)⁹⁷⁵

Cups (17/30) followed by lekythoi (10/30) and kraters (3/30) thus make up the entirety of the currently-identifiable black and red-figure corpus from Tel Kedesh, (Fig. I.55) while a find context within the Persian-era administrative building suggests a connection between these objects and the elite members of the Tyrian provincial administration. It should be noted that the forgoing numbers are composed solely of items whose listed descriptions allow the objects to be securely identified as Attic black or red-figure vessels. Other Attic sherds of indeterminate technique appear in Berlin's lists alongside Attic and Atticizing black-glazed material of the Persian and Hellenistic periods. If all potential Persian-era sherds from these lists are considered, a wider array of shapes can be seen. Among these Attic and Atticizing shapes, bowls make up the largest portion (84/255), outranking cups (52/255), lekythoi and perfume bottles (24/255), and kraters (5/255). A range of other shapes including plates (13/255), dishes (2/255), pelikai (4/255)⁹⁷⁶, lamps (13/255), and jugs (2/255), as well as an amphora, guttus and possible thymiaterion are also seen among this corpus of material when the local and imported black-glazed sherds are included alongside the decorated ware. While the local coarseware from Tel Kedesh likewise remains largely unpublished, the Persian-era ceramic assemblage from the Administrative Building is stated to have comprised cooking pots of coastal Phoenician manufacture as well as bowls, pitchers, and jars from the Galilee. These jars dominated the assemblage, with over two thousand examples having been identified by the time of the 2015 excavation report, constituting 65% of all Persian-era pottery at the site.⁹⁷⁷

Given the available data, a correlation between the perceived luxury of the ceramics, and the specific functional niche of wine and perfume consumption can be observed. This is evinced by the figure-decorated corpus as well as the glass and alabaster bottles from the Administrative

⁹⁷² Reg. No. CB35027.1.

⁹⁷³ Reg. Nos. K00P136, K00P138.

⁹⁷⁴ Reg. Nos. K06P006, K08P164, CB25011.

⁹⁷⁵ Reg. No. K09P027. Cf. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: B3072; BAPD: 12493.

⁹⁷⁶ 2 may be amphorae.

⁹⁷⁷ On pottery from the administrative building: Berlin, Herbert (2014).

Building. As the apparent luxury of the pottery decreases so too does the focus on wine service and perfume. Thus, the full range of Attic and Atticising material shows a broader range of shapes and functions, with an increased focus on food preparation and storage, and this trend is fully realised in the local coarseware assemblage.

2.3. G: Mishmar HaEmek

(Fig. I.1:13)

An intact white-ground pattern lekythos in the collection of Kibbutz Mishmar HaEmek in the southwest of the Jezreel Valley, was apparently found in the area by a member of the community. (No. 645, Fig. II.573)⁹⁷⁸ The vessel is a small cylinder shape. Its shoulder is decorated with tongues and rays, and its body with meander and lattice patterns characteristic of the Beldam Workshop.⁹⁷⁹

2.3. H: Samaria

(Fig. I.1:19)

The ruins of the ancient city of Samaria are located 56km north of Jerusalem on the western edge of the modern Palestinian village of Sebastia. Having previously served as the capital of the Iron-Age Kingdom of Israel and subsequently as an Assyrian administrative centre after the conquest of the Northern Kingdom, Samaria was largely spared the destruction visited upon Judah and Jerusalem during the Babylonian conquest. As such, it was able to maintain a comparatively high level of material and economic prosperity throughout the sixth-to-fourth centuries, and continued to function as the capital of the Achaemenid province of Samaria.⁹⁸⁰ Two major excavations were conducted at the site, the first by Harvard University between 1908 and 1910 and the second by a joint expedition of several American, British, and Israeli institutions led by J. W. Crowfoot from 1935 to 1937.⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷⁸ IAA-1997-6539.

⁹⁷⁹ Cf. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, P1903.139 BAPD:9029742.

⁹⁸⁰ Knoppers: Lipshits, Oeming (2006), 268; Lipshits: Lipshits, Oeming (2006), 30-31.

⁹⁸¹ Reisner, Et. Al (1924); Crowfoot (1932); Crowfoot (1935); Crowfoot et al. (1942); Wright (1959).

As a result of later Hellenistic-era leveling and construction, very few architectural remains dateable to the Persian-period were found by the excavators, and most structures which the earlier Harvard expedition identified as belonging to the Babylonian and Persian period were subsequently shown to be Hellenistic. (Figs. I.56, 57)⁹⁸² Other finds, however, reveal the city's significant political and economic prominence under the Achaemenid administration. As the local capital, Samaria was granted the right to begin minting its own provincial coinage from around 372 BCE and continued to do so until the fall of Achaemenid rule in 332 BCE.⁹⁸³ These coins bear the city's Aramaic name either in full (שמרין) or in abbreviated forms (שמרן, שמר, שן) and exist in approximately 259 known types discovered in both large hoards and single finds throughout the province.⁹⁸⁴ Further insight into fourth-century Samaria is provided by a large assemblage of fragmentary papyrus documents discovered between 1961 and 1963 at Abu-Shinjeih cave in Wadi-ed-Daliyeh alongside clay bullae and human remains.⁹⁸⁵ The documents' owners were apparently local aristocrats in the late-Persian-period imperial administration of Samaria Province. They appear to have fled the city after an abortive attempt to resist Alexander's conquest in 331 BCE and to have sought, evidently unsuccessful, refuge in the Judean Desert.⁹⁸⁶ The documents themselves provide evidence of the owners' wealth and imperial connections as they deal mainly with the buying and selling of slaves,⁹⁸⁷ and are dated by the regnal years of Persian kings, ranging from the thirtieth year of Artaxerxes II (375 BCE) to the second year of Artaxerxes IV (335 BCE).⁹⁸⁸ All of the documents are composed in Aramaic and the names of the officials often bear Yahwistic theophoric suffixes, indicating that these individuals were members of the local Israelite population.⁹⁸⁹ Artefacts unearthed at Samaria itself further suggest a high degree of economic and political prominence and connectivity in the Achaemenid period. These include elaborate bronze fragments from an

⁹⁸² Kenyon: Crowfoot et al. (1942), 116.

⁹⁸³ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 71.

⁹⁸⁴ Meshorer, Qedar (1999).

⁹⁸⁵ Lapp (1974); Leith (1997), 3-6; Gropp et al. (2001), 3.

⁹⁸⁶ Cross (1969), 57-58; Leith (1997), 6-7.

⁹⁸⁷ Cross (1985), 7; Leith (1997), 5; Gropp et al. (2001), 33-113.

⁹⁸⁸ Cross (1969), 48; Cross (1985), 10; Leith (1997), 5-6.

⁹⁸⁹ Leith (1997), 10; Cross (2006). On the relation between Samaritan-Judahite ethnic and cultural identity in the Persian Period: Weingart (2017). On the connections between the individuals mentioned in these documents and the Achaemenid provincial administration: Fried: Botta (2013), 326-329

Achaemenid-style throne,⁹⁹⁰ along with Athenian and Sidonian coinage, an alabaster alabastron, a Persian bowl, Aramaic ostraca recording dates from the late-sixth to early-fourth centuries,⁹⁹¹ and large quantities of Attic pottery.⁹⁹²

Only a selection of the black and red-figure pottery from Samaria has been published, and the objects which have been published frequently lack images or specific find-contexts. Among the published fragments from the Harvard excavations, four can be identified as belonging to cups. The earliest of these comes from a black-figure Little-Master lip-cup of ca. 540-529 BCE and shows a komast, (No. 646, Fig. II.574)⁹⁹³ while the remaining cup sherds all bear red-figure images. Two such fragments preserve portions of decorated tondi, with the interior of one stemless cup showing the head of a woman, (No. 647, Fig. II.575)⁹⁹⁴ and another kylix interior showing a youthful symposiast playing kottabos. (No. 648, Fig. II.576)⁹⁹⁵ The former should be dated to the mid-to-late-fifth century, and the latter to ca. 420-400 BCE. The final red-figure cup fragment from the Harvard excavation is the lower-body sherd of a skyphos on which the drapery and foot of a standing figure appears with vegetal motifs above a groundline. Such standing figures, often paired youths, are a common motif on skyphoi of the fourth century such as the those of the FB Group, and the piece should likely be dated to ca. 370-350 BCE. (No. 649, Fig. II.577)⁹⁹⁶

Four fragmentary Attic cups likewise appear amidst the published finds from the Joint Expedition. As with the previous sherd, two of these cups are similarly near in style to the FB Group.⁹⁹⁷ Both were found out-of-context within a later Roman-era tomb with one piece displaying a face in the group's characteristically schematic style. (No. 650, Fig. II.578)⁹⁹⁸ Parts of a palmette and schematized feet can also be seen on several joining sherds constituting the foot and lower body of the second skyphos. (No. 651, Fig. II.579)⁹⁹⁹ A further red-figure sherd of

⁹⁹⁰ Tadmor (1974).

⁹⁹¹ Birnbaum: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 25-34; Lemaire, Mendel-Geberovich (2019).

⁹⁹² Tappy: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Samaria".

⁹⁹³ Reg. No. 3551; Reisner, Et. Al (1924), 286, No. 5a, Pl. 71:c; BAPD:43870. Cf. Munich, Antikensammlungen: 2170; BAPD: 772.

⁹⁹⁴ Reg. No. 4523; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 6:b, Pl. 71:f; BAPD:43867.

⁹⁹⁵ Reg. No. 3108; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 6o, Pl. 71:g; BAPD:43868.

⁹⁹⁶ Reg. No. 2058; Reisner, Et. Al (1924), 287, No. 6s, Pl. 71: H6; BAPD:43873.

⁹⁹⁷ Cf. Capua Museo Campano; *ARV*2, 1491.199; BAPD; 230711. Cf. Benaki Museum; BAPD: 9029990.

⁹⁹⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2439; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 213, Pl. XVIII:3; Sukenik: Crowfoot et al. (1942), 81-88.

⁹⁹⁹ Tomb-E-220-II. Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2435; Crowfoot et al. (1957), Pl. XVIII:17.

earlier date and finer draughtsmanship shows drapery and a lyre, (No. 652, Fig. II.580)¹⁰⁰⁰ while a final black-figure cup sherd bears a palmette-and-lotus-bud chain and should be dated to ca. 500-475 BCE. (No. 653, Fig. II.581)¹⁰⁰¹

In addition to these cups, the published finds from Samaria also include a large number of red-figure kraters, some of which are of remarkably high quality and state-of-preservation. Likely the best-known Attic vases from Samaria, and among the best quality red-figure pieces from Canaan as a whole, are two red-figure bell kraters from the city, both attributed to the Niobid Painter. The first of these, though found in various fragments, is nearly complete. (No. 654, Fig. II.582)¹⁰⁰² Side-A features a pursuit scene with a youth (perhaps Theseus) pursuing a woman, while observed by a female attendant and bearded man. A nearly identical scene evidently appeared on the second of the Niobid Painter's bell kraters found in Samaria, though the latter vase survives only in three non-joining body fragments which preserve portions of the woman and her pursuer, who in this iteration carries a spear. (No. 655, Fig. II.583)¹⁰⁰³ Similar scenes, particularly the variant in which the pursuing youth holds one or two spears, appear on numerous other vases attributed to the Niobid Painter all dating to ca. 460-450 BCE. Side-B of the more complete krater shows a scene of sacrifice to Apollo, in which the seated god watches as his worshipers approach an altar with laurels, phialai, and a ram. This more complete krater was found in pieces over an area of about 2m² on the South Gate Terrace, while the fragments of the second krater were found in disparate non-stratified deposits around the site.¹⁰⁰⁴ Another collection of joining sherds likewise displaying finely-painted red-figure decoration were found in the fill beneath a Herodian-era building. (No. 656, Fig. II.584)¹⁰⁰⁵ These fragments are identified in the publication as belonging to a cup, but the large scale of the painting and the shape of the break around the now-missing handle make its identification as a bell krater far more likely. The fragments show part of a symposion scene with a nude youth carrying an oinochoe in front of a kline. The style has been compared with that of the Dinos painter,¹⁰⁰⁶ and

¹⁰⁰⁰ Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215, Pl. XVIII:15.

¹⁰⁰¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2332; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 213, Pl. XVIII:3.

¹⁰⁰² Istanbul:2914; Reisner et al. (1924), 297, No. 6a, Pls.69:o, 70.

¹⁰⁰³ Istanbul:1834, 2786, 2159; Reisner et al. (1924), Pl. 71. H:2, 4, 5; *ARV2*, 602.27; BAPD:206965. In such pursuit scenes the youth is often identified as Theseus: Sourvinou-Inwood, (1979), 29-48; Sourvinou-Inwood, (1987), 133-136.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Reisner et al. (1924), 287.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Reg. No. 2859; Reisner et al. (1924), 287. No. 6i, Pl. 71: A; BAPD:43879.

¹⁰⁰⁶ By Shefton; BAPD:43879. Dinos Painter: *ARV2*, 1151-1155; Halm-Tisserant (1988).

the vase should be dated to ca. 425-410 BCE. The bent body of another nude youth, perhaps an athlete or komast, appears on a further krater fragment of the late-sixth or early-fifth century found in the Lower-Terrace. (No. 657, Fig. II.585)¹⁰⁰⁷ While the depiction of a table and drapery on a mid-sixth century sherd from Strip-6B indicates the presence of yet another symposium. (No. 658, Fig. II.586)¹⁰⁰⁸ The final red-figure krater sherd from the Harvard expedition on which figural decoration is preserved appears to come from the body of a late-fifth-century calyx krater. The fragment, found on the Lower Terrace,¹⁰⁰⁹ features the feet of a standing figure on a concave upper section above the convex lower body. (No. 659, Fig. II.587)¹⁰¹⁰ The remaining published sherds feature only patterns from their vessel's lower-body friezes, specifically a palmette from a calyx krater, (No. 660, Fig. II.588)¹⁰¹¹ and a chequer-square from a bell krater. (No. 661, Fig. II.589)¹⁰¹² Additionally, two unidentified krater rims are mentioned as having been found by the Harvard expedition, though no images or descriptions are provided. (No. 662) (No. 663).¹⁰¹³

Along with these pieces from the Harvard expedition, nine red-figure krater fragments were also found during the Joint Expedition L. Dj, south-east of the Hellenistic wall, yielded a body sherd from a bell krater of ca. 440-420 BCE, on which the back of a wreathed male head can be seen, (No. 664, Fig. II.590)¹⁰¹⁴ while two red-figure body sherds were found at Dg just south of the wall. One of these appears to show an outstretched hand above the head and wings of a goose, (No. 665, Fig. II.591)¹⁰¹⁵ and likely comes from another mid-fifth-century bell krater, while the other shows the foot and hem of a striding figure above an egg-and-dart frieze. This latter sherd's thick fabric and small-scale decoration indicate that it likely belongs to the upper register of a double-register calyx krater and should be dated to ca. 460-450 BCE. (No. 666, Fig. II.592)¹⁰¹⁶ Three small bell krater fragments, all from Area-Q and dating to the later-fifth or early-fourth centuries, preserve portions of drapery, (No. 667, Fig. II.593)¹⁰¹⁷ (No. 668, Fig.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Reg. No. 1876; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 6e, Pl. 71: H1; BAPD:43874.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Reg. No. 3596; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 6r, Pl. 71: D; BAPD:43869.

¹⁰⁰⁹ LT1CE

¹⁰¹⁰ Reg. No. 1891; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 6:f, Pl. 71: H3; BAPD:43872.

¹⁰¹¹ Reg. No. 2493; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 7:d, Pl. 73: D.

¹⁰¹² Reisner et al. (1924), Pl. 71: H7.

¹⁰¹³ Reg. No. 2957; Dis. No. 33; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, Nos. 7g, I.

¹⁰¹⁴ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2341; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 213, Pl. XVIII:4.

¹⁰¹⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2330; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 214, Pl. XVIII:8.

¹⁰¹⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2331; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 214, Pl. XVIII:9, 10.

¹⁰¹⁷ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2285; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 214, Pl. XVIII:9.

II.594)¹⁰¹⁸(No. 669, Fig. II.595)¹⁰¹⁹ while another from south of the Roman agora in Area-Bb depicts drapery above a stopped-meander frame. (No. 670, Fig. II.596)¹⁰²⁰ Framing motifs also appear on the final two krater fragments from Samaria; one from Dk belongs to a further late-fifth or early-fourth century bell krater and displays tongues and vegetation around the preserved handle, (No. 671, Fig. II.597)¹⁰²¹ while the other from Qn shows a vertical reserved border with black ivy and likely comes from a column krater of ca. 440-420 BCE. (No. 672, Fig. II.598)¹⁰²²

A large collection of lekythoi are also recorded as having been found during the Harvard excavations. Of these only nine have been published with images, and all of the published examples appear to date to the first half of the fifth century. Two relatively well-preserved lekythos bodies were found together at S3-306. Both have the standard tongues and rays on their shoulders and meanders on the upper bodies. Below this, the first, and more complete of the vessels, features ivy-and-berries between lattice patterns, (No. 673, Fig. II.599)¹⁰²³ in the style of the Beldam Group, while the second displays opposing palmettes. (No. 674, Fig. II.600)¹⁰²⁴ A similar open palmette also appears on a lower-body sherd found nearby in S3-d, (No. 675, Fig. II.601)¹⁰²⁵ while popular motifs characteristic of the Beldam Workshop and their imitators appear on three further white-ground sherds from this expedition. Two lower-body fragments, both found at the Southern Gate Terrace (SGT2, 3) display lattice or chequerboard patterns, (No. 676, Fig. II.602)¹⁰²⁶ (No. 677, Fig. II.603)¹⁰²⁷ while a body sherd from S3-314 shows lattice above ivy. (No. 678, Fig. II.604)¹⁰²⁸ A more unusual combination of zigzags and rays can be seen on a white-ground body sherd from S5. (No. 679, Fig. II.605)¹⁰²⁹ A foot and mouth from the North and South Gate Terraces respectively, (No. 680, Fig. II.606)¹⁰³⁰(No. 681, Fig. II.607)¹⁰³¹

¹⁰¹⁸ Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215, Pl. XVIII:13.

¹⁰¹⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1935-3669; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215, Pl. XVIII:12.

¹⁰²⁰ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2355; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 213, Pl. XVIII:7.

¹⁰²¹ Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215, Pl. XVIII:16.

¹⁰²² Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215, Pl. 18.14.

¹⁰²³ Reg. No. 2461; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:b, Fig. 164.12:b, Pl. 69:m; BAPD:43885.

¹⁰²⁴ Reg. No. 2459; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:a, Fig. 164:a, Pl. 69:n; BAPD:43887.

¹⁰²⁵ Reg. No. 2427; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:p, Pl. 73k:5.

¹⁰²⁶ Reg. No. 3048; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:h, Fig. 164:h; BAPD:43882. Cf. Aberdeen, University: 64049; BAPD: 9024184.

¹⁰²⁷ Reg. No. 3052; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:j, Fig. 164:12i; BAPD:43881. Cf. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig: Z335; BAPD: 7681.

¹⁰²⁸ Reg. No. 2426; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:c, Fig. 164, Pl. 73k:2; BAPD: 43884.

¹⁰²⁹ Reg. No. 400; Reisner et al. (1924), 289, No. 12:m, Fig. 164.; BAPD:43880.

¹⁰³⁰ Reg. No. 2835; Reisner et al. (1924), 288, No. 12:d, Fig. 164:12d; NGT3.

¹⁰³¹ Reg. No. 2983; Reisner et al. (1924), 289, No. 12g, Fig. 164:12g; SGT4.

are likewise identified in the publication as belonging to white-ground lekythoi. In addition to these pieces, six more lekythos fragments, (Nos.682-687)¹⁰³² and one red-figure aryballos (No. 688)¹⁰³³ are listed among the finds from the Harvard excavation, though no images of these objects are available.

As with the Harvard excavation, reports from the joint expedition record the discovery of four white-ground lekythoi, (Nos.689-692) and a squat lekythos, (No. 693) though detailed information and images are not provided.¹⁰³⁴ This same excavation, however, also yielded one of the only Attic fragments from Samaria known to have been found in a stratified Persian-era context. The upper portion of a red-figure squat-lekythos with egg-and-dart around its neck was found in a Strat. VIII deposit at L. Qc and should be dated to the late-fifth or fourth century. (No. 694, Fig. II.608)¹⁰³⁵

Lekythoi and perfume vessels are not the only closed shapes present among the Attic finds from Samaria. Two sherds both with black-figure decoration were also found at the site and likely belong to amphorae. The first of these was found out-of-context in a modern agricultural terrace during the Harvard expedition and shows the hindquarters of a team of horses, likely from a chariot scene painted ca. 520-500 BCE. (No. 695, Fig. II.609)¹⁰³⁶ The other fragment is unpublished and displays the wing of a flying figure next to a palm frond. It is likely that the sherd belongs to a fourth-century Panathenaic amphora and that the winged palm-bearing figure represents the goddess Nike awarding victory to a competitor. (No. 696, Fig. II.610)¹⁰³⁷ A wing also appears on one final fragment of red-figure Attic pottery from the joint expedition, discovered in L. Ba south of the Roman-era Agora. This sherd belongs to the lid of a lekane, such as those produced by the Otchet Group in ca. 380-360 BCE, and likely depicts the god Eros as part of a nuptial or domestic scene. (No. 697, Fig. II.611)¹⁰³⁸

In all, Samaria has yielded a known corpus of 51 black and red-figure Attic vessels. The largest proportion of these are lekythoi and perfume bottles, which constitute 42.31% of the identifiable vessels (22/51). This is followed by kraters at 36.54% (19/51), and cups at 15.38%

¹⁰³²Reg. Nos. Reisner et al. (1924), 288, Nos. 12:e, F, K, L, N, O.

¹⁰³³Reg. No. 3038; Reisner et al. (1924), 287, No. 6:m.

¹⁰³⁴ Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215-216.

¹⁰³⁵ Reg. No. Q2181; Crowfoot: Crowfoot et al. (1957), 215, Pl. 18.11.

¹⁰³⁶ Reg. No. 3531; Reisner et al. (1924), 286, No. 5b, Pl. 71:e; BAPD:43870.

¹⁰³⁷ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1935-3670. On post-Classical Panathenaic Amphorae: Streicher (2016).

¹⁰³⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1932-2353; Crowfoot et al. (1957), Pl. XVIII:6. Cf. Moscow, Pushkin Museum: И1B1459; BAPD: 9003748.

(8/51). (Fig. I.58) Collectively, these three types constitute 94.23% of the entire corpus, a statistic evidently in keeping with the preference for wine and perfume-related shapes seen elsewhere in Canaan. Such vases were not the only Attic shapes present in Samaria, however, with the fourth-century lekaneis and two black-figure amphorae standing as notable exceptions. These amphorae are of special interest since their presence in the region is comparatively rare. Also of note is the presence of two vases both from the hand of the Niobid Painter, an artist whose work, though well represented in major markets such as those in Etruria and Southern Italy, is otherwise entirely absent from the Levant, save for a single vase in the “manner” of said painter from Al Mina.¹⁰³⁹

Compared with the available data about the Attic imports, information regarding the quantity and variety of contemporaneous local pottery in Samaria is more difficult to attain. This is because only a small selection of local coarseware was retained and published by either Harvard or the Joint Expedition, and neither project treated the Persian-era as a distinct period in its own right. The Harvard publications simply categorised all material culture from the eighth to fourth centuries BCE as “Babylonio-Graecian”,¹⁰⁴⁰ making it of little use for the purposes of comparison. Similarly, the Joint Expedition referred to all pre-Hellenistic pottery as “Israelite”.¹⁰⁴¹ In the case of this latter project, however, a layer designated “Israelite Period VIII”, can likely be associated with the Persian era. All of the finds from this stratum were apparently deposited in or just below a well-defined horizon of chocolate brown soil within the walls, or else in two deposits associated with the same period.¹⁰⁴² The pottery within these loci included not only the red-figure squat-lekythos discussed above, but also common Achaemenid-era shapes of local manufacture such as hole-mouth jars and kraters with stamped wedge decorations. The pottery from Period-VIII loci published by the Joint Expedition include seventeen examples each of bowls and jars (17/40=42.5%), as well as four cooking pots (4/40=10%), and a single juglet and krater (1/40=2.5%).¹⁰⁴³ Caution is certainly advisable, since neither the stratigraphy of the finds nor how representative they are of the wider corpus of material can be known with certainty. However, the published pieces can provide some idea of

¹⁰³⁹ Cambridge: AL386; *ARI* 2, 609.13; BAPD:207058. On Niobid Painter: Webster (1935).

On this painter’s vases in Etruria: Bundrick (2019), 86, 194, 199-200, 204-206.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Reisner et al. (1924), 284-299.

¹⁰⁴¹ Crowfoot, *Et. Al* (1957), 94-210.

¹⁰⁴² Crowfoot, *Et. Al* (1957), 98, 129-134.

¹⁰⁴³ Crowfoot, *Et. Al* (1957), 129-134, Fig. 12.

the types of vessels present, with bowls and storage jars seemingly common within the assemblages. Shapes analogous to the most popular Attic shapes (namely lekythoi and kraters) are also present in the form of the local juglet and krater.

The paucity of securely identified Persian-era structures or loci at the site, make determining the Attic pottery's precise contexts-of-use impossible. However, other evidence both material and literary can help explicate some of the aspects of that Samaria's Attic pottery assemblage. The high quantity and quality of the objects present, as well as the presence of otherwise rare shapes and artists can be at least partially explained by Samaria's role as the provincial capital. Both the available archaeological material and written sources, including the primary legal records contained in the Samaria papyri, evince the considerable economic and political standing of the city's local elite during the Persian period. This combination of wealth and connectivity may have provided the grandees of Samaria with greater access to a variety of imported goods than was enjoyed at other sites in the province.

2.3. I: Shechem

(Fig. I.1:20)

The mound of Tel Balata is located within the village of Balata, a suburb of the modern Palestinian city of Nablus, and is widely identified with the ancient Canaanite and Israelite city of Shechem.¹⁰⁴⁴ The first excavations at the site were conducted by a series of Austrian and German expeditions headed primarily by E. Sellin between 1913 and 1934, though few records of these digs survive.¹⁰⁴⁵ The second and most extensive project at the mound was the Drew-MacCormick expedition (later dubbed the Joint Expedition) conducted by the ASOR, from 1956-1973.¹⁰⁴⁶ Unlike the earlier digs, the Joint Expedition expeditions employed modern techniques of stratigraphic and ceramic analysis and established a chronology for the site with occupation layers spanning from the Chalcolithic to the modern era. A final series of excavations, which served to expand upon work of the ASOR were conducted between 2010 and 2014 as part of a

¹⁰⁴⁴ Wright (1967).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Taha, van der Kooij (2014), 14-22.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Wright (1956); Wright (1957); Wright (1960); Campbell (1960); Ross, Toombs (1961); Toombs et al. (1961); Toombs et al. (1963); Bull et al. (1965); Bull, Campbell (1968); Campbell, Wright (1970); Campbell et al. (1971); *HA* (Oct, 1971), 23; *HA* (Apr, 1972), 17; *HA* (Jul, 1972), 9; *HA* (Jan, 1973) 17-18; *HA* (Jan, 1974), 48-50; Magen (1983); Cole (1984); Campbell, Summers (1991); Campbell (2002); Lapp (2008); Duff (2015).

joint project of the University of Leiden and the Palestinian Authority to develop the site into a public park.¹⁰⁴⁷

Of the excavated strata, the thin and oft-disturbed, Strat. V at the site can be dated to the sixth and early-fifth centuries.¹⁰⁴⁸ The Persian-period occupation represented by this layer was short-lived and seemingly came to an end around 475 BCE, initiating a period of abandonment which lasted until the late-fourth century.¹⁰⁴⁹ Despite its limited chronological span, a number of architectural features can be associated with this level. Those found by the Joint Expedition including the remains of mudbrick walls and a series of crushed lime and metaled surfaces, as well as two tanoors and unusual ring-shaped stone installation (perhaps the base of a silo),¹⁰⁵⁰ along with an unidentified structure and large pit with unspecified contents uncovered by the park project.¹⁰⁵¹ A group of Achaemenid-era tombs were also discovered in 1976, 1.5km northeast of the main mound.¹⁰⁵² Stratum-V finds from the tel include a sizeable assemblage of imported Attic and East-Greek pottery,¹⁰⁵³ as well as a Thasian coin of ca. 500 BCE,¹⁰⁵⁴ and stamp impressions bearing Achaemenid and Judean motifs,¹⁰⁵⁵ all indicative of the commercial connections between this early-Persian-era settlement and broader Achaemenid and Mediterranean worlds.

The Strat. V pottery from Shechem was published by N. Lapp in 1985.¹⁰⁵⁶ Since many of the listed objects have no available images, and the material from this site was unavailable for the author to examine, it is not always possible to determine their technique. However, given that identifiable black-glazed material was catalogued separately, any material listed with the red and black-figure ceramics, and thus considered to have been potentially figure-decorated by Lapp, will be included in the black and red-figure statistics for the current study. All of the Attic

¹⁰⁴⁷ Taha, van der Kooij (2014).

¹⁰⁴⁸ Toombs et al. (1963), 3, 38, 46; Toombs (1976), 59; Lapp (1985), 19; Campbell (2002) 299-310.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Toombs et al. (1963), 46;

¹⁰⁵⁰ Campbell (2002), 299-307.

¹⁰⁵¹ Taha, van der Kooij (2014), 126.

¹⁰⁵² Stern (1980)

¹⁰⁵³ Lapp (1985)

¹⁰⁵⁴ Wright (1956), 19-20, Fig. 6; Campbell (2002), 307.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Campbell (2002), 307-309.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Lapp (1985); Lapp (2008) 33-40, 207-216.

pottery from the tel was discovered in Hellenistic (Strat. IV) fills or later deposits,¹⁰⁵⁷ thus precluding any specific assessment of their contexts-of-use.

The presence of thirty-nine black or red-figure Attic cups is attested in the lists. (No. 698-733)¹⁰⁵⁸ The most complete of the published drinking vessels is a Cassel cup of ca. 530-500 BCE whose six surviving fragments were found in disparate Hellenistic fills.¹⁰⁵⁹ The extant body sherds preserve portions of a dot pseudo-inscription between palmettes, with friezes of tongues and laurel on the lip and lower body respectively. (No. 734, II.612)¹⁰⁶⁰ Body fragments of two other cups also preserve black-figure decoration. One sherd, evidently from a little-master lip or band-cup of ca. 550-525 BCE, depicts a nude man confronted by the forelegs of a rearing horse. (No. 735, Fig. II.613)¹⁰⁶¹ The horse is executed in added-white, and the figures likely come from a scene of combat between a foot-soldier and horseman. The other cup fragment, likewise from a band-cup of the late-sixth or early-fifth century, is adorned with a palmette-and-lotus-bud chain. (No. 736, Fig. II.614)¹⁰⁶²

After cups, the next most common Attic shapes from Shechem are kraters, of which eighteen examples are listed in the publication. (No. 737-745)¹⁰⁶³ Two such vases, one black-figure and the other red-figure, both preserve portions of chariot scenes. The black-figure specimen comprises five fragments on which the heads and legs of four horses can be discerned along with the driver's arms and part of a standing figure. They appear to belong to a column krater and should be dated to ca. 500-480 BCE. (No. 746, Fig. II.615)¹⁰⁶⁴ The red-figure sherds likewise preserve the hands of a charioteer along with a wheel and the horses' tails. The tails are delineated with incision and added-purple in a manner typical of the of the early development of the red-figure technique, ca. 520-500 BCE. (No. 747, Fig. II.616)¹⁰⁶⁵ Of somewhat later date is another krater body sherd which preserves the red-figure image of a woman's arm holding a

¹⁰⁵⁷ Lapp (2008), 33; Three sherds of attic lekythoi of indeterminate technique were also found in a tomb away from the main tel but are not included in this study: Stern (1980), 91.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Lapp (1985), 39-40; Lapp (2008), 35-36.

¹⁰⁵⁹ L1717, L1720, L1826; Lapp (2008), 146-147. On Cassel cups: Beazley (1932), 191-192.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Reg. Nos. B60-VII.8.88-4625; B60-VII.8.105-5068; B60-VII.8.107-5874; B62-VII.7.7-303; B60-VII.8.88-4626; Lapp (1985), 36-37, Figs.11:1-4, 12:1-5.

¹⁰⁶¹ Reg. No. B60-VII.8.96-5125; Lapp (1985), 36-37, Figs.11:5, 12:6.

¹⁰⁶² Reg. No. B60-VII.2.101-4955; Lapp (1985), 36-37, Figs.11:6, 12:7.

¹⁰⁶³ Lapp (1985), 39; Lapp (2008);33-35.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Reg. Nos. B62-VII.1.95-1267; B62-VII.17-86/87; B60-VII.62-5330A/928A; B62-VII.62-800; B60VII.62-5310A; Lapp (1985), 27, 32, 35, Figs.8, 10:1-5.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Reg. Nos. B62VII; B62-VII.1.93-1266; B62-VII.1.65-807; Lapp (1985), 33-35, Figs.9:6-8, 10:6-8.

krotalon over the draped shoulder of another. (No. 748, Fig. II.617)¹⁰⁶⁶ These figures likely represent revelers in a komos or thiasos, and the style is datable to ca. 480-450 BCE. The six other published krater sherds all display black-on-reserved border ornaments from column kraters produced between the late-sixth and late-fifth centuries. Among these are a rim fragment with pendant-lotus-bud pattern on the upper surface and schematized dot ivy on the overhanging lip. (No. 749, Fig. II.618)¹⁰⁶⁷ These same vegetal patterns reoccur on several of the other fragments with two neck sherds likewise adorned with pendant-lotus-buds, (No. 750, Fig. II.619) (No. 751, Fig. II.620)¹⁰⁶⁸ while a lip sherd . (No. 752, Fig. II.621)¹⁰⁶⁹ and a final pair of lower-body fragments are both decorated with rays. (No. 753, Fig. II.622)¹⁰⁷⁰ Rays also appear on the published image of a black-figure lekythos neck, (No. 755, Fig. II.624)¹⁰⁷¹ one of fourteen lekythoi reported to have been found at Shechem, (No. 756-768)¹⁰⁷² while a single pyxis lid handle (No. 769, Fig. II.625)¹⁰⁷³ rounds out the corpus.

The published corpus of decorated Attic pottery from Shechem is thus dominated by cups which constitute the majority of the material at 54.17% (39/72). This is followed by kraters at 25.00% (18/72), meaning that 79.17% of the black and red-figure vessels from the site were shapes for the serving and consumption of wine. Aside from the single pyxis sherd, all the remaining objects are lekythoi, which themselves constitute 19.44% (14/72), with the result being that these three vessel types for wine and perfume constitute nearly the entirety of the corpus. (Fig. I.59) A selection of diagnostic local pottery was also included in the publication. While it is unclear how well these selected objects represent the actual proportions of such material, it is noteworthy that locally-produced kraters are particularly well-represented amongst the published objects (82/328=25%),¹⁰⁷⁴ further reinforcing the importance of wine-mixing vessels. Beyond these kraters, the local pottery displays a broader range of domestic uses than do

¹⁰⁶⁶ Reg. No. B62-IX.3.49-83; Lapp (1985), 29, 33-35, Figs.9:9, 10:9.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Reg. No. B62-VII.2.3-159; Lapp (1985), 33-35, Figs. 9:12, 10:12.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Reg. No. B60-V-1.4.72-3848; Lapp (1985), 33-35, Figs.9:11, 10:11. Reg. No. B60-VII.1.61-5309; Lapp (1985), 33-35, Figs.9:13, 10:13.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Reg. No. B60-VII.1.60-5285; Lapp (1985), 33-35, Figs.9:10, 10:10.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Reg. No. B62-VII.1.91-1123; Lapp (1985), 33-35, Fig. 10:14. Reg. No. B60-VII.1.60-5291A; Lapp (1985), Figs.9:14, 10:15.

No. 754, Fig. II.623 is a foot identified by Lapp as black or red figure. Lapp (1985), 33-35, Figs. 9:14, 10:14, 15..

¹⁰⁷¹ Reg. No. B60-VII.8.57-3873; Lapp (1985), 36-37, Fig. 11:15.

¹⁰⁷² Lapp (1985), 40-41; Lapp (2008), 36.

¹⁰⁷³ Reg. No. B60-VII.3.151-6270; Lapp (1985), 36, Figs.11:14, 12:12.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Including kraters and lug-handled kraters/bowls: Lapp (2008), 24-25, 184-193.

the decorated Attic imports. These uses include food storage, preparation, and consumption, as well as illumination, with locally-made jars (81/328=24.70%),¹⁰⁷⁵ bowls (38/328=11.59%),¹⁰⁷⁶ cooking-pots (34/328=10.37%),¹⁰⁷⁷ lamps (32/328=9.76%)¹⁰⁷⁸ mortaria (31/328=9.45%)¹⁰⁷⁹ and jugs (30/328=9.15%)¹⁰⁸⁰ all present among the published material.

2.3. J: Shem, Tel

(Fig. I.1:11)

The mound of Tel Shem formerly stood south of Kfar Yehoshua in the Jezreel Valley on the bank of the Nahalal stream, a tributary of the Kishon River. This mound was flattened over the course of the early twentieth century by agricultural activity. Excavations in the area were conducted in 2013 by the IAA under the direction of Y. Tepper.¹⁰⁸¹ The only architectural remains from the Persian period that could be identified during the excavation were the remnants of an irregularly shaped mud-brick structure. This structure was surrounded by deposits of ash and slag and it was evidently some manner of industrial installation.¹⁰⁸²

The single piece of Attic pottery known to have been found at Tel Shem was not unearthed in the course of these excavations but rather discovered under unknown circumstances during the period of the British Mandate, perhaps as a result of the aforementioned agricultural activity. This piece can be identified as the lower body of a red-figure lekythos and shows the feet and drapery of a standing female figure. (No. 770, Fig. II.626)¹⁰⁸³ The draughtsmanship and garments are similar to those seen on lekythoi by the Seireniske Painter (ca. 470-440 BCE).¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁷⁵ Including jars and jar handles: Lapp (2008), 19-22, 170-175.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Lapp (2008), 24-25, 180-183.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Lapp (2008), 29-31, 200-203.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Lapp (2008), 31-32, 204-206.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Lapp (2008), 28-29, 194-199.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Including jugs, juglets, decanters, flasks and bottles: Lapp (2008), 22-24, 176-179.

¹⁰⁸¹ Tepper (2019).

¹⁰⁸² Tepper (2019), 1.

¹⁰⁸³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1937-982.

¹⁰⁸⁴ *ARV*2, 701-704.

2.3. K: Taanach, Tel

(Fig. I.1:17)

Two nearly intact white-ground pattern lekythoi were also found at the site of Tel Taanach on the southwestern edge of the Jezreel Valley. The southern side of the tel was excavated by a joint expedition of the ASOR and Concordia Seminary, led by P. W. Lapp (1963–1968).¹⁰⁸⁵ These excavations demonstrated the existence of a small Iron-Age settlement with occupation continuing into the fifth century BCE. A rubbish pit containing only Persian-era pottery was also found.¹⁰⁸⁶ The two lekythoi were found at L. SW6-5, a fifth-century intrusion into the earlier Iron-Age-II stratum.¹⁰⁸⁷ The first lekythos, of which all but part of the lip survives, is decorated with a wreath of ivy and berries between two lattice friezes. The upper body below the shoulder is ornamented with a key meander, while the shoulder bears the standard tongues and rays. (No. 771, Fig. II.627)¹⁰⁸⁸ The second lekythos, which is broken off at the foot and neck has similar decoration on the shoulder and upper body, but the main body below the meander is filled with a diagonal lattice pattern of cross hatching and lozenges. (No. 772, Fig. II.628)¹⁰⁸⁹ Both vases should be attributed to the Beldam Workshop.¹⁰⁹⁰

2.3. L: Tzippori

(Fig. I.1:6)

At the time of this study, no securely-identified Persian-period structures have been discovered at Tzippori, also known as Sepphoris, 6km north of Nazareth in the central Galilee. However, stray finds of Attic black-glazed pottery along with other distinctive Achaemenid-era finds including incense altars and a quadrilingual inscription on a fragmentary stone vessel reading “Artaxerxes, King” in Old Persian, Babylonian, Elamite, and Egyptian all attest to the occupation in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.¹⁰⁹¹ In addition to these black-glazed sherds, the location also yielded

¹⁰⁸⁵ Lapp (1964); Lapp (1967); Lapp (1969).

¹⁰⁸⁶ Lapp (1964), 8.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Lapp (1964), 43.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Lapp (1964), 44, Fig. 24.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Lapp (1964), 44, Fig. 24.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl.70:6,8. Cf. London, Market, Ede; BAPD: 6325.

¹⁰⁹¹ *HA* (Jan, 1980), 39; Meyers, Meyers (2009).

one of the most striking and unusual pieces of Attic pottery found in Israel. Fragments of a fourth-century ceramic rhyton with a mould-made protome in the likeness of a fantastical winged beast were found in the northern area of the site by children from the nearby Kibbutz Merhavia in 1979. (No. 773, Fig. II.629)¹⁰⁹² While the vessel's wheel-made upper portion is largely missing, the mould-made lower portion is mostly complete and is shaped into the likeness of the foreparts of a winged, griffin-like creature with a horse's mane and feline face. The entire vessel is painted in a blue-grey slip with the details of feathers, mane, facial features, and a patterned pectoral added in yellow paint. While the fabric is Attic, the form is clearly inspired by Persian animal rhyta. It can be compared for example with an Achaemenid rhyton in the British Museum supposedly discovered near Erzincan and formed in the likeness of a horned griffin. (Fig. I.60)¹⁰⁹³ This piece is executed in silver with gilded detailing, and it is likely that the blue-grey slip and added yellow of the specimen from Tzipori are intended to mimic the effect of just this type of gilt silver prototype. Even closer in style and design to the creature on the Tzipori vessel is the fragmentary protome from another gilt silver rhyton said to be from the Black Sea region and currently housed in the Miho Museum in Kyoto. (Fig. I.61)¹⁰⁹⁴ As on the ceramic rhyton from Tzipori this fragment depicts the face and neck of a winged, horned, feline creature with a horse-like mane. The details on the wings, horns, mane, neck, and snarling face are highlighted with gilding and closely mirror the painted yellow features on the fragments from Tzipori.

Ceramic rhyta are an ideal exemplar of cultural interaction between East and West manifested in visual and material culture with Canaan as a fulcrum. The earliest Attic ceramic rhyta were manufactured in the fifth-century in clear imitation of Achaemenid prototypes, though often with alterations, such as feet and handles added to suit local drinking styles in a sympotic setting.¹⁰⁹⁵ This can be seen for example on a vessel in Virginia potted by Charinos.¹⁰⁹⁶ Likewise, in Canaan during the period of Persian rule local coarseware figure-rhyta were produced to serve as cheaper local versions of the more expensive metal vessels. Such vessels have been found at many of the sites examined in this study. For example, a nearly-

¹⁰⁹² IAA:1979-356; *HA* (Jan, 1980), 39. Eisenberg (1985); Stern (1982a), 40, Fig. 2; Dayagi-Mendels, Rozenberg (2016), No. 32.

¹⁰⁹³ British Museum: ANE124081; Curtis, Tallis (2005), 122, No. 119.

¹⁰⁹⁴ <https://www.Miho.Jp/booth/html/artcon/00003382e.Htm>, Accessed:29/10/2021.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Hoffmann (1961).

¹⁰⁹⁶ Richmond, VMFA:79.100; Topper (2012), Cover, 25, Fig. 10; BAPD:7537.

complete rhyton with the protome of a horned sphinx was found at Tel Yaoz, (Fig. I.62)¹⁰⁹⁷ while more fragmentary examples in the likeness of lions have been found at Tel Yaoz and Ein-Gedi,¹⁰⁹⁸ and ram-protomai have been found in Samaria, Gaza, Tel Mevorakh, Tel Gamma, Tel Hesi, and Tell Abu Hawam.¹⁰⁹⁹ It should be noted that the imported Attic rhyton from Tzipori, which cleaves more closely to Eastern style than most other Greek versions through its lack of handle or foot, also more successfully apes the appearance of Achaemenid metalwork than any of these coarseware imitations from Canaan, which are often quite crude in style. It thus represents a fascinating example of a vessel inspired by Near-Eastern luxury-ware manufactured in a cheaper ceramic version by Greek artisans, then subsequently resold to a customer in the Achaemenid Near East as an imported fineware alternative to both the precious-metal originals present in the region and to the yet-cheaper local coarseware imitations.

2.3. M: Yokneam, Tel

(Fig. I.1:12)

The mound of Tel Yokneam sits in the northeastern corner of the modern city of Yokneam Illit. Rising to around 60m and covering 4 ha in area, this prominent hill commands a strategic position at the junction of the Wadi el-Malih and the Jezreel Valley. As such, the mound has hosted continuous occupation from the Middle Bronze Age through to the Ottoman era. Excavations at the site were conducted between 1977 and 1988 as part of the Yokneam Regional Project, under the auspices of the Hebrew University and the direction of A. Ben-Tor.¹¹⁰⁰

These excavations revealed an unwalled settlement of the Persian-era with three construction phases all dating to before ca. 380 BCE when the site was subject to a destruction event characterised by extensive burning.¹¹⁰¹ Among the published finds from these strata is a single body sherd from a black-figure cup decorated with a palmette. (No. 774, Fig. II.630)¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁷ Kletter. et al. (2001), 26, Fig. 1.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Kletter. et al. (2006), 27, Fig. 2; Stern (1982b), 42, Fig. 4.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Stern (1982b);39, 41, Fig. 1:1-3, 5, 6, Fig. 3:1.

¹¹⁰⁰ Ben-Tor: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Yoqn'eam"; Ben-Tor et al. (2005).

¹¹⁰¹ Cimadevilla: Ben-Tor. et al. (2005), 421.

¹¹⁰² Ben-Tor et al. (2005), 421, Fig. 4:4.

2.3. N: Northern Interior: Analysis

As in the adjacent coastal region, cups, kraters and lekythoi account for nearly the entire regional corpus of decorated Attic pottery in the northern inland region of the Galilee and Samaria. (Fig. I.63) These shapes make up 96.79% of the material, demonstrating a similar prioritisation of shapes for wine and perfume. As in the coastal assemblages, this restricted functional repertoire, can be contrasted with the wider range of locally-produced coarseware shapes represented in the available corpora from Tel Kedesh, Samaria and Shechem. The relative proportion of the individual shapes within the Attic ceramics do however, differ between the two regions thus far examined. Whereas kraters were the most common shape on the northern coast, here they make up only 24.24% (40/165), behind cups (67/165=40.60%) and lekythoi (53/165=32.12%). It is likely that kraters' large size made them more difficult and expensive to transport inland, further reducing the availability and affordability of these vessels in comparison to their smaller counterparts. Collectively, these three vessel types for wine and perfume make nearly the entire corpus from this region, accounting for 96.97% of decorated Attic vessels.

Unfortunately, nearly all of the Attic pottery from the northern inland region comes from unstratified or unknown contexts. Only six pieces are known to have been found in secure Persian-era loci. (Fig. I.64) Of these, four fragments from Tel Kedesh, Samaria, and Tel Taanach come from stratified Persian-era fills or deposits not associated with any identifiable structures, while two sherds from Har Gerizim can be assigned a cultic setting. The sacred precinct at Har Gerizim represents one of only two cultic contexts in Canaan to have yielded decorated Attic pottery (the other being a dog burial from Dor). The Samaritan temple also provides the only opportunity to examine the role of such vessels at a major regional cult centre, since modern religious and political sensitivities have thus far precluded any excavation of Persian-era strata on Jerusalem's Temple Mount. As such, the known find contexts from the northern interior, though very limited, do provide valuable insight into the use of Attic pottery in culturally-significant contexts beyond the domestic sphere.

2.4: Southern Coast

2.4. A: Introduction

Having taken Jaffa as the southernmost point of the Northern Coastal Region, it follows that coastal sites south of Jaffa and north of the Egyptian border will constitute the Southern Coastal Region for the purposes of this study. To this can be added the adjoining coastal plane of Philistia delimited in the east by the low foothills of the Shephelah and the arid Negev. During the Persian period, the three largest port cities of this region, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza, all seem to have been invested with a significant measure of political autonomy under Persian suzerainty. This is suggested by the fact that all three cities were granted the right to begin minting their own coinage from ca. 420 BCE, at around the same time that such privileges were also granted to the provinces of Samaria and Judah.¹¹⁰³ This development would seem to indicate that these cities enjoyed a degree of administrative and economic significance comparable to that of the provincial capitals of Jerusalem and Samaria. It is also probable that these larger coastal centres exercised a degree of influence, official or otherwise, over the smaller settlements in their vicinity.

The position of this territory adjacent to the Egyptian-controlled Sinai, is also of great import. During periods of Egyptian revolt against Achaemenid imperial rule,¹¹⁰⁴ the southern end of this region functioned as a launching point for campaigns to retain or retake the restive western province, and between 404 and 343 BCE when Egypt had successfully thrown off Achaemenid rule, southern Canaan served as the Empire's westernmost defensive frontier, which needed to be fortified and garrisoned against Egyptian invasions.¹¹⁰⁵ Besides its military significance, the Southern Coastal Region benefited from the economic connectivity afforded by their sea-side location. Sites in the northern part of this subregion as far south as Ashkelon seem to have fallen within the sphere of Phoenician maritime commerce and cultural influence, similar to their neighbours to the north.¹¹⁰⁶ Meanwhile, those further south looked not only seaward, but also east and south for their economic and cultural networks, and participated in trade with Arabia via the Negev as the final stops on the overland incense route. Such connections with the

¹¹⁰³ Meshorer (1989), 287-278; Gitler (1996); Gitler (2000).

¹¹⁰⁴ Eg ca. 487, 460, 406/405 BCE. On relations between Egypt and the Achaemenid empire Ruzicka (2012).

¹¹⁰⁵ Ruzicka, (2012), 42-43.

¹¹⁰⁶ Wapnish, Hesse (1993), 74.

Arab world also appear to have had a political and administrative dimension as Herodotus states that all ports from Cadytis (Gaza) to Ienysus (Khan Yunis) belong to the “Arabioi”, in contrast with the “Syrian” nature of those to their north and south.¹¹⁰⁷ The Arabians in question were likely the Qedarites, who recognised the authority of the Persian king while maintaining control of the spice and incense trade through their territory: a territory which spanned from the deserts of Transjordan through the Negev and Sinai. The Qedarites’ arrangement with the Persian monarch apparently involved an exemption from imperial taxes on trade through their coastal emporium, in exchange for lavish gifts to the king of the frankincense in which they trafficked.¹¹⁰⁸ The grant of a coastal emporion in southern Canaan to these masters of the incense trade, demonstrates the importance of this region as a nexus for the exchange of goods arriving overland from the east for those brought by maritime trade from the west. The assemblages of Attic pottery present in this region are one clear example of such imported western goods.

2.4. B: Ashdod

(Fig. I.1: 29)

The remains of ancient Ashdod are to be found at the site of Tel Ashdod, 6km southwest of the modern city of the same name. The site was excavated between 1962 and 1972 under the direction of M. Dothan for the IAA with subsequent salvage excavations conducted west of the main mound.¹¹⁰⁹ Following the destruction of the Iron-Age Philistine city of Ashdod in the Babylonian conquest, the site was resettled in the fifth century. Though much of the architectural evidence of this phase (Strat. V) was seemingly destroyed by later Hellenistic-era construction,¹¹¹⁰ the remains of a monumental stone building on the summit of the tel,¹¹¹¹ along with a large fortified military structure north of the main mound,¹¹¹² suggest that Ashdod served

¹¹⁰⁷ Hdt.3.5

¹¹⁰⁸ Kloner, Stern: Lipschits (2007), 139-144; Levin (2007), 245-249; Ruzicka (2012), 42; Bienkowski (2022), 48-79. Contra. Boem (2024) has recently argued against the idea of direct Qedarite control of Gaza instead emphasising its place in the wider Phoenician koine. Such Qedarite associations, however, remain the orthodoxy, and the site’s economic importance to Arabian overland trade is evident regardless of political affiliation.

¹¹⁰⁹Eg. Freedman (1963); Dothan (1971); Dothan (1972); Dothan, Porath (1982); Dothan, Porath (1993). Salvage excavations in 1993, 1995, 2001, 2003, 2004, And 2005: Baumgarten (1999); Varga (2005); Kogan-Zehavi (2006); Nahshoni (2008).

¹¹¹⁰Dothan (1964), 87; Dothan (1971), 38.

¹¹¹¹ Mazar, Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 58.

¹¹¹² Porath (1974).

an important economic and administrative role in the Persian era. (Fig. I.65) The minting of local coinage in the city from the end of the fifth century also suggests that Ashdod functioned as the metropole of its own semiautonomous medinta under Achaemenid imperial rule.¹¹¹³

In Area-A, situated on the southeastern side of the mound's summit, much of the Persian-era stratum was destroyed by subsequent construction. (Fig. I.66) As a result, only one of the Attic fragments from the area was found in a stratified context. This piece, an early-fifth-century kylix sherd, shows a black-figure palmette, (No. 775, Fig. II.631)¹¹¹⁴ and was found on the area's only preserved Persian-era floor. This floor (L60) and the adjacent wall (W64) likely belonged to a house, as demonstrated by the assemblage of local domestic pottery found at the same locus, which included bowls, cooking pots, storage jars, and lamps.¹¹¹⁵ Conversely, the fragments of two bell kraters and three lekythoi from Area-A were found out-of-context in Hellenistic fills.¹¹¹⁶ Both of the krater sherds are rims with the standard laurel pattern. (No. 776, Fig. II.632)¹¹¹⁷(No. 777, Fig. II.633)¹¹¹⁸ Those from lekythoi include sherds from the lower and upper bodies of vessels, as well as a shoulder sherd. While only a single band survives on the lower-body fragment, (No. 778, Fig. II.634)¹¹¹⁹ the shoulder piece features rays above a meander. (No. 779, Fig. II.635)¹¹²⁰ The body sherd, meanwhile, displays a lattice characteristic of the Beldam Group. (No. 780, Fig. II.636)¹¹²¹

Persian-period remains were also uncovered in Area-D on the southwestern edge of the lower city. Though a Persian-era floor was reportedly found in this area, none of the Attic pottery from Area-D can be associated with any identified structure or feature.¹¹²² One fragment with a red-figure palmette came from a mid-fifth century cup, (No. 781, Fig. II.637)¹¹²³ while the others all belong to red-figure kraters. Two-joining body sherds show the face and torso of a woman, dateable to ca. 440-430 BCE, (No. 782, Fig. II.638)¹¹²⁴ while a further sherd shows a

¹¹¹³ Meshorer (1989), 288-289; Gitler (2000).

¹¹¹⁴ Dothan (1971), 26-27, Fig. 6:13.

¹¹¹⁵ Dothan (1971), 38-39.

¹¹¹⁶ Dothan (1971), 42.

¹¹¹⁷ IAA-1962-1; Dothan (1971), 42, Fig. 14:5.

¹¹¹⁸ IAA-1960-1; Dothan (1971), 42, Fig. 14:6

¹¹¹⁹ Dothan (1971), 42, Fig. 14:3.

¹¹²⁰ Dothan (1971), 42, Fig. 14:4.

¹¹²¹ Dothan (1971), 42, Fig. 14:2. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1, 3.6-8; 71:1, 2.

¹¹²² Dothan (1971), 86.

¹¹²³ IAA-1963-2600/2.

¹¹²⁴ IAA-1963-1871; Dothan (1971), Pl. 54:1.

tityros-satyr playing the aulos and should similarly be dated to ca. 440-420 BCE. (No. 783, Fig. II.639)¹¹²⁵ A final sherd from the area shows a bent leg emerging from drapery. (No. 784, Fig. II.640)¹¹²⁶

Of the unpublished Attic pottery from Areas G and H, on the north and west sides of the summit respectively, all seem to have come from unstratified contexts. Area-G yielded two bell krater fragments: one rim with laurel below egg-and-dart, (No. 785, Fig. II.641)¹¹²⁷ and a body sherd depicting the patterned drapery of an auletris next to a stripped cushion, evidently from a symposium painted ca. 400-380 BCE. (No. 786, Fig. II.642) Those from Area-H, meanwhile, include the remains of a cup, a krater, and two lekythoi. The black-figure cup fragment dates to ca. 510-475 BCE and depicts a perizoma-clad male wrestling with a draped figure, likely a scene of Peleus grappling with Thetis. (No. 787, Fig. II.643)¹¹²⁸ Drapery also appears on the red-figure krater body-herd, (No. 788, Fig. II.644)¹¹²⁹ while, of the two lekythos fragments, one is adorned with a black-figure palmette-and-lotus-bud-chain, (No. 789, Fig. II.645)¹¹³⁰ and the other with ivy-and-berries on white-ground. (No. 790, Fig. II.646)¹¹³¹

Area-K is located on the slope directly above Area-H on the western side of the tel's summit. (Figs. I.67, 68) The Achaemenid-era stratum in this area contained the remains of a large stone-built complex, likely a public building or elite dwelling with numerous rooms constructed around a large courtyard, as well as a series of kilns and pits dated to the same era.¹¹³² Two black-figure sherds were found in stratified deposits within this structure: a sixth-century krater fragment showing drapery folds highlighted with added-purple was discovered on the plaster floor of one of the building's rooms, (No. 791, Fig. II.647)¹¹³³ while a lekythos sherd depicting a spotted object between drapery and ivy was found in the courtyard. (No. 792, Fig. II.648)¹¹³⁴ The remainder of the figure-decorated Attic sherds from the area were largely found out-of-context, in later Hellenistic loci, or have no recorded findspots. These include fragments of two black-figure cup-skyphoi of ca. 500-475 BCE. One displays only a palmette, (No. 793,

¹¹²⁵ Dothan (1971), Pl. 54:2.

¹¹²⁶ Dothan (1971), Pl. 54:3.

¹¹²⁷ IAA-1962-1.

¹¹²⁸ Reg. No. H1736/1.

¹¹²⁹ Reg. No. H432/1.

¹¹³⁰ Reg. No. H1235/1.

¹¹³¹ Reg. No. H1661/2.

¹¹³² Mazar, Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 58-60, 238,

¹¹³³ Reg. No. K1091; L6160; Mazar, Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 59, 238, Fig. 3.112:6.

¹¹³⁴ Reg. No. K1133/1; L6161; Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 238, Fig. 3.112:7.

Fig. II.649)¹¹³⁵ while three joining sherds, attributable to the Lancut Group, show a palmette next to a seated lyre player. (No. 794, Fig. II.650)¹¹³⁶ Pieces of eight further kraters can also be identified. In some examples only portions of rims survive. Such is the case with a column krater lip adorned with black-figure ivy, (No. 795, Fig. II.651)¹¹³⁷ as well as two small lip sherds with egg-and-dart, (No. 796, Fig. II.652) (No. 797, Fig. II.653)¹¹³⁸ and a red-figure bell krater rim with a laurel wreath. (No. 798, Fig. II.654)¹¹³⁹ Two further bell krater sherds likewise feature this standard laurel pattern, while also preserving portions of figures' heads below. A male head crowned with ivy appears on one such fragment, (No. 799, Fig. II.655)¹¹⁴⁰ while only the outline of hair can be seen on the other. (No. 800, Fig. II.656)¹¹⁴¹ Portions of figural decoration also appear on two red-figure body sherds, one of which shows hanging drapery, (No. 801, Fig. II.657)¹¹⁴² and the other, from a Persian-era fill,¹¹⁴³ shows the a small-scale image of a nude male with his bent leg overlapping an unknown object. (No. 802, Fig. II.658)¹¹⁴⁴ Pieces of seven other lekythoi were also discovered in Area-K. These include fragments with black-figure drapery (No. 803, Fig. II.659)¹¹⁴⁵ and ivy overlapping a meander. (No. 804, Fig. II.660)¹¹⁴⁶ In addition to the black-figure specimens, a single red-figure lekythos sherd showing part of a nude figure was also found, (No. 805, Fig. II.661)¹¹⁴⁷ along with two white-ground fragments from pattern-leythoi, one adorned with enclosed palmettes, (No. 806, Fig. II.662)¹¹⁴⁸ and the other with the lattice motif characteristic of the Beldam Group. (No. 807, Fig. II.663)¹¹⁴⁹ The final lekythos sherd from Area-K is a shoulder fragment found in the early-Hellenistic stratum (Strat. IV), displaying the common motif of black rays. (No. 808, Fig. II.664)¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹³⁵ Reg. No. K782/1.

¹¹³⁶ Reg. No. K521. Cf. Geneva: 10758; *ABV*, 578.56; BAPD: 331085.

¹¹³⁷ Reg. No. K180/2; Dothan (1971), 205, Fig. 97:8.

¹¹³⁸ Reg. Nos. K428/86, K428/87.

¹¹³⁹ Reg. No. K57/1; Dothan (1971), 205, Fig. 97:10.

¹¹⁴⁰ Reg. No. K770/1; Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 238, Fig. 3.112:1.

¹¹⁴¹ Reg. No. K935/1; Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 238, Fig. 3.112:2.

¹¹⁴² Reg. No. K311/87.

¹¹⁴³ L6144; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 307.

¹¹⁴⁴ Reg. No. K847/2; Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 238, Fig. 3.112:4.

¹¹⁴⁵ Reg. No. K1076/4; L6005; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 60, 238, 307, Fig. 3.112:8.

¹¹⁴⁶ Reg. No. K218/3; Dothan (1971), 205, Fig. 97:20.

¹¹⁴⁷ Reg. No. K784/1; Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 238, Fig. 3.112:9.

¹¹⁴⁸ Reg. No. K250/2; Dothan (1971), 205, Fig. 97:19, Pl. LXXXVIII:8.

¹¹⁴⁹ Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1,3.6-8; 71:1,2.

¹¹⁵⁰ Reg. No. K781/1; Ben-Shlomo: Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 238, Fig. 3.112:5.

In Area-M, at the eastern edge of the mound, three Persian-era substrata were identified atop the ruins of the Iron-Age city gate (local strata 6, 5, 4).¹¹⁵¹ While no structural remains survive from Strat.6, the later two layers preserve a number of walls and pits, with some of these pits containing domestic rubbish and others dog burials, the later indicating Phoenician-style cult activity similar to that seen in Ashkelon. (Figs. I.69, 70)¹¹⁵² A stratum-6 fill, yielded the only decorated Attic sherd from the area to be found in a stratified deposit. The sherd belongs to the lip of a column krater and is adorned with pendant-lotus pattern in black. (No. 809, Fig. II.665)¹¹⁵³ The rest of the Attic fragments from Area-M were all found out-of-context in the disturbed surface layer, with nearly all of these fragments likewise belonging to red-figure kraters. Included among these were body-sherds with portions of figures preserved. A draped female torso with added-white limbs near in style to the Telos Group (No. 810, Fig. II.666)¹¹⁵⁴ appears on one body sherd, while another small fragment shows an outstretched hand. (No. 811, Fig. II.667)¹¹⁵⁵ The legs and drapery of figures also appear on lower-body sherds from three late-fifth or early-fourth-century bell kraters. One piece with a draped figure holding a staff, (No. 812, Fig. II.668)¹¹⁵⁶ and another with draped legs above a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard frieze, (No. 813, Fig. II.669)¹¹⁵⁷ both appear to come from the reverse sides of bell kraters. Two nearly-joining sherds of a further vessel show the feet and drapery of dancing figures, possibly komasts, above a similar frieze. (No. 814, Fig. II.670)¹¹⁵⁸ A meander-and-chequerboard pattern also appears along with vegetal motifs on a fragment from below the handle of a bell krater, (No. 815, Fig. II.671)¹¹⁵⁹ while the final bell krater sherd from the area is a lip sherd decorated with laurel. (No. 816, Fig. II.672)¹¹⁶⁰ Alongside these kraters, the unstratified finds from Area-M also included a single sherd from a Panathenaic amphora with a black-figure image of a himation-clad youth, likely the judge in an athletic event. (No. 817, Fig. II.673)¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁵¹ Dothan, Porath (1982), 41-42.

¹¹⁵² Dothan, Porath (1982), 42.

¹¹⁵³ Reg. No. 32/1; Dothan, Porath (1982), 159, Fig. 29:18, Pl. XXV:8.

¹¹⁵⁴ IAA-1969-1922/2; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:10. Cf. London, British Museum: F72; *ARV2*, 1428.8; BAPD: 260112.

Cf. Paris, Louvre: G514; *ARV2*, 1429.1; BAPD:260122.

¹¹⁵⁵ IAA-1969-1922/3; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:9.

¹¹⁵⁶ IAA-1969-1921; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:8.

¹¹⁵⁷ IAA-1969-1920; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:5.

¹¹⁵⁸ IAA-1969-1923/1; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:6;

¹¹⁵⁹ IAA-1969-1922/1; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:7.

¹¹⁶⁰ IAA-1969-1923/2; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:4.

¹¹⁶¹ IAA-1969-1919; Dothan, Porath (1982), Pl. XXX:11.

Along with the pottery found within the tel, Attic fragments have also been discovered in areas away from the main mound. The most notable of these areas is the Persian-period fortress located by the seashore northwest of the main tel. This fortress was discovered during salvage excavations in 1969, and consisted of a large central courtyard surrounded by rooms and corner towers, all constructed in mudbrick with sandstone reinforcements. (Fig. I.71)¹¹⁶² It was in the southeastern tower that a nearly-complete pattern lekythos was discovered. (No. 818, Fig. II.674)¹¹⁶³ The fort seems to only have been occupied during a single phase spanning from the mid-fifth to early-fourth century BCE, during which time it evidently served as a military and administrative installation for the Achaemenid-era government. before being abandoned. Along with Attic pottery, an imported glass aryballos hints at the relative affluence of some of its inhabitants, while a spearhead and numerous arrowheads attest to the structure's military function. Further salvage-digs in 2006 revealed a pit in Area-C, at the western edge of the site, which reportedly contained two additional lekythoi of unspecified type. (No. 819) (No. 820) The pit was identified as a possible Persian-era favissa due to the presence of a sizeable assemblage of cultic objects such as figurines and offering stands,¹¹⁶⁴ while another pattern lekythos fragment has no recorded findspot. (No. 821, Fig. II.675) Finally, the 2001 salvage excavations west of the mound, uncovered a bell krater handle in an area which evidently served as a refuse dump from the Iron-Age through Roman Period before being converted into a Byzantine cemetery. (No. 822, Fig. II.676)¹¹⁶⁵

With the exception of the single Panathenaic amphora sherd, the entirety of the black and red-figure pottery corpus from Ashdod, consists of cups, kraters, and lekythoi. Of these, kraters make up the majority at 52.08% (25/48) followed by lekythoi at 35.42% (17/48) and cups at 10.42% (5/48). (Fig. I.72) A small sample of the local Persian-era coarsewares from Tel Ashdod have been published from Areas A, H, K, and M¹¹⁶⁶ Though limited, this published material does supply some insight into the variety of shapes present. In Dothan and Porath's 1989 publication mortaria are said to be the most common shape present, followed by juglets,¹¹⁶⁷ while other

¹¹⁶² Porath (1974).

¹¹⁶³ Reg. No. 116/1; L55; Porath (1974), 41, 52-53, Fig. 5:12, Pl. XIII:2.

¹¹⁶⁴ Kogan-Zehavi (2006), 2.

¹¹⁶⁵ Nahshoni (2008), 1, Fig. 3:10.

¹¹⁶⁶ Dothan (1971), 26, 38-39; Dothan, Porath (1982), 42-43; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 235-237. Note: Dothan (1982) does not differentiate between strat-V and strat-IV pottery.

¹¹⁶⁷ Dothan, Porath (1982), 43. There are 6 published examples of each: Dothan, Porath (1982), 41-42; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 237.

published Persian-era shapes from the tel include jars,¹¹⁶⁸ amphorae,¹¹⁶⁹ lamps,¹¹⁷⁰ bowls,¹¹⁷¹ flasks,¹¹⁷² a cooking pot and a funnel.¹¹⁷³ The assemblage of local pottery from the fortress is said to have consisted mainly of bowls (including mortaria, referred to as “Persian bowls”),¹¹⁷⁴ and three types of storage jars (flat-shouldered, basket-handled, and amphorae).¹¹⁷⁵ Also present were cooking pots,¹¹⁷⁶ juglets and bottles,¹¹⁷⁷ and lamps.¹¹⁷⁸ As elsewhere in Canaan, the Attic pottery from Ashdod thus shows a far smaller range of functions than the local-ware, with those functions emphasising the consumption of wine and perfume. Though most of the Attic pottery was found out-of-context, the sherds securely associated with Persian-era structures give some indication of the vessels’ contexts-of-use, as three were found within large structures associated with the city’s political and military elite, while two lekythoi were potentially found in a favissa, indicating possible cultic use.

2.4. C: Ashkelon

(Fig. I.1:35)

The remains of ancient Ashkelon occupy a 150-acre area within a crescent-shaped tel comprising two summits at the southern end of modern city of the same name. Having previously served as one of the major port cities of Iron-Age Philistia prior to its destruction in ca.603 BCE, urban life at the site resumed in ca. 500 BCE with the foundation of a new Persian-era city.¹¹⁷⁹ This settlement is referred in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Skylax as a polis of the Tyrians and as it is the only city in Canaan to be termed “βασιλεια” in the text,¹¹⁸⁰ suggesting that it played an important role in royal governance. Whether this distinction refers to its connection with the Tyrian king or

¹¹⁶⁸ 11 published examples: Dothan (1971), 26, 38-39; Dothan, Porath (1982);42-43; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 235-237.

¹¹⁶⁹ 6 published examples: Dothan, Porath (1982), 42-43; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 235-237.

¹¹⁷⁰ 5 published examples: Dothan (1971), 26, 38-39; Dothan, Porath (1982), 42-43.

¹¹⁷¹ 4 published examples: Dothan (1971), 26, 38-39; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 235-237.

¹¹⁷² 3 published examples: Dothan (1971), 39.

¹¹⁷³ 1 published example each: Dothan (1971), 26, 38; Dothan, Ben-Shlomo (2005), 237.

¹¹⁷⁴ 8 published examples: Porath (1974), 7, 46.

¹¹⁷⁵ 7 published examples: Porath (1974), 7, 47.

¹¹⁷⁶ 1 published example: Porath (1974), 46.

¹¹⁷⁷ 3 published examples: Porath (1974), 46-47.

¹¹⁷⁸ 1 published example: Porath (1974), 47.

¹¹⁷⁹ Stager (1996); Stager, Schloen: Stager et al. (2008), 9.

¹¹⁸⁰ Ps. Skylax, 104.3

with the Achaemenid royal administration is unclear. However, Ashkelon's political and economic prominence is evidenced by the fact that it, like the neighbouring cities of Gaza and Ashdod, was granted the right to begin minting its own city coinage under Achaemenid suzerainty in ca. 400 BCE.¹¹⁸¹

Two excavation projects have been conducted on the tel. The first took place in 1920-1921 under the direction of J. Garstang for the department of antiquities of the British Mandate,¹¹⁸² while the later Leon Levy Excavation Project, began in 1985 under the direction of L. E. Stager, is currently ongoing.¹¹⁸³ A rich occupation layer of 2-3m corresponds with the Persian-era Phoenician city, and comprised several phases of construction. The earliest of these was built ca. 500 BCE and the latest was thoroughly razed in a city-wide burning and destruction event ca. 300 BCE.¹¹⁸⁴ The earliest phases of Persian-era construction on the southern mound contained the remains of monumental ashlar-built structures, followed by subsequent phases of workshops and large ashlar-built warehouses, all attesting to Ashkelon's role as a mercantile and economic hub.¹¹⁸⁵ In the mid-fifth century the use of this area for commercial functions was briefly interrupted and replaced with Phoenician Ashkelon's most unique and striking feature. It became an extensive burial ground in which the remains of hundreds of dogs, both adults and puppies were found to have been carefully interred, seemingly for cultic purposes.¹¹⁸⁶ Whatever the reason for this unusual practice, the dog cemetery was overbuilt with further warehouses in the fourth century.¹¹⁸⁷ Besides these commercial and cultic areas, more recent excavations on the northern side of the tel uncovered Persian-period residential insulae, likewise displaying several phases of construction, and built in Phoenician ashlar-pier style.¹¹⁸⁸

Only a very small selection of Persian-era finds from each of the excavations have yet been published, precluding detailed analysis of the pottery assemblages. However, the smattering of figure-decorated sherds available for study do provide some insight into the range of Attic ware present. Data on specific contexts and proveniences is also limited. However, W. J.

¹¹⁸¹ Rappaport (1970); Meshorer (1989), 290-291; Gitler (1996); Gitler (2000).

¹¹⁸² Phythian-Adams (1923); Schloen: Stager et al. (2008), 153-164.

¹¹⁸³ *IEJ* (1987), 68-72; See the Leon Levi excavation annual reports available at leon-levy. Squarespace. Com . Also salvage excavations by IAA in 2014: Ganor et al. (2014).

¹¹⁸⁴ Stager (1991), 29-30.

¹¹⁸⁵ Stager (1991), 30.

¹¹⁸⁶ Stager (1991); Wapnish, Hesse (1993).

¹¹⁸⁷ Stager (1991), 30-31.

¹¹⁸⁸ Birney (2014).

Pythian-Adams' publication of the Garstang excavations does note that much of the Greek ware from this early expedition was found in mixed deposits disturbed by intrusive rubbish dumps,¹¹⁸⁹ and reports from the Levy excavations note the presence of black-figure, red-figure, and black-glazed sherds, along with an unspecified number of lekythoi in a late-Persian-era residential insula.¹¹⁹⁰

Among the known Attic sherds, six figure-decorated cups can be identified. These include three early-fifth-century black-figure cups or skyphoi. Women appear together with vines and palmettes on the remains of two such cups, both attributable to the Lancut Group, (No. 823, Fig. II.677)¹¹⁹¹ (No. 824, Fig. II.678)¹¹⁹² while a further sherd in similar style shows only a palmette. (No. 825, Fig. II.679)¹¹⁹³ A final black-figure cup fragment shows part of a chariot scene with the drapery and added-white hands of a female charioteer visible next to a draped figure and the horses' hindquarters. (No. 826, Fig. II.680)¹¹⁹⁴ The remaining two cups are both red-figure. A nearly complete owl skyphos from the site has been restored for display, (No. 827, Fig. II.681)¹¹⁹⁵ while the red-figure tondo from a kylix shows the bent waist of a nude male in a style attributable to Pithos Painter. (No. 828, Fig. II.682)¹¹⁹⁶ Red-figure decoration also appears on fragments of three bell kraters from Ashkelon. One fragment comes from the reverse of a late-fifth or early fourth-century specimen and shows the drapery and feet of a standing figure above a meander, (No. 829, Fig. II.683)¹¹⁹⁷ while the others are joining fragments of vessels' upper bodies. Two such joining sherds combine to show the head of a youthful Dionysos with a thyrsos and added-yellow wreath, in a style dating to ca. 400-380 BCE. (No. 830, Fig. II.684)¹¹⁹⁸ The other joining krater fragments, likewise form the rim and upper body of a bell krater, show the heads of a man and woman below a lip decorated with bands of laurel and egg-and-dart. The

¹¹⁸⁹ Pythian-Adams (1923), 76.

¹¹⁹⁰ Birney (2014).

¹¹⁹¹ IAA-2006-711. Cf. Lecce, Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano: 569; *ABV*, 578.40; BAPD: 331069. Unpublished material from Stager excavations accessed via the IAA database, courtesy of the IAA.

¹¹⁹² IAA-2014-131. Cf. Prague, National Museum: 2304; BAPD: 21429.

¹¹⁹³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1952; Pythian-Adams (1923), Pl. IV:8; Iliffe (1933), 25, No. 37, Pl. IX. B:5.

¹¹⁹⁴ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1969; Pythian-Adams (1923), Pl. IV:9. Cf. Laon, Musée Archeologique Municipal: 37.989; *Para*, 284; BAPD: 352023.

¹¹⁹⁵ IAA-2006-710; Stager (1991), 34.

¹¹⁹⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1961. Cf. London, British Museum:1864,1007.79; *ARV2*, 139.8; BAPD: 201165.

¹¹⁹⁷ Pythian-Adams (1923), Pl. IV:13.

¹¹⁹⁸ Stager (1991), 34.

woman appears to be carrying a kanoun and the motif is likely a cultic scene painted ca. 450-420 BCE. (No. 831, Fig. II.685)¹¹⁹⁹

Besides these open-shapes, body-sherds from four closed vessels can also be identified among the decorated Attic fragments. Two of these vases are black-figure lekythoi, one displaying a palmette-and-lotus-chain, (No. 832, Fig. II.686)¹²⁰⁰ and the other the drapery and added-white foot of a striding female figure, likely Athena from a Gigantomachy. (No. 833, Fig. II.687)¹²⁰¹ This latter vase should be dated to the late-sixth or early-fifth century and the former to the early-fifth. The other closed-vessel sherds serve to expand the known range of Attic pottery at Ashkelon beyond the standard cups, kraters, and lekythoi. One, likely from a black-figure neck-amphora of ca. 530-510 BCE, shows the leg of Herakles who is grappling with a scaly, piscine opponent, either Nereus or Triton. (No. 834, Fig. II.688)¹²⁰² The other belongs to a black-glazed figure-vase, perhaps a fourth-century askos, and is moulded in the likeness of a bent leg. (No. 835, Fig. II.689)¹²⁰³

Though the lack of published Persian-era ceramics from the site prevents any comparison with local coarse-ware assemblages, the Attic shapes present appear to conform with the broad trends in the region. Only the single black-figure amphora stands as a notable exception, with of the largest portion of the corpus consisting of cups (6/13=46.15%), followed by the lekythoi and askoi for perfumed oil, and red-figure bell kraters (3/13=23.08%). (Fig. I.73) Given Ashkelon's economic and political prominence in the Persian era, it is likely that a far larger corpus of Attic pottery exists from the site, but this awaits publication.

2.4. D: Bat Yam

(Fig. I.1:26)

On the shore of the modern-day city of Bat Yam, the remains of a settlement dating to the Persian and Hellenistic periods have been found along with an anchorage from the Hellenistic

¹¹⁹⁹ IAA-2006-709; Stager (1991), 35.

¹²⁰⁰ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1950; Iliffe (1933), 18, Pl. V. B:4.

¹²⁰¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1958; Phythian-Adams (1923), Pl. IV:18; Iliffe (1933), 18, No. 6, Pl. V. B:3.

¹²⁰² IAA-1970-7; Wenning; Uehlinger (2000), Pl.42:1. On discovery: *IEJ* (1987), 70; On this motif: Glynn (1981).

¹²⁰³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1965; Phythian-Adams (1923), Pl. IV:15.

period. Excavations were conducted at the site in 1953,¹²⁰⁴ and five complete Attic vases discovered in the area, apparently by a member of the public, were turned over to the IAA.¹²⁰⁵ Among these vessels were two black-figure lekythoi and two red-figure squat-lekythoi. One black-figure lekythos, attributed to the Class of Athens 581 (ca. 500-475 BCE) shows a symptic scene with Dionysos and Ariadne on a kline, attended by satyrs. (No. 836, Fig. II.690)¹²⁰⁶ The second black-figure lekythos has been attributed to the Diosphos Painter (ca. 490-460 BCE)¹²⁰⁷ and shows Herakles battling Kyknos, while observed by Athena and Ares. (No. 837, Fig. II.691)¹²⁰⁸ In addition to these black-figure lekythoi, two red-figure squat-lekythoi were also found, one decorated with a palmette (No. 838, Fig. II.692)¹²⁰⁹ and the other with a bird. (No. 839, Fig. II.693)¹²¹⁰ The first can be dated to the latter half of the fifth century and the second to the fourth century. Lastly, in addition to the lekythoi a single feeder (or lamp-filler) was also found with a black-glazed body and black spirals on its reserved shoulder. (No. 840, Fig. II.694)¹²¹¹ This shape, which may have been used for feeding infants or pouring liquids, is very rare among finds from Israel and should be dated to the fourth century.

2.4. E: Bir er-Ruqeish

(Fig. I.1: 48)

Bir er-Ruqeish lies in the Gaza Strip south of Gaza City and south-west of Deir el-Balah, within the span of coastal settlements granted to the Qedarite kingdom. The site consisted of a low mound on the seashore, where the architectural remains of a small unfortified settlement of the Persian period were found along with the settlement's necropolis and series of rubbish pits.¹²¹² The 1989 preliminary publication of excavations at the site mentions the presence of "many sherds of black-figure and red-figure type."¹²¹³ However, only one Attic fragment from the site,

¹²⁰⁴ Kaplan (1959), 78.

¹²⁰⁵ *IEJ* 56.2 (Apr.1952), 142.

¹²⁰⁶ Jerusalem, Israel Museum: IAA-1950-601; BAPD:305391; *AJA* (1952), 142. Pl. 27: A.

¹²⁰⁷ Diosphos Painter: *ABV*, 508-511; Boardman (1974), 148-149; Haspels (1936), 94-130, 232-241.

¹²⁰⁸ IAA-1950-602; *ABV*, 510; *Para*, 277; *AJA* (1952), 142. Pl. 27a; Zardini (2009), 398-399, No. 51; BAPD:305550 and/or 351867.

¹²⁰⁹ IAA-1950-604; *AJA* (1952), 142. Pl. 27: A.

¹²¹⁰ IAA-1950-605; *AJA* (1952), 142. Pl. 27: A.

¹²¹¹ IAA:1950-606; *AJA* (1952), 142. Pl. 27: A.

¹²¹² Culican (1973).

¹²¹³ Oren et al. (1986), 86.

a single body fragment from a red-figure krater, has been published showing the head of a youth and hand holding a strigil. (No. 841, Fig. II.695)¹²¹⁴ This evidently belongs to a palaestra scene on the obverse of a vase painted ca. 420-400 BCE.

2.4. F: Gamma, Tel

(Fig. I.1:49)

The mound of Tel Gamma sits at the confluence of the Gerar and Besor streams, 12km south of Gaza on the eastern edge of Kibbutz Reim. The site was first excavated by W. M. Flinders Petrie for the PEF in 1927, who misidentified the site as the biblical Gerar.¹²¹⁵ The only Persian-period structures identified during Petrie's expedition were a series of round granaries scattered throughout the site, which Petrie speculatively identified as storerooms built to provision Cambyses' invasion of Egypt.¹²¹⁶ Subsequent digs were conducted by a team from the Smithsonian Institute under the direction of G. W. Van Beek between 1970 and 1990.¹²¹⁷ This more recent project uncovered evidence of Achaemenid-era occupation in three separate excavated areas. (Fig. I.74) The main area on the summit of the mound (dubbed Field-IV) was found to contain three occupation phases between the sixth and fourth centuries (Ph. 4, 3, 2) and the architectural remains therein included those of a large mudbrick granary, silos, and several phases of residential structures. (Figs. I.75-77)¹²¹⁸ Likewise, stepped trenches on the northern and southeastern slopes of the mound, designated Fields-II and III, contained the remains of a Persian-era domestic building and granary respectively.¹²¹⁹ Along with these architectural features, both expeditions uncovered significant amounts of Attic pottery and, as a result, Tel Gamma has the largest available corpus of black and red-figure fragments from the southern coastal region and the second largest from Israel overall.

The Attic pottery from Petrie's excavation, currently housed in the Rockefeller Museum, was partially published during the British Mandate, but with no specified provenience indicated

¹²¹⁴Oren et al. (1986), 89.

¹²¹⁵ Petrie (1928). Gerar is today generally associated with Tel Haror; Aharoni (1956b).

¹²¹⁶ Petrie (1928), 9.

¹²¹⁷ Ben-Shlomo, Van Beek (2014).

¹²¹⁸ Ben-Shlomo, Van Beek (2014), 11-15, 544-573.

¹²¹⁹ Ben-Shlomo, Van Beek (2014), 11-15, 145, 172.

beyond “Gerar” or “Tell Jemmeh.”¹²²⁰ Among these early finds are fragments of fourteen black and red-figure drinking vessels. Like elsewhere in Canaan, Haimonian cup-skyphoi are well represented. The Haimon Group’s style is evident in the depiction of a seated lyre player on one body sherd, (No. 842, Fig. II.696)¹²²¹ and a lip-and-body fragment with a palmette likely belongs to this group or one of their early-fifth-century contemporaries. (No. 843, Fig. II.697)¹²²² Identical silhouette-style scenes of Oedipus confronting the Sphinx appear on fragments of at least two such cup-skyphoi. Joining lip and body sherds, which comprise an almost complete profile and half the circumference of a cup, show the hero and his monstrous interlocutor between palmettes, (No. 844, Fig. II.698)¹²²³ while two other fragments each preserve one of the figures respectively. (No. 845, Fig. II.699)¹²²⁴ (No. 846, Fig. II.700)¹²²⁵ The silhouette technique employed on these sherds is attributable to the Lancut Group, and can also be seen on three other joining fragments, which likewise preserve a near-complete profile below the lip. These show a domestic scene of a seated woman with a wreath and kalathos. (No. 847, Fig. II.701)¹²²⁶ The bent figure on a final Lancut Group fragment from Petrie’s excavations cannot be identified with certainty, though his lunging pose and himation-draped arm are employed elsewhere by the same workshop for depictions of komasts and Herakles. (No. 848, Fig. II.702)¹²²⁷ In addition to these black-figure body sherds, a late-sixth-century kylix fragment with black-figure interior decoration atop a fragmentary stem was also found. The remaining portion of the tondo shows a nude male bent over to grasp a large rounded object, perhaps a satyr or komast holding a krater or amphora. (No. 849, Fig. II.703)¹²²⁸ Besides this black-figure tondo, Petrie’s team also uncovered two fragments with tondi bearing red-figure decoration. One such sherd came from a cup by the Pithos Painter and features a large black drinking horn, once held by one of the

¹²²⁰ Petrie (1928); Iliffe (1933).

¹²²¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2354; Iliffe (1933), No. 10, Pl. Vb:5P-2354; Clairmont (1955), 199, No. 190. Cf. Nauplia, Archaeological Museum: 107; *ABV*, 567.629; BAPD: 331727..

¹²²² Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2339; Iliffe (1933), Pl. IX:b:3; Clairmont (1955), 119, No. 192:c.

¹²²³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2352; Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:5; Iliffe (1933), Pl. IX:b:1; Clairmont (1955), 119, No. 192:e. Cf. Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, Kunstsammlungen: S303; BAPD: 9026911.

¹²²⁴ Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:6; Clairmont (1955), 117, No. 176. Cf. Bochum, Ruhr-Universität, Kunstsammlungen: S303; BAPD: 9026911.

¹²²⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2345; Iliffe (1933), Pl. IX:b:4; Clairmont (1955), 119, No. 192:d. Cf. Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte:B316; BAPD: 4835.

Cf. Warsaw, National Museum: 198051; *Para*: 290; BAPD: 352111.

¹²²⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2317; Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:7; Iliffe (1933), Pl. IX:b:2; Clairmont (1955), 119, No. 192:b. Cf. Nauplia, Archaeological Museum: 529; *ABV*, 566.620; BAPD: 31718.

¹²²⁷ Petrie (1928)Pl, XLVI:12.

¹²²⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2330; Clairmont (1955), 130, No. 313, Pl. XXX:6.

painter's typical Eastern symposiasts. (No. 850, Fig. II.704)¹²²⁹ The other shows a fleeing woman wearing a sakkos and holding a sceptre, likely from a pursuit scene painted ca. 475-450 BCE. (No. 851, Fig. II.705)¹²³⁰ Along with these figural scenes, other Attic cups from the site bore only geometric or vegetal ornament. Such is the case for two non-joining sherds belonging to a Corinthian-shape Attic skyphos of the sixth-century, adorned with black rays on a reserved area above the foot. (No. 852, Fig. II.706)¹²³¹ Other geometric and vegetal patterns characteristic of the St. Valentin Class, combining lozenges, tongues, and palmettes often with added white, can be seen on a collection of cup sherds from the site. These include the body sherd of one skyphos (No. 853, Fig. II.707)¹²³² and pieces belonging to at least two kantharoi. (No. 854, Fig. II.708)¹²³³ (No. 855, Fig. II.709)¹²³⁴ (No. 856, Fig. II.710)¹²³⁵

The final Attic drinking cup discovered by Petrie's team is by far the most elaborate and appears to have been a plastic kantharos formed in the likeness of the head of Herakles. (No. 857, Fig. II.711)¹²³⁶ The face may have formed part of a janiform head vase of the late-fifth or fourth century as such vessels frequently figured Herakles' face opposite that of a woman.¹²³⁷ The lower mould-made portion of the vessel preserves part of the hero's hair, lionskin, and upper face, while the upper wheel-thrown section is decorated in red-figure and shows the legs of a horse.

In addition to the drinking cups, the remains of eleven red-figure kraters were also among the finds from the early excavations at Tel Gamma. Of these, the body fragments of two vases preserve sufficient decoration for their subjects to be posited. Two joining body fragments of ca. 440 BCE show the hindquarters of a horse and a draped figure with a staff, likely from an aged

¹²²⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1605; Iliffe (1933), 21, No. 19, Pl. VII:b:3; Clairmont (1955), 130, No. 310; *ARV2*, 140.55; BAPD: 201212.

¹²³⁰ Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:13; Clairmont (1955), 131, No. 318.

¹²³¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2336; Iliffe (1933), 18, No. 9, P. LV:a:2, 4.

¹²³² Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2348; Iliffe (1933), 24, No. 31, Pl. IX:a:4; Howard, Johnson (1954), Gr. II, No. 9; Clairmont (1955), 130, No. 307.

¹²³³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2316; Clairmont (1955), 132, No. 355; Pl. XXX:13;. Howard, Johnson (1954), 193, Gr.4, Cf. Pl. 33:9, 34:15. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 33:9, 34:15.

¹²³⁴ Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:9; Clairmont (1955), 132, No. 334. Cf. Howard and Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:2,4-6,8; 33:9, 10; 34:15.

¹²³⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2348/1; Iliffe (1933), 24, No. 31, Pl. IX:a:2; Howard, Johnson (1954), 193, Gr. IV, No. 8.

¹²³⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1598; Iliffe (1933), 20, No. 14, Pl. VII:a:1, 3; Clairmont (1955), 133, No. 347; Uehlinger (2000), Pl.44.5; BAPD:9043332. Cf. Clairmont (1955), 132, No.333. On head vases: Beazley (1929);

¹²³⁷ Cf. *Rome Museo di Villa Giulia - Etruscan civilization: Double head kantharos, Heracles and Omphale*.

father farewelling a cavalryman. (No. 858, Fig. II.712)¹²³⁸ On the fragment of a second vessel, part of a draped female appears overlapped by a leg of another figure whom the former appears to be carrying. (No. 859, Fig. II.713)¹²³⁹ The style is early classical (ca. 480-450 BCE) and the scene likely represents Eos either abducting one of her mortal lovers (Tithonos or Kephalos) or bearing the body of her son Memnon off the field at Troy.¹²⁴⁰ Billowing drapery also appears on another krater body fragment of the early-fourth-century, though the subject cannot be discerned. (No. 860, Fig. II.714)¹²⁴¹

While the precise shapes of the kraters above cannot be determined, three rims with laurel patterns, (No. 861, Fig. II.715)¹²⁴² (No. 862, Fig. II.716)¹²⁴³ (No. 863)¹²⁴⁴ and a lower-body sherd with a stopped-meander-and-saltire border (No. 864, Fig. II.717)¹²⁴⁵ all belong to red-figure bell kraters of the later-fifth or early-fourth centuries. A further upper-body fragment along with a neck sherd and two rim pieces can be identified as belonging to column kraters. The body sherd shows the top of an unidentified figure's head next to a schematised ivy border with dot foliage, (No. 865, Fig. II.718)¹²⁴⁶ and similar ivy patterns can be seen on the two rim fragments. (No. 866, Fig. II.719) (No. 867. II.720)¹²⁴⁷ The neck sherd meanwhile is ornamented with pendant lotus buds. (No. 868, Fig. II.721)¹²⁴⁸ The column krater shape and archaizing ornaments are all suggestive of work by latter Mannerist painters working ca. 450-420 BCE.¹²⁴⁹

Fragments belonging to eleven lekythoi of various types were also found during the PEF excavations. The surviving portions of three black-figure lekythoi preserve parts of figurative scenes. One such vase, attributed to the Haimon Painter, has been restored for display at the Rockefeller Museum and shows Herakles and Apollo struggling for the Delphic tripod, flanked by Athena and Artemis. (No. 869, Fig. II.722) The body of another nearly-complete lekythos was

¹²³⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2351; Iliffe (1933), 21, No. 17, Pl. VII. A:6; Clairmont (1955), 123, No. 222.

¹²³⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1600; Iliffe (1933), 22, Pl. VII. B:4.

¹²⁴⁰ LIMC, Vol. IIIb, Pls.577-582, SV“Eos”Nos. 268, 270, 272, 274, 275, 533, 531, 532.

¹²⁴¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1602; Iliffe (1933) 22, No. 23, Pl. IX:a:6; Clairmont (1955), 122, No. 217. Cf. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: 1972.850; BAPD: 5958. Cf. Georgia, State Museum; BAPD: 3004.

¹²⁴² Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2329; Iliffe (1933) 23, No. 29, Pl. IX:a:1; Clairmont (1955), 122, No. 216.

¹²⁴³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2338; Iliffe (1933) 24, No. 30, Pl. VII:b:6; Clairmont (1955), 122, No. 218.

¹²⁴⁴ P-2332.

¹²⁴⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2351; Iliffe (1933) 21, No. 17, Pl. VII:a:4; Clairmont (1955), 122, No. 219.

¹²⁴⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2344; Clairmont (1955), 121, No. 204, PIXXVI:3.

¹²⁴⁷ P-2314; Clairmont (1995), 121, No. 207, Pl. XXVI:5. P-2327; Clairmont (1995), 121, No. 206.

¹²⁴⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2319; Iliffe (1933), 21, No. 16, Pl. VII:a:5.

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. Mannack (2001), Pls.4-6,10,23-34,37,42,47,48,50-58,60,64. Cf. New York, Metropolitan Museum: 06.1021.101; BAPD: 9587. Cf. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum: 83.AE.252; BAPD: 13373.

published by Petrie, but is now missing and has not been seen by the author. It may show Dionysos flanked by Maenads, and appears to likewise be of early-fifth-century date. (No. 870, Fig. II.723)¹²⁵⁰ The final black-figure lekythos sherd bearing evidence of a mythic theme, is a white-ground fragment upon which is pictured the lower-body of a striding female, likely Athena from a Gigantomachy, in a style dateable to ca. 500-480 BCE. (No. 871, Fig. II.724)¹²⁵¹ The two other black-figure lekythos sherds feature non-figural decoration, characteristic of the Beldam Workshop. One, belonging to a miniature vessel shows a frond from a palmette-and-lotus-bud-chain, (No. 872, Fig. II.725)¹²⁵² while the other comes from the shoulder of a white-ground pattern lekythos and displays rays above a running-meander and lattice. (No. 873, Fig. II.726)¹²⁵³

Two other lekythoi from the early excavations at the tel are decorated in the red-figure technique. One body sherd from a white-ground vase exhibits part of a draped female figure seated on a block, likely from a funerary scene of ca. 480-450 BCE. (No. 874, Fig. II.727)¹²⁵⁴ The second red-figure lekythos is one of the best-preserved and highest-quality Attic lekythoi from Persian-era Canaan. This nearly-complete vase has been restored for display in the Israel Museum, and was attributed by Beazley to the hand of the Phiale Painter. The main scene depicts a seated woman receiving a box from a standing attendant. This decorated field is bordered by meanders above and below, while the neck and shoulder are bedecked with egg-and-dart above a black palmette scroll. (No. 875, Fig. II.728)¹²⁵⁵ A further neck and shoulder fragment is similarly ornamented with a collar of tongues and a scroll of black palmettes, (No. 876, Fig. II.729) though whether the body was black or red-figure cannot be determined.¹²⁵⁶

Besides the more common cylinder shapes, fragments of two red-figure squat-lekythoi were also found. One, comprising two joining fragments, shows the hindquarters of a crouching sphinx and dates to the last quarter of the fifth century, (No. 877, Fig. II.730)¹²⁵⁷ while the other bears an enclosed palmette and is of fourth-century production. (No. 878, Fig. II.731)¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁰ Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:3; Clairmont (1955), 114, No. 133.

¹²⁵¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2337; Clairmont (1955), 114, No. 131.

¹²⁵² Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2322; Iliffe (1933), 18, No. 8, Pl. V:b:2; Clairmont (1955), 116, No. 157.

¹²⁵³ P-2320; Iliffe (1933), 23, No. 26, Pl. VII. B:8; Clairmont (1955), 115, No. 149.

¹²⁵⁴ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1599.

¹²⁵⁵ Jerusalem, Israel Museum: V-1762; Iliffe (1933), 23, No. 27, Pl. VIII:a:2; Clairmont (1955), 125, No. 245; *ARV*2, 1022.125; On Phiale Painter: Oakley (1990), (See. No. 125, Pl. 101c.).

¹²⁵⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2306; Clairmont (1955), 125, No. 247, Pl. XXVIII:6.

¹²⁵⁷ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1597; Petrie (1928), Pl. XLVI:10; Iliffe (1933), 19-20, Pl. VI:d.

¹²⁵⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-2343; Clairmont (1955), 128, No. 279, Pl. XXIX:5.

In contrast with the earlier PEF expedition, the Attic pottery from the Smithsonian's excavations at Tel Gamma was extensively published by S. R. Martin in that project's final report. While sherds of two white-ground pattern lekythoi were found out-of-context in the topsoil of Field-II, (No. 879, Fig. II.732) (No. 880)¹²⁵⁹ the bulk of the Attic material came from Field-IV at summit of the mound. Three phases of Persian-era construction have been identified in this field: Phase-4 likely dating to the sixth to fifth centuries, and Phases-3 and 2 dating to the fifth and fourth centuries.

Of the seventeen Attic cups identified in Field-IV, seven belong to black-figure cup-skyphoi of the Haimon Group or their early-fifth century contemporaries. One body-sherd with a globular palmette, (No. 881)¹²⁶⁰ and another with the remnants of drapery, (No. 882)¹²⁶¹ were both discovered amidst the Phase-4/3 occupational fill in a residential structure (Unit-3), and can thus be assigned a domestic find-context. Stratified Persian-era fills not associated with any specific structures also yielded fragments of three further black-figure cup-skyphoi, (No. 883) (No. 884)¹²⁶² one of which was decorated with dotted ivy and part of a figure in a style attributable to the Painter of Elaios I (ca. 500-480 BCE). (No. 885, Fig. II.733)¹²⁶³ A further body-fragment, likewise decorated with schematic dot-foliage and a palmette, (No. 886, Fig. II.734) was recovered during a baulk clearance,¹²⁶⁴ while another with illegible decoration was found on the surface. (No. 887)¹²⁶⁵ One further sherd from an unknown locus was misidentified by Martin as another black-figure skyphos rim. However, upon inspection it more likely belongs to the body of a lekane from the latter half of the fifth century, as it bears the distinct globular black zig-zags below a recessed vertical lip. (No. 888, Fig. II.735)¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁵⁹ L. GMIIC3 (+), L. GMIID4 (0); Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, Nos. 182, 183.

¹²⁶⁰ L. GM0A (5); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 611. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 152.

¹²⁶¹ L. GM0A; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 611. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 153.

¹²⁶² L. GM1A (3); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 614. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 145.

L. GM2A (7); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 620. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 150.

¹²⁶³ L. GM1B (10); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 625. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 147. Attributed by Martin.

¹²⁶⁴ L. GM2BNBR (16); Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 148.

¹²⁶⁵ L. GM2A (0); Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 146.

¹²⁶⁶ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 755, Fig. 14.5:c.

As with their black-figure counterparts, all eight of the red-figure drinking vessels noted among the Smithsonian's finds, can be identified as skyphoi. Three separate Achaemenid-era granaries excavated in Field-IV held fills containing red-figure skyphos fragments. Two such body fragments were found in a the same early-Persian-period granary, which contained Phase-2 deposits.¹²⁶⁷ These sherds preserve portions of drapery (No. 889, Fig. II.736) and a handle-area palmette (No. 890, Fig. II.737) respectively, and likely date to the late-fifth or fourth century.¹²⁶⁸ Two body-fragments were also found in a second granary, this containing Phase-3 deposits.¹²⁶⁹ Drapery likewise appears on one of these pieces, (No. 891, Fig. II.738)¹²⁷⁰ while the other displays part of a meander-and-chequerboard lower-border. (No. 892, Fig. II.739)¹²⁷¹ A similar meander frieze also appears on a lower-body fragment from another Phase-3 fill within a granary, (No. 893)¹²⁷² as well as that from an unstratified fill. (No. 894)¹²⁷³ All of these sherds likely date to the mid-fifth century. A Phase-3 fill not contained in a granary held a body-herd on which the drapery and extended arm of a figure are depicted, (No. 895, Fig. II.740)¹²⁷⁴ while a owl skyphos rim with the head of an the eponymous bird was found in the topsoil. (No. 896)¹²⁷⁵ Besides these black and red-figure skyphoi, fragments of two kantharoi painted in the Saint Valentin Class technique were also found. Each of these respectively comprise two non-joining sherds, with one set found in the topsoil (No. 897, Fig. II.741)¹²⁷⁶ and the other from an unknown locus. (No. 898)¹²⁷⁷

In addition to the cups, three krater fragments were also found in Field-IV. One, found in a further Phase-3 fill within an Achaemenid-era granary, likely belongs to the lip of a column krater. (No. 899, Fig. II.742)¹²⁷⁸ It is ornamented on its upper surface with a dotted-lotus-bud

¹²⁶⁷ L. GM1CP2 (6, 7); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 634, 635.

¹²⁶⁸ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, Nos. 189, 190

¹²⁶⁹ L. GM2D (4), L. GM2D (9); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 640.

¹²⁷⁰ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 193.

¹²⁷¹ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 192

¹²⁷² L. GM2DTT3 (4); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 640. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 191.

¹²⁷³ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 188.

¹²⁷⁴ L. GM1B (8) 1; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 625. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 187.

¹²⁷⁵ L. GM1BTT1 (1); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 624. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 186.

¹²⁷⁶ L. GM1B (0); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 624. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 774. No. 366. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:2, 4-68; 33:9, 10; 34:15.

¹²⁷⁷ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 774, No. 367.

¹²⁷⁸ L. GM2D (9); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 604. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 151. Martin incorrectly identifies as calyx krater.

chain in black-figure, though whether this technique extended to the body as well cannot be determined. Another upper-body border pattern, this one egg-and-dart, appears on a red-figure krater sherd discovered in a mixed deposit, (No. 900, Fig. II.743)¹²⁷⁹ apparently dumped during Petrie's excavations. The only krater body fragment to preserve part of a figure was found in the mixed topsoil. This piece shows a draped knee next to handle-area vegetal motifs, likely from a late-fifth or fourth-century bell krater. (No. 901, Fig. II.744)¹²⁸⁰

The majority of the decorated Attic fragments found during the Smithsonian excavations belonged to lekythoi, mostly painted in the black-figure or white-ground techniques. Two sets of joining neck-and-shoulder fragments, both decorated with black-figure palmettes and dateable to the late-sixth or early-fifth century, were found in stratified Phase-2 or 3 deposits. (No. 902, Fig. II.745)¹²⁸¹ (No. 903, Fig. II.746)¹²⁸² While another shoulder sherd with a black palmette, potentially belonging to a red-figure vase, was found in an unstratified fill. (No. 904)¹²⁸³ Fragments of four other shoulders were found decorated with the common pattern of double rays. While one such sherd was found in the topsoil, (No. 905)¹²⁸⁴ the rest came from stratified Phase-3 deposits, (No. 906) (No. 907)¹²⁸⁵ including one found in the occupational fill within a residential building (Unit-3). (No. 908)¹²⁸⁶

Along with the shoulder fragments, five black-figure lekythos body sherds were found. Of these only one has an identifiable figural scene, showing the draped body of a symposiast recumbent on a kline. (No. 909, Fig. II.747) The fragment which was found in a Phase-4/3 fill displays fine incision on the drapery folds, with added-white on the kline and should be dated to

¹²⁷⁹ L. GM3BP2; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 633. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 195.

¹²⁸⁰ L. GM2CP3 (0); Ben-Shlomo, Gardiner: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 878. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 196.

¹²⁸¹ L. GM2A (4), L. GM2A (6); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 620. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 154.

¹²⁸² L. GM2A (6A) 3; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 620. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 161.

¹²⁸³ Red-figure identification by Martin. Not seen by author.

¹²⁸⁴ L. GM3B (1); Ben-Shlomo, Gardiner: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 835. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 174.

¹²⁸⁵ L. GM1B (5) 1; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 625. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 164.

L. GM1BTT1 (5); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 624. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 163.

¹²⁸⁶ L. GM0A (6); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 611. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 180 (Maybe same as 179).

the late-sixth or early-fifth century ¹²⁸⁷ Drapery with incised folds also appears on a small body sherd from a Phase-3 fill, though nothing regarding the identity of the figure or scene can be discerned. (No. 910, Fig. II.748)¹²⁸⁸ Fragments of two other black-figure lekythoi show enclosed palmettes from palmette-and-lotus-bud chains. (No. 911)¹²⁸⁹ One of these sherds, belonging to a miniature vase, was misidentified in the publication as showing a draped figure, but on inspection its identification with this common vegetal motif is evident. (No. 912, Fig. II.749)¹²⁹⁰ The fragment is listed as having been recovered from a pit. This is perhaps one of the Persian era rubbish pits discussed, though the date of this specific pit and the deposit within are not recorded.¹²⁹¹ A final black-figure body sherd, found amongst a Phase-4 deposit of bricks in a baulk, likewise belonged to a miniature lekythos, though nothing of the decoration survives save for an unidentifiable black blot. (No. 913)¹²⁹²

Besides those with black-figure decoration on reserved clay, body fragments of eight white-ground pattern-lekythoi were also found. Remains of two such vases were unearthed in the same Phase-4 fill.¹²⁹³ Both are ornamented with enclosed palmette scrolls, (No. 914, Fig. II.750)¹²⁹⁴ which, on the remains of one of these vessels, appears below a chequerboard pattern. (No. 915, Fig. II.751)¹²⁹⁵ Both should be dated to the early-fifth century (ca. 500-480 BCE). A cylindrical black-glazed foot found in the same fill may also belong to one of these two vessels.¹²⁹⁶ On all the other white ground lekythos fragments from the area only black bands survive. One among these was discovered in a Phase-5 deposit in a Late-Iron-Age palatial dwelling, (Building-1, Rm. C), (No. 916)¹²⁹⁷ suggesting potential occupation into the early

¹²⁸⁷L. GM0A (4); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 611. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 178).

¹²⁸⁸ L. GM1D (3) 1; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 638. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 177.

¹²⁸⁹ L. GM2A (6); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 620. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 158.

¹²⁹⁰ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, Van Beek (2022), 755, 767, No. 175. Fig. 14.5:k.

¹²⁹¹ L. GM2CP4 (1); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 637.

¹²⁹² L. GM2BFA/F1NBR. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014) 767, No. 171.

¹²⁹³ L. GM2A (15) (Same as TT4 (4)); Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 621.

¹²⁹⁴ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766-767, No. 159.

¹²⁹⁵ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 155.

¹²⁹⁶ Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, 160 .

¹²⁹⁷ L. GM1A (12) 7; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 484-485, 617. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 766, No. 156.

Persian era, (Fig. I.78) while the remainder were found in stratified Phase-3 fills. (Nos.917-921)¹²⁹⁸

In addition to the common cylinder type, black-figure fragments belonging to two squat lekythoi, and another small closed shape (perhaps an askos) were also found. Domestic contexts can be assigned to both the shoulder of a late-fifth or fourth century squat-lekythos decorated with a broken meander, (No. 922, Fig. II.752)¹²⁹⁹ and to the small closed-shape body-shoulder with incised wavy lines. (No. 923, Fig. II.753)¹³⁰⁰ Both fragments were found in domestic deposits on the floors of residential structures: the former in a Phase-3 fill in the house designated “Unit-2” and the latter in the Phase-5 fill in Rm. E of Building-1. The final squat-lekythos body sherd, decorated with a net pattern, was found in the Phase-3/2 fill within a granary. (No. 924, Fig. II.754)¹³⁰¹

In contrast with the abundance of the black-figure examples, the remains of only two red-figure lekythoi can be identified from Field-IV. Both preserve portions of figures framed by meanders. One, from an unknown locus shows the head of a woman in a style dateable to ca. 475-450 below a meander border, (No. 925, Fig. II.755)¹³⁰² and the other, a small segment of drapery above such a border. (No. 926, Fig. II.756) This latter fragment was incorporated into a wall of a Phase-4/3 residential building.¹³⁰³

As the source of the largest corpus of Attic pottery from the southern coastal area, Tel Gamma provides valuable insight into the range of shapes imported to the region. The abundance of large granaries at the site indicates a capacity for large-scale storage and distribution far beyond the needs of the local population. This led Petrie to posit a military function for the site,¹³⁰⁴ whereas Ben-Shlomo, in light of the Smithsonian excavations, chose to identify it as an

¹²⁹⁸ L. GM2ATT2 (4), GM1B (5) 1, GM1B (8) 1, GM1B-EBR (8B), GM1B-EBR (8B):

Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 621-626.

Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, Nos. 162, 165, 166, 168, 169.

¹²⁹⁹ L. GM0B (1) 2; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 612. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 181.

¹³⁰⁰ L. GM1A (1A) 8; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 618. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 185.

¹³⁰¹ L. GM2C (3) 2; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 635. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 767, No. 184.

¹³⁰² Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 198.

¹³⁰³ L. GM0AW1; Ben-Shlomo: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 611. Martin: Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 768, No. 197.

¹³⁰⁴ Petrie (1928), 9.

emporion.¹³⁰⁵ It is of course entirely possible that the site fulfilled both functions. Given its placement both near the Egyptian border and at the junction between the coastal trade routes running northward from Egypt and those linking Gaza with Arabia, it is probable that Tel Gamma served both as a mustering point in times of war and as a trading hub in times of peace. Commercial connections with both Egypt and Arabia are demonstrated by the presence at the site of imported Egyptian scarabs, and faience and glass items, alongside eastern imports such as incense and incense burners, as well as camel bones.¹³⁰⁶ While most of the Attic pottery from the site was found either out-of-context or in fills, those from deposits associated with extant Achaemenid-era structures further support this theory. While four fragments from Unit-3 and single piece from Unit-2 can be assigned domestic contexts, the plurality of Attic pottery was found within storage installations identified as granaries. This includes the five red-figure skyphoi found within three separate granaries,¹³⁰⁷ and two further granaries which yielded the fragments of a calyx krater and squat-lekythos.¹³⁰⁸

As with major entrepôts like Dor and Jaffa then, finds from Tel Gamma provide useful insight not only into the range of material present in local domestic settings but also a glimpse into the range of pottery imported and available for purchase and trade at local emporia. Lekythoi make up the largest portion of decorated Attic pottery at Tel Gamma, constituting 42.35% of the corpus (36/85), followed by cups and kraters at 38.82% (33/84) and 16.47% (14/85) respectively. Collectively these three shapes constitute nearly the entire corpus of black and red-figure shapes from the site (98.81%) with the single fourth-century lekanis sherd standing as the only identifiable exception. (Fig. I.79) This contrasts sharply with shapes of local pottery present at the tel. Among the published finds of local Persian-era ceramics from the Smithsonian excavations, the largest proportion belong to various types of storage jars, collectively amounting to 19.35%. This is followed by jugs (18.28%), amphorae (17.20%), and bowls (12.37%).¹³⁰⁹ Both through the dominance of this limited range of Attic types, and the contrast with local wares, the pottery from Tel Gamma thus reflects the same trends seen in domestic contexts throughout Canaan. If Tel Gamma was indeed an emporion, this suggests that

¹³⁰⁵ Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 611, 1064.

¹³⁰⁶ Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 1064.

¹³⁰⁷ L. GM1CP2 (6, 7), GM2D (4, 9), GM2DTT3 (4)

¹³⁰⁸ L. GM2D (9), GM2 (3) 2.

¹³⁰⁹ Ben-Shlomo, VanBeek (2014), 552-553, 593-608.

the selection of shapes for sale in the region occurred not only at the final point of purchase in the cities of Canaan but at an earlier point in the chain of trade.

2.4. G: Gaza

(Fig. I.1:47)

The Achaemenid-era harbour city at Gaza, administered along with the surrounding towns by the Qedarite Arabs, seems to have been one of the major trading ports of the southern Levant, and functioned as a node linking the overland Arabian incense route with the seaways and markets of the Mediterranean.¹³¹⁰ Herodotus describes Gaza, which he calls Cadytis, as having been no lesser in size than Sardis,¹³¹¹ and city's political and economic prominence under Achaemenid suzerainty is further emphasised by the fact that, like Ashkelon and Ashdod to its north, Gaza was also began minting its Philisto-Arabian city coinage at the end of the fifth century.¹³¹² As a result of the current political situation in the strip, modern excavations in Gaza have been minimal. The mound Tell el-Ajjul in the southeast of Gaza City was excavated by Petrie between 1930 and 1932,¹³¹³ while the site of Anthedon (Tell Balakiyeh), which likely served as the city's Pre-Roman-era port, was excavated by a joint French-Palestinian project between 1995 and 2000.¹³¹⁴ Only a select few fragments of Attic pottery from these excavations were published or available for study, none with known findspots.

The lip fragment of a Saint-Valentin-Class kantharos was found during Petrie's excavation. (No. 927, Fig. II.757)¹³¹⁵ The joint project uncovered a owl skyphos sherd with well-preserved owl, (No. 928, Fig. II.758)¹³¹⁶ and a nearly-complete cup-skyphos attributable to the Lancut Group. This latter cup has been restored from joining sherds and shows a scene of a satyr pursuing a maenad. (No. 929, Fig. II.759)¹³¹⁷ Each of the excavations also yielded a red-figure krater sherd. From Petrie's dig comes a lower-body fragment of a fourth-century bell krater on

¹³¹⁰ Rappaport (1970), 75.

¹³¹¹ Hdt. III.5; Rainey (2001), 59-60.

¹³¹² Mildenberg (1990); Gitler (2000).

¹³¹³ Petrie, (1931-1952).

¹³¹⁴ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5719>, accessed 16/18/2022.

¹³¹⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P2285.2. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Pls. 32:3,7; 34:16.

¹³¹⁶ Haldimann (2007), 96, Fig. 57.

¹³¹⁷ DAP:179; Haldimann (2007), 93, Fig. 55. Cf. Prague, National Museum: 2304; BAPD: 21429.

which an offering-tray bearing an added-white object appears above a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard frieze. (No. 930, Fig. II.760) The published body fragment from the subsequent expedition is of somewhat earlier date (ca. 450-420 BCE) and shows a mantled youth leaning on a staff. (No. 931, Fig. II.761)¹³¹⁸ As with the kraters, two specimens of Attic closed shapes are also known, one from each project. The earlier dig yielded the nearly-complete body of a white-ground pattern lekythos adorned with a meander, lozenge-net, and ivy in the style of the Beldam workshop, (No. 932, Fig. II.762)¹³¹⁹ while the French expedition has published a fourth-century askos sherd with the foreparts of a dog and panther. (No. 933, Fig. II.763)¹³²⁰

Though minimal, these finds of Attic pottery from Gaza provide a glimpse into the city's reputed role as a major trading port of the Achaemenid era, a glimpse that will hopefully be broadened through future archaeological research.

2.4. H: Hoga, Horvat

(Fig. I.1:46)

Horvat Hoga is located on a loess ridge west of the Ballat stream, about 2km east of the modern city of Sderot and 2km west of Kibbutz Dorot.¹³²¹ A complete white-ground Attic alabastron from the site was discovered by a kibbutz member and is held in the community's collection. (No. 934, Fig. II.764)¹³²² The vase is decorated in a style characteristic of the Beldam Group, with multiple registers of black patterns on a cream white-ground. These include lattice, laurel-and-berry, meanders, laurel leaves, and running-dog patterns, interspaced with bands.

2.4. I: Yaoz, Tel

(Fig. I.1:27)

The site of Tel Yaoz is situated on a kurkar ridge at the southern edge of the modern city of Rishon LeTzion about 1.5 km inland from the Mediterranean coast. Following surveys in the

¹³¹⁸ Haldimann (2007), 94, Fig. 56.

¹³¹⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-1135.

¹³²⁰ Haldimann (2007), 99, Fig. 61.

¹³²¹ *HA* (1976), 41-42

¹³²² IAA:1970-5038.

1950s and initial systematic excavations in the 1980s, the remains of a large Persian-period house were excavated at the site in 1998 under the direction of M. Fisher after a bulldozer accidentally uncovered part of the structure on the western edge of the mound (Area-C). (Figs. I.80, 81)¹³²³ Characteristic of the period, the walls comprised a mixture of fieldstones and well-shaped ashlars. The house appears to have contained at least six rooms on the ground level. The pottery assemblage within the house was dated in its entirety to the fifth century and was thoroughly domestic in nature. It included locally made storage jars, cooking pots, mortaria, jugs and lamps, as well as imported Attic and East-Greek fineware, and three locally-produced rhyta in the form of lion, ram, and human heads.¹³²⁴ Cowrie and murex shell jewellery was also found along with a glass bead and bronze pins and fibulae.¹³²⁵

All of the Attic figure-decorated pottery with known provenience was found at L303 in the northeast corner of the building. Among the finds from this locus were fragments of two white-ground lekythoi. The first is a shoulder fragment with rays, (No. 935, Fig. II.765)¹³²⁶ while the other is large body fragment decorated with tendrils from a palmette-chain above a lattice frieze. (No. 936, Fig. II.766)¹³²⁷ The latter can likely be attributed to the Beldam Workshop, and both should be dated to ca. 480-450 BCE.

Two other body fragments, apparently found during the excavation of the house, have no recorded find-context. One of these belongs to a small black-figure lekythos of ca. 500-480-BCE and bears the partial image of two draped figures, one seated on a diphros and the other standing. (No. 937, Fig. II.767)¹³²⁸ The second, which features the olive sprig from an owl skyphos, is the only known red-figure piece from Tel Yaoz, and came from an unspecified locus in Area-A. (No. 938, Fig. II.768)¹³²⁹

In addition to the decorated pottery, Attic black-glazed sherds belonging to three lekythoi, two skyphoi, an askos, a krater, a lekane, a cup and a lamp were also found in the building. The fragmentary nature of these vessels makes it impossible to determine whether they were originally decorated or fully black-glazed.¹³³⁰

¹³²³ Segel. et al. (2006); Kletter et al. (2006); Fischer et al. (2008), 129-134.

¹³²⁴ Kletter, Et. AI (2001).

¹³²⁵ Kletter et al. (2006), 18-1; Fischer et al. (2008), 134-152.

¹³²⁶ Kletter et al. (2006), 16, Fig. 12:6. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls 60, 70:1-4,6-8, 71:1-2.

¹³²⁷ Kletter et al. (2006), 16, Fig. 12:5.

¹³²⁸ Kletter et al. (2006), 16, Fig. 12:4.

¹³²⁹ Kletter et al. (2006), 16, Fig. 12:15. On Area-A: Fischer et al. (2008), 126-129.

¹³³⁰ Kletter et al. (2006), Fig. 12:7-14, 16-18.

2.4. J: Yavneh-Yam

(Fig. I.1:28)

Yavneh-Yam is located on the Mediterranean coast 16km south of Jaffa, roughly halfway between Jaffa and Ashdod. With sheltered anchorage provided by a small headland, the site evidently hosted port settlements from the Middle Bronze Age onward, and can be identified with the Hellenistic-era city of Jamnia. Though south of the land-grant specified on Eshmunazar's sarcophagus, the Persian-era city, whose occupation spanned the mid-sixth to mid-fourth centuries, is theorised by the excavators to have been under the hegemony of the kings of Sidon, like its neighbouring coastal centres.¹³³¹

The first excavations at the site were conducted between 1967 and 1969 under the auspices of the Tel-Aviv Municipal Museum and the direction of J. Kaplan,¹³³² while a series of later digs were conducted by the IAA under a variety of directors including M. Fischer, E. Ayalon, and Y. Drey. These latter projects were initiated in 1992 and continued until 2005,¹³³³ though sporadic rescue excavations at the site have continued until the present.¹³³⁴ Among the Persian-era remains uncovered in the course of these excavations were a collection of apparently residential buildings with stone foundations and mudbrick superstructures along with three winepresses of the same period and two large structures built in typically Phoenician ashlar-pier-style. One such ashlar building was discovered in Area-A, on the landward end of the headland, and the other in Area-B further north along the beach. The building in Area-A contained a sizeable assemblage of unspecified Attic red-figure and black-glazed pottery, alongside local-ware, including cooking pots, mortaria, and lamps.¹³³⁵ The pottery assemblages from the building in Area-B are reported to have been similar in nature to those from Area-A, though no further details regarding the finds have been published.¹³³⁶ These Persian-era structures were razed in a destruction event dating to the mid-fourth century, possibly as a result of Tennes' rebellion.¹³³⁷

¹³³¹ Fischer (2002b), 5.

¹³³² Kaplan (1969), 16; Kaplan (1971), 24.

¹³³³ Wolff (1998a) 786; Fischer (2002b).

¹³³⁴ Ajami, Ad (2009); Ayash, Ganor (2009); Vunch et al. (2014); Ajami, Ad (2015); Golan, Radashkovsky (2020).

¹³³⁵ Fischer (2002b), 5.

¹³³⁶ Fischer (2002b), 6.

¹³³⁷ Fischer (2002b), 6.

The ceramic finds from Yavneh-Yam remain mostly unpublished and were unavailable for examination by the author. Around sixty-five sherds of black and red-figure pottery are reported to have been found,¹³³⁸ though in her preliminary study S. Klinger lists fifty-one pieces. Of these, and only a small selection, have been published with images or descriptions. Of the eight black-figure cups mentioned by Klinger, (Nos.939-945)¹³³⁹ only one fragment from the lower body of an FP-Class cup (ca. 520) was published with images. (No. 946, Fig. II.769)¹³⁴⁰ Likewise recorded but unpublished are fragments of two red-figure cups, (Nos.947, 948)¹³⁴¹ though fragments of two Saint-Valentin-class kantharoi appear in Klinger's article. (No. 949, Fig. II.770) (No. 950, Fig. II.771)¹³⁴²

The kraters from the site are both more numerous and better-published. In total, fragments of twenty-eight such vases have been identified, of which nine sherds have been published. (Nos.951-969)¹³⁴³ A thyrsos-bearing maenad appears on an upper-body fragment from one late-fifth-century bell krater, (No. 970, Fig. II.772)¹³⁴⁴ while another fragment of slightly-later date shows the head of a youthful Dionysos with a fillet and curling locks. (No. 971, Fig. II.773)¹³⁴⁵ The nude torso of another male appears on a further late-fifth or fourth-century body-sherd. (No. 972, Fig. II.774)¹³⁴⁶ Remaining depictions of human figures on published krater fragments consist of two small portions of drapery, (No. 973, Fig. II.775)¹³⁴⁷ (No. 974, Fig. II.776)¹³⁴⁸ and feet above a stopped-meander. (No. 975, Fig. II.777)¹³⁴⁹ A similar meander frieze appears below the legs of a kline and sympotic table on another krater fragment from the site, with both such lower-body fragments evidently having come from bell kraters of the late-fifth or fourth centuries. (No. 976, Fig. II.778)¹³⁵⁰ Lastly in addition to the body-sherds, two rim sherds with

¹³³⁸ Klinger (2003), 136

¹³³⁹ Klinger (2003), 136

¹³⁴⁰ Klinger (2003), 142, Figs.1, 2. The remaining sherds apparently belong to a further FP class cup, along with five early fifth-century cups, and a Type-A cup with a decorated tondo.

¹³⁴¹ A fourth century cup with spiral under the handle, and a Corinthian style skyphos. Klinger (2003), 140-141.

¹³⁴² Klinger (2003), 141-143, Figs.6, 7.

¹³⁴³ Klinger (2003), 138-139.

¹³⁴⁴ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁴⁵ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁴⁶ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁴⁷ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁴⁸ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁴⁹ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁵⁰ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

laurel patterns can likewise be assigned to bell kraters. (No. 977, Fig. II.779)¹³⁵¹ (No. 978, Fig. II.780)¹³⁵²

Alongside the kraters and cups, closed vessels including six lekythoi, (Nos.979-983) a squat-lekythos, (No. 984) and an askos were also reportedly found at Yavneh-Yam.¹³⁵³ Of the lekythos sherds, only a small red-figure fragment has been published.¹³⁵⁴ It evidently came from a large cylinder lekythos and shows an open hand, whose style has been compared with that of the Berlin Painter and dated to the second quarter of the fifth century. (No. 985, Fig. II.781)¹³⁵⁵ The askos, meanwhile, displays the paws of two confronted leopards and can be dated to fourth century. (No. 986, Fig. II.782)¹³⁵⁶

Lastly, the known figure-decorated Attic sherds from Yavneh-Yam also include fragments of three lids, two of which belonged to pyxides and one to a lekane. These bore images of Eros, (No. 987), a laurel wreath, (No. 988)¹³⁵⁷ and a fourth-century depiction of crouching sphinx respectively. (No. 989, Fig. II.783)¹³⁵⁸

In all then, the currently available information suggests that kraters constituted the majority of decorated Attic pottery from Yavneh-Yam (28/51=54.90%), followed by cups (12/51=23.53%), and closed shapes for oil such as lekythoi and askoi (8/51=15.69%). A small number of fourth-century lids for storage bowls like lekane and pyxides represent the remainder (3/51=5.88%). (Fig. I.82) Though full studies of local pottery from the site are yet to be published, the available data suggest a very different range of shapes to those represented among the imported fineware. For example, the ashlar buildings in Areas-A and B which yielded Attic pottery are also said to have contained assemblages of local Persian-era pottery comprising carinated shoulder jars, basket-handled amphorae and lamps.¹³⁵⁹ Likewise, a small selection of local ceramics from the Persian-era fills around the winepresses and kiln in the northern area of the site have been published. These included four bowls, seven jars, three amphorae and two

¹³⁵¹ Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁵² Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24; Fischer (2002a) 52, Fig. 5.

¹³⁵³ Klinger (2003), 136, 138-140.

¹³⁵⁴ The other two are reportedly a white-ground lekythos, four lekythos shoulder fragments, and a squat-lekythos of the Bulas Group.

¹³⁵⁵ Klinger (2003), 138, 142, Fig. 3

¹³⁵⁶ Klinger (2003), 138, 142, Fig. 5.

¹³⁵⁷ Klinger (2003), 139.

¹³⁵⁸ Klinger (2003), 139, 142, Fig. 4; Wolff (1998), 789, Fig. 24.

¹³⁵⁹ Wolff (1998a), 787.

lamps.¹³⁶⁰ These local vessels thus fulfilled a range of functions including illumination, food preparation and large-scale storage: functions clearly distinct from the Attic fineware tailored to the dispensing of wine and perfume along with occasional instances of personal domestic storage.

2.4. K: Southern Coast: Analysis

As elsewhere in Canaan, shapes for the dispensing of wine and perfumed oil make up the overwhelming majority of Attic figure-decorated pottery from the Southern Coastal Region, collectively accounting for 96.28% of all black and red-figure material. Here lekythoi and other small closed shapes for oil assume pride-of-place at 34.41% (73/215), followed by kraters at 33.95% (73/215) and cups at 27.91% (60/215). Only 3.27% (7/215) can be said to belong to any other vessel types. (Fig. I.83) Of these, most are shapes familiar from elsewhere in the region with lekanides, pixides, and amphorae, represented by two specimens each, while the single feeder or lamp-filler from Bat Yam stands as a unique example of this vessel type in Canaan. This limited selection of Attic shapes and the near exclusive focus on wine and perfume consumption can be contrasted with the available corpora of locally-produced pottery from Ashdod, Tel Gamma, and Yavneh-Yam. Through the inclusion of diverse shapes, including those for the storage, preparation, and consumption of food, the known assemblages of local coarseware consistently display a different and generally broader range of functions. This suggests that Attic pottery was intentionally selected to fulfill a limited range of uses.

The largest percentage of finds from stratified contexts were unearthed in Persian-era fills of little interpretive value. (19/42=45%) Behind this, however, are a significant number of fragments from residential structures. These account for 26.19% of stratified black and red-figure finds (11/42), with known examples of such domestic contexts occurring at L60 and Area-K at Ashdod, Unit-3 at Tel Gamma, and L303 at Tel Yaoz. To this can also be added the reported discovery of black and red-figure sherds in residential insulae at Ashkelon, though the precise identity of this material is unknown. In the case of the structures in Ashdod Area-K and Tel Yaoz, these structures can be identified as large elite dwellings, buttressing the impression that

¹³⁶⁰ Jakoel (2015), 43.

Attic pottery in Canaan was primarily used in households, and can be associated with higher-status individuals. After houses, the next largest number of fragments from Persian-era loci, 16.67% (7/42), were unearthed in storage installations, all at Tel Gamma. Given the placement of this area both on the border of the restive sometime province of Egypt, and at the westernmost terminus of the overland trade routes from the east, the large storehouses likely held merchandise imported and exported through the coastal emporia as well as military supplies. A potential association between Attic pottery and the imperial military is further suggested by the single aryballos found in the fortress at Ashdod. (Fig. I.84)

While the number of Attic pottery finds known from any specific site or region in Canaan, is more the result of excavation and publication history than a reflection of ancient reality: it is in no way surprising that this region has yielded the second largest regional corpus, after the northern coast, and especially large collections of known material from the sites of Ashdod, Tel Gamma, and Yavneh-Yam. Like those further north, the cities on this portion of the Mediterranean littoral would have benefited from the economic connectivity afforded by their coastal location and connections with, if not direct rule by, the Sidonians and Tyrians. In the case of those in the region of Gaza, these economic benefits would have been compounded by lucrative trade connections with Arabia via the Negev and Transjordan under Qedarite administration. This image of relative local affluence and the importance of economic connectivity is reinforced by the deposition of much of the imported Attic pottery from this region in both local elite homes and large commercial storehouses. The consistent dominance of limited Attic shapes for wine and oil in both of these contexts furthermore suggests that traders or buyers were involved in a process tailoring the selection to local tastes at some point prior to their final point of sale.

2.5: Southern Interior

2.5. A: Introduction

Of all the subregions explored herein, the southern inland region of Achaemenid-era Canaan has doubtless received the most scholarly attention outside the field of archaeology. This is because, at its heart sits the city of Jerusalem and the province of Yehud, whose resettlement by the Jewish returnees from Babylon provides the central narrative of the biblical books of Ezra and

Nehemiah, and whose literary and religious culture fostered the emergence of the biblical canon and Second-Temple Judaism.

Despite this focus, the province of Yehud proper seems to have been significantly poorer and more sparsely populated than its neighbours throughout the Persian period. The Babylonian conquest of 587/586 BCE devastated the population and urban infrastructure of the former Kingdom of Judah, with O. Lipschits' 2003 demographic study showing a precipitous decrease of 83.5% in the number of identified settlements in the Southern hill country of Canaan from the Late Iron Age to the Persian period and even greater decrease of 89% in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem.¹³⁶¹ There is no clear evidence to suggest that the advent of Persian hegemony, reversed these trends. Indeed, the sixth and fifth centuries actually seems to have been a period of continued population decline in Yehud, a trend which only began to reverse nearer the end of the Persian era.¹³⁶² The population, concordantly, seems to have remained largely rural throughout the period.¹³⁶³ The resettled area of Jerusalem itself was seemingly limited to a small, humble, settlement occupying the southern part of the City of David, with no evidence of rich tombs or major urban architecture having yet been discovered.¹³⁶⁴ Despite biblically attested projects to reassert the city's primacy by rebuilding its temple and walls, it seems that earlier Judahite administrative centres of the Babylonian era, such as Ramat Rachel and Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh) remained the administrative and economic centres of the province at least until the mid-fifth century.¹³⁶⁵ Archaeologically, the presence and reach of the Yehud's Achaemenid provincial administration is most clearly evinced by the proliferation of "*Yehud jars*" with the legends "יהוד", "יהוד", "יהוד" and "יהוד" impressed on their handles which have been discovered throughout the southern inland region of Canaan.¹³⁶⁶ Later, similar variations of the province's name also

¹³⁶¹ 170:28 and 134:15 respectively. Lipschits: Lipschits, Blenkinsopp (2003), 332-333.

¹³⁶² Lipschits: Lipschits, Blenkinsopp (2003); Becking (2006), 9-10.

¹³⁶³ Lipschits (2006), 29-30; Lipschits (2015).

¹³⁶⁴ Kenyon (1967), 105; Weinberg (1970), 204; Lipschits: Lipschits, Blenkinsopp (2003) 326-334; Lipschits (2005) 214-216; Lipschits (2006), 29-30. These limits, which seem most well-supported by the archaeology are proposed by the so-called "minimalist" camp: Avi-Yonah (1954); Tzafrir (1977); Williamson (1984); Eshel (2000); Stern (2001), 434-436. Ussishkin (2006) suggests a the possibility of a larger, mostly empty walled area with a small population. Maximalist estimates also include, at most a populated Southwest hill as well: Simons (1952), 437-458; Ben-Dov (2002), 84-87. For a very minimalist approach rejecting the existence of any Persian-era wall, and arguing for a very small population in Jerusalem and Yehud: See Finkelstein (2008); Finkelstein (2010).

¹³⁶⁵ Betlyon (1986), 633; Harison (1994), 100; Lipschits (2006), 34; Gitler et al. (2023), 335;

¹³⁶⁶ Stern (1982a), 245-250; Finkelstein (2010); Lipschits, Vanderhooff: Frevel et al. (2014), 43-66.

appear on the local coinage that began to be minted in Yehud in ca. 400 BCE, contemporaneously with that of other provinces in Canaan.¹³⁶⁷

Besides Yehud proper, the areas examined in this section also include the sites in the foothills of the Shephelah, whose location between the Judean highlands and the coastal plain of Philistia, mark it as something of a transitional zone mediating between the hill country and Phoenician coastal centres,¹³⁶⁸ as well as sites in the Negev desert to the south. While hosting a diverse range of peoples including Edomites, Judeans, Phoenicians, and Arabs, it appears that the Negev in this period fell primarily under the hegemony of the Qedarites. This Arabian kingdom, evidently with Persian imperial sanction, controlled the trade routes from Arabia to the Mediterranean via the southern regions of Canaan.¹³⁶⁹ From the late-fifth and early-fourth century, as a restive and newly independent Egypt came to pose a threat to the western frontier,¹³⁷⁰ a string of Achaemenid fort-towns arose along the Beer Sheva and Arad valleys in the Negev highlands and on strategic highpoints in the foothills. Such fortified military and administrative centres likely served to bolster imperial control of the frontier, while securing and supplying Canaan's valuable desert and coastal trade routes.¹³⁷¹

2.5. B: Beit Tzur

(Fig. I.1:39)

Beit Tzur sits atop a ridge 30km south of Jerusalem in the hill-country of Judah. The settlement mound rises to a height of 20m-100m above the neighbouring valley whence it commanded a strategic position at the junction of two ancient roads leading north to Jerusalem and west to the Shephelah.¹³⁷² O. R. Sellers directed two seasons of excavation at the site in 1931 and 1957 for the ASOR.¹³⁷³ During these excavations, the main feature uncovered was “the Citadel”, a palatial

¹³⁶⁷ Gitler et al. (2023).

¹³⁶⁸ For epigraphic evidence of the importance of the Shephelah and Negev in this period: Lemaire: Lipschits, Oeming (2006), 413-456.

¹³⁶⁹ Kloner, Stern: Lipschits (2007), 139-144; Levin (2007), 149-145; Bienkowski (2022), 48-79.

¹³⁷⁰ Fantalkin, Tal (2012), 237-264.

¹³⁷¹ Stern (2001), 220-221, 577-579; Lipschits (2006), 38; Faust (2018) interprets them as fortified elite domestic estates established as part of a concerted Achaemenid resettlement programme rather than as military and administrative strongholds. Either way they assert the presence and control of the imperial administration.

¹³⁷² Nakhai: Meyers (1997), s. v. “Beth-Zur”.

¹³⁷³ Sellers, Albright (1931); Sellers (1933); Funk (1954); Sellers. et al. (1968).

complex consisting of two massive administrative or elite residential structures which occupied nearly the entire summit of the hill.¹³⁷⁴ It was in the debris south of these structures that the only published piece of decorated Attic pottery was found. This body fragment belongs to a red-figure skyphos from the latter half of the fifth century and depicts a draped outstretched arm reaching above a low block towards vegetation. (No. 990, Fig. II.784)¹³⁷⁵ While a Hellenistic date was initially proposed for the construction of the Citadel,¹³⁷⁶ R. Reich has argued for the dating of its initial phases to be raised to the Persian-period, noting architectural parallels to the Lachish “Residency” and Achaemenid architecture at Susa.¹³⁷⁷ Reich has further proposed that the site should be identified specifically as a governor’s residence, in light of literary evidence from the book of Nehemiah referring to Beit Tzur as the seat of governance for a “half-district”.¹³⁷⁸ As such, the deposition of this Attic sherd in the vicinity of this residence, further links the cup with the sphere of the local ruling elite.

2.5. C: Ein Gedi

(Fig. I.1:41)

The mound of Tel-Goren holds the remains of the ancient settlement at Ein Gedi, by the western shore of the Dead Sea. The Persian-era layer, Strat. IV, was excavated during the 1961-1965 seasons under the direction of B. Mazar and I. Dunayevsky.¹³⁷⁹ These excavations yielded a large assemblage of around eighty-seven pieces of Attic pottery, including both black-glazed and figure-decorated fragments,¹³⁸⁰ nearly all of which were found in the rooms of a large residential structure: Building-234. (Fig. I.85) At approximately 550m², this building was by far the largest of the Persian-era structures at the site, and contained twenty-seven ground-floor rooms and courtyards, originally surmounted by a second storey.¹³⁸¹ It can be dated with the aid of the Attic pottery, much of which was deposited directly on the floors and sealed in a pair of destruction

¹³⁷⁴ Sellers (1933).

¹³⁷⁵ Sellers (1933), 41, Fig. 33:1.

¹³⁷⁶ Sellers (1933), 11; Sellers. et al. (1968), 17.

¹³⁷⁷ Reich (1992).

¹³⁷⁸ Neh.3:17; Reich (1992), 122.

¹³⁷⁹ Mazar, Dothan, Dunayevsky (1963); Mazar, Dunayevky (1964); Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967). Subsequent expeditions focussed on later periods: Hadas (2005).

¹³⁸⁰ Stern: Stern (2007), 230-240.

¹³⁸¹ Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967), 134-140.

events. The initial habitation phase evidently spanned from second quarter of the fifth century until the building's partial destruction ca. 400 BCE.¹³⁸² Attic fragments from this phase were found at loci throughout the building, while those postdating the destruction were found only in and around the southwest corner in the stratum beginning about 40cm above the fifth-century floor and in the fill above. As argued by Stern, this suggests that one habitable corner of the building continued to be occupied after a destruction event that damaged the rest of the house and much of the surrounding settlement around the turn of the fourth-century. This latter occupation was on a far more modest scale and itself came to an end ca. 350-340 BCE when a second destruction event led to the abandonment of the settlement.¹³⁸³

All of the identifiable fragments of black and red-figure pottery from Ein Gedi belong to lekythoi. (Fig. I.86) The remains of three vessels were found directly on the fifth-century floors of Building-234. These included the neck-and-shoulder fragments of two black-figure lekythoi of ca. 500-460 BCE. One, adorned with a palmette-chain, (No. 991, Fig. II.785)¹³⁸⁴ was found in Rm.249, near the heart of the building.¹³⁸⁵ The other is decorated with rays and was found in Rm.229. (No. 992, Fig. II.786)¹³⁸⁶ This latter room, located in the southwest corner,¹³⁸⁷ also yielded a red-figure squat-lekythos with a palmette. (No. 993, Fig. II.787)¹³⁸⁸ Such squat-lekythoi were produced at the end of the fifth century and into the fourth, and thus it must have been purchased very shortly before the destruction of building's first phase. A further squat-lekythos fragment, of similar date, shows a feathered wing and was found at an unidentified location within the building. (No. 994, Fig. II.788)¹³⁸⁹ The final sherd found within Building-234 is a red-figure body piece showing a bent knee emerging from a chitoniskos. (No. 995, Fig. II.789)¹³⁹⁰ While the vessel itself should be dated to ca. 475-450 BCE, it was found in a fourth-century fill in the building's southwest corner.¹³⁹¹ A wall of the yard directly outside this corner also incorporated a piece of a red-figure squat-lekythos into its construction.¹³⁹² The fragment

¹³⁸² Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967), 138.

¹³⁸³ Stern: Stern (2007), 230.

¹³⁸⁴ IAA-1927-2064a; Stern: Stern (2007), 240, Pl. 5.4.5:10.

¹³⁸⁵ Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967), 134-137, Fig. 1; Stern: Stern (2007), 233, Fig. 5.4.1.

¹³⁸⁶ IAA-1927-2064b; Stern: Stern (2007), 238, Pl. 5.4.3:3.

¹³⁸⁷ Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967), 134-137, Fig. 1; Stern: Stern (2007), 233, Fig. 5.4.1.

¹³⁸⁸ Reg. No. 1679; Stern: Stern (2007), 238, Pl. 5.4.3:8.

¹³⁸⁹ Reg. No. 2084/2; Stern: Stern (2007), 239, Pl. 5.4.4:14.

¹³⁹⁰ Reg. No. 1477; Stern: Stern (2007), 238, Pl. 5.4.3:14.

¹³⁹¹ L233.

¹³⁹² W221.

shows a torch with flames of added-white, (No. 996, Fig. II.790)¹³⁹³ and should be dated to ca. 450-425 BCE. Its discovery within the wall thus provides a useful *terminus post quem* for the structure. The Persian-era fills west of the house also yielded two shoulder-fragments from red-figure lekythoi, one painted with rays, (No. 997, Fig. II.791)¹³⁹⁴ and the other with no surviving decoration. (No. 998, Fig. II.792)¹³⁹⁵

The rest of the decorated Attic pottery was found out-of-context in unknown or later deposits. These include a fourth-century squat-lekythos fragment with net-pattern from the fill against a Hellenistic wall (No. 999, Fig. II.793)¹³⁹⁶ and two black-figure shoulder sherds adorned with rays. One of these shoulder fragments was built into a Roman-era wall, (No. 1000, Fig. II.794)¹³⁹⁷ while the other was found on the surface and features ivy and part of a figure on the extant portion of its upper body. (No. 1001, Fig. II.795)¹³⁹⁸ Both should be dated to the first half of the fifth century. Finally, a body fragments of a white-ground pattern lekythos has no recorded findspot, but is likely of similar date and displays a reserved zigzag above an open palmette. (No. 1002, Fig. II.796)¹³⁹⁹

The fact that all twelve of the decorated Attic sherds from Ein Gedi belong to lekythoi is striking, especially when compared with the variety of local Persian-era pottery and Attic black-glazed ware. Fragments of forty-eight Attic vessels from the site, including mainly black-glazed but also a small number of black and red-figure pieces, were published by H. A. Tompson and L. Talcott.¹⁴⁰⁰ While it is unknown how these specimens were selected or to what degree they are representative of the broader corpus, the range of shapes present is notable. The selection consisted of five cups and three lamps, as well as a lekythos and a plate.¹⁴⁰¹ Building-234 itself provides a useful case study from a single dwelling. All of the Attic pottery from the building has also been published including black-glazed material, though it should be noted that some of this material, especially rims, handles, and feet, may have come from figure-decorated vessels. A sizeable majority of these black fragments belonged to cups and skyphoi (38/67=56.72%),

¹³⁹³ Reg. No. 1004/9; Stern: Stern (2007), 240, Pl. 5.4.5:14.

¹³⁹⁴ Reg. No. 1145/1; L223. All unpublished objects from Ein Gedi courtesy of IAA.

¹³⁹⁵ Reg. No. 2187/7; L238.

¹³⁹⁶ Reg. No. 230/1; L42, Stern, Matskevitch: Stern et al. (2007), 78.

¹³⁹⁷ Reg. No. 193; W193 Building 236.

¹³⁹⁸ Reg. No. 1160.

¹³⁹⁹ Reg. No. 2207; Stern: Stern (2007), 240, Pl. 5.4.5:16.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Plus one Hellenistic amphora. Stern: Stern (2007), 232.

¹⁴⁰¹ Stern: Stern (2007), 231.

though lekythoi, lamps, bowls, plates, jugs, and an askos are also represented.¹⁴⁰² The local pottery has not been as systematically published, however the available material does give some indication of the even wider range of functions for which such pottery was employed. The most common shapes among the published localware are bowls (30/151=19.87%) followed by jars (29/151=19.21%) and an equal number of kraters and juglets (15/151=9.93% each). Other shapes including jugs, pitchers, bottles, flasks, funnels, sieves, lamps, kernoi, and pixides are also present in smaller numbers.¹⁴⁰³ It thus appears that as the degree of luxury increased – from local coarseware, to imported black-glazed ware, to imported decorated ware – so too did the degree of specialization.

The elite status of Building-234's inhabitants, suggested firstly by the size of the dwelling and the abundance of Attic pottery, is further emphasised by the discovery of a conical chalcedony seal in Neo-Babylonian-style which was deposited on the floor of the building.¹⁴⁰⁴ The presence of this object suggests that the building's resident may have served some manner of administrative role. The significance of sphragistic evidence from the site also extends to impressions on local pottery. The Persian strata at Ein-Gedi produced a large number of "Yehud" jar handles.¹⁴⁰⁵ The abundance of these jars confirms Ein-Gedi's place within Yehud province, while also indicating its participation in the province's official system of supply and trade. In sum then, the Attic figure-decorated pottery from Ein-Gedi, consists exclusively of vessels for dispensing perfumed oil. Many of these appear to have been purchased for use within a single elite household, whose wealth and status likely derived from participation in provincial and regional trade and administration.

2.5. D: Ekron

(Fig. I.1:34)

Tel Mikne, identified as the ancient city of Ekron, is located in the eastern fields of Kibbutz Revadim.¹⁴⁰⁶ Portions of the mound were first excavated between 1981 and 1995 in a joint

¹⁴⁰² Stern: Stern (2007), 234-240.

¹⁴⁰³ Stern: Stern (2007), 199-229.

¹⁴⁰⁴ L248; Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967), 139.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Mazar, Dunayevsky (1964), 125; Mazar, Dunayevsky (1967), 134; Stern et al. (2007).

¹⁴⁰⁶ Naveh, (1958):87-100; Dothan, Gitin (1994), 2-28.

project of the Hebrew University and the Albright institute, with T. Dothan and S. Gitin codirecting.¹⁴⁰⁷ Situated in the Shephelah, at the eastern edge of the coastal plane, Ekron was one of the great cities of the biblical-era Philistine Pentapolis, and the acropolis of the city shows evidence of continuous occupation from Middle Bronze Age IIC through to the Babylonian destruction in 603 BCE.¹⁴⁰⁸ After this point the site was apparently occupied only sporadically with no later architectural remains having been discovered.¹⁴⁰⁹ An unidentified Attic sherd, perhaps showing a palmette from a black-figure cup, was found in a unstratified deposit northwestern of the Iron Age city wall. (No. 1003, Fig. II.797)¹⁴¹⁰

2.5. E: Eshtemoa

(Fig. I.1:43)

Excavations in the modern Palestinian town of As-Samu, identified with the ancient Judean village of Eshtemoa, were first conducted under the British Mandate in 1931.¹⁴¹¹ These excavations uncovered the shoulder fragment of a fifth-century lekythos out-of-context amongst the later fill in an Iron-Age Israelite-tomb. The fragment is decorated with a black palmette scroll in manner of the Bowdoin Painter and should be dated to ca. 475-450. (No. 1004, Fig. II.798)¹⁴¹²

2.5. F: Farah (South), Tell el-

(Fig. I.1:50)

The mound known as Tell el-Farah South sits on the banks of the Besor stream at the northwestern edge of the Negev, 24km southeast of Gaza and 30km west of Beer Sheva. W. M. Flinders Petrie first excavated the mound and adjacent necropolis in 1928-1929.¹⁴¹³ At this time the site was identified with the city of Beit Pelet, though this identification is no longer accepted, and no current consensus exists as to its ancient name. Architectural remains from the Persian

¹⁴⁰⁷ Gitin (1989); Dothan, Gitin: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Miqne, Tel".

¹⁴⁰⁸ Gitin, Dothan (1987), 197-222;

¹⁴⁰⁹ Later references include *1Macc.* 10:89, 14:34; Josephus, *Antiq.* 13:4:4; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, 11.9-10.

¹⁴¹⁰ Naveh (1958), 97, Pl. 23a:2.

¹⁴¹¹ Burrows (1932), 25.

¹⁴¹² P- 1931-232; Iliffe (1933), 21, No. 15, Pl. VII. A:2.

¹⁴¹³ Petrie et al. (1930).

and Hellenistic strata on the tel, collectively termed “Greek” by Petrie, are noted to have been remarkably sparse, as they were largely destroyed by Roman-era construction,¹⁴¹⁴ though all known Attic-pottery from the site was discovered in these early excavations. The renewed excavations directed by G. Lehmann for Ben Gurion University between 1998 and 2002 did reveal a small number of Persian-era (Strat.4b) wall segments near the summit of the mound (Area-2)¹⁴¹⁵ as well as significant assemblages of characteristic 5th-4th-century BCE pottery,¹⁴¹⁶ which along with the Attic material demonstrate the presence of an Achaemenid-era occupation at the site. This settlement appears to have been established after an occupation gap in the sixth century, the earlier town having been abandoned following the Babylonian conquest. The new Persian-era settlement is theorized by the most recent excavators, to have functioned as an Achaemenid military outpost, situated in the marchlands between the coastal plane around Gaza and the Negev desert.¹⁴¹⁷

A single Black-figure kylix of ca. 500 BCE is mentioned in Petrie’s publication, though no further details are provided. (No. 1005)¹⁴¹⁸ The only other published piece of Attic pottery from the site is the name vase of Beazley’s Beth Pelet Painter: a red figure lekythos of ca. 470-450 BCE depicting a woman standing next to a doric column. (No. 1006, Fig. II.799)¹⁴¹⁹ Part of a draped female figure, perhaps playing and aulos, also appears on a body sherd found at the site, seemingly from a krater of ca. 440-430 BCE. (No. 1007, Fig. II.800)¹⁴²⁰ A final shoulder sherd with a collar of tongues can be assigned to a red-figure closed shape, perhaps a stamnos or neck amphora. (No. 1008, Fig. II.801)¹⁴²¹

¹⁴¹⁴ Petrie et al. (1930), 20.

¹⁴¹⁵ Lehmann et al. (2018), 118.

¹⁴¹⁶ Lehmann et al. (2018), 121.

¹⁴¹⁷ Lehmann et al. (2018), 144.

¹⁴¹⁸ Petrie et al. (1930), 20.

¹⁴¹⁹ Oxford, Ashmolean: AN-1930-550; *ARV*2:729.4; BAPD:208957.

¹⁴²⁰ Oxford, Ashmolean: AN-1930-551. Cf. Cleveland, Museum of Art: 2023.3; *ARV*2, 1144.10, 1684; BAPD: 215150. Cf. Munich, Antikensammlungen: J296; *ARV*2, 1143.6; BAPD: 215146.

¹⁴²¹ Oxford, Ashmolean: AN-1930-549.

2.5. G: Gath (Tel Tzafit)

(Fig. I.1:36)

Tel Tzafit identified as the ancient Philistine city of Gath, is located on a plateau at the mouth of the Elah valley where the hills of the Shephelah meet the coastal plain 20km southwest of Ashdod. F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister's 1899 excavations yielded an unspecified number of Greek black and red-figure fragments all identified by the excavators as belonging to a general "Jewish Stratum" spanning from 800-300 BCE.¹⁴²² These fragments evidently came from the mixed contents of clearance pit and rubbish heap both dumped during Crusader-era construction. Among the finds from this latter deposit, was a red-figure white-ground lekythos. (No. 1009, Fig. II.802)¹⁴²³ This vase, which depicts a woman carrying an alabastron, can be compared to the work of the Achilles Painter and should be dated to ca. 450-425 BCE.

2.5. H: Gezer

(Fig. I.1:31)

Another of the Shephelah tels, Tel Gezer is located on the western end of the Ayalon Valley guarding the approach to Jerusalem from the coastal plane. The site covers an area of around 13ha and was continuously occupied between the Early Bronze Age and the Hellenistic Period.¹⁴²⁴ The mound was first excavated by R. A. S. Macalister in 1902-1909 under the auspices of the PEF.¹⁴²⁵ Only a small selection of Attic sherds were preserved and published from these excavations with no findspots recorded for any of them. These and other Persian-period finds were all listed as having come from a *longue-durée* "Hellenistic Period" spanning 550-100 BCE.¹⁴²⁶ No Achaemenid-era buildings were identified in the course of this excavation and any finds of this era evidently came either from the various pits and Persian-period "Philistine Graves" excavated by Macalister's team,¹⁴²⁷ or else from miscellaneous unknown loci

¹⁴²² Bliss, Macalister (1902), 35; Avissar, Maeir: Maeir (2012), 109-122. The later excavations in 1996-2010 directed by A. Boaz, T. Schneider, and A. Maeir also identified sparse remains of Persian-era domestic structures: Maeir (2012), 56

¹⁴²³ Bliss, Macalister (1902), 101, Fig. 40.

¹⁴²⁴ Dever: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Gezer".

¹⁴²⁵ Macalister (1912).

¹⁴²⁶ Macalister (1912) Vol.2, 211-226.

¹⁴²⁷ Macalister (1912), Vol.1, 289-300.

on the mound. Unless otherwise stated, most of the finds from Gezer are from these early excavations and thus lack firm contexts.

Major excavations at the site were again conducted between 1964 and 1974 by the Hebrew Union College (HUC) under the direction of G. E. Wright, W. G. Dever, and J. D. Seger.¹⁴²⁸ These later excavations identified the Persian-era cultural horizon as Stratum-IV on the mound.¹⁴²⁹ Apart from a plaster floor in Field-VII,¹⁴³⁰ and a tabun, silo, and small sections of wall in Field-II,¹⁴³¹ however, the architectural remains of this stratum are meagre, with the Persian-era occupation identifiable mainly through characteristic pottery finds such as Yehud-stamped jars and Attic imports.¹⁴³²

Of the Attic sherds uncovered in Macalister's excavations five can be identified as drinking cups. One rim can be attributed to the Saint-Valentin Class (No. 1010, Fig. II.803) and likely belonged to a stemless kantharos.¹⁴³³ Three other black-figure fragments can be identified as skyphoi or cup-skyphoi. The first, a small sherd with palmette-and-lotus-bud pattern, belonged to a vessel of ca 500-450 BCE. (No. 1011, Fig. II.804)¹⁴³⁴ Two larger body sherds, one displaying a palmette, (No. 1012, Fig. II.805)¹⁴³⁵ and the other an unidentifiable figure and ivy, (1013, Fig. II.806)¹⁴³⁶ likely came from skyphoi or cup-skyphoi of ca. 500-475 BCE and can perhaps be attributed to the Haimon group. Along with the skyphoi one fragment belonging to a black-figure kylix type-A was also found. (No. 1014, Fig. II.807) This piece depicts a running satyr with a drinking horn in the tondo and has been attributed to the Leafless Group.¹⁴³⁷

Lekythoi were discovered by both Macalister's and Gitin's excavations. The latter excavations uncovered fragments of two white-ground pattern-lekythoi that can be compared to those produced by the Beldam Workshop. The first, a lower-body fragment, (No. 1015, Fig.

¹⁴²⁸ Dever (1967); Dever (1970); Dever et al. (1971); *HA* (Oct.1971), 11-12; *HA* (Jul.1972), 12-13; *HA* (Oct.1972), 21-22; *HA* (Apr.1973), 16; *HA* (Jul.1974), 61-63; *HA* (Apr.1974), 13-14. Dever also resumed excavation under the sponsorship of the University of Arizona in 1984 and 1990: Dever (1984); Dever, Junker (1993).

And new excavations were conducted in 2006-2009 by the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and the IAA, directed by S. Ortiz and S. Wolff: Ortiz, Et. Al (2011).

¹⁴²⁹ Gitin (1990), 18-19;: Dever, Seger: Gilmour (2014), 16.

¹⁴³⁰ L44054; Gitin (1990), 18-19.

¹⁴³¹ Dever, (1974), 83-84.

¹⁴³² Gitin (1990), 19; Dever, Seger: Gilmour (2014), 16.

¹⁴³³ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:20. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954) Pls. 32:3,7; 34:16.

¹⁴³⁴ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:24.

¹⁴³⁵ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:21.

¹⁴³⁶ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:17.

¹⁴³⁷ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:15; *ABV*, 713.207; BAPD:306970.

II.808)¹⁴³⁸ was found in Area-44:L44022: a mixed fill containing Iron-Age-I through Hellenistic material.¹⁴³⁹ The second, a fragment of the shoulder and upper body, (No. 1016, Fig. II.809)¹⁴⁴⁰ was also found in a multi-period fill, Area-24:L24030, whose contents spanned from Iron Age II to the Hellenistic period.¹⁴⁴¹ A nearly complete white-ground pattern lekythos decorated with palmettes, likewise comparable to those of the Beldam Workshop, was also discovered by Macalister's expedition. (No. 1017, Fig.II.810).¹⁴⁴² The early excavations at the site also uncovered fragments of a black-figure shoulder lekythos depicting Dionysos lounging in a cave, which was attributed by Beazley to the School of Athens 581 and dated to between 500 and 480. (No. 1018, Fig. II.811)¹⁴⁴³

A lower-body fragment of a large red-figure vessel from Macalister's excavations shows the crossed legs and drapery of a seated male figure above an egg-and-dart frieze. This sherd appears to have belonged to a pelike and can likely be dated to ca. 420-400. If this identification is correct the piece represents one of only two pelikai known from finds in Persian-era Canaan. (No. 1019, Fig. II.812)¹⁴⁴⁴

Various other pieces of Greek pottery depicted in Macalister's drawings could not be located for study and because of their fragmentary nature and the lack of detailed publication their shapes cannot be determined with any certainty. Among these are a red-figure fragment, (perhaps from a krater) showing a male face dating to post-480 BCE, (No. 1020, Fig. II.813)¹⁴⁴⁵ as well as black-figure sherd (possibly from a hydria) depicting a fountain-house scene with a woman next to a lion-head spout. (No. 1021, Fig. II.814)¹⁴⁴⁶

In summary, of the known black and red-figure ceramics found at Tel Gezer 5/12 (41.7%) can be identified as wine cups, while 4/12 (33%) are lekythoi. Of the remaining sherds one is likely a pelike (likewise designed for the storage of wine), while the others cannot be securely identified. (Fig. I.87) The find contexts of these pieces are poor and aid little in their interpretation, as all are either of unknown provenience or come from unstratified deposits. A

¹⁴³⁸ Gitin (1990), Pl. 31:17.

¹⁴³⁹ Gitin (1990), 398-401.

¹⁴⁴⁰ IAA-1976-1237; Gitin (1990). Pl.46:18.

¹⁴⁴¹ Gitin (1990), 398-401.

¹⁴⁴² Jerusalem, Rockefeller: V-372; Macalister (1912), Vol.2, 212, Fig. 362.

¹⁴⁴³ P-195; Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:23; *ABV*:493.103; *BAPD*:303618.

¹⁴⁴⁴ P-1459; Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:15a. The other being No. 196 from Dor.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:19.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Macalister (1912), Vol.3, Pl. 177:22. On this motif: Bahl (2003); Lewis (2013), 72-74.

catalogue of diagnostic local pottery types from Tel Gezer was also published by Gitin. The published shapes include various jars,¹⁴⁴⁷ mortaria,¹⁴⁴⁸ jugs,¹⁴⁴⁹ bowls,¹⁴⁵⁰ cooking pots,¹⁴⁵¹ kraters,¹⁴⁵² juglets,¹⁴⁵³ lamps,¹⁴⁵⁴ flasks,¹⁴⁵⁵ and amphorae,¹⁴⁵⁶ as well as a chalice and a funnel,¹⁴⁵⁷ thus displaying a wider variety of forms and functions than the Attic imports.

2.5. I: Hebron

(Fig. I.1:40)

Within the modern city of Hebron, 30km south of Jerusalem, the remains of the ancient city of the same name have been identified at Tel Rumeida in the Admot Yishai neighbourhood. After the destruction of the Iron-Age-IIc Judahite city in the Babylonian conquest, the city was apparently occupied by Edomites throughout the Persian period until its reconquest by the Hasmoneans during the Maccabean revolt.¹⁴⁵⁸ No Persian-era architectural remains have yet been published by any of the three excavation projects at the site.¹⁴⁵⁹ However, a complete black-figure kylix at the Maritime Museum in Haifa is recorded as having come from the city. (No. 1022, Fig. II.815)¹⁴⁶⁰ This cup is decorated with two identically-arranged battle scenes. On Side-A the scene depicts Herakles' duel with Kyknos.¹⁴⁶¹ The combatants are supported by Athena and Ares, respectively, while Zeus parts the fray. On Side-B the fight is instead between two hoplites, with the supporting gods replaced by sphinges. A further sphinx also appears in the

¹⁴⁴⁷ 39 published examples: Gitin (1990), 72-74.

¹⁴⁴⁸ 26 published examples: Gitin (1990), 78-79.

¹⁴⁴⁹ 10 published examples: Gittin (1990), 74.

¹⁴⁵⁰ 8 published examples: Gitin (1990), 76-77.

¹⁴⁵¹ 6 published examples: Gitin (1990), 79.

¹⁴⁵² 6 published examples: Gitin (1990), 77-78.

¹⁴⁵³ 4 published examples: Gitin (1990), 76.

¹⁴⁵⁴ 3 published examples: Gitin (1990), 79.

¹⁴⁵⁵ 1 flask and 2 examples that may be flasks, Amphorae published: Gitin (1990), 75.

¹⁴⁵⁶ 1 published examples: Gitin (1990), 74.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Gitin (1990), 76

¹⁴⁵⁸ Eisenberg, Ben-Shlomo (2016), 1.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Larue (1965); Hammond (1966); Ofer (1987); Eisenberg (2016); Eisenberg, Ben-Sholomo (2016).

¹⁴⁶⁰ Haifa, Maritime Museum:3102; *Para*:312, 314;Zardini (2009), 391, No. 47.

¹⁴⁶¹ On this motif: Zardini (2009).

tondo. The cup has been variously attributed by Beazley to the Caylus Painter or Leafless Group and can be dated to ca. 500-480 BCE¹⁴⁶²

2.5. J: Hesi, Tel

(Fig. I.1:45)

The ancient terrace at Tel Hesi sits atop a group of dunes on the south bank of the eponymous Wadi Hesi, situated at the western edge of the coastal plain and the northern skirts of the Negev. The 1.62-hectare mound at the terrace's northeastern corner served in various periods as an acropolis or citadel, and was the focus of the Persian-era occupation.¹⁴⁶³ The first major excavation of the mound was conducted between 1890 and 1892 under the auspices of the PEF with first W. M. F. Petrie, and then F. J. Bliss directing.¹⁴⁶⁴ This expedition was of seminal importance in establishing a ceramic chronology for Levantine archaeology, though, unfortunately none of the Attic sherds, assignable to Petrie's "Jewish Period", have recorded contexts. A second excavation, a joint expedition affiliated with the ASOR, took place between, 1970 and 1983.¹⁴⁶⁵ These later excavations identified five occupational substrata on the acropolis dateable to the Persian-era: Strat. Vd (ca. 500-460 BCE), Strat. Vc (ca. 460-430 BCE), Strat. Vb (ca. 430-400 BCE), and Strat. Va (ca. 400-350 BCE). (Figs. I.83-92)¹⁴⁶⁶ In each of these phases, the south of the excavated area was occupied by a series of large stone structures, which in the earlier phases formed part of a casemate wall. The area to the north, meanwhile remained an open area characterised by a succession of hard-packed earth surfaces dotted with pits and remnants of small structures.¹⁴⁶⁷ In each of these phases, the pits and fills contained large amounts of dung and grain, material which between phases Vd and Vc was extensively burned, forming a deep ash layer between these substrata.¹⁴⁶⁸ It is likely that the site functioned as a Persian military garrison and supply depot in the marchland dividing Yehud, the Shephelah, and

¹⁴⁶² Caylus Painter: *ABV*, 649-651; Leafless Group: *ABV*, 632-653; Boardman (1974), 150-151, 194. On these painters and their exported vessels: Morais (2020).

¹⁴⁶³ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 1; Fargo: Meyers (1997), s. v. "Hesi, Tell El-".

¹⁴⁶⁴ Petrie (1891); Bliss (1894); Toombs (1990).

¹⁴⁶⁵ Blakely, Toombs (1980); Toombs (1985); Bennet, Blakely (1989); Dahlberg, O'Connell (1989).

¹⁴⁶⁶ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 20-67.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 14-20, Figs.7-11.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 16.

the Qedarite-controlled Negev.¹⁴⁶⁹ All of the Attic pottery from the Joint Expedition was admirably published by M. K. Risser and J. A. Blakely in 1989, as part of the project's final report.¹⁴⁷⁰ This publication was among the earliest to systematically present all of the Attic ceramics from a site in Israel, and it remains one of the best and most thorough publications of its kind.

Twenty-four decorated Attic drinking vessels can be identified among the finds from Tel Hesi, of which black-figure pieces are most numerous. The best-preserved of these is a complete cup-skyphos currently on display in the Israel Museum which shows a youth leading a horse by a tether between palmettes. (No. 1023, Fig. II.816)¹⁴⁷¹ The figures are rendered in silhouette in the manner the Lancut Group and should be dated to ca. 500-470 BCE. Partial figures, likewise rendered in the simplistic black-figure style of the Haimon Group or related early-fifth-century painters, occur on four other cup-skyphos body sherds. The wheel of a chariot along with part of its driver's garment appear with a solid-centred palmette on one such fragment from the Strat. Vd ash layer, (No. 1024, Fig. II.817)¹⁴⁷² while three others show parts of unidentifiable figures next to dot foliage. (No. 1025, Fig. II.818)¹⁴⁷³ (No. 1026, Fig. II.819)¹⁴⁷⁴ (No. 1027, Fig. II.820)¹⁴⁷⁵ As with the previous fragment, one of these pieces was discovered in the Vd ash layer with Iron-Age-II and Persian-era pottery, while the others are from later mixed deposits. Other cup-skyphos pieces, one from a Strat. Vc fill, (No. 1028, Fig. II.821)¹⁴⁷⁶ and the others found out-of-context either as surface-finds (No. 1029, Fig. II.822)¹⁴⁷⁷ or in later deposits. (No. 1030, Fig. II.823)¹⁴⁷⁸ (No. 1031, Fig. II.824)¹⁴⁷⁹ (No. 1032, Fig. II.825)¹⁴⁸⁰ show only portions of black-

¹⁴⁶⁹ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 336-338. On the Achaemenid military: Head, Scollins (1992); Sekunda (1992); Hassan: Jacobs, Rolinger (2021), 1151-1159; Tuplin, Jacobs: Jacobs, Rolinger (2021), 1161-1181.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 96-137.

¹⁴⁷¹ Jerusalem, Israel Museum:69.9.35; Wenning: Uehlinger (2000), Pl. XLIII. Cf. Ullastret: 2575; BAPD: 31286. Cf. Ure (1927), Pl. XXIII:139.42. Wenning misidentifies provenience as Tel Gamma, Contra [https://www. Imj. Org. II/en/collections/371966](https://www.Imj.Org.II/en/collections/371966), accessed.03/08/2022.

¹⁴⁷² Attributed by A. B. Brownalee; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 96. No. 29. L13.145: Bennett, Blakely (1985), 384.

¹⁴⁷³ Reg. No. H83-27377; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 97, No. 33; L11.000 (Unlisted).

¹⁴⁷⁴ Reg. No. H75-989; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 41; L21.180 (Unlisted, Post-Vd)

¹⁴⁷⁵ Reg. No. H75-4949; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 37; L12.189, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 33, 399.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Reg. No. H73-2598; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 38; L11.247, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 395.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Reg. No. H71-5283; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 97, No. 32; L11.000 (Unlisted).

¹⁴⁷⁸ Reg. No. H83-27377; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 97, No. 33; L13.107(Unlisted, Post-Vd).

¹⁴⁷⁹ Reg. No. H73-2940; Attributed by A. B. Brownalee; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 97, No. 34; L22.095 (Unlisted).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Reg. No. H81-20991; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 36; L13.073 (Unlisted).

figure palmettes. Lastly, two rims and three body sherds belonging to black-figure cups, have extant decoration too minimal to be readily legible. Of these three came from the ash layer, (No. 1033)¹⁴⁸¹ (No. 1034, Fig. II.826)¹⁴⁸² (No. 1035, Fig. II.827)¹⁴⁸³ with the others having been found in a probe (No. 1036, Fig. II.828)¹⁴⁸⁴ and on the surface (No. 1037, Fig. II.829)¹⁴⁸⁵.

Of the red-figure cup sherds, one, displaying olive leaves, belongs to rim of an owl skyphos (No. 1038, Fig. II.830)¹⁴⁸⁶ while two others show only small portions of drapery. (No. 1039, Fig. II.831) (No. 1040, Fig. II.832)¹⁴⁸⁷ Four further sherds belong to cups of the Saint-Valentin Class. Of these, a lip (No. 1041, Fig. II.833)¹⁴⁸⁸ and two body sherds (No. 1042, Fig. II.834)¹⁴⁸⁹ (No. 1043, Fig. II.835)¹⁴⁹⁰ may belong to a single skyphos, while the other comes from the upper body of a kantharos. (No. 1044, Fig. II.836)¹⁴⁹¹ Only the lip and the kantharos sherd were found in recorded loci,¹⁴⁹² the former in a mixed deposit in an ash pit,¹⁴⁹³ and the latter in a Strat. Va fill.¹⁴⁹⁴

Besides these standard wheel-made cups, other red-figure fragments seem to have belonged to mould-made figure-vases. A black-glazed segment from a head-vase of ca. 480-470 BCE with raised dots representing hair was found in the makeup of a phase-Vc wall. (No. 1045, Fig. II.837)¹⁴⁹⁵ Other fragments from the site belong to the wheel-thrown upper bodies of figure

¹⁴⁸¹ Reg. No. H75-2328; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 35; L21.188: Bennett, Blakely (1989), 405.

¹⁴⁸² Reg. No. H71-6855; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 39, Fig. 72; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 40, 404. L21.161

¹⁴⁸³ Reg. No. H71-3997; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 96, No. 28; L2.141: Bennett and Blakely (1985), 380.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Reg. No. H71-2515; Attributed by A. B Brownlee; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 96, No. 30; L11.191, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 390.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Reg. No. H73-2669; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 42; L22.099 (unlisted).

¹⁴⁸⁶ Reg. No. H83-27082; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 100, No. 51; L13.100 (Unlisted).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Reg. Nos. H73-944, H75-184; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 104, Nos. 63, 65; L22.075, L12.123 (Unlisted).

¹⁴⁸⁸ Reg. No. H73-5070; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 105, No. 69. Cf. Howard, Johnson (1954), Group IV, Pl.34:19.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Reg. No. H81-19694; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 106, No. 70; L12.321 (unlisted); Likely Howard and Johnson Group-IV: Howard, Johnson (1945), Pls.34.19.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Reg. No. H73-659; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 105, No. 71.

¹⁴⁹¹ Reg. No. H71-1267; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 105, No. 68. Likely Group-II or V: Howard, Johnson (1945), Pls.33:9, 34:16.

¹⁴⁹² The other is from L12.321 (Unlisted).

¹⁴⁹³ L2.118; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 379.

¹⁴⁹⁴ L22.111; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 405.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Reg. No. H71-6104; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 103, No. 55. On head vases: Beazley (1929). L.1.120, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 38, 370.

kantharoi.¹⁴⁹⁶ Three such sherds were found in a pit and belong to a single red-figure vessel of ca. 440-430 BCE showing Eos's pursuit of Kephalos, (No. 1046, Fig. II.838)¹⁴⁹⁷ while another shows the head of an Amazon painted in Six's technique below the lip of a vase dating to ca. 490-470 BCE. (No. 1047, Fig. II.839)¹⁴⁹⁸

Along with the cups, remnants of fourteen kraters were also found at Tel Hesi. Diagnostic pieces of six such vases allow them to be identified as column kraters, likely all dating to ca. 480-440 BCE. Three joining and three non-joining fragments of the same column krater rim, collectively about half the circumference of the mouth, were found in a pit, whose unstratified contents spanned the Early Bronze Age to the Persian period. The reserved clay of the lip is adorned with two motifs in black: a linked-lotus chain on the upper surface, and ivy with schematised dot-leaves on the outer face. (No. 1048, Fig. II.840)¹⁴⁹⁹ This same style of ivy also appears on a similar lip discovered during Bliss's excavations, (No. 1049, Fig. II.841)¹⁵⁰⁰ while linked lotus buds can be seen on a column krater neck fragment discovered in a probe into Pre-Vd layers along a baulk. (No. 1050, Fig. II.842)¹⁵⁰¹ The two column krater body sherds likewise display only portions of border ornamentation: a vertical dot-leafed-ivy frame on the upper-body piece, (No. 1051, Fig. II.843)¹⁵⁰² and black rays from a fragment of the lower body just above the foot. (No. 1052, Fig. II.844)¹⁵⁰³ This latter sherd was found within a pit, whose stratified contents included numerous loom weights and two bronze fibulae, as well as fragments of ivory, bone, iron and copper, all suggesting a depository for domestic and industrial detritus.

In contrast with the column krater sherds, the remains of five bell kraters found at the site all preserve identifiable portions of figures and figural scenes. The most complete of these, comprising two pairs of joining body fragments, along with three joining lip fragments and a

¹⁴⁹⁶ The head-vase is likely also a kantharos, see Beazley (1929), Figs.3, 4, 8, 9, 12. However this is not entirely certain as other head-vase shapes, such as oinochai were also produced, see Beazley (1929), Figs.2, 6, 7, 10, 11.

¹⁴⁹⁷ IAA:1992-1115; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 100, No. 54.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Reg. No. H83-28893; IAA:1983-302; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 105, No. 67. On Six's Technique: Six (1888); Haspels et al. (1969); Grossman (1991); Cohen: Cohen (2006), 71-105; Brijder (2008). Bennet and Blakely attribute to Group of Negro Alabastra: See *ARV2*, 267-269; Neils (1980); Boardman (1989), 114; Neils (2007).

¹⁴⁹⁹ IAA:1976-643; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 99, No. 46; L12.249.1, Bennett, Blakely (1989), 30, 400.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Rose et al. (1976), 144, Fig. 18:1; BAPD:29270.

¹⁵⁰¹ Reg. No. H71-2220; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 99, No. 44; L.2.133, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 23, 33, 131, 380.

¹⁵⁰² Reg. No. H70-471; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 99, No. 47; L.31.048, (unlisted).

¹⁵⁰³ Reg. No. H83-30519; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 99, No. 45; L.3.217, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 16, 30, 385.

handle all found in a Strat. Vd pit,¹⁵⁰⁴ appear to have belonged to a single vase of ca. 430-410 BCE. The extant body decoration forms part of a pursuit scene, similar to that on the two Niobid Painter kraters from Samaria.¹⁵⁰⁵ The lower body of the pursuing youth (possibly identifiable as Theseus)¹⁵⁰⁶ carrying spears, can be seen along with the drapery of an attendant and the turned, diademed head of the fleeing woman. The laurel pattern on the lip and the egg-and-dart surrounding the handle are also preserved. (No. 1053, Fig. II.845)¹⁵⁰⁷ The body sherd from another bell krater of similar date was found in a post-Hellenistic deposit, and shows the hands of an aulos player, (No. 1054, Fig. II.846)¹⁵⁰⁸ likely from a komos or symposion scene. Likewise indicative of a sympotic theme are the legs of a kline and table pictured above a stopped-meander-and-chequerboard frieze on two joining lower-body sherds of a late-fifth or early-sixth-century discovered during Bliss's excavations. (No. 1055, Fig. II.847)¹⁵⁰⁹ Four other bell krater body fragments show portions of drapery. One such sherd was found out-of-context in a post-Hellenistic stratum. (No. 1056, Fig. II.848)¹⁵¹⁰ The others came from mixed fills of Early-Bronze-Age-to-Persian-era (No. 1057, Fig. II.849)¹⁵¹¹ and Iron-Age-II-to-Hellenistic date, (No. 1058, Fig. II.850)¹⁵¹² as well as from a probe into Strat. Vb mud-brick detritus. (No. 1059, Fig. II.851)¹⁵¹³

Three additional body fragments come from kraters of indeterminate type. A post-Hellenistic deposit yielded one large body sherd on which the bare leg and hanging mantle of a standing figure can be seen, painted in a style datable to ca. 440-420 BCE. (No. 1060, Fig. II.852)¹⁵¹⁴ Meanwhile, the two other body fragments feature unidentifiable red-figure decoration, and were both discovered in loci containing Early-Bronze-Age to Persian-era

¹⁵⁰⁴ L12.249, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 16, 30, 131, 400.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Nos. 654, 655.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (1987).

¹⁵⁰⁷ IAA:1967-1193; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 99, No. 48.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Reg. No. H83-28122; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 104, No. 66. L13.166 (Unlisted).

¹⁵⁰⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P-197.

¹⁵¹⁰ Reg. No. H70-200; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 100, No. 50; L31.045 (Unlisted).

¹⁵¹¹ Reg. No. H71-6173; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 103, No. 56; L2.154, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 23, 131, 381.

¹⁵¹² Reg. No. H71-5982; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 100, No. 49; L3.130, Bennett, Blakely (1989), 40, 383.

¹⁵¹³ Reg. No. H75-2781; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 103, No. 60; L22.187, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 49, 407.

¹⁵¹⁴ Reg. No. H81-19692; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), No. 62; L12.231.2 (Unlisted).

material: one in a probe (No. 1061, Fig. II.853)¹⁵¹⁵ and the other amidst the remains of mudbricks. (No. 1062, Fig. II.854)¹⁵¹⁶

The greatest number of decorated Attic fragments from Tel Hesi belong to lekythoi and other oil bottles, with the remains of twenty-five such vessels identified. Among these, parts of four black-figure lekythoi display remnants of figural scenes. The most complete of these motifs is a fragmentary agonistic scene comprising the equipment and nude bodies of a discobolus and acontist, preserved across three sherds. (No. 1063, Fig. II.855)¹⁵¹⁷ All were found out-of-context in a post-Hellenistic stratum, though the vase itself should be dated to ca. 500-480 BCE. Two further sherds, likewise belonging to a single black-figure lekythos of the early-fifth century were found in a rubbish pit whose use spanned the late Iron Age and Persian-era.¹⁵¹⁸ The sherds appear to show portions of black-figure drapery with swirling incisions and added purple detailing, on a background of eggshell-white. (No. 1064, Fig. II.856) (No. 1065, Fig. II.857)¹⁵¹⁹ Part of a figure and dot-leaf ivy are extant on another white-ground sherd found in the topsoil, and dateable to between the late-sixth and mid-fifth centuries, (No. 1066, Fig. II.858)¹⁵²⁰ while the black-figure decoration on a further white-ground fragment is illegible. (No. 1067, Fig. II.859)¹⁵²¹

Nine other white-ground fragments belong to pattern lekythoi, dating to ca. 475-425 BCE. Seven of these sherds display the black lattice pattern common on the products of the Beldam Workshop. This pattern appears alone above a black band on one lower-body sherd from a Strat. Vd pit, (L11.326) (No. 1068, Fig. II.860)¹⁵²² whereas on others it is paired with a range of geometric and vegetal patterns. For example, it appears under key-meanders on three further sherds, (No. 1069)¹⁵²³ one of which was found in the same pit as the previous fragment and also featured rays on its surviving shoulder, (No. 1070, Fig. II.861)¹⁵²⁴ while another was found in a

¹⁵¹⁵ Reg. No. H75-284; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 103, No. 59; L12.137, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 397.

¹⁵¹⁶ L22.180; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 60, 407.

¹⁵¹⁷ Reg. No. H81-24993; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 40; L.13.075 (Unlisted).

¹⁵¹⁸ L12.249.2, L.11.326.5; Bennett, Blakely (1989), 40, 400.

¹⁵¹⁹ Reg. Nos. H79-13417, H71-6466; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 96, Nos. 25, 26.

¹⁵²⁰ Reg. Nos. H79-13417, H75-1757; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 96, No. 25, 27;

¹⁵²¹ Reg. No. H77-2601; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 98, No. 43; L22.210 (unlisted).

¹⁵²² Reg. No. H79-11917; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 107, No. 75; L11.326, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 395. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls.70:1,6-8; 71:1,2.

¹⁵²³ Reg. No. H75-4500; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 109, No. 81; L32.137(unlisted). Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls.70:3,6.

¹⁵²⁴ Reg. No. H79-12649; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 107, No. 76. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:3, 6, 8; 71:1.

further Strat. Vd pit (L3.217). (No. 1071, Fig. II.862)¹⁵²⁵ The pit which held the black-figure pieces discussed above (L12.249) also contained a further pattern lekythos sherd, on which the lattice appears above ivy:(No. 1072, Fig. II.863)¹⁵²⁶ a combination of motifs also present on two other fragments from unlisted post-Hellenistic loci. (No. 1073, Fig. II.864)¹⁵²⁷(No. 1074, Fig. II.865)¹⁵²⁸ Besides the recurrent lattice motif, Pit L12.249 also yielded two joining body sherds on which a scroll of open opposing palmettes appears below a meander. (No. 1075, Fig. II.866)¹⁵²⁹ A final pattern lekythos fragment from a Hellenistic-era deposit features a lozenge-net above a white zig-zag. (No. 1076, Fig. II.867)¹⁵³⁰

Two other vessels, one nearly complete and restored (sans only the mouth and foot), and the other represented by only a single lower-body sherd, likewise display remnants of white-ground but with no surviving body decoration. The lower-body sherd is broken off just above the black border band, (No. 1077, Fig. II.868)¹⁵³¹ while the shoulder of the restored vase displays a scroll of alternating open palmettes below tongues. (No. 1078, Fig. II.869)¹⁵³² The body of this cylinder lekythos was once likely painted in black or red-figure but all such decoration has flaked off.

In addition to the black-figure and white-ground lekythoi, the remains of four disparately-shaped red-figure oil bottles are also identifiable. A red-figure image of a winged goddess (likely Nike or Eos) attributed by Beazley to the Bowdoin Painter, appears below a key-meander on a lekythos body fragment, (No. 1079, Fig. II.870)¹⁵³³ while three shoulder fragments from the tel belong to an askos and two squat-lekythoi. The former is from an unstratified late deposit, and is decorated with the head and raised paw of a panther in an early-fourth-century idiom. (No. 1080, Fig. II.871)¹⁵³⁴ The latter, which feature egg-and-dart (No. 1081, Fig. II.872)¹⁵³⁵ and

¹⁵²⁵ Reg. No. H83-30522; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 107, No. 74; L3.217, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 385. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:3 ,6, 8; 71:1.

¹⁵²⁶ Reg. No. H81-22983; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 108, No. 78. Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl.70:5-8.

¹⁵²⁷ Reg. No. H83-29493; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 108, No. 79; L13.143 (unlisted). Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl.70:5-8.

¹⁵²⁸ Reg. No. H70-2551; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 108, No. 80; L3.078 (unlisted). Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pl.70:5-8.

¹⁵²⁹ Reg. No. H81-20909; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 108, No. 77.

¹⁵³⁰ Reg. No. H73-3945; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 109, No. 83; L32.092, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 420.

¹⁵³¹ Reg. No. H70-1400; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 109, No. 82.

¹⁵³² Reg. No. H73-3472; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 109, No. 84; L32.100 (unlisted).

¹⁵³³ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P196; *ARV*2, 680.67; BAPD:208015.

¹⁵³⁴ IAA:1973-420; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 102, No. 53; L21.175 (unlisted).

¹⁵³⁵ Reg. No. H81-21905; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 103, No. 58; L12.249.1.

tongues (No. 1082, Fig. II.873)¹⁵³⁶ encircling their respective necks, date to the late-fifth or fourth century and were both found in the same pit which also contained the two black-figure sherds discussed above (L12.249). A further red-figure sherd belongs to the upper-body of an indeterminate closed shape with illegible decoration. (No. 1083, Fig. II.874)¹⁵³⁷

Two other fragmentary cylinder-lekythoi may have had red-figure decoration on the missing sections of their bodies, or else may have belonged to fully black-bodied vases.¹⁵³⁸ One such vessel has been restored from joining sherds also found in pit L12.249.¹⁵³⁹ It is dateable to ca. 475-450 BCE and is ornamented with rays on the neck and shoulder, while a pomegranate-net-frieze and key-meander frame its black-glazed body above and below. (No. 1084, Fig. II.875)¹⁵⁴⁰ Of the other vase dating to ca. 500-475 BCE only a single fragment is extant with a black palmette on the reserved clay of the shoulder and a black-gazed upper body. (No. 1085, Fig. II.876)¹⁵⁴¹

Finally, four other lekythos shoulder fragments likewise feature black decoration on reserved clay, with all displaying the common motif of tongues and rays. However, as no part of their bodies are extant it is impossible to determine which technique was employed in their wider decoration. One of these shoulder fragments was found on a hard-packed Strat. Vd surface along with animal bones and pottery of the Persian era and Iron Age IIc, (No. 1086, Fig. II.877)¹⁵⁴² while another was found in pit L.12.249 discussed above. (No. 1087, Fig. II.878)¹⁵⁴³ While the findspots of the others are unlisted. (No. 1088, Fig. II.879)¹⁵⁴⁴(No. 1089, Fig. II.880)¹⁵⁴⁵

The large, well-published corpus of Attic pottery from Tel Hesi allows the site to serve a useful case-study for both the shapes of black and red-figure pottery present and the contexts of this pottery's use and deposition. While many of the decorated Attic sherds were found out-of-context in later strata, pieces of 31 vases were discovered in secure Stratum-V deposits. In each of the Persian-era substrata it was exclusively within the open area north of the surviving

¹⁵³⁶ Reg. No. H81-20910; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 103, No. 57; L12.249.1.

¹⁵³⁷ Reg. No. H70-1474; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 104, No. 64.

¹⁵³⁸ On Black-bodied lekythoi; Kurtz (1975), 115-131.

¹⁵³⁹ L12.249.4; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 30, 400.

¹⁵⁴⁰ IAA:1981-712; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 106, No. 72.

¹⁵⁴¹ Reg. NoH83-30669; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 107, No. 73; L3220 (unlisted).

¹⁵⁴² Reg. No. H75-5510; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 110, No. 85; L3.138, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 384.

¹⁵⁴³ Reg. No. H81-21462; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 110, No. 91; L12.249.1, Bennet, Blakely (1989), 400.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Reg. No. H73-4747; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 111, No. 97; L22.11 (unlisted).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Reg. No. H73-4397; Risser, Blakely: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 111, No. 99; L12.064 (unlisted).

structures that such sherds were found in stratified contexts. Just under half of these (15/31) were deposited in pits, evidently as rubbish after use, and, apart from the single fragment built into the wall, all others were found in general Persian-era deposits amongst the packed surfaces and accumulated fills of the open area of the enclosure. The mud-brick detritus, within which two of these sherds were found may represent the remains of smaller ephemeral structures or storage installations within the enclosure, features consonant with the site's supposed role in provisioning and garrisoning troops. The association of the site with the Achaemenid military makes it a useful point of comparison with other sites rich in Attic pottery, such as Dor and Tel Gamma, whose functions and economies seem to have been largely mercantile. Given the widespread presence of Attic pottery in non-military settlements throughout the region its presence at Tel Hesi does not necessarily suggest the presence of Greek mercenaries in the ranks, nor does it distinguish Tel Hesi from any other sizeable Achaemenid-era site in the Levant. The remarkable size of the Attic assemblage, which is larger than at any other inland site, does however suggest that those in the employ of the imperial military enjoyed relative economic prosperity, at least sufficient to allow the purchase of imported fineware from beyond the empire's borders. It is also worth noting that a significant percentage of the coarseware from the site was also identified by the Joint Expedition team as being imported, though, not from as far afield. In particular, a number of the mortaria were suggested to have come from Syria, Phoenicia and Cyprus.¹⁵⁴⁶ This fact further demonstrates the site's regional interconnectivity, which was likely fostered by its military function. Also worthy of mention is the fact that a large and well-preserved Persian-period necropolis was discovered at the site, but that none of the graves contained Attic pottery,¹⁵⁴⁷ further belying claims of significant Greek presence.

The shapes represented in the corpus of decorated Attic pottery from Tel Hesi are broadly consistent with those seen elsewhere in Canaan. Nearly the entire body of material is made up of cups (24/67=35.82%) kraters (15/67=22.39%), and closed shapes for perfume (26/67=38.81%). Only the single sherd of uncertain shape, and the head vase may stand as outliers. (Fig. I.93) Like elsewhere, these favoured fineware shapes contrast sharply with the range of coarseware. A large corpus of the coarseware pottery from Tel Hesi was published by the Joint Expedition, whose *modus operandi* was to retain all pottery from secure stratified contexts, though only

¹⁵⁴⁶ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 198.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Coogan, (1975); Coogan: Bennet, Blakely (1989), 325-334.

diagnostic sherds are published.¹⁵⁴⁸ As mentioned, not all of the coarseware is strictly local with some, such as the Syrian mortaria, having come from elsewhere in the Near East. However, since the distinction between fabrics is not consistently noted either here or at other sites, all of the coarse pottery will be considered collectively in counterposition to the Attic material. The best-represented coarseware vessel types are jars (294/918; 32.03%)¹⁵⁴⁹ followed by bowls (239/918; 26.03%),¹⁵⁵⁰ amphorae (90/918; 9.80%),¹⁵⁵¹ mortaria (84/918; 9.15%),¹⁵⁵² and cooking pots (66/918; 7.19%).¹⁵⁵³ Thus, the function of these vessels appears to heavily favour storage, and the preparation and consumption of food. The shapes functionally analogous to the black-figure and red-figure vases appear in far smaller numbers with cups making up 2.61% of the coarseware assemblage (24/918),¹⁵⁵⁴ kraters only 1.53% (14/918),¹⁵⁵⁵ and lekythoi and juglets 6.10% (56/918)¹⁵⁵⁶ Notably, these also include locally produced coarseware imitations of commonly-imported Attic types, such as skyphoi (including bolsals and cup-skyphoi), kantharoi and lekythoi, further emphasising the desirability of these particular foreign-style vessels for the consumption of wine and perfume.

2.5. K: Lachish

(Fig. I.1:44)

The remains of the ancient city of Lachish form a large tel, around 12.5 hectares in area, on the north-eastern edge of the modern moshav of the same name. The first excavations on the mound between 1932 and 1938 were directed by J. L. Starkey under the British Mandate,¹⁵⁵⁷ while subsequent projects were conducted by Y. Garfinkel and M. Hasel for the Hebrew University in

¹⁵⁴⁸ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 139.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 207-210, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵¹ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 210-214, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵² Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 196-203, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵³ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 203-207, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵⁴ 6 Cups, 15 skyphoi, 2 kantharoi, 1 bolsal; Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵⁶ 48 juglets, 8 lekythoi. Not all juglets were necessarily used for perfume, but as the different types are not indicated in the publication all types are included together here. Bennet, Blakely (1989), 142-195, 214, 224-229.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Starkey (1935); Birnbaum (1938); Tufnell et al. (1940); Tufnell (1953); Tufnell (1958).

1973-1993 and 2013-2017¹⁵⁵⁸ and by D. Ussishkin of Tel Aviv University in 2004.¹⁵⁵⁹ A Persian-era city of Lachish is referenced in the biblical literary record as one of the locations settled by Judahite elites returning from exile in Babylon,¹⁵⁶⁰ and indeed two prominent Achaemenid-era structures were discovered on the tel. These two edifices were the “Residency” and a cultic structure dubbed the “Solar-Shrine”.¹⁵⁶¹

The former building was a palatial structure of ashlar construction built atop the ruins of an earlier Judean palace-fort of the Assyrian period, and was evidently an elite dwelling for the city’s Achaemenid-era administration. It covered 2, 630m² and consisted of rooms of varying sizes surrounding a large open courtyard.¹⁵⁶² Attic pottery found within allowed the structure’s Persian-era occupation to be dated to the latter three-quarters of fifth century and the early-fourth century. (Fig. I.94)

In her publication, Tufnell mentions that Attic pottery of ca. 400-350 BCE was deposited directly on the floors of the Residency.¹⁵⁶³ Of these finds, three fragments can be identified. One black-figure cup fragment, found on the floor of Rm. E in the southern wing of the residency, is attributable to the Haimon Group and shows the legs of a figure seated on a diphros. (No. 1090, Fig.881).¹⁵⁶⁴ Two column krater rim fragments decorated with ivy and dateable to ca. 500-460 BCE were also found in the Residency. The larger fragment was found in the central courtyard (Court-P) (No. 1091, Fig. II.882),¹⁵⁶⁵ while a second smaller piece, possibly belonging to the same vessel, was found in a small room on the courtyard’s north side (Rm. X). (No. 1092)¹⁵⁶⁶

Besides the pottery found in the Residency itself, other unpublished pieces of Attic pottery were found in the area directly east of the structure. (Fig. I.95)¹⁵⁶⁷ Among these finds were fragments of two red-figure kraters. One, a lower-body sherd from a bell krater, features a meander, (No. 1093, Fig. II.883)¹⁵⁶⁸ while the other depicts the torso of a seated male figure.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Aharoni (1975); Garfinkel. et al. (2021),

¹⁵⁵⁹ Ussishkin (2004). There were also brief salvage excavations undertaken by S. Ganor in 2015 and 2016: Ganor, Kreimerman (2018) Ganor, Kreimerman (2019); Streit, Höflmayer, (2022), 1.

¹⁵⁶⁰ *Neh.* 11:30.

¹⁵⁶¹ Aharoni (1967); Aharoni (1968); Aharoni (1975).

¹⁵⁶² Tufnell (1953), 131-135; Aharoni (1975), 33-40. On the influence of Achaemenid royal architecture on this structure: Khries (2017), 92-93.

¹⁵⁶³ Tufnell (1953), 133.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1933-2101; Tufnell (1953), 136.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1934-132; Tufnell (1953), 137.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1939-828; Tufnell (1953), 139, Fig. 13.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Area-AA.

¹⁵⁶⁸ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1939-826; Tufnell (1953), 139.

Both kraters can be dated on the basis of style to ca. 400-350 BCE. (No. 1094, Fig. II.884)¹⁵⁶⁹ In addition to the kraters, four lekythoi fragments were also found in the area east of the Residency. Square L.14, the same square that contained the second krater fragment, also yielded fragments of at least three Attic lekythoi. One black-figure sherd from the square decorated with a palmette-and-lotus-chain belonged to a small lekythos, likely produced by the Beldam Workshop between 470 and 450 BCE, (No. 1095, Fig. II.885)¹⁵⁷⁰ while a red-figure upper-body sherd with a meander should be dated to ca. 475-425 BCE. (No. 1096, Fig. II.886)¹⁵⁷¹ A lower-body sherd from a white-ground lekythos was also found in L.14, but none of the decoration has survived. (No. 1097, Fig. II.887)¹⁵⁷² In the adjacent square, number L.13, a lower-body fragment of red-figure lekythos was found. The surviving decoration on this sherd depicts the drapery of a standing figure above a meander. (No. 1098, Fig. II.888)¹⁵⁷³ Like the red-figure lekythos fragment from L.14, this piece should be dated to ca. 475-425 BCE, and the two may belong to the same vessel.

Like the earlier digs, the 1973-1994 excavations headed by Ussishkin also revealed examples of figure-decorated Attic pottery. Of these, one shoulder fragment from a black-figure lekythos was found in a Persian-era rubbish pit (L4153).¹⁵⁷⁴ It is adorned with a palmette-and-lotus chain, and like the similar specimen from Starkey excavation, should be attributed to the Beldam Workshop (ca. 470-450 BCE). (No. 1099, Fig. II.889)¹⁵⁷⁵ The other two decorated Attic sherds from this expedition were both found out-of-context in unstratified deposits. A fragment of a black-figure band-cup, likewise bearing a palmette-and-lotus motif, occurred as a stray find in a Hellenistic fill, (No. 1100, Fig. II.890)¹⁵⁷⁶ while the rim of a late red-figure calyx krater with an egg-and-dart pattern is recorded as a surface find. (No. 1101, Fig. II.891)¹⁵⁷⁷ The former should be dated to the late-sixth or early-fifth century and the latter to ca. 350-330 BCE.

Despite the presence of these out-of-context sherds, the proveniences of those from stratified Persian-era deposits at Lachish allow for reasonable assertions to be drawn about their

¹⁵⁶⁹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: IAA-1939-826.

¹⁵⁷⁰ IAA-1939-826.

¹⁵⁷¹ IAA-1939-826.

¹⁵⁷² IAA-1939-826.

¹⁵⁷³ IAA-1939-826.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Ussishkin: Ussishkin (2004), 682.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Reg. No. 25144/1; Fantalkin, Tal: Ussishkin (2004), Vol.4, 2189, Fig. 30.8:9.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Reg. No. 8203/1; L3525; Fantalkin, Tal: Ussishkin (2004), Vol.4, 2189, Fig. 30.8:10.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Reg. No. 9921/1; Fantalkin, Tal: Ussishkin (2004), Vol.4, 2189, Fig. 30.8:8.

contexts-of-use. All of the black and red-figure sherds that can be associated with Persian-era features, came from either a rubbish pit or the palatial Residence, indicating practical use in an elite domestic setting. Significantly no such sherds are known to have been found in the contemporaneous cultic context of the Solar Shrine. The corpus of decorated Attic pottery from the excavations at Lachish consists entirely of shapes for wine and oil, with kraters and lekythoi occurring in equal numbers (5/12=41.67% each) and a smaller number of cups (2/12=16.67%) constituting the remainder. (Fig. I.96) The published corpus of local ceramics found in the Residency presents a very different picture than that of the Attic ware. The majority of these coarseware vessels can be identified as storage jars (59/106=55.66%). These are succeeded in popularity by vessels for the consumption and preparation of food such as bowls (13/106=12.26%), mortaria (11/106=10.34%), and cooking-pots (9/106=8.49%). The only vessels of local manufacture whose functions clearly mirror those of the Attic vases are unguentaria and oil flasks, which, though analogous to the imported lekythoi, make up a far smaller proportion of the assemblage (3/106=2.83%).¹⁵⁷⁸ It thus appears that Attic pottery was imported specifically to fulfill the functional niche of wine and oil consumption, particularly in the elite residential setting of the Residency.

2.5. L: Lod

(Fig. I.1:30)

The ancient settlement of Lod is located on a hilltop within the modern city of the same name 15km southeast of Tel Aviv. It is situated within the Lod basin, between the lower Shephelah and the Mediterranean coastal plane. In the course of salvage excavations carried out in 1995-1996 on the grounds of Neve Yarak Junior High School one black-figure lekythos fragment (No. 1102, Fig. II.892) was found in a Roman period kiln along with a mix of other material spanning the Chalcolithic to Persian periods. The presence of this mix of earlier material in the fill inside the kiln was evidently the result of natural post-depositional processes.¹⁵⁷⁹

¹⁵⁷⁸ Tufnell (1953), 136-140.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Van den Brink et al. (2016), 6.

2.5. M: Mata, Horvat

(Fig. I.1:37)

The remains of an Achaemenid-era fortress were uncovered at Horvat Mata (also known as Khirbet Khanut) while tilling land for an orchard near the Ein Mata spring in the Judean foothills 19km southwest of Jerusalem.¹⁵⁸⁰ Most of the pottery found in and around the fortress and the surrounding buildings was dated to the Persian period.¹⁵⁸¹ This includes the lower body and stem fragment of an Attic black-figure cup, which should be dated to between 500 and 470 BCE. (No. 1103, Fig. II.893)¹⁵⁸² While the precise findspot of the fragment is not recorded, its apparent association with the fortress and adjacent houses allows its context-of-use to be tentatively linked to the local Achaemenid administrative centre and accompanying residences.

2.5. N: Nasbeh, Tell en-

(Fig. I.1:33)

Tell En-Nasbeh is a 3.12ha mound situated 12km north of Jerusalem, and is widely identified with the biblical city of Mizpah in Benjamin.¹⁵⁸³ Excavations at the mound were conducted between 1926 and 1935 by W. F. Badè for the Pacific School of Religion.¹⁵⁸⁴ Following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE Mizpah served as the administrative capital of Judah throughout the Babylonian period, and the material culture seems to indicate that the city's period of relative prosperity continued uninterrupted into the Persian Period.¹⁵⁸⁵ It likely also maintained its role as a centre of Achaemenid provincial administration at least until the late-fifth century, a function suggested by the abundance of Achaemenid-era seal impressions found at the site.¹⁵⁸⁶

¹⁵⁸⁰ Zori (1977), 27.

¹⁵⁸¹ Zori (1977), 27, 32.

¹⁵⁸² Zori (1977), 32, Fig. 14:15, Pl. 14:1.

¹⁵⁸³ Muilenburg; McCown (1947), 23-45; Zorn (1993), 34-46; Zorn; Meyers (1997), s. v. "Nasbeh, Tell-En"; *Contra*. Albright (1948):202–205.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Naish (1932); Bade (1934); McCown (1947); Wapler (1947).

¹⁵⁸⁵ Muilenburg; McCown (1947), 45-50; Zorn; Meyers (1997)s. v. "Nasbeh, Tell-En".

¹⁵⁸⁶ Avigad (1958).

Bade's findings were published by C. C. McCown and J. C. Wampler in 1947, and more recently re-examined by J. R. Zorn.¹⁵⁸⁷ The sixth-century strata saw the construction of new Babylonian-era houses, including a large palatial building with a paved courtyard, which seem to have continued in use into the Persian-period. The later Persian-era construction, meanwhile, included new town walls built over the earlier Iron-Age fortifications along with a series of new houses and two kilns.¹⁵⁸⁸

A small selection of Attic pottery discovered during Bade's excavations was published by D. von Bothmer.¹⁵⁸⁹ Of the four figure-decorated Attic sherds from the site three belong to cups. Joining lip and handle fragments from a black-figure cup-skyphos were found on the floor of Rm.502, the paved courtyard of an Iron-Age-IIb-to-Persian-era house in Sq. AE/16, (Fig. II.92) whose contents seemingly date to between 600 and 425 BCE.¹⁵⁹⁰ The remaining decoration features a schematic sphinx with added-white skin and a purple diadem facing a globular palmette on a tendril. (No. 1104, Fig. II.894)¹⁵⁹¹ These motifs are characteristic of the CHC Group (ca. 500-490 BCE) to whom the cup has been attributed.¹⁵⁹² The remaining two cup fragments feature red-figure decoration. The first, a lower-body fragment displaying a foot above a reserved band, (No. 1105, Fig. II.895) was found in a mixed dump of unspecified period (NPQ,13, 14, 15, x12),¹⁵⁹³ while the other, discovered in a test trench (X22), belongs to a cup by the Pithos Painter (ca. 510-490 BCE). On this latter sherd, the preserved portion of the tondo shows the chest, eye, hair, and hat lappets of one of the painter's distinctive eastern symposiasts. (No. 1106, Fig. II.896)¹⁵⁹⁴

In addition to these cups, the sole securely-identifiable Attic oinochoe from Achaemenid Canaan was found in Ci.361, an Iron-Age cistern in sq. AC/16 containing fifth-and-fourth century deposits. (Fig. I.98)¹⁵⁹⁵ The fragment, dating to ca. 500 BCE, consists of the vessel's

¹⁵⁸⁷ Zorn (1993).

¹⁵⁸⁸ Zorn: Meyers (1997)s. v. "Nasbeh, Tell-En".

¹⁵⁸⁹ Von Bothmer (1941); von Bothmer: McCown (1947) 175-

¹⁵⁹⁰ Wampler (1947), 122; Zorn (1993), 1564.

¹⁵⁹¹ Berkeley, Bade Museum; von Bothmer (1941), 28, Fig. 1:2; von Bothmer: McCown (1947) 176, No. 2, Pl. 59:2; *ABV*, 622.118; *BAPD*:306330.

¹⁵⁹² CHC Group: *ABV*, 617-623; *Para*, 306-308; Boardman (1974), 151.

¹⁵⁹³ Berkeley, Bade Museum:695; von Bothmer (1941), 28, Fig. 1:5; von Bothmer: McCown (1947) 177, No. 5, Pl. 59:5.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Berkeley, Bade Museum:5230; von Bothmer (1941), 28, Fig. 1:4; von Bothmer: McCown (1947) 176, No. 4, Pl. 59:4; *ARV2*, 140.40; *BAPD*:201197.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Wampler (1941), 36; Wampler (1947), 125; Zorn (1993), 1447. One other potential oinochoe or chous was found at tel Dor.

shoulder and, though mainly black, includes worn remnants of black-figure ivy borders framing a reserved panel. (No. 1107, Fig. II.897)¹⁵⁹⁶ The presence of imported Attic pottery at Tell en-Nasbeh lends further credence to the site's continued economic and political prominence in the Persian era.

2.5. O: Qudeirat, Tell el- (Fig. I.1:52)

Excavations at Tell el-Qudeirat in the eastern Sinai, commonly identified as the site of the biblical Kadesh Barnea, also revealed two white-ground black-figure pattern lekythoi. The tel located near the oasis of Ain Qudeirat, was the site of a succession of Judean border fortresses built between the tenth and sixth centuries BCE. (Fig. I.99) The third and final fortress was abandoned, after the Babylonian conquest. Despite this abandonment the fortifications seem to have been left largely intact and the site was evidently resettled and repaired in the Persian period. This renovation involved leveling the courtyard between the still intact sixth-century casements with a thick layer of earth and plaster.¹⁵⁹⁷ One black-figure lekythos fragment comprising the lower walls and foot of the vessel was found inside the fortress courtyard during M. Dothan's 1956 soundings on the mound, (No. 1108, Fig. II.898)¹⁵⁹⁸ while a second more complete vessel featuring a black-figure ivy and berry pattern was found during R. Cohen's excavations at the site between 1976 and 1982. (No. 1109, Fig. II.899)¹⁵⁹⁹ Both lekythoi should be attributed to the Beldam Workshop and dated to between 470 and 450 BCE.¹⁶⁰⁰

¹⁵⁹⁶ Berkeley, Bade Museum: von Bothmer (1941), 28, Fig. 1:3; Wampler (1941), Fig. 13; Von Bothmer: McCown (1947) 176, No. 3, Pl. 59:3.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Haiman (2015), 301.

¹⁵⁹⁸ IAA-1956-1476; Dothan (1965), Fig. 7:17; Pl. 31c.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Cohen (1983), 13.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Cf. Kurtz (1975), Pls. 70:1, 3, 6-8; 71:1, 2.

2.5. P: Ramat Rachel

(Fig. I.1:38)

Kibbutz Ramat Rachel is located on the southern edge of Jerusalem on the ancient road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.¹⁶⁰¹ Excavations on a hill within the community were conducted between 1954 and 1962 under the direction of Y. Aharoni for Tel Aviv University,¹⁶⁰² with the Renewed Expedition, a joint project of Tel Aviv and Heidelberg Universities, running from 2004 to 2010.¹⁶⁰³

These excavations revealed a sequence of grand palatial edifices, whose phases of use spanned the Late-Iron-Age to Hellenistic periods.¹⁶⁰⁴ Phases II and III of this structure were evidently in use during the Persian period. (Fig. I.100) The former phase, was established in the seventh century and saw continuous use until the beginning of the fifth century, thus spanning the Babylonian and Persian-eras seemingly without interruption. It is by far the most magnificent edifice currently known from Persian-era Yehud and consisted of a large rectangular ashlar-built structure adorned with volute capitals, elaborate window balustrades, and other architectural ornamentation.¹⁶⁰⁵ The structure itself was set within an expansive garden planted on leveled bedrock with artificial pools, channels, and other water features.¹⁶⁰⁶ In the fifth century a new phase of construction (Phase-III) saw the addition of a new rectangular wing measuring 600m² and this phase remained in use until the late fourth century.¹⁶⁰⁷ Given the impressive nature of this construction, the complex has generally been identified as an elite residence for the governors of Yehud.¹⁶⁰⁸ This connection with the Achaemenid-era provincial administration is further reinforced by the discovery of the largest known collection of stamped Persian-era jar handles throughout the site, including over 372 *yhwd* stamped jars, as well as stamps bearing the names of Achaemenid-era governors.¹⁶⁰⁹ A large assemblage of such stamps were uncovered in

¹⁶⁰¹ Aharoni (1956b).

¹⁶⁰² Aharoni (1956b); Lipschits et al. (2016).

¹⁶⁰³ Lipschits (2006); Solimany, Barzel (2008); Barzilai, Et. Al (2009); Lipschits et al. (2012) 62; Billig (2014); Forestani (2015); Billig (2017); Lipschits. et al. (2021).

¹⁶⁰⁴ Aharoni (1956b); Lipschits, Et. Al, (2012).

¹⁶⁰⁵ Lipschits et al. (2012), 67-71.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Gross et al. (2021), 59-68.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Lipschits et al. (2012), 69-71.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Lipschits (2015), 248-250, 257-258; Lipschits et al. (2017), 98-117.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Solimany, Barzel (2008), 1; Lipschits, Vanderhooft, (2011) 11; Lipschits, Vanderhooft (2020), 373; Gitler et al. (2023), 335. On the governors of Yehud: Williamson (1988).

the site's other most notable sixth-to-fifth century feature, a pit known as the Babylonian-Persian pit.¹⁶¹⁰ The presence of such stamps at the site, along with lion-stamped handles of the sixth-century BCE¹⁶¹¹ and Hellenistic handles with the name of Jerusalem, likewise in large numbers, suggest that Ramat Rachel served as a major administrative centre in Judea before, during, and after the Achaemenid era.¹⁶¹²

The only fragment of Attic pottery from the Aharoni expedition to be found in-context is a black-figure cup fragment. (No. 1110, Fig. II.900)¹⁶¹³ It was found on the limestone floor of L.353, a room just within the side gate in the casemate wall of the palace. (Fig. I.101)¹⁶¹⁴ Three further black-figure cups were found out-of-context or with unlisted loci. All three appear to come from cups of the late sixth or early fifth century. Of these, two are lower-body sherds showing the feet of running (No. 1111, Fig. II.901)¹⁶¹⁵ and lunging (No. 1112, Fig. II.902)¹⁶¹⁶ figures above multiple dilute groundlines. The third is a body sherd from a band cup showing the head of a youth. (No. 1113, Fig. II.903)¹⁶¹⁷ Two further fragments of Attic figure-decorated vessels, the rim fragment of a column krater (No. 1114, Fig. II.904)¹⁶¹⁸ and lower-body sherd of an large open vase, (No. 1115, Fig. II.905)¹⁶¹⁹ also have no recorded loci. Because the black-figure decoration on both these fragments (a palmette on the former and rays on the latter) come from subordinate border zones on the vessels it is impossible to know whether the main decorated areas were black or red-figure. The continued use of these motifs on kraters decorated by Mannerist painters until the end of the fifth century also means that pieces can only be meaningfully dated to pre ca. 400 BCE, though it is likely that they date to an earlier period.

The largest number of stratified Attic sherds from a single locus came from the Babylonian-Persian pit (L.13231), excavated between 2005 and 2010 in the southwestern corner of the site (Area-D1). This pit, uncovered under the direction of O. Lipschits and M. Oeming, was filled with a mix of material spanning the Late Iron Age and Persian periods all seemingly dumped in a single deposition event in the Early Hellenistic period, perhaps when the structures

¹⁶¹⁰ Lipschits et al. (2021).

¹⁶¹¹ Lipschits (2010), 17-19; Billig (2017) 2, 12; Lipschits: Lipschits et al. (2021), 76-80.

¹⁶¹² Lipschits et al. (2012), 60-61.

¹⁶¹³ Reg. No. 1487-4; Tal: Lipschits et al. (2016), Vol.1, 270, Fig.17.2:3

¹⁶¹⁴ Gadot et al.: Lipschits et al. (2016), 174.

¹⁶¹⁵ Reg. No. 4273/6; Tal: Lipschits et al. (2016), Vol.1, 269, Fig. 17.1:18.

¹⁶¹⁶ Reg. No. 476/1; Tal: Lipschits et al. (2016), Vol.1, 270, Fig. 17.2:4.

¹⁶¹⁷ Reg. No. 2124/5; Tal: Lipschits et al. (2016), Vol.1, 269, Fig. 17.1:17.

¹⁶¹⁸ Reg. No. 2994; Tal: Lipschits et al. (2016), Vol.1, 269, Fig. 17.1:12.

¹⁶¹⁹ Reg. No. 4012; Possibly a krater or stamnos. Tal: Lipschits et al. (2016), Vol.1, 269, Fig. 17.1:19.

were cleared for construction.¹⁶²⁰ The pottery assemblage included domestic shapes such bowls, kraters, cooking pots, jugs, juglets, and lamps,¹⁶²¹ as well as, most notably, a large collection of storage jars with stamped handles. These include three examples of Neo-Babylonian stamps bearing personal names,¹⁶²² as well as thirty-three “*yhwd*” stamp impressions of the Persian era.¹⁶²³ Along with the name of the province, these stamps likewise included eight specimens bearing the titles or personal names of government officials.¹⁶²⁴ Among those referenced are individuals by the names of יהועזר (“Yehoezer”)¹⁶²⁵ – in one instance specifically identified as יהועזר פחור (“Yehoezer the Governor”)¹⁶²⁶ – חננה (“Hannan[i]ah”),¹⁶²⁷ and גדליה (“Gedaliah”).¹⁶²⁸ Notably all are Jewish theophoric names, demonstrating the role played by indigenous officials in the provincial administration of the empire.

Along with these jars of local manufacture, the pit also contained fragments of at least two black-figure cups.¹⁶²⁹ Two body fragments likely from the same vessel, each show the leg of a female figure next to that of a lunging male. On one, the female foot is identifiable by application of added white and the feet appear above multiple dilute groundlines. On the other, the woman’s lower drapery and pendant mantle or aegis is visible and dot-leaved ivy appears in the field. (No. 1116, Fig. II.906)¹⁶³⁰ Both sets of figures may belong to scenes of Athena attending Herakles while the hero struggles with an unidentifiable foe, and the style is near to that of the Leafless Group. The decoration above the groundlines on two other joining lower-body fragments from the pit cannot be identified, though the cup is likely of a similar early-fifth-century date. (No. 1117, Fig. II.907)¹⁶³¹ Lastly, the Tel Aviv-Heidelberg excavations also uncovered an unpublished black-figure fragment, from an unstratified context (L30) in Area-C1.

¹⁶²⁰ Lipschits et al. (2021), 148.

¹⁶²¹ Freud: Lipschits et al. (2021), 28-73.

¹⁶²² Richey et al.: Lipschits et al. (2021), 81-95.

¹⁶²³ Lipschits, Vanderhoof: Lipschits et al. (2021), 96-116.

¹⁶²⁴ In one instance the legend simply reads “Yehud governor”; Lipschits, Vanderhoof: Lipschits et al. (2021), 109, No. 25.

¹⁶²⁵ Lipschits, Vanderhoof: Lipschits et al. (2021), 105-107, Nos. 20-23.

¹⁶²⁶ Lipschits, Vanderhoof: Lipschits et al. (2021), 105, No. 19.

¹⁶²⁷ Lipschits, Vanderhoof: Lipschits et al. (2021), 96, No. 1.

¹⁶²⁸ Lipschits, Vanderhoof: Lipschits et al. (2021), 107, No. 24.

¹⁶²⁹ A black rim likely belonged to a black-glazed cup Martin: Lipschits et al. (2021), 73-74, Fig. 5.1:1.

¹⁶³⁰ Reg. Nos. 9783/3, 9729/1; Martin: Lipschits et al. (2021), 73-74, Figs.5.1:2, 3.

¹⁶³¹ Reg. No. 9783/2; Martin: Lipschits et al. (2021), 74-75, Fig. 5.1:4.

This piece appears to depict a draped figure standing next to a palmette, (No. 1118, Fig. II.908)¹⁶³² and can likely be assigned to a cup of ca. 530 and 520 BCE.

Given the other contents of the pit, and the association of Ramat Rachel in general and other Attic pottery finds in particular within the Persian-era palace at the site, it is reasonable to suppose that elite participants in the provincial administration may also have been the purchasers of the Attic pottery.

2.5. Q: Rogem, Horvat

(Fig. I.1:51)

Horvat Rogem sits atop a ridge on the western side of the Shunra river, overlooking the ancient road between Tell el-Qudeirat and Be'er Sheva. Like Tell el-Qudeirat it evidently served as one of the Judean kingdom's southern border forts until the Babylonian conquest and was later reused and reinhabited under Achaemenid rule. (Fig. I.102)¹⁶³³ During R. Cohen and R. Cohen-Amin's excavations at the site, published in 2004, the lower-body fragment of a black-figure lekythos was discovered in a water drainage channel (L20) in the fortress wall along with pottery from the Iron Age II and Persian Periods. (No. 1119, Fig. II.909)¹⁶³⁴

2.5. R: Uza, Horvat

(Fig. I.1:42)

Horvat Uza is the name given to the remains of an Iron-Age fortress in the Eastern Negev 18km west of the Dead Sea, which was explored in a pair of salvage excavations in 1963 and 1991.¹⁶³⁵ Like the other Negev fortresses, it was evidently resettled in the Persian Period, though the remains of this occupation phase are scarce, consisting of scattered architectural fragments, two pits,¹⁶³⁶ and a sequence of floor surfaces (including one fourth-century floor with in-situ

¹⁶³² Reg. No. 3343-1.

¹⁶³³ First surveyed in Glueck (1958), 34; Cohen, Cohen-Amin (2004) 160-163; Haiman (2015), 302.

¹⁶³⁴ Cohen, Cohen-Amin (2004), 168-169, Fig. 101:13.

¹⁶³⁵ Ben-Tor (1966); Getzov et al. (2009).

¹⁶³⁶ Ben-Tor (1966), 15; Getzov: Getzov et al. (2009), 133.

pottery).¹⁶³⁷ Among the Persian-era ceramics from the site was the lip fragment of a black-figure skyphos or cup-skyphos of ca. 500-470 BCE. (No. 1120, Fig. II.910)¹⁶³⁸ This particular fragment was found out-of-context and cannot be associated with any Persian-era structure.¹⁶³⁹

2.5. S: Unknown Sites (Shephelah)

Two unpublished krater fragments, both discovered during the British Mandate, are recorded only as having come from the region of the Shephelah. The first of these is the rim fragment of a calyx krater with a black wave-pattern on its upper lip and red-figure laurel on the exterior. (No. 1121, Fig. II.911)¹⁶⁴⁰ The second likely comes from the lower body of a column or volute krater and displays black rays on a reserved border. (No. 1122, Fig. II.12)¹⁶⁴¹ The upper-lip decorations on the former sherd appear only in the first half of the fourth century,¹⁶⁴² while the rays on the latter appear widely throughout the period on both black and red-figure vases.

2.5. T: Southern Interior Analysis

A plurality of stratified black and red-figure sherds from Yehud, the Shephelah, and the Negev came from Persian-era fills or deposits not linked with any known structure, thus rendering them of little help in determining contexts-of-use. (19/50=38%) However, among the finds which can be associated with Achaemenid-era features, (Fig. I.103) the largest number were recovered from pits and houses. The pit deposits, which were found at Tel Hesi, Lachish, and Ramat Rachel, represent 34% of known stratified finds (17/50), while residential structures in Ein Gedi, Lachish, and Tel en-Nasbeh produced 20% of the sherds with known stratified contexts (10/50). Notably, every residential building from this subregion to have contained stratified black or red-figure pottery, namely Building-234 at Ein Gedi, the Residency at Lachish, and the Palace at Ramat Rachel, can be clearly identified as elite dwellings. The latter two in particular are

¹⁶³⁷ Jaffe, Syon (2016).

¹⁶³⁸ Smithline: Getzov et al. (2009), 141, Fig. 4.5:14.

¹⁶³⁹ L101, Smithline: Getzov et al. (2009), 142.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P1133.

¹⁶⁴¹ Jerusalem, Rockefeller: P1137.

¹⁶⁴² McPhee (1987), 293.

monumental palatial structures evidently linked with the provincial administration, thus suggesting that these vessels were luxury items in Persian Yehud. The connection between Attic pottery and the imperial administrative and military class is further evinced by the known finds at forts like Tell el-Qudeirat and Horvat Rogem, and by the fact that the largest known assemblage of Attic pottery in the subregion was discovered at Tel Hesi, a site which seemingly served as a major garrison for the imperial military. The rest of the sherds from Persian-era loci provide little insight into the objects' precise contexts-of-use, as two fragments from Ein Gedi and Tel Hesi were found built into walls, and the remaining sherd from unidentified packed surface in Tel Hesi. Notably, despite the discovery of an extensive Persian-era necropolis at Tel Hesi, none of this Attic material was found in funerary deposits, with its use instead seemingly reserved for practical applications in the domestic lives of the living. The complete absence in this study of Attic pottery from cultic contexts in Yehud and the surrounding areas, despite its presence in a small number of such contexts in other sub-regions, is not necessarily statistically significant, given the impossibility of archaeological excavations on Jerusalem's Temple Mount.

As in the southern coast, lekythoi and other small oil jugs constitute the largest proportion of black and red-figure shapes at 40.60% (54/133) of vessels, followed by cups at 35.33% (47/133). Kraters are fewer in number at 18.05% (24/133). However, the only other recognisable shapes from this region are the single oinochoe from Tell en-Nasbeh, a closed shape from Tell el-Farah, and a pelike from Gezer: meaning that practically the entire corpus of identifiable black and red-figure pottery from the southern interior of Canaan was dedicated to the consumption of wine and oil. (Fig. I.104) With this consumption evidently taking place in primarily domestic settings and associated with the economic, political, or military elite.

3: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the introduction to this study the concept of *incorporability* was proposed to describe and measure the readiness and facility with which an object can be incorporated into a specific cultural framework. The shape of a vessel, with its direct effect on the piece's utility and on the practical and aesthetic experience of those using the vessel, is a pivotal factor in shaping this dynamic between object and context. Having surveyed the types and functions of Attic figure-decorated pottery from throughout Persian-era Canaan and the contexts in which these objects were found, general trends in the incorporation of Attic pottery into the framework of Levantine culture become clear.

3.1: Contexts

It is not currently possible to compare the relative size of the assemblages from all of the sites in a meaningful manner. This is because the data available are entirely dependent on the accessibility of the material for study and on the highly variable excavation, cataloguing, and publication practices. A degree of caution is also necessary when analysing trends in the find contexts. It is important to remember that only 28.61% of the black and red-figure sherds examined could be assigned secure Persian-era contexts (321/1122), and that the available sample size of these known contexts varies massively by subregion.¹⁶⁴³ The remaining majority of fragments were found out-of-context in later or unstratified deposits, or never had their find-contexts recorded. Even of those from secure Persian-era loci, a further 27.73% (89/321)¹⁶⁴⁴, were found in stratified fills or deposits but could not be associated with any specific Achaemenid-era features, making any contextual interpretation difficult. (Fig. I.105) Likewise, a smattering of other stratified finds, constituting 3.12% collectively (10/321), came from contexts such as the makeup of walls, or atop nondescript stratified surfaces, both similarly uninformative

¹⁶⁴³ The Northern Coast produced 219, the Southern Interior 50, the Southern Coast 42, and the Northern interior only 6. See the relevant section conclusions for analysis.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Nos. 48, 53, 56, 85, 99, 107, 119, 136, 142, 143, 144, 149, 160, 163, 168, 194, 196, 217, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 239, 240, 251, 270, 273, 302, 305, 306, 316, 327, 346, 351, 362, 367, 381, 384, 407, 454, 461, 523, 539, 546, 547, 623, 694, 771, 772, 802, 883, 884, 885, 895, 902, 903, 906, 907, 909, 910, 913, 914, 915, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 997, 998, 1024, 1027, 1028, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1044, 1050, 1059, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1107.

in determining the vessels' original contexts-of-use.¹⁶⁴⁵ This leaves a sample of only 222 informative pieces from stratified loci whose nature can be determined by association with Persian-era archaeological features. (Fig.I.106)

The majority of this informative sample (116/222=52.25%) and 36.14% of all stratified pieces (116/321) come from detrital contexts within rubbish pits and dumps.¹⁶⁴⁶ Such pits also produced the largest number of informative, stratified sherds in both the Northern Coast and Southern Interior subregions.¹⁶⁴⁷ Some, such as L46 at Akko and Pit-11.310 at Tel Hesi can be clearly identified as depositories for domestic refuse,¹⁶⁴⁸ while others contained a more general range of detritus.¹⁶⁴⁹ The paucity of joining sherds from these contexts likely indicates that most vessels were broken before they were discarded alongside other occupational rubbish, suggesting that they saw practical use. The lack of joining lekythoi sherds is especially significant. The fact that they, like other shapes, were mostly disposed of only after breaking would seem to argue against the possibility that these closed vessels were imported filled with oil and valued only for their contents.¹⁶⁵⁰ Were this the case one would expect them to have been disposed of whole after being emptied. Rather the vessels, irrespective of how they were imported, were themselves clearly of value and subject to extended practical use.

The next largest quantity of Attic figure-decorated sherds with known secure contexts were found in residential buildings. Finds from such domestic loci constitute 31.98% of the informative sample (71/222) and 22.12% of the full stratified corpus (71/321),¹⁶⁵¹ while also being the most common source of informative stratified sherds the Southern Coast and the

¹⁶⁴⁵ Walls: Nos. 313, 354, 596, 926, 996, 1045. Surfaces: Nos. 174, 184, 195, 1086.

¹⁶⁴⁶Nos. 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 38, 39, 52, 58, 84, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 102, 106, 140, 159, 167, 172, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 223, 257, 258, 268, 273, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 293, 296, 297a, 297b, 308, 312, 320, 323, 324, 325, 326, 330, 332, 338, 356, 358, 359, 361, 389, 392, 393, 395, 408, 409, 411, 443, 444, 445, 446, 514, 515, 516, 517.
518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 535, 536, 543, 548, 819, 820, 912, 1046, 1052, 1053, 1064, 1065, 1068, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1075, 1081, 1084, 1087, 1099, 1116, 1117, 1118.

¹⁶⁴⁷ 96 and 17 respectively.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Raban (1993), Bennet, Blakey (1989), 394-395.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Eg. Dor L4536 also included cultic deposits.: Stern (1995), 435.

¹⁶⁵⁰ This is not to say that the perfume they possibly held was not also valued, only that the vessels were also valued in their own right. On the marketing and export of Greek perfume and perfume vessels: Massar, Verbanck-Piérard (2013).

¹⁶⁵¹Nos. 50, 51, 78, 97, 98, 120, 121, 122, 124, 197, 198, 199, 200, 203, 204, 205, 221, 226, 235, 236, 238, 241, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 250, 252, 253, 254, 269, 334, 343, 345, 388, 394, 400, 404, 410, 487, 505, 513, 544, 545, 600, 601, 607, 608, 609, 775, 791, 792, 881, 882, 908, 916, 922, 923, 935, 936, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1104, 1110.

second most common in the Northern Coast and Southern interior.¹⁶⁵² Here a potentially significant disparity can be detected between the interior and coastal sites, with the caveat that the absence of domestic findspots from the Northern Interior renders the material from the South as the sole representatives of the inland regions. In some instances, where enough of the residential structures survive to enable comparison, the structures can be identified as large elite residences. These include Building-M in Jaffa, Building-1013 at Tel Michal, Area-K in Ashdod, L303 at Tel Ya'oz, Building-234 at Ein-Gedi, the “Residency” at Lachish, and the Palace at Ramat Rachel. Interestingly, while such palatial, fortified dwellings stand out as the only sources of domestic black and red-figure pottery deposits in the inland region, the domestic finds from the coast were found in a broader range of house types, including both monumental elite structures and units within housing insulae at sites like Dor and Ashkelon. This disparity is likely symptomatic of differences both in settlement patterns and in the economic prosperity of the subregions. As discussed above, the population of Yehud seems to have been sparse and largely rural throughout the Persian Period. These rural settlements have left little in the way of material evidence or architectural remains, but were evidently overseen by imperial officials in the local fortified centres which stand as the characteristic site-type of this era.¹⁶⁵³ Given the more impoverished status of the province overall and the clear separation, both physical and financial, between the farming and administrative classes, the distribution pattern of Attic pottery is to be expected; a smaller portion of the inland population could likely afford imported goods, and those who could tended to cluster in the forts and administrative centres. Conversely, on the coast, the settlement pattern is characterised by large well-planned urban centres that derived their wealth from maritime trade under Phoenician hegemony. The relative prosperity of these cities, and their seaside location, meant that a larger share of the populace could afford and access imported luxury goods. Concordantly, urbanised settlement patterns encouraged the mixing of this populace, a populace which likely included a sizeable and wealthy merchant class, within the cities’ teeming, well-built residential blocks.

Overall, detrital and domestic contexts from around Canaan account for 84.23% of all informative, stratified, finds in the current study. It would appear that prior to their eventual

¹⁶⁵² 11, 50, and 10 pieces respectively.

¹⁶⁵³ Carter (1999); Stern (1983), 119–120; Stern: Meyers (1997), 25; Stern (2001), 461–62; Lipschits (2006), 29–30; Lipschits (2015). For a clear summary of this situation and past research (but contra the assessment of the structures as imperial forts): Faust (2018).

disposal either in pits or *in situ* in homes, Attic pottery in Canaan saw use primarily in the residential areas of their respective settlements, generally in relatively affluent domestic contexts, and that the exclusivity of this luxury good increased with distance from the sea.

While detrital and residential deposits produced the vast majority of useful, secure finds, the remaining minority of finds do demonstrate a wider range of uses. Potential association with government and military personnel is reinforced by six total finds from military forts and defensive structures. (6/321=1.87%; 6/222=2.70%)¹⁶⁵⁴ Additionally, 11 pieces of Attic pottery from communal or commercial spaces, such as the agora at Jaffa, (10/321=3.12%; 10/222=4.50%),¹⁶⁵⁵ and a further seven (7/321=2.18%; 7/222=3.15%)¹⁶⁵⁶ from large storehouses at Tel Gamma reflect the objects' status as merchandise. While the high number of domestic finds indicate largely private use, a single lekythos from Tel Michal was found on a surface used for communal feasting, and might suggest occasional public use.

Finally, a small number were also found in the ritual contexts of cultic or funerary deposits. Only 3 sherds, those from a dog burial at Dor and the temple precinct on Mount Gerizim, can be assigned explicitly cultic contexts (3/321=0.93%; 3/222=1.35%),¹⁶⁵⁷ and 8 were discovered in graves (one at Jaffa and the rest at Atlit).¹⁶⁵⁸ These funerary finds account for 2.49% of stratified finds (8/321),¹⁶⁵⁹ and only 0.71% of all decorated Attic pottery from Canaan (8/1122). Both sets of numbers are of note as it is comparatively unlikely that a vessel deposited in a tomb would end up as an unstratified find on the surface of a mound, thus the already low representation among secure finds is likely inflated.

Burials in Persian-era Canaan often contained minimal, if any grave goods at all.¹⁶⁶⁰ In the excavated cemeteries at Akko and Apollonia, for example, grave goods were entirely absent. At other sites like Tell Abu Hawam, Tel Michal, and Tel Hesi, where some funerary assemblages were discovered, no Attic decorated pottery was found in tombs despite its significant presence in the adjacent settlements. As demonstrated by S. R. Wolff, the presence or absence of grave goods in Levantine burials cannot be clearly correlated to either the tomb-type or the presumed

¹⁶⁵⁴ Nos. 500, 538, 540, 818, 1108, 1119.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Jaffa Agora: Nos. 508, 509, 510, 511, 512; Streets and an olive press at Shikmona: Nos. 602, 603, 604, 605; Tel Michal public dining area: No. 542.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Nos. 890, 891, 892, 893, 899, 924.

¹⁶⁵⁷ Nos. 413, 612, 613.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Nos. 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 527

¹⁶⁵⁹ 3.6% of the informative sample (8/222).

¹⁶⁶⁰ Wolff (2002), 136.

economic status of the deceased individuals, with more elaborate tombs often lacking offerings, and numerous simpler burials being comparatively rich in finds.¹⁶⁶¹ Moreover, when present, the composition of funerary assemblages in this region is highly variable. They could be composed of any combination of assorted local coarsewares, imported ceramics, jewellery, glass or alabaster vessels, seals, figurines, metal vessels, and metal objects including fibulae and arrowheads, among other objects.¹⁶⁶² Rather than a standard set of ritual objects, it appears that such offerings were composed of various objects used by the deceased or the bereaved in daily life. Thus, while a smattering of Attic pottery found its way into the eclectic and inconsistent practice of grave good offering in Canaan, it seems that this was far from the primary driver of these items' import and use. Rather their occasional inclusion in graves seems to have been the result of their wider use in daily life. This is true even of vessels such as white-ground lekythoi, which, though explicitly designed for funerary use in Athens, in Canaan appear far more frequently in domestic settings than in graves. This coupled with the overall paucity of Attic vessels in funerary settings further belies any suggestion that resident Greek settlers, merchants, or mercenaries were the primary purchasers of Attic pottery in Canaan.¹⁶⁶³ Rather it appears more likely that indigenous Levantine individuals, specifically identifiable as the local elite residents at a number of sites, served as the primary customer base and purchased these vessels for use in largely, though not exclusively, domestic contexts.

3.2: Shapes

3.2. A: Comparing Shapes and Assemblages

Having established the predominantly domestic nature of these objects' context-of-use, their precise functions within this context can be explored. As with the context of the deposits, a general statistical analysis can illuminate the relative popularity of the various shapes and the functions for which they were designed. For the purposes of the current analysis, the available corpus of 1122 Attic vessels from Canaan has been divided into five categories on the basis of

¹⁶⁶¹ Wolff (2002), 136.

¹⁶⁶² Stern (1982a), 68-92.

¹⁶⁶³ Clairmont (1955), 85-91. Cf. De Vries (1977), 545. Though not the main driver of these imports some Greeks, mainly mercenaries, were likely present in the Achaemenid Levant: Niemeier (2001).

form and function : *Cups and Drinking Vessels* (hand-held shapes for the drinking of wine—represented in the assemblage from Canaan by kylikes, kantharoi, and skyphoi); *Kraters* (for the mixing and serving of wine – all types: column, calyx, volute, and bell are represented); and *Lekythoi and Oil Bottles* (closed vessels for scented oils – represented in the assemblage by lekythoi of various types, aryballoi, and alabastra); along with two further categories for all other vessel shapes and for fragments whose shape cannot be determined. For the sake of simplicity, the first three categories will be referred to hereafter as “cups”, “kraters” and “lekythoi” with the understanding that they designate the wider variety of shapes listed above. By compiling and analysing the entire corpus in this manner the broader implications of the trends suggested by the previous site-specific and intraregional analyses become clear.

The overwhelming majority of figure-decorated Attic pottery imported to Persian-era Canaan belong to the first three categories outlined. Collectively cups, kraters, and lekythoi constitute 94.47% of our corpus (1060/1122). Kraters make up the largest group at 36.54% of all pieces (410/1122). This is followed by cups at 34.13% (383/1122) and lekythoi and other perfume juglets at 23.80% (267/1122). Only 3.83% can be identified as belonging to other shapes (43/1122), while a further 1.69% (19/1122) cannot be identified. (Fig. I.99)

The overall primacy of these three types is consistent across all four subregions, though with some inter-regional variation. The proportion of each regional assemblage that these types occupy in descending order are as follows: Northern Coast: Kraters 45.03%, Cups 33.94%, Lekythoi 14.24%; Northern Interior: Cups 40.60%, Lekythoi 32.12%, Kraters 24.24%; Southern Coast: Lekythoi 34.42%, Kraters 33.95%, Cups 27.91%; Southern Interior: Lekythoi 40.60%, Cups 35.34%, Kraters 18.05%.

The reason for this variation is likely economic. Kraters being by far the largest of the three common vessel types, would have been more expensive and more difficult to transport. The precise monetary value of Attic pottery in antiquity relative to other merchandise has long been a matter of contention.¹⁶⁶⁴ However, regardless of the actual wholesale or retail prices commanded by such pottery, the relevant ancient sources do indicate that large vessels such as kraters cost more than smaller vessels, such as lekythoi or cups. A graffito on a bell krater in the British

¹⁶⁶⁴ On proposed high value based on shipping volume: Boardman (1988). On price based on trademarks: Johnston (1974); Johnston (1979), 33-35. On proposed lower value and pottery as a secondary trade good: Vickers (1984), 90; Gill (1987), 32; Gill (1991).

Museum provides one useful list of vase prices. Among other items it records the prices of kraters and cups as “6 kraters for 4 drachmae, 12 cups for 3 obols”.¹⁶⁶⁵ Given that there are six obols to a drachma, a krater in this particular batch or shipment cost 16 times more than a cup. Likewise, a graffito on a pelike by the Nikias Painter in Naples states that 3 stamnoi cost 3 drachmae 3 obols, whereas 50 small lekythoi or 6 normal lekythoi each cost 3 obols respectively.¹⁶⁶⁶ As such, a stamnos cost 4 times more than a regular lekythos, and 116 times more than a small lekythos in this particular list. Whether one considers these graffiti to represent wholesale prices, retail prices, or information of another sort, the salient point for our purposes is the price disparity between the larger and smaller shapes within the same list. This disparity could only have become more significant as merchants transported the objects first by sea and then overland to their destinations in Canaan.

The coastal regions of Canaan were far more affluent and urbanised throughout the Persian-era, than the inland areas. The Mediterranean littoral of this period was characterised by large, well-built port cities often constructed on Hippodamian plans, along with the smaller urban and military centres that surrounded them.¹⁶⁶⁷ Such centres, whether in the northern or southern coastal regions of the current study, would have enjoyed the financial advantages offered by direct access to Mediterranean maritime commerce. This was especially true for cities of the northern coast, which would have further benefited from the well-established maritime trade networks of their Phoenician hegemony. As such, it is unsurprising that comparatively-pricey kraters were the most popular shapes on the northern coast, while holding second place on the southern coast. These regions’ relative affluence likely meant that more people could afford kraters.

In contrast, the population of the inland provinces of Samaria and especially Yehud remained mostly rural and characterised by humbler material culture and architecture throughout most of the Persian Period.¹⁶⁶⁸ The effect of this relative poverty would have been compounded by the additional difficulty and cost of transporting the vases inland from the coast. Together, these factors likely meant that large vessels such as kraters were within the financial means of a smaller portion of the inland population, and indeed kraters fall to third place in both the inland

¹⁶⁶⁵ BM: E509; Walters (1905), 239.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Boardman (2001), 157, Fig. 182.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Lipschits (2006), 26-29; Shalev (2009).

¹⁶⁶⁸ Lipschits (2006), 26-29. On the processes of trade between the coastal and inland settlements: Shalev (2018).

regions with more affordable imports such as cups and lekythoi assuming greater prominence. Overall, however, each of the four regions conform to the broader regional trend of having these three vessel types, designed for the consumption of wine and perfume, constitute nearly the entire assemblage (Northern Coast: 93.21%; Northern Interior: 96.97%; Southern Coast: 96.27%; Southern Interior: 93.99%).

Also striking, is the very limited number of other shapes present. This category consists of only 43 individual vessels from throughout the entire region, constituting just 3.83% of the corpus. The majority of these are either lekanides – dating to very late in our period – of which 18 examples are present,¹⁶⁶⁹ or else amphorae, of which there are 10.¹⁶⁷⁰ Beyond these, the numbers are so small as to be almost negligible. Four pyxis lids sherds are recorded (themselves, essentially smaller lekanis lids, and potentially confused for them in publication),¹⁶⁷¹ while potential hydriai,¹⁶⁷² oinochoai,¹⁶⁷³ stamnoi,¹⁶⁷⁴ and pelikai¹⁶⁷⁵ are represented by two sherds each. Lastly the rhyton from Tzippori and feeder from Bat Yam each stand as the sole example of their shape.¹⁶⁷⁶ Given the assemblages' overwhelming focus on wine consumption, the presence of only two oinochoai for the entirety of the region is particularly intriguing. In the standard Greek wine service oinochoai served as the necessary intermediaries for drawing and pouring wine from the communal krater into individual cups. The dearth of such vessels seems to indicate a different style of consumption was practiced by the purchasers of these vessels in the Levant or that other vessels were employed.

As products of Attic manufacture exported to the Levant, the significance of these limited vessel types can be best appreciated by comparing the assemblage to those from the vessels' place of origin in Athens, as well as to assemblages of local Levantine pottery, and of Attic pottery in a different overseas market. If all of the black and red-figure pottery with proveniences in Athens itself, recorded in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, are considered, the resulting proportions are enlightening. (Fig. I.108) The shapes most popular in Canaan (cups of various

¹⁶⁶⁹ Nos. 170, 171, 172, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 365, 366, 386.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Nos. 39, 47, 500, 501, 523, 695, 696, 817, 834, 1108.

¹⁶⁷¹ Nos. 598, 769, 987, 988.

¹⁶⁷² Nos. 38, 196 (perhaps a pelike).

¹⁶⁷³ Nos. 226 (perhaps a chous), 1107.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Nos. 165, 468.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Nos. 196, 1019,

¹⁶⁷⁶ Nos. 773, 840,

sorts, kraters, and oil bottles such as lekythoi) make up only 56.69%¹⁶⁷⁷ of black and red-figure pottery in Athens, as opposed to the staggering 94.47% they constitute in Canaan. The remaining 43.41% of vases from Athens are composed of a variety of other shapes, of which fully 12.11% are oinochoai, choai, or olpai for pouring wine (5.2% of the overall Athenian corpus).¹⁶⁷⁸ Given the disparity between the Attic pottery assemblages from Persian Canaan and that at the objects' place of manufacture, some degree of selection by or for foreign customers is likely.

This general compilation of published finds from Athens while useful for providing a broad impression of the shapes available in Athens cannot account for selection based on the specifically domestic context in which most Attic pottery in Canaan was used. To account for this variable the pottery from Canaan can be compared to a closely analogous assemblage deposited in Well J2:4 in the Athenian Agora. This deposit, published and analysed by K. Lynch in her 2011 book *The Symposium in Context*, is believed to contain the household assemblage from a nearby home, dumped in the well alongside other detritus in the cleanup following the destruction of Athens by the Persians in 480-479 BCE.¹⁶⁷⁹ Many aspects of this deposit from its domestic nature and deposition in a pit, to its dating from the time of the Achaemenid invasion, make it an ideal comparandum for Levantine assemblages. Among the black and red-figure finds from Well J2:4 the majority are cups (including kylikes, skyphoi and kotylai) which make up 66.67% of the assemblage (82/123). No krater was present, though its function may have been fulfilled by a black-figure dinos from the deposit, while lekythoi make up 13.82% of the black and red-figure assemblage (17/123). Apart from these, 17.07% represent vessels of other shapes (21/123): a far higher proportion than in Achaemenid-era Canaan or any of its constituent subregions. (Fig. I.109) These other vessels include a wide range of shapes not seen in black and red-figure imports to Canaan such as a phiale, stand, kalpis, plate, thymiaterion, dinos, and louterion. Also present in this household assemblage are two figure-decorated pitchers for the pouring of wine, a black-figure oinochoe and a red-figure chous.¹⁶⁸⁰ The presence of two such vessels from a single house is noteworthy when compared to the existence of only one known,

¹⁶⁷⁷ 6250/11024. BAPD, Accessed 11/2024, search terms: Fabric: *black-figure*or*red-figure*; Provenance:*Athens*; Shape:*cup*or*skyphos*or*kantharos*or*krater*or*lekythos*or*askos*.

¹⁶⁷⁸ 578/11024. BAPD, accessed 11/2024, search terms as above with Shape:*oinochoe*or*chous*or*olpe*.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Lynch (2011), 1-5.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Lynch (2011), 12-14.

and one potential oinochoe from the entirety of Persian-era Canaan, thus reinforcing the idea of different purchasing patterns and styles of consumption.

It is possible to object that the limited number and range of vessel shapes in the Levant could represent not differing cultural practices between Greek and Levantine consumers but only the practicalities of export. Perhaps certain shapes simply shipped more easily than others. However, this potential objection is invalidated by comparing the assemblage to that from the Greek colony at Naukratis in Egypt.¹⁶⁸¹ Unlike any of the sites in Canaan, Naukratis can be firmly identified as a Greek *emporion* and housed a large Greek population along with native Egyptians and others.¹⁶⁸² Egypt also formed a node in the same Eastern-Mediterranean maritime trade routes that ran along the Levantine coast, meaning that any Greek pottery available to one should, theoretically, also be available to the other. If all the Attic black and red-figure pottery from the site is examined, the ratio of cups, kraters and lekythoi to other vessel shapes is very similar to that from Well J2:4 in Athens, with these other shapes making up 15% of the assemblage (27/180). (Fig. 1.110) These include a variety of plates and storage shapes absent from finds in Canaan. Oinochoai make up 29.63% of the other shapes present and 4.44% of the entire assemblage (8/180).¹⁶⁸³ It therefore appears that Greeks both at home and in the south-eastern Mediterranean used a range of Attic vessels different and more diverse than those present in Canaan, where local consumers heavily favoured a limited range of Attic shapes for the consumption of wine and perfume.

It is important to note that this limited variety of shapes is not reflected in the range of local Levantine pottery. The assemblages of localware examined above consistently display a far greater variety of forms and functions, with a greater emphasis on the storage and consumption of food.¹⁶⁸⁴ In his seminal typological survey in *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period*,¹⁶⁸⁵ Stern lays out a typology which he later summarised and updated in his

¹⁶⁸¹ Johnson, "Attic Pottery," in *Naukratis: the Greeks in Egypt*: British Museum [http://www. Britishmuseum. Org/naukratis](http://www.Britishmuseum.Org/naukratis) (accessed October 2019).

¹⁶⁸² Villing, "Naukratis, Egypt and the Mediterranean Word: A Port and Trading City," in *Naukratis: the Greeks in Egypt*: British Museum <http://www. Britishmuseum. Org/naukratis> (accessed October 2019); Villing: Tsingarida, Viviers, (2013).

¹⁶⁸³ Johnson, "Attic Pottery," in *Naukratis: the Greeks in Egypt*. British Museum <http://www. Britishmuseum. Org/naukratis> (accessed October 2019)

¹⁶⁸⁴ See Apollonia, Dor, Tel Michal, Jaffa, Samaria, Shechem, Tel Kedesh, Ashdod, Tel Gamma, Yavneh-Yam, Ein Gedi, Lachish above

¹⁶⁸⁵ Stern (1982a), 93-136.

contribution to *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbours*.¹⁶⁸⁶ The updated study collates assemblages of local pottery from sites throughout the region, and divides them into three broad categories: shapes continuing local Late-Iron-Age ceramic traditions, shapes influenced by Near-Eastern prototypes (such as Mesopotamian, Egyptian, or Persian ceramics), and shapes influenced by Aegean pottery. The first group, which makes up the majority of the material, is dominated by bowls, cooking pots, and hole-mouth jars. It also includes a wide range of other traditional local shapes such as storage jars, jugs, decanters, juglets, funnels, stands, and lamps. In the second category are carinated bowls and bottles inspired by Assyrian metal prototypes (which are notably also used for the consumption of wine) as well as Phoenician-style storage jars, jugs, juglets, face-vases, and lamps, along with Egyptianizing Bes-jars and bottles. The final category comprised local adaptations of Cypriot, Attic, and East-Greek shapes. Both the fabric and the craftsmanship of these imitations fall far short of the originals with the clay often poorly-levigated and poorly-fired, and the vessels both crudely-shaped and lacking the slips, burnish, or decoration of their prototypes. The main shapes in this category are Cypriot-style bowls and kraters as well, lekythos-like juglets, and closed lamps.¹⁶⁸⁷ Notably, just as the Assyrianizing shapes favoured imitations of luxury wine vessels, so too did imported western shapes for wine and perfume – kraters and lekythoi– inspire significant local imitation. Lastly the characteristic large vessels of this period such as mortaria, amphorae, and basket-handle jars also have parallels around the eastern Mediterranean. As evidenced by the wide range of local shapes in both Stern’s study and the sites examined above, it is not the case that Levantine culture employed or recognised only a limited range of vessels or roles for the vessels to fulfill, but rather that only a narrow set of these roles were seen as amenable to the incorporation of specific forms of Attic pottery.

When comparing Attic pottery to local assemblages it is also important to consider the relative size of the assemblages. It is difficult to attain a true picture of the ratio of Attic to local pottery present at any given site due to excavation practices both historical and current. In most excavations in Israel only diagnostic or otherwise noteworthy sherds of local coarseware are generally retained and catalogued. This means that the nondescript body sherds that make up the bulk of any assemblage are invisible to scholarly and statistical analysis. The situation is even

¹⁶⁸⁶ Stern: Gitin (2015), 565-618.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Stern: Gitin (2015), 566. On Atticizing pottery in the Achaemenid world see also: Berlin, Lynch (2002).

graver when dealing with early twentieth century excavations like those at Samaria for which local coarseware pottery was not recorded at all.¹⁶⁸⁸ Attic pottery, conversely, has generally been retained in far higher proportions due both to its perceived aesthetic and historical significance and to its utility as the most precise means for dating most Persian-era deposits. A notable recent exception to this trend is the most recent excavation at Tel Kedesh conducted between 2004 and 2010 under the direction of A. Berlin and S. Herbert. During this expedition all pieces of Persian-era pottery were meticulously retained and recorded. This resulted in a corpus of 20131 fragments of local pottery.¹⁶⁸⁹ Against this, 280 pieces of Attic or Atticizing ware were discovered of which 18 could be securely identified as having been decorated in black or red-figure.¹⁶⁹⁰ As such, identifiable Attic figure-decorated pottery made up a mere 0.09% of the full assemblage, emphasizing the status of such imported goods as rare, exotic luxuries.

3.2. B: Wine and Perfume: Shapes in Context

Based on the range of shapes and contexts, it appears that Attic pottery was utilized by a limited, elite portion of the indigenous Levantine population primarily for the consumption of wine and perfume in a domestic setting. Archaeological and textual evidence indicates that these two substances were afforded special social significance in the culture of the Achaemenid-era Levant, a status that likely influenced the incorporation of Attic pottery.

Greek lekythoi are far from the only luxury perfume vessels present in Persian-era Canaan. Egyptian alabastra for example have been found at Atlit, Gezer, and Makmish.¹⁶⁹¹ The Persian Period also saw the production of a distinctive local style of Judean alabastra based on Egyptian vessels but differing in form and fabric from their Egyptian counterparts.¹⁶⁹² As demonstrated by I. Ben-Dor, the production of alabaster vessels in the Levant seems to have largely ceased at the end of the Israelite Period, with the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests likely disrupting the economic foundation that allowed for the production of such luxury vessels.¹⁶⁹³ Local alabaster production resumed in the Persian Period, however, with evidence of

¹⁶⁸⁸ Reisner et al. (1924).

¹⁶⁸⁹ Berlin (2011).

¹⁶⁹⁰ Berlin "Attic and Atticising", (Unpublished), Courtesy of A. Berlin.

¹⁶⁹¹ Stern (1982a), 149; Johns (1933), Pl. 12:548.

¹⁶⁹² Ben-Dor (1945), 109.

¹⁶⁹³ Ben-Dor (1945), 109.

workshops in the Jericho area.¹⁶⁹⁴ As can be seen on an alabastron from Jericho, (Fig. I.111) Judean alabastra, in addition to being carved of local alabaster, are made distinct by various alterations in shape.¹⁶⁹⁵ These include the presence of band handles around the shoulders, tapering conical necks, and flattened bases, which, unlike the rounded bottoms of Egyptian alabastra, allow the vessels to stand on their own.¹⁶⁹⁶ In this respect, Judean alabastra are more similar in form and functionality to Greek lekythoi. Judean craftsmen evidently felt the need to alter earlier Egyptian prototypes to suit local consumption practices that favoured standing perfume vessels. This similarity in the practical experience of using Greek lekythoi and locally produced alabastra, may have further facilitated the incorporation of these Attic vessels into pre-existing local patterns of use.

In addition to the production of high-quality alabastra, local ceramic assemblages also include a wide array of bottles, flasks, and juglets designed for holding perfumed oil.¹⁶⁹⁷ Among the full range of Achaemenid-era Levantine pottery categorised and catalogued by Stern, it is notable that only a few shapes are commonly decorated with added paint. Chief among these are small closed shapes, designed for the storage of perfumed oil. Stern identifies a range of such painted oil vessels, including perfume juglets (Fig. I.112)¹⁶⁹⁸ and bottles (Fig. I.113),¹⁶⁹⁹ as well as amphoriskoi¹⁷⁰⁰ and askoi¹⁷⁰¹ (the latter two being direct imitations of Greek prototypes). The painted decoration on these objects is very simple, consisting only of a series of reddish-brown bands, but it still sets them apart from the rest of the localware, which is otherwise uniformly composed of coarse unpainted clay.¹⁷⁰² It would appear that, at all levels of quality, vessels designed for the storage of perfume were seen as meriting special aesthetic embellishment. It is likely that this same societal inclination to visibly augment and reinforce the particular importance of perfume through the use of painted containers also encouraged the purchase and use of Attic lekythoi and related shapes.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Stern (1982a), 149.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Ben-Dor (1945), 110, Figs. G2, 3.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Ben-Dor (1945), 110; Stern (1982a), 150, Fig. 250.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Stern (1982a), 115-127; Stern: Gitin (2015), 573-577.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Stern: Gitin (2015), 573-575, 602-605, Pl. 5.1.18:6, 15, Pl. 5.1.19:16, 18, 23.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Stern: Gitin (2015), 576, 608-609, Pl. 5.1.21:1, 2, 12.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Stern: Gitin (2015), 575-576, 606, Pl. 5.1.20:3.

¹⁷⁰¹ Stern: Gitin (2015), 577, 610, Pl. 5.1.22:5.

¹⁷⁰² Stern (1982a), 93.

As with perfume, vessels for the serving of wine attest to the role of this substance as a socially-significant marker of status in the Persian-era Levant. A precious-metal wine set was found for example in “Philistine Grave 4” in Tel Gezer. This set is composed of a silver fluted wine bowl, a bronze ladle, and a silver bottle-like flask with a tall narrow neck.¹⁷⁰³ Another silver wine bowl decorated with lotus motifs was deposited in “Philistine Grave 5” alongside a silver ladle with ram’s head ornaments on its handle.¹⁷⁰⁴ Tomb-650 at Tell el-Farah South also contained a similar silver bowl and ladle set, with the handle of the latter formed in the likeness of a female figure. (Fig. I.114)¹⁷⁰⁵ The presence of these precious metal wine sets, which are likely imports from Mesopotamia or Phoenicia, in the tomb assemblages in Canaan demonstrate the prestige associated with conspicuous wine consumption in the region. Importantly the tomb assemblages also illustrate the makeup of the standard Near-Eastern wine service, consisting of drinking bowls, bottle-like decanters with narrow necks, and ladles.¹⁷⁰⁶ In Canaan this set of vessel types was already in use in the Bronze Age and changed little in the intervening centuries. For example a bronze wine bowl and narrow-mouthed decanter dating to the 13th century BCE was found at Tel Nami.¹⁷⁰⁷ (Fig. I.115) Ceramic versions of these decanters and small deep wine bowls appear very commonly in the Levantine coarseware pottery of the Persian era, as do large ceramic kraters in a variety of local types.¹⁷⁰⁸ Significantly, ceramic wine decanters and kraters are also the only shapes beyond the perfume juglets mentioned above, to be commonly adorned with painted decoration in the local pottery repertoire. A krater with painted red bands can be seen, for example, among the finds from Tel Qiri, (Fig. I.116)¹⁷⁰⁹ while some instances of similarly-painted decanter-jugs in various styles can be seen, at Tell Abu Hawam, Tel Michal, and Shikmona (Figs. I.117, 118)¹⁷¹⁰

The use of characteristic Near-Eastern wine service shapes also appears in visual culture through the illustrations of feasting and celebration on Phoenician metal bowls. These bowls, fashioned of bronze and silver, were exported throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. They appear to have been produced primarily in the

¹⁷⁰³ Stern (1982a), 74, Fig. 89; Dayagi-Mendels, Rozenberg (2016), 93, Fig. 32.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Stern (1982a), 74, Fig. 90.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Stern (1982a), 75; Dayagi-Mendels, Rozenberg (2016), 93, Fig. 32.

¹⁷⁰⁶ On drinking vessels in the Achaemenid Near East: Colburn (2019), 189-220.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Jerusalem: Israel Museum.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Stern (1982a), 94-95.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Stern: Gitin (2015), 585, Pl. 5.1.4:1.

¹⁷¹⁰ Stern: Gitin (2015), 57, 598, 601, Pl. 5.1.17:1-3, 6-9.

Phoenician homeland in the Levant, though perhaps also by Punic artisans in settlements around the Mediterranean world.¹⁷¹¹ One example of a feasting scene can be seen on a chased silver bowl, dating from ca.710-675 BCE, which was found in Kurion. (Fig. I.119)¹⁷¹² This piece, now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, shows two figures lounging on kline-like couches on either side of a dining table heaped with food. They each hold wine bowls in their raised hands and are accompanied by an array of musicians and servants. In addition to these figures, the chased relief shows a large krater standing on the floor. On one side of the krater is a table on which are placed two ladles, two narrow-mouthed bottles, and an amphora. On the other side of the table a figure can be seen walking towards the diners and musicians carrying a wine bowl in one hand and a bottle in the other.

In contrast with the Greek practice in which an oinochoe was dipped directly into the krater and then used to pour wine in the cups, the standard practice in the Levant seems to have been to use the ladle to fill the bottle with wine from the krater, and then pour from the bottle into individual wine bowls. Thus, the Levantine tradition uses four different vessels to perform the activity which the Greek practice achieves using three, because the functions of the oinochoe is split into two separate objects (the ladle and bottle). The upshot of this is that, while both the kraters and the cups have direct analogues in the other tradition, no single Levantine wine-service vessel performs the functions of the oinochoe. When incorporating an Attic cup or krater (or indeed a Mesopotamian silver bowl) into Levantine drinking practices the change is largely cosmetic: one object is simply slotted into the functional framework left by another. The closer the practical function of the object to a familiar framework the more readily incorporable it is on utilitarian grounds. The Levantine preference for deep, bowl-like cups may therefore also account for the popularity of skyphoi and cup-skyphoi among the imported Attic vessels, as these cups more closely match the shape and capacity of local drinking bowls, than do larger, shallow kylikes. The oinochoe in contrast does not directly resemble in form or function any of the Near-Eastern wine service vessels. To incorporate an oinochoe (at least in its intended function) into Levantine drinking customs would have involved a tangible change in traditional practices. Given the near absence of oinochoai from the assemblage it appears that most Levantine

¹⁷¹¹ Markoe (1985), 1-4. Cf. Onnis (2014), 160.

¹⁷¹² New York, Met.:74.51.4557; Markoe (1985), 175, 252, No. Cy6.

customers were not interested in such a change but rather purchased Attic vessels that could be incorporated most easily into pre-existing patterns of use.

The relief on the bowl from Kurion situates the use of these vessels within the context of communal feasting. The communal gathering depicted can likely be associated with the traditional Levantine and Near-Eastern institution known as the *marzeah*, a precursor and cognate of the Greek symposion.¹⁷¹³ The *marzeah* was an elite social or ritual gathering centered around the communal consumption of wine. It was a very long-lived tradition in the ancient Near East with references to the practice spanning from Bronze-Age Ugarit to Late-Roman Palmyra.¹⁷¹⁴ Its earliest attestation in Canaanite culture comes from a 13th-century Ugaritic tablet which describes the Canaanite god El hosting a *marzeah* with the other gods and becoming intoxicated to the point of collapsing in his own excrement.

El slaughtered game in his house, beasts in the midst of his palace; He invited the gods to the carving: "Eat, O gods, and drink, drink wine to satiety, new wine to drunkenness."...

El sat, he assembled his drinking feast; El sat in his *marzeah*. El drank wine to satiety, new wine to drunkenness. El went to his house, he stumbled to his court. Thukamuna and Shunama supported him. The "creeper" approached him, the one having two horns and a tail. He floundered in his (own) feces and urine, El collapsed like the dead, El was like those who descend to the underworld.¹⁷¹⁵

The best-known and most complete description of the *marzeah* as practiced by the Israelite elite of the Late Iron Age comes from the biblical book of Amos. In this text, set in the Kingdom of Israel during the mid-eighth century, the prophet criticizes the Judahite and Israelite nobility for their extravagant revelry at the *marzeah* stating:

Ah, you who are at ease in Zion
And confident on the hill of Samaria
You notables of the leading nation...
They convene a session of lawlessness.
They lie on ivory beds
Lolling on their couches,
Feasting on the lambs of the flock
And on calves from the stalls.
They hum snatches of song

¹⁷¹³ On the relation between the symposion and *marzeah*: Nijboer (2013).

¹⁷¹⁴ King (1988), 36; King (1989), 98; Beach (1993); Walsh (2000), 243-247; Naaman (2015).

¹⁷¹⁵ d. CAT 1.114; MacLaughlin (2001) 24-6. On Ugaritic *Marzeah*: del Olmo Lete (2015).

To the tune of the lyre—
They account themselves musicians like David.
They drink from the wine bowls
And anoint themselves with choicest oils—
But they are not concerned about the ruin of Joseph
Assuredly, right soon
They shall head the column of exiles;
They shall loll no more at the marzeah.
(Amos 6:3-7)¹⁷¹⁶

In Amos's depiction of the marzeah the conspicuous consumption of wine and application of expensive perfume are central to the proceedings. The fact that the participants "drink from the wine bowls and anoint themselves with choicest oils" is treated explicitly as a marker of status, or in the prophet's view of decadent luxury.

In the Persian-period this account calls to mind the order by the overseer of the Phoenician temple in Akko for a set of 313 explicitly luxurious vessels including "a valuable krater... metal cups... vessels with inlay... large jars... pots on stands... decanters... blown vessels... and small deep bowls" perhaps intended for just such an elite gathering.¹⁷¹⁷ That the marzeah could also have a ritual as well as social role in the Persian period seems to be indicated by a Phoenician inscription on a fourth century metal wine bowl that reads

"אנהן קבעם // ערבת למרזח שמש" [We offer 2 cups for the marzeah of Shamash]" a reference to the Semitic god of the sun.¹⁷¹⁸ The fact that Jews of the Persian-period continued to participate in the marzeah is demonstrated by an ostrakon from the Persian-era Jewish garrison at Elephantine. This missive also indicates that participation in the marzeah could require payment for which one of the individuals mentioned in the text is apparently in arrears.

To Hagai. I spoke to Ashian about the money for the marzeah. So he replied to me, namely to Ito, 'Now I will give it Hagai or to Igdal'. Speak to him that he should give it to you.¹⁷¹⁹

¹⁷¹⁶ JPS Tanakh (1985), with emphasis and emendation by the author. On connections between biblical and extra-biblical descriptions of the marzeah: McLaughlan (1998).

¹⁷¹⁷ Dothan (1985).

¹⁷¹⁸ King (1989), 104.

¹⁷¹⁹ Porten (1968), 180.

This suggests that by the Persian period these gatherings could also function as exclusive members-only drinking societies, or were, at the very least, costly undertakings, further emphasising the social value placed on the activities of wine drinking and perfume use that these festivities entailed.¹⁷²⁰

The particular importance afforded wine and perfume in Levantine society, manifested through the institution of the *marzeah*, was demonstrated and reinforced by the use of comparatively elaborate and decorative vessels for these substances. In the Persian period black and red-figure Attic pottery was incorporated into the material culture of Canaan in such a way as to fill this role. The unusual exotic nature of the imported vessels, when compared with locally produced coarsewares, made them ideal for bestowing a further air of distinction both on the substances and on their users. This quality of exoticness only aids in incorporability up to a point, however. In this specific context, the appeal of the exotic seems to have been limited by the dictates of practical usage. Only pottery shapes that fulfilled the same functions as more familiar local vessels were incorporated with any frequency, and the more closely they matched these local vessels in utility the better. Little or no interest was afforded to the array of available vessel shapes that were either inconducive to conspicuous consumption of wine and perfume or whose incorporation into this context would have entailed a change in behaviour. The factors that conspired to determine the incorporability of Attic pottery in the Persian Levant were thus manifold, contradictory, and complex. They were the product of a dynamic interplay between the appeals of exoticness and familiarity.

3.3: Images

3.3. A: Image Categories

As demonstrated, the use of exotic Attic ceramics likely served as a signifier of status within indigenous practices of consumption in Canaan. The most obvious feature that would have marked out Attic pottery as visually distinct from the local plainware in the eyes of Levantine customers and viewers would, of course, have been the vessels' decoration. Alongside the

¹⁷²⁰ These associations may also have owned or funded cult centres, perhaps with funerary functions: Bietak: Dever et al. (2003), 165-166.

foregoing analysis of the shapes and uses of imported pottery, an examination of the range and popularity of decorative motifs, and a comparison of these data with published corpora from elsewhere catalogued in the BAPD, can provide insight into the significance of these objects in Achaemenid-era Canaan. As with shapes, the proposed metric of incorporability is a useful lens through which to understand both why certain motifs may have predominated and how the reception of these images intersected with the objects' utility.

The highly fragmentary nature of most of the Attic pottery from Canaan imposes certain restrictions on the categorisation and analysis of their ornamentation.¹⁷²¹ A large number of extant sherds feature only geometric or vegetal patterns. Despite their frequency, most are simply the marginal border and filler motifs that framed now-missing figural scenes on black and red-figure vases.¹⁷²² Some such patterns however can be reasonably identified as having formed the vessels' primary decorative programme. Examples of such include the numerous pattern lekythoi and pattern squat-lekythoi as well as palmette cups and those of the Saint-Valentin Class.¹⁷²³ The

¹⁷²¹ On the pieces not listed below (constituting the remaining 202/1122) nothing about the decorative theme can be determined, either due to poor preservation or lack of specificity in the published descriptions.

¹⁷²² 393/920:

Nos. 1, 8, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 59, 62, 64, 69, 73, 74, 75, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 119, 123, 125, 126, 127, 129, 132, 134, 135, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 172, 174, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 199, 201, 209, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 242, 244, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, 259, 260, 263, 269, 270, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 309, 308, 309, 310, 312, 313, 321, 323, 330, 331, 332, 333, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 361, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 379, 382, 388, 389, 390, 391, 393, 403, 404, 405, 406, 408, 411, 412, 413, 417, 424, 425, 426, 427, 383, 432, 439, 440, 447, 448, 451, 452, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 470, 471, 472, 473, 476, 477, 485, 488, 489, 490, 491, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 503, 504, 510, 511, 512, 514, 515, 519, 522, 536, 537, 538, 551, 552, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 581, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 600, 601, 604, 605, 608, 612, 613, 614, 618, 625, 626, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 660, 661, 671, 672, 675, 680, 681, 694, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 769, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 785, 793, 795, 796, 797, 798, 800, 804, 806, 807, 808, 809, 815, 816, 821, 822, 825, 843, 861, 862, 863, 864, 866, 867, 868, 873, 876, 881, 885, 886, 888, 890, 892, 893, 894, 899, 900, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 922, 926, 934, 938, 939, 945, 946, 978, 980, 981, 982, 983, 991, 992, 997, 998, 1000, 1001, 1003, 1004, 1008, 1012, 1013, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1038, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1066, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1078, 1081, 1082, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1096, 1101, 1103, 1107, 1108, 1114, 1115, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122.

¹⁷²³ 128/920:

Nos. 45, 46, 52, 71, 72, 86, 87, 108, 110, 113, 114, 15, 118, 121, 220, 261, 262, 307, 314, 316, 357, 358, 360, 361, 364, 414, 415, 422, 434, 441, 453, 454, 489, 493, 502, 513, 516, 517, 527, 531, 535, 539, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 572, 573, 574, 575, 607, 610, 628, 629, 630, 644, 645, 653, 673, 674, 676, 677, 678, 679, 693, 734, 736, 771, 772, 789, 832, 838, 840, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 872, 879, 878, 880, 897, 898, 911, 912, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 924, 927, 932, 934, 936, 948, 949, 979, 988, 993, 999, 1002, 1010, 1011, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1084, 1095, 1099, 1011, 1109. Note that white-ground lekythos shoulders or lower bodies with only one band of meander or lattice have been categorised as framing motifs as these appeared on both pattern and black-figure vases.

presence of such objects in high numbers clearly indicates that representational motifs were not always a requirement for many Levantine buyers of Attic pottery. In many cases nonrepresentational ornamentation on these exotic objects was evidently appealing and desirable. However, because a small sherd of a pattern vase allows the nature of its full decorative programme to be identified far more effectively than does a comparable sherd from a figural scene, these will be considered separately from the general statistical analysis.

Furthermore, many of the vessels that do feature figural decoration are so fragmentary that no firm identification of the theme is possible. These include sherds with portions of drapery¹⁷²⁴ as well as disembodied arms¹⁷²⁵ and legs¹⁷²⁶. Even when the heads¹⁷²⁷ or bodies¹⁷²⁸ of male or female figures have been preserved it is often impossible to determine the identity of the individual characters or the broader scene. All these pieces, though valuable in their own right as catalogue entries, will have to be excluded from the following statistical analysis of figural themes if the resulting data are to be in anyway representative and if the corpus is to be compared with published corpora of complete vases.

With these strictures in place, we are left with a corpus of 217 objects bearing identifiable figural subjects.¹⁷²⁹ These subjects span a broad range of genres including scenes from myth, daily life, and the animal world. The most common of all these subjects are Dionysiac themes with images of the wine god and his followers appearing on 35 separate vessels. Dionysos himself appears alone or with his consort Ariadne on numerous vases,¹⁷³⁰ as do the satyrs and

¹⁷²⁴ 83/920:

Nos. 79, 80, 109, 130, 131, 140, 145, 146, 147, 179, 180, 181, 182, 206, 207, 215, 216, 328, 246, 267, 275, 277, 290, 291, 292, 293, 311, 318, 334, 339, 359, 368, 375, 376, 377, 383, 395, 396, 397, 398, 410, 430, 438, 450, 459, 506, 521, 532, 553, 554, 568, 569, 570, 582, 583, 667, 668, 669, 670, 784, 788, 791, 792, 801, 803, 811, 860, 882, 889, 891, 901, 910, 973, 974, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1064, 1065, 1098, 1118.

¹⁷²⁵ Hands and arms: 13/920: Nos. 214, 236, 279, 282, 288, 456, 484, 510, 603, 667, 895, 985, 990,

¹⁷²⁶ Legs and feet: 44/920 Nos. 15, 68, 117, 141, 142, 143, 144, 175, 177, 178, 202, 213, 243, 284, 289, 241, 342, 401, 402, 418, 468, 475, 494, 509, 518, 523, 524, 559, 585, 649, 659, 666, 770, 812, 829, 835, 975, 995, 1019, 1061, 1105, 1110, 1112.

¹⁷²⁷ Male heads and faces: 11/920 : Nos. 4, 57, 128, 265, 283, 433, 483, 560, 579, 799, 1113.

Female heads and faces: 5/920: Nos. 324, 446, 507, 542 are fragments with faces. No. 647 features a complete tondo with only a head and will be included with the statistics below.

Generic heads and faces: 5/920: Nos. 373, 530, 865, 1020, 1045.

¹⁷²⁸ Unidentifiable male figures and torsos: 13/920 : Nos. 40, 210, 328, 336, 340, 385, 394, 444, 657, 802, 848, 972, 1094.

Unidentifiable female figures and torsos: 9/920 : Nos. 61, 211, 445, 455, 782, 810, 823, 824, 925.

¹⁷²⁹ Note, vases with identifiable decoration on more than one area (sides a and b, interior, etc.) have these themes counted separately but count as only one object.

¹⁷³⁰ Dionysos and/or Ariadne (with attendants): 12/217; Nos. 18, 124, 137, 273, 285, 351, 526, 830, 836, 870, 971, 1018.

maenads that constitute his train.¹⁷³¹ Apart from Dionysos and his followers, other subjects from Greek mythology are also present in smaller numbers. Herakles is especially well-represented with nine pieces depicting the hero and his exploits. These include his fights with the Nemean Lion,¹⁷³² Kyknos,¹⁷³³ Triton,¹⁷³⁴ and Apollo,¹⁷³⁵ as well as images of the hero seated with the Hesperides,¹⁷³⁶ and Dionysian figures,¹⁷³⁷ and a head-vase in his likeness.¹⁷³⁸ Mythical stories of pursuit and abduction appear on a further eight vases. Of these, four show a youth (possibly the hero Theseus) pursuing a woman,¹⁷³⁹ while two pieces show only the woman fleeing.¹⁷⁴⁰ Two final abductions feature Eos carrying off either Kephalos or Tithonos.¹⁷⁴¹ Eos may also be the winged goddess who appears on an additional four sherds, though an identification as Nike is also possible.¹⁷⁴² In addition to appearances by the heroes Herakles and Theseus, Oedipus also appears alongside the sphinx on a set of three cups,¹⁷⁴³ while sphinges appears alone on four other vessels.¹⁷⁴⁴ Amazons or Arimasps are likewise figured alone on five fragments,¹⁷⁴⁵ while Athena can be seen on three: always in the striding pose assumed by the goddess in her Promachos aspect or while engaged in the Gigantomachy.¹⁷⁴⁶ The only other identifiable deity to appear alone in unknown scenes is Eros, who can be seen alone on two sherds¹⁷⁴⁷ (though, as will be seen below, he also appears in a number of nuptial or domestic scenes). The repertoire of purely mythical subjects is finally rounded out by two depictions of griffins,¹⁷⁴⁸ and one of Peleus grappling with Thetis.¹⁷⁴⁹

¹⁷³¹ Satyrs and/or Maenads (without Dionysos or Ariadne): 23/217; Nos. 13, 14, 19, 20, 139, 165, 257, 274, 286, 325, 280, 428, 437, 479, 480, 577, 578, 599, 783, 849, 929, 970, 1014.

¹⁷³² No. 255.

¹⁷³³ Nos. 837, 1022. This scene may also appear on No. 1116.

¹⁷³⁴ No. 834.

¹⁷³⁵ No. 869.

¹⁷³⁶ No. 436.

¹⁷³⁷ No. 19.

¹⁷³⁸ No. 857

¹⁷³⁹ Nos. 576, 654, 655, 1053. (No. 576 may instead show Thetis pursued by Peleus).

¹⁷⁴⁰ Nos. 112, 851.

¹⁷⁴¹ Nos. 859, 1046. The former may instead represent and Memnon.

¹⁷⁴² Nos. 18, 474, 609, 1079.

¹⁷⁴³ Nos. 844, 845, 846.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Nos. 879, 989, 1022, 1104.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Nos. 138, 171, 337, 338, 1047.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Nos. 256, 833, 871.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Nos. 5, 23. (No. 287 shows a wing which could belong to Eros but also to another figure or bird)

¹⁷⁴⁸ Nos. 278, 773.

¹⁷⁴⁹ No. 787.

Just as Dionysiac themes dominated the mythological iconography, the most common scenes of mortal life are likewise linked to wine, with sympotic themes identifiable on 36 vessels. These include images of symposiasts themselves,¹⁷⁵⁰ waited on by male attendants¹⁷⁵¹ and female musicians,¹⁷⁵² as well as sympotic equipment such as wine vessels,¹⁷⁵³ and furniture such as tables¹⁷⁵⁴ and the frames and cushions of klinai.¹⁷⁵⁵ Male and female komasts engaged in the post-symposion procession can also be identified.¹⁷⁵⁶ A number of the striding or dancing women whose identity cannot be securely established likely also fall into this latter category though this is not certain.¹⁷⁵⁷ In addition to symposia, another genre of scene from daily life that that appears with great frequency, are images of standing draped youths, which can be identified with certainty on 23 vessels. Some of these are situated in an undetermined setting,¹⁷⁵⁸ while others can be identified as palaestra scenes due to the presence of strigils or discuses.¹⁷⁵⁹ It is important to note, however, that when such scenes appear on red-figure bell kraters, they generally serve as the standardised, “filler” scene on the vessel’s B-side, and their appeal was perhaps of subordinate importance to that on the generally more lavish A-side. Following these scenes of youths in the masculine sphere of the palaestra, fragments of 13 vases show women engaged in actions linked with the female sphere in Greek culture. These include 10 domestic or nuptial scenes of women tended by servants¹⁷⁶⁰ or Erotes¹⁷⁶¹ who present them with bridal or cosmetic objects such chests, fabrics,¹⁷⁶² perfumes, and fans.¹⁷⁶³ Of the remaining pieces in this genre one simply depicts a woman in the entrance of a building,¹⁷⁶⁴ while each of the others show women performing a duty associated with the female sphere, specifically fetching water

¹⁷⁵⁰ Nos. 9, 17, 176, 264, 416, 481, 571, 606, 648, 664, 828, 850, 909, 1106.

¹⁷⁵¹ No. 656.

¹⁷⁵² Nos. 280, 212, 786, 1007, 1054. (The aulos players in Nos. 1007, 1054 many belong to komoi)

¹⁷⁵³ Nos. 98, 409.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Nos. 343, 399, 520, 976, 1055.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Nos. 95, 183, 461, 529.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Nos. 400, 421, 525, 646, 748, 814

¹⁷⁵⁷ Nos. 202, 342, 401, 468, 524, 666, 1110.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Nos. 10, 19, 21, 42, 105, 228, 240, 392, 435, 457, 482, 557, 650, 931. Many of the unidentified feet and drapery from standing figures likely also belong to such scenes, though the exact number cannot be determined.

¹⁷⁵⁹ Nos. 41, 266, 335, 374, 458, 555, 556, 584, 841.

¹⁷⁶⁰ Nos. 505, 875.

¹⁷⁶¹ Nos. 386, 697, 987.

¹⁷⁶² Nos. 170, 319, 366.

¹⁷⁶³ Nos. 44, 365.

¹⁷⁶⁴ No. 1006.

from a fountain,¹⁷⁶⁵ sitting with a weaving basket,¹⁷⁶⁶ and bearing a funeral libation.¹⁷⁶⁷ This latter theme of libations overlaps with a further iconographic category, that of cultic practices and objects, of which six additional examples are extant. Only one complete scene of sacrifice survives,¹⁷⁶⁸ though one fragment may belong to an Adonia celebration,¹⁷⁶⁹ and the context of figures with ritual objects such as six offering trays,¹⁷⁷⁰ a tripod,¹⁷⁷¹ and a torch,¹⁷⁷² are not entirely clear. Also somewhat vague in their specific setting but potentially identifiable as genre scenes are the five occurrences of seated draped figures attended by standing draped figures,¹⁷⁷³ and five depictions of lyrodes.¹⁷⁷⁴ Athletic themes can be reconstructed on five further pieces which feature a diskobolos,¹⁷⁷⁵ discus,¹⁷⁷⁶ lampadedromia,¹⁷⁷⁷ judge,¹⁷⁷⁸ and palm-bearing Nike.¹⁷⁷⁹ Warriors with helmets or shields appear in four final images,¹⁷⁸⁰ though whether these represent human hoplites or divine heroes cannot be readily determined.

Whether in the mortal or mythical realms, horses are by far the most frequently-depicted animals on Attic pottery in Canaan. Equestrian subjects are represented on 28 specimens, behind only Dionysiac and sympotic themes in their popularity as primary decorative motifs. Such equestrian themes include not only images of horses alone¹⁷⁸¹ or with humans,¹⁷⁸² but most notably as part of chariot scenes.¹⁷⁸³ While horses are the most popular animals in the corpus, they are far from the only ones. Birds, specifically owls¹⁷⁸⁴ and various waterfowl,¹⁷⁸⁵ appear on

¹⁷⁶⁵ No. 1021.

¹⁷⁶⁶ No. 847.

¹⁷⁶⁷ No. 1009. (No. 874 may also be funerary in theme)

¹⁷⁶⁸ No. 654.

¹⁷⁶⁹ No. 534

¹⁷⁷⁰ Nos. 200, 478, 831, 930.

¹⁷⁷¹ No. 281.

¹⁷⁷² No. 995.

¹⁷⁷³ Nos. 133, 327, 528, 937, 1090.

¹⁷⁷⁴ Nos. 443, 550, 652, 794, 842.

¹⁷⁷⁵ No. 1063.

¹⁷⁷⁶ No. 384.

¹⁷⁷⁷ No. 16.

¹⁷⁷⁸ No. 817.

¹⁷⁷⁹ No. 696.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Nos. 3, 39, 467, 1022.

¹⁷⁸¹ Nos. 56, 276, 387, 533, 857, 1023.

¹⁷⁸² Nos. 12, 501, 735, 858.

¹⁷⁸³ Nos. 2, 6, 7, 38, 70, 92, 111, 116, 329, 487, 500, 508, 596, 695, 746, 747, 826, 1024.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Nos. 136, 204, 268, 827, 896, 928. (Note: Owl skyphos fragments with only framing olive sprigs extant have been counted with the framing vegetal motifs for consistency).

¹⁷⁸⁵ Nos. 168, 317, 419, 665, 839. (No. 994 depicts a wing but it is unclear whether this belongs to a bird or winged deity).

11 pieces collectively, while assorted mammals occupy seven. These latter creatures include dogs and panthers,¹⁷⁸⁶ as well as a hare¹⁷⁸⁷ and a goat.¹⁷⁸⁸

Despite this seemingly diverse range of decoration, many scenes from the Attic vase-painting repertoire are entirely absent from Canaan; erotic subjects, for example, make no appearance whatsoever and scenes of athletic competitions are comparatively rare. Conversely, certain types of imagery stand out, due to their remarkably high occurrence. As seen above, the subjects that appear most commonly on Attic black and red-figure imports in Persian-era Canaan can be divided into three types: Dionysiac and sympotic scenes showing divine or human revelry respectively, and equestrian motifs featuring horses or chariots. To understand the appeal of these categories of Attic imagery to Levantine audiences each group of motifs must be examined and placed within the context of local practices, history, and visual culture.

3.3. B: Dionysos, Symposion, and Marzeah

Depictions of Dionysos and his entourage engaged in ecstatic wine-fuelled revels are the most common motifs seen on Attic pottery imported to Persian-era Canaan. Along with these images of divine carousal, images of human revelry in the form of symposion and komos scenes also feature prominently in finds from the region, trailing only Dionysian motifs in popularity. For the sake of this analysis, these distinct, though interrelated, reflections of Greek wine culture will be considered together. Attic pottery sold in Canaan seems to have been purchased primarily by Levantine customers. As such, the purchasers and viewers of these figure-decorated vessels, would likely have been unfamiliar in the intricacies of Greek myth and iconography. In this context the distinction between divine and human revellers would not necessarily have been apparent or relevant. Rather, it may have been the portrayal of drinking, dancing, and carousal that was itself viewed as appealing and germane.

Overall, Dionysian and sympotic motifs constitute a third of all identifiable figural subjects in the present corpus (73/217=33.64%).¹⁷⁸⁹ It is informative to compare these data with

¹⁷⁸⁶ Nos. 361, 363, 933, 986, 1080.

¹⁷⁸⁷ No. 442.

¹⁷⁸⁸ No. 541.

¹⁷⁸⁹ The sum of all items listed above as depicting Dionysos, Ariadne, Satyrs, Maenads, a symposion, or kommos.

figure-decorated pottery assemblages from Athens itself. By doing so, a sense of the relative popularity of specific motifs at their final point of purchase in Canaan compared with that at their point of production can be gaged.¹⁷⁹⁰ Among all published finds from the Athenian Agora, catalogued by the Beazley Archive, Dionysian and sympotic themes – including images of Dionysos, maenads, satyrs, symposiasts, and komasts – appear on 15.21% of all vessels with figural black or red-figure decoration.¹⁷⁹¹ Such images thus occur only about half as commonly as they do in Canaan. It is important to note, however, that these numbers refer to the occurrence of the motifs on vessels of all shapes, many of which do not commonly appear in finds from Canaan. As such, to compare them directly to the numbers from the Levant would not account for the role played by Levantine buyers' preference for specific shapes. If only the shapes that were most commonly imported to Persian-era Canaan are considered among the Agora finds (namely cups, skyphoi, kraters, and lekythoi of all varieties) the percentage of Dionysian and sympotic motifs rises to 21.15%.¹⁷⁹² This increase is to be expected given the aptness of wine-related imagery for drinking vessels and kraters, however it still falls short of the popularity of these motifs on all vessels from Canaan. To gain a broader appreciation of the popularity of these specific motifs at their points of production, sale, and export in Attica, the finds from the Athenian Agora can also be collated with those from the Kerameikos and the port of Piraeus. Collectively, the available pottery from these three sites display only 14.99%¹⁷⁹³ Dionysian and sympotic imagery on all vessels and 20.74%¹⁷⁹⁴ on the shapes popular in Canaan. As such, the proportion of Dionysian and sympotic imagery was considerably higher among Attic pottery purchased and used in Canaan than at its point of production, sale, and export in Athens, suggesting a degree of selection by or for foreign customers.

As demonstrated by literary sources such as the Book of Amos, the standard proceedings of the marzeah seem to have involved of the consumption of wine and food while lounging on couches, the use of perfume, the playing of music, and a spirit of general unruliness. These same

¹⁷⁹⁰ Only figural themes are here being compared. Thus, “black-figure” or “red-figure” technique with the terms “pattern” or “floral” excluded from the decoration in all searches.

¹⁷⁹¹ 552/3629. BAPD, Accessed, 11/2024. With decoration featuring “*Dionysos*”, “*satyr*”, “*maenad*”, “*symposium*”, Or “*komos*”. From all proveniences labeled “*Athens, Agora*”. For publication of Agora material: Moore. et al. (1986); Moore (1997).

¹⁷⁹² 443/2095. BAPD, Accessed, 11/2024. Search as above, with the shapes “*cup*or*skyphos*or*krater*or*lekythos*” specified.

¹⁷⁹³ 565/3768. BAPD: accessed 11/2024. Search as above, with *Athens, Ceramicus* or *Athens, Piraeus* added to the provenance.

¹⁷⁹⁴ 452/2179. BAPD: accessed 11/2024.

aspects of Near-Eastern revelry also appear in visual culture. Likely the best-known visual depiction of elite dining from the Late-Iron-Age Near East, is the Neo-Assyrian relief from the Palace at Nineveh showing Ashurbanipal feasting (Fig. I.120).¹⁷⁹⁵ The bas relief on this gypsum wall panel, which dates to between 645 and 635 BCE, matches the description from Amos's invective in numerous ways. The king is shown lounging on an elaborate kline-like couch while his queen sits on a throne by his feet. Both drink from wine bowls held in their lifted hands. They are waited on by attendants holding fans and trays of food, while a harpist plays.

In the visual culture of the Levant itself, illustrations of feasting and celebration appear on Phoenician metal bowls. As with the Attic pottery later imported to Phoenician sites in Canaan, these metal bowls were evidently used for the social and ritual consumption of wine, including in the *marzeah* itself.¹⁷⁹⁶ This is evidenced by the inscribed fourth-century bronze bowl from Lebanon, discussed above which declares itself to be “for the *marzeah* of Shamash”.¹⁷⁹⁷ While this particular bowl, like other Persian-era examples, is undecorated, Phoenician bowls produced prior to the arrival of Attic pottery in the region, during the eighth and seventh centuries, were often lavishly ornamented with chased and repoussé decoration. Along with the frequent appearance of hunting scenes and animal friezes, the reliefs on these bowls also depict scenes of feasting and revelry, including the very kinds of activities in which the bowls themselves were used.

Early examples of such imagery can be seen on four bronze Phoenician bowls of the late ninth or eighth centuries.¹⁷⁹⁸ These objects were traded throughout the Mediterranean and Near East; one, currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum was discovered in Idalion (Fig. I.121),¹⁷⁹⁹ and another in the Louvre reportedly in Sparta, (Fig. I.122),¹⁸⁰⁰ while those in the Bastan Museum in Tehran (Fig. I.123),¹⁸⁰¹ and a private collection in New York lack recorded provenience. (Fig. I.124)¹⁸⁰² All four depict feast scenes with seated female figures (perhaps goddesses or noblewomen), and on the New York specimen, also a male diner. They are

¹⁷⁹⁵ London, BM:124920. On connection of this image to the *Marzeah*: Barnett (1985), 2-3. On the history of feasting iconography in the Near East and Levant: Ziffer (2005).

¹⁷⁹⁶ Onnis (2014), 477.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Avigad, Greenfield (1982); King (1989), 104, Fig. 4.

¹⁷⁹⁸ On the dating of Phoenician bowls: Markoe (1985), 149-156.

¹⁷⁹⁹ New York, Met.:74.51.5700; Markoe (1985), 171-172, 246, No. Cy3.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Paris, Louvre: AO4702; Markoe (1985), 207, 328-329, No. G8.

¹⁸⁰¹ Tehran, Bastan:15198; Markoe (1985), 217, 347, No. U6.

¹⁸⁰² Sotheby's (New York, 9/12/1989) No. 85; Markoe (1985), 218-219, 350, No. U8.

surrounded by attendants and tables laden with food and wine-jugs, A juggler provides entertainment on the New York bowl, while the others feature lines of processing dancers and groups of musicians playing auloi, harps, and tympana.¹⁸⁰³ Such images find clear iconographic parallels on Attic vessels imported to the Levant in later periods. The motif of a ruler or deity feasting and drinking while attended by dancers and musicians, is reminiscent of the numerous depictions of the seated Ariadne or Dionysos in the midst of revelling followers.¹⁸⁰⁴ Likewise, the instruments – auloi, tympana, and lyres – are the same as those employed in Dionysian and sympotic scenes,¹⁸⁰⁵ with lyrodes also appearing separately on several vases.¹⁸⁰⁶ The rows of processing dancers too are comparable to the processing revellers in komos scenes.¹⁸⁰⁷

While the dancers on these early bowls appear relatively stiff and staid, a livelier depiction of dancing revellers can be seen on a silver bowl of ca.710-675 BCE housed in Cleveland. (Fig. I.125)¹⁸⁰⁸ The outer register of this bowl shows lines of dancing women bearing wine vessels and tympana, while the tondo depicts two confronted female dancers with bent knees and flailing arms. These lively dancing women engaged in wine-fueled revelry, have clear parallels not only in the human komasts and dancing girls of symposion scenes, but also with the ecstatic maenads in Dionysos's entourage.¹⁸⁰⁹

Scenes more clearly depicting convivial drinking parties also appear on Phoenician bowls of ca.710-675 BCE. Examples of this can be seen on both the silver bowl from Kurion discussed above (Fig. I.119)¹⁸¹⁰ and a bronze specimen from Salamis housed in the British Museum. (Fig. I.126)¹⁸¹¹ Both depict celebrants lounging on kline-like couches with wine bowls in their hands, surrounded by attendants and tables bearing foodstuffs and wine vessels. Musicians (once again playing auloi, harps and tympana) provide the entertainment. Additionally, the Salamis bowl also features a family group with a woman and child among the revellers, further emphasising the domestic communal nature of the scene, as well as a potential erotic pairing of a man lifting a

¹⁸⁰³ On Phoenician dance motif: Tubb (2003).

¹⁸⁰⁴ Eg. Cf. Nos.18, 273, 351, 526, 836.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Eg. Cf. Nos. 18, 280, 286, 391, 480, 783, 1018, 1054.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Eg. Cf. Nos. 443, 550, 652, 794, 842.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Eg. Cf. Nos. 400, 421, 525, 646, 748, 814.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Cleveland, CMA:47.491; Markoe (1985), 217, 348-349, No. U7.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Eg. Cf. Nos. 140, 428, 524, 599, 814.

¹⁸¹⁰ New York, Met.:74.51.4557; Markoe (1985), 175, 252, No. Cy6.

¹⁸¹¹ London, BM:186; Markoe (1985), 174, No. Cy5, Pl. XLI. On the dating of Phoenician bowls: Markoe (1985), 149-156.

nude woman. Such depictions of reclining diners engaged in licentious, wine-fuelled revelry in a social setting are reminiscent not only of the description of the marzeah in the Book of Amos, but also of the numerous depictions of symposia on imported Attic pottery.¹⁸¹²

Beyond the realm of specifically wine-related iconography, the bowls' portrayal of convivial domestic luxury is further mirrored in Attic domestic scenes, like those which appear on lekane lids from late in our period. Such scenes depict groups of elite women waited on by servants in sumptuous domestic settings.¹⁸¹³ Often, they are presented bottles of perfume – the marzeah's second essential luxury substance – all while being kept cool with fans, in a manner not so different from Ashurbanipal on his palace relief.

Not only did a strong local tradition of luxurious wine-fuelled revelry exist in the Levant, this culture was evidently associated with a long-established visual language, aspects of which closely mirror the most popular imagery on Attic imports. The same tradition of social wine and perfume consumption that allowed for the incorporation of specific Greek vessels into Levantine culture, likely also fostered the popularity of Dionysian, sympotic, and other related images among Levantine customers. Given that the vessels were themselves used for the consumption of wine and the use of perfume in elite social settings, the imagery of carousing mortals and deities, would have been readily identifiable to viewers who would have recognised their own real or aspirational feasting practices in the images of Bacchic and sympotic celebrants, just as they had with those on Phoenician bowls. By presenting imagery with which the audience themselves could readily identify, and at the same time reinforcing the very social values that justified the vessels' use, such iconography would have been comparatively incorporable within a pre-existing indigenous framework.

3.3. C: Horses and Horsemen

Another iconographic subject that appears with marked frequency on Attic pottery in Canaan is horses. Equestrian scenes, including horses, riders, and chariots, appear on 12.90%¹⁸¹⁴ of all black-figure and red-figure finds from Canaan with identifiable figural subjects, surpassed only

¹⁸¹² Eg. Cf. Nos. 9, 17, 95, 98, 176, 212, 264, 280, 343, 399, 409, 416, 461, 481, 520, 529, 571, 606, 648, 656, 661, 664, 786, 828, 850, 909, 976, 1007, 1054, 1055, 1106, 183.

¹⁸¹³ Eg. Cf. Nos. 44, 170, 319, 365, 366, 386, 505, 697. Cf. also lekythoi Nos. 874, 875, and 1009.

¹⁸¹⁴ 28/217.

by Dionysian and sympotic imagery among primary motifs. As with these other genres, the popularity of equestrian motifs was significantly higher in Canaan than in Athens itself, though here the disparity is even more pronounced. In finds from the Athenian Agora horses and chariots appear on only 4.60%¹⁸¹⁵ of all figure-decorated black and red-figure vessels. If only skyphoi, cups, lekythoi, and kraters are considered, this number drops further to only 3.82%.¹⁸¹⁶ In the combined finds from the Athenian Agora, Kerameikos, and Piraeus, the numbers are similarly low, with equestrian motifs appearing on 5.79%¹⁸¹⁷ of all figural black and red-figure vessels, and on 4.91%¹⁸¹⁸ of the selected shapes. As before, the disproportionate popularity of such motifs in Canaan demands explanation, and it may be beneficial to analyse these trends with reference to local customs: specifically, the place of horses in Levantine history and visual culture.

Horsemanship and chariotry played a major role in the military culture of Canaan and the Near-East even prior to Achaemenid hegemony. The status of the Hebrew kingdoms as independent political and military powers came to an end over the course of the late eighth to sixth centuries as the region was conquered successively by the Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, both of which relied heavily on chariotry for their military successes.¹⁸¹⁹ With the fall of Babylon to Cyrus the Great's Achaemenid forces in 539 BCE, the Levant came under the rule of yet another empire whose military might was based on their command of horses, this time largely cavalry.¹⁸²⁰

The Athenian historian and cavalry commander Xenophon, who himself served as a mercenary in the Persian army of Cyrus the Younger in 401 BCE, wrote extensively about the Persians' use of cavalry forces. In his *Cyropaedia*, a highly fictionalised biography of Cyrus the Great, Xenophon credits Cyrus with introducing cavalry warfare into Persia thus enabling their imperial expansion.¹⁸²¹ While the narrative in the *Cyropaedia* is almost certainly spurious, the observation that cavalry played a central role in the Persian military was clearly informed by Xenophon's own experiences and demonstrates the close association between horsemanship and

¹⁸¹⁵ 167/3629. BAPD, Accessed 11/2024. Search as above with the terms “*horse*or*chariot*” in the decoration.

¹⁸¹⁶80/2095. BAPD, Accessed 11/2024.

¹⁸¹⁷218/3768

¹⁸¹⁸107/2179

¹⁸¹⁹ Hyland (2003), 89-107; Cantrell (2011).

¹⁸²⁰ On horses in Achaemenid Persia: Hyland (2003), 108-125; Stronach (2009).

¹⁸²¹ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.5.23, Trans. Miller (1914).

Achaemenid power in the mind of a Greek observer. In addition to serving as the basis of their military might, horsemanship seemingly played a central role in Achaemenid concepts of elite masculinity. Xenophon records a supposed decree of Cyrus's, still enforced in the author's own day, that Persian men of good birth should always be seen riding rather than walking,¹⁸²² while Herodotus, in describing the education of Persian boys, relates that "they teach their sons just three things: to ride horses, to shoot the bow, and to speak the truth."¹⁸²³

More direct evidence for the valuation of horses in the highest echelons of Achaemenid society, not filtered through Greek sources, comes from inscriptions in Old Persian commissioned by Darius I (522-486 BCE). Inscription DPd, near the south entrance to the Persepolis Terrace includes a passage in which the king praises his kingdom as "this country Persia, which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me, good, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men."¹⁸²⁴ Along with linking Persia's majesty to the quality of its horses, another of Darius's inscriptions demonstrates the importance of equestrian combat to royal status. In inscription DNb, which, appears on the façade of his royal tomb at Naqsh-e Rostam, Darius extols his own virtue as a ruler by referencing his skill in equestrian combat. He also explicitly cites these skills as evidence of divine favour.

*As a horseman, I am a good horseman. As a bowman, I am a good bowman both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman, I am a good spearman both on foot and on horseback. These skills that Ahuramazda set down upon me...O man, vigorously make you known of what sort I am, and of what sort my skilfulness, and of what sort my superiority.*¹⁸²⁵

This veneration of horses is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the tradition performed at another royal tomb, that of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae, where the empire's founder was honoured with a monthly sacrifice of horses.¹⁸²⁶ While riding assumed a central role both in warfare and society, it seems that the use of chariots survived in ceremonial contexts as a symbol of royal status. This is demonstrated by the relief sculptures adorning the eastern stairs of the Apadana reception hall at Darius I's palace in Persepolis. Among the images of processing

¹⁸²² Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 4.3.22-23.

¹⁸²³ Hdt.1.136.2, Trans. Purvis (2007).

¹⁸²⁴ DPd, Para.2, Trans. Kent (1950), 136. Emphasis my own. See Schmidt (1953), Pl. 7.

¹⁸²⁵ DNb, Para.8, Trans. LeCoq (1997), 223 (English translation of French published on Livius. Com). Emphasis my own. For earlier translation see Kent (1950), 140.

¹⁸²⁶ Briant (2002), 95-96.

courtiers appearing before the king, three royal horses are led in procession on the top register on the northern relief followed by two of the king's bigas.¹⁸²⁷

Given the importance of horses and equestrian warfare in the Near East before and during the Achaemenid era, it is understandable that horses would feature prominently in Levantine concepts of elite identity during the Persian period. This fact is clearly demonstrated in local material culture.

One of the most distinctive artefact types of the Persian-period Levant are terracotta figurines in the likeness of mounted riders.¹⁸²⁸ Such figurines are frequently referred to as “Persian riders” due to their characteristic Achaemenid costume, including kyrbasia caps.¹⁸²⁹ At present most of the terracotta assemblages from Persian-era Canaan remain unpublished. However, a useful general study of horse and rider figurines from throughout the Achaemenid Empire was published by P. R. S. Moorey in 2000.¹⁸³⁰ Such figurines were produced throughout the western portions of the empire, and appear with slight local variations in Cyprus, the Levant, Syria, and Mesopotamia.¹⁸³¹ These objects were evidently cultic in nature, as in-context finds from Canaan typically come from favissae, such as those at Tel Erani¹⁸³² and Tel Tzipor, (Figs. I.127, 128)¹⁸³³ or else from funerary deposits, like those from the cemetery in Area 500 at Lachish. (Fig. I.129)¹⁸³⁴

Though terracotta riders of this sort have been found throughout the Levant, a few sites with large, published assemblages, will suffice to demonstrate their prevalence. A large, recently published deposit of votive terracotta figurines was found in Subterranean Complex 57 (SC57) at Maresha.¹⁸³⁵ This complex evidently functioned as a favissa for the residents of the city above, as it was found to contain a wide range of ritual objects from the Persian and Hellenistic periods.¹⁸³⁶ Among the cultic deposits, perhaps cleared out of a nearby sanctuary, were numerous

¹⁸²⁷ Schmidt (1953), Fig. 52.

¹⁸²⁸ Stern (1982a), 168; Moorey (2000); Stronach (2009), 216-218.

¹⁸²⁹ Moorey (2000), 469.

¹⁸³⁰ Moorey (2000). On Terracotta votives in Achaemenid Canaan also: Cornelius: Frevel. Et. Al, (2014); Schmitt: Frevel et al. (2014).

¹⁸³¹ Moorey (2000), 473-480.

¹⁸³² Ciasca (1963), 48.

¹⁸³³ Negbi (1966), 2-4.

¹⁸³⁴ Tufnell (1953), Pl. 33.

¹⁸³⁵ Erlich (2014), 39-50.

¹⁸³⁶ Stern, Alpert (2014a).

ritually pierced vessels,¹⁸³⁷ four chalk altars,¹⁸³⁸ 33 astragals,¹⁸³⁹ and 78 Persian-era terracottas.¹⁸⁴⁰ 58 of these figurines (70.5 % of the assemblage) can be identified as Persian horsemen. (Fig. I.130)¹⁸⁴¹ Likewise, when finds from Maresha as whole, rather than only this one deposit, are examined, Persian riders still constitute over 50% of Achaemenid-era terracottas from the site.¹⁸⁴² The predominance of the rider type among Persian-era votive deposits, also holds true at other sites that have yielded large assemblages of terracottas, though often from less secure contexts. At Dor for example 35 horseman figurines have been published from various often disturbed contexts around the site, making them by far the most common male figurines.¹⁸⁴³ In addition to the figures that can be securely identified as horsemen, assorted deposits from Dor have also yielded 49 fragmentary horses that may originally have had riders attached.¹⁸⁴⁴ As such, their true number among the published finds is likely even higher.

The rider figurines of the Achaemenid-era Levant are characterised by very distinctive design and manufacture. They typically consist of a solid hand-made horse to which a hollow mould-made rider was attached prior to firing.¹⁸⁴⁵ The features are highly simplified, with the riders' torso seeming to arise directly from the horse's back.¹⁸⁴⁶ In addition to the riders' characteristic kyrbasia caps, large bell-shaped peytrals are often seen attached to the horses' chests, emphasising the military nature of the figures.¹⁸⁴⁷ Such peytrals evidently formed part of the protective barding worn by Persian cavalry horses, as Xenophon records that: "Their horses were armed with frontlets, breast-pieces, and thigh-pieces of bronze."¹⁸⁴⁸

Notably, Levantine rider figurines themselves were not an invention of the Persian era. Solid, fully-handmade rider figurines lacking any hats or peytrals had been common votive objects throughout the Iron-Age. (Fig. I.131)¹⁸⁴⁹ Under Achaemenid hegemony the previously

¹⁸³⁷ Stern, Alpert (2014b), 27.

¹⁸³⁸ Stern, Alpert (2014b), 25-27.

¹⁸³⁹ Perry-Gal (2014), 108. NB In addition to functioning as gaming pieces, astragals were frequently employed in ritual and divination: Perry-Gal et al. (2022).

¹⁸⁴⁰ Erlich (2014), 39.

¹⁸⁴¹ Erlich (2014), Figs.2, 6.1-5, 7, 10-20.

¹⁸⁴² Erlich (2014), 30

¹⁸⁴³ Stern: Stern (2010), 8-11, 44-49, Figs.3-5.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Stern: Stern (2010), 50-55, Figs.6-8.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Eg. Negbi (1966), Pl. XIII.101.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Eg. Negbi (1966), Pl. XIV.93, 95.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Eg. Negbi (1966), Pl. XIII.92.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7.1.2., Trans. Miller (1914).

¹⁸⁴⁹ Holland (1977), 125; Moorey (2000), 473-474; Stern in Dever and Gitin (2003), 319; Cornelius (2007).

unadorned riders adopted, the *kyrbasia* caps of Persian cavalrymen and satraps, as well as the *peytrals* worn by Persian cavalry horses. This evolution continued in subsequent periods; third-century rider figurines wearing Macedonian *kausia* hats were produced throughout the former Achaemenid Empire during the period of Hellenistic Seleucid rule. Examples of such hats can be seen on figurines from Ikaros, (Fig. I.132) Susa, and Masjid I-Suleiman.¹⁸⁵⁰ As archetypical representations of the elite male, the images of horsemen naturally assumed the military equipment and sartorial choices of the ruling class. Within their cultic and funerary contexts, the image of a Persian cavalryman likely represented an idealised, aspirational version of the male dedicant or deceased.

Along with coroplastic renderings, horses also appear in numismatic art where they serve a more obviously political function.¹⁸⁵¹ Given the role of the horse as a marker of political and military prowess both in Levantine tradition and in Achaemenid Persia, it is unsurprising that horses, riders, and chariots appear frequently on the coins minted by the Persian provincial administration in the region. In such a context the use of equine imagery likely served the political purpose of communicating a message of imperial control and military might. This can be seen, for example on the provincial coinage of Samaria, which began to be minted in ca. 400 BCE. Numerous Samarian issues feature either a full horse, (Fig. I.133.)¹⁸⁵² or only the animal's head¹⁸⁵³ or foreparts (Fig. I.134)¹⁸⁵⁴ as the main motif on their reverse or obverse. This latter motif of a horse's foreparts also appears on the coins of Gaza and Yehud in the same period.¹⁸⁵⁵ Chariots likewise feature prominently on Samarian coinage. Specifically, the Persian king himself, recognisable by his loose-sleeved *kypassis* robe¹⁸⁵⁶ and cylindrical *kidaris* crown,¹⁸⁵⁷ is often depicted on such coins riding in a biga with a charioteer or attendants as if in a formal procession. (Fig. I.135)¹⁸⁵⁸ This image of a royal processional chariot is reminiscent of the scenes of stationary chariots and standing figures that appear as the most popular equine motif on

¹⁸⁵⁰ Mathiesen (1982), 22, No. 25, Pl. 6; Cohen (2013), 143, 153, No. 26.

¹⁸⁵¹ On socio-political symbolism on Achaemenid coinage in Canaan: Wyssmann (2014).

¹⁸⁵² Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 57-58, 88, 98, Nos. 24-29, 82.

¹⁸⁵³ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 58, 111, No. 150.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Hill (1914), 178-179, Nos. 13-20; Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 58, 115, 174-175.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 58; Gitler. et al. (2024), 167.

¹⁸⁵⁶ A Greek term here used to refer to the loose "court robe". Roliger (2021), 1081.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Here used to refer to the upright royal tiara. The term is sometimes used interchangeably with "kyrbasia" (here used to indicate the soft folded hat). On royal Persian headgear: Tuplin (2007); Berndt (2017). On its use in Achaemenid iconography in Canaan: Uehlinger (1999), 145, 154

¹⁸⁵⁸ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 35, 86, 97, Nos. 15, 74. Cf. Martin (2017), 127, Fig. 37. On this type: Bodzek (2022).

black-figure pottery in the Canaan.¹⁸⁵⁹ In addition to chariots, numerous Samarian coins also depict mounted cavalymen, who are generally armed and clad in Persian kyrbasia headdress.¹⁸⁶⁰ The kyrbasia is used on other Samarian coinage to identify the heads of satraps and imperial officials.¹⁸⁶¹ and it is therefore possible that this motif is a portrayal of the satrap or local governor in the guise of an armed Persian cavalryman. Such a kyrbasia clad rider appears, for example on the reverse of an obol bearing the name of 'יהוֹעָנָה' [YHW'NH /Yehoanah]. (Fig. I.136)¹⁸⁶² The name is Hebrew and Yahwistic, meaning 'the Lord answered', and thus evidently belonged to a governor of local Israelite origin, whose authority is here bolstered by Achaemenid equestrian and martial iconography. Such martial implications are further emphasised on other issues which depict cavalymen riding over the bodies of defeated foot soldiers. (Fig. I.137)¹⁸⁶³ Finally a number of issues also depict scenes of men on foot grappling with horses. (Fig. I.138)¹⁸⁶⁴ These perhaps could represent a trainer breaking a wild horse as a further expression of political or military prowess demonstrated through the mastery of horses.

On coinage, as in coroplastic art, horses functioned as signifiers of power and prestige, an association doubtless arising from the importance of equestrian warfare. These same cultural associations would inevitably have informed Levantine customers' interpretation of the equestrian imagery on Attic pottery, just as traditions surrounding wine shaped the reception of Dionysiac and sympotic themes. The presence of such iconography on vessels in an elite social context would undoubtedly have served to enhance the objects' efficacy as status symbols.

3.4: Conclusion

In examining and contextualizing the decorative motifs on Attic pottery in Canaan, along with their shapes and functions, certain trends have become readily apparent. Far from indicating the presence of Greek colonists or a Hellenization of consumption practices, the limited range of shapes, and primarily domestic context of the finds, suggest that these objects were used by

¹⁸⁵⁹ Cf. Eg. Nos. 6, 7, 111, 116, 329, 508, 596, 746, 747, 826.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 54, 90, 106, 116, 119, Nos. 40, 123-125, 178, 197.

¹⁸⁶¹ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 116, Nos. 125, 178, 197.

¹⁸⁶² Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 90, No. 40. On the name: Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 24. On the weight divisions of Samaria and Yehud coinage: Gerson (2001).

¹⁸⁶³ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 106, Nos. 123, 124.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Meshorer, Qedar (1999), 44-45, 55, 95-96, 107, Nos. 65-68, 128-129.

members of the local Levantine elite almost exclusively for the consumption of wine and perfume in socially-significant domestic gatherings. These consumption practices seem to have largely retained their preexisting indigenous forms with the vessel shapes being specifically selected to fill the desired functional niches. Likewise, trends in the decoration suggest that motifs which aligned with and reinforced local markers of status were favoured.

It is reasonable to ask through whose agency these trends manifested. Given the small size of the Levantine market, it is highly improbable that Attic potters or painters tailored their output to cater to tastes in Canaan. One final piece of epigraphic evidence regarding the *marzeah* may help to draw together some of the disparate threads of this relationship. An inscribed stele currently housed in the Louvre was erected in Athens around the year 320 BCE. The bilingual Aramaic and Greek inscription was commissioned by the *koinon* of Sidonian traders who lived in Athens.¹⁸⁶⁵ It outlines the honours to be bestowed on a member of the community, one Shamabaal ben Magon, and dates the declaration to “the fourth day of the *marzeah*”. These Sidonians, whose metropole controlled much of the coast of Canaan in the Persian Period, and who were personally employed in the Mediterranean trade with Athens that brought Greek pottery to the Levant, were thus not only familiar with the *marzeah* as an institution but continued to actively partake in this tradition even when in Attica. As such, they were manifestly familiar with the role of wine and perfume in the cultures of their Levantine homeland and with the social practices surrounding the use of these substances. A combination of such knowledge on the part of merchants and the purchasing patterns upon the pottery’s arrival in Canaan would likely have been sufficient to influence the shapes and iconography that were imported in a detectable way. Thus, Levantine individuals on both sides of the vessels’ journey from Athens to Canaan likely helped shape the trends apparent in the current corpus.¹⁸⁶⁶

When viewed in their local Levantine contexts-of-use, these trends in both the decoration and shapes of imported Attic pottery in Canaan reveal much about the dynamics of cultural interaction with respect to material artefacts. Pre-existing cultural practices, signifiers, and ideologies likely effected the reception of images. This is especially true as these images were encountered in conjunction with the use of socially-significant substances - wine and perfume.

¹⁸⁶⁵ KAI-60.

¹⁸⁶⁶ On Phoenician traders bringing goods to Canaan: Noonan (2011).

At the same time, the values and practices surrounding these substances naturally determined which functional niches needed to be filled and thus which shapes were desirable.

The incorporability of these particular objects was therefore shaped by a dialectic between the impulses of exoticism and familiarity. While imported, figure-decorated ceramics were likely appealing as markers of elite status specifically because of their unusual, exotic nature, the ability to incorporate these vessels into the very activities that displayed such status was dependent on the practical utility of these vessels for predetermined functions and on the cultural legibility of their decoration. In the end, this dialectic resulted in a unique balance point specifically tailored to the incorporation of Attic figure-decorated pottery into indigenous Levantine cultural practices: a balance point that combined the alluringly foreign with the usefully recognisable.

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Figures

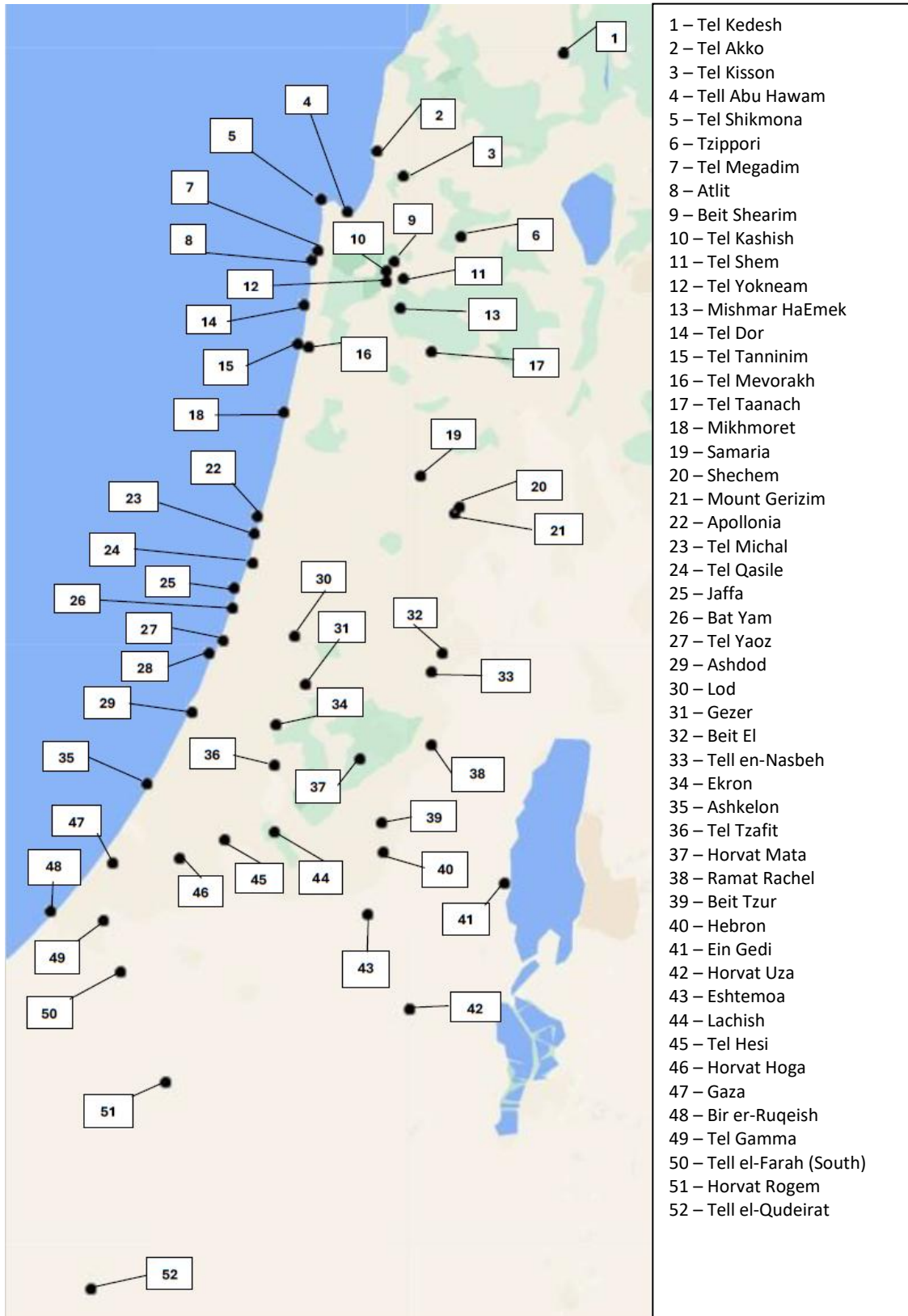


Fig. I.1: Map of all sites

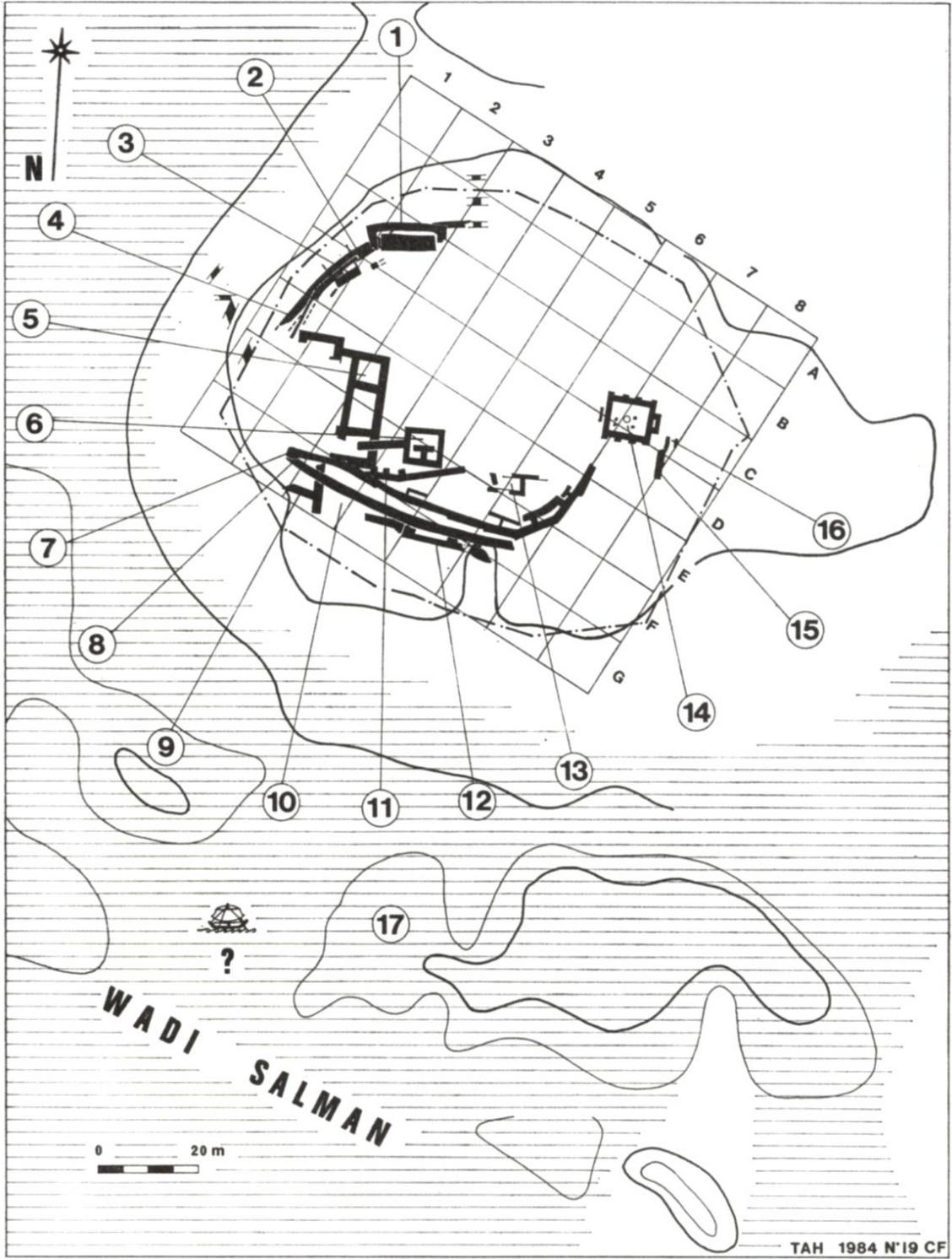


Fig. I.2: Tel Abu Hawam, plan of excavated walls including Persian-era Nos. 7, 15 (Source: Balensi et al., 1985)

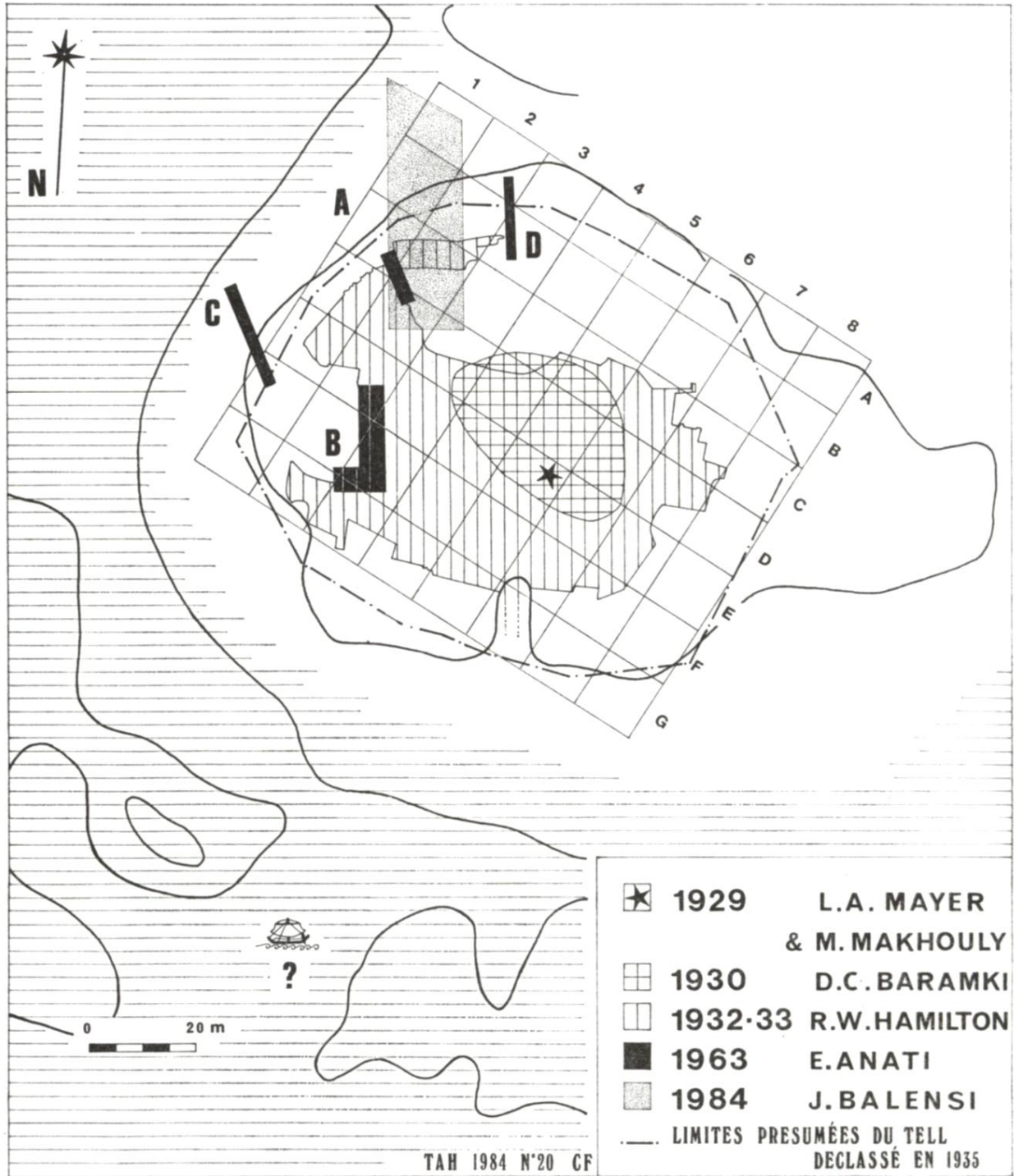


Fig1.3: Tel Abu Hawam, Excavated Areas (Source: Balensi et al., 1985)

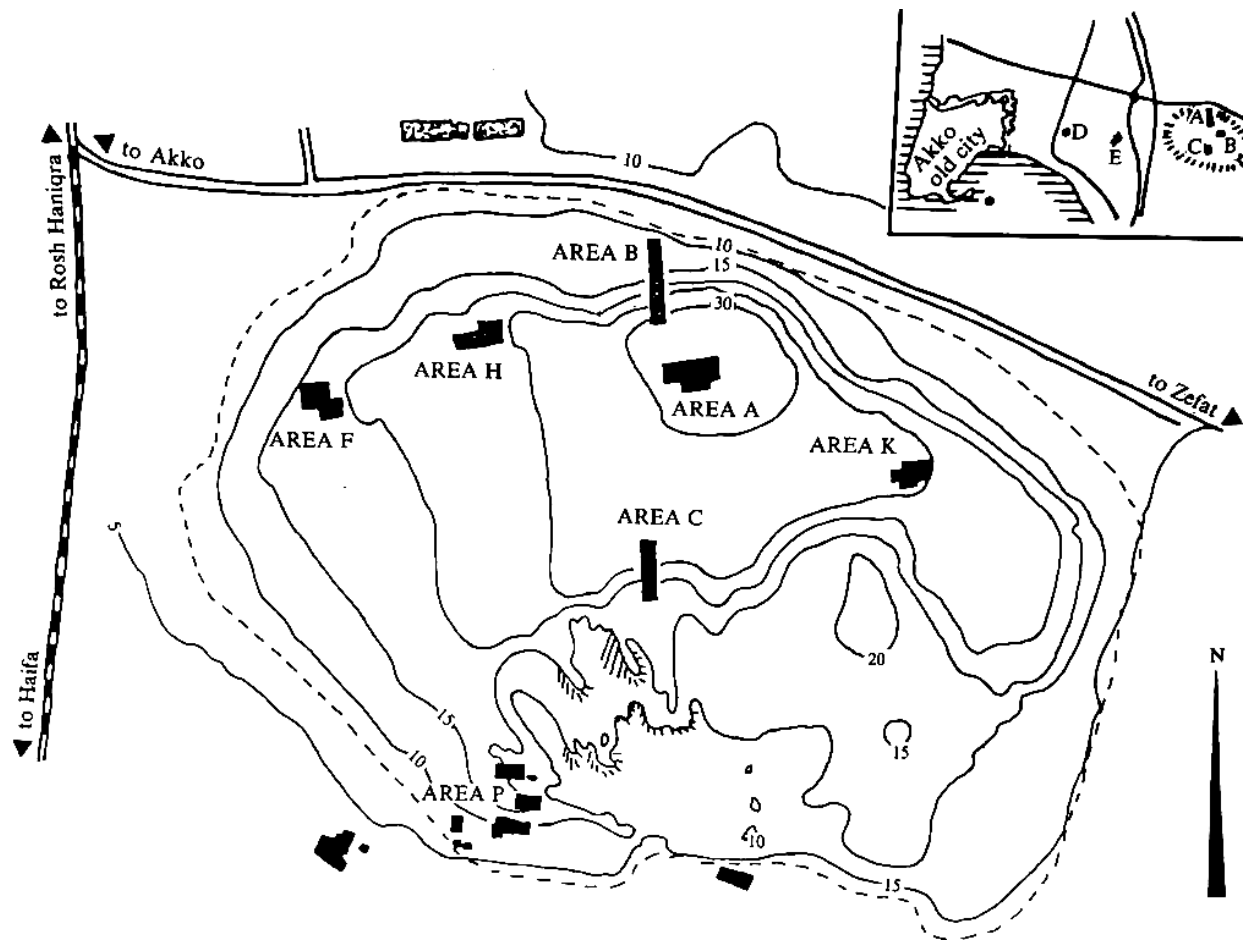


Fig. I.4: Tel Akko, Excavated Areas (Source: Raban, 1993)

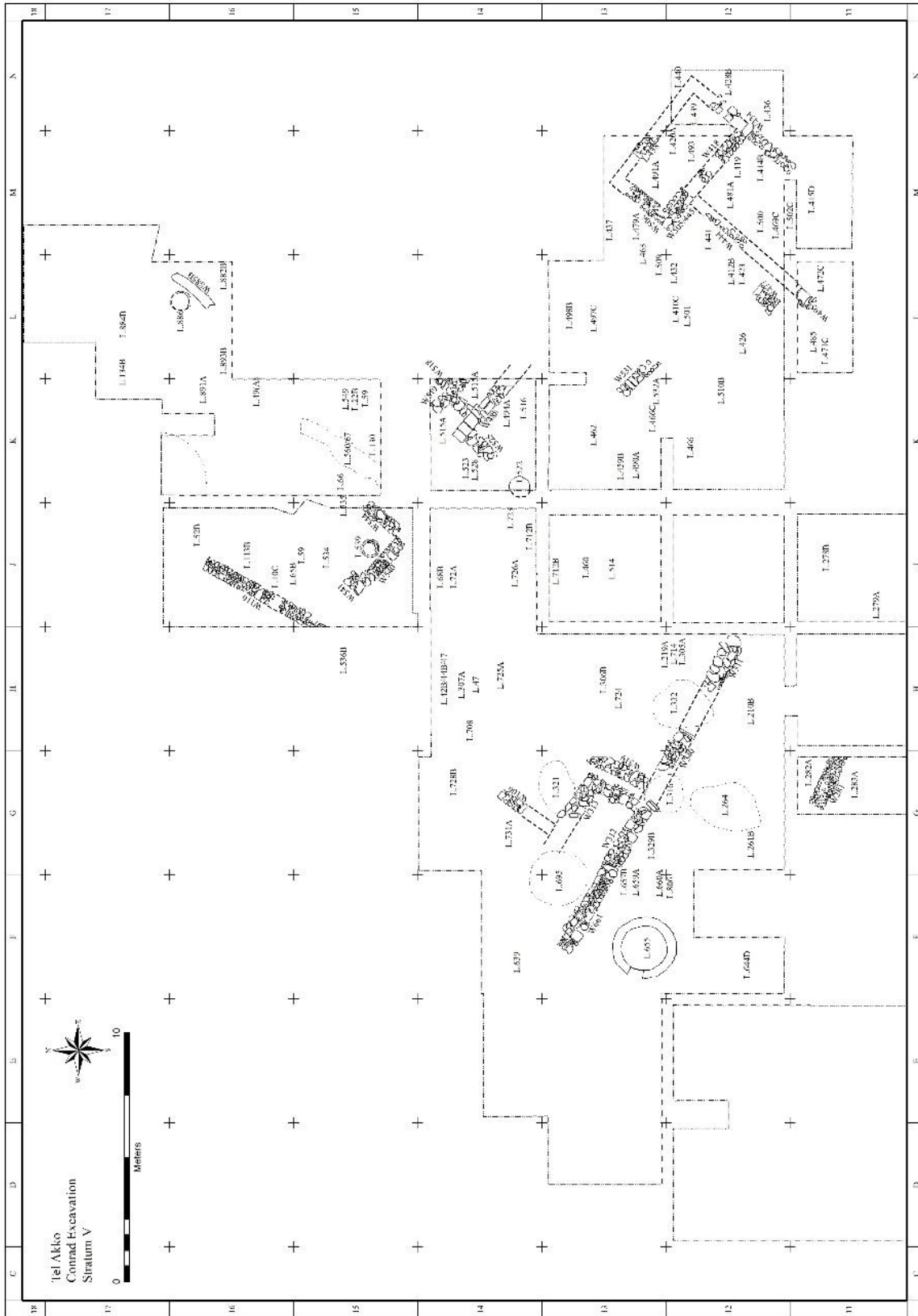


Fig. I.6: Tel Akko, Area K, Stratum V (Source: M. Peilstöcker, Unpublished)

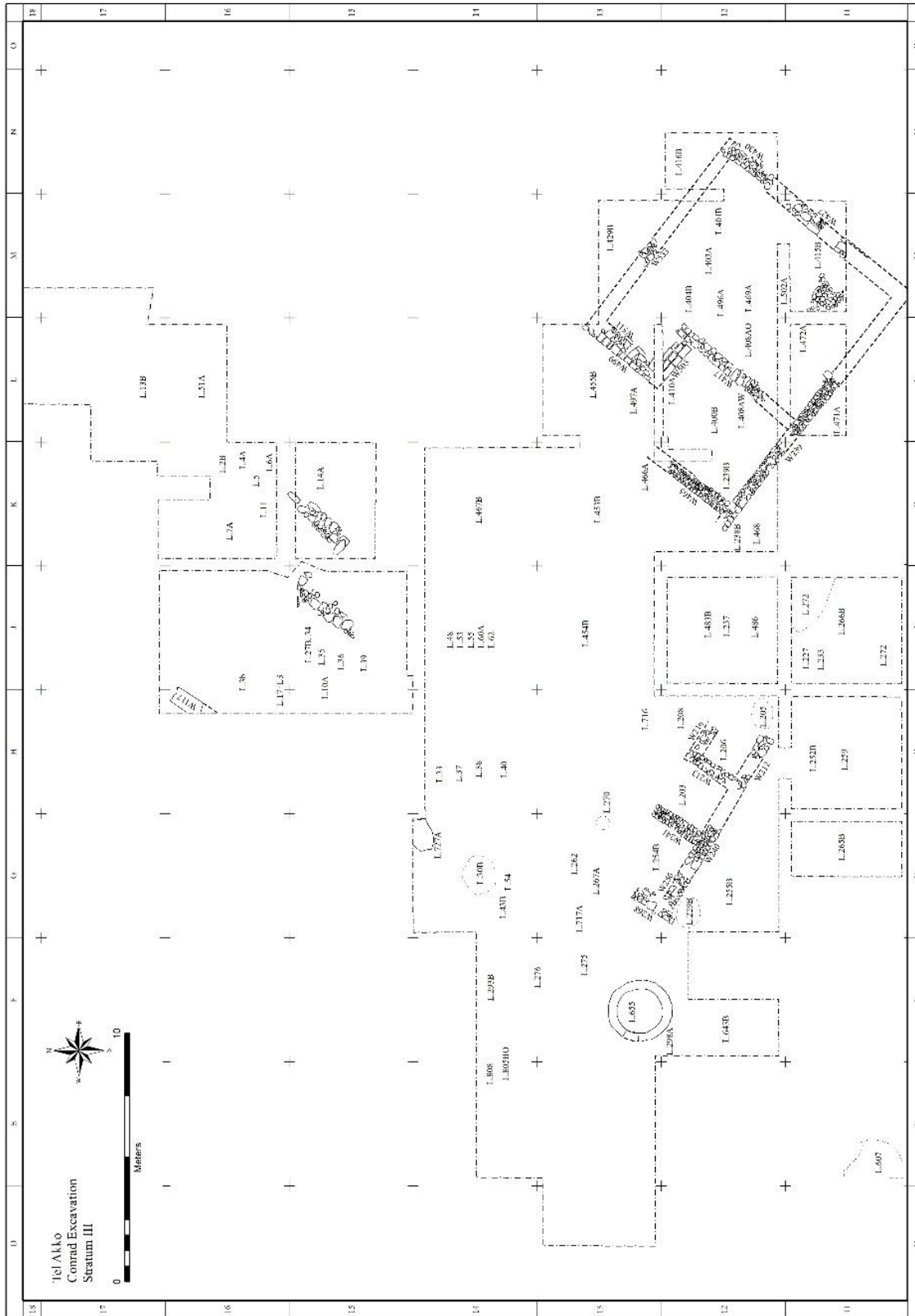


Fig. I.8: Tel Akko, Area K, Stratum III (Source: M. Peilstöcker, Unpublished)

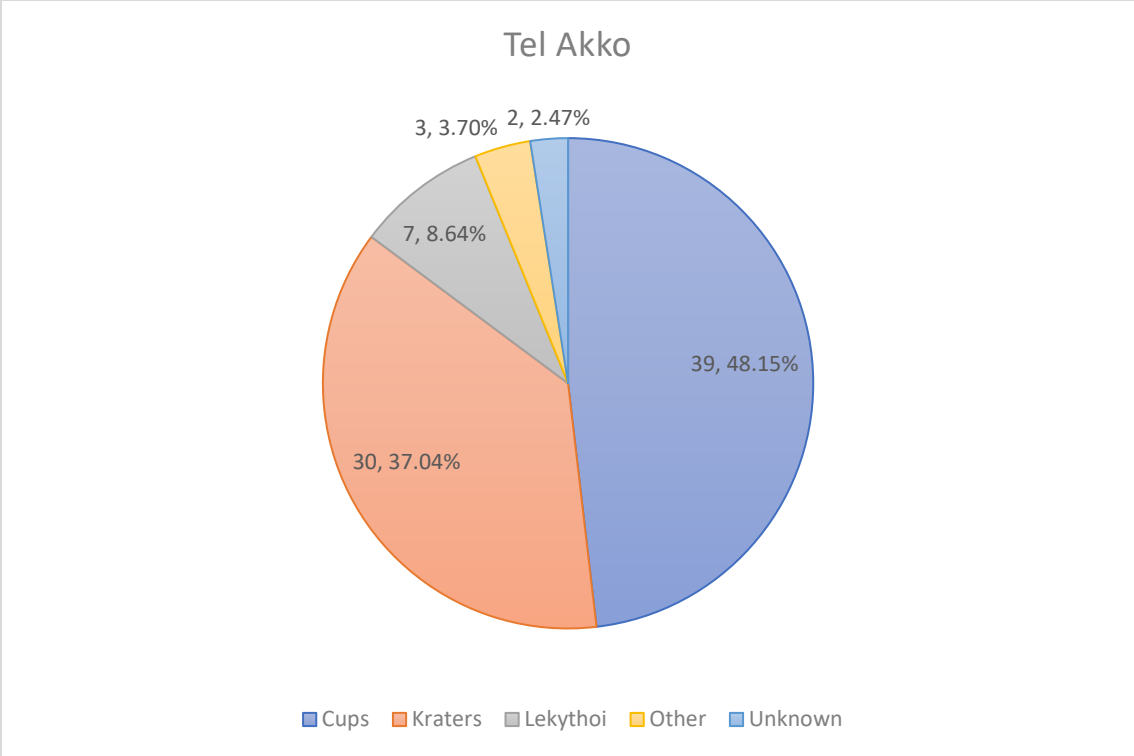


Fig. I.9: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Tel Akko

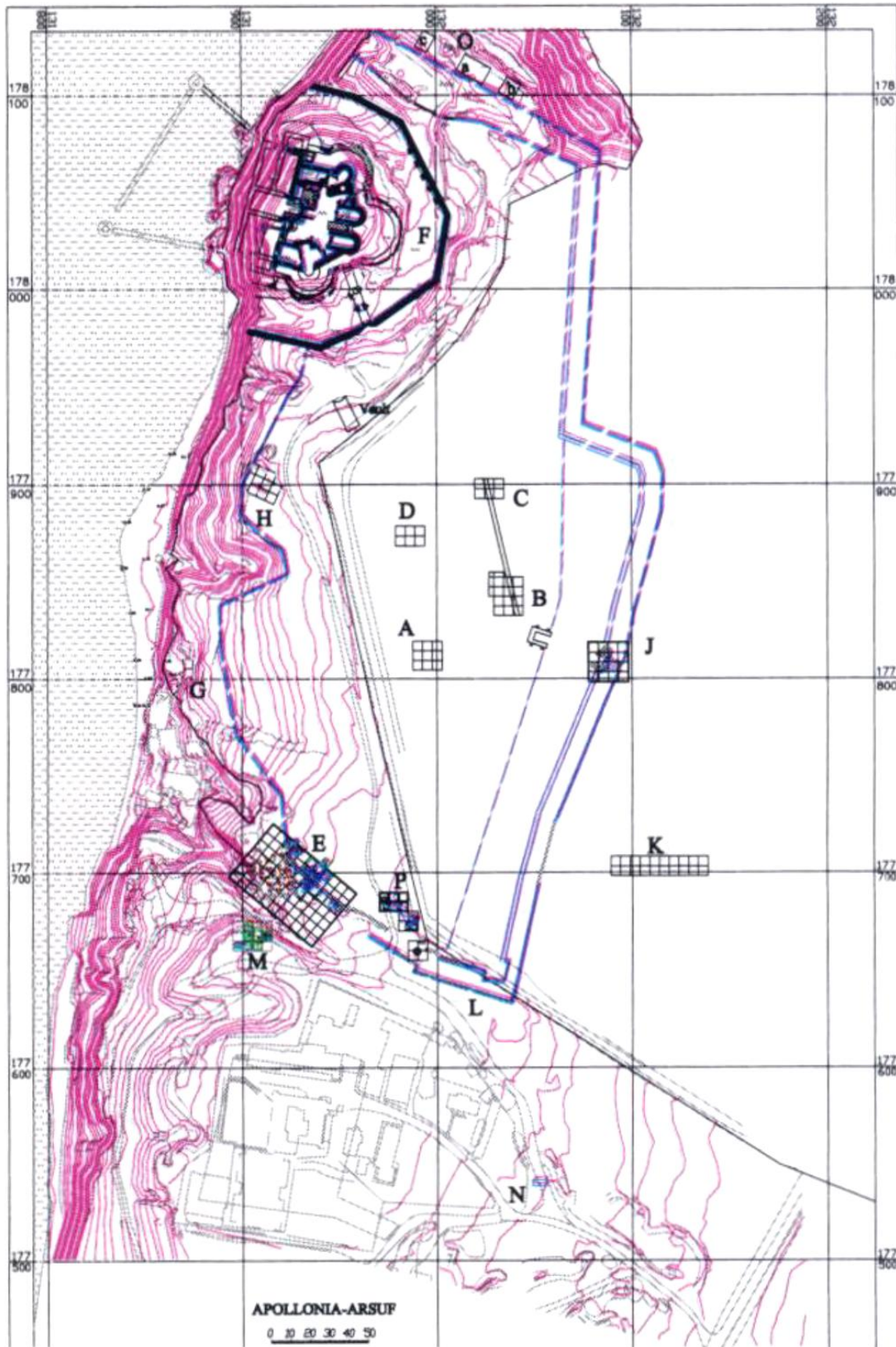


Fig. I.10: Apollonia, Excavated Areas (Source: Galor et al. 2009)

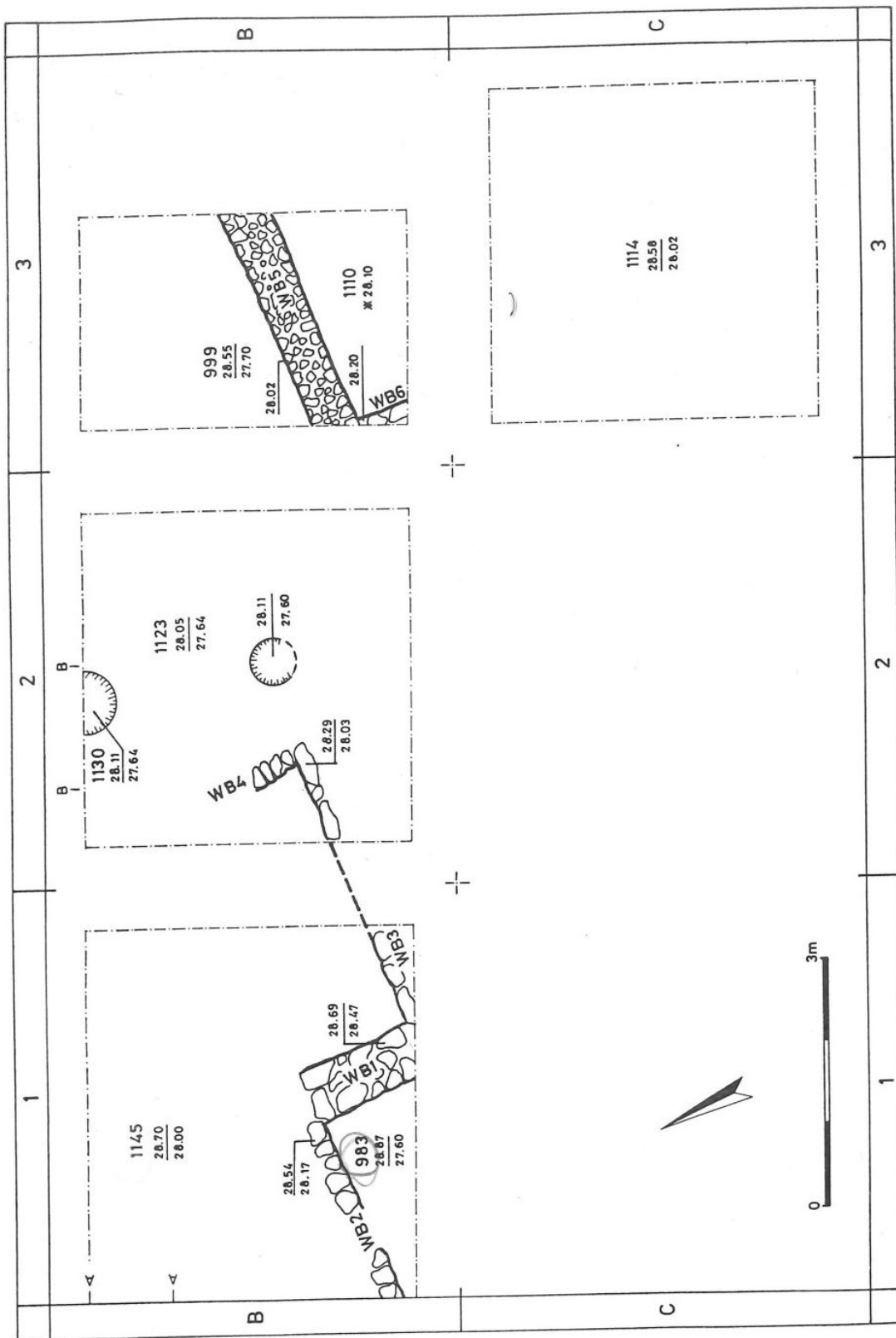


Fig. I.11: Apollonia, Area H, Persian II (Source: Roll and Tal 1999)

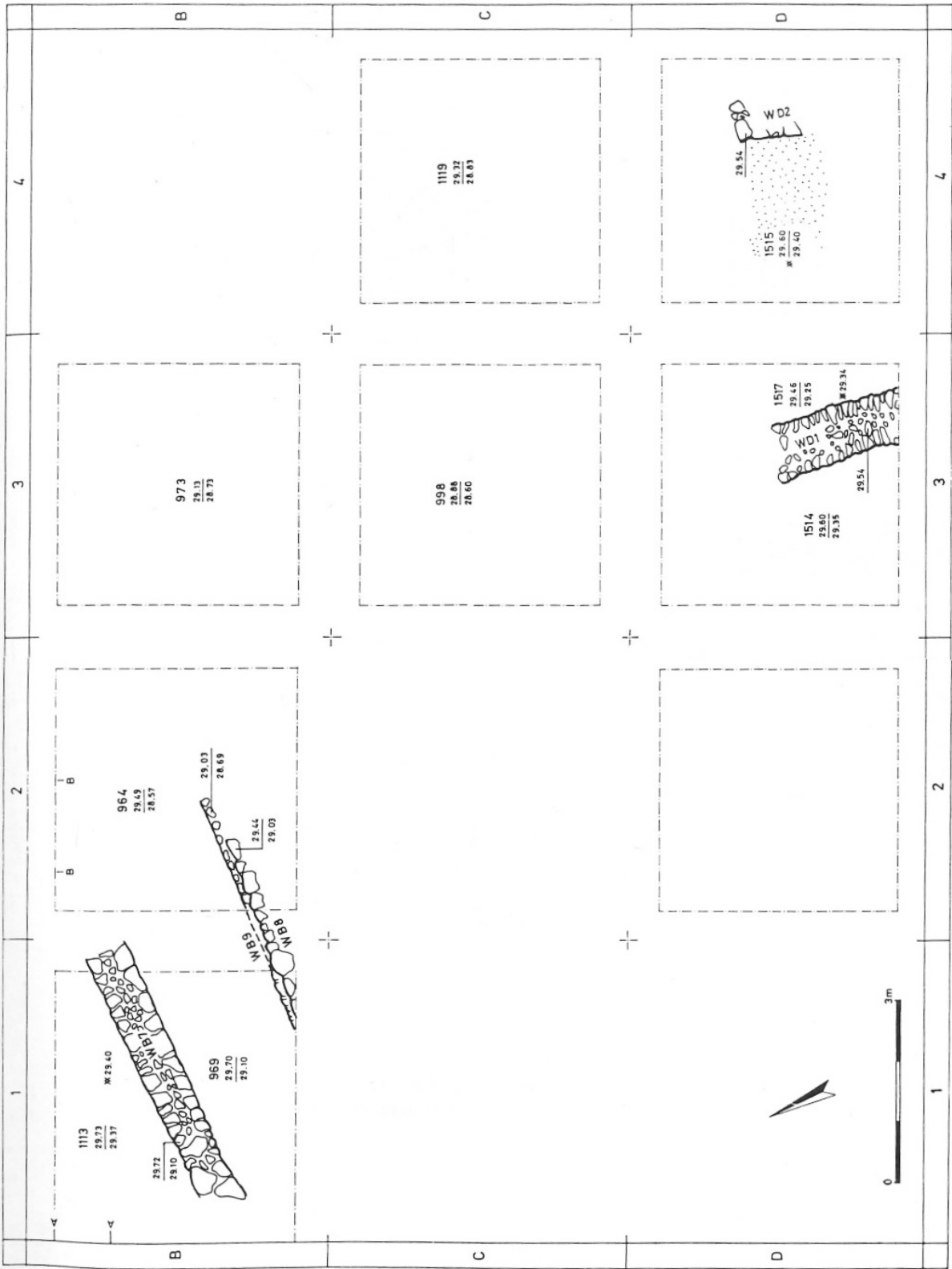


Fig. I.12: Apollonia, Area H, Persian I (Source: Roll and Tal 1999)

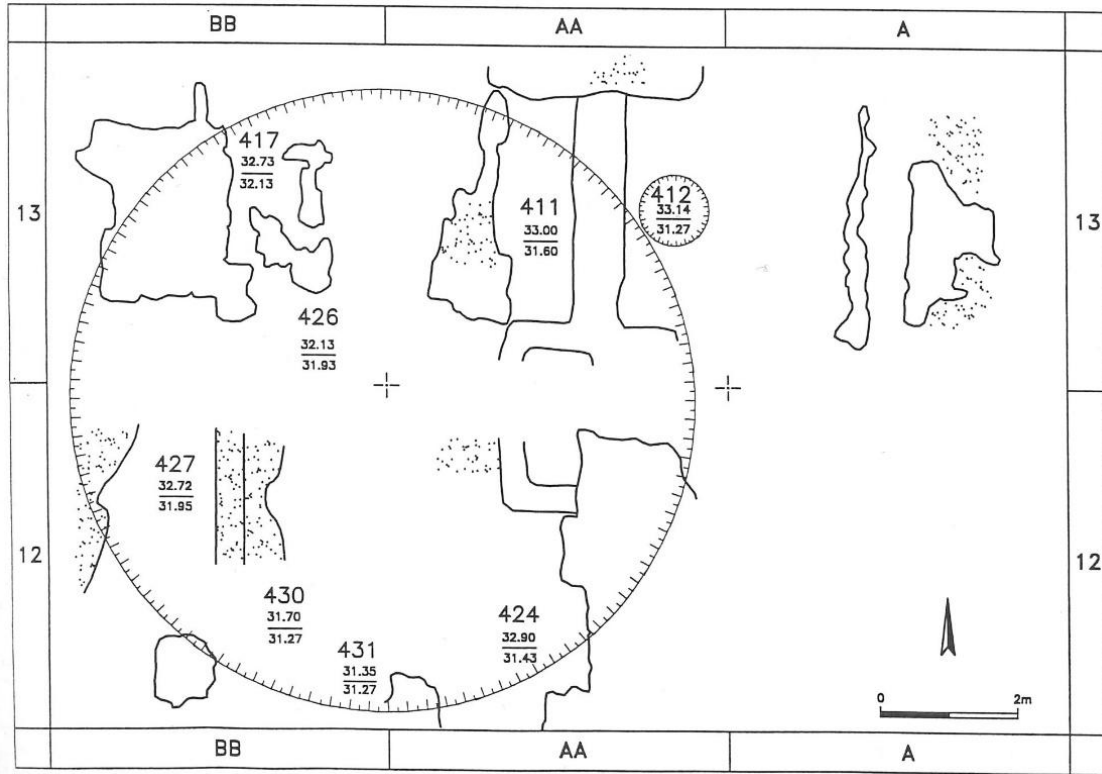


Fig. I.13: Apollonia, Area G (Source: Roll and Tal 1999)

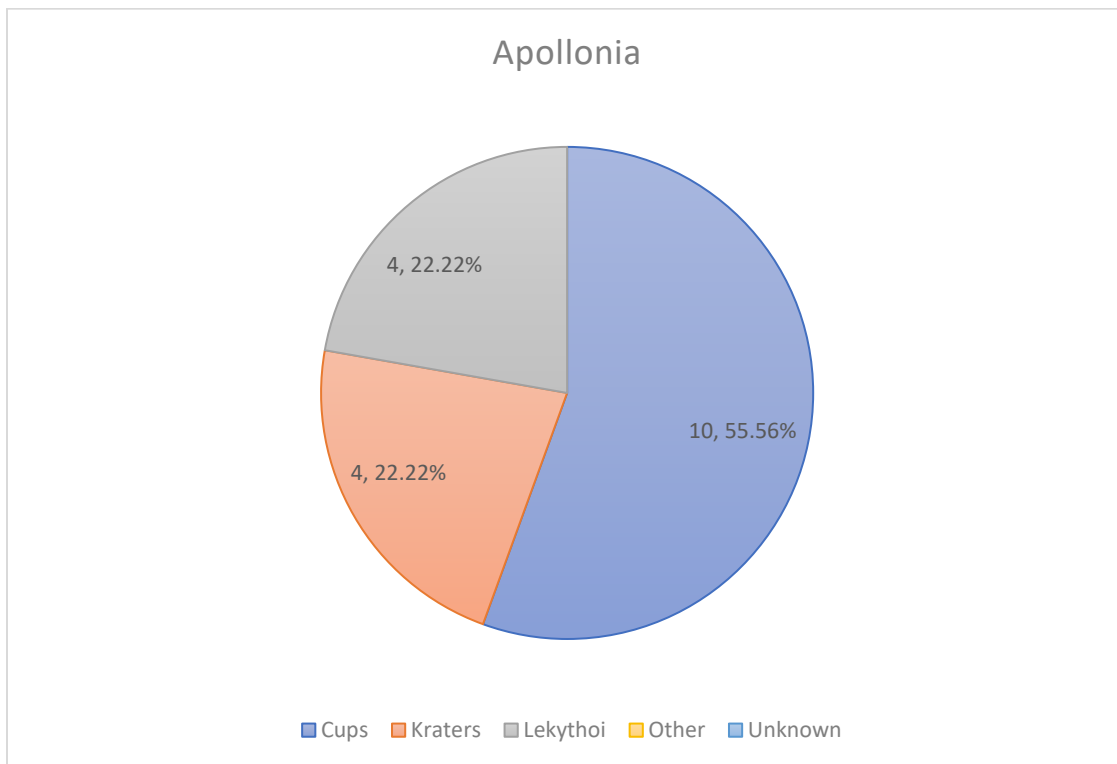


Fig. I.14: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Apollonia-Arsuf

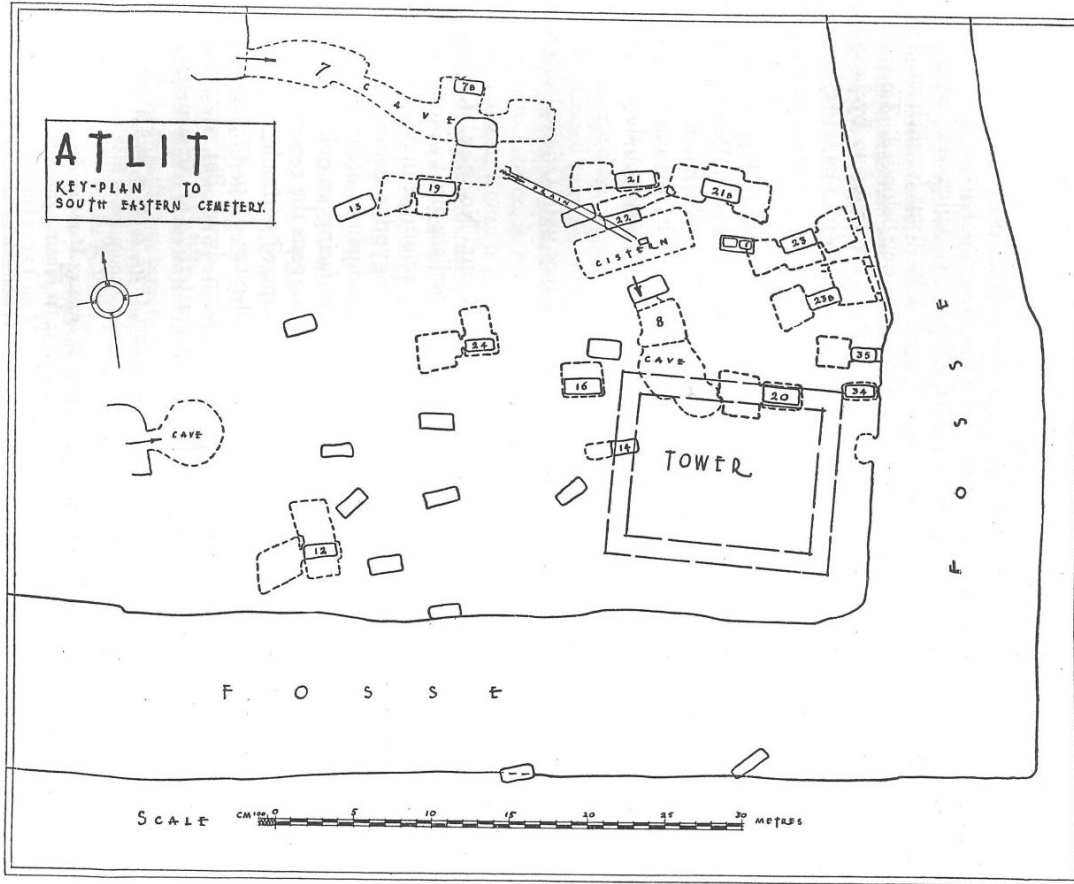


Fig. I.15: Atlit, South-Eastern Cemetery (Source: Johns, 1933)

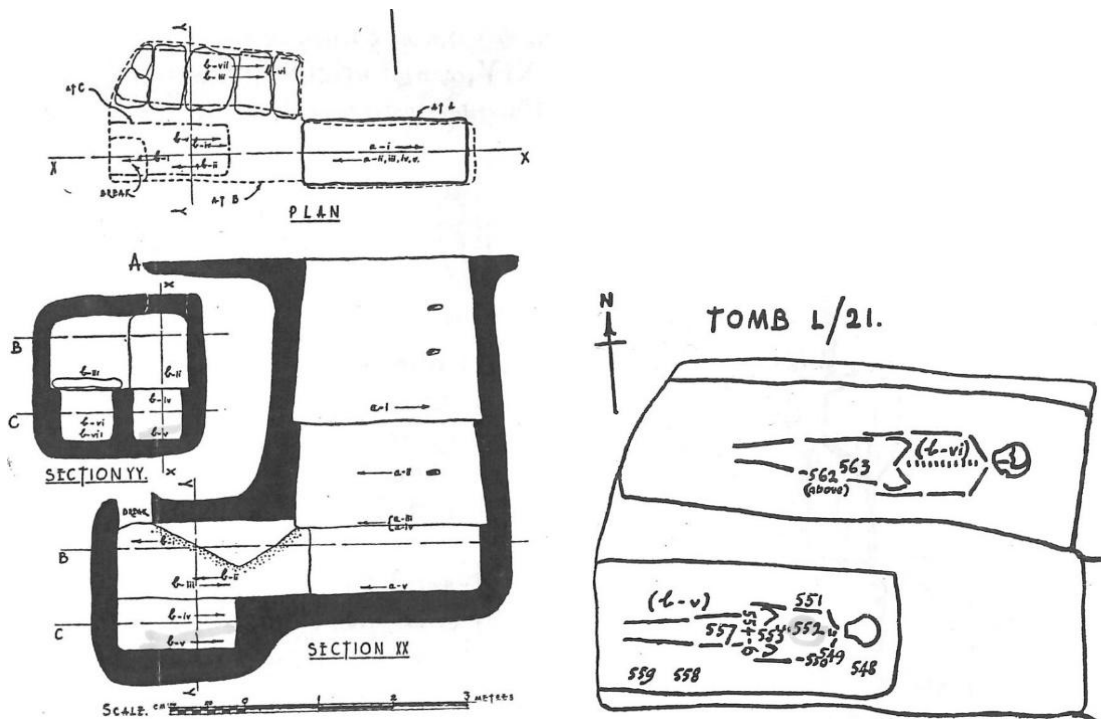


Fig I.16: Atlit, Tomb L21 (Source: Johns, 1933)

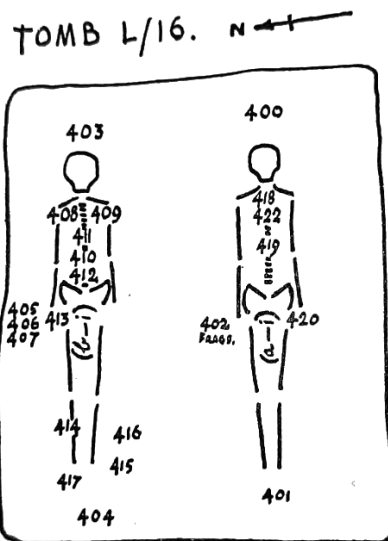
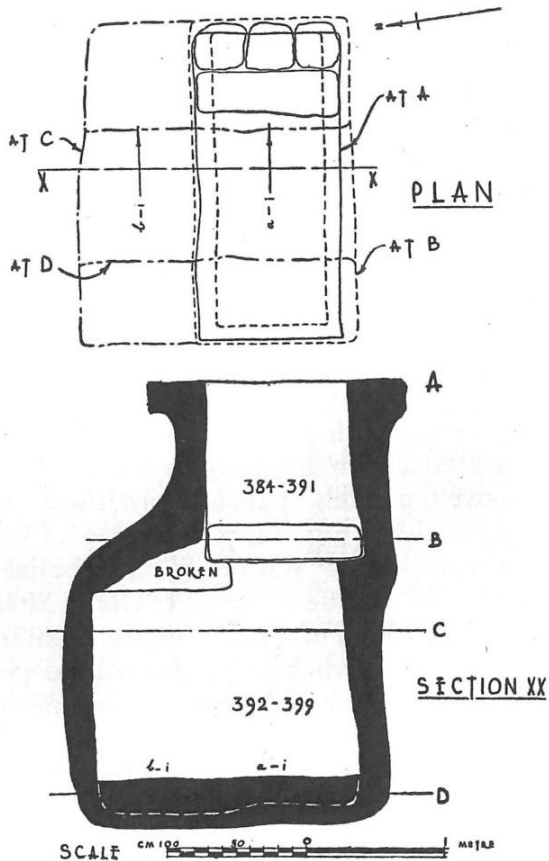


Fig. I.17: Atlit, Tomb L16 (Source: Johns, 1933)

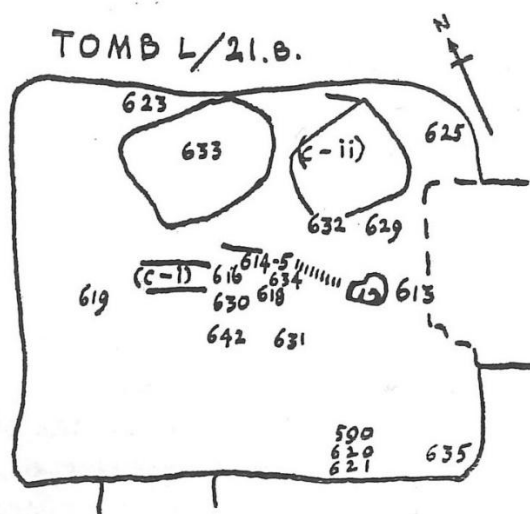
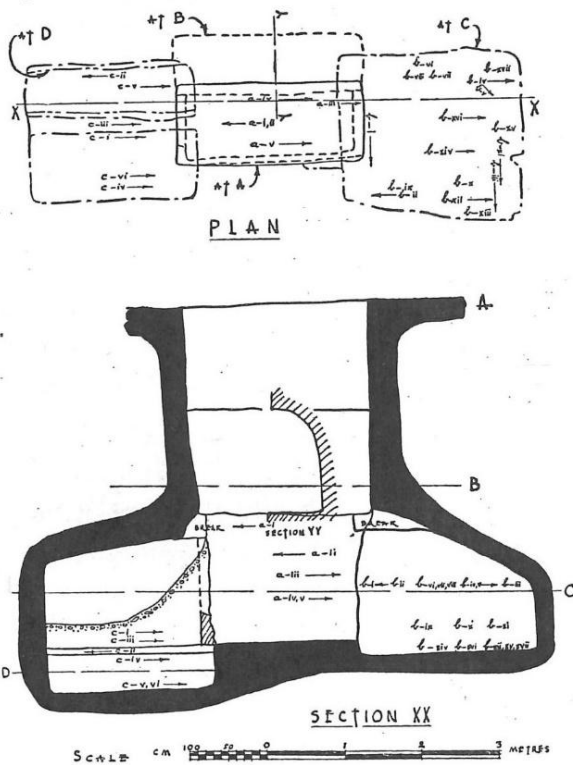


Fig. I.18: Atlit, Tomb L21b (Source: Johns, 1933)

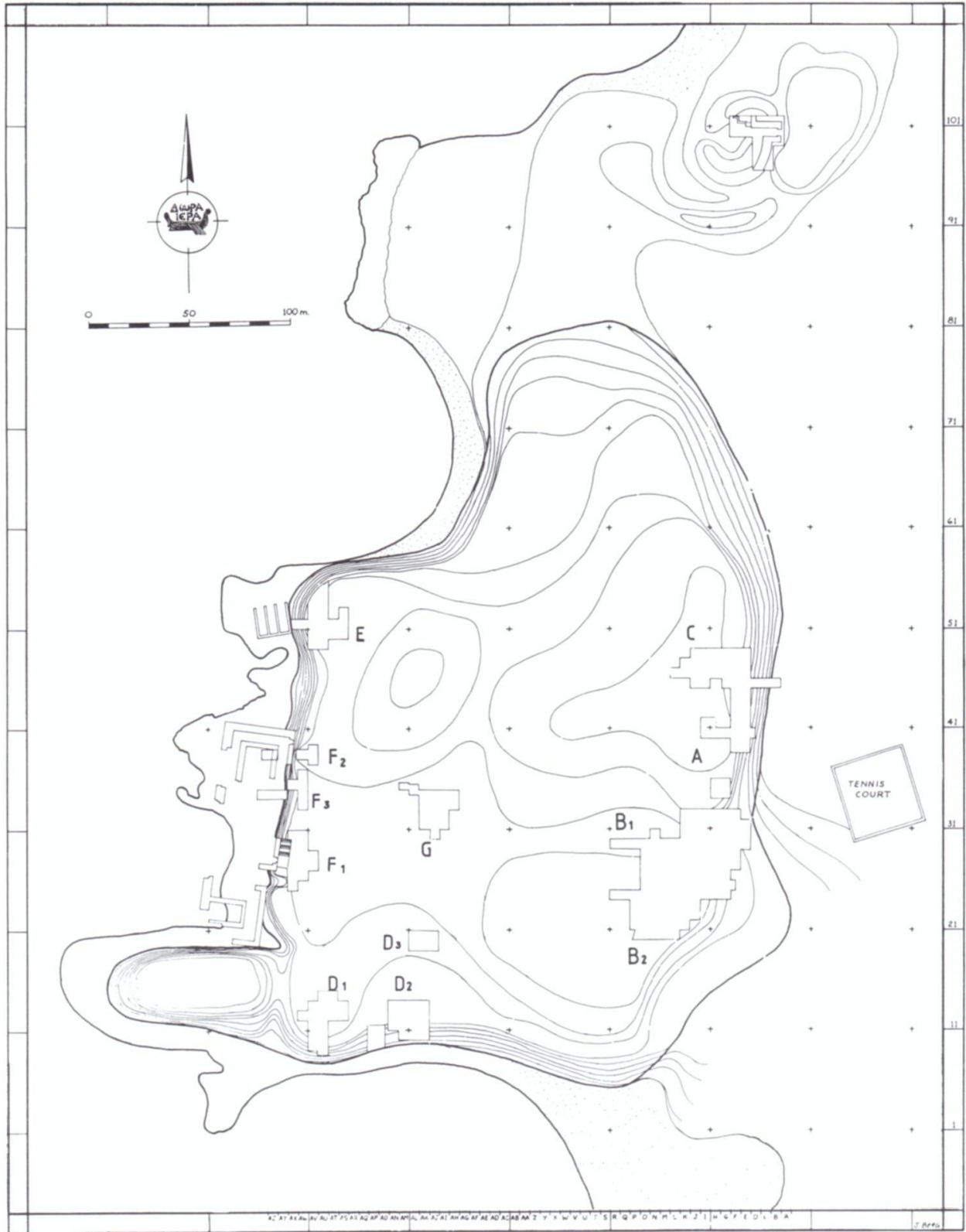


Fig. I.21: Dor Excavated Areas (Source: Stern et al., 1997)



Fig. I.22: Dor, Areas A and C, Stratum Vb (Source: Stern et al., 1995)

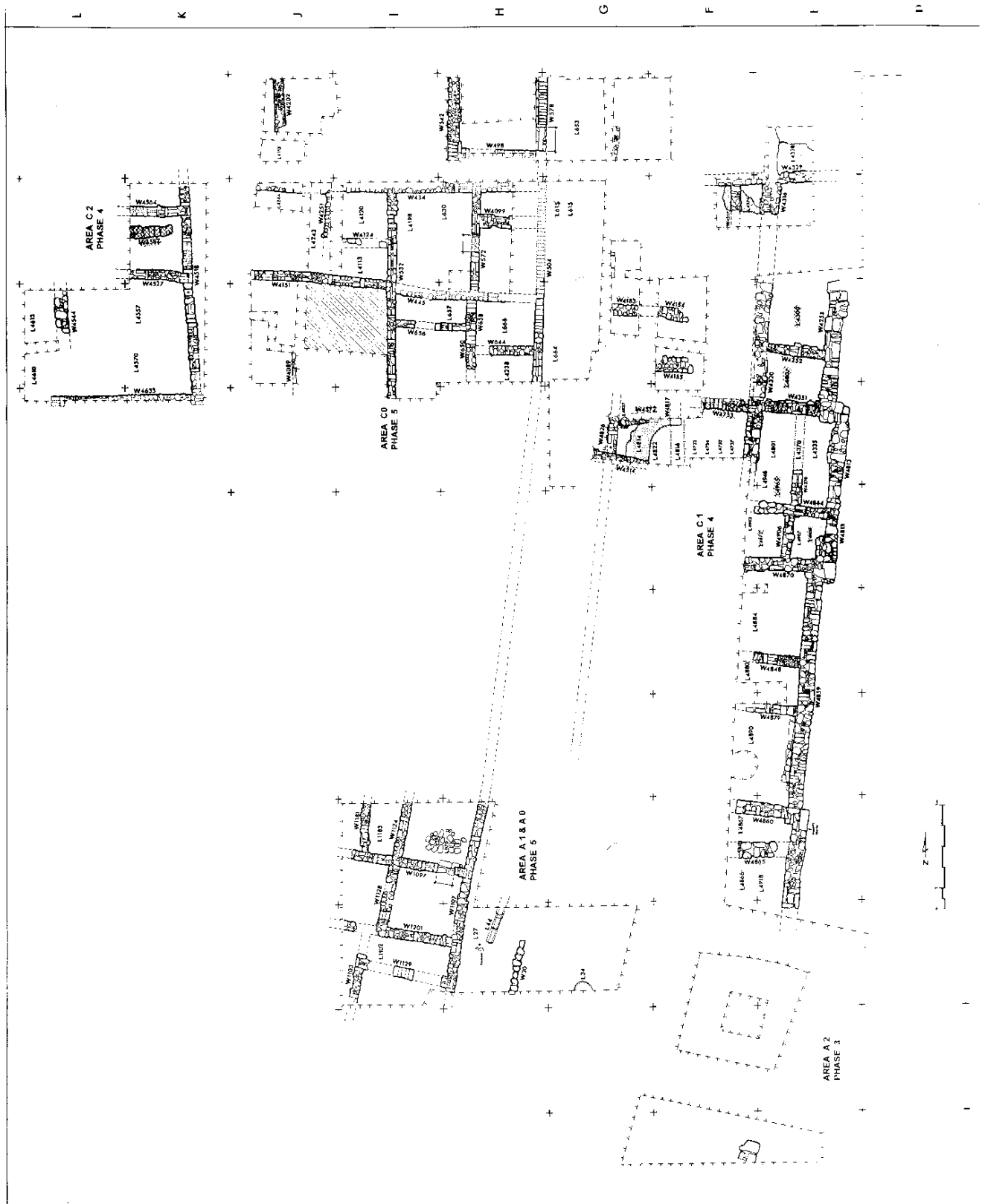


Fig. I.23: Dor, Areas A and C, Stratum Va (Source: Stern et al., 1995)



Fig. I.24: Dor, Areas A0 and A1, Phase 4 (Source: Stern et al., 1995)

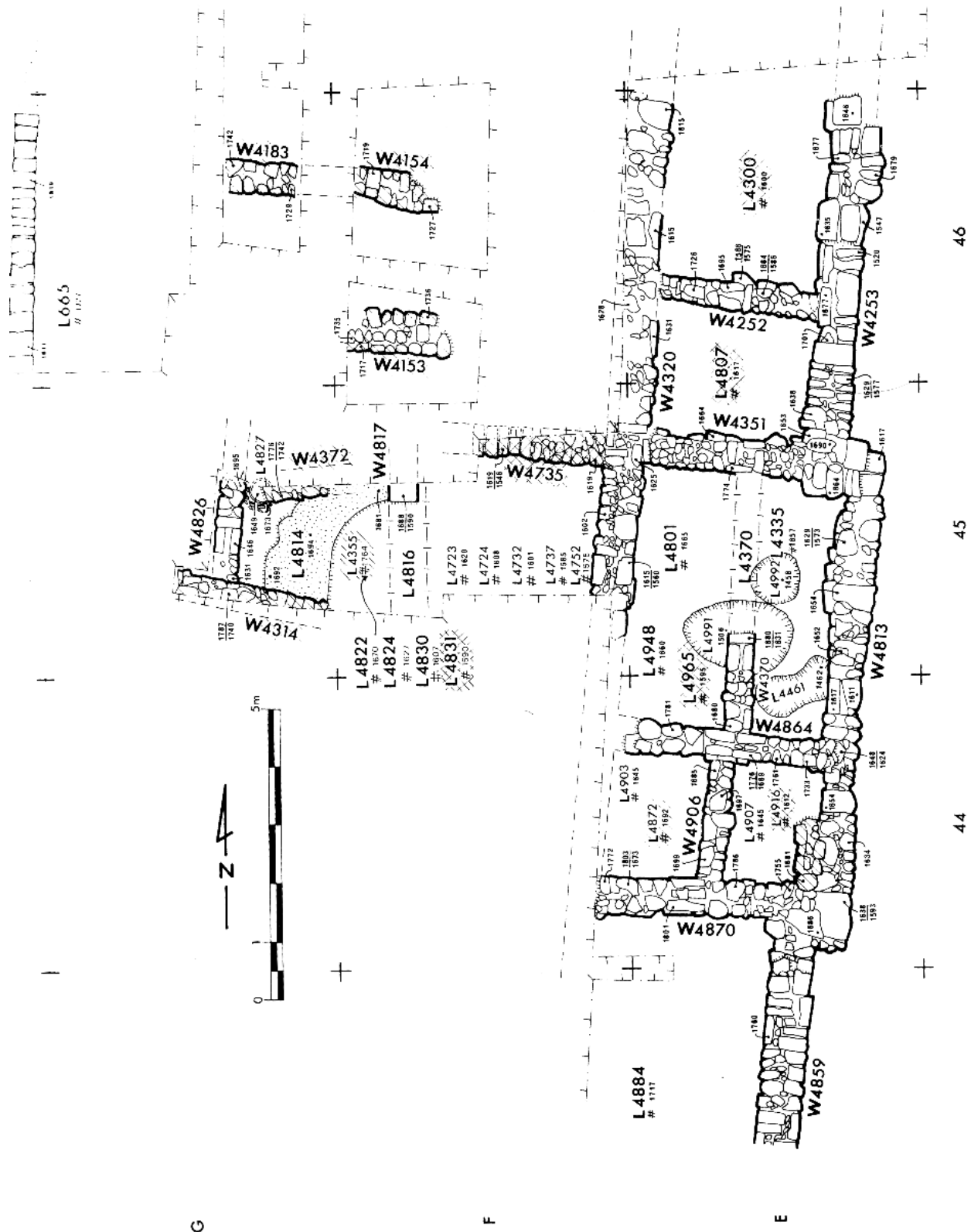


Fig. I.28: Dor Area C1 (Centre), Phase 4 (Source: Stern et al., 1995)

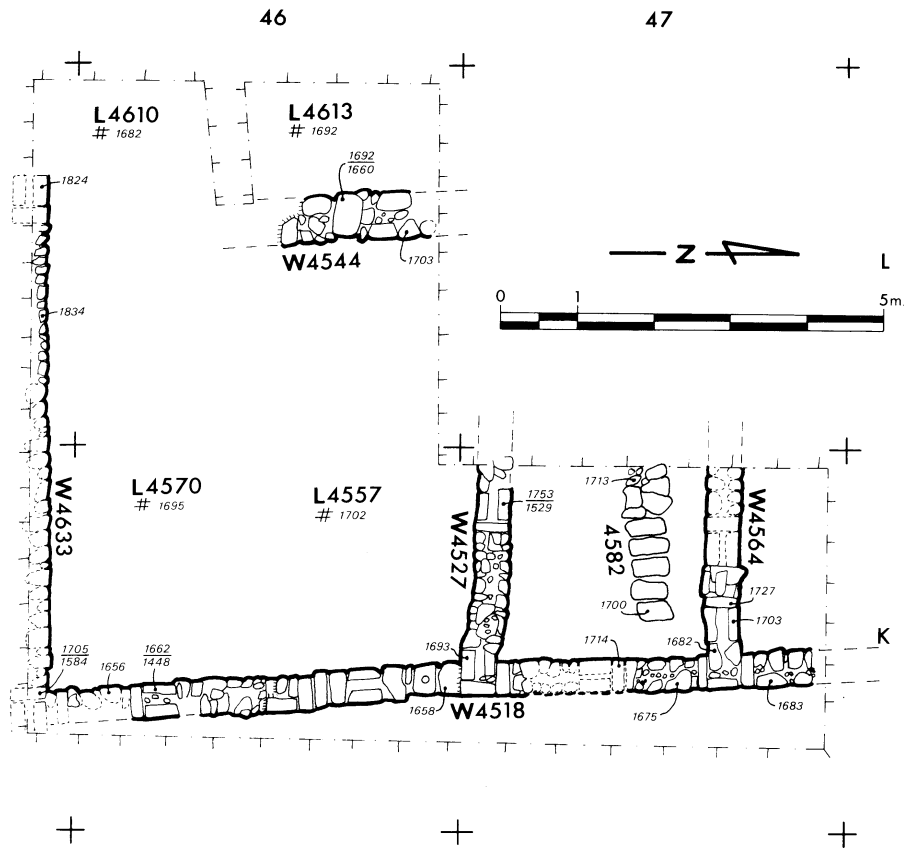


Fig. I.32: Dor, Area C2, Phase 4 (Source: Stern et al., 1995)



Fig. I.33: Dor, Aerial view of Area D (Source: Gilboa et al. 2009)

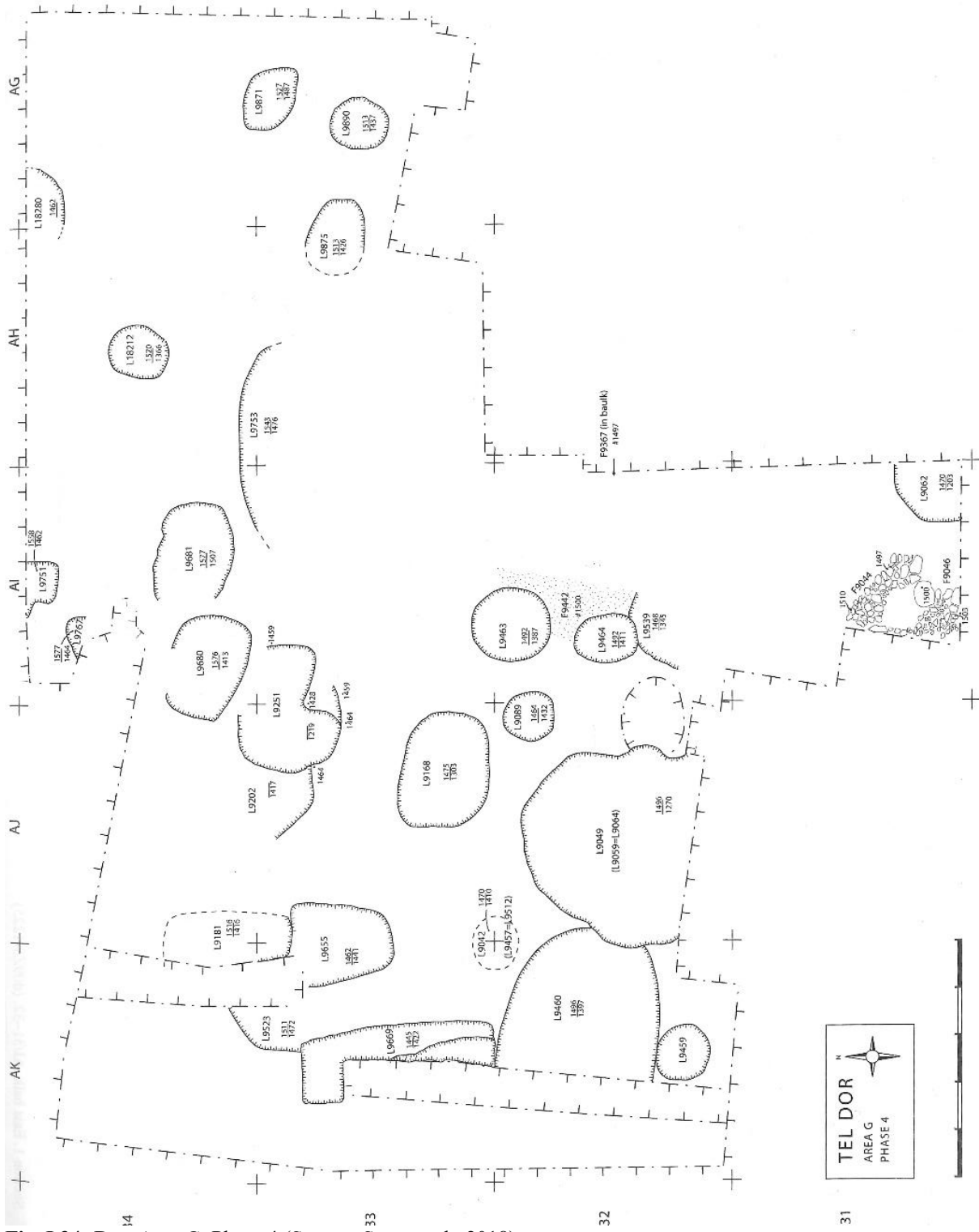


Fig. I.34: Dor, Area G, Phase 4 (Source: Stern et al., 2018)

Plan 11. Phase 4. (d10Z1-1122)

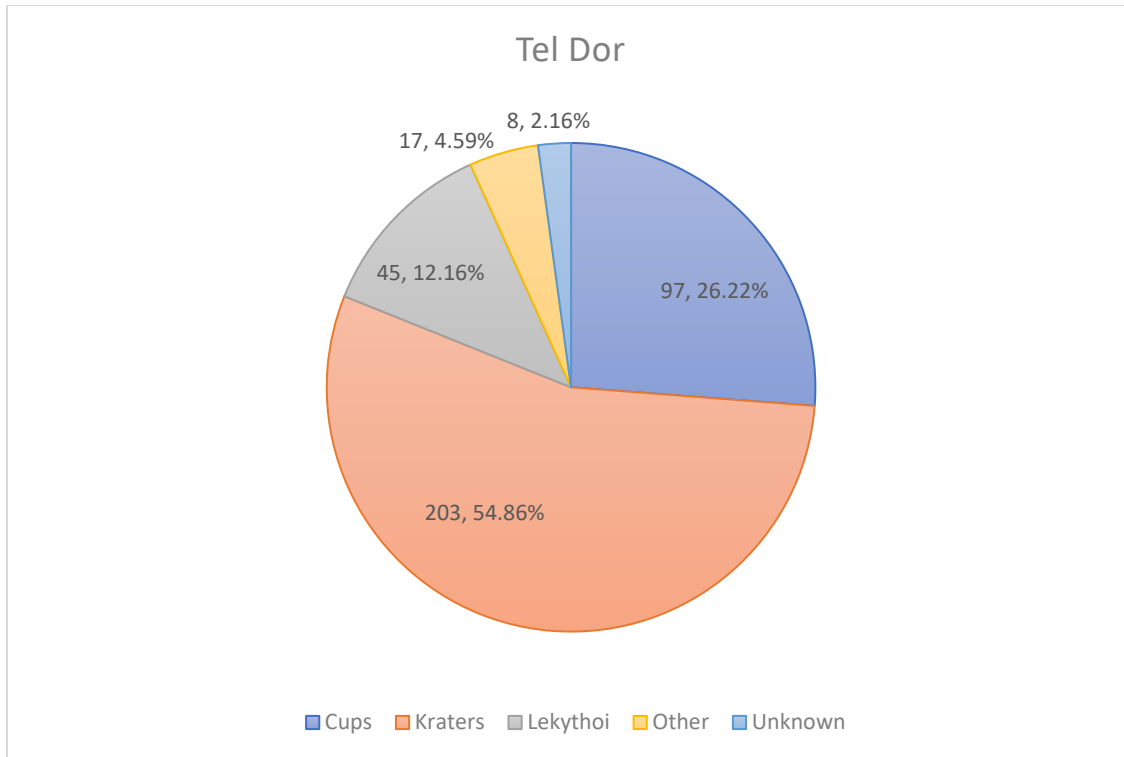


Fig. I.35: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Tel Dor

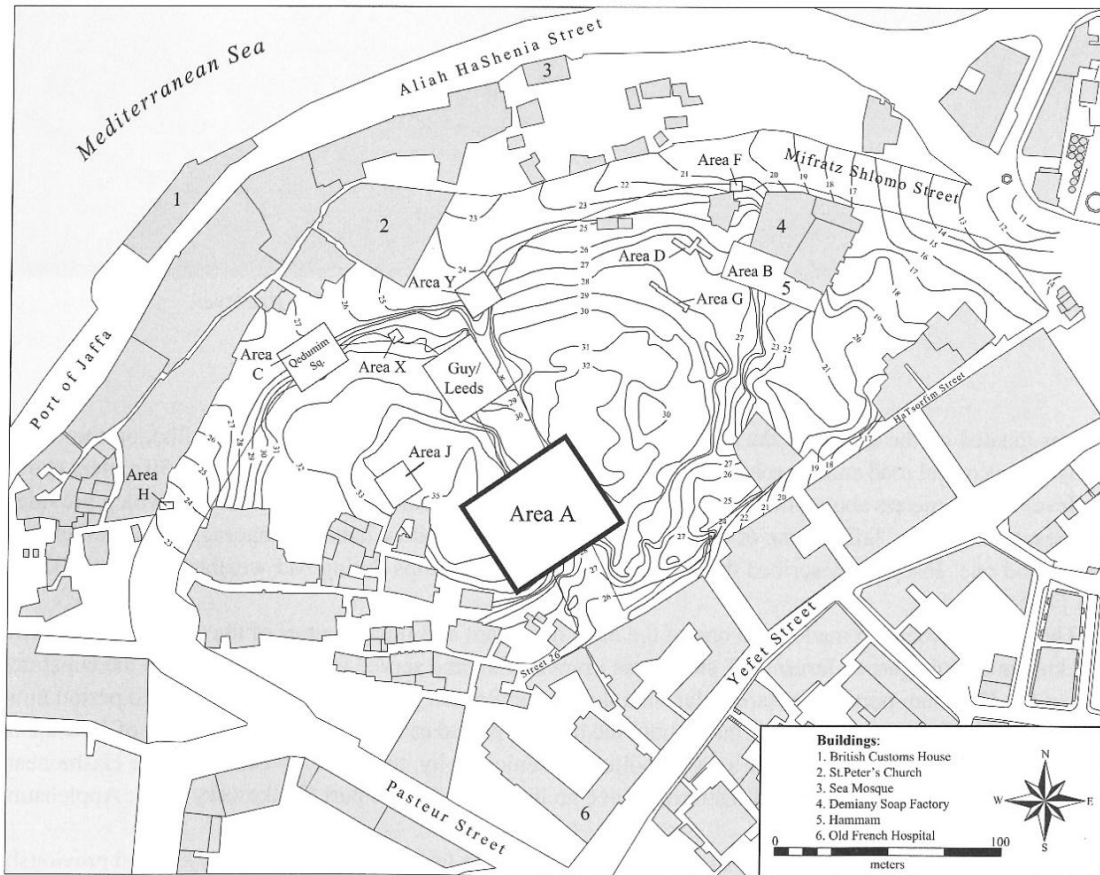


Fig. I.36: Jaffa, Excavated Areas (Source: Tsuf, 2018)

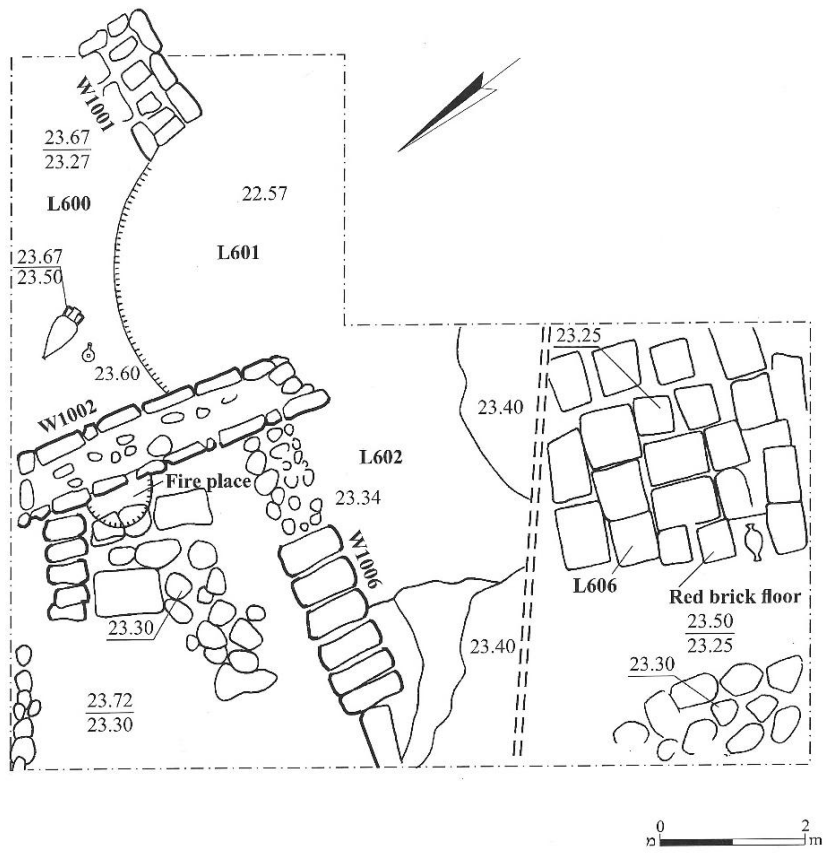


Fig. I.39: Jaffa, Area Y, L606 (Source: Tsuf, 2018)

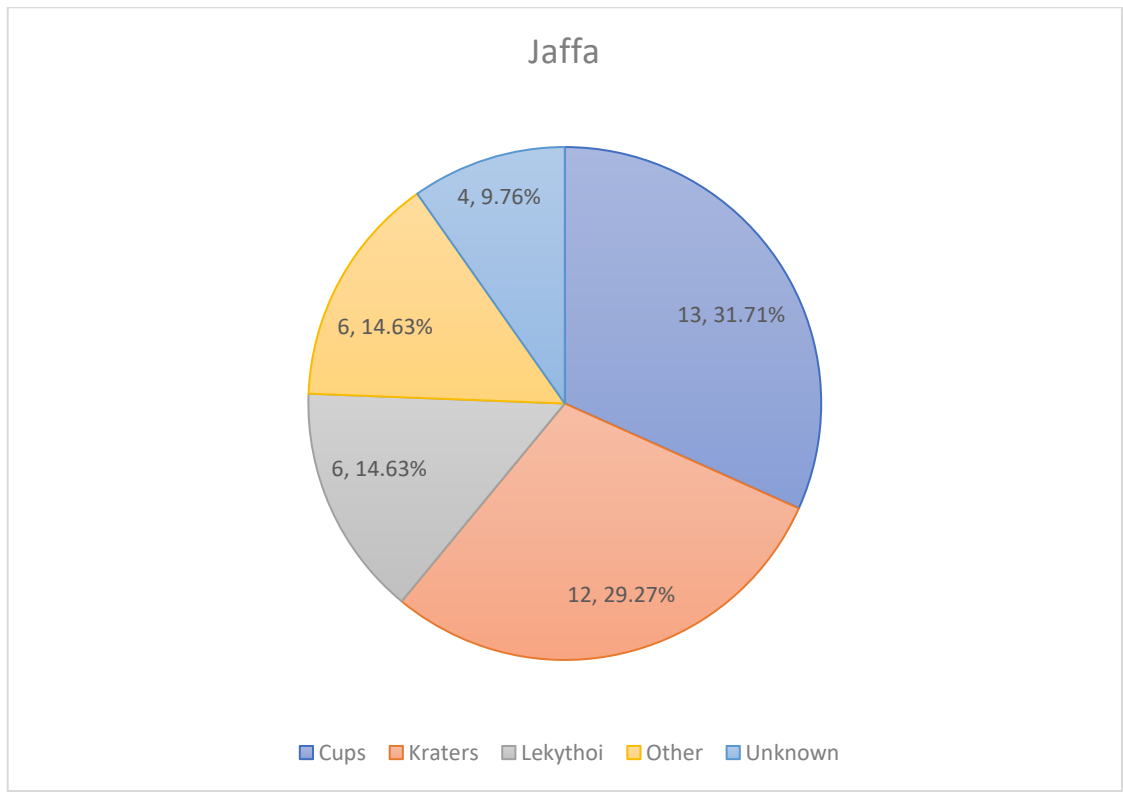


Fig. I.40: Black and Red-Figure Shapes from Jaffa

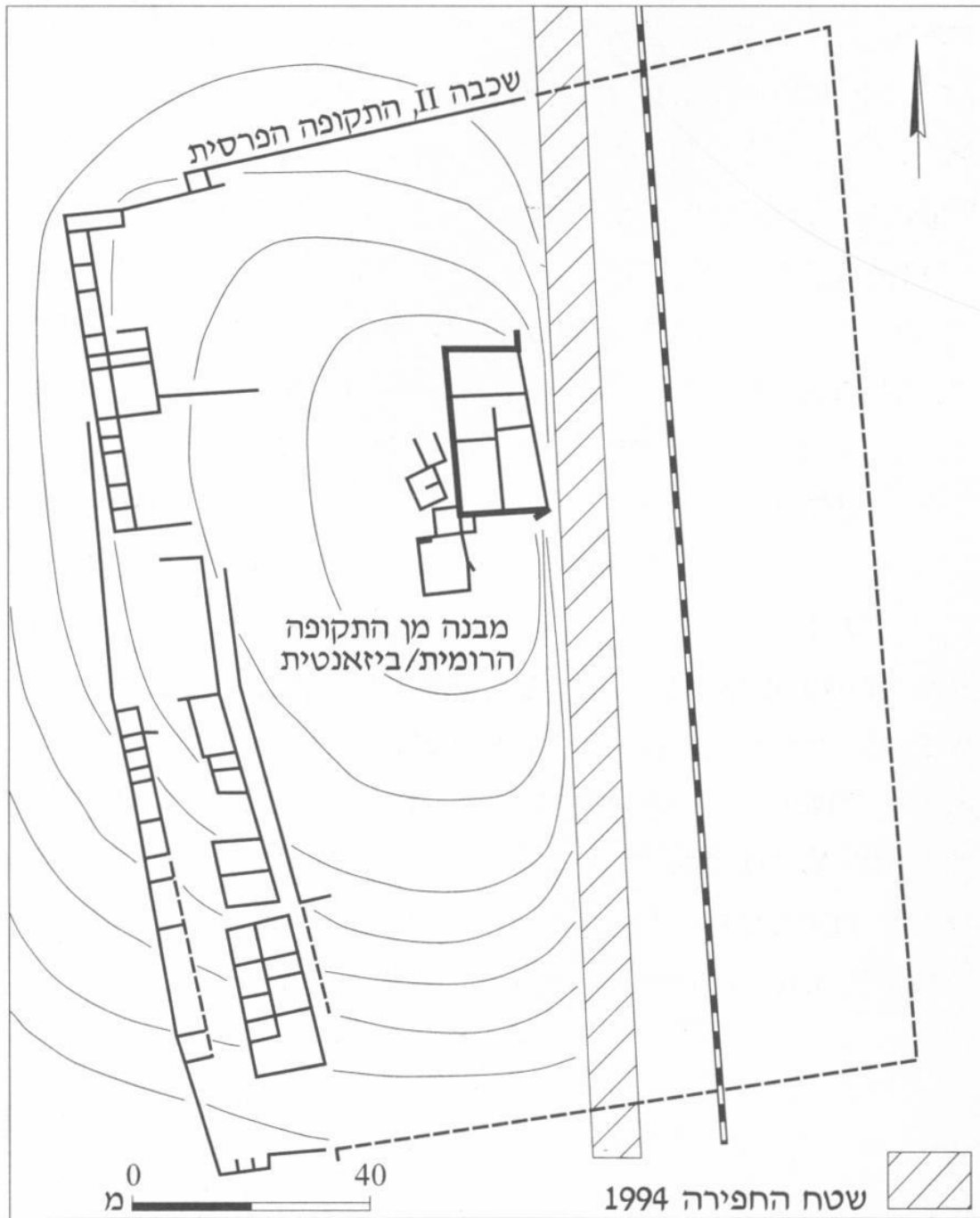


Fig. I.41: Tel Megadim, plan with walls of the Persian (Stratum. II) fortress. (Source: Wolf, 1998)

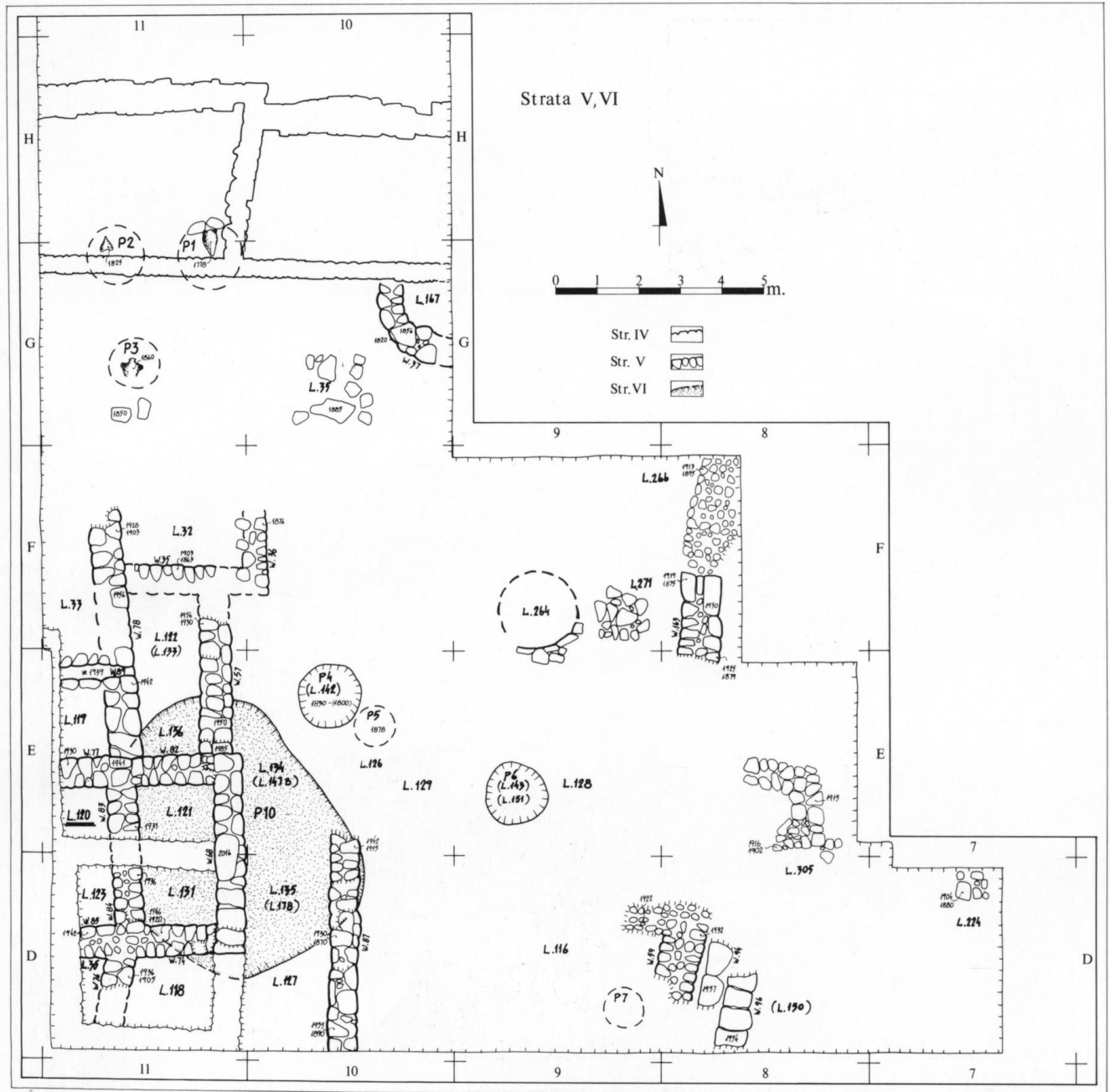


Fig. I.42: Tel Mevorakh, Strata V-VI (Source: Stern, 1978)

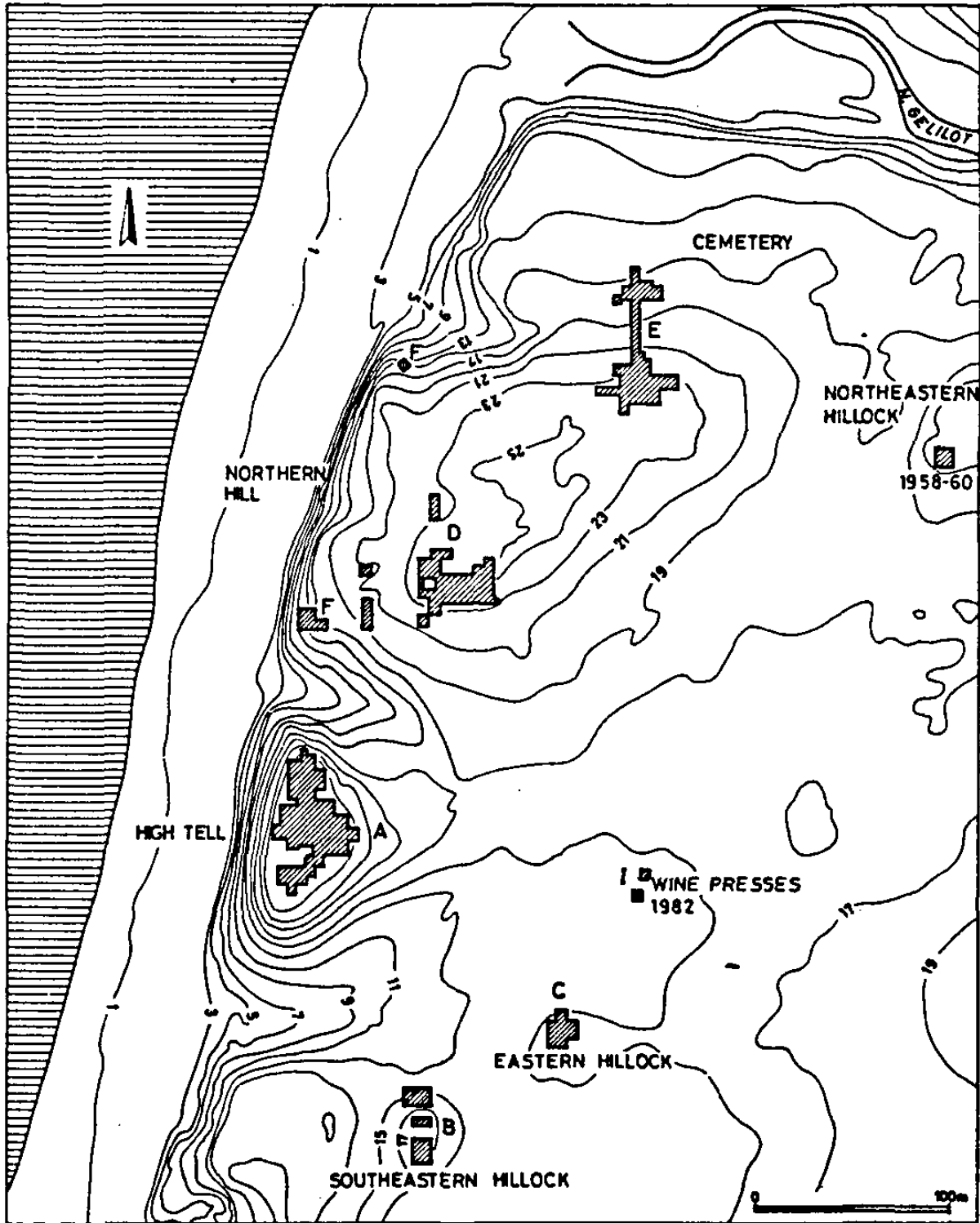


Fig:I.43: Tel Michal, Excavated Areas (Source: Herzog et al. 1988)

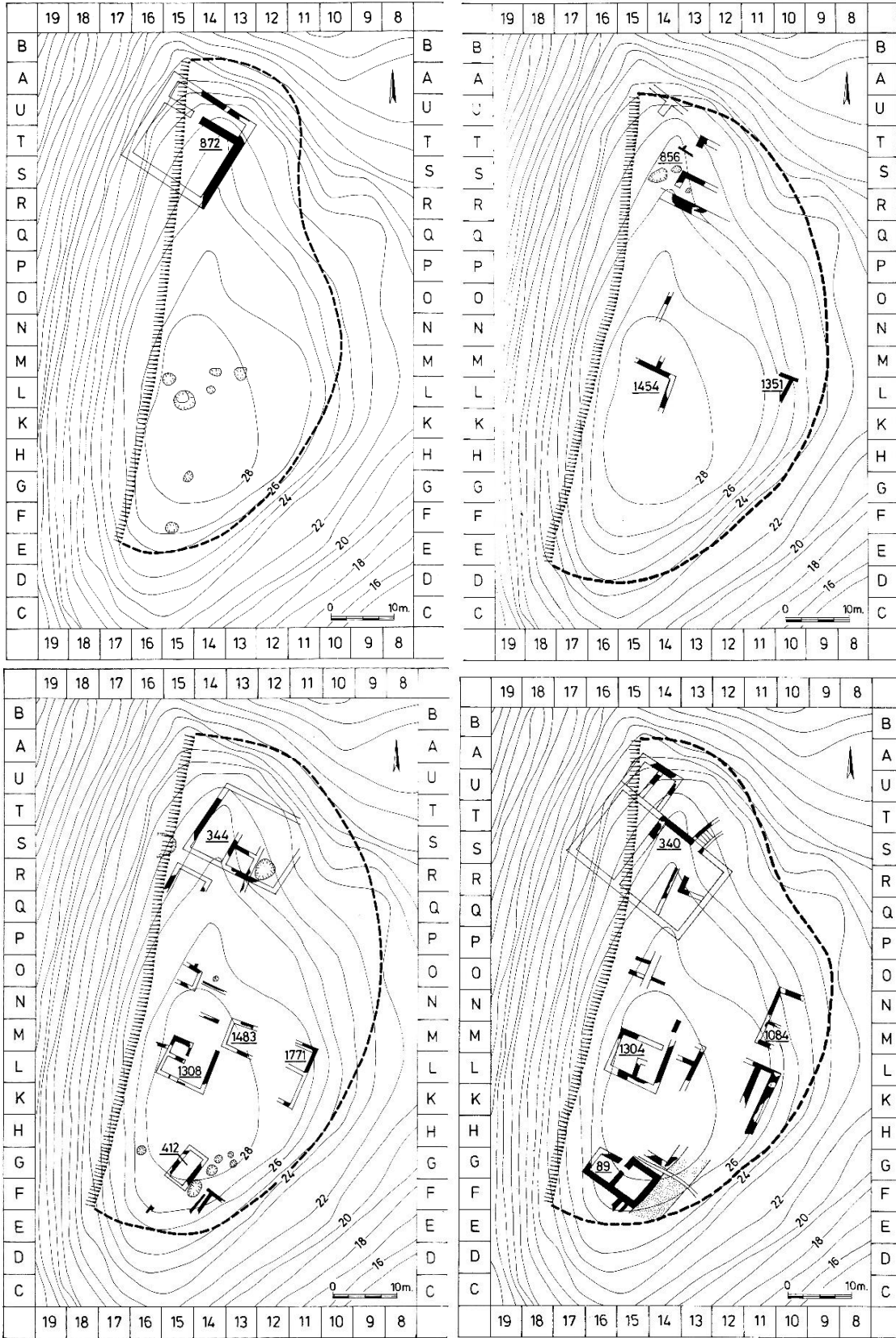


Fig. I.44: Tel Michal, High Tel, Strata XI-VIII (Source: Herzog et al. 1989)

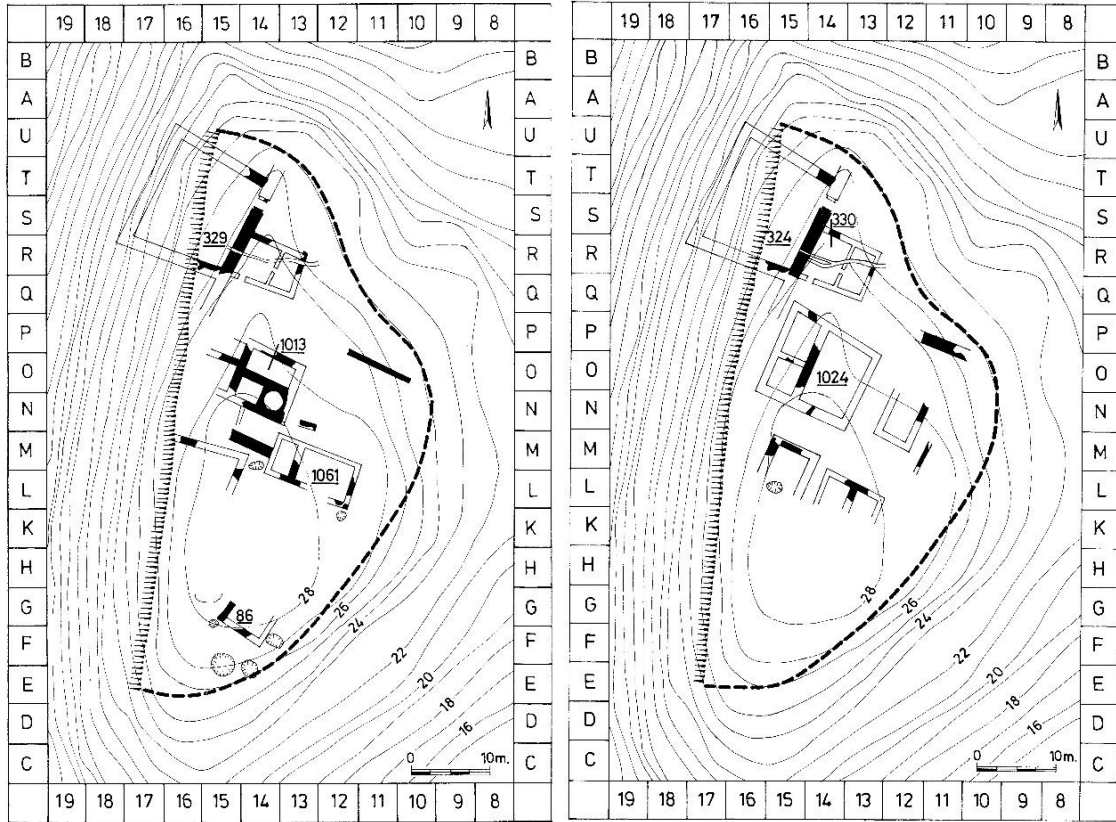


Fig. I.45: Tel Michal, High Tel, Strata VII,VI (Source: Herzog et al. 1989)

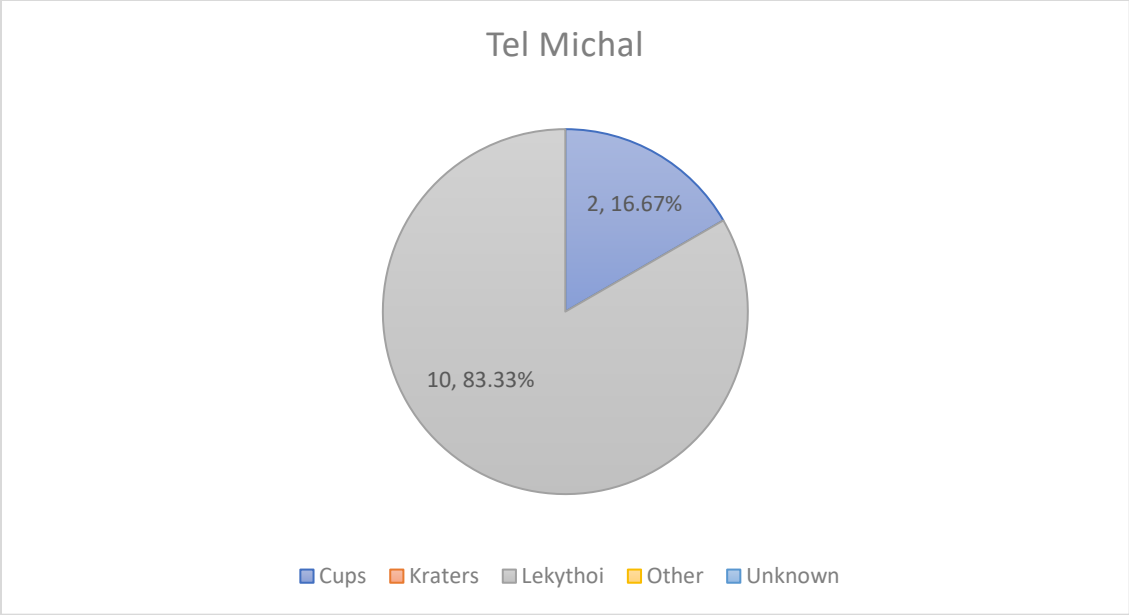


Fig. I.47: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Tel Michal

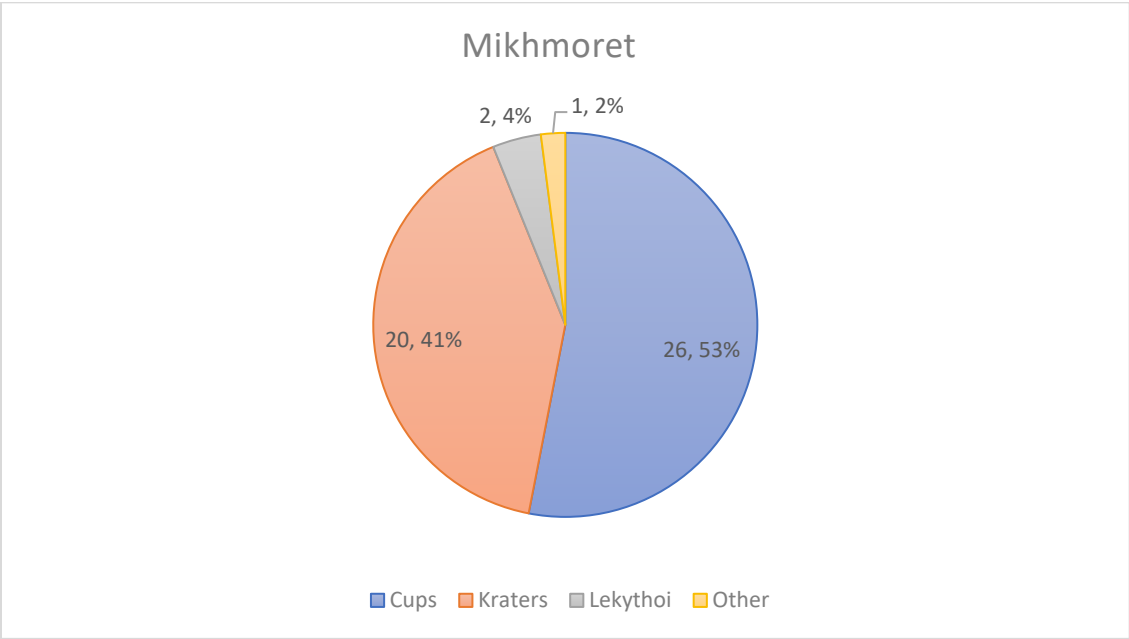


Fig. I.48: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Mikhmoret

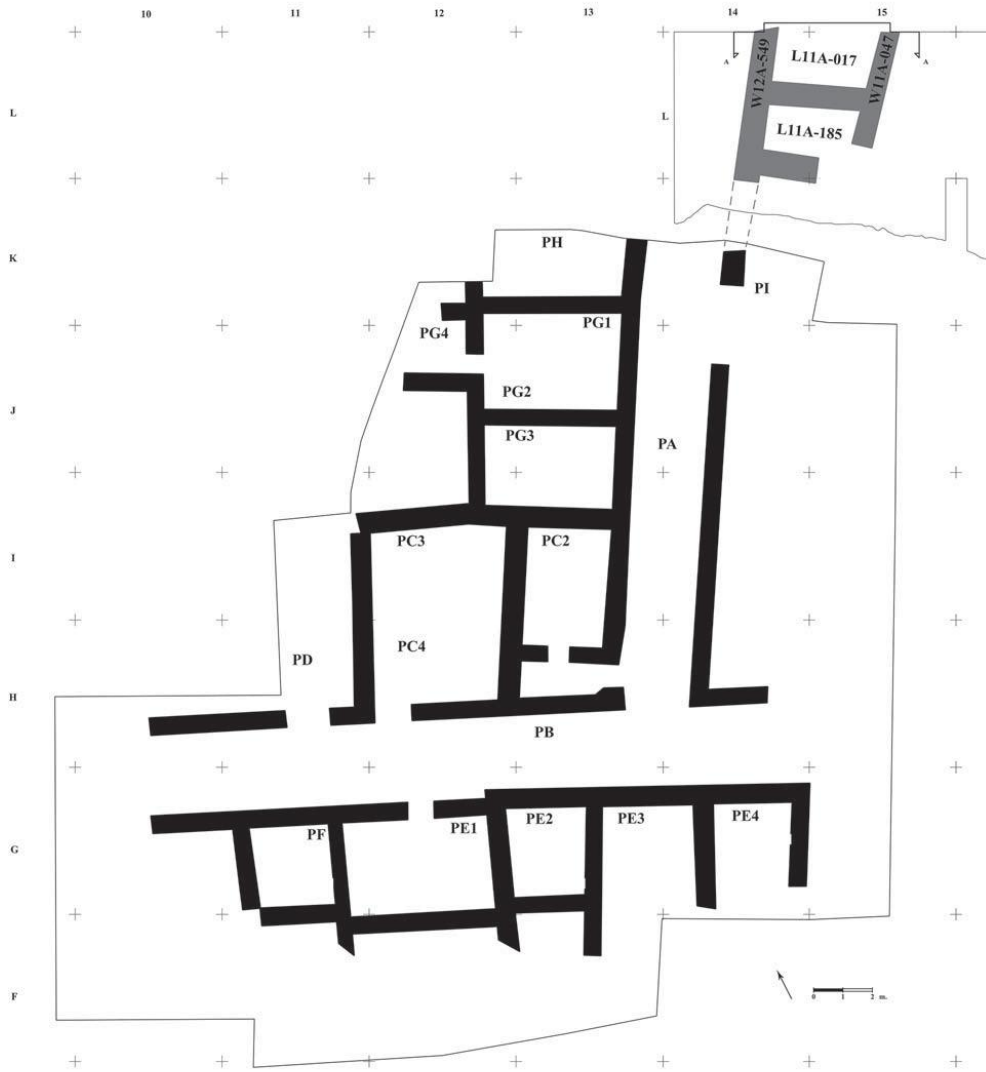


Fig. I.49. Shikmona, Plan of Persian-era insulae (Source: Shalev, 2021)

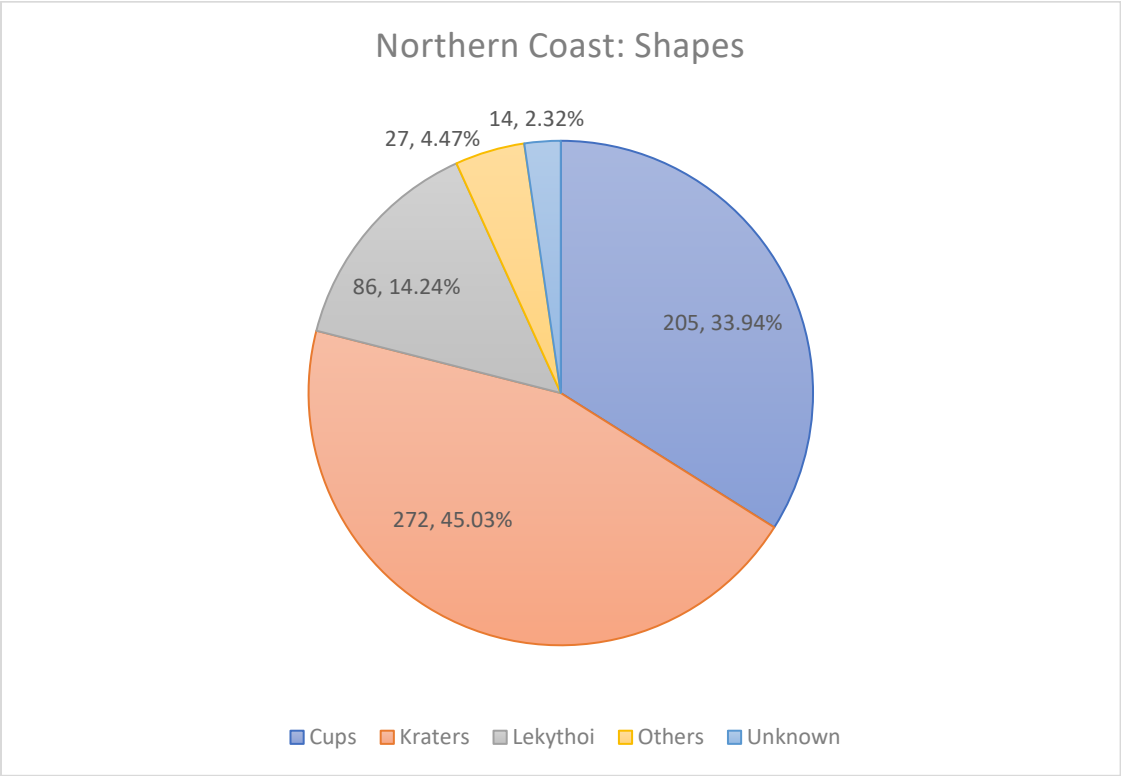


Fig. I.51: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes in the Northern Coastal Subregion

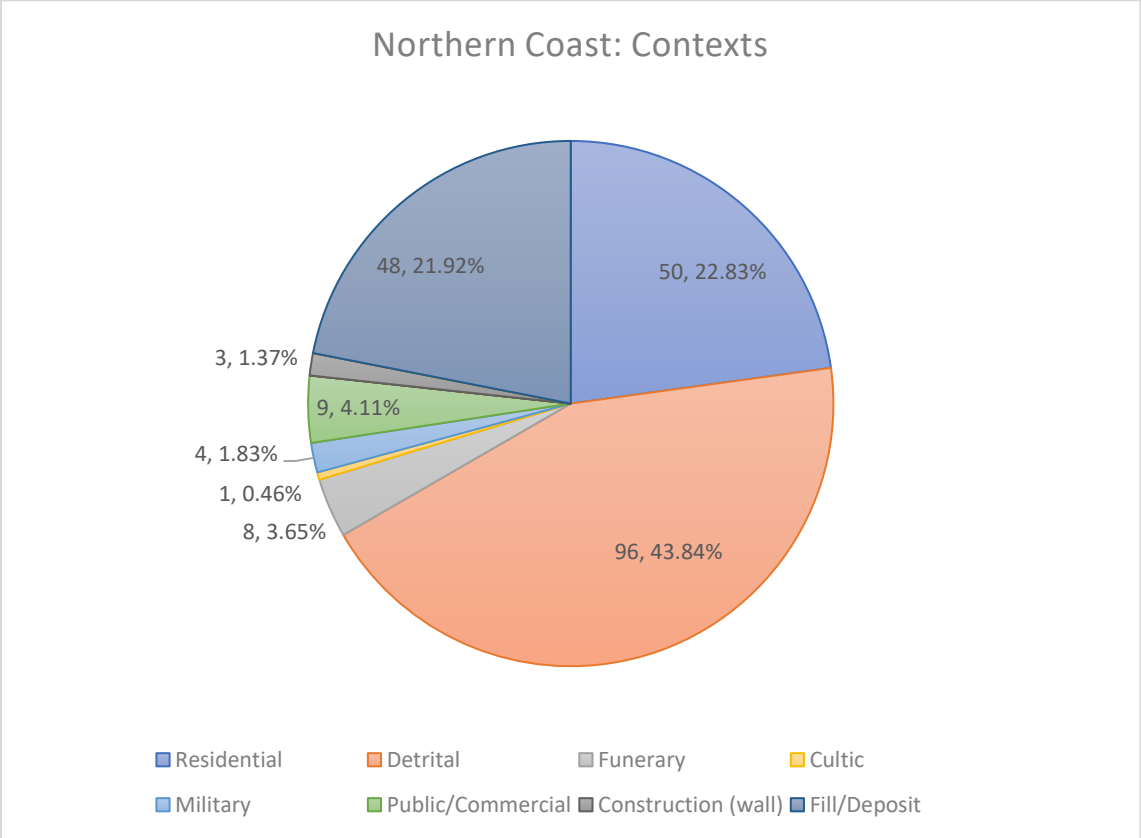


Fig. I.52: Stratified Find-Contexts of Black and Red- Figure Attic Pottery in the Northern Coastal Subregion

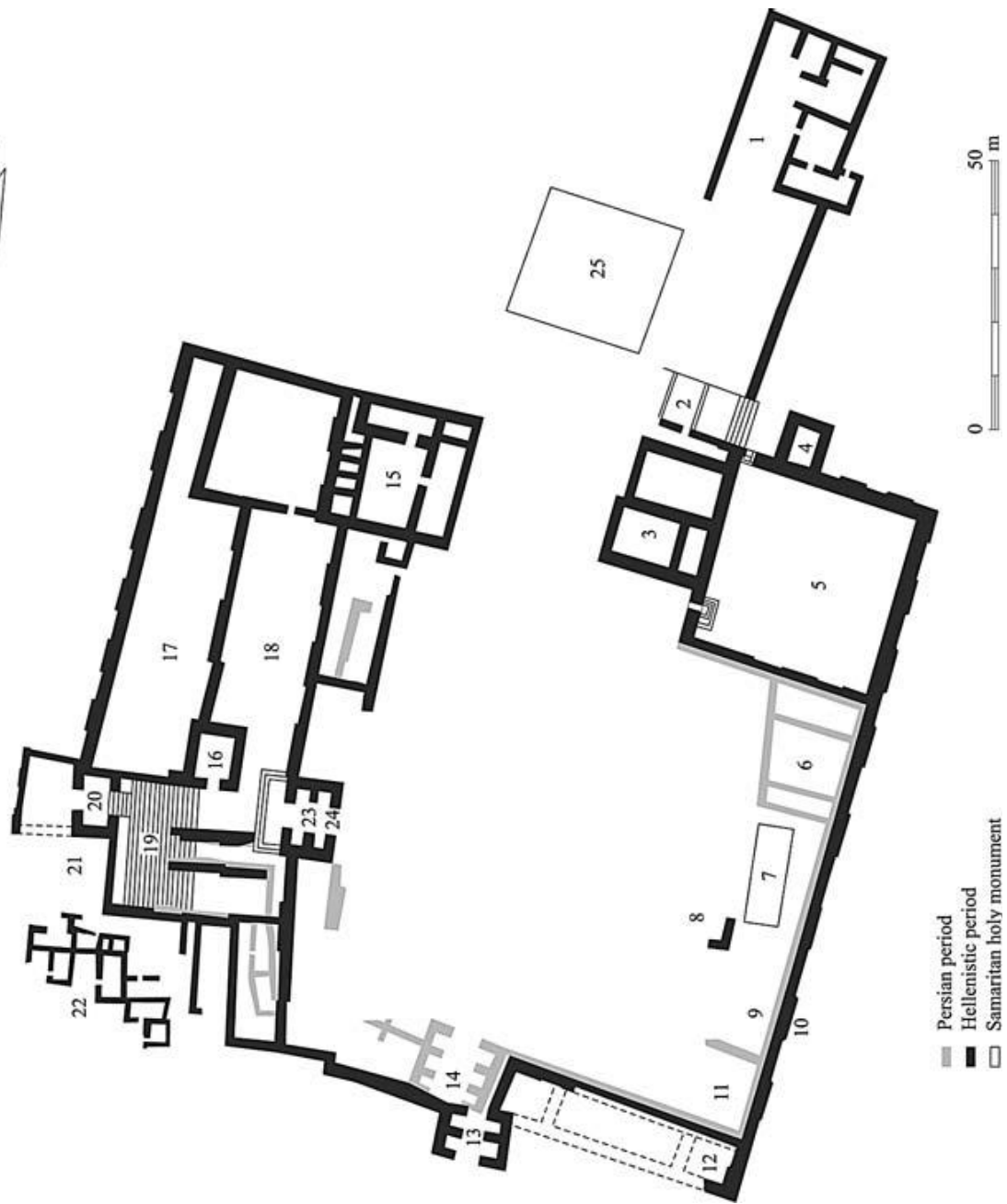


Fig. I.53: Mount Gerizim, Plan of the Persian and Hellenistic Sanctuaries (Source: Magen in Lipschits et al. 2007)



Fig. I.54: Tel Kedesh Persian-Hellenistic Administrative Building with dates of walls (Source: Stone, 2012)

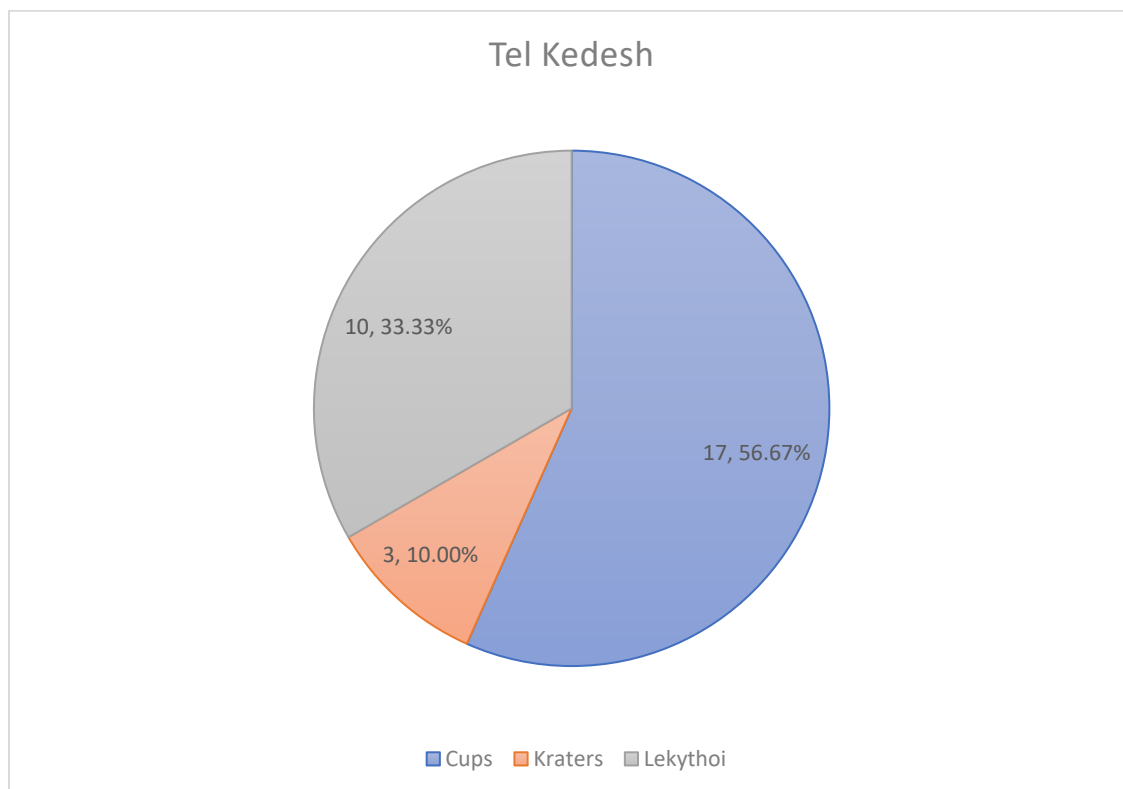


Fig. I.55: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Tel Kedesh

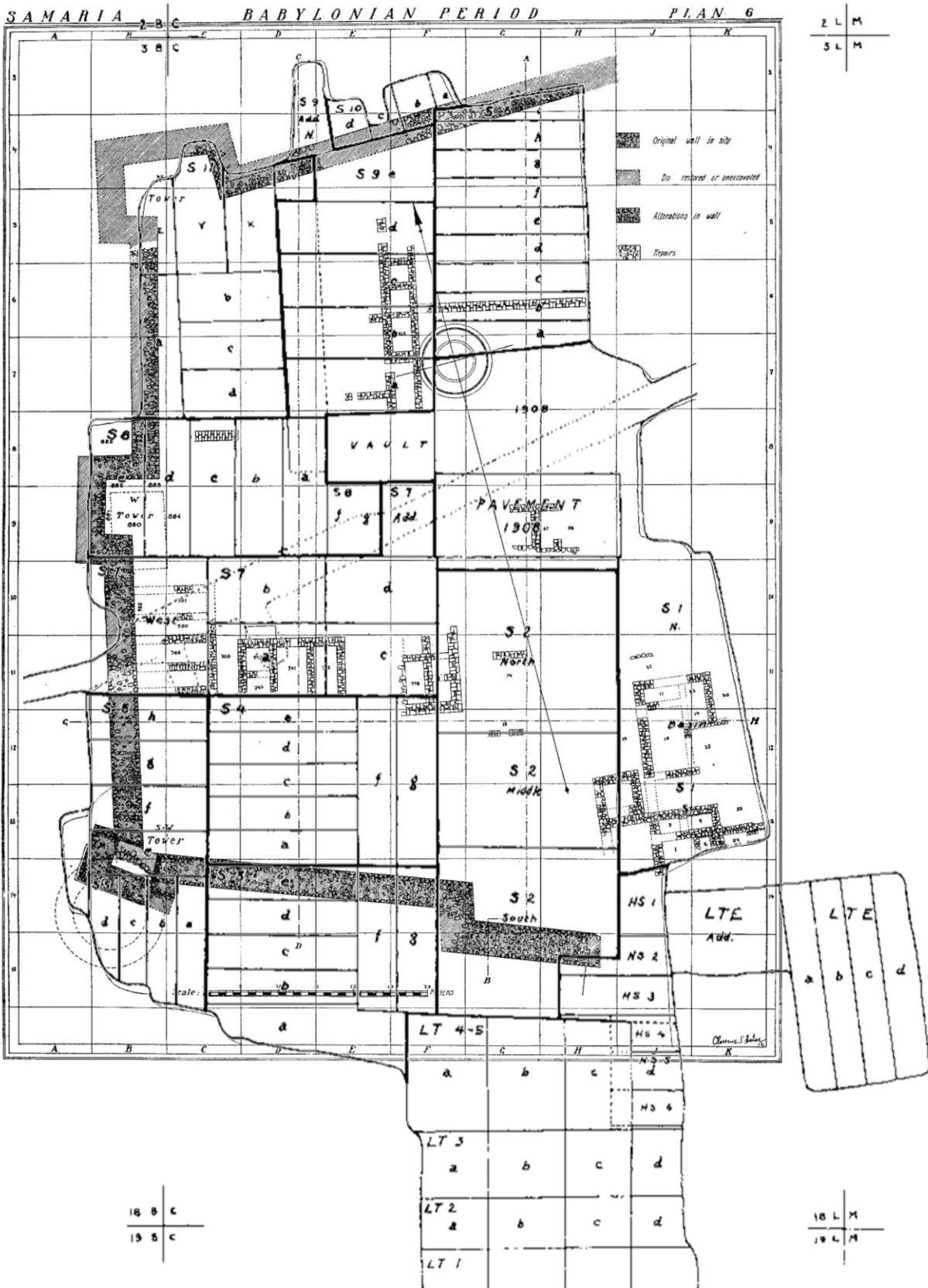


Fig. 1.56: Samaria, Harvard Expedition "Babylonio-Graecian" Stratum with Areas (Source: Reisner et al., 1924)

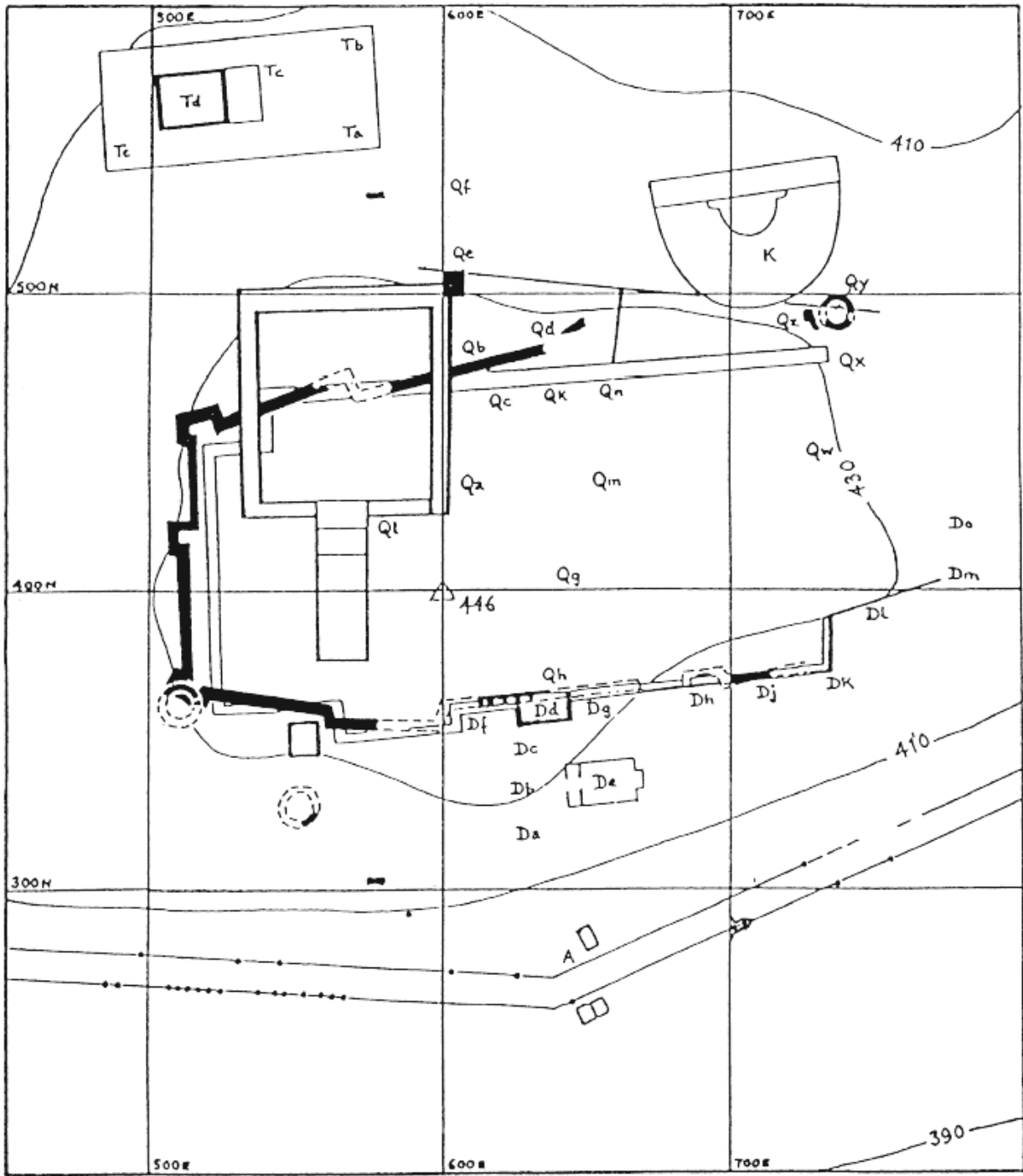


Fig. I.57: Samaria, Joint Expedition Strip System Areas (Source: Crowfoot, 1933)

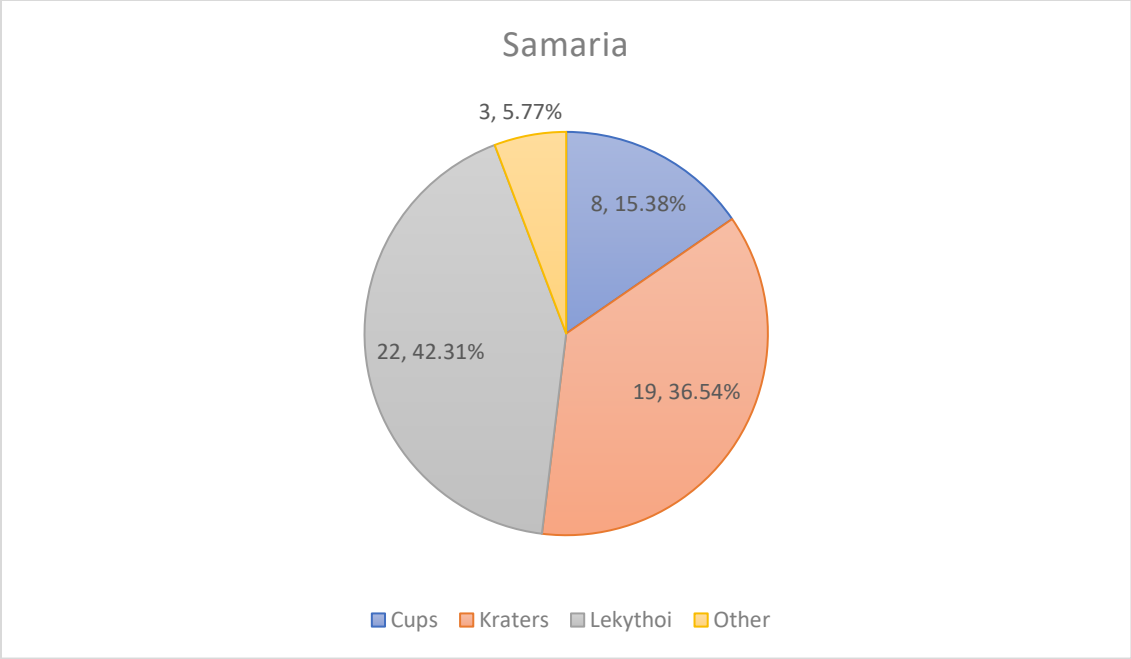


Fig. I.58: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Samaria

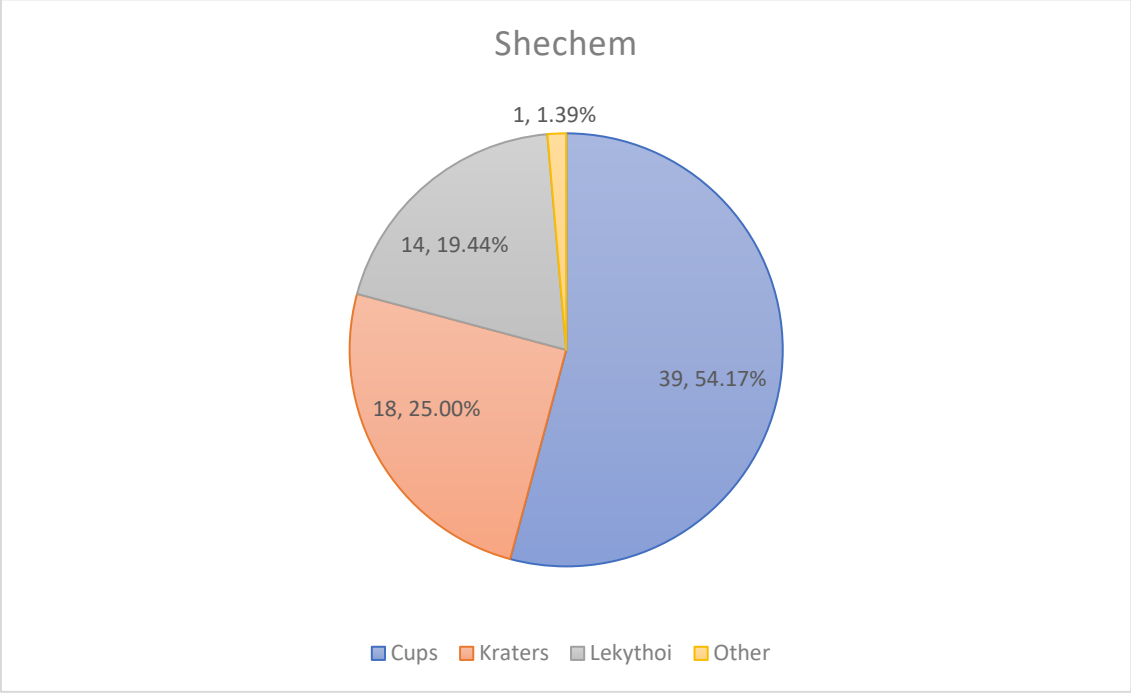


Fig. I.59: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Shechem



Fig. I.60: Achaemenid gilt silver rhyton.
British Museum: 124081
(Source: [https://www. Britishmuseum. Org/](https://www.Britishmuseum.Org/))



Fig. I.61: Fragmentary gilt silver rhyton.
Miho Museum, Kyoto.
(Source: [www. Miho. Jp](http://www.Miho.Jp))



Fig. I.62: Rhyton from Tel Yazo. (Source Kletter et al., 2006)

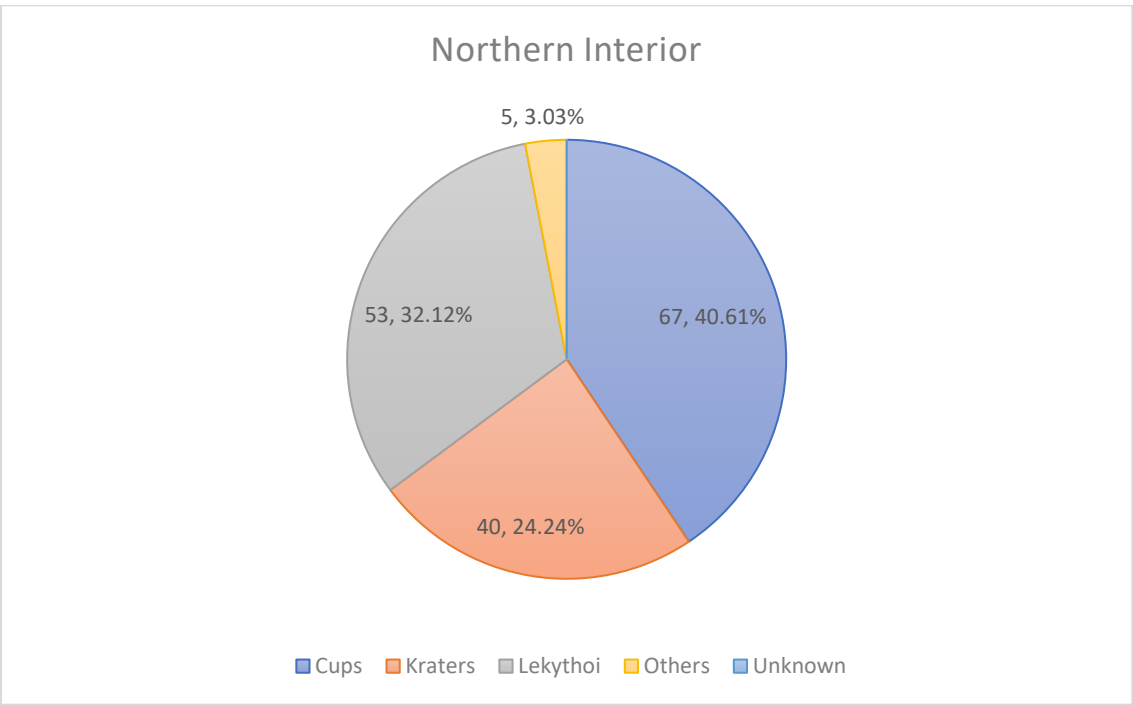


Fig. I.63. Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from the Northern Interior Subregion

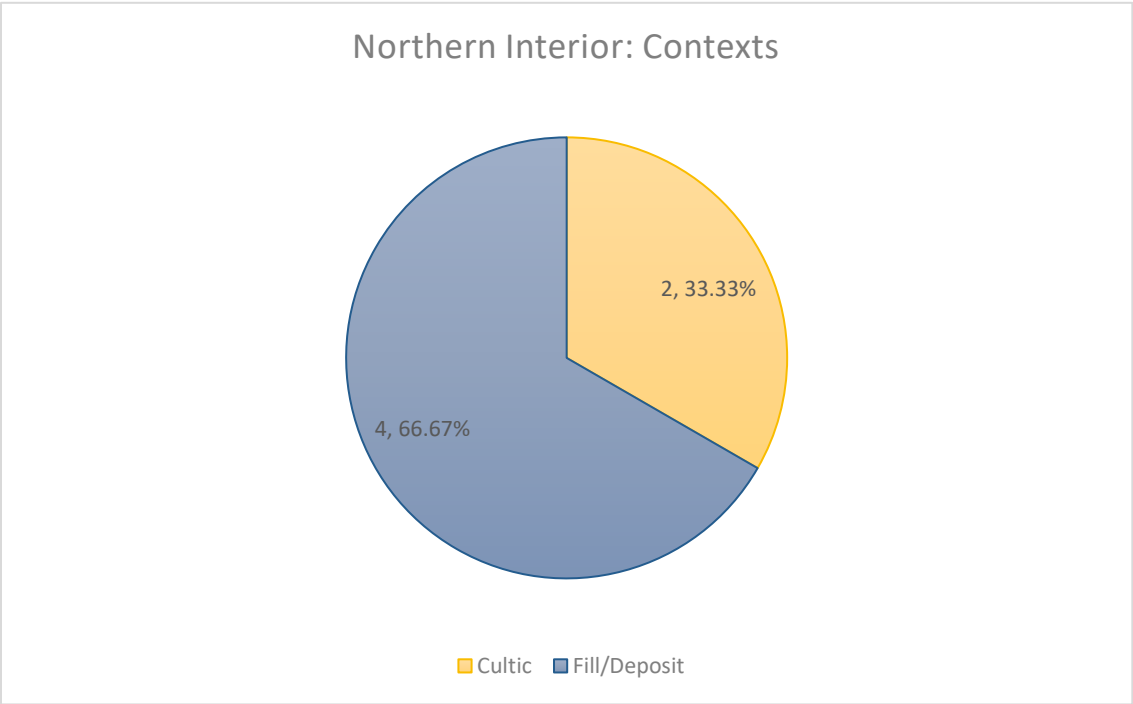


Fig. I.64: Stratified Find Contexts of Black and Red-Figure Pottery in the Northern Interior Subregion

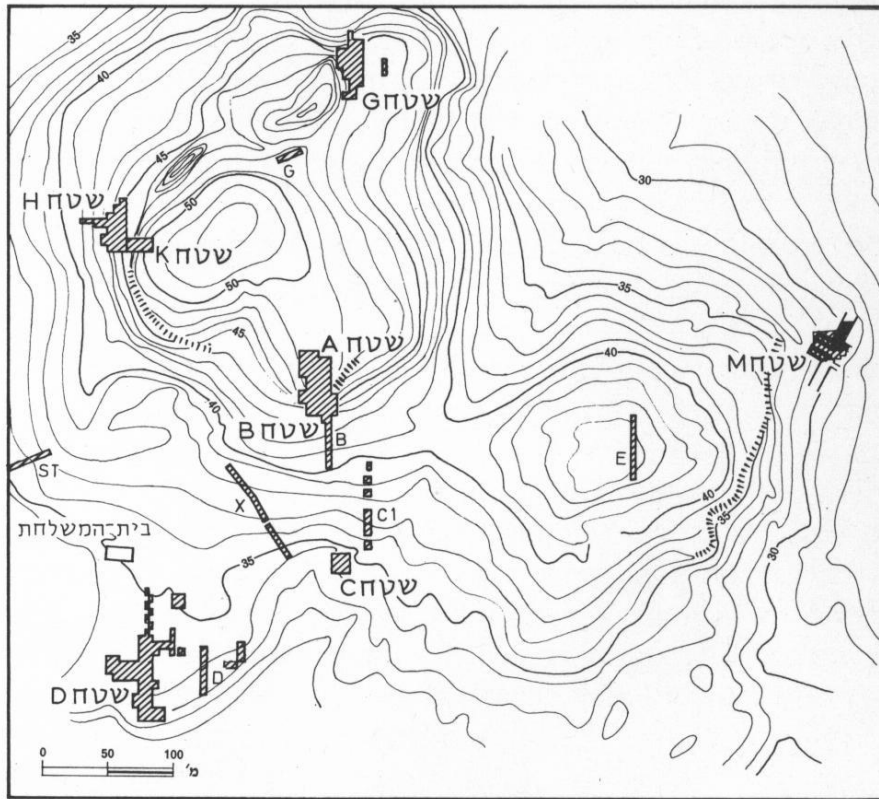


Fig. I.65: Tel Ashdod, Excavated Areas (Source: Dothan, 1972)

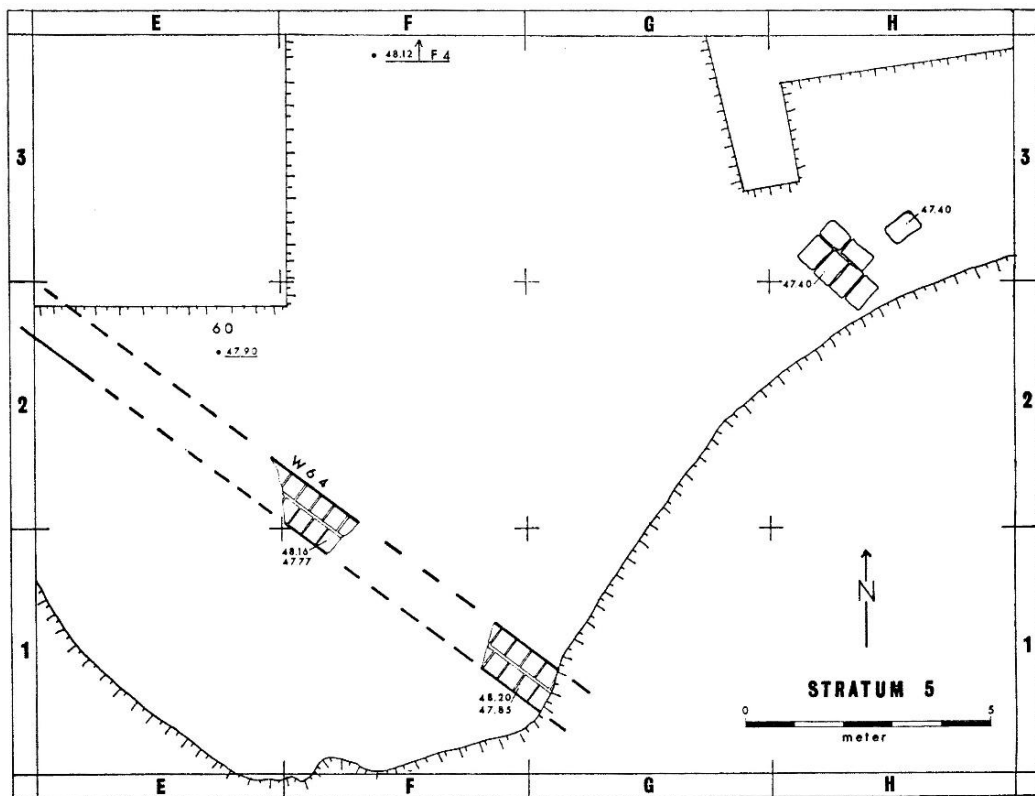


Fig. I.66: Tel Ashdod, Area A, Stratum V (Source: Dothan, 1971)

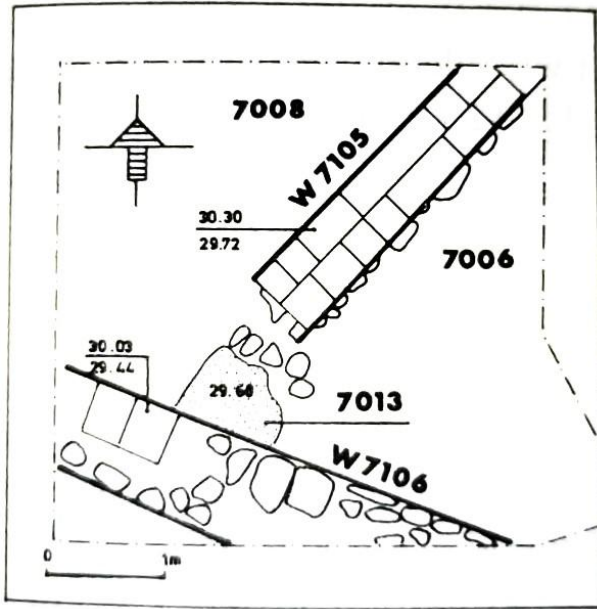


Fig. I.69: Tel Ashdod, Area M, Square T/7, Stratum 6 (Source: Dothan and Porath, 1982)

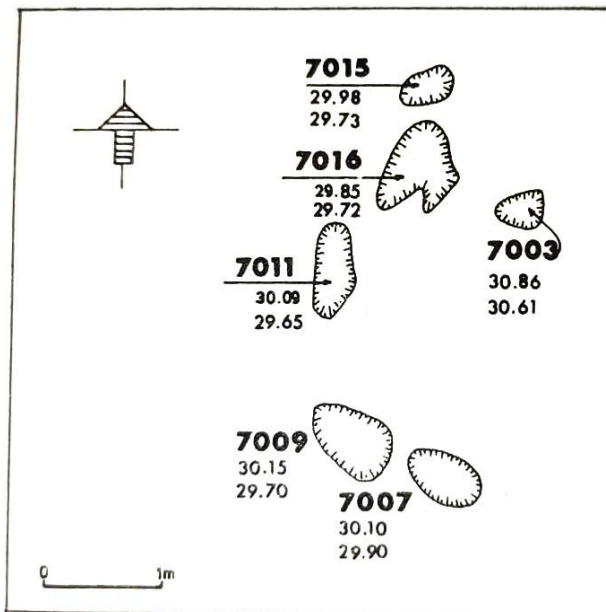


Fig. I.70: Tel Ashdod, Area M, Square T/7, Strata 5-4 (Source: Dothan and Porath, 1982)

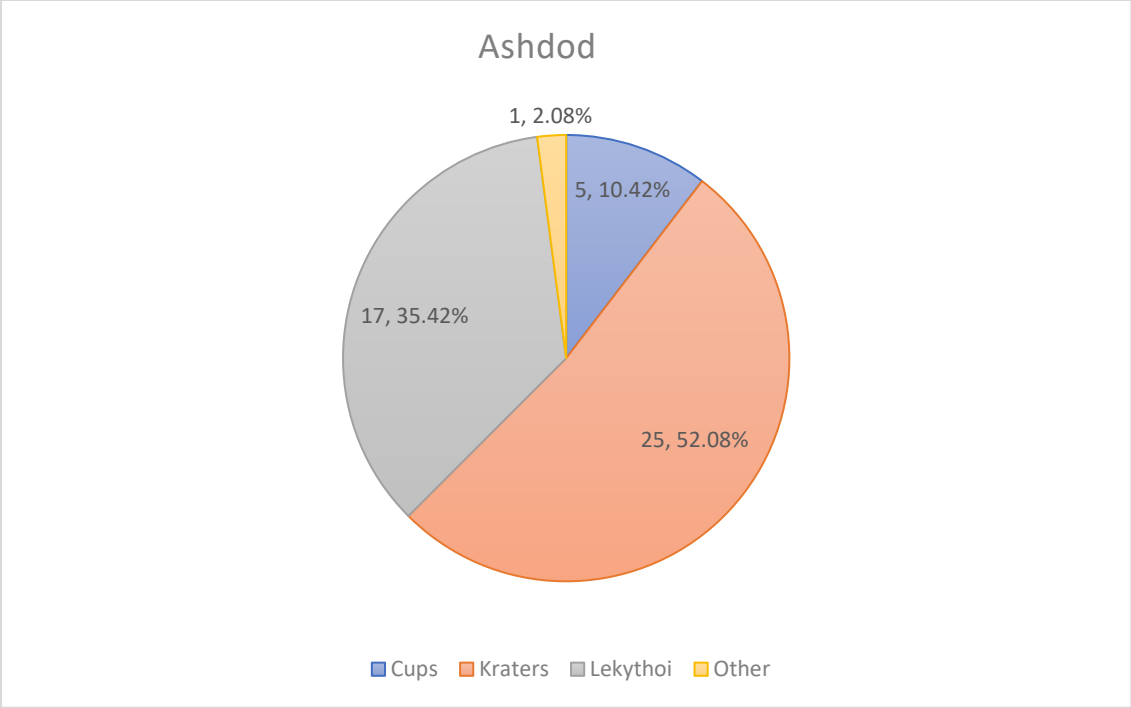


Fig. I.72: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Ashdod

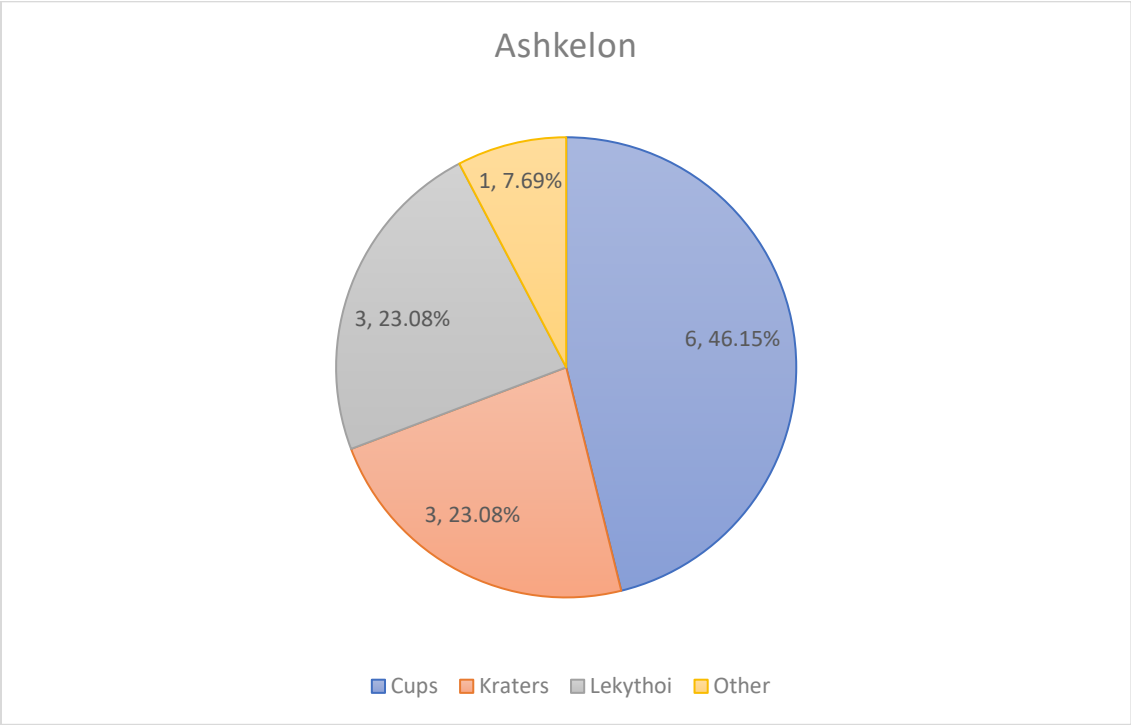


Fig. I.73: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Ashkelon

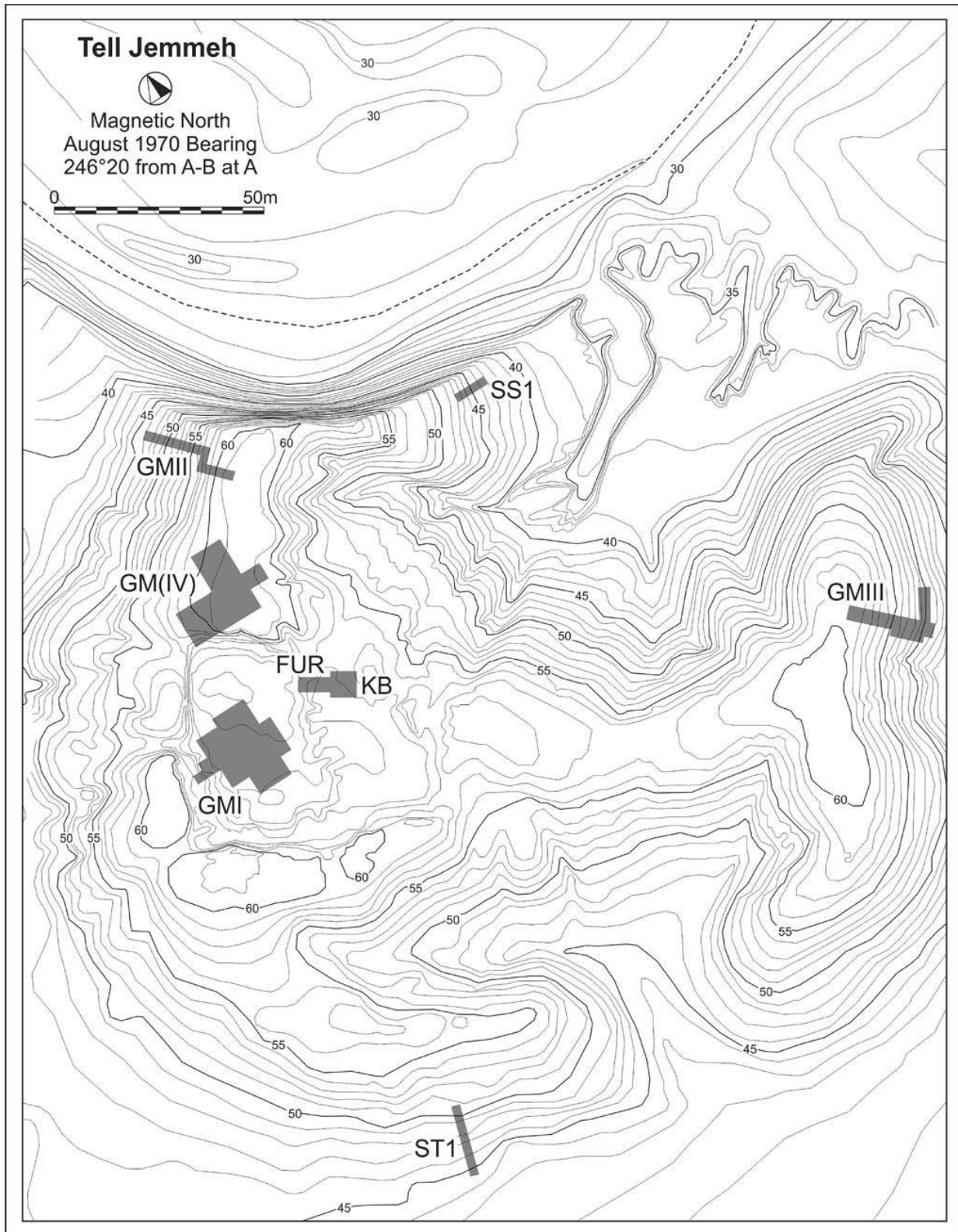


Fig. I.74: Tel Gamma, Smithsonian Excavation, Excavated Fields (Source: Ben-Shlomo and Van Beek, 2014)

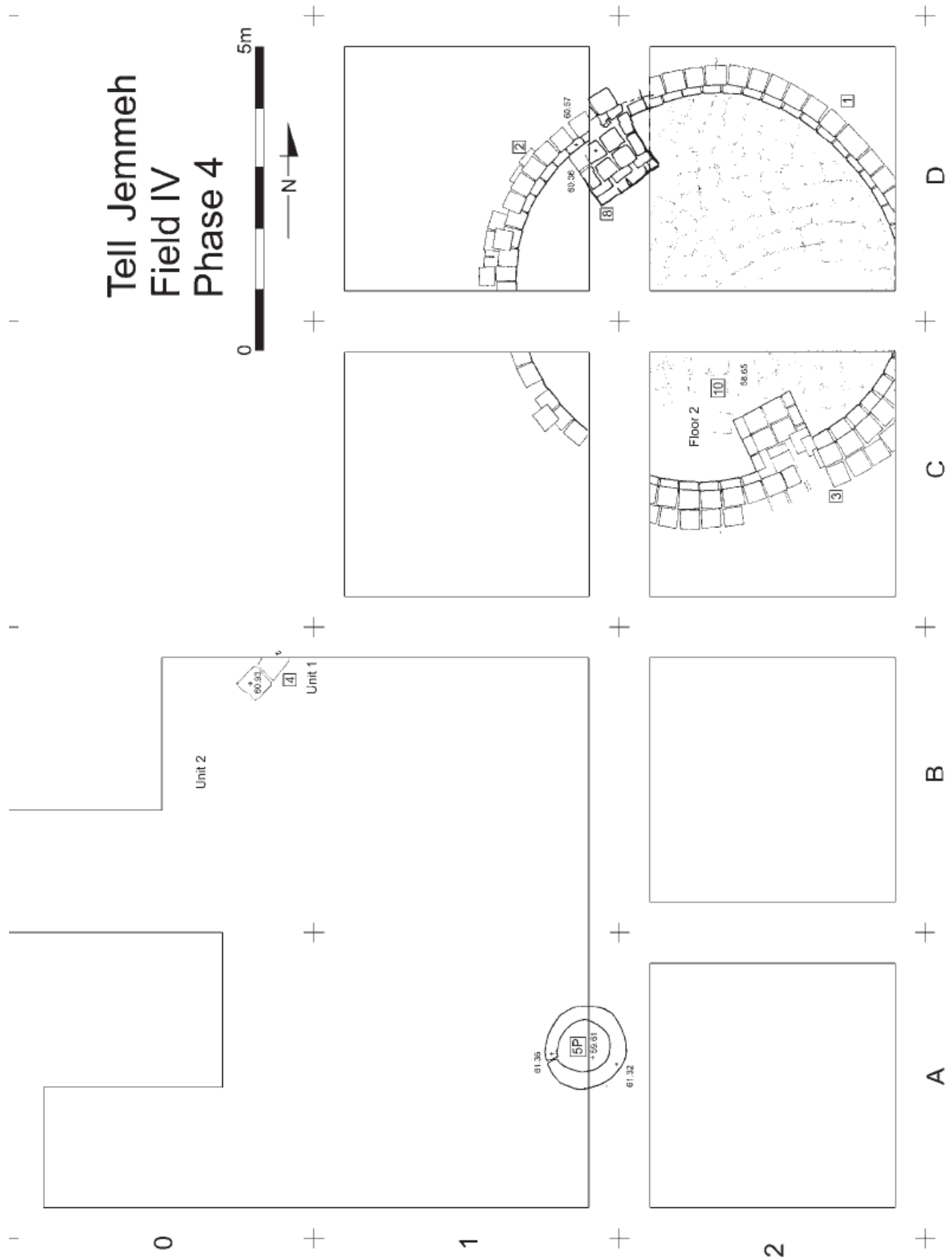


Fig. I.75: Tel Gamma, Field IV, Phase 4 (Source: Ben-Shlomo and Van Beek, 2014)

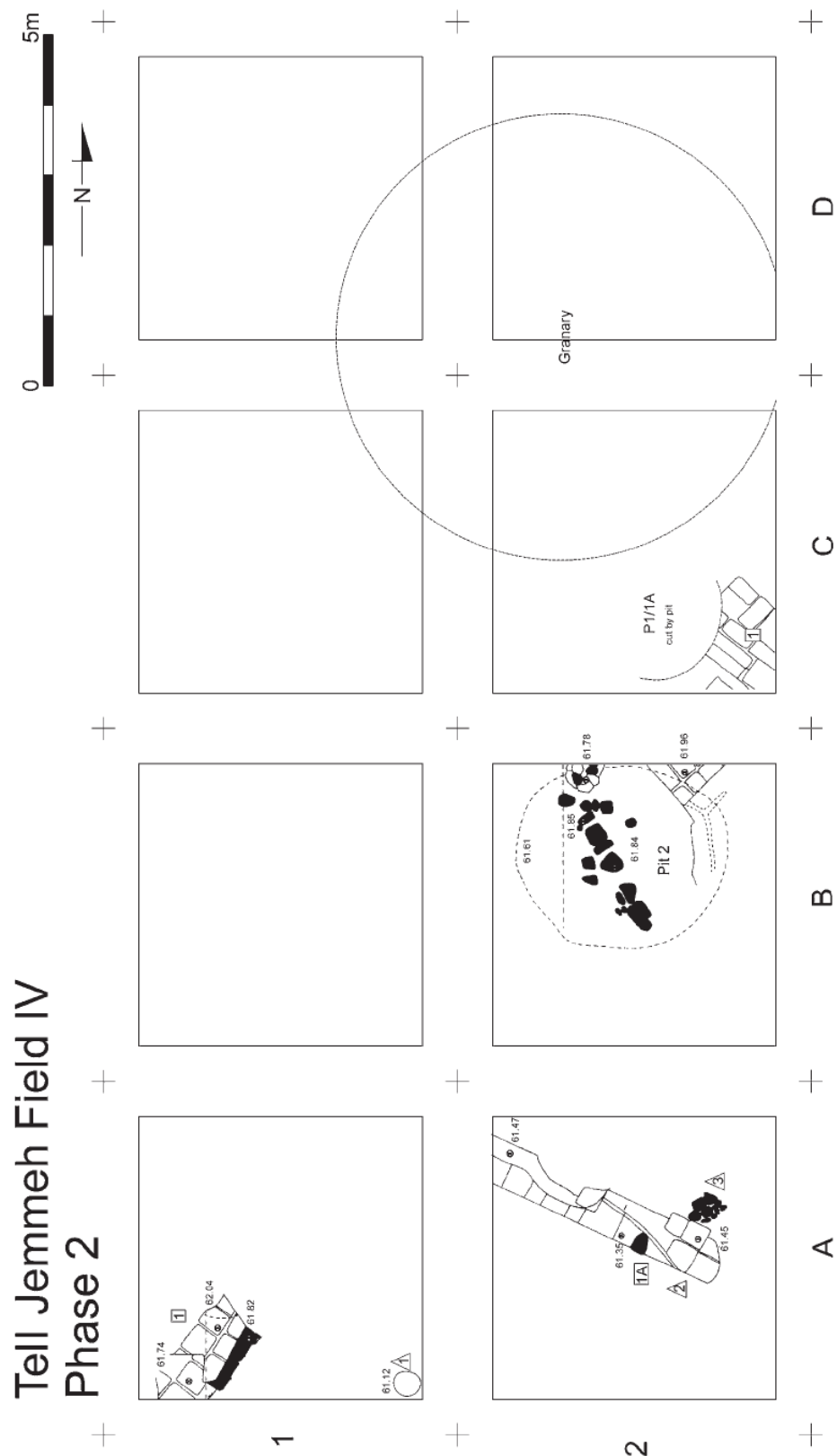


Fig. I.77: Tel Gamma, Field IV, Phase 2 (Source: Ben-Shlomo and Van Beek, 2014)

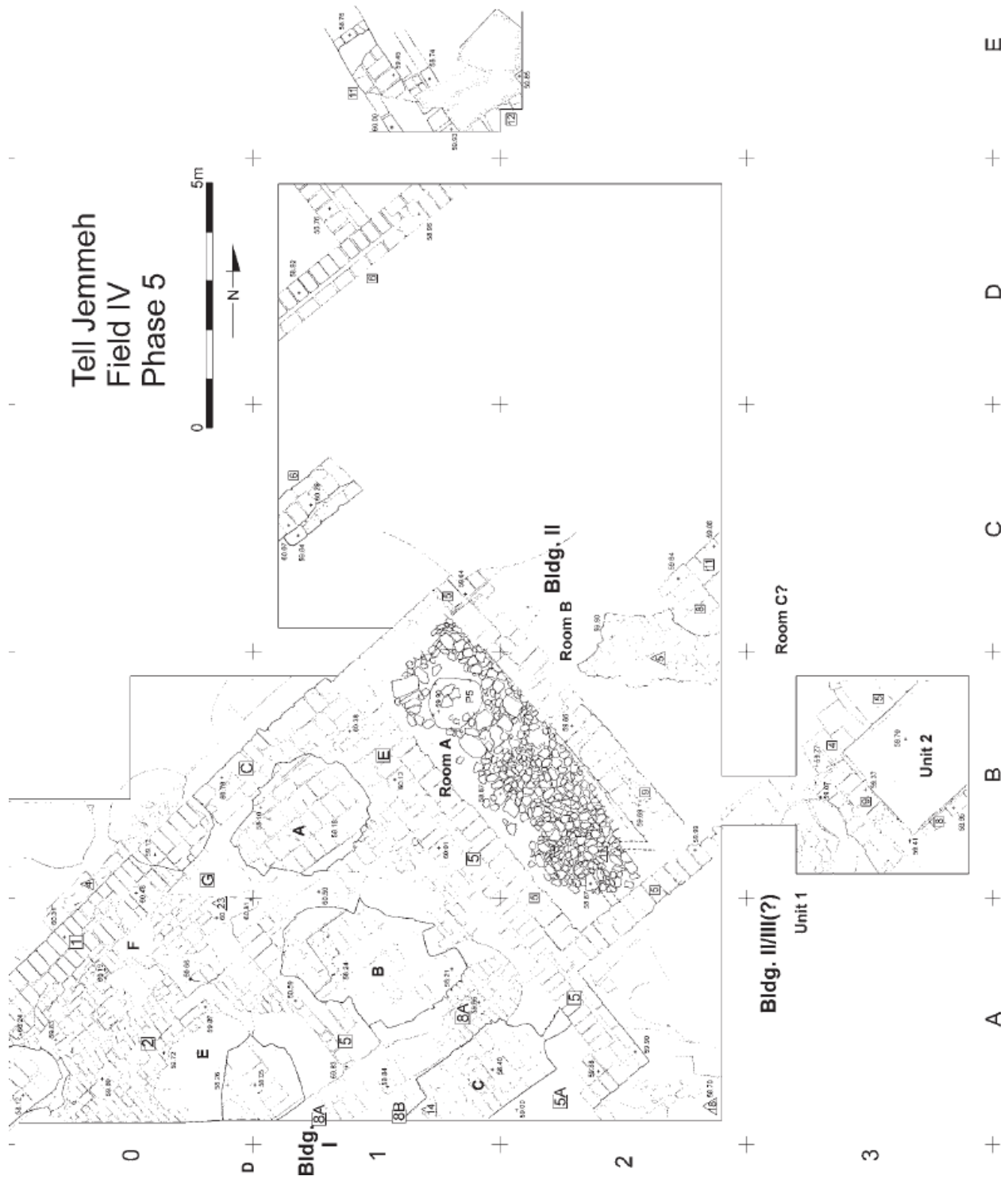


Fig. I.78: T Tel Gamma, Field IV, Phase 5 (Source: Ben-Shlomo and Van Beek, 2014)

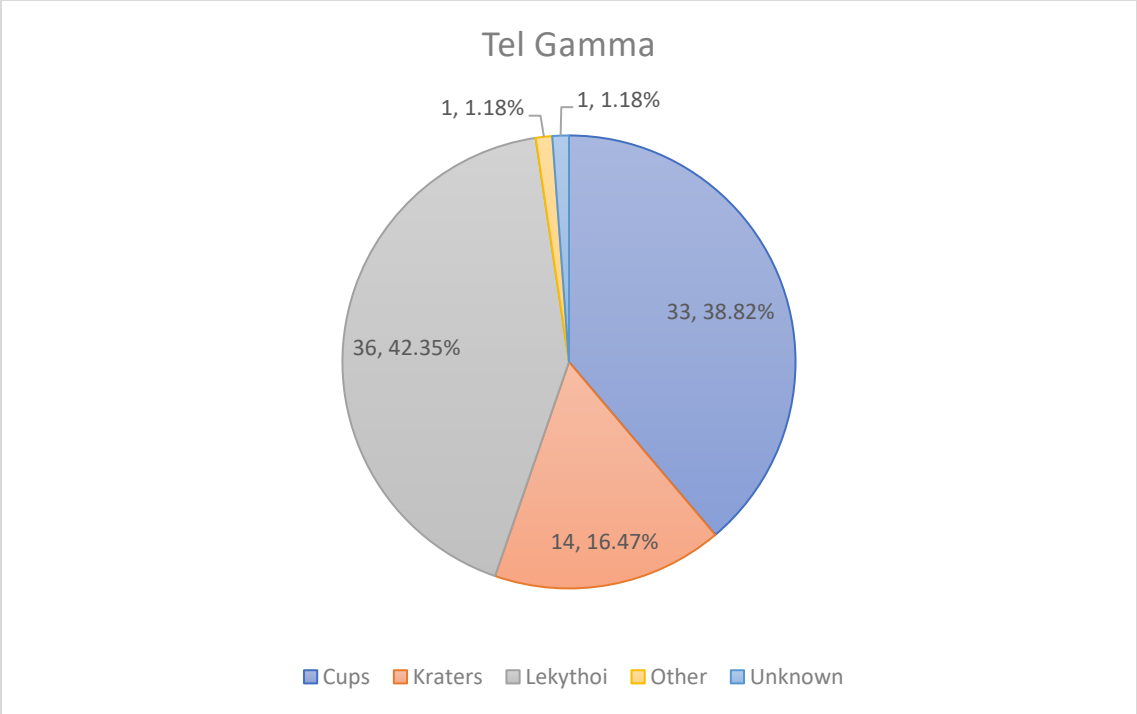


Fig. I.79: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes at Tel Gamma

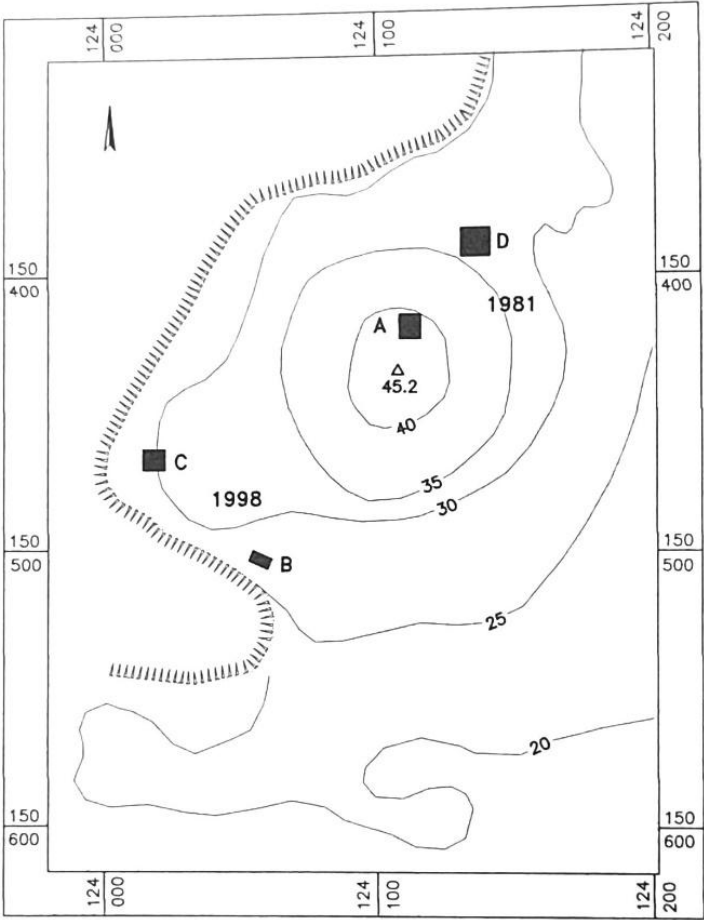


Fig. I.80: Tel Yazo, Excavated Areas (Source: Fischer, 2008)

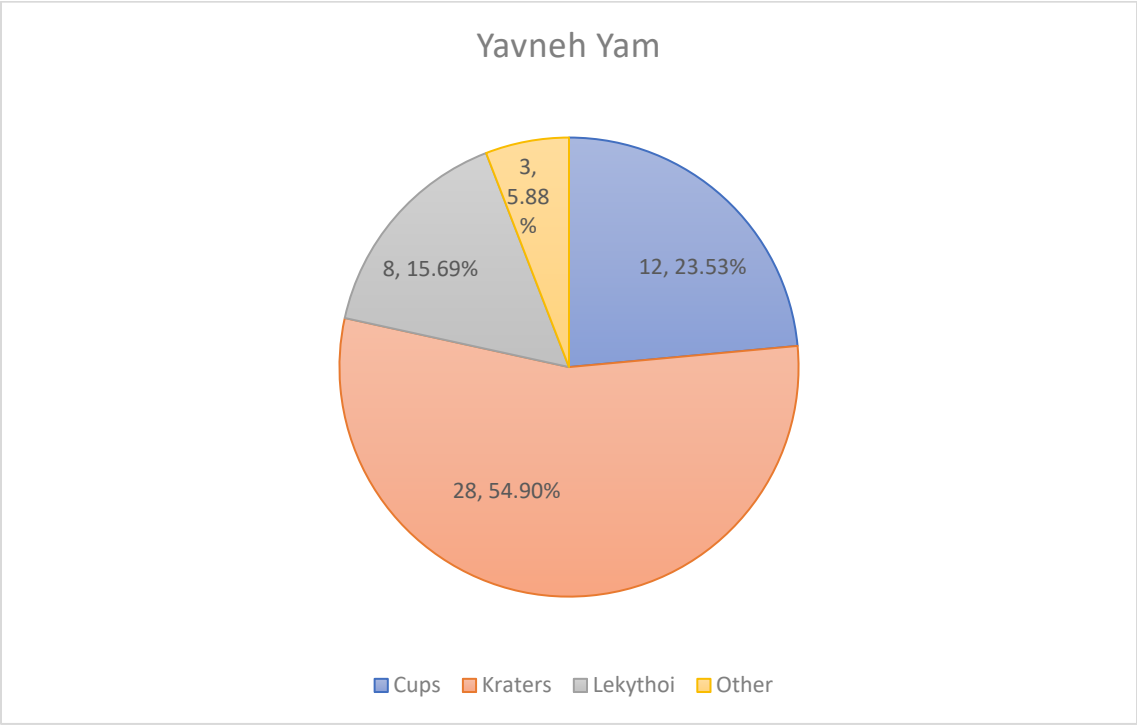


Fig. I.82: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Yavneh-Yam

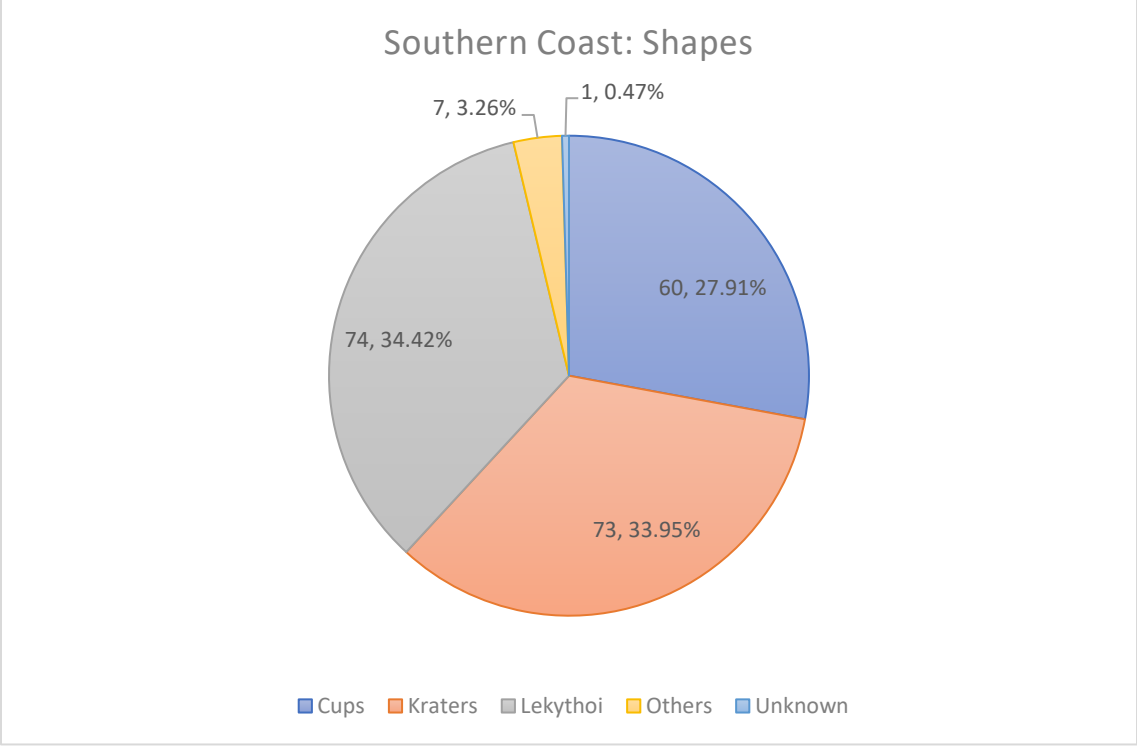


Fig. I.83: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from the Southern Coastal Subregion

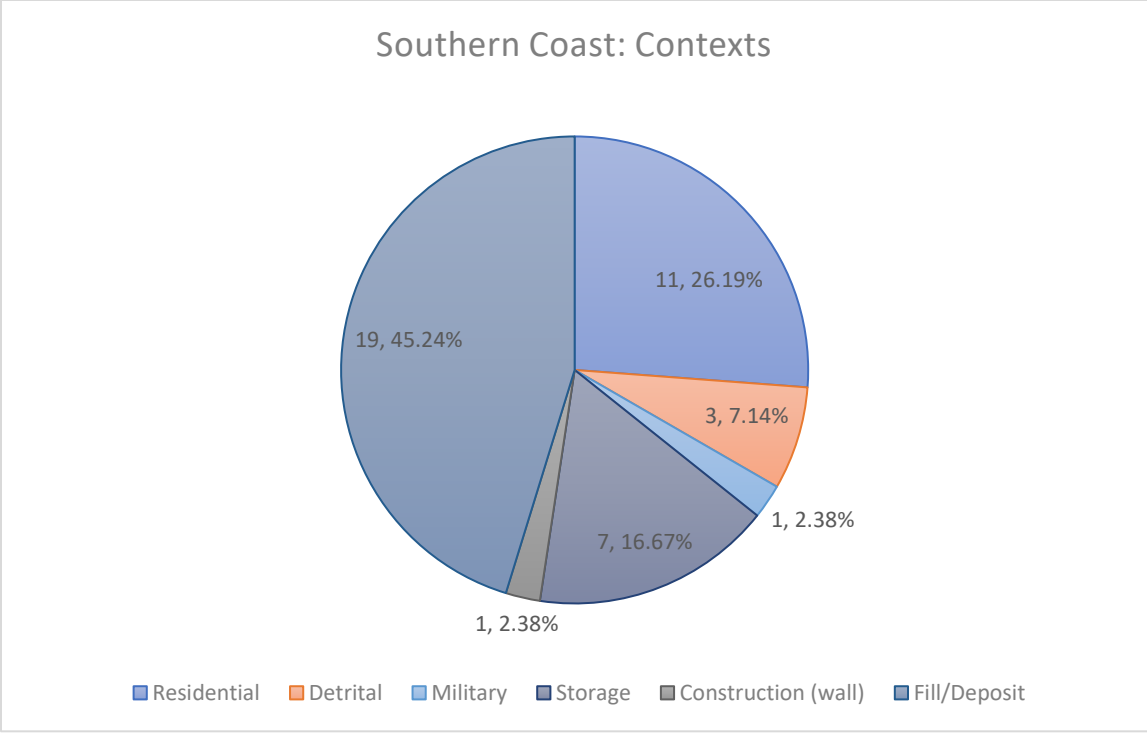


Fig. I.84: Stratified Find Contexts of Black and Red-Figure Pottery from the Southern Coastal Subregion

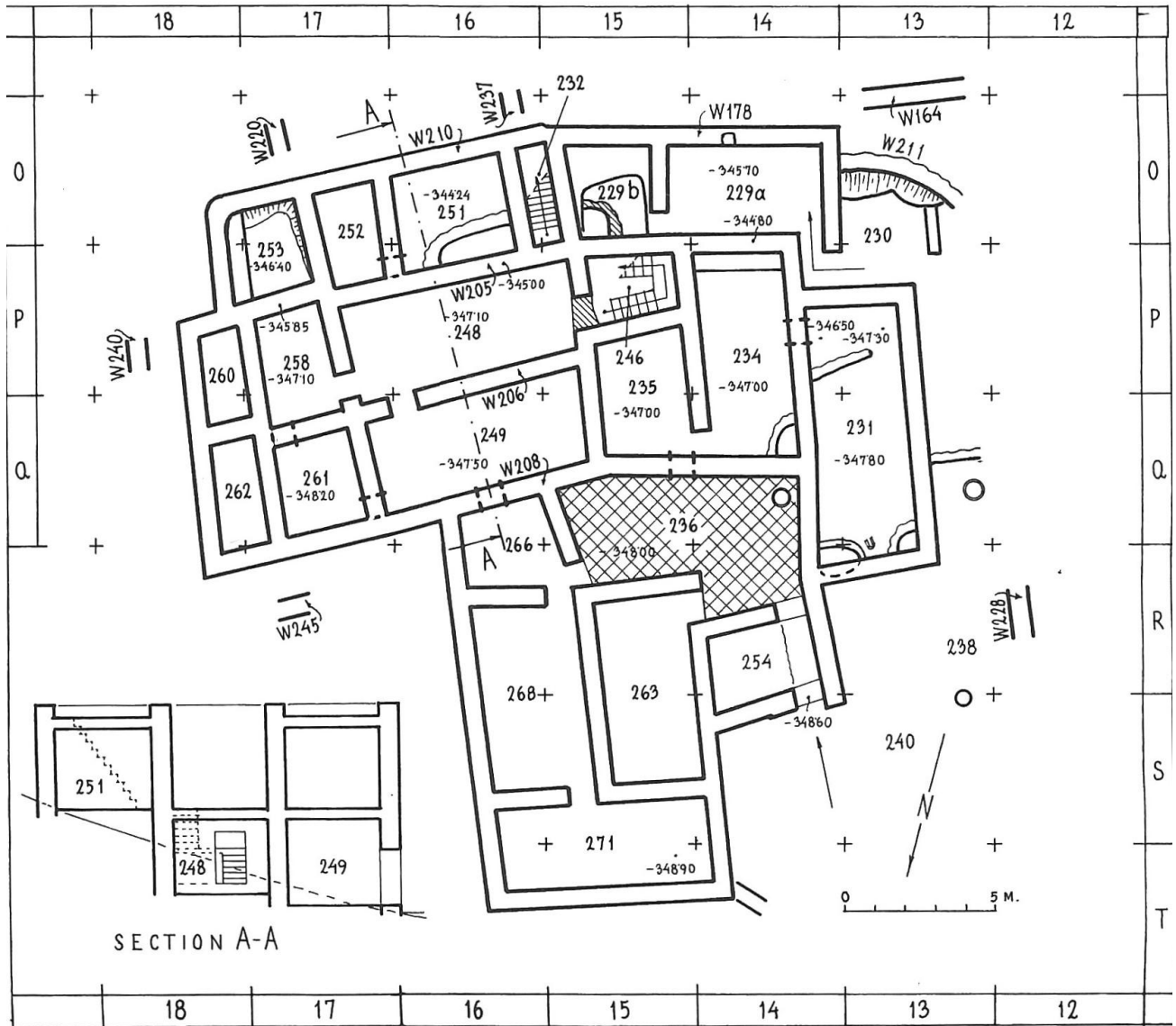


Fig. I.85: Ein Gedi, Building 234 (Source: Dunyevsky, 2007)

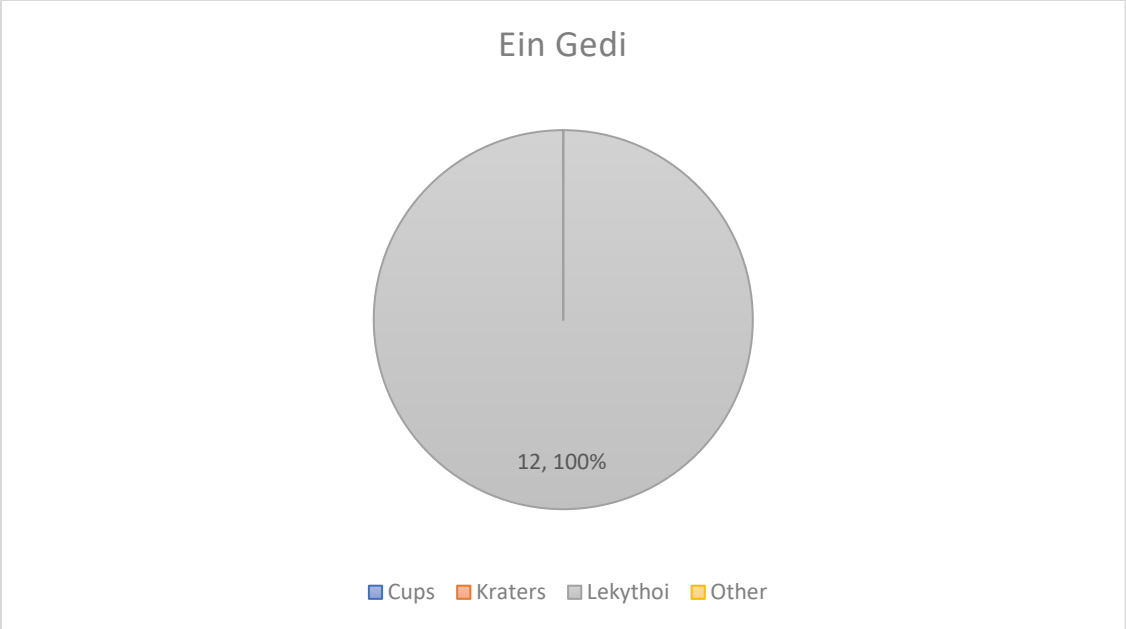


Fig. I.86: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Ein Gedi

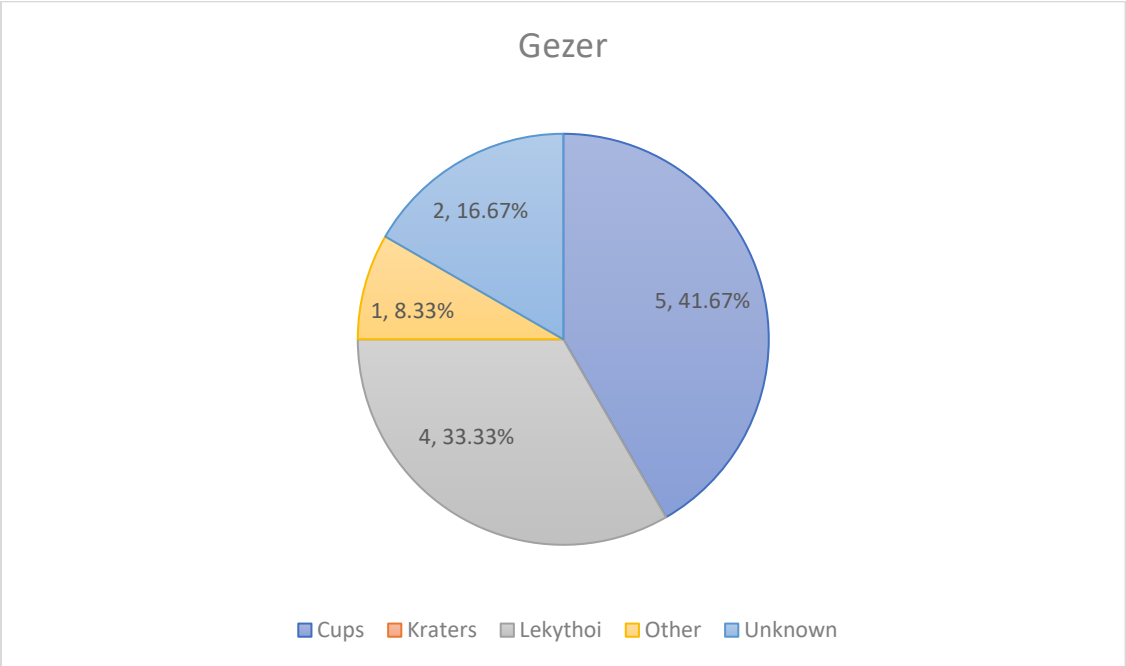


Fig. I.87: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Gezer

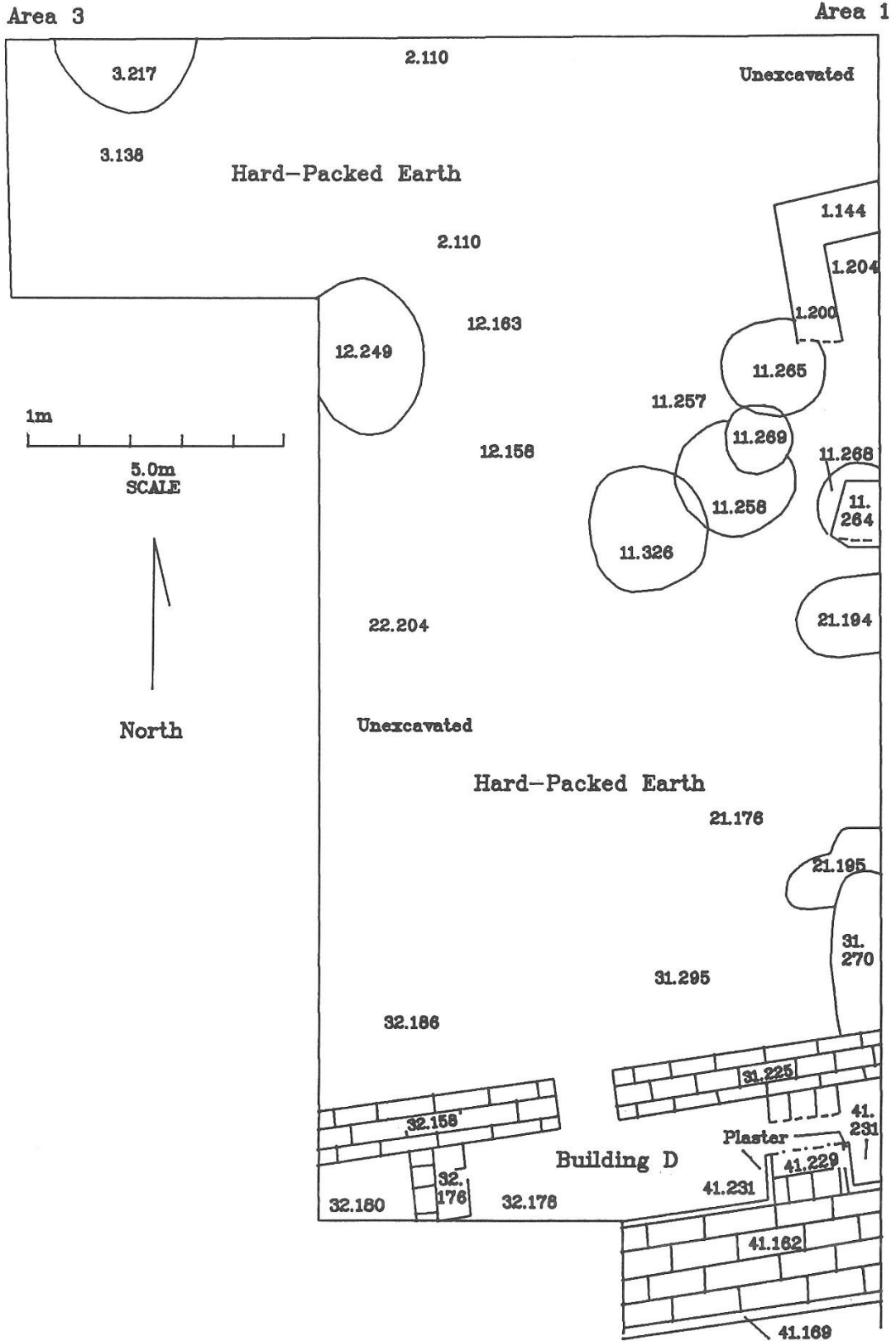


Fig. I.88: Tel Hesi, Stratum Vd (Source: Bennet and Blakely, 1989)

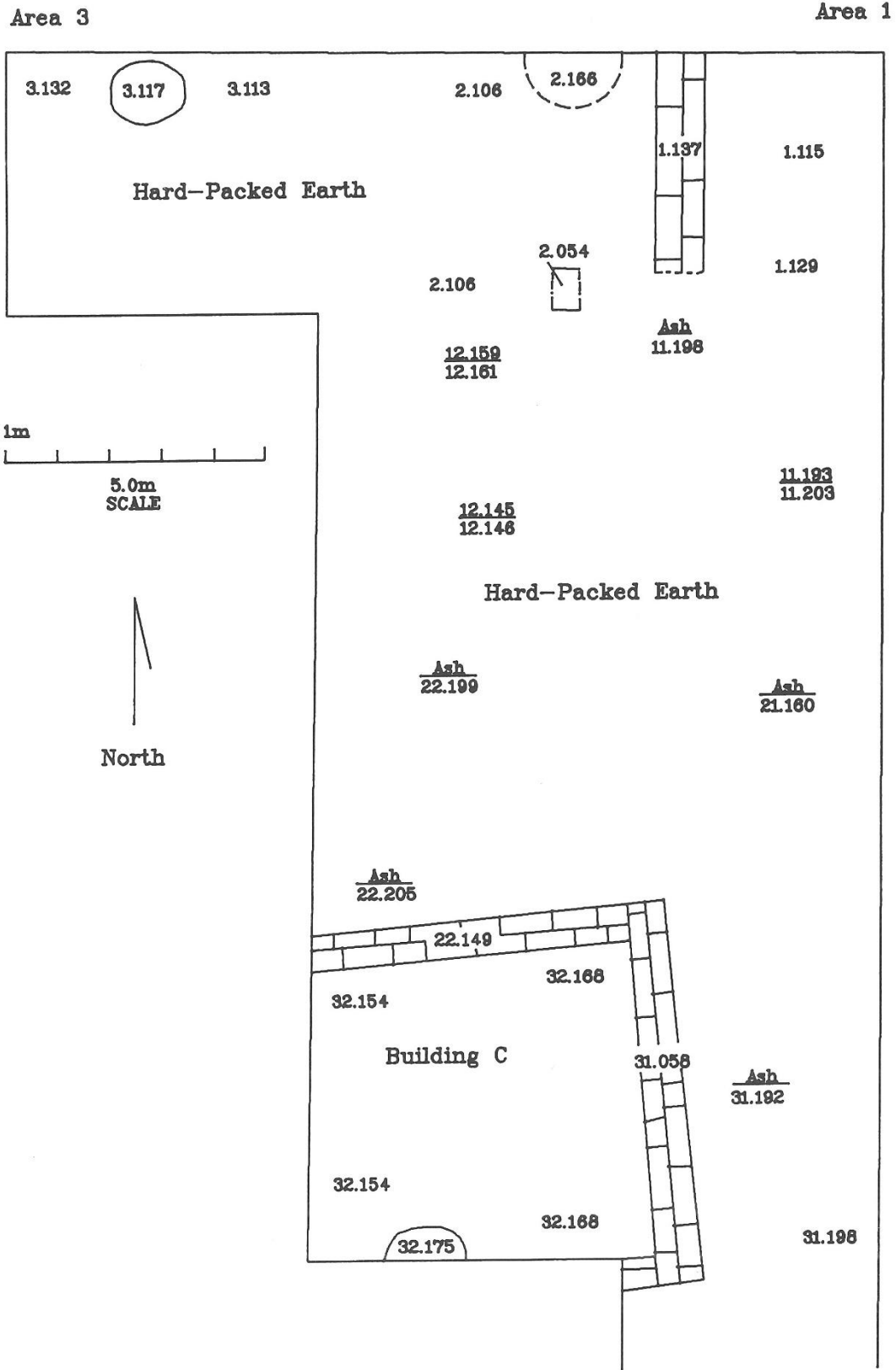


Fig. I.89: Tel Hesi, Stratum Vc (Source: Bennet and Blakely, 1989)

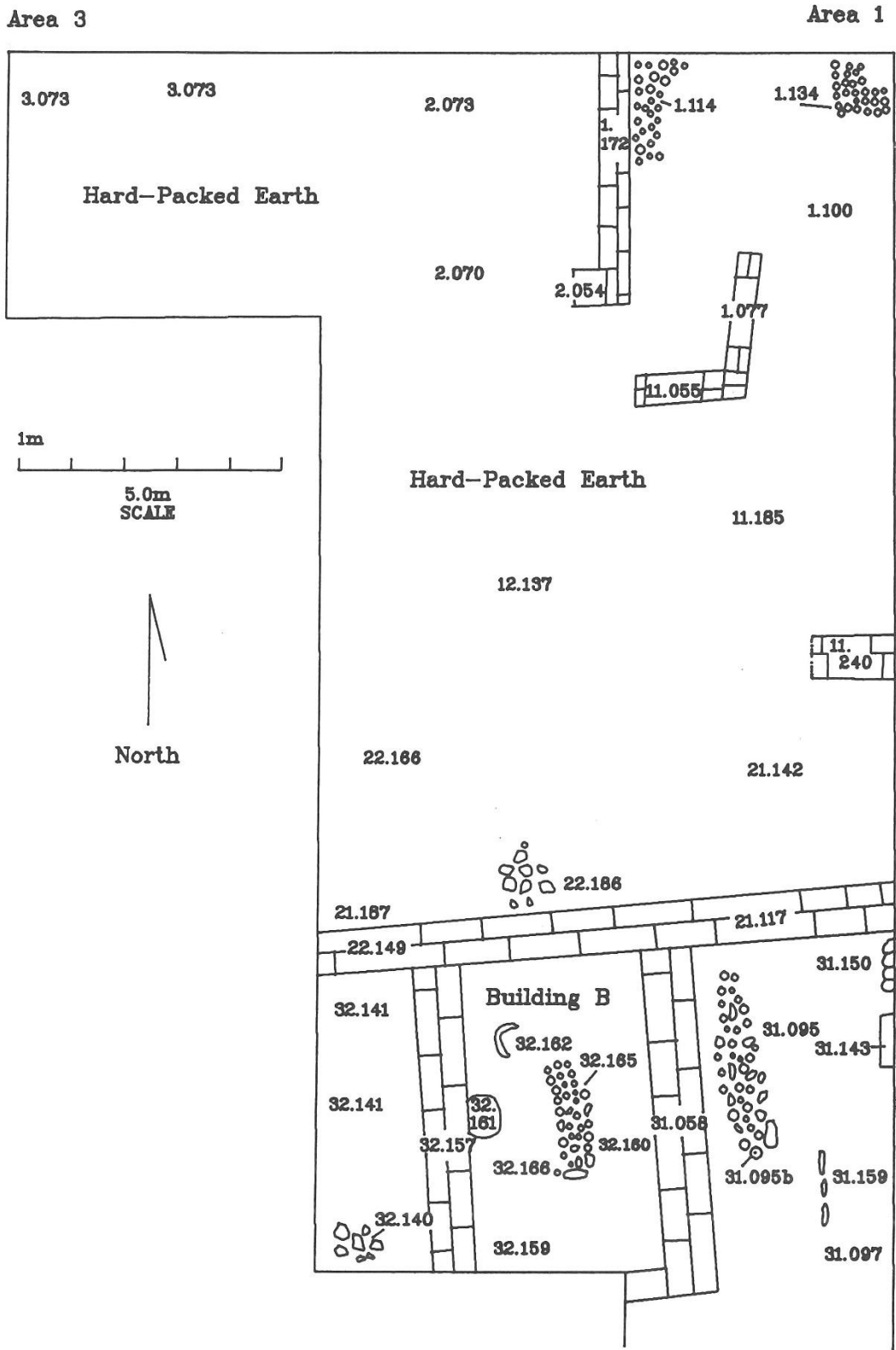


Fig. I.90: Tel Hesi, Stratum Vb2 (Source: Bennet and Blakely, 1989)

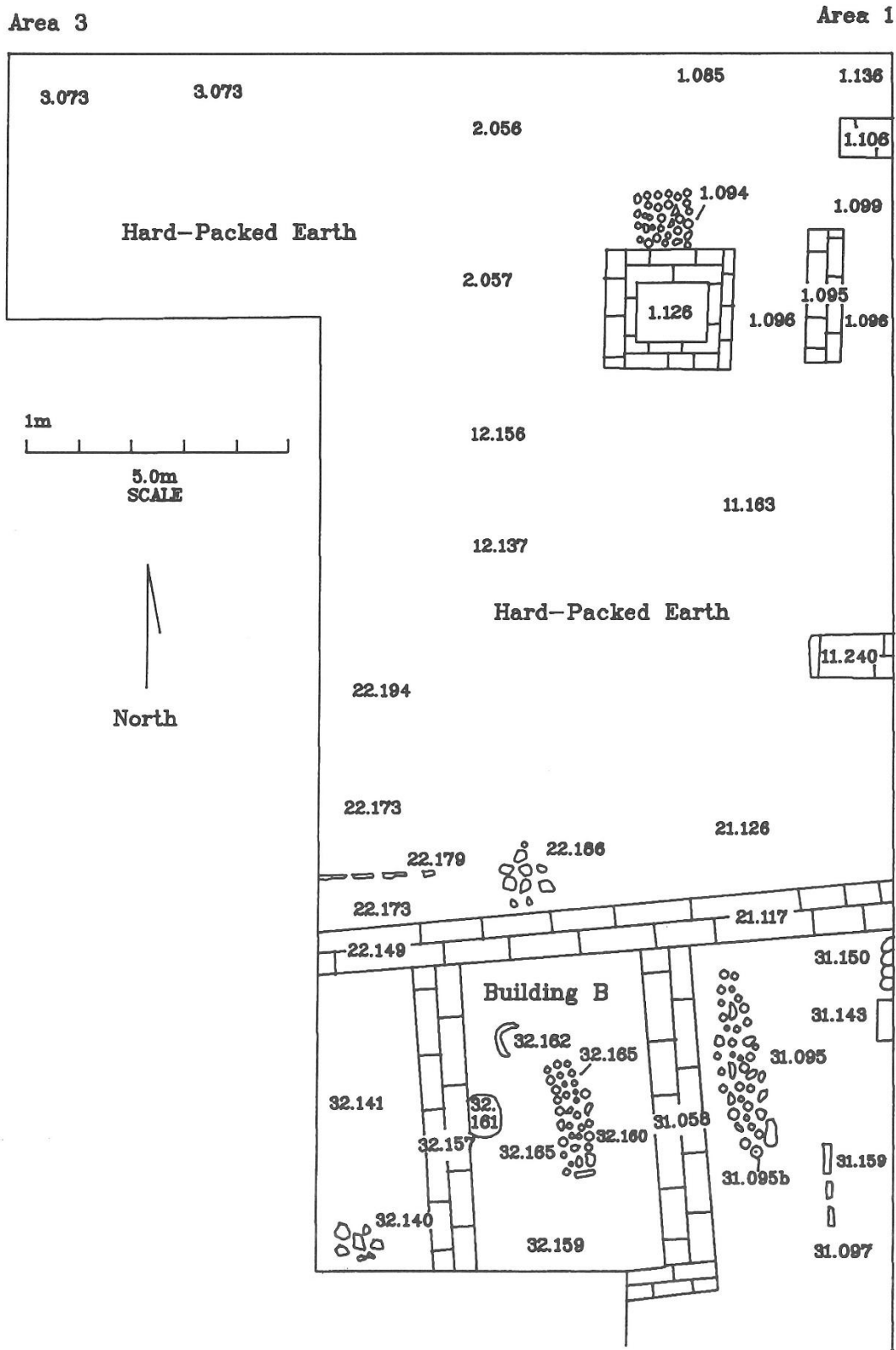


Fig. I.91: Tel Hesi, Stratum Vb1 (Source: Bennet and Blakely, 1989)

Area 3

Area 1

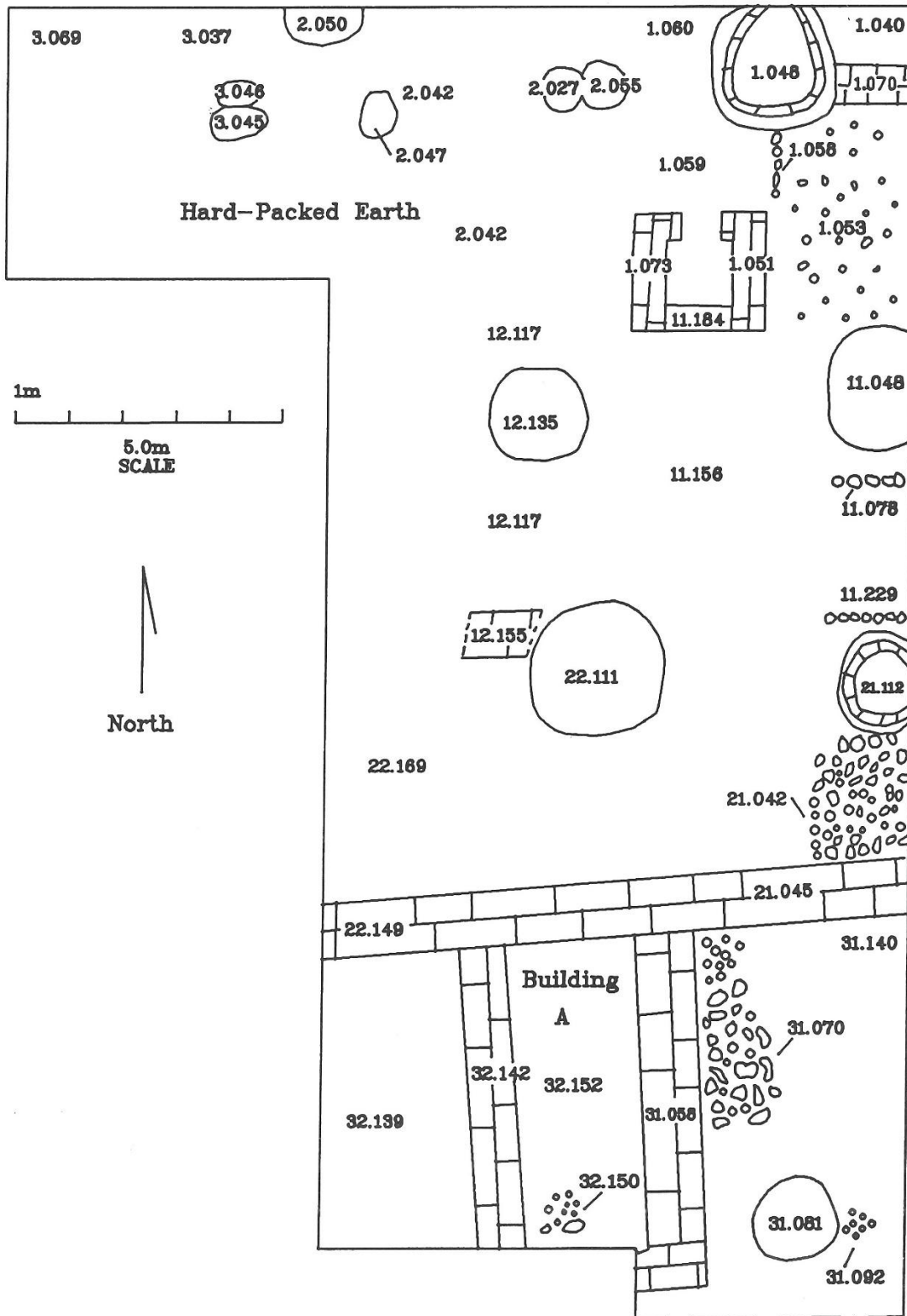


Fig. I.92: Tel Hesi, Stratum Va (Source: Bennet and Blakely, 1989)

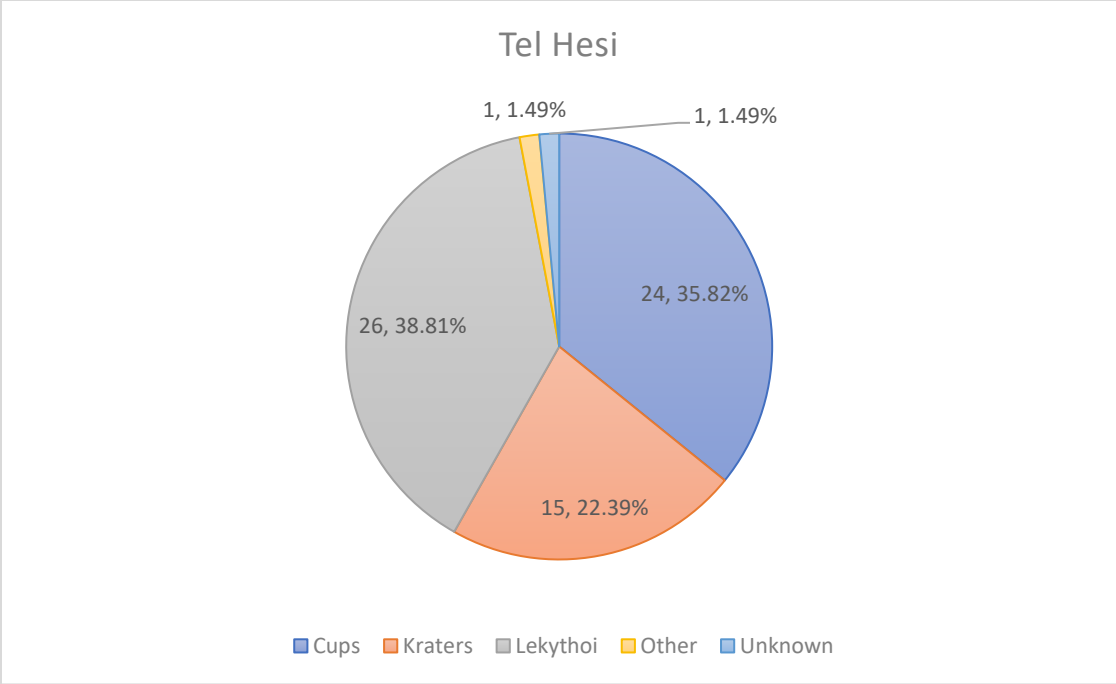


Fig. I.93: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Tel Hesi

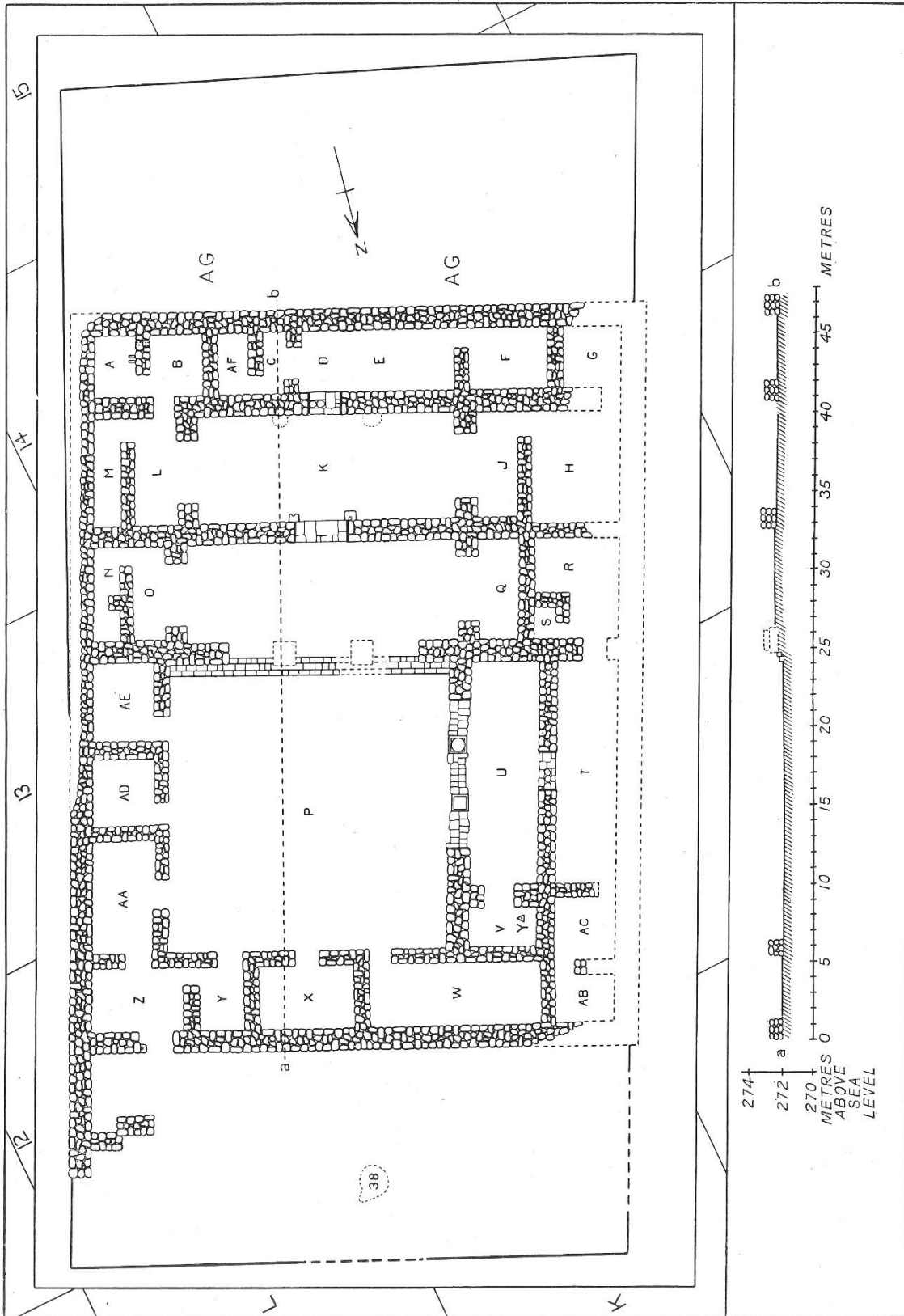


Fig. I.94: Lachish, Residency (Source: Tufnell, 1953)

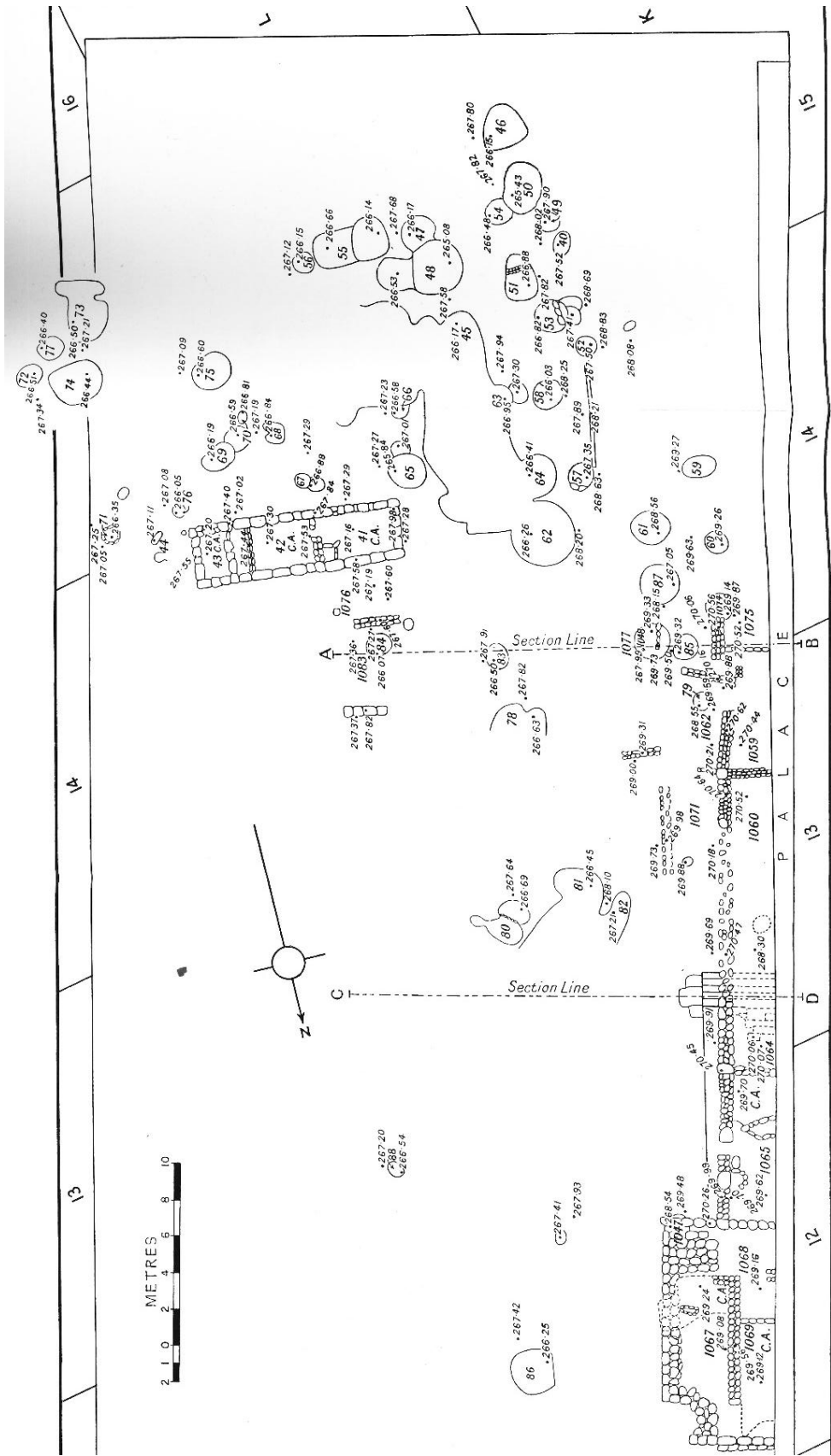


Fig. I.95: Lachish, Areas East of the Residency (Source: Tufnell, 1953)

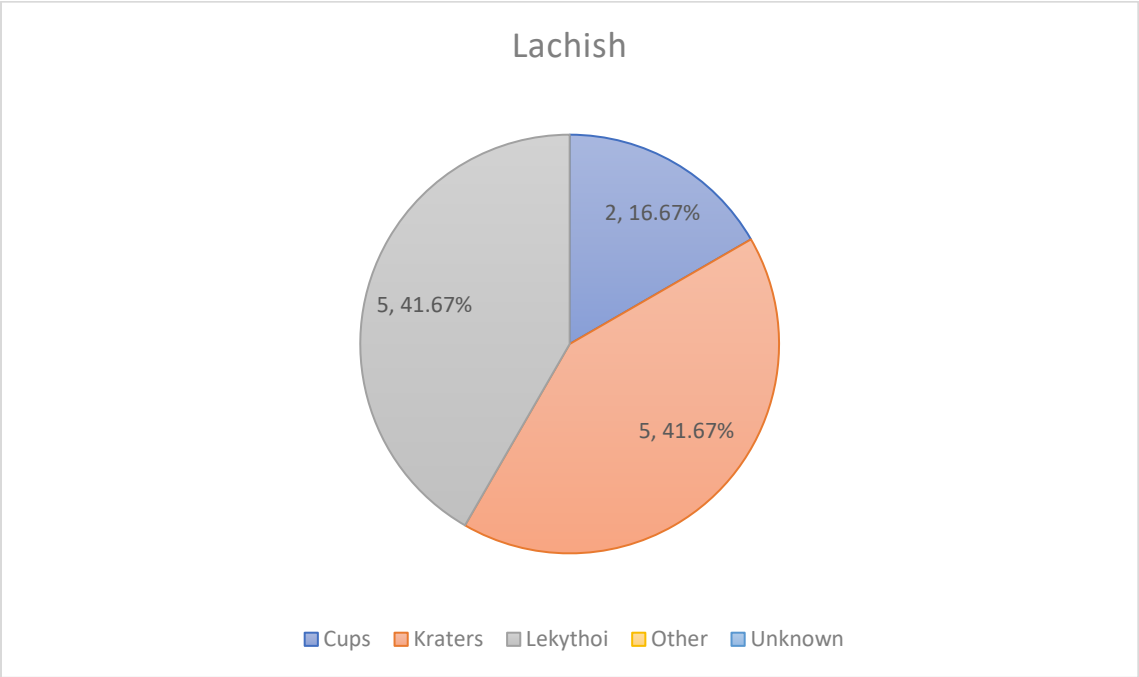


Fig. I.96: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Lachish



Fig. I.98: Tel En-Nasbeh, Squares AC/16-AF/17 (Source: <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/>)

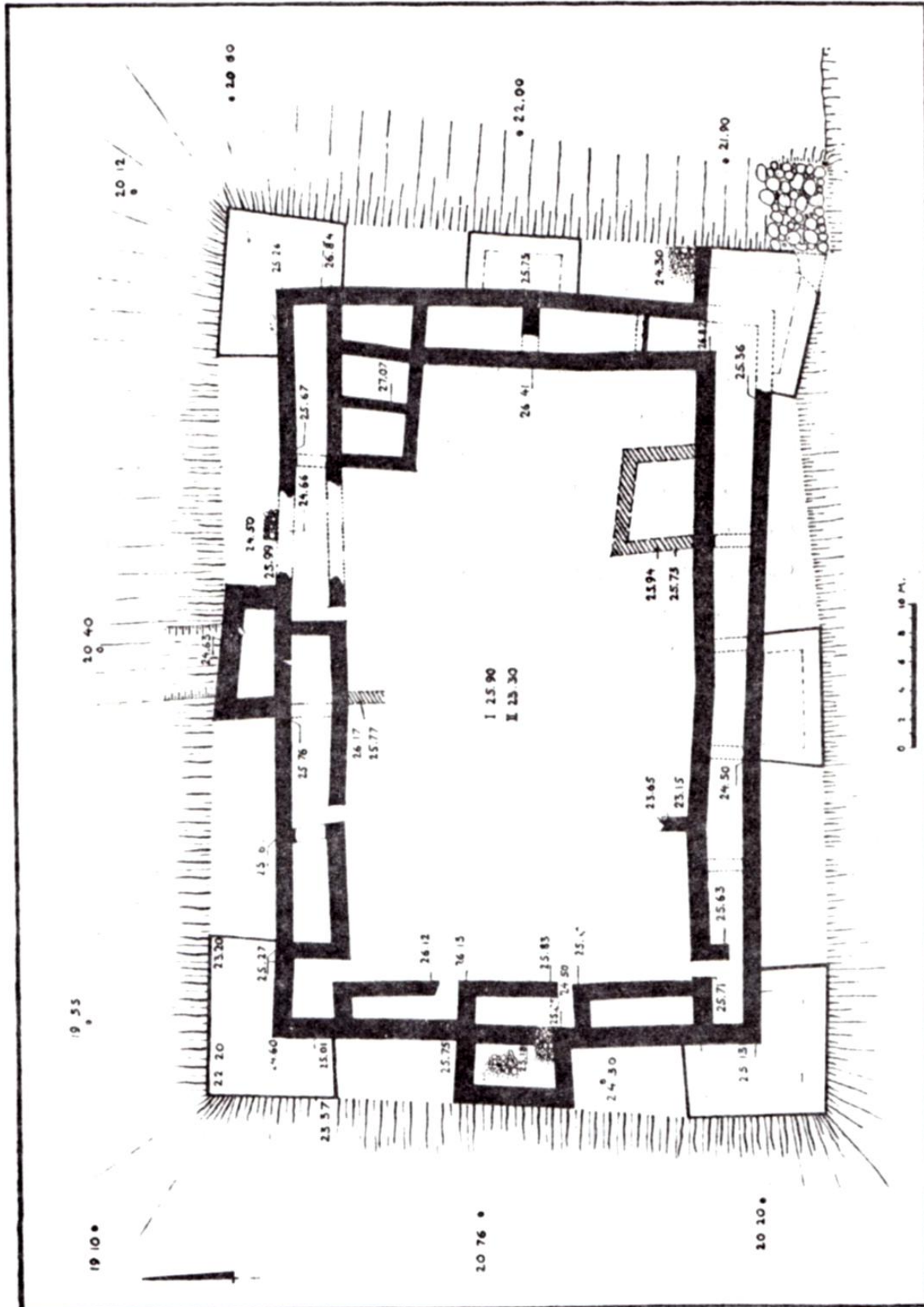


Fig. I.99: Tell el-Qudeirat, Fortress (Source: Dothan, 1965)

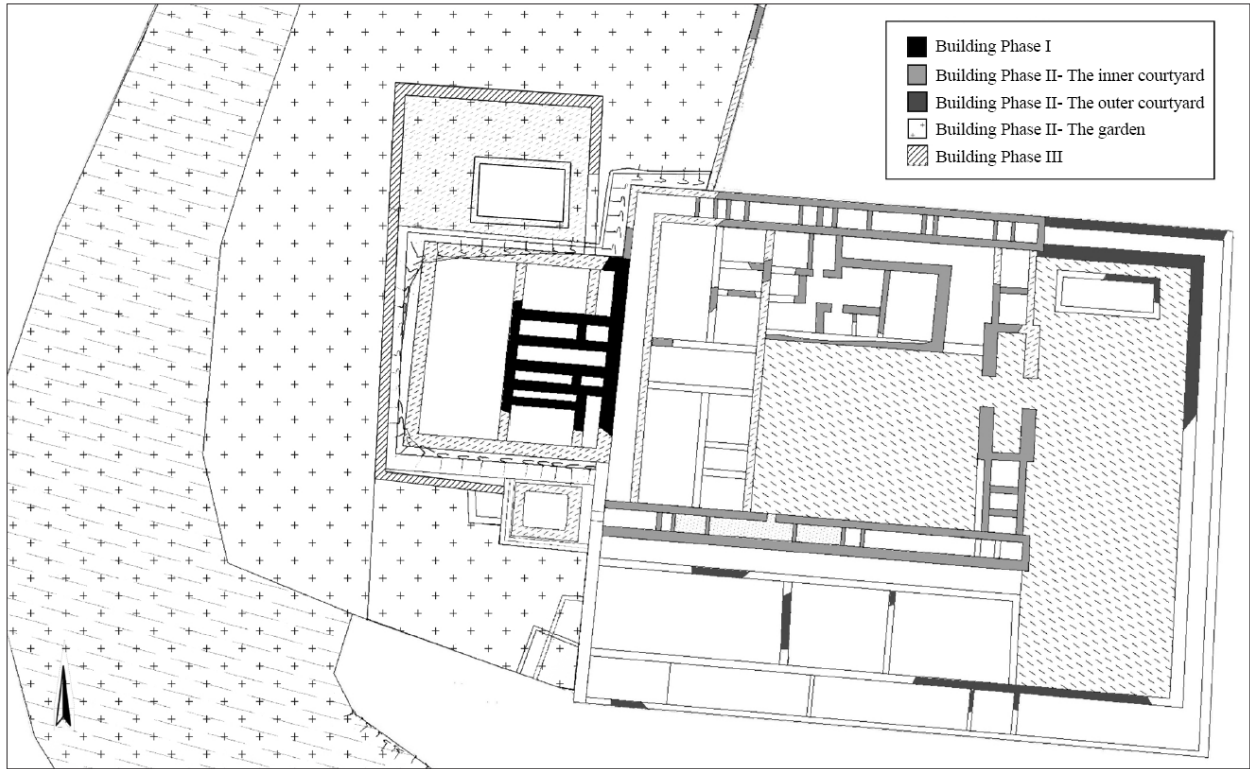


Fig. I.100: Ramat Rachel, Building Phases of the Palace (Source: Lipschits et al. 2021)

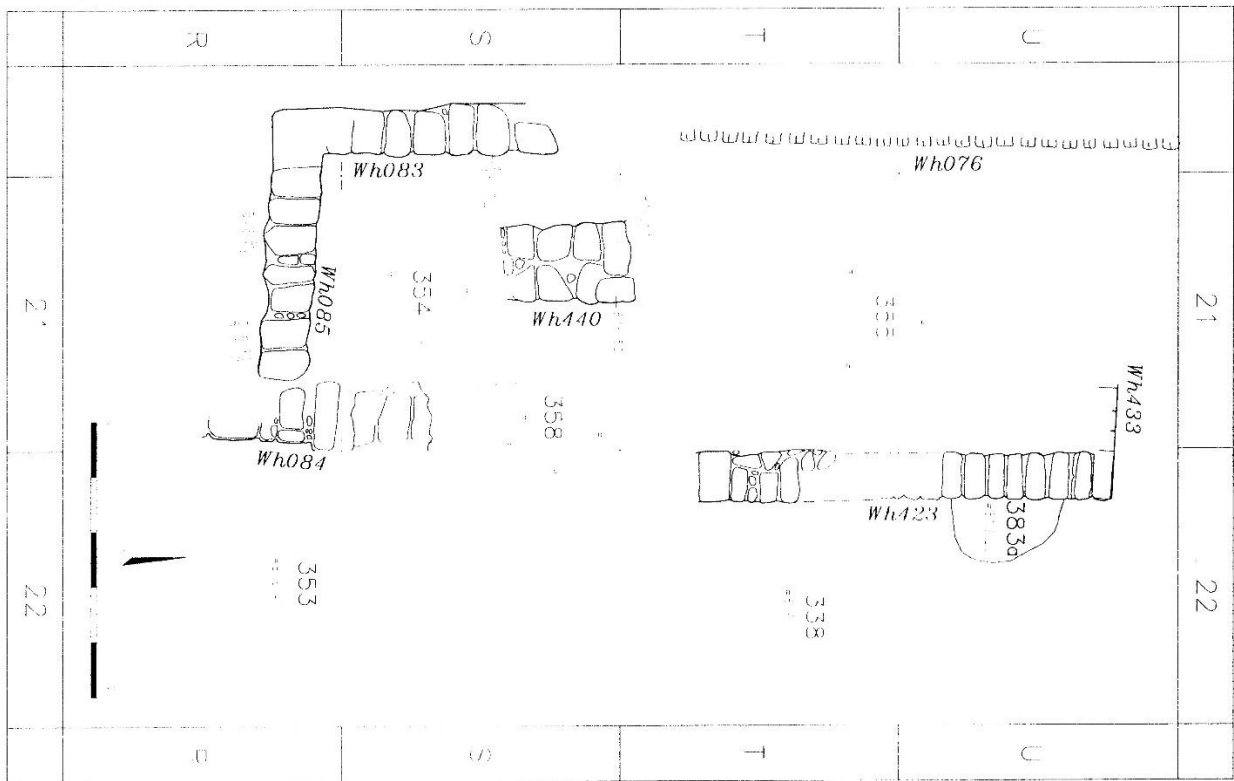


Fig. I.101: Ramat Rachel, Phase ACS3-7 (Source: Lipschits et al., 2016)

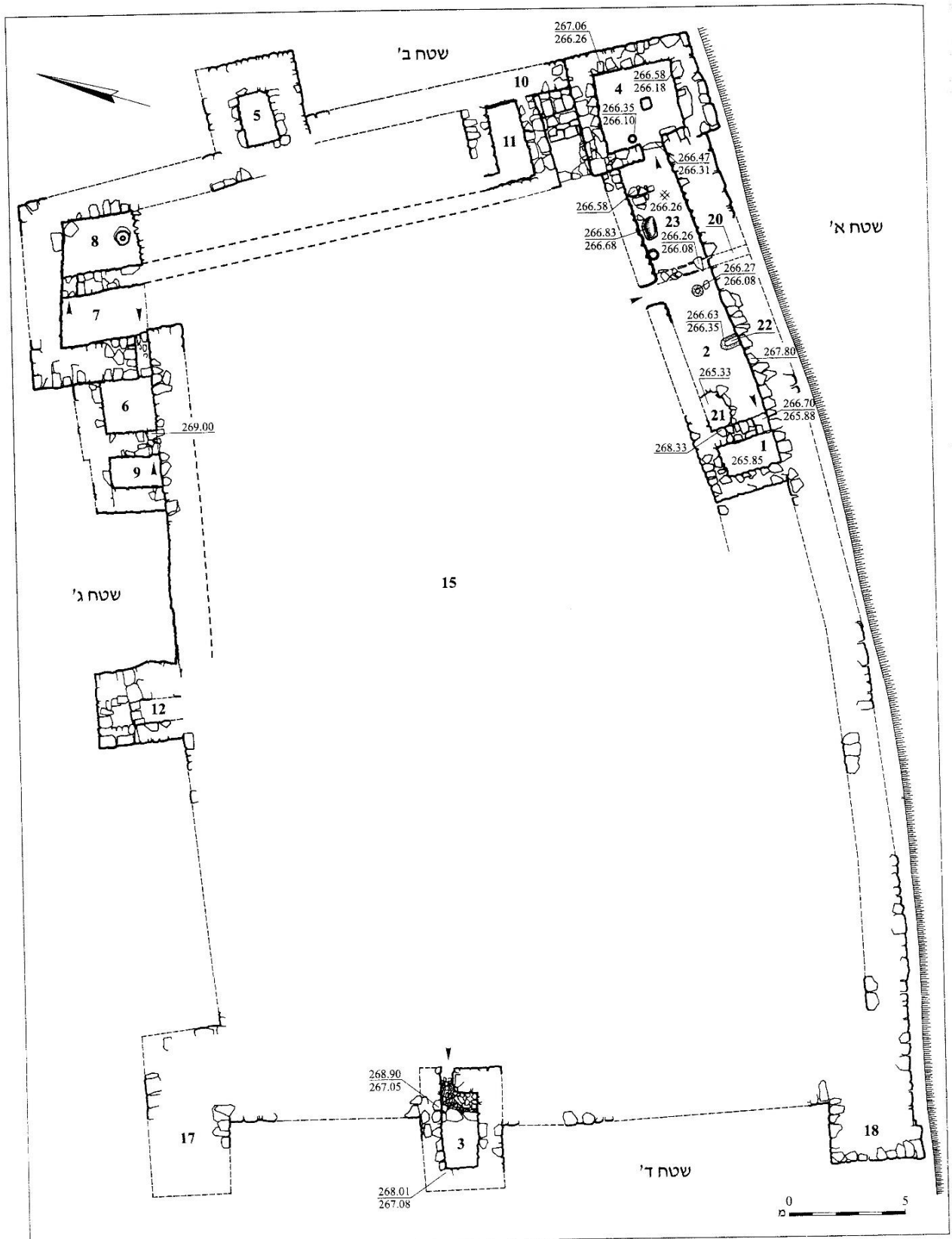


Fig. I.102: Horvat Rogem (Source, Cohen and Cohen-Amin, 2004)

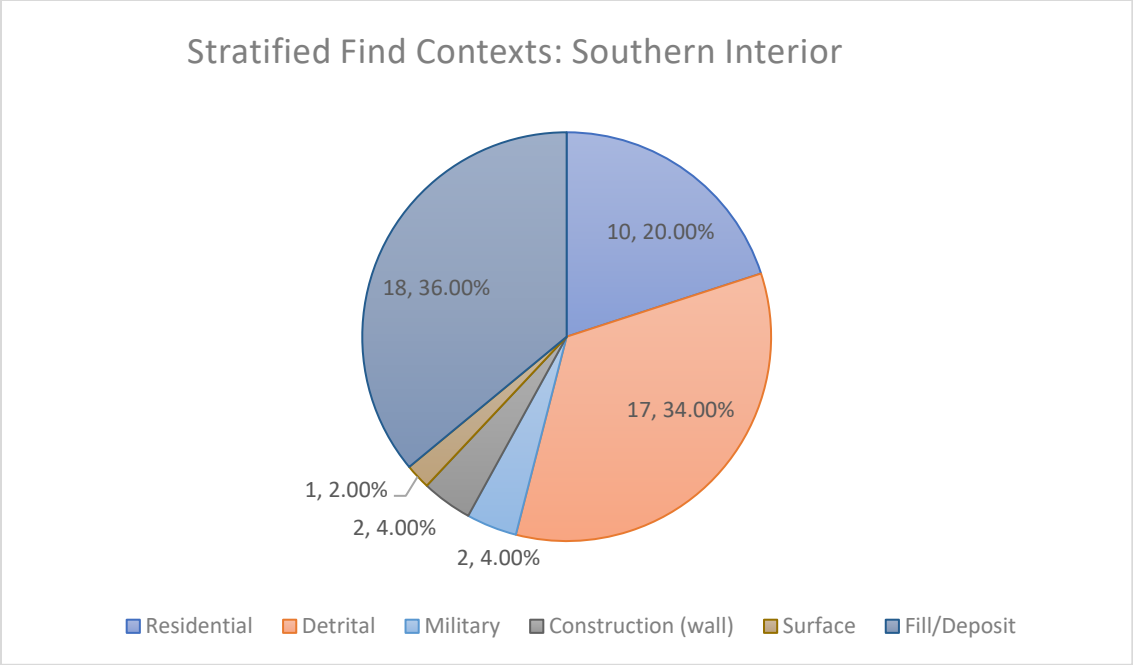


Fig. I.103: Contexts of Black and Red-Figure Pottery from Stratified Achaemenid-era Loci in the Southern Coastal Subregion

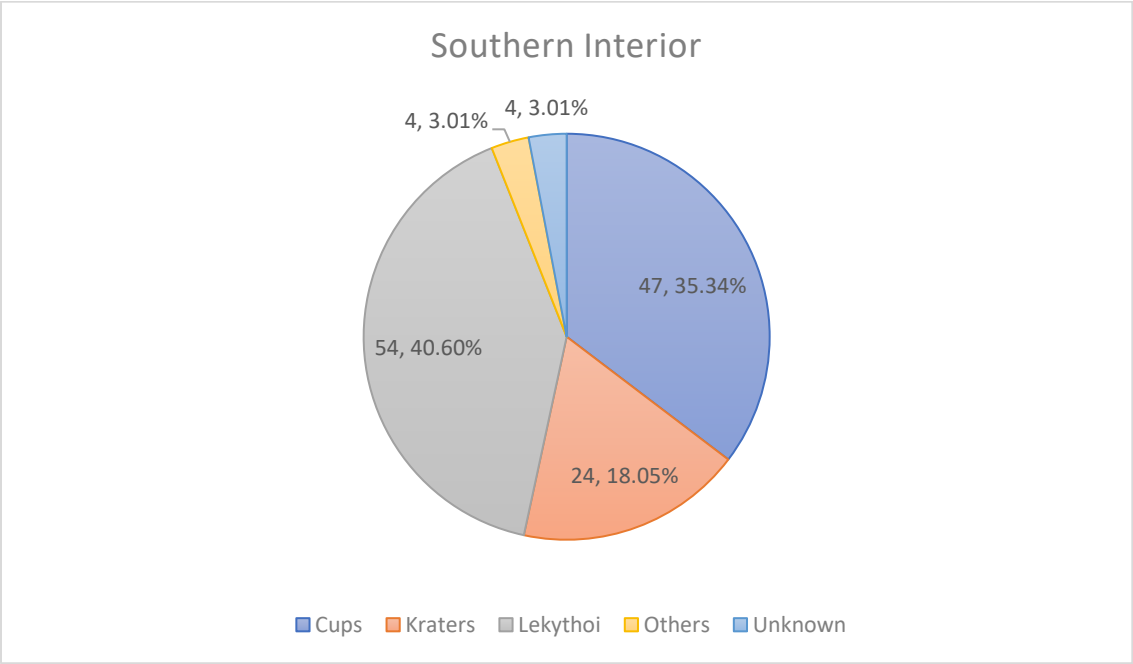


Fig. I.104: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from the Southern Coastal Subregion

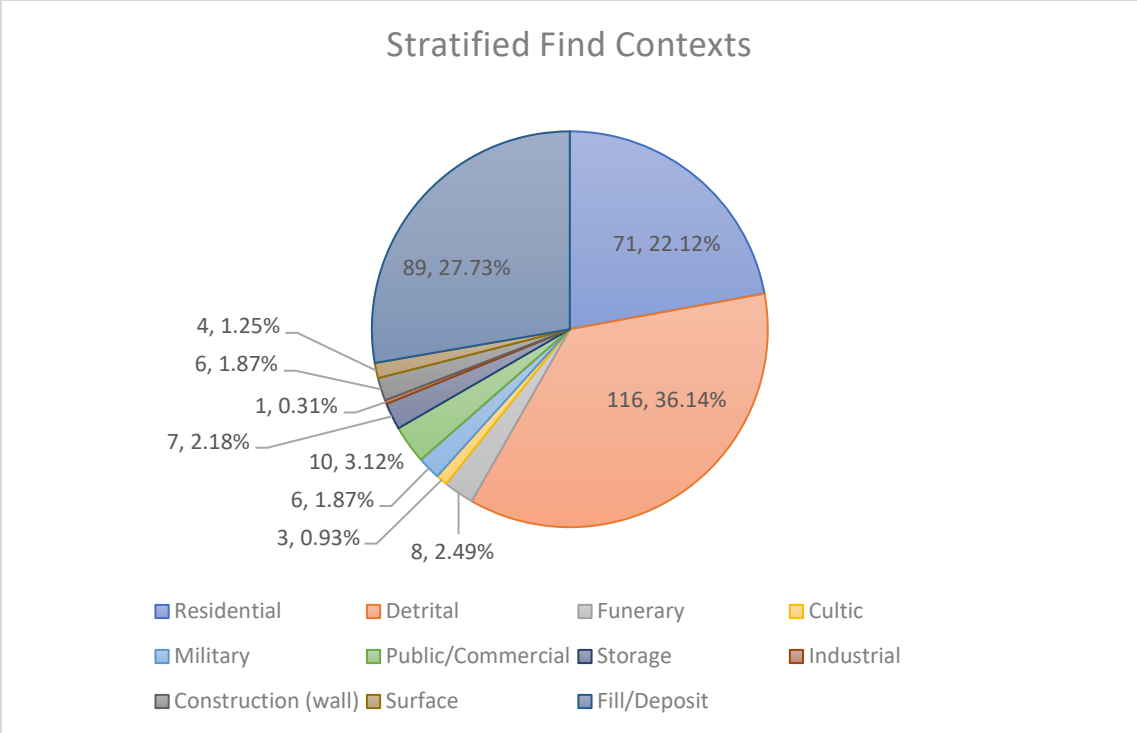


Fig. I.105: Contexts of Black and Red-Figure Pottery from Stratified Achaemenid-era Loci in Canaan

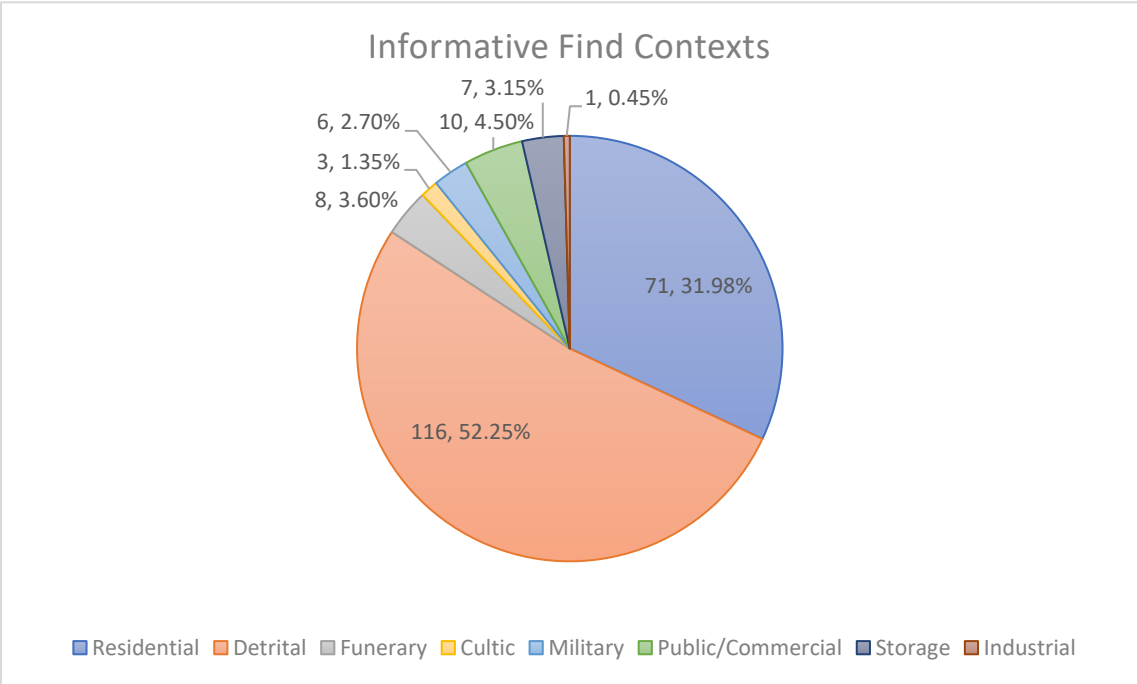


Fig. I.106: Informative Contexts of Black and Red-Figure Pottery from Stratified Achaemenid-era Loci in Canaan

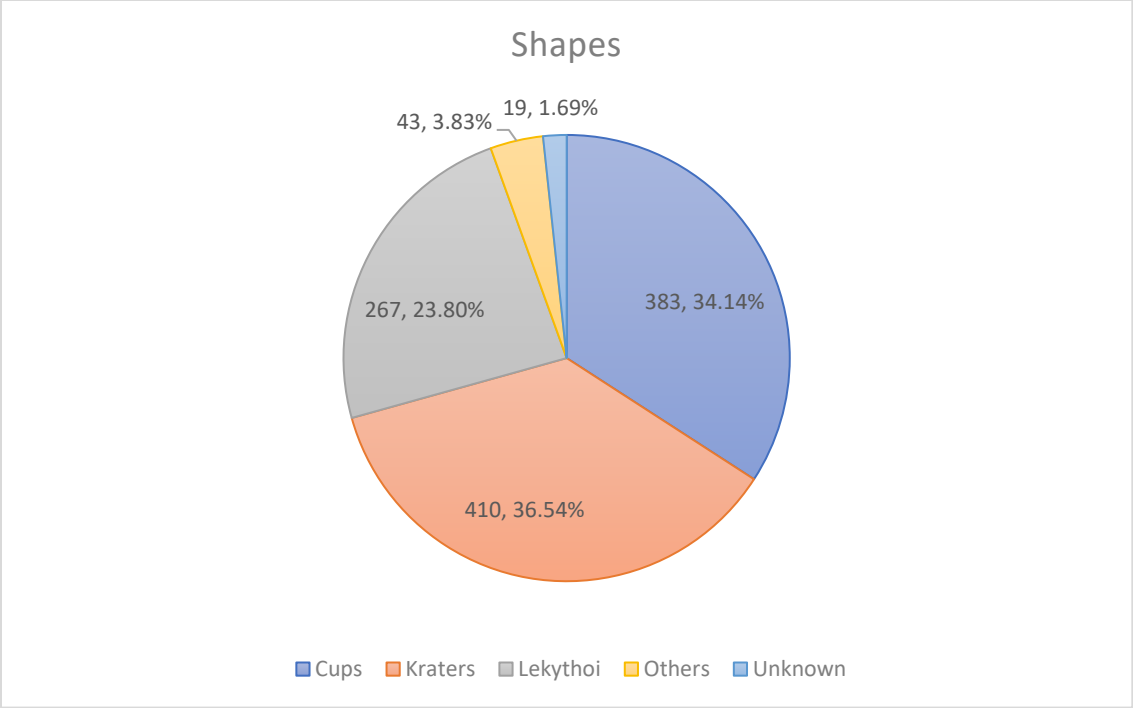


Fig. I.107: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes in Canaan

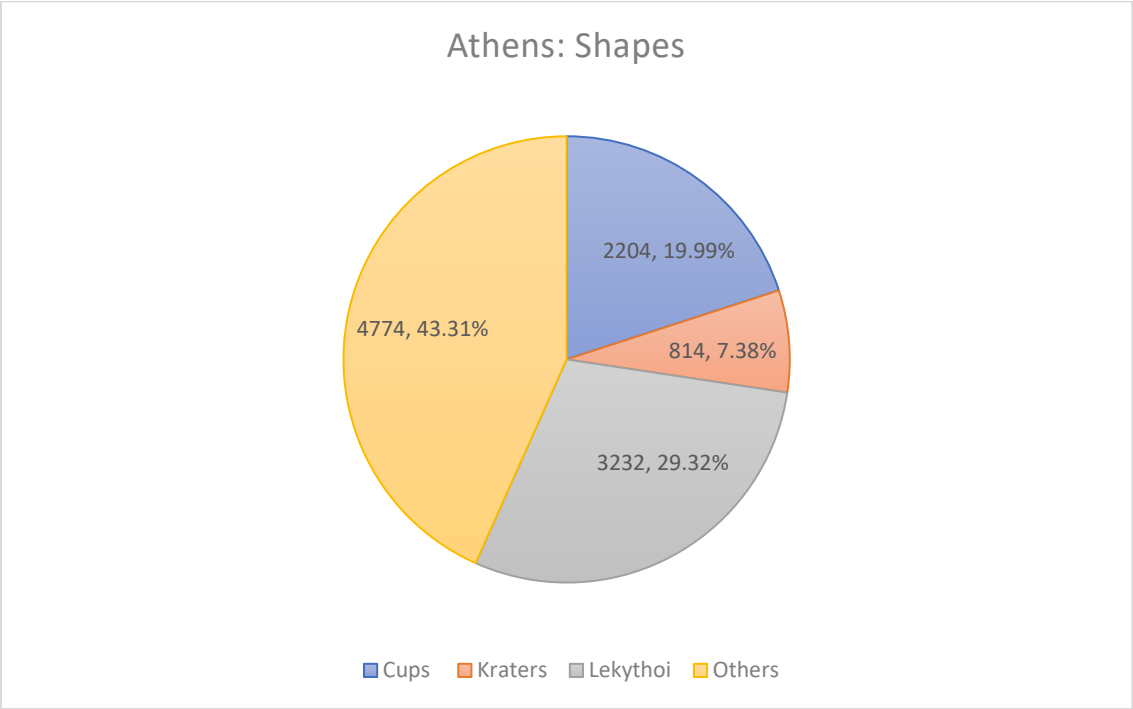


Fig. I.108: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes in Athens

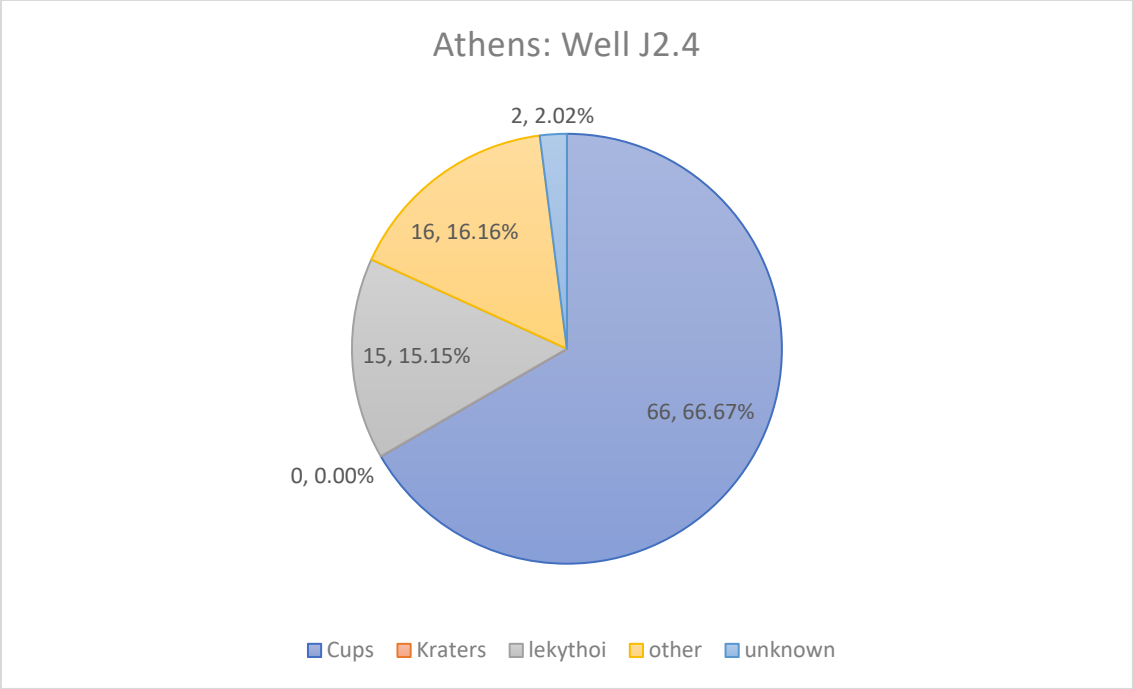


Fig. I.109: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Well J2:4, Athens

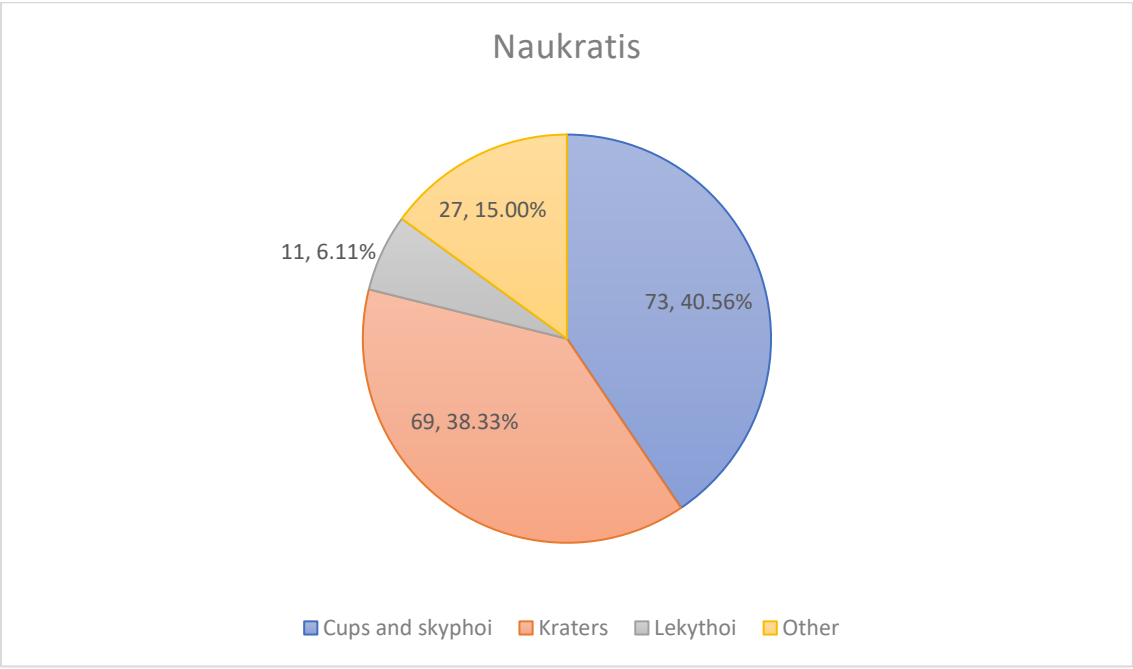


Fig. I.110: Black and Red-Figure Pottery Shapes from Naukratis



Fig.I.111: (Not to Scale)
Judean Alabastron from Jericho
(Source: Stern, 1982, Fig. 250)



Fig.I.112:
Painted Juglet from Gezer
(Source: Macalister, 1912, Pl.
CLXXXVII:8)

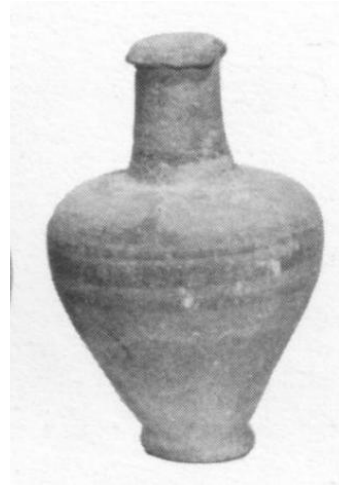


Fig.I.113: (Not to Scale)
Painted Bottle from Tel Qiri
(Source: Ben-Tor and Portuagli,
1987, 21, Ph. 4:5.)



Fig. I.114: (Not to Scale)
Wine vessels from Gezer and Tell el-Farah South. Israel Museum. (Photo: A. Levine)



Fig. I.115: (Not to Scale)
Bronze Wine Set from Tel Nami. Israel Museum
(Photo: A. Levine)



Fig. I.116: (Not to Scale)
Painted Krater from Tel Qiri
(Source Ben-Tor and Portuagli, 1987)



Fig. I.117:
Painted Decanter Jug from Shikmona
(Source: Stern in Gitin, 2015, 601. Pl.5.1.17:8)

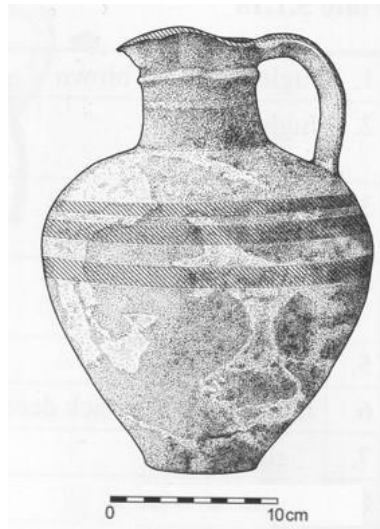


Fig. I.118:
Painted Decanter Jug from Shikmona
(Source: Stern in Gitin, 2015, 601. Pl.5.1.17:3)



Fig. I.119:
Silver Phoenician Bowl, Kurion. New York Metropolitan Museum of Art: 74.51. 4557.
(Source: Markoe 1985, no. Cy6.)



Fig. I.120: Feast Relief from the North Palace in Nineveh. British Museum: 124920.
(Source: <http://www.britishmuseum.org>)



Fig. I.121: Bronze Phoenician Bowl from Idalion (Drawing). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: 74.51.5700
(Source: Markoe, 1985, No. Cy3.)



Fig. I.122: Bronze Phoenician Bowl (Drawing). Paris, Louvre: AO 4702. (Source: Markoe 1985, no. G8.)



Fig. I.123: Bronze Phoenician Bowl. Tehran, Bastan Museum: 15198. (Source: Markoe 1985, no. U6.)



Fig. I.124: Bronze Phoenician Bowl. New York, Private Collection. (Source: Markoe 1985: no. U8)



Fig. I.125: Silver Phoenician Bowl. Cleveland Museum of Art: 47.491. (Source: Markoe 1985, no. U7)

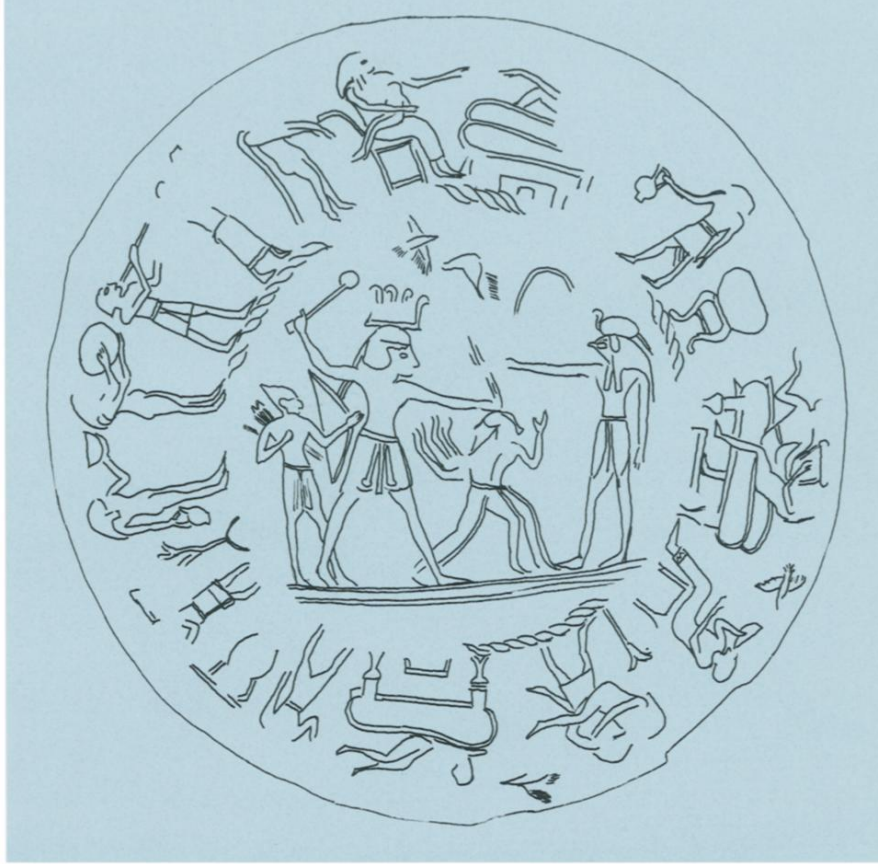


Fig. I.126: Bronze Phoenician Bowl from Salamis (Drawing). London, British Museum: 186. (Source: Beach 2017)



Fig. I.117:
Rider Figurine from Tel Erani
Jerusalem, IAA 2015-224
(Source: IAA)



Fig. I.128:
Fragmentary Rider Figurine from Tel Tzipor
Jerusalem, IAA 1964-1595.
(Source: IAA)



Fig. I.129:
Rider Figurine from Lachish
Jerusalem: IAA 1935-2927
(Source: IAA)



Fig. I.130:
Fragmentary Rider Figurine from Maresha
Jerusalem, IAA 2015-224
(Source: IAA)



Fig. I.131:
Iron-Age-II Rider Figurine from Lachish
Jerusalem: IAA 1934-126
(Source: IAA)



Fig. 132:
Hellenistic Rider Figurine from Ikaros
(Source: Mathiesen 1982, 22, No. 25)

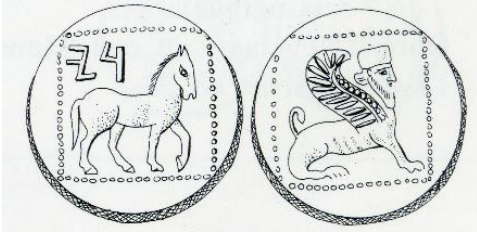


Fig. I.133: (Not to Scale)
 Samarian Drachma (Drawing)
 (Source: Meshorer & Qedar, 1999, No. 24.)



Fig. I.134: (Not to Scale)
 Samarian Obol (Drawing)
 (Source Meshorer & Qedar, 1999, No. 75)



Fig. I.135: (Not to Scale)
 Samarian Obol (Drawing)
 (Source Meshorer & Qedar, 1999, No. 15)



Fig. I.136: (Not to Scale)
 Samarian Obol (Drawing)
 (Source Meshorer & Qedar, 1999, No. 40)



Fig. I.137: (Not to Scale)
 Samarian Obol (Drawing)
 (Source Meshorer & Qedar, 1999, No. 123)

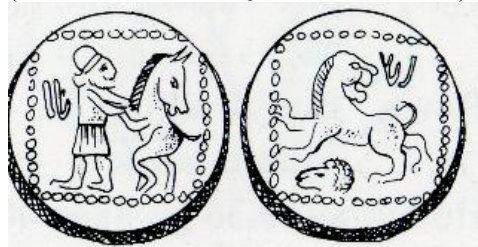


Fig. I.138: (Not to Scale)
 Samarian Obol (Drawing)
 (Source Meshorer & Qedar, 1999, No. 65)

